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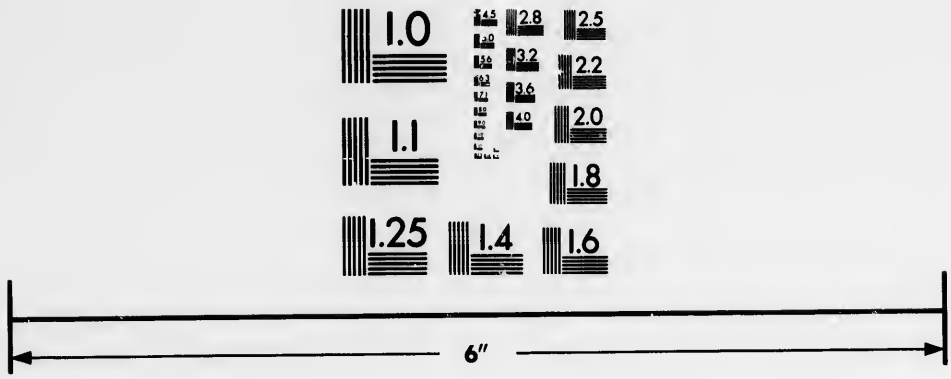

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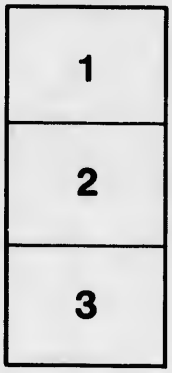

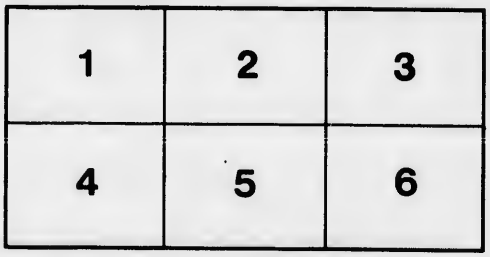

THE LIFE

OF

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL, BART.,

THE ONLY NATIVE OF NEW ENGLAND WHO WAS CREATED A BARONET DURING OUR CONNECTION WITH THE MOTHER COUNTRY.

BY

USHER PARSONS.

THIRD EDITION.

BOSTON:
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY.
LONDON:
SAMSON LOW, SON AND COMPANY.
1856.

CAMBRIDGE:
ALLEN AND FARNHAM, PRINTERS.

husetts.

TO THE

HON. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL. D.,

PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AND LATE SENATOR AND SPEAKER

OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE

TO THE THIRD EDITION.

THE liberal patronage bestowed on the first and second editions induces the author to prepare a third one, containing a likeness of Sir William Pepperrell at the age of fifty-five years, engraved from a portrait painted in London, by Symbert, in 1751.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.,
Nov. 1, 1856.

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE favor shown this book by the press in England as well as America, and the increasing demand for it in both countries, induces the author to prepare another edition, containing corrections and important additions.

Two or three esteemed friends of the book, gentlemen of distinction, have expressed doubts of the correctness of the statement in the title-page. But the author finds no instance of the creation of a baronet of American birth for distinguished services prior to the Revolution. Many persons have been knighted and allowed the prefix to their names of *sir*, as Sir William Phipps, but no one entitled to the affix of *baronet* or *bart.* Some who were not natives may have received this honor in America, and others who were natives may have inherited it — and still others have been created baronets after leaving this country, but none of these invalidate the statement on the title-page.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The author, two or three years ago, received from a friend in New York, a package of papers, which he was desired to use as materials for a Life of Sir William Pepperrell, the renowned "Hero of Louisburg." These papers had been exposed in an old shed on the Pepperrell estate, probably for half a century, and were much stained and defaced. Indeed a part of them had become almost illegible, while others, on examination, proved to be of little value, being, in fact, mere business receipts, bills of lading, accounts, and memorandums. They were saved from total destruction by Colonel George Sparhawk, who, allied by marriage to descendants of Sir William, and living near the Pepperrell mansion, arranged them according to their dates, in a sequence of years from 1696 to 1759.

Among the few of any value to a biographer were rough draughts of letters to correspondents, and original letters from the same. But even these were in a measure unintelligible without their correlatives, which some light-fingered antiquary had purloined. Some of the missing documents were, however, recovered by diligent search subsequently, greatly to the satisfaction of the author, as allowing him to relate incidents in the baronet's career, which would otherwise have been omitted.

But yet the materials, when collected from every source, were so scanty, as almost to lead to a determination to abandon the undertaking. In truth, I persevered only at the earnest solicitations of friends, who convinced me that the duty ought to be performed by some one, that every year of delay would increase the difficulties and perplexities which discouraged me, and that, while I might fail to write an interesting biography, I should at least rescue from oblivion many valuable facts for an abler pen at some future period.

It is to be remembered, that Sir William's avocations for the ten years preceding his memorable expedition to Louisburg, afford few events worthy of notice. He was one of the principal merchants of the day, and his time was engrossed by the building of vessels, the planning of voyages to Europe and the islands in the Caribbean Sea, the erection and operation of mills, and the purchase and sale of domestic and foreign productions. Meagre as are the records of his business, enough has been preserved to show that, as a man of trade, he was skilful beyond most, and that his success was not the result of what is commonly called "luck," but of untiring industry, nice calculation, and ability.

Such of the baronet's papers as illustrate the annals of his country, were consulted and relied on as the best possible authority by the Rev. Dr. Belknap, in writing his History of New Hampshire, and were deposited by him in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where they still remain. The accuracy of Belknap's concise and elegant work, so far as relates to the siege of the "Dunkirk of America," is attributable to the materials thus obtained. As the professed historian of a single colony, he was particular to present to his readers all that seemed worthy of record touching the perils and services

of its people, rather than a detailed account of the whole enterprise; hence the prominence given by him to the troops of New Hampshire. It is for the biographer of the Commander of the Expedition to supply omissions, and to state that his native "district," — or as Maine was then called, the "county of York," — furnished more soldiers in proportion to its population than any other section of New England, namely, upwards of one thousand, or nearly one third of the whole land force employed. And this, be it remembered, when the enrolled militia of Maine consisted of two regiments only.

Brief sketches of the siege and reduction of Louisburg are contained in the history of each New England province and of Nova Scotia, and in the more general histories of the times in both England and America. It was the greatest warlike enterprise in colonial history, and the crowning event in Pepperrell's life; and his biographer is therefore bound to give, what has not hitherto been done, a detailed account of it from the most authentic sources, even at the risk of seeming prolixity. This he has attempted not by inferences from other historians, or by a web of his own weaving, but by spreading before the reader the authentic documents, written at the time and on the spot by Sir William and other chief actors in the scene, to estimate and decide upon their character and import for himself.

I designed to prepare an original plan of Louisburg, but after a personal inspection of the ruins of that city, and after an examination of several drawings of it and its fortresses, I became satisfied that the print which appeared in the early editions of the History of the Colonization of the United States admitted of no improvements; and accordingly, by the kind permission of Mr. Bancroft, used his plate instead of a new one.

My thanks are due to John Blunt, Esq., of New York;

Dr. C. W. Parsons, of Providence; J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston; Colonel George Sparhawk, of Kittery; George A. Ward, Esq., of *Curwen's Journal;* and to Hon. Lorenzo Sabine, author of the *American Loyalists*, for aid and suggestions, which have materially assisted me in the performance of my labors.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.,
May, 1855.

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ERRATA.

Page 14, 17, and 209, for Wales read Devon — for Ravistock read Tavistock.
15, for Dugboro read Ugboro — for 1747, read 1750.
115, for Professor read tutor Flint.
192, for Nathaniel read John Sparhawk.
337, for 1744 read 1774.

CORRIGENDA.

To 10th line, page 17, add, She afterwards married Rev. Ebenezer Turell, of Medford, August 21st, 1760, and died February 6th, 1765.
In 8th line from bottom of page 336, for D. Everett, Esquire, read D. Everett Wheeler, Esquire.

ead Tavistock.

nezer Turell, of

read D. Everett

LIFE

OF

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE AND EARLY YEARS.

THE father of Sir William Pepperrell was a native of Tavistock Parish, near Plymouth, in Devon. At the age of twenty-two he emigrated to the Isle of Shoals, and after a residence there of four or five years he removed to Kittery Point, where he resided the remainder of his days, which terminated in 1734.

It is interesting and instructive to trace the rising steps of the Pepperrell family, from a destitute young fisherman to the princely affluence and exalted stations, civil, political, and military, to which the son arrived. It sheds light upon the history of the infant colonies, the character of the early settlers, the nature of their occupations, their commerce, the condition and relative importance of places of trade, and the influence of the times and events, in forming the character and shaping the fortunes of the illustrious subject of this memoir. The name once so celebrated, has in America long since become extinct, and but for its record in the page of history, would ere this have passed into oblivion. To

account for this curious fact, it will be necessary to give a more extended notice of the history of the family than would otherwise seem necessary. The name is variously spelt, not only by historians, and by correspondents who had occasion to address them, but even by themselves. It is sometimes spelt Pepperel, Pepperrel, Pepperrell, and Peprel; but in official papers, and in the Herald office, it is spelt Pepperrell.*

The elder William Pepperrell was apprenticed, when a boy, to the captain of a fishing schooner employed on the coast of New England, and on the banks of Newfoundland, and having finished his term of service he earned a small sum, and embarked with it for the Isle of Shoals, near which he had formerly been employed in fishing. His education was very limited, his letters from bad writing and worse spelling being hardly legible. Tradition says that he spoke the broad Welsh, as Boll and Woll for Bill and Will.

His parents died early, leaving him and two or three sisters in destitute condition. One of the sisters, an invalid named Grace, lived to advanced age, unmarried. Being an invalid as well as destitute, she received assistance from the parish, and was buried at its expense. Another sister married a Phillips and had several children, three of whom visited their uncle William and were employed in his service as com-

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Pepperrell Coat of Arms.

* Pepperrell coat of arms: Arg. a chevron gu. between three pine-apples or cones-vert, with the augmentation of a canton of the second, charged with a fleur-de-lis of the first. N. B. No crest, it being an ancient coat before crests were used.

manders of small coasting vessels; — two of them settled in Saco and are mentioned in the wills of both the William Pepperrells, who left them small legacies. Another sister married a Gilbert, and had children, among whom was a daughter named Mary, who married a Nichols. This Mary shared more of her uncle's affections than any other relative left in his native land. She wrote often and apprised him of the condition and changes of his kindred and acquaintances; and it is from the letters which passed between them that the few facts relating to the early Pepperrell history have been gleaned.

At the Isle of Shoals the elder Pepperrell united in partnership with a Mr. Gibbons, of Topsham, England.* They invested their little stock of cash in fishing-boats and equipments, and let them to others on shares, and

* The Isles of Shoals lie nine miles southerly from Kittery Point. They were visited by Captain Smith in 1614, and for many years went by the name of Smith's Isles. Their whole number of acres is about six hundred, and the population varied, in the last two centuries, from two to six hundred persons. In early times they constituted one township, called Appledore, and sent two representatives to the General Court of Massachusetts, when a like number was sent from Kittery, York, and Wells. A portion of the islands now belongs to New Hampshire, and the rest to Maine. They afford a safe harbor to small vessels in stress of weather. The inhabitants were formerly more engaged in fishery than at present, and had many stagings and flakes for drying. It is here that the *dun-fish*, so much valued by epicures, and which bring three times the price of common cod-fish, are obtained. They are said to be thicker than the common cod, and are caught and cured in the winter season, and named *dun* from their color. The character of the original islanders for sound morals, industry, and intelligence, has acquired for them great respect in the estimation of posterity. They supported an able ministry at the time of Mr. Pepperrell's residence there.

attended themselves to the curing of fish, on Star Island, and to the sale of them to merchants for Southern and European markets. They met with good success during three or four years, when Gibbons removed to the eastward, and purchased a right in the Muscongus or Waldo patent, including the present county of Waldo.

While upon the islands, Pepperrell had frequent occasion to sail to Kittery Point, for the purpose of traffic, and for the purchase and repair of boats. A shipwright there, named John Bray, supplied his wants, and in the course of their dealings welcomed him to the hospitalities of his house. Mr. Bray had arrived at the Pascataqua, from Plymouth, England, about 1660, bringing with him his family, among whom was a child named Margery, then only a year old. He purchased land at the Point, where the ancient Pepperrell mansion now stands, and was engaged in ship and boatbuilding during a long life. Margery had arrived at the age of seventeen when she first saw Mr. Pepperrell, who, smitten with her youthful charms, was not slow in making his impressions known. He probably expected to drive a bargain for her, with her father, with the same facility that he had often done for a boat. But her tender years were offered as an objection to the match, though it was conjectured that lack of the needful on his part had some influence. Time, however, served to lessen both objections; she grew older, and he, by the first vessel he was able to send abroad, added much to his property; consequently, having passed through her teens, she obtained her father's willing consent to the alliance.

About the time of their marriage, Mr. Pepperrell changed his residence from the Shoals to Kittery Point,

where Mr. Bray gave him the site of the present Pepperrell mansion. The south part of this structure was built by the elder Pepperrell, and the north part by Sir William. It has recently been curtailed in its dimensions, by the removal of ten feet from each end of the building. Here was the birthplace of Sir William, and here dwelt the two families, till the father's decease in 1734, which left the son's family sole occupants till 1759. It was in this period, of little more than half a century, that the largest fortune, then known in New England, was gradually accumulated. It was, however, increased by a legacy left to Mr. Pepperrell by his father-in-law, beside an estate in Plymouth, which also descended from Mr. Bray to Mrs. Pepperrell, and from her to her son (Sir) William.

The Pascataqua, which enters the ocean at Kittery Point, extends northerly, forty miles, to Wakefield, and is the boundary between Maine and New Hampshire. The territory on the east side of the river, from the Point to Lebanon, was called Pascataqua, and was changed to Kittery, which then included the present towns of Kittery and Elliot, and the Berwicks. Berwick was separately incorporated in 1723, and Elliot in 1810. There were local names given to districts along the shore, prior to any act of incorporation, as *Kittery Point* or *Champernoon; Sturgeon Creek*, some eight or ten miles north; and *Newichewannock* at the head of tide-water in South Berwick, including *Great-works Falls*. Above this was *Quampegan*, then *Salmon Falls*, and *Tow-wow*, or Lebanon. Opposite to Kittery Point, and near the New Hampshire shore, is Newcastle, an island, which, during the first century after the settlement, was the principal seat of commerce, especially of New Hampshire, and was fortified at an early period.

Two miles north of it was Strawberry Bank, now Portsmouth, which, as the savages disappeared and the country was settled, became a more convenient place of trade, and gradually absorbed most of that which had belonged to Newcastle. Near the south-west line of Portsmouth, a cove makes in and forms *Little Harbor*, where the first emigrants pitched their tents and commenced fishing.

When Captain Smith arrived at Pascataqua, in 1614, there was a large Indian population, on both its shores, called Newichewannocks, whose sachem resided at Quampegan, (now South Berwick). Soon after a pestilential disease swept off a large portion of his tribe, and opened a space for English settlers.

The first house erected was by Thompson at Little Harbor, in 1623, and probably the next settlement was at South Berwick, where mills were erected in 1624, and immediately after, followed the settlements of Newcastle, Portsmouth, Kittery Point, Dover, Sturgeon Creek, and Exeter. Between all these places there was constant intercourse, and "some political connection." The proprietors of the soil, Gorges and Mason, employed as agent, on the Kittery side, Walter Neal, who dwelt part of the time at the Point. He had five associates in the various branches of trade, but until 1636 the fur trade, fishing, and lumbering, were the chief employments of the first settlers. About this time, a large number of families, some of them farmers, were sent by Gorges and Mason, and with them ample supplies of stock, provisions, and agricultural implements.

The number of mills increased on the small rivers, and lumber and ship-timber soon floated down in gondolas, to Kittery Point and Newcastle, and were shipped to various ports, European and American.

But the most lucrative, extensive, and durable business was the fisheries. It required small outfit, rarely failed of a good return, and a ready sale in American and foreign ports, or a profitable exchange at the South, for corn, tobacco, and naval stores; in the West Indies, for tropical produce; and in England, Spain, and Portugal, for dry goods, sails, cordage, wines, and fruit.

Although civil dissensions and political changes occurred to impede the general prosperity, yet population and wealth gradually increased, until the disastrous war of King Philip, in 1675, which lasted three years, and was attended with savage murders and conflagrations, and a suspension of trade and of agriculture. Mr. Bray, father-in-law of the elder Pepperrell, arrived at Kittery Point some fifteen years before this war, and at the close of it, had suffered less than those engaged in other occupations. Fishing-vessels and boats were indispensable, and yielded to shipwrights and owners a good profit. At the return of peace, therefore, Mr. Bray was able to extend his business upon a large and lucrative scale.

Ship-building was an early, and in time a very extensive branch of industry, on the Pascataqua and its tributary streams. Foreign merchants could supply themselves with vessels at a lower price than elsewhere. The Pepperrells built and sent many to the West India islands, laden with lumber, fish, oil, and live stock, to exchange for cargoes of West India produce for home consumption; others to European markets, to exchange for dry goods, wine, and salt, or to sell both vessel and cargo. They also traded extensively in Southern colonial ports, exchanging cargoes of fish and West India goods for provisions and naval stores. But a much larger amount of business was done in the fisheries.

They sometimes had more than a hundred small vessels at a time on the Grand Banks, part of which they manned themselves, but more of them were let on shares. They also extended their business to other rivers. The following letter, written by the elder Pepperrell, in the year in which Sir William was born, illustrates the times. It was addressed to Captain John Hill, who commanded Fort Mary, at Saco, and acted as Pepperrell's agent.

Kittery Point, November 12, 1696.

Captain Hill,

Sir, — With much trouble I have gotten men and sent for the sloop, and desire you to despatch them with all speed, for, if all things be ready, they may be fitted to leave in two days as well as in seven years. If you and the carpenter think it convenient, and the ground has not too much descent, I think it may be safer and better to bend her sails before you launch her, so as to leave immediately. But I shall leave it to your management, and desire you to hasten them day and night; for, Sir, it will be dangerous tarrying there, on account of hostile savages in the vicinity, and it will be very expensive to keep the men upon pay. I send you a barrel of rum, and there is a cask of wine to launch with, (doubtless intended to treat female spectators). So with my services to yourself and lady, hoping they are all in good health, as I am at present, who are your humble servant at command,

William Pepperrell.

The launching of vessels was, in those days, attended by all persons of both sexes living in the vicinity, who expected an ample supply of good cheer, — rum for the

men, and wine for the fairer sex. A barrel of each was the allowance on this occasion. The bottle was attractive and probably indispensable in all gatherings for mutual aid, whether log-rolling, corn-husking, rafting of timber, or raising of houses, and a militia company could drill only under the excitement of a treat from the captain. Even at ordinations the reverend divines must have a glass to quicken the fervor of their devotions. In a bill of expenses incurred on such an occasion, in the vicinity of Kittery Point, there are charged eight quarts of rum and two of brandy, for the clergy and council. And still worse, funerals were made an occasion for circulating the intoxicating cup, where the sighs and tears of sympathizing friends were awakened by the customary beverage, *spiced rum.* We have before us several bills for funeral expenses, incurred in the early part of the last century, in which this is mentioned. One of them specifies the ingredients thus: "Five gallons of rum, ten pounds of sugar, and half a pound of allspice, to make spiced rum." With such a network of temptations spread over society, it is wonderful that any escaped — that all were not rendered confirmed inebriates; but the Pepperrells, it is believed, always remained temperate.

The settlements on the Pascataqua River and its branches, were formed into distinct governments, so that in 1641 there existed four little republics, Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter, and Pascataqua. But the three former were this year united to Massachusetts, and in 1652, the latter, which belonged to Maine, and had been incorporated, in 1647, as Kittery, was also added to that State, and in a short time the other settlements of Maine came under the Massachusetts government. With the exception of two or three years interruption,

under the administration of Andros, the province of Maine continued a constituent part of Massachusetts for more than a century, until it was finally erected into an independent State.

Kittery, which included the present towns of Kittery, Elliot, and the Berwicks, grew faster than any other town in Maine. The Point was accessible by water and convenient for ship-building, both as respects security against savage depredations, and facility for obtaining timber, by water, from the interior, and rigging and stores from Boston. In addition to this, sessions of the Supreme Court met here many years. In 1646 the town paid nearly one half of the amount of a tax assessed on the whole province of Maine.*

In 1671, the militia of the province amounted to 700, of whom 180 belonged to Kittery, 80 to York, 100 to Wells, and 80 to Saco.†

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* The following list of county rates, for the years 1662, 1688, and 1734, shows the comparative valuation of several towns, and their relative increase in that time.

	1662.	1688.	1734.
Kittery,	10*l.*	16*l.*	17*l.*
York,	7	6	9
Wells,	4	4	5
Saco,	6	4	10

† Fortifications on the Pascataqua were begun by the original proprietors, who sent over several cannon which their agents placed on the north-east point of Newcastle, at the north of the great harbor, and called Fort Point. They laid out the ground about a bow-shot from the water-side to a high rock on which it was intended, in time, to build a principal fort. In 1666, it was decided by commissioners to build a fort on the east side of Great Island, where the former one was built, and which was to inclose the great rock and all the easterly part of the island. The customs and imports on goods imported into the harbor were to be applied to the maintenance of the

The elder Pepperrell was, like all the early settlers about the Pascataqua, trained to the use of fire-arms and to military exercises. His military services during his first few years, were performed at the fort on Great Island, or Newcastle. A garrison house was, however, previously erected and maintained at the Point, near his house, to which families might resort when threatened by sudden assaults from Indians; and as early as 1700 a fort was erected which went by his name. The celebrated warrior, Col. Church, in his eastern expedition, in 1704, with 550 men, had orders "to send his sick and wounded to Casco, now Portland, or to Pepperrell's Fort at Kittery Point," (*Williamson*). This fort was probably a private concern, or at most built at village expense. But in 1714 the province of Massachusetts, in order to prevent the levying of improper duties by New Hampshire, made Kittery Point a port of entry and adopted measures to retain it as such. A breastwork was erected northerly of the Point, a platform laid for six guns, a naval officer and notary-public appointed, and all sea-captains and persons trading at the river were required to pay imposts, powder-money, and other duties, according to law. Pepperrell had command of this fort, which gave him the rank of captain. He also commanded the company of militia at the Point, and finally rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Soon after the annexation of York county to Massa-

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fort, and the trainbands of Great Island and Kittery Point were discharged from all other duty, to attend to the service of it under Richard Cutts, who was appointed captain. It was voted in town meeting, in June, "that every dweller and liver in this town, over sixteen years of age, shall work at the fort one whole week."

chusetts, in 1652, courts were established, which were held at Wells, York, and Kittery Point. There was a Supreme Court which made part of the Massachusetts circuit, and an inferior court called the Court of Common Pleas, held in each county by local judges. Beside these there were justice courts, all nearly as at the present day. Mr. Pepperrell held the office of justice of the peace from 1690 to 1725. His trial-docket is still preserved, and exhibits the modes of punishing slight offences, — the whipping-post being in frequent requisition, which gradually yielded to fines and imprisonment. In 1715, John Wheelwright of Wells, William Pepperrell of Kittery, Charles Frost of Kittery, and Abraham Preble of York, were appointed Judges of the Court of Common Pleas. Mr. Pepperrell continued on the bench many years, and his son (Sir) William, while a minor, served as clerk of the court.

The elder Col. Pepperrell educated his children, consisting of two sons and six daughters, in the best manner the time and place permitted. They were all taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and their chirography was very fair. Beyond this, very little was attempted. An English grammar is still in being which belonged to the family, but in which they probably made very little proficiency. They no doubt were assisted in the higher departments of their education by the Rev. John Newmarch, a near neighbor as well as pastor, and a graduate of Harvard. The daughters, like most of their neighbors, were well trained in domestic duties, but had little opportunity for mingling in polished society. Several of them married sea-captains who commanded their father's vessels. They derived from their father a fondness for trade,

and often sent ventures to Europe and the West Indies in his ships, such as fish and furs, to exchange for fruits and fine dresses. Several of them were part owners of small vessels, bills of sale of which are still preserved. Nor does it appear strange that, secluded as they were from more appropriate female enterprises and employments, they should imbibe some of the peculiar tastes of their father, and find him ready to gratify them.

The religious training of the Bray and Pepperrell families was faithful and successful. Margery, afterwards Mrs. Pepperrell, and mother of Sir William, evinced early piety. Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Bray, were "induced to leave England for the free enjoyment of their religious opinions." Beside the regular worship at Portsmouth, they were favored with occasional preaching from the Isle of Shoals, and by Mr. Dummer of York, soon after their arrival in 1660, and there was a settled minister at Newcastle.

As early as 1699 the Rev. John Newmarch was employed at Kittery Point, by the year, and was allowed a parsonage. A church was organized, consisting of eighteen males and twenty-five females. The elder Pepperrell and wife headed the list of communicants after the minister, and several of their daughters, with their husbands, were members. Mr. Greenleaf, in his history of churches in Maine, mistakes in saying that Sir William was one of the original members. He was only eighteen years of age when the church was organized. His father was the founder and main pillar of the church and society, and in his will left a respectable legacy to the poor of the parish. But Sir William was not admitted to membership till 1734. Mr. Newmarch continued sole pastor till 1751,

Nov. 4, 1714.

and died three years after. Mr. Benjamin Stevens was ordained his colleague in 1751, and after three years, his successor. He continued in the ministry till his death in 1791, when the church had dwindled down to a very small number, and soon after was nearly extinguished.

It is apparent, then, that the means for religious instruction and nurture, enjoyed by the Pepperrell family, were very favorable, and there is reason to infer that they were duly improved, since most of the children, sooner or later, became exemplary professing Christians.

The elder Pepperrell ever retained a strong attachment to his father-land, and seemed to anticipate the pleasure of returning to it, after he should have acquired an independent fortune. But the machinery necessary for doing this, when once in motion, was too extensive and complex to permit of his removal or even temporary absence without great sacrifice; it required his constant superintendence. It appears, however, that in early life he made one voyage to Rotterdam. At the age of sixty, he wrote to his friend Mr. Roe, merchant in Ravistock, Wales, to purchase him an estate near him. One was named to him soon after, but reverses of fortune by shipwrecks, and the capture of many of his fishing vessels, had intervened, and drew from him the following reply. "You wrote me that the Colson estate was for sale, but I have met with so many losses of late, that the sum asked is more than I can raise, but if I could purchase one worth four thousand pounds, I would soon pay for it. The times have been such that I have lost more than three thousand pounds. If it be possible, I hope to come and see you once more before I die. I pray you,

remember my love to all my friends in general, wishing you all happiness." He writes again some years after, and repeats his desire to purchase an estate, intending it rather for his son William and daughter Dorothy, than for his own occupancy. Mr. Roe writes, in 1723, "I am very glad to hear your son William and daughter Dorothy have a mind to settle in our country, but I cannot think of an estate near the seaside at present; but if you have a mind to one seven or eight miles from me, in Dugburrow parish, worth fifty to sixty pounds a year, you can have it." It does not appear, however, that either of the Pepperrells, excepting Captain Andrew, ever visited England, until 1747, when Sir William entered London, and was, by both king and people, greeted as the hero of Louisbourg.

Colonel Pepperrell, as before observed, reared a family of two sons and six daughters. Grave historians mention only one son (Sir William) and two daughters, who married Hon. John Frost, and Hon. John Newmarch. A want of accurate information respecting his family is attributable to the remote situation of the parish records. The village in which he lived, though a place comparatively of great note and extensive trade in his day, sank into obscurity soon after the Revolution, and became the residence, chiefly, of a few fishermen, who even occupied his own former stately mansion. In addition to this, Sir William died at the close of the French War in 1759, and the Revolutionary war which ensued soon after, engrossed public attention, to the exclusion of preceding scenes and events, in which the Pepperrells were engaged. Hence the traces of their family ties and relationships were nearly effaced from memory. The name, moreover,

becoming extinct, is almost forgotten even by some in whose veins the Pepperrell blood circulates.

The parish records show that he had the following children, all of whom arrived at maturity, and were married, namely, 1. Andrew; 2. Mary; 3. Margery; 4. Joanna; 5. Miriam; 6. William (the Baronet); 7. Dorothy; 8. Jane.

1. *Andrew* was born July 1, 1681; was employed as clerk in his father's store; joined him as partner under the firm of William Pepperrell & Son; was supercargo and captain of a merchantman; resided at Newcastle, and was agent for mercantile houses abroad. He married Jane, daughter of Robert Elliot, Esq., in 1707, who bore him two children, Sarah, who married Charles Frost, and Margery, who married William Wentworth. Andrew Pepperrell died about 1713, was buried at Newcastle. His widow married Charles Frost of Kittery.

2. *Mary*, born September 5, 1685, married Hon. John Frost, and had sixteen children, eleven of whom reached maturity. Her second husband was Rev. Benjamin Colman, D. D., and her third, Rev. Benjamin Prescott, of Danvers, Mass. She died 1766, aged eighty.

3. *Margery*, born 1689, married Peletiah Whitemore, and had four children. He was lost near the Isle of Shoals. Her second husband was Elihu Gunnison, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, who resided at Kittery Point.

4. *Joanna*, born June 22, 1692, married Dr. George Jackson; had six daughters, and died 1725.

5. *Miriam*, born September 3, 1694, married Andrew Tyler, merchant in Boston, and had two sons and three daughters.

6. *William* (the Baronet), the subject of this memoir.

7. *Dorothy*, born July 23, 1698, married Andrew Watkins, who commanded one of Pepperrell's vessels. She had two sons, Andrew and John. Her second husband was Hon. Joseph Newmarch.

8. *Jane*, born 1701, married Benjamin Clark of Kingston, N. H., and after his decease, 1729, she married William Tyler, brother of Andrew, of Boston. She had two children by Clark, named William and Benjamin.

The elder Pepperrell lived to see his son William advanced to the highest stations in the gift of the provincial government or of the people. As he approached the term of fourscore, the infirmities of age weighed heavily upon him, and finally terminated his useful and exemplary life on the 15th of February, 173$\frac{3}{4}$. His widow survived him until April 24, 1741.

In his will he left his daughters five hundred pounds each, in addition to their marriage portions and occasional advancements, and one half of the household furniture on the decease of their mother. To his son William he left the residue of his estate. To the church at Kittery Point, sixty pounds to buy a service of plate for the communion table; sixty pounds to the parish to buy corn for the poor, and fifty in money; thirty pounds to his nieces in Ravestock, and five pounds to the poor of the church there; to his mulatto servant his freedom; to Colonels Wheelwright and Gerrish, five pounds each, and Rev. John Newmarch, ten pounds.

Letters of condolence from Col. Waldo, and others, were written to his son William, after the decease of his father. A few extracts from one, by Governor Belcher, so effaced as to be hardly legible, show the

kind feelings cherished by him for both of the Pepperrells.

Boston, March 11, 173¾.

My much beloved Friend, — I have received the token of respect to Mrs. Belcher and myself, with your sorrowful favor of the 1st instant, on the melancholy occasion of the death of my late worthy old friend, your father.

I heartily condole with your honored mother, yourself, and all the good family, who have lost a tender head and father. God had blessed him with a large share of prudence and understanding. . . . . The blessing of the God of Jacob always rest upon you and yours, and may you greatly honor yourself in being (under God) the stay of your honored mother. . . . . Sir, I have exceeded on this head, since every one knows that Madam Pepperrell is blessed in a dutiful son. I wish much peace and love among the whole family; and am, honored Sir,

Your assured friend and humble servant,

Jonathan Belcher.

Madam Pepperrell survived her consort seven years. The following notice of her death, and brief respectful tribute to her character, is contained in the Boston Post-Boy: —

"Kittery, April 30, 1741. Last Friday (after a short illness) departed this life, and this day was decently interred, Madam Margery Pepperrell, of this place, in the eighty-first year of her age. She was born at Plymouth, in Old England, came hither with her parents in infancy, who left their native country for the free enjoyment of their religious principles.

"She was, through the whole course of her life, very exemplary for unaffected piety and amiable virtues, especially her charity, her courteous affability, her prudence, meekness, patience, and her unweariedness in well-doing. As it pleased God to afford her worldly advantages, and a large capacity for doing good, so she improved them to the honor of God and the service of her generation; being charitable without ostentation, and making it her constant rule to do good to all as she had opportunity. She was not only a loving and discreet wife, and tender parent, but a sincere friend to all her acquaintance.

"She hath left behind her one son and five daughters, and many grandchildren, *who rise up and call her blessed.* She was justly esteemed while living, and at death as much regretted. As she lived a life of faith and constant obedience to the gospel, so she died with great inward peace and comfort, and the most cheerful resignation to the will of God.

"The work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness quietness and assurance for ever."

CHAPTER II.

William Pepperrell, Junior, Sir William, was born June 27, 1696. His boyhood was passed at the village school, where he learned to read, write, and cypher. Under a private instructor, he was taught the art of surveying land, and of navigating a ship, and acquired some knowledge of geography. His early manuscript letters evince ignorance of the rudiments of English grammar. His chirography was beautiful, which rendered him very useful to his father. When not more than ten years old, he assisted in writing his father's justice docket, in copying his letters, and keeping his accounts, and probably, soon after, acted as clerk in his store. This brought him into immediate contact with those who traded with his father, including nearly all the persons settled on the banks of the Pascataqua and its tributaries. His education was, therefore, exclusively practical, and imparted early and clear insight into human character, and into the ways and means of successful trade and financiering.

Cradled amid the dangers of savage warfare, and while the lurking foe was prowling about the very neighborhood, and ever and anon lighting upon unsuspecting victims, his young mind must have become familiarized to tales of horror. While nestling in his mother's arms, we may well imagine him often listening to the recital of what she had seen and heard of exciting incidents and dire alarms in her day,—how her neighbor and intimate friend, Major Charles Frost,

was waylaid and shot while returning from church, — how her neighbor, Mr. Shapleigh, was killed, his son taken captive, his fingers bitten off, and the bleeding vessels seared with a hot iron, — how her intimate friend, Mrs. Ursula Cutts, after spreading her hospitable board for the Waldron family, and while awaiting their arrival to dinner, was pounced upon by lurking savages, and herself and field laborers tomahawked and scalped, — how twenty-one persons were killed or taken captive at Sandy Beach, (Rye,) only three or four miles distant, — how another party came there and killed fourteen and captured four others, and burnt the village, — and how numerous massacres and savage cruelties were perpetrated only a few miles distant, at Cocheco, Oyster River, and Salmon Falls.

Such were some of the scenes and events that transpired in the vicinity of Kittery Point. The Indian war was raging when Pepperrell was born, and continued three years. After four years suspension it was renewed, and lasted till 1713, making thirteen years of hostilities during the first seventeen of his life, and during the last ten of them, the war raged from Portland to the Pascataqua, destroying nearly all the settlements, excepting a garrison or two, and even in Kittery and its vicinity were a large number of murders, many of them among the friends and acquaintances of the Pepperrell family. Such a training must have awakened in his impressible mind a desire for revenge, and for deeds of heroism. Nor were there wanting other incentives calculated to foster a martial spirit. He was, in youth, a frequent spectator of military parades and exercises in his father's company drills, and of the exercise of cannon at the Fort, and at Great Island, all which had their influence; — even worshipping assem-

blies had sentinels posted around, and those within were wont to pray with their hands resting on their fire-locks, and public safety required that every man should be a soldier. No wonder, then, that young Pepperrell was imbued with a military spirit at an early age. At sixteen he bore arms in patrol duty, and in keeping ward and watch.

On the death of his only brother Andrew, the firm was changed from William Pepperrell & Son, to William Pepperrells, which continued more than a quarter of a century, until his father's death. The occupation of the firm was not that of a fancy goods shop. They dealt in lumber, naval stores, fish, and provisions, which required strong muscular exercise, and doubtless tended to give William his robust frame. His juvenile exercise was probably mostly aquatic, as nearly all intercourse with other places, whether for business or pleasure, was held by water. This early taught him the use of the oar, than which no exercise is better adapted to promote muscular development and the power of enduring fatigue. Nor was his mind under less favorable influences for vigorous growth. Removed from the enervating effects of refined society, and associating daily with lumber-men, ship-builders, and the hardy sons of Neptune, he was familiar with the rough and rugged aspect of human life, and imbibed its hardier influences both in body and mind.

The Pepperrells extended their sphere of business, and for some years were the largest merchants on the Pascataqua, or even in New England. Lumber and ship-timber floated down the river in gondolas from the head of tide-waters; and fish from the Grand Banks and the Shoals were poured into their warehouses; and cargoes were sent to the West Indies, to Portugal,

the Mediterranean, and England, or exchanged. Often his vessels and cargoes were sold together, which promoted the extension of ship-building, one of the chief sources of their wealth. The lumber and carpenter's work were paid for in merchandise and provisions. Naval stores and provisions were obtained from the Carolinas, in exchange for fish and West India and European goods, and cordage, iron, hemp, and fishing-tackle from England, for vessels and cargoes sold there. Their bankers in Plymouth and London received the proceeds of cargoes and vessels sold in the Mediterranean, Portugal, France, and England, and answered the bills of exchange drawn on them in favor of Boston merchants, to whom they were sold at a great advance, and paid for in such goods as were needed to complete Pepperrell's assortment, and in provincial money. This money was expended in real estate, bought at low prices, and which rapidly increased in value. Such was the circle of operations by which the Pepperrells amassed a princely fortune.

But they greatly augmented their estate by the purchase of an extensive tract of land on the eastern side of Saco River. In 1716, they bought of the representatives of Benjamin Blackman, who had purchased from the original proprietors, Gibbons and Bonython, a large part of the present township of Saco, extending from the sea several miles along Saco River, including all the mill sites on which stand the present large cotton factories, and also most of the land in that flourishing town. The bargain was made by the younger William, first for two thirds of the land which he bought of Samuel Walker, of New Jersey, and immediately afterward the other third, bought of Thomas Goodwill, of Boston. Being a minor, the transaction was performed

in the name of the elder Pepperrell, who paid Mr. Goodwill for his third one hundred and forty pounds, current money, and took the deed in his own name, and afterward conveyed it to his son. In 1729 the younger William bought of William Corbain, of Boston, an adjoining tract eastward of the former, and became thus sole proprietor of the greater part of the towns of Saco and Scarboro'. The rise in value of these lands, added to the profits yielded by the mills they erected, were of themselves an ample fortune for one house.

After the purchase of Saco, young Pepperrell, at the age of twenty-one, seems to have assumed the duties of an out-door partner, in directing improvements on this large estate, and in contracting for the building of vessels on Pascataqua and Saco Rivers.

Ship-building was rendered particularly profitable by the policy of the home government, which favored this branch of industry more than any other, insomuch that the ship-carpenters in the Thames complained, in 1724, that their trade was hurt, and their workmen emigrated, caused by the building of so many vessels in New England. Parliament had prohibited the manufacture of woollens in America, for exportation from one colony to another, and the hatters in London were favored by a law forbidding the hatters in New England to employ more than one apprentice. But the board of trade despaired of any remedy for the ship-carpenters, "since it would hardly do to prohibit the building of ships by the colonists." Pepperrell, therefore, found it profitable to embark extensively in this business. He also managed the affairs of the firm in Boston, assisted by his brother-in-law William Tyler, a merchant of that town. Meanwhile the elder Pep-

perrell attended more to indoor trade, particularly to the fishing interest, and much of his time was necessarily devoted to the care of his numerous family.

The ascendency which the Pepperrell firm enjoyed over any other mercantile house in New England, gave it a large agency in the transaction of the pecuniary affairs of the province with the mother country. This branch of business was conducted by the younger Pepperrell, and brought him into an intimate acquaintance with public men in Boston; and this, while it cultivated courtly manners and an easy address, for which he became distinguished, introduced him into the best society, and favored his advancement in military and political life. He had no sooner passed through his minority than he was commissioned justice of the peace, and captain of a company of cavalry. He was soon after promoted to be a major and lieutenant-colonel, and at the age of thirty, was made colonel, which placed him in command of all the militia of Maine.

It was about the same time that he was chosen representative of Kittery, which then included Elliot, and next year he received the following notice of his appointment to the board of councillors:— 1726.

Boston, June 1, 1727.

Sir, — I am directed by the Honorable Lieutenant-Governor and Council to acquaint you that you are elected and appointed a councillor or assistant for the ensuing year, and that your attendance at the council-board is desired as soon as may be.

Your humble servant,

J. Willard.

His appointment was renewed thirty-two successive years until his death, during eighteen of which he served as president of the board.

Among the families of distinction in Boston to whom young Pepperrell was presented, was that of the late Grove Hirst Esquire, deceased, an opulent merchant, whose wife was daughter of Judge Sewall of the Supreme Court. The Hirst family were connected by marriage with Rev. Samuel Moody of York, whose wife was a Sewall, and whose niece, named Mary Hirst, occasionally visited there. Mr. Pepperrell had met her at her grandfather's, Judge Sewall, in Boston, and on the strength of the acquaintance there formed, called on her, at York, more than once. This gave much annoyance to the parson's son, who, in his journal, has recorded that he was bewildered by the attractions of the young lady. Young Moody was then a schoolmaster, and afterward settled in the ministry in the north parish of York. It is no wonder that his pretensions were outrivalled by those of Mr. Pepperrell, the heir of a fortune, and favored with engaging manners and the tact which fashionable life and political eminence confers. With assiduity and much skill, making presents of gold rings, a large hoop and other ornaments, he soon succeeded in winning her affections, and their marriage was solemnized the 16th of March, 1723, when he was twenty-seven years of age. The happy couple resided in the family mansion at Kittery Point, which was enlarged by an addition to the north end, giving the whole a stately appearance. On the death of his parents, the whole came into the possession of the son.

In 1730, Governor Belcher wished to renew all his civil commissions, which, however, had not invariably

been done by his predecessors on coming into office. He was desirous also of appointing a favorite to the clerkship of the Court of Common Pleas, which belonged of right to the judges, and these preferred the old incumbent. Disappointed in his aim, he removed from the bench all the judges, and appointed in their place William Pepperrell Junior, chief justice, Samuel Came, Timothy Gerrish, and Joseph Moody, associates, through whom he was enabled to bring his favorite into place. This office of chief justice, Mr. Pepperrell continued to hold until the day of his decease in 1759.

Immediately after this appointment as chief justice on the bench, Mr. Pepperrell endeavored to qualify himself for its duties by the study of law. By an invoice still preserved, he ordered from London a small law library. Among these books were Danvers' Abridgment of the Common Law, a law dictionary, The Complete Solicitor, and some others.

His biographer, Rev. Dr. Stevens, says: "Here it was that, being intrusted with the execution of the laws, he distributed justice with equity and impartiality. And though he was not insensible of the necessity of discountenancing vice by proper punishments, yet the humanity of his temper disposed him to make all those allowances which might be alleged in extenuation of the fault." He was not ignorant of the forms of judicial proceedings when he took his seat upon the bench as chief justice. The courts had for several years been held in or near the family mansion, and his father had served many years as an associate judge, and he had himself while a minor held the office of clerk of the court.

With all their vastly extended and diversified commerce and navigation, it should be mentioned to

the credit of the Pepperrell firm, that they never imported slaves from Africa. Like all persons of their day who possessed the means, they owned a few slaves, probably ten or a dozen, whom they purchased in the vicinity. One of these was a cooper named Lymas, whose occupation was an essential part of the establishment, in making casks for fish and oil, and for carrying supplies of water for ships' use. Lymas was one day missing, and a vessel commanded by a Captain Ward had just sailed for Portugal. Pepperrell wrote to his correspondents in Oporto and Lisbon to search said vessel. It appeared, on inquiry of the crew, that Lymas had concealed himself on board before sailing, and was not discovered till some days subsequently, when he made himself known. In a few days after, he was missing, and never being found it was supposed by the crew that he had fallen overboard in the night.

On one occasion Benjamin Bullard, a merchant of Antigua, shipped to Kittery Point five negroes, consigned to the firm of Pepperrells. He received the following answer, dated June 25, 1719: "Sir, — I received yours by Captain Morris, with bills of lading for five negroes and one hogshead of rum. One negro woman, marked Y on the left breast, died in about three weeks after her arrival, in spite of medical aid which I procured. All the rest died at sea. I am sorry for your loss. It may have resulted from deficient clothing so early in the spring."

Few other incidents worthy of recital occurred in the life of Pepperrell, during the first ten years after his father's decease. His mercantile and other operations were continued, his real estate rose in value, and though he sustained occasional losses by shipwrecks

and bankruptcies, his fortune on the whole was augmented. The prestige which this gave him, together with the faithful performance of his duty in the varied and important offices he held, secured to him the confidence of the public, and with his popular manners gave him a commanding influence throughout New England.

On the death of his father, in 1734, he seems to have received strong religious impressions, which proved to be lasting, and led him to an open profession and union with the church. His letters to relatives and intimate friends, from this time forward, are imbued with religious sentiment. In reply to a letter from his friend Colonel Samuel Waldo, he writes: "I take kindly your expression of sorrow for my great loss in the death of my aged and honored father, and desire that God in his great goodness and mercy would be pleased to fit and prepare us all for that untried state of existence to which we are all hastening." In all his letters to his clerical friends, he solicits their intercession in his behalf. He often entertained the clergy as visitors at his house, and among others, the itinerant Whitefield met with a cordial reception. In 1741, his only daughter Elizabeth was admitted into full communion in the church.

When ordinations occurred in the neighboring churches, he was usually appointed one of the delegates from his parish to assist, especially when not engaged in official duties as councillor or judge.

At the funeral obsequies of his father, Mr. Pepperrell bestowed every mark of respect that filial affection dictated. He, shortly after, ordered from London the marble structure that now stands over the vault containing the mouldering remains of the Pepperrell

family, which was erected about the year 1736. This is almost the only relic of Pepperrell's day now remaining as it was at Kittery Point; and even here, the vault beneath became so dilapidated a few years since, that water gained admission through its crumbling roof, and washed the dissolving remains of the tenants into an undistinguishable mass, and but for the respect entertained for the memory of the illustrious dead, by a female remotely descended from the baronet, the whole structure would long since have fallen into ruins. By her exertions and limited means the tomb was put in good repair.*

The legacies left by the will of the elder Pepperrell were numerous but not large, the great bulk of his property descending to his son. As a matter of course, the other heirs were disappointed and dissatisfied. The numerous ships, farms, mills, stocks, warehouses, merchandise, etc., were known, and each daughter's husband anticipated a large bequest. But he directed only about five hundred pounds current money to be paid to each daughter, in addition to their marriage portions and other advancements, with half of his household furniture after his wife's decease, and from twenty to fifty pounds to each grandchild. Some of the sons-in-law had already anticipated a portion

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* To the tourist who may hereafter visit the Pepperrell seat and tomb at Kittery Point, it may be interesting to know the cost of the marble structure which was imported from London.

The marble and sculpture cost, . . .	30*l.*	6*s.*	10*d.*
Searching for the arms at the Herald office,		3	6
Deal cases, ...	3	11	
Cartage, wharfage, etc., . . .		10	
Total, ...	34	11	4

of their bequests, by indebtedness to the deceased. But they discreetly remained silent under their disappointment. There was, however, one exception worth noticing; Andrew Tyler who married Miriam Pepperrell, had a daughter who married William Williams, son of Rev. William, and a graduate of Harvard. Young Williams resided in Boston, and was patronized in trade and on intimate terms with his wife's grandfather Pepperrell and her uncle William. This Williams and his father-in-law Tyler, were evidently vexed by the will, as appears by letters that passed between young Williams and his uncle, whom he reflected upon as influencing if not dictating the terms of the will. The concluding letter of his uncle reads thus: —

Yours of the 5th instant I have received, and assure you that at present I cannot find my account in reading such a long letter, much less to answer it, but will say that I believe no person who has heard of Mr. Williams' education could think that he wrote such a letter as I answered, without he had been directed, and although you in your last write otherwise, yet it is with a great deal of difficulty that I believe it.

I think it must turn out to the honor and credit of all persons to endeavor to support the credit of their relations. As to what you write about my coming to the council-board, I should have been glad had I been better qualified before coming there. But I have this to satisfy me in my coming short, that I never made the least interest for it. But such hints would be worth minding if they were written by a man of more years than yourself. I thank you for all the kind services you have done for me, and if you

please to get the account for those things you bought for me ready, hope to be in Boston next week and make you full satisfaction.

I am your humble servant,

WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

It would gratify curiosity to know what Williams wrote which the above letter of his uncle purports to answer. It was doubtless caustic and insolent. A reconciliation was however effected, and many friendly letters passed between them in after years, and young Williams served as assistant secretary to Pepperrell, at Louisburg.*

After the decease of the elder Pepperrell, the management of the extensive and diversified affairs of the firm devolved entirely on the son, added to which were the duties of the several offices he sustained, as justice of the peace, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, councillor, and colonel of the Yorkshire regiment, together with the care of his own family, and of his widowed sisters and their children, and many poor relatives.

Residing in a part of the country more exposed than

* This Mr. Williams lived to marry three wives, the first a Tyler, granddaughter of the elder Col. Pepperrell, by whom he had one son who was a surgeon with Col. Ephraim Williams when he fell near Fort William Henry. He died of smallpox. The second, a Wells, by whom he had several children, one of them named William Pepperrell. The third wife was Hannah Dickinson, who was unkind to his children by his second wife, and they were turned adrift and induced to join the Shakers at New Lebanon. Major Stoddard remarks of Col. Williams, "that he married his first wife, Miss Miriam Tyler, for good sense, and got it, his second wife, Miss Wells, for love and beauty, and had it, and his third wife, Aunt Hannah Dickinson, for good qualities, and got horribly cheated."

any other to the ravages of a cruel and perfidious enemy, he felt the importance of vigilance and constant preparation for defence. He accordingly issued orders frequently to all the captains to muster their companies, inspect their arms, and report their condition. Many orders of the kind are still preserved as autographs. Impressed with the difficult and responsible duties devolving upon him, he called a meeting of the commissioned officers at Portland, with whom he consulted and made overtures for a better organization, equipment, and discipline of the militia under his command. More ardor and military spirit were now diffused among the officers and soldiers, — their ranks were filled, and new companies were formed. They all knew how to use the firelock, were marksmen, and in Indian warfare, had been employed in scouts and ambuscades, but exercises and evolutions in large bodies, beyond single company trainings, they had yet to learn. In order to favor battalion and regimental muster, the Yorkshire regiment, comprising all the troops of Maine, was divided into two regiments. The western one, comprising the present county of York, he continued to command, and the eastern or new regiment was transferred to Col. Samuel Waldo, of Falmouth, who had previously been his lieutenant-colonel. The former consisted of one thousand five hundred and sixty-five, and the latter of one thousand two hundred and ninety soldiers.

1738.

1739–40.

Massachusetts and New Hampshire were united under one governor, each province having a lieutenant-governor. In 1717, John Wentworth was appointed lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, in place of Vaughn removed, Shute being governor of both

provinces. He was succeeded by Governor Burnet, who died in 1729, and Jonathan Belcher was appointed the following year. Wentworth and his two sons, Benning Wentworth and Mark Hunking, were in trade in Portsmouth, and a spirit of rivalry existed between their house and the Pepperrells. The office held by the former gave them an advantage over the latter, in the exercise of which, they seized one of Pepperrell's vessels for a violation, real or pretended of the revenue laws. The case was to be tried in London. Pepperrell writes to his agent, who went out in 1723 to defend the suit.

Pascataqua, February 9, 1723.

ELISHA COOK, ESQ.

Sir, — Inclosed you have several affidavits, which we took with thoughts that if there were occasion, they might serve us in our case relating to the seizing of our ship by the instigation of Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth. But if they will not be serviceable for that, they will show how that man will strain at a gnat and swallow a camel. He and his two sons, being considerable traders, will endeavor to monopolize all the trade of this place, and to discourage and depress others. But you know the man; therefore I shall not trouble you further on this head. We would not have it exposed or known that we send you the above affidavits, you being sensible that situated as he is, it lies in his power to hurt trading men.

We are with respect, etc., etc.

W. P.

While it was uncertain whether Belcher or Shute would be appointed governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, both of them striving for the office,

Lieutenant-Governor Wentworth wrote a complimentary letter to Belcher in London. On his first visit to New Hampshire, Belcher accepted an invitation from Wentworth to reside at his house. But he soon learned that Wentworth had written a similar letter to Shute, which he highly resented as savoring of duplicity. In this originated a feud attended with great persecution on the part of Wentworth, until his death in 1730; and, his successor, David Dunbar, continued the same course, until finally by unfair means, he and his friends and Wentworth's friends, effected Belcher's removal in 1741. William Shirley succeeded Belcher as governor of Massachusetts.

Benning Wentworth, son of the deceased lieutenant-governor, who had opposed Belcher with such untiring zeal and asperity, was unfortunate in trade in consequence of the neglect of the Spanish government to fulfil its engagements to him for timber, which he had furnished to the amount of sixty thousand dollars. He sought redress in person at the court of Spain, and while in that country he received consignments of cargoes from Pepperrell, which led to a friendly correspondence that indicated a better state of feeling than formerly existed when they were rival merchants. From Spain he went to London, and arrived there pending the consideration of a memorial of citizens of New Hampshire, to have that province made a distinct government. By the aid of friends this measure was accomplished, and himself was appointed governor. Pepperrell's agent, Silas Hooper, writes to him from London: "I find the New Hampshire province have got the better of the Massachusetts in their appeal about the division

Aug. 31, 1740.

of the provinces, the particulars of which, Captain Rymes will inform you, as also of its being separated from the other government, and is to have a governor of its own, and that Benning Wentworth is talked of to be the man, which time will show; and if so, I know not whether I may congratulate you on the happy change or not, which you must be the best judge of."

Wentworth arrived in Portsmouth amid the acclamations of all the populace, who had assembled to welcome his return as governor.

In 1727 a new tier of towns in the rear of those on the seaboard, extending from Salmon Falls to Androscoggin River, was surveyed and offered to settlers on the most favorable terms. This was done to protect the old towns that had suffered so much by Indian depredations, and also to provide farms for those who fought in the Indian wars, or who had suffered heavy losses by fire and the tomahawk. Agents were appointed by the general court to convey these lands to such claimants and to other settlers. Phillipstown (now Sanford) was assigned to the agency of Col. William Pepperrell who signed the deeds of conveyance.

A subject of perpetual agitation and altercation between the royal governors and the legislatures of the provinces, was the governor's salary. The king, from time to time, instructed that the amount should be settled permanently, but the representatives insisted on voting it from year to year, in order, as they pretended, that they might vary it according to the amount of services rendered, intending no doubt, to make it available as a means of securing the favorable influence of the governor in whatever would promote

the welfare of the colony. Governor Burnet insisted on the permanent salary with great pertinacity, but the house resisted until the session was prolonged five months, when they were prorogued. But a majority of the council, including Pepperrell, considered it prudent to comply with the instruction, as the salary could be only during the life or the commission of the present governor. When, therefore, Governor Belcher, on Burnet's death, was appointed and pressed this claim, he found ready support from Pepperrell, as he did in nearly all his favorite measures, — and a harmony of opinion and strong mutual friendship existed between them from the beginning of their career through life.

In 1740, when paper-money had increased throughout New England to an alarming extent, relief was sought in a "Land Bank," based on mortgages upon real estate. Governor Belcher opposed it in every stage of its progress, much to the dissatisfaction of the house, who, soon after, united with his enemies in New Hampshire and in England, in a petition for his removal. Although the crown approved of his course on the bank, his enemies assailed him on other subjects with such zeal and virulence, that he was recalled without a trial or investigation, and was succeeded by Governor Shirley. He sought redress in England, and on the eve of his departure his friends united in a fair representation of his conduct to men of influence at court. His friend Pepperrell was appealed to in his favor, by Councillor Allen, in the following letter: —

Honored Sir, — Mr. Foye, the bearer, waits on you with your friend Governor Belcher's letter, relating to

his intended voyage to Great Britain, which he undertakes upon good encouragement of success, and as you have ever been of the number of his steady friends upon honorable terms, and a true patriot of your country upon the best principles, he flatters himself you will on this important conjuncture to himself and family, as well as of the province, give a further proof of your friendship, in assisting him with your interest on the other side of the water. And from the great regard I pay (without even a suspicion of flattery) to your noble and generous principles, for the best interest of your country, I take the liberty to beg and entreat your favor for our friend who has been so greatly abused. To the plea of friendship, allow me to add that this voyage (as I apprehend) is the last remedy to save a sinking country from being the prey of land bankers and beggars, which, as they are now playing the game, is nothing but buying and selling the country. This I take to be a point in which every gentleman of fortune is interested, and so of great consequence to a gentleman of your superior fortune; on this account, particularly, have several good gentlemen here given their assistance, and, I allow myself no room to doubt of your kind and generous aid, which I can urge with the better grace, as I am heartily engaged in the affair so well calculated for the good of my country, and the security of my own little fortune. Excuse this freedom, and believe me to be, with great regard,

Your most obedient servant,

JAMES ALLEN.

Pepperrell joined most cordially in the effort to sustain and help his old "friend and his father's friend,"

which resulted in Belcher's appointment as governor of New Jersey, where he passed the remainder of his days, enjoying the esteem and respect of his old friends in New England, and in the interchange of friendly sentiment by letter.

The children of William Pepperrell, Esq., and Mary Hirst Pepperrell, were,

1. *Elizabeth*, born December 29, 1723.

2. *Andrew*, born January 4, 1726.

3. *William*, born May 26, 1729, and died the following February.

4. *Margery*, born September 4, 1732, who also died in infancy.

The two surviving children of Mr. Pepperrell, Elizabeth and Andrew, received the best education the province afforded. Their mother had been highly educated in Boston, and was well qualified to direct their instruction. Elizabeth attended the best schools there, residing, much of her time, in the family of the Hirsts and the Sewalls, where Andrew also was a frequent inmate while fitting for college, which he entered at Cambridge, in 1741. Col. Pepperrell and lady passed much of their time in Boston, he in the General Court and in mercantile pursuits, and she with her children. The colonel had felt the need of learning very sensibly, and was determined that his only son and heir to his name and fortune, should enjoy all the advantages which it could confer. Naturally kind and affectionate, comely in person, graceful in manners, Andrew was the idol of his parents, and won the favor and esteem of a large circle of acquaintances among the elite of Boston. He graduated at Harvard at the age of nineteen, with distinguished honors.

Elizabeth, having completed her education, returned

home to requite, with filial duties and affection, the fostering care and solicitude of devoted parents. Few if any belles of her day possessed equal attractions. An heiress of rare accomplishments and winning manners, highbred maternal connections, and the only daughter of a distinguished merchant, high in official station, military, political, and judicial, and of commanding influence, and withal and above all, a lady of sound religious principles and abounding in Christian graces, she was truly "a gem of the first water." Many were the admirers that clustered around, ambitiously courting her benignant smiles.

Among those who sought her favor, and the one whose assiduous attentions at length gained her affections, was a young merchant named Sparhawk, son of a clergyman of Bristol, Rhode Island, who, dying early, left a widow and two sons, John and Nathaniel. The widow married Jonathan Waldo, Esq., a wealthy merchant in Boston, who educated the two sons, John, who settled in the ministry at Salem, and left many descendants, and Nathaniel, who entered a commercial house as partner in trade with Benjamin Colman of Boston. Nathaniel Sparhawk and Miss Pepperrell were married May 1, 1742. Their permanent residence was in Kittery, near the Pepperrell mansion, where Mr. Sparhawk opened a mercantile house, whilst he still maintained his copartnerhip with Colman. As his father-in-law retired, or was obliged to absent himself to fill the public stations he held, Mr. Sparhawk gradually succeeded him as will hereafter appear.

Early in 1744, Andrew Pepperrell, the son of Sir William, became a copartner in trade with his father, who notified mercantile houses accordingly.

CHAPTER III.

SIEGE AND CONQUEST OF LOUISBURG.

In 1744, a new scene opens in Pepperrell's life, in which the part he performed raised him to a high degree of fame, and inscribed his name on the enduring page of history; it was, the siege and capture of Louisburg.

England had been some years involved in war with Spain, and had gained important victories in which the blood of New England had been freely shed. It was feared that the reverses of Spain would drive her to the expedient of drawing France into the conflict as an ally; and the fear proved to be well grounded. Early in October, 1743, the government schooner of Massachusetts arrived at Boston from England, via. Newfoundland, bringing despatches to all the governors, inporting that in ten days after her departure war would be declared, and orders from the Admiralty to all naval commanders on the coast to prepare for hostilities. Immediately after, Col. Pepperrell received the following letter from Governor Shirley: —

Boston, October 10, 1743.

Sir, — Having received advices from Great Britain that there is great danger of a rupture with France, I

think it necessary and accordingly direct you forthwith to advertise the exposed towns and settlements hereof, and to take proper care that the inhabitants secure themselves and families against any sudden assault from the Indians, and that they do not expose themselves by being too far from home in this time of danger, and that the companies in your regiment that are not much exposed, be in readiness to relieve any of the neighboring places in case there should be any occasion for it. I am, Sir,

Your friend and servant,

W. SHIRLEY.

On the 13th, Pepperrell writes to all his captains a copy of the foregoing, and adds:—

I hope that he who gave us our breath will give us the courage and prudence to behave ourselves like true-born Englishmen.

Your friend and humble servant,

W. PEPPERRELL.

France declared war March 15, 1744, and England in two weeks after. The garrison at Louisburg took advantage of the prior declaration, and attacked Nova Scotia. A brief sketch of the relative positions of the two contending powers in America, at this time and previously, will assist in explaining their operations.

Louisburg is situated at the south-eastern extremity of the Island of Cape Breton, at the entrance into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the opposite side of the entrance being Newfoundland, thirty leagues distant. The two islands, thus relatively situated, seemed like two sentinels placed at the entrance into the Gulf and River

St. Lawrence, which receive the waters of the great lakes. The Island of Cape Breton appears on a map like a continuation of Nova Scotia, being nearly of the same width, from thirty to sixty miles, and is separated from it by a narrow strait called Canso. The two together were called, by the French, Acadie, and by the English, Nova Scotia. They are separated from New Brunswick by the Bay of Fundy, which runs north-east from Cape Sable, until it almost meets Baie Verte, which makes in from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, an isthmus of ten miles being all that connects Nova Scotia with the main land of New Brunswick. The distance from Cape Sable, the western end of Nova Scotia, to the Strait of Canso is about two hundred and fifty miles, and from Canso to Louisburg, about one hundred miles. Nearly half way between Cape Sable and Canso, on the Atlantic shore, is the present city of Halifax.

The English claimed, by right of discovery and possession, the Atlantic shores from Nova Scotia to Georgia, and the French claimed, by the same right, the Canadas, situated along the great chain of waters from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the great lakes. Already in possession of the Mississippi, they sought to connect it with the great chain of waters through the Ohio River to Pittsburgh, and to Erie on the Lake shore. But the Chickasaws had long opposed their progress up the Mississippi. In order to subdue them and open a free communication between Louisiana and Canada, a detachment of two hundred French and four hundred Indians was sent from Canada to Erie, and thence down the Ohio to meet a party from New Orleans. But the expected party from below failed to meet them at the time appointed. The Canadians,

confident of success, attacked the Chickasaw towns single-handed. But three hundred Chickasaws instantly assembling, gave battle to the French in the field, and completely conquered them. Those who were not immediately killed, after being kept several days, almost perishing with hunger, in the wilderness, were tied to the stake, tortured, and burnt.

1740. Soon after this, M. Bienville with a larger army made a second expedition. Proceeding up the Mississippi, they encamped within fifteen miles of the Chickasaw towns, and built a fort called Assumption, and receiving succors from Canada, they, in the following March, proposed terms of peace, which the Chickasaws accepted, and granted free communication between Canada and Louisiana.

But the Canadas were too remote from New Orleans to receive supplies from France by the way of the Mississippi, so that after all their only channel for conveying these was through the St. Lawrence. In entering this, they must pass Cape Breton on the left and Newfoundland, thirty leagues distant, on the right, and between these two sentinels all intercourse must pass between France and the Canadas, and the head-waters of the Mississippi.

The two rival nations thus relatively situated, could hardly overestimate the value and importance of these islands, and especially of Cape Breton, to their respective interests. Both nations were extensively engaged in the fisheries on the Grand Banks, within a few hours' sail of Louisburg. The fur trade, from the extensive north-western regions, which was a leading French interest, must pass through this channel, as well as European supplies in return, for French and Indian Canadians. To the English, on the other hand,

the possession of Cape Breton was still more important. The English colonies were vastly more populous, and the colonial trade proportionably greater, and they, moreover, afforded supplies of ship timber for the British navy. In time of war, armed vessels fitted out from Louisburg, if in possession of the French, could intercept the whole trade between England and her colonies and destroy her fisheries, and if in possession of England the latter could destroy the French Canadian trade and fisheries. Hence Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton, was a bone of contention from the earliest settlement, and was alternately possessed by one or the other nation, as success or defeat attended its arms elsewhere.

At the treaty of Utrecht, Nova Scotia proper was ceded to Great Britain, while Cape Breton 1713. was retained by France, and from that time no pains nor expense was spared, by the French government, in building and strengthening its fortifications. They commenced building a walled town on a tongue of land at the south-east part of the island, which, in honor of their king, they called Louisburg. An accurate description of it is thus given by Belknap. It was two miles and a half in circumference, fortified in every accessible part, with a rampart of stone from thirty to thirty-six feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide; a space of about two hundred yards was left without a rampart, on the side next to the sea, and inclosed by a simple dike and pickets. The sea was so shallow at this place that it made only a narrow channel, inaccessible, from its numerous reefs, to any shipping whatever. On an island at the entrance of the harbor, which was only four hundred yards wide, was a battery of thirty cannon, carrying twenty-eight pound shot,

and at the bottom of the harbor, directly opposite to the entrance, was the grand or royal battery of twenty-eight forty-twos, and two eighteen pound cannon. On a high eminence opposite the island battery, stood the light-house, and at the north-east part of the harbor was a magazine for naval stores. The town was regularly laid out in squares. The streets were broad, and the houses built mostly of wood and stone. The entrance to the town was at the west gate over a draw-bridge, which was protected by a circular battery of thirteen twenty-four pound cannon.

These works had been twenty-five years in building, and, though unfinished, had cost France not less than six millions of dollars. It was, in peace, a safe retreat for the French ships bound homeward from the East and West Indies, and in war, a place most favorable for privateers to seize fishing and coasting vessels, and British merchantmen.

The French had early erected forts between Quebec and Lake Erie, and they now aimed to establish others between Erie and the Mississippi. But Virginia claimed the territory from the Atlantic westward to an unlimited extent, through which France was erecting these forts. It was attempted to enforce this claim by opposing the erection of French forts, as at Le Boeuf and Pittsburgh, in which attempt Washington commenced his military career, and Braddock was defeated and slain.

Nova Scotia proper, then in possession of the English, extended westward from the Strait of Canso to Cape Sable. There were two forts in it, garrisoned by two companies of English soldiers; one at the mouth of the strait, on an island called Canso, and the other on the north side, in the Bay of Fundy,

called Port Royal or Annapolis. Such is a brief sketch of the history and relative positions of the places that were now to become the field of military operations.

The commander at Louisburg, on hearing that war was declared, immediately despatched an armed force of nine hundred men to Canso Island, and captured the garrison, and conveyed the prisoners to Louisburg, before news of the declaration of war had reached Boston. Another expedition was directed in like manner against the English fort at Annapolis. But Governor Shirley, in anticipation of hostilities, had sent a reinforcement from Boston, which arrived in season to strengthen the garrison, and enable it to repel the assault. Both these expeditions were unauthorized by the French government, and were, in fact, a violation of positive orders to the contrary. But the prospect of victory seemed so certain that the commander at Louisburg could not resist the temptation to undertake them.

The Indians of Nova Scotia assisted in these attacks, which led to an immediate declaration of war against them, and all other tribes near them. Colonel Pepperrell was sent, at the head of commissioners, to the Penobscot tribe of Indians, to test their fidelity and friendship, and to request the Sagamores to furnish their quota of warriors, according to the terms of a former treaty. His proposals were answered by a letter sent to Pepperrell after his return to Boston, stating that their young men would not fight against their brethren of St. Johns and New Brunswick.

In Nov. 1744.

The colonies were now awakened to a sense of their danger. It was well known that France was making

formidable preparations for war, and that whatever was done for self-preservation must be done quickly. There was not a moment to be lost.

Through the autumn of 1744, it was a general topic of conversation in Boston, that Louisburg must be wrested from the French, in order to insure safety to trade and navigation, and even to the very existence of the colonies. The prisoners taken at Canso in the spring, and carried to Louisburg, had been exchanged, and returned to Boston in the autumn. From them an accurate account of the strength of the fortifications of Louisburg was obtained, from all which, Governor Shirley conceived the idea of taking the city by surprise, early in the spring, before any succors could arrive from France. Vaughn, of New Hampshire, a man of sanguine temperament and daring enterprise, assisted in collecting information, and urged forward the expedition. Some have said that he proposed marching into the city on snow-drifts! Governor Shirley wrote letters to the ministry, representing the probability of an attack, by the French, upon Nova Scotia early in the spring, and asking for some naval assistance, carefully concealing, however, the real scope and extent of his plans. He also wrote to Commodore Warren, on the West India station, to come with his squadron and coöperate. Orders were accordingly
1745. despatched, early in January, to Warren, to proceed to New England in the spring, and consult and coöperate with Governor Shirley in protecting the fisheries.

To obtain the opinion of the General Court on this subject, the governor, early in January, requested its members to take an oath of secresy respecting a proposition he was about to lay before them. This was

something new in colonial legislation, but was complied with, and the plan of attacking Louisburg was now submitted to their consideration. Secrecy was observed for some days, but the affair then accidentally leaked out. A pious old deacon, a member of the legislature, was so filled with the matter, that he was overheard at his private devotions, invoking heaven for its smiles on the enterprise. The boldness of the proposal at first astonished every one. It was referred to a committee, who reported against it, and thus the whole affair was supposed to have received its quietus.

But the governor was not thus to be defeated. A few days after, he approached the legislature through a petition which he had the address to get signed by merchants in Boston and Salem, requesting a reconsideration, and which was referred to another committee, who reported in its favor. After two days' discussion the question was taken, on the 26th of January, and the expedition was decided upon by a majority of a single vote in its favor, several members who were known to be opposed to it being absent. No sooner, however, was the decision made, than great unanimity prevailed in carrying it into effect, even among those who were before opposed to it. The people became enthusiastic, and confident of success.

A variety of circumstances concurred to render the expedition feasible. Many fishermen, who had been thrown out of employment by the declaration of war, were ready to enlist as soldiers. The preceding season had been crowned with an abundant harvest, which made provisions plenty. The winter following was unusually mild, the rivers and harbors were open, and the inhabitants unmolested by savages. A concurrence

of happy incidents, as will presently appear, drew the whole naval force of England, employed to guard the shores and islands of America, to Louisburg, while adverse circumstances to the French, prevented the arrival of succors and supplies to the garrison, that were due from France, which created discontent and a spirit of insubordination among the soldiers. A ship of the line that was intended to bring supplies of provisions and munitions of war in the autumn, was broken in launching, and her place could not be supplied in time to reach Louisburg until the British squadron had blockaded the port, and was able to capture all vessels bound thither.

It was supposed that a force of four thousand men, with such a fleet as the provinces could raise, would be able to compel a surrender of the place; and if it failed in this, it could at least recover Canso and fortify Annapolis in Nova Scotia, destroy the French fisheries, and lay waste all the settlements on the Island of Cape Breton, and probably capture many French merchant vessels. Circulars were addressed to the other provinces of New England and the Middle States, but no one took any part in the expedition beyond New England.

Each province, at that time, maintained one or more armed vessels. Massachusetts added to her number. Rhode Island sent her sloop of war with eighty seamen. New Hampshire and Connecticut followed their example. Edward Tyng, who commanded a small frigate of twenty-four guns, was made Commodore. The whole number of armed vessels was fourteen, and the number of guns in the provincial fleet was about two hundred and four; the whole number of armed vessels and transports amounting to one hundred sail. The

number of troops voted was, by Massachusetts, three thousand two hundred and fifty; by Rhode Island, three hundred; New Hampshire, three hundred; and Connecticut, five hundred.

A difficult task that now presented itself was, the appointment of a commander of the expedition. There were no experienced military officers in New England. A few had been engaged in skirmishes with Indians, but no man was to be found who had actually served in any siege or pitched battle. The choice fell on Colonel William Pepperrell. He was extensively known throughout New England, was largely engaged in the fisheries, a gentleman of engaging manners, very popular and wealthy, and had long held the highest office in the gift of the people, that of president of the governor's council. His patriotism now shone out with great lustre, for nothing but a zeal for his country's good could have carried him from the scenes of domestic enjoyment, and extensive and lucrative business, to the fatigues of a camp, and the risks of certain conflict, with doubtful result.

He hesitated about accepting the appointment until Governor Shirley assured him that his influence was indispensable as commander. He then consulted his friends, and among others, the famous itinerant preacher, George Whitefield, who was then travelling through New England, and lodged at his house. Whitefield told him he "did not think the scheme very promising; that the eyes of all would be upon him, — that if it should not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain would reproach him, — and if it should succeed, many would regard him with envy, and endeavor to eclipse his glory, — that he ought, therefore, to go with a single eye, and he would find

his strength proportioned to his necessity." He afterward, by request, furnished a motto for the flag, which was, "*Nil Desperandum, Christo Duce*," thereby giving the expedition the air of a crusade. It is said that a number of the followers of Whitefield enlisted; and as a proof of the prevailing religious feeling, one of them, a clergyman, carried upon his shoulder a hatchet, for the purpose of destroying the images in the French churches.

Deacon John Gray, of Biddeford, writes to Pepperrell: "O that I could be with you and dear parson Moody in that church, to destroy the images there set up, and hear the true Gospel of our Lord and Saviour there preached! My wife, who is ill and confined to her bed, yet is so spirited in the affair, on hearing of your taking the command, that she is very willing all her sons should wait on you, though it is outwardly greatly to our damage. One of them has already enlisted, and I know not but there will be more. She sends her duty to you and says, so long as she has life she shall importunately pray for you."

Having decided to take the command, he entered on its duties, heart and hand, advanced five thousand pounds to the province from his own fortune, and brought every influence to bear upon the success of the enterprise. The appointment was judicious, for, though a merchant, he possessed much military spirit, and was well fitted to command a militia composed of farmers, mechanics, and fishermen.

After his nomination, Governor Shirley, probably for the purpose of paying Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire an empty compliment, and perhaps enlisting him more heartily in the cause, addressed him a letter in which he says: "It would have been an

infinite satisfaction to me, and done great honor to the expedition, if your limbs would have permitted you to take the chief command," undoubtedly supposing that the governor's gout would make such a proposition safe. But in this he was mistaken. Wentworth flung away his crutches and offered his services, and Shirley had the mortification not only to make him an apology, but to tell him that any change in the command would hazard the expedition.

That the rapid enlistment was owing to the popularity of Colonel Pepperrell, is evident from the fact that it was most marked in the towns nearest to him. Thus, Berwick, a contiguous town, and formerly a constituent part of Kittery, turned out almost in a mass. It contained only two militia companies of about fifty men each. Pepperrell, in a letter to his friend Hill, of Berwick, writes: —

Feb. 21, 1745.

Yesterday I heard that Captain Butler had enlisted, in Berwick, nearly his fifty brave soldiers. This news is like a cordial to me. Last night I received a letter from the war committee, saying they thought there was (upon our completing five or six companies of our brave county of York men) the full number proposed to be enlisted and more, so that there will be a number cleared off, but you may be assured that our brave county of York men shall not be cleared off, unless they desire it. I am sorry that some of your commissioned officers of Berwick seem uneasy, because they had not been offered a commission in this expedition. I understood that you spoke to them. Did they expect me at this time to wait on them? If they were inclined to go, it was the duty

they owed to God, their king and country, to come and offer their services.*

Your affectionate friend,

W. P.

P. S. I have not the least doubt that the commissioned officers in Berwick are as brave and as good men as any in this province, and would willingly venture their lives with their colonel. Please to tell them all I sincerely value and love them, and that, should there be occasion for forces to be sent after us, I don't doubt in the least but they will be ready to come. I beg all their prayers.

During the enlistment great care was taken to prevent the enemy from hearing of the enterprise. No vessels were allowed to sail toward Louisburg

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* In a letter dated eight days previous to this, addressed to Major Hill, he says, "not one officer has appeared from Berwick to take beating orders, which I wonder at. If any of the officers there incline to go on the intended expedition, give them the offer, beginning with the captains; let them be with me to-morrow."

Williamson. — The militia of Maine in 1744: —

Pepperrell's Regiment.		*Waldo's Regiment.*	
In Kittery,	450 men.	In Scarborough,	160 men.
In York,	350 "	In Falmouth, Portland,	500 "
In Wells,	250 "	In North Yarmouth,	150 "
In Arundel,	95 "	In Brunswick,	50 "
In Biddeford and Saco,	120 "	In Narragansett, No. 1,	20 "
In Berwick,	150 "	In New Marblehead,	40 "
In Phillipstown,	150 "	In Georges and Broadbery,	270 "
		In Pemaquid,	50 "
		In Sheepscot,	50 "
	1,565		1,290

Whole number in both Regiments, 2,855 men.

from any of the colonies, to carry supplies or even intelligence. The proclamation of the governor to enlist from the trainbands was accompanied with an injunction of secrecy. The orders to captains were, to read the proclamation to the company at their muster, and then return it to the sheriff, who was to send it to the governor and council, and not allow any copies to be taken.

The orders of Governor Shirley to the commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-General Pepperrell, (such was his present rank,) were, to proceed with his one hundred armed vessels and store ships, to Canso, there build a battery and block-house, deposit his stores, and leave two companies to guard them, thence to sail with the fleet and army to Cabarus Bay, within three miles of Louisburg, to arrive in the evening, to anchor under covert of the darkness, forthwith to land his men, and commence an attack without delay, — a most quixotic scheme. A hundred sail of various sizes were to arrive there at a precise hour; the weather and winds, even in the spring months, were all to be favorable; the rocky ridges pointing the shores, and the ice and fog which environed the island at this season were to be avoided, a certain harbor to be made under the shadows of nightfall, in an unexplored bay, and in a particular manner; a landing to be effected there immediately amidst a heavy surf, and then the soldiery to take up a march, in the dark, through a ravine, bog, and woods, and after travelling three miles from the place of landing, to commence pulling down pickets with grappling-irons, and mount walls thirty feet high with scaling-ladders; and all this in the space of one short night!!

It was confidently expected by all who had embarked, that the West India fleet, under Commodore Warren,

would accompany them, but on the day before they sailed, word was received from him declining to engage. This had no influence on Pepperrell, and it was kept an entire secret between Shirley, General Wolcott, and himself.

CHAPTER IV.

WITHIN eight weeks the provincial forces were raised, and the entire preparations completed, the whole number of troops being four thousand three hundred. The only aid from provinces out of New England was, the loan of ten eight-pound cannon by New York, and some contributions of provisions and clothing by New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Some of the armed vessels sailed so early as the middle of March, to cruise before Louisburg, and cut off any of the enemy's ships that should attempt to enter that port. The rest of the fleet and transports collected at Nantasket Roads. A day of fasting and prayer throughout the province was appointed, to invoke the blessing of heaven upon the expedition, and an evening for special prayer was set apart weekly by many of the churches of New England.

The Massachusetts troops sailed on the 24th of March, harbored three days at Sheepscot, and arrived at Canso, the place of general rendezvous, on the 1st of April. The New Hampshire troops had arrived a few days previous, and those from Connecticut came some ten days after. While lying in Canso, waiting for the ice to clear, the armed vessels captured a Martinique vessel bound for Louisburg, laden with rum and molasses. Soldiers were detached for making the assault on Louisburg, and some were employed in

making cartridges, and others in erecting a block-house for the defence of the place and for the reception of sick and wounded. Skirmishes occurred on land, and a few French and Indians were taken prisoners, from whom information respecting Louisburg was obtained. On the 22d of April, the Eltham, a mast ship of forty guns, arrived from the Pascataqua, and on the following day three large ships appeared in the offing, which, to the great joy of all, proved to be the squadron of Commodore Warren. This was unexpected to Pepperrell, who had learned, on the day of sailing from Boston, as before remarked, that Warren declined coming as requested by Shirley. But it seems that on the day following the date of his letter, he received orders from England to proceed and coöperate with Shirley in protecting the fisheries. Learning from a vessel on his way, that the army had sailed, Warren shaped his course for Canso instead of Boston.

Pepperrell received a note from him, offering to proceed and blockade Louisburg, to which he returned the following answer by Colonel Bradstreet: —

Canso, April 23, 1745.

COMMODORE WARREN,

Dear Sir, — I heartily congratulate you on your safe arrival with your squadron, the advice of which, by your favor of this day, gives me abundant pleasure. I am confident that nothing which the strictest vigilance and prudence can foresee or bravery execute will be wanting on your part, and doubt not you will succeed in preventing the introduction of provisions and succors into Louisburg, and that we shall soon have the pleasure of a meeting there.

W. P.

On his way, and before he reached Canso, Warren notified Governor Shirley of his orders from England, to assist in the expedition, and sent him a packet from London, the contents of which, Shirley notices in the following letter to Pepperrell: —

Boston, April 22, 1745.

SIR, — Since my last I received a pacquet from Commodore Warren, dated on board the Superbe, fifteen leagues to the eastward of Cape Sables, in his passage to Canso, with the Launceston and Mermaid in company, in order to join you in the expedition; and I hope he is arrived with you before now. Inclos'd in the commodore's pacquet I receiv'd his Majesty's orders to me respecting the attacking of the enemy's settlements, a copy of which I send you, whereby you will perceive how well disposed the ministry is toward our present enterprise, notwithstanding they were not particularly appris'd that this expedition would be set on foot from hence. And it gives us the utmost reason to hope that his Majesty will be pleas'd to support us from England upon the arrival of my letters there, giving an account of the expedition in the manner we desir'd, which must be an infinite satisfaction to the army. You will perceive, also, upon your perusal of his Majesty's orders to me, that in any attempt against the enemy's settlements, he has plainly given Captain Warren the command of the shipping, or naval force, with which I am ordered to assist him; hence, in general, upon any expedition, which you are sensible must supersede any commission from me, as to any sea armament; and doubtless Commodore Warren will expect and insist upon the arm'd vessels with which, since my receiving his Majesty's orders, I am assisting him, in

obedience to the royal commands, the command of those ships, and I doubt not, Sir, from the extraordinary conduct and vigilance with which you have hitherto acted for his Majesty's service, that you will instantly give orders to Tyng and the other cruisers to follow the commodore's directions and orders to them, the omitting of which may create a most unhappy disagreement and variance between you and Mr. Warren, which may prove fatal to the service. Had I not receiv'd these precise orders from his Majesty, which so evidently give Mr. Warren a general command at sea, in all expeditions from hence, I should have insisted upon my command given you over the sea forces (which, as it is, is only suspended during Captain Warren's presence, and would revive upon his going off) against every person whatsoever; and you must be sensible that this is not a preference given to him by me, but only acting in obedience to his Majesty's orders. Mr. Warren has left orders for his Majesty's ships that shall arrive here, to follow him, some of which I expect daily; and he has also sent orders for the Newfoundland ships to join him; so that I hope in God we shall have a strong armament with you soon, sufficient to enter the harbor. The Connecticut forces, I hear, sail'd, with a fair wind, the middle of last week. I received your pacquet from Canso by Fletcher's prize, which is safely arrived here. The contents of your own, Brigadier Waldo's, and Colonel Bradstreet's letters, give me the utmost satisfaction and pleasure in your good conduct, for which I hope your country will have reason to bless you, and the King and Great Britain to make their acknowledgments to you. Provisions for four thousand men for two months more, will be sent to you in three days. Commodore Warren's heart seems, by his letter, to be

thoroughly set upon the reduction of this place. God grant you success. Whatever you do, keep up a constant frequent correspondence with him, and let ye utmost harmony be preserv'd between you, as what must (under God) secure you success more than any thing. You have the entire affections, I understand from Mr. Waldo and Bradstreet, of the army, and their hearts entirely together with the perfect esteem of, Sir, your faithful friend and servant,

W. SHIRLEY.

This letter was truly flattering, and well adapted to inflame Pepperrell's zeal in the enterprise. But it would reflect more honor on Shirley's candor and ingenuousness were there not evidence that he had previously expressed in a letter to Warren a preference for him to take the command, instead of Pepperrell. Furthermore, instead of being loudest in laudation of Pepperrell after the glorious victory was achieved, as the foregoing letter would seem to promise, he was, in all his future allusions to the conquest, particularly meagre and parsimonious of praise, indicative of envy at his success and unbounded popularity.

The ice that had environed the shore and detained them being removed, the whole army embarked at Canso on the 29th of April, intending to arrive in the evening. A small armed vessel was sent ahead, to frighten into port any guard-boats that might be on the look-out for an enemy's approach. The wind dying away prevented their reaching Cabarus Bay, the place of landing, until eight o'clock the following morning. This was the first intimation that the garrison at Louisbourg had of the intended invasion. They had discovered the ships of war some days before, but sup-

posed them to be privateers. The secrecy observed by the provincials proved to be judicious, as it enabled them to surprise the garrison; which contributed more to success than any thing else, excepting the culpable neglect of the French to reconnoitre the island of Cape Breton, and to employ spies to watch the motions of their adversary. They little dreamed of the cloud that was gathering over them. Secure in their imagined strength, they were startled at the sight of a numerous fleet, and now, for the first time, knew that the enemy was upon them. Confusion and alarm paralyzed their energies.

No sooner were the vessels anchored, than boats were hoisted out and filled with soldiers, eager for battle, and a detachment of them pulled for White Point, under cover of the armed vessels. An alarm was now sounded by the bells and cannon of the town. Captain Morepang sallied out with two companies to oppose the landing. Having drawn the enemy to White Point, the boats retreated a little, and being joined by another division aimed for another place, two miles further inland, where, under cover of two armed vessels, they effected a landing before the French could reach them. They rushed to meet the approaching enemy, and killed six of them, and captured others that were wounded, and among them Captain Morepang. The remainder turned their backs and hastened to the city garrison, burning all the houses in their way. Half the army were landed that day, and the remainder, with provisions, the two following mornings. They marched toward the town, and encamped so near that the enemy's cannon reached them, and obliged them to pitch their tents further off.

Pepperrell lost no time in commencing the siege.

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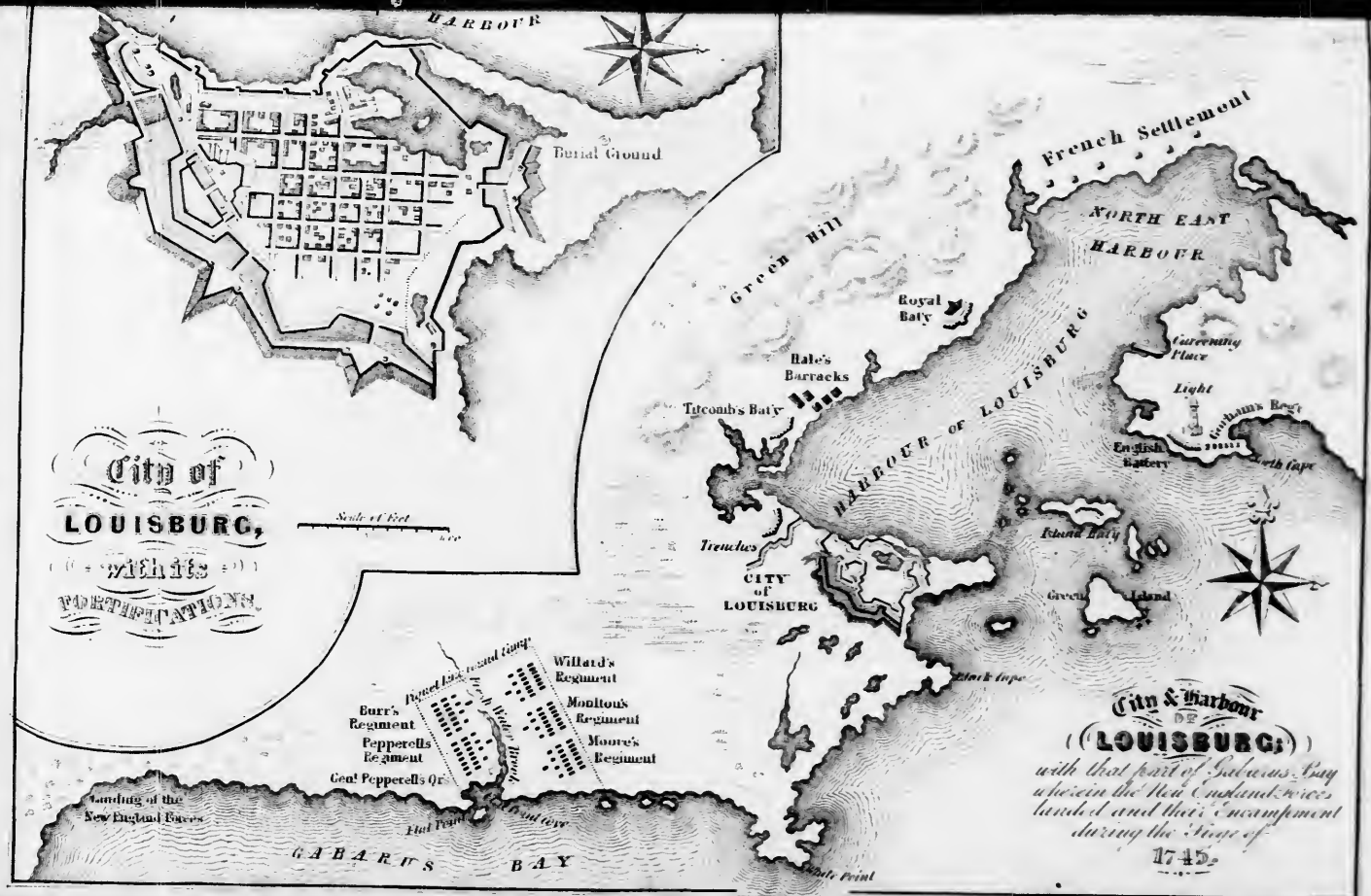


ege.

The same afternoon, May 1st, he despatched Colonel Vaughn with four hundred men to the town to reconnoitre, who led his troops through the woods quite near to the garrison, and gave three cheers, and at nightfall marched circuitously around Green Hill, that overlooked the garrison, to the north-east part of the harbor. Here they set fire to ten or twelve buildings, including warehouses, containing naval stores and a large quantity of wine and brandy. The smoke, driven three fourths of a mile toward the grand or royal battery, frightened the enemy, who supposed the whole army was coming on them in that direction, and spiking the cannon, and throwing the powder into a well, they fled in boats to the town, nearly a mile distant.

The next morning, Vaughn, on his return to camp in company with thirteen men, not knowing of the panic he had occasioned, crept to the top of Green Hill, which overlooked the grand battery, for the purpose of learning something of its situation and strength. He was surprised to see that the flag was gone, and that no smoke issued from the chimneys of the barracks. He hired one of his party, a Cape Cod Indian, to enter into the fort and open the gate. Vaughn then took possession, and wrote to General Pepperrell: "I entered the royal battery about nine o'clock, and am waiting for a reinforcement and a flag." A red coat was however used as a temporary substitute, which a soldier carried in his teeth, and nailed to the top of the flagstaff. The French soon discovered their mistake, and sent a hundred men in four boats to retake the battery. But Vaughn, with his small band, amidst the fire from the city, alone upon the open beach resisted their landing till he was reinforced, when the French, perceiving a detachment from Pepperrell approaching, retired and

left the English in possession of the battery. This gallant exploit of Vaughn's little band materially weakened the means of resistance on the part of the French, and transferred to the English a powerful means of annoyance as enduring as the siege. The battery contained twenty-eight forty-two pound cannon, two eighteen, besides two hundred and eighty shells and a large number of balls, and other munitions of war.

The French fired briskly upon the battery during the day (May 2d), with cannon and mortars, but did no damage. They began to secure the low wall at the south-east part of the town, by placing on it a plank work fifteen feet high, and placing a range of pickets, twenty feet high, outside of the wall, and a number of swivels on the top of it.

Pepperrell writes to Warren from Cabarus Bay, May 1st: "I find it very difficult landing here, by reason of the great surf. Landed about two thousand men yesterday; hope to get on shore the remainder, with the stores and some of the artillery this day. As soon as the vessels are unloaded I will take care to appoint some of the most suitable to cruise between us. Shall order a detachment to destroy the settlements eastward of us. The brig which has clothing for your men I have ordered to you immediately. As to a battery at Cabarus Bay, which you advise, I think we cannot spare cannon nor men for it at present, but shall order a sloop of force to protect the transports that may lay there. I design, in a few days, to despatch a vessel to Boston for provisions, of whose sailing you shall have timely notice. Shall give you information when we design an attack, that you may favor the same. Yesterday a party of about one hundred and fifty of the enemy made a sally from the garrison to annoy our

landing, who were well received by those of our party who first landed. We killed seven or eight and wounded as many more that were taken prisoners without loss of any, and only one or two wounded. The enemy burnt the houses between the town and battery. Our troops are in fine spirits, and I hope soon to give them a time for a general push. I am much obliged to you for the offer of wine. We are now marching through the woods in order to encamp."

May 2d. — To Commodore Warren: "We are landing our stores. I have to give you the agreeable news that we have, this morning, taken possession of the Grand or Royal battery, which the enemy had deserted. A woman, taken in the grand battery, says the explosion of powder there yesterday, was a number of swivel guns fired into the air. Pray excuse my not being particular, being in the open air, destitute of all conveniences for writing."

May 4th. — To Commodore Warren: "I agree with you that it will be of the utmost consequence to get possession of the island battery, which I propose to do after the battering cannon and mortars are ready to play on the town, shall be glad of the assistance of your boats and what men you can spare, and think it will be best for your ships to draw off from the mouth of the harbor leaving the boats and men to join ours. I imagine they will not apprehend an attack by boats and will draw their force chiefly into town, to repel our attack on the back of it, which I shall make a feint of doing. I congratulate you on the capture of the French armed ship, a privateer. I think it may be of service to arm some of your schooners with her guns."

Councils of war were organized in the fleet and in

the army, at whose meetings the commanders preside and communicated to each other, almost daily, the decisions of their respective boards, by letter, and frequently by person, in their reciprocal visits.

The first battery erected by Pepperrell was one thousand five hundred and fifty yards from the northwest bastion, on Green Hill. The second was six hundred yards nearer, where mortars were brought to play upon the town, on the 5th of May. The other cannon at the Grand battery, which had been spiked, were by this time drilled and returning the brisk fire of the enemy. But it required fourteen days and nights to drag all the cannon and munitions of war, brought in the fleet, from the landing through the morass to the batteries, which were successively erected in the night season, the third one being within seven hundred yards of the city. The island batteries, as well as those of the city, were constantly in full play upon Pepperrell's batteries.

On the 7th of May, Pepperrell and Warren sent a flag to demand a surrender of the fortress to the British army, which returned with an answer that their reply would be at the cannon's mouth. There was a suspension of cannonading on both sides while the flag was in the city, but on its return, at 5 P. M., firing was renewed, and more briskly than ever, and a fourth fascine battery was commenced within two hundred and fifty yards of the west gate. It was now proposed, by Warren, to storm the island battery in the night, and for this purpose volunteers were raised from the army and transports. It was not a favorite project with the army, many of the war council deeming it too hazardous and desperate, though Pepperrell favored it. Preparations were, however, made three successive nights,

May 8, 9, 10, to embark for the purpose, but fogs or boisterous winds prevented. A sortie was made from the city on the 8th, which the provincials repulsed.

May 9.—"Advised unanimously that the town of Louisburg be attacked by storm this night with all the vigor possible."

In the afternoon it was advised that "inasmuch as there appears a great dissatisfaction in many of the officers and soldiers at the designed attack of the town by storm this night, and as it may be attended with very ill consequences, if it should not be executed with the greatest vigor whenever attempted, the said attack of the town be deferred for the present, or until the cannon are all mounted and in full play, and the enemy more reduced by the siege."

May 11.—"Advised that the battery began at the west part of the town be completed with all possible expedition, and eight twenty-two pound cannon be mounted there."

To Governor Shirley, he writes a particular narrative of all that had transpired since his last, and his future purposes, and adds, "I have delivered Commodore Warren his inclosed packets." Referring to Shirley's letter of April 22d, he says: "What relates to that gentleman (Warren) is perfectly agreeable to me. I shall, on all occasions, be fond of the assistance and advice of that gentleman," etc., etc. "I had, before the receipt of yours, directed Tyng, with the other armed vessels, to attend to the orders of the Commodore, and strictly obey them."

"I make no doubt of his Majesty's entire approbation of your conduct in setting on foot the expedition, and will support it, but hope we shall succeed without his further assistance. I think it would be fruitless to

send to Annapolis for any of their strength at a time when they may apprehend themselves in danger of a siege. Col. Moulton has joined us with the detachment sent to St. Peters, having destroyed that settlement and taken some plunder and prisoners, burnt four schooners and brought off one, with the loss of one killed and one wounded. The greatest part of the inhabitants escaped. Have also advice from Captain Donahew, returned from Bay Verte, in going up the Strait of Canso, he met with a party of Indians. Upon which Captains Jaques and Hannaford, with their companies going on shore, though contrary to orders, the former was killed and the other wounded. The Indians were beat off without other loss on our part. In the Bay Verte, he took two small vessels that were empty, the others were hauled up where he could not come at them. He burnt some houses and birch canoes, and returned. I find Cabarus Bay a fine harbor for the transports. We have determined to encamp regularly, near the north-east harbor, and throw up a battery there in which to mount the New York train of artillery, and some of the guns from the grand battery, to support and repair it, which may be done in such a manner that two hundred men may defend it against two thousand, and with that and the other proposed battery, to command the harbor against any thing that will attempt to get in; and by posting two regiments to protect the batteries in the rear, we shall cut off all communication by land with the city. As it has been judged advisable not to storm the town at present, and as reinforcements are expected from France and from Canada that may find means to get in, we require one thousand more men and another large mortar. Shall send up fourteen transports for

them, and at the same time send up the prisoners we have taken."

May 12.—To Commodore Warren: "We are all much obliged to you for writing to the several governments of the southern colonies for aid. We are completing the battery on the west part of the town, hope it will be ready to play to-morrow. It gives me concern that you have reason to complain of your men's hurting themselves with liquor when on shore, as my positive orders have been to prohibit such practices. I will order strict inquiry to be made relating to their arms, and if you should think proper to have them on shore again to assist in any attack, I will endeavor effectually to hinder disorders of that kind." He applies for three or four gunners from the Commodore.

May 13.—"I am now ordering out all the stores from eighteen transports, to send them for more recruits. I cannot presume to advise in regard to your squadron; as to our cruisers, am glad to have them under your direction. Am much obliged to you for the gunners sent us."

To Warren he writes: "I observe your news by the prize, of the arrival of French ships of war, and hope we shall be able to give them a welcome. I will send you three schooners as soon as their stores are landed, and despatch one to Newfoundland to carry your orders. The captain-general, Shirley, orders me 'to destroy the houses within two leagues of Louisburg.'"

Same day.—"I have not a blue flag to use as a signal to you of all being well, but shall hoist a union flag, which please to answer with a Dutch flag at masthead. I have given express orders to the masters of the transports not to hoist any flag. The unaccount-

able behavior of these fellows and some marauders, is the greatest vexation I meet with; hope to reduce them to better discipline soon. I now send you out a fifth schooner to attend you, the master of which, Newmarch, is acquainted with the harbors round the island; have also sent out three schooners to fish; shall, in a day or two, send a schooner to Canso and Boston with the prisoners. Thank you for the claret and lemons and repeated kind offers. We have had considerable success hitherto, having cleared three forty-twos at the grand battery, and have done some execution, lodging several shot in the citadel; the mortars and some cohorns throw into the town in most instances."

On the 13th a French snow or brig, from Bordeaux, succeeded in entering the harbor, the night being dark and stormy, and this was the only vessel, out of at least a dozen, that was able to elude the vigilance of the fleet during the siege, the others being all captured. The provincials took advantage of the same darkness and storm to send in a fire-ship, which exploded and did some damage to the shipping and city wall.

May 15. — To Commodore Warren: "Am pleased to hear you have destroyed Nigonish and St. Anns, which must distress the enemy. Expect soon to have two batteries finished, one within two hundred and fifty yards of the west gate with four forty-two pounders and two eighteens. We have had two of our twenty-two pounders burst, by which accident several of our men were wounded. One of your gunners has lost a leg. Have ordered a flag to be hoisted at the light-house, and shall, as soon as possible, send Col. Bradstreet to throw up a battery there.

There was an attempt made from the grand battery, the night before last, to burn the snow which had no other effect than to alarm the town. The fire from the island and town batteries drove our men from their guns and killed one and wounded several."

May 16.—"Has ordered diligent search for things his men lost on shore. Yesterday we gave the west gate about one hundred shot from our fascine battery. The heavy cannon will be removed from the grand battery here to-night."

In a long letter to Governor Wentworth on what he had done, he concludes by saying: "I hope that, under God, we shall soon be masters of this island, and that I shall have the pleasure of writing you from within the walls of Louisburg."

On the 15th of May, the fourth fascine battery, called Titcomb's, was raised, and mounted with heavy guns, drawn from the grand battery, which did great execution. Next day, thirty large cannon were found under water near the light-house, and a regiment was sent to raise and mount them on a battery, as soon as one could be constructed. The following night one hundred Frenchmen embarked in boats to attack the party, but were repulsed with the loss of one man on each side. On the night of the 18th, the new fascine battery was opened within two hundred and fifty yards of the west gate, which soon demolished it, and perforated the wall. Several were killed on the wall and in the battery by musketry; one man, venturing outside, received five wounds from a volley aimed at him from the wall. Even conversation was carried on between the opposing soldiers, and on one occasion it lasted half an hour, the Provincial speaking in French and the Frenchman in

English, and each inviting the other to breakfast and a glass of wine.

To Governor Shirley he writes: "It is with the utmost pleasure I observe the reception which the news of this expedition has given to his Majesty and the ministry at home, and hope soon to give them intelligence of its favorable issue. The R. Island sloop of war has just taken a brig from France, laden with provisions for Louisburg, and informs us that four large ships and three of thirty guns each may be hourly expected here from France. Am just informed by Captain Rouse that a French ship of sixty-four guns was met yesterday by him and the Mermaid, and engaged her till dark, and that the Commodore approached at seven o'clock. I fear she escaped in the fog. As the enemy will hold out to the last, please to send us more cannon powder."

On the 20th, Warren announces, by letter, his capture of the Vigilant, a sixty-four gun ship, having six hundred men, and laden with military stores, and requests aid in disposing of the prisoners among the transports; to which Pepperrell, after congratulating him on his success, replies, "As we have already manned Rouse out of our transports, and there being not more than four men in each, they can be of no great security to prisoners, unless they are put in irons, in which case some may be sent in the Rhode Island Snow and by Smithhurst, which Governor Shirley orders hence to guard the coast of New England. The capture of the Vigilant produced a burst of joy in the army, and animated them with fresh courage to persevere."

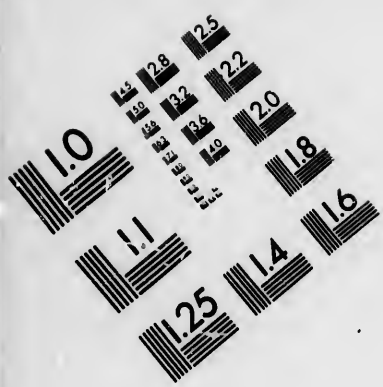
Same day he writes to Warren: "I shall send off four of the transports, to be improved by you for fire-ships, if you think proper. Shall order others fitted in the har-

bor and every preparation made at the grand battery. We have continued our fire upon the west gate, but have split one of our forty-twos. I am desirous of a general consultation as soon as possible, in order to determine upon a speedy and vigorous attack with our united forces." Same day, he returns thanks to the war committee for a plentiful supply of provisions, and particularly for refreshments for his own table; refers them to the governor for account of progress, not having time to write, and calls for shoes and stockings and other clothing for the men.

[To Commodore Warren.]

Camp, May 17, 1745.

SIR, — Yours of yesterday's and this day's date I received, and observe the contents with grateful pleasure; particularly I note your prudent and great thoughtfulness to bring to a happy issue the affair before us, of so much consequence to our king and nation, and the northern colonies in particular. It is my great concern that our progress against our enemies on shore is so slow; but when the difficulties of attacking the island battery are duly considered, there being but critical moments in which it can possibly be done with hopes of success, also the difficulty of scaling walls without a breach by undisciplined troops; of landing our cannon in so bad a harbor, of getting them convey'd on such bad grounds in the face of our enemy's fire, while we cannot annoy them at all, and a general illness through the army; these and such like things considered, I hope your patience will not tire. The probability of the speedy arrival of a French sea force I duly consider, but I hope the best, and nothing in my power shall be wanting towards the greatest despatch and most vigorous attack.



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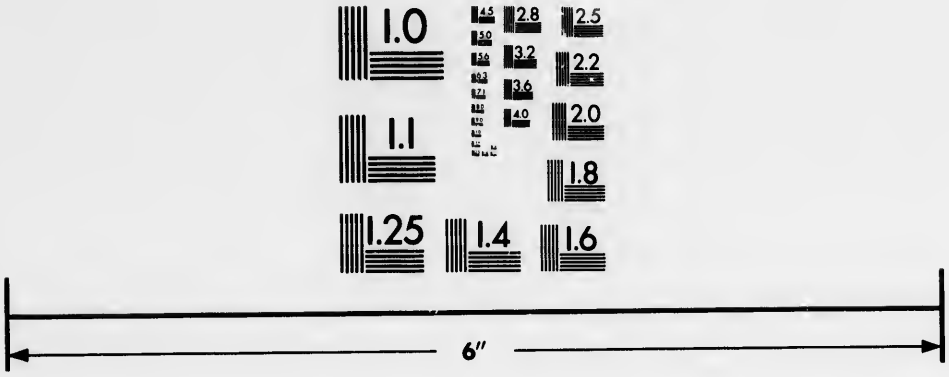

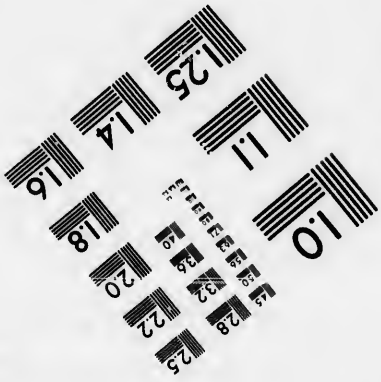

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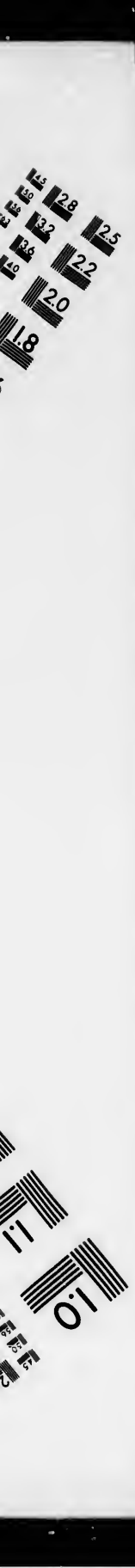
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Your plan I have this day laid before my council. As the main part of the forces are engaged to get forward a number of the cannon at the grand battery, against the west gate, to be mounted by to-morrow morning if possible, the good effects of which I hope soon to advise you of, a due consideration thereof is referred till to-morrow morning, ten o'clock. At present can only say that the attack of the island battery or town will, as I think, certainly and speedily be effected; and I hope to good purpose. Your prudence and good conduct in the disposition of your ships I cannot question, my own judgment I cannot but mistrust, yet am doubtful whether your ships going all, or most of them into Cabarus Bay, as you propose, will be of good consequence. In dark and foggy weather your cruisers may at sea meet with the king's enemies to our advantage, but the weather that will be good to carry them into Louisburg, will keep your vessels in that bay, however early your notice of their approach. Excuse my freedom, shall myself or some of my council wait upon you to-morrow, and I hope to be able to settle the needful points. Yours, etc.,

W. P.

[To Commodore Warren.]

Camp, May 20, 1745.

SIR, — Yours of yesterday I received this morning, and immediately ordered Saunders to send off four of the transports with wood and water, two of which, or all of them to be improved for fire-ships, if you think proper. I observe the information you have of a French fleet, and have just received a letter from Capt. Rouse giving account of your having met a large French ship, whose fate I impatiently wait to hear of,

as it is probable she is one of that fleet,—imagine that if she has escaped you, she will endeavor to join the others, which I hope will fall into your hands. I shall order some vessels to be fitted for fire-ships in the harbor forthwith, and all the preparation possible to be made at the Royal battery. We have, since my last, continued our fire on the enemy from the west gate battery, which has shattered the wall considerably, but we were so unfortunate last night as to split one of the forty-two pounders. I am desirous of a general consultation as soon as possible, in order to determine a speedy and vigorous attack with our united force. Our men sicken apace, great numbers are now unfit for service.

Yours, etc.,

W. P.

[To Governor Shirley.]

Camp before Louisburg, May 20.

Inclosed herewith is a copy of my last by Captain Bennet who sailed on the 12th instant. We have to inform you that notwithstanding the incredible difficulty in transporting the artillery, etc., over bogs, morasses, and rocky hills, we have, by indefatigable industry, got our train of twenty-two pounders mounted at a battery on the west of the town some days since, from which, with the cohorns and mortars, we annoy the enemy considerably. But those cannon prove very bad, two of them are burst, and two others broken by the enemy's shot. We have also, two nights since, with the utmost difficulty, thrown up a fascine battery within two hundred and fifty yards of the west gate, and planted in it two forty-twos and two eighteens from the Royal battery, which have beat down the drawbridge with part of the west gate and some of

the adjoining wall. We have since, split one of the forty-twos, and the enemy are using their utmost to drive us from that battery. The want of gunners occasions us great difficulty, two of which are killed and a third has lost a leg. I have employed all I can find capable of that service, and have promised them liberal rewards in case of their good behavior. Capt. Gayton is not arrived. We shall soon want the powder he has for us, and must pray your care for a further supply as soon as possible, in order to our making progress against the enemy, especially as the forty-twos, on which we depend, consume immense quantities, our twenty-twos proving bad, and the New York train not yet arrived.

Captain Rouse arrived here with all the supplies you sent under his convoy, which is very animating to the army. Commodore Warren daily expects four men-of-war from Newfoundland. Two of his ships have taken a large vessel laden with provisions and stores for this place, and twenty-seven men. We learn from her that four ships of war and two frigates are at Brest, said to be destined for Louisburg. He has sent and burnt forty houses at St. Anns and Nigonish, and as many vessels.

A French snow got into Louisburg with provisions. She approached in the fog unseen, and in spite of our cannon, anchored under the walls, the town and island batteries firing furiously at the time on the grand battery. We have discovered thirty cannon in the east harbor, at low-water-mark, which will be mounted there as soon as possible. Have hoisted an English flag at the light-house, and posted a regiment there and guard-boats to intercept supplies from entering town by night. A party of about one hundred men

crossed over from the town to cut off the guard posted at the light-house, but were repulsed with the loss of one of their soldiers wounded. The general expresses regret that he has made no further progress, "which is partly attributable to undisciplined troops and sickness among them," adding, "I design to consult Commodore Warren as soon as possible on measures for a steady and vigorous push."

May 24. — Warren sends to Pepperrell the opinion of his navy council respecting a bold attack upon the town. "That all his Majesty's ships and all the colony cruisers, except two, with the schooners and transports, go into the harbor and attack the town and batteries with the utmost rigor, with his Majesty's ships, in such order of battle as shall be agreed on, and that all the unarmed vessels anchor in the north-east harbor, out of gunshot; taking the boats of his Majesty's ships and colony cruisers, excepting one yawl to each, under their care, to prevent their being shot to pieces by the enemy, and to be ready upon a signal made by me to bring them and all the whale-boats and others, with all the men in every vessel armed, on board his Majesty's ships, and colony cruisers, on the off side from the enemy, in order to land them, if necessary, or to go on any other service; and the better to enable the ships of war to execute this service, we think the general should send on board of his Majesty's ships, one thousand six hundred men, six hundred of them to be put on board the Vigilant, the remaining thousand to be distributed into the rest of the ships of war, as shall be thought proper, by the commander of his Majesty's ships;" that the marines be landed under the command of Col. McDonald to head the first attack, "not

doubting of his being effectually sustained by your men, and that the said troops approach as near as Col. McDonald shall judge proper, in order to attack when the commodore makes a signal."

This plan, the reader will perceive, was calculated if not intended to secure to Warren the supreme command of both land and naval forces, and to leave Pepperrell a mere cypher.

May 26. — Pepperrell writes to Warren: "Yours of 24th I received yesterday with the plan of operation proposed by yourself and council, for attacking Louisburg, and now inclose the determination of my council. Our batteries continue to shatter the wall near the west gate and near the circular battery, — am in hopes to dismount the cannon which may most annoy the entry of the ships, by the time the Vigilant is ready to join you. I have not given up hopes of attacking the island battery as soon as the sea will permit. I flatter myself you will think the inclosed reasons of my council for the landsmen not coming on board your ships are of weight. The sea forces and transports are entirely at your disposal. Have ordered carpenters to assist in fitting the Vigilant, and assistance to secure the prisoners. Opportunity to consult with you is precarious. I wish if possible we may unite our councils on some plan for a speedy attack upon the town as soon as your ships can be got ready therefor. We have many men sick from fatigue and hardships. As French and Indians are expected, I have ordered out scouts to make discoveries."

The objections of Pepperrell's council to Warren's plans are, that "the Indians might come in upon our backs, while the troops are on board, and attack what

forces remain in the camp and the hospitals; that the army is greatly reduced by sickness and unfitted to land from the fleet, and that if the advance ship Vigilant, that is to be manned with them, should miscarry, the whole enterprise would fail and be disastrous to the colonies. They therefore propose, in lieu of this plan, that a general attack be made upon the town by the land and naval forces forthwith, and to this end, that five hundred men be impressed from the cruisers and transports, to embark in the Vigilant, and that the other large ships follow her into the harbor under the commodore's directions, — that five hundred men put off in boats from the grand battery at a given signal, to land and escalade the walls in front of the town, under fire of the fleet and batteries, the marines and sailors of the fleet to join them, — that five hundred more escalade the walls at the south-east part of the town, — that five hundred more make a breach at the western gate, and five hundred more be in readiness to support the party that most needs them." This plan of Pepperrell's council was not sent by reason of a dense fog until the following letter was received from him the next day: —

[Copy of Warren's letter to Pepperrell.]

Suburbs of Louisburg, May 26, 1745.

SIR, — I am sorry to be troublesome to you, but his Majesty's service requires it.

I informed you how much it would be for the advantage of the present expedition to get the Vigilant, who is of greater force than any ship here, manned and fitted for sea at a time we may daily expect our enemy with a very strong squadron. 'T is impossible for us to man her out of our own ships, without weakening all

the squadron and rendering them unfit to make any figure (but a bad one) against the enemy.

I therefore applied to you for men, but none are yet gone on board her. There are, no doubt, a number of seamen among the troops and transports, that would readily go on board her upon my promise, which I solemnly give, to discharge them on our return to Boston when the expedition is over, and I believe such a number as she will want, will contribute more to the success of the expedition in her, than in any other shape they can be employed.

What shall we do with all our prisoners? it is very improper to keep them all in our ships. We that have been, now almost three months at sea, grow very sickly for want of refreshments. If we could get fish for our people it would be some service to them.

I have not been favored with your answer to the plan of operations I sent you; for God's sake let us do something, and not waste our time in indolence.

If you will order men on board the Vigilant, she will be very soon fit for service.

Pray how came the island battery not to be attacked? please to let me know. I sincerely wish you all the honor and success imaginable, and only beg to know in what manner I can be more serviceable than in cruising to prevent the introduction of succors to the garrison. I fear that if that be all that is expected from the ships, or that they can do, Louisburg will be safe for some time. For my part I have proposed all that I think can be done, and only wait an answer thereto.

Your most obedient servant,

P. WARREN.

May 27. — The council having taken into consideration the answer made by Commodore Warren to the plan of operations proposed by them yesterday, advise that the general embrace the first opportunity to go on board Commodore Warren's ship, with such of his council as he shall think proper to take with him, and endeavor to determine upon some measures to be taken for the reduction of Louisburg; to be put in execution accordingly, without further debate.

From casual remarks dropped by prisoners, the commodore learned that a large number of the enemy's warships would soon arrive. This intelligence added to sickness among his crews, and their need of fresh provisions, made him impatient to press the siege with more vigor, and to storm the fortress. The island battery was in the way of his ships, which he again strenuously urged Pepperrell to take by storm in the night. The provincial council of war were less sanguine of the success of so hazardous an enterprise, where the surf was running, by raw troops and inexperienced sailors, and it was hard to bring a majority of them to acquiesce in the measure. Pepperrell, however, favored Warren's earnest solicitation, and offered inducements to volunteers, which were soon raised, mostly among his troops. Captain Brooks, with four hundred men, led the party from Cabarus Bay in the night, with scaling ladders, but was repulsed with the loss of sixty killed and one hundred and twelve made prisoners, including the wounded. The surf running high, many of their firelocks were wet in landing, and the boats were fired upon with langrage before they could reach shore, which put them in great disorder, and kept back many that should have pressed forward. Those that did reach the shore were dispirited, and

after firing an hour, part of them surrendered, and the others retreated to the camp. This was the only serious reverse encountered during the siege. It saddened the hearts of the army, the more so when the exulting cheers of the enemy were, next morning, wafted to their ears, reverberating from hill to hill.

May 28. — To Commodore Warren: "In answer to yours of the 26th, I beg leave to represent that it is now the twenty-ninth day since the army invested Louisburg and drove in the inhabitants. That we have erected five fascine batteries and with hard service to the men, have drawn our cannon and mounted them, have distressed the inhabitants, made some breaches in the wall, and doubt not we shall soon reduce the circular battery. That in this time we have made five unsuccessful attempts upon the island battery, in the last of which we lost one hundred and eighty-nine men and many of our boats. That we have kept out scouts to destroy the enemy's settlements, and prevent surprise. That fatigue has brought on disease, and left us not more than two thousand one hundred men fit for duty, six hundred of whom are gone in pursuit of two large bodies of French and Indians, eastward and westward of us. The council decide that another attack on the island is impracticable. We continue our best exertions against the enemy, and I shall, as soon as possible, visit you with some of my council to determine on the most suitable measures to adopt. Please to stand in toward Cabarus Bay as soon as suits you, and to order out vessels to fish for your crews. We think it best to send a vessel to Annapolis for a mortar and warlike stores."

Again, May 31. — "I went on board a schooner with some of my council and was out four hours trying to

reach you, but was prevented by fogs; shall try again when the fog clears away, in order that we may do something effectual in the enterprise we have so much at heart."

June 1. — Writes to Captain Montague of the Vigilant, asking of him fifty barrels of powder and five hundred cannon balls, till stores arrive from Boston.

To Commodore Warren: "Yours of yesterday I received this morning. Am extremely sorry the fogs prevented me from waiting on you on board your ship. But since it so happened, I have advised further with my council upon the contents of your letter and plans, and we conclude forthwith to furnish you with six hundred men for the Vigilant, which we propose to take from the transports and landmen, — have determined also to send off to your ships at least five hundred men with their officers, the morning you design to go into the harbor with your ships, to be landed on the front of the town with your seamen. Am very much obliged to Col. McDonald for the readiness he expresses of assisting with his marines on shore, and if an equal number of men more than the forementioned one thousand one hundred can be found that are likely to be serviceable on board your ships during the marines' absence, I will gladly send them in their stead. I shall exert myself that all the necessary preparations be made on shore for the attack whilst the Vigilant is getting ready. The battery near the light-house Col. Gorham informs me, is almost completed, that there are three embrasures facing the island battery, and six facing the sea, — shall have several carriages finished and the guns mounted in two days. He informs me he has two shallops lying outside the light-house, in order to take out Bosch's guns, which I

shall order to be done as soon as possible. I am sure that your plan for the shipping going in is concerted in the best manner, but if the men be taken out of the transports for the Vigilant, they cannot go in with their ships. You condescend much in asking my opinion what vessels had best go to Annapolis, but if we can speedily execute our attack on Louisburg, I hope it will be timely enough to send, after that is over. Our batteries continue to make good progress against the enemy's wall. We aim as much as possible against the circular battery, but owing to the fog we cannot play as briskly as we would be glad to do. We are short of ammunition and must borrow fifty barrels more, and some shot from the Vigilant. Our scouts have routed many and killed some and taken some prisoners. I shall endeavor to visit you if fog will permit, this day."

June 2.—To Captain Douglas of the Vigilant: "I thank you for the powder sent, am expecting a supply hourly from Boston. I have determined to supply six hundred men for manning the Vigilant, which shall send off to you as soon as possible. Am very much obliged to you for your kind present. Hope to see you on board Commodore Warren this day, whom I shall visit to determine upon measures for the speedy prosecution of our design against Louisburg."

To Governor Mascareene of Annapolis: Narrates briefly the encouraging progress made against Louisburg, and asks for a large mortar and shells, and also for a skilful gunner. At the same time to Mr. Bastide the engineer at Annapolis, for him to send Mr. Cowly. Hopes soon to be within the walls. Writes to Mr. Cowly to the same import.

To Governor Shirley: "Powder and balls are

nearly used up, on account of which many of our guns are silent. Have borrowed one hundred and eighty-seven barrels of powder from Commodore Warren. We have raised from the water six of the enemy's eighteen pounders, but are in want of powder and balls for them. Our large mortar is burst and also another forty-two pounder in the advance battery. I beg for the large mortar at the castle, with a good bed for it. The shells sent with the former mortar would not last twenty-four hours, and not a quarter enough powder came. The enemy appears determined to defend the town to the last extremity, and you may depend we shall as vigorously push on our part. Our attack upon the island battery proved disastrous, since which, the fire upon our advance battery has been furious. We keep a large detachment near to prevent a sally from the west gate. The advanced battery, though within two hundred and fifty yards, would ere this have been covered by one still nearer, but for lack of gunners and ammunition. We have selected troops to serve in the Vigilant and other ships. Several additional ships have arrived from Newfoundland and other places, and the enemy are expecting a large one with three store-ships. Our land forces are inferior to those of the enemy, who greatly overestimate our numbers. We have one thousand five hundred sick, and a reinforcement, therefore, of three thousand men is absolutely necessary. There are two French ships of twenty-six and thirty guns between this and Cape Sable, but we cannot spare ships from the blockade squadron to pursue them. Our scouts have encountered large bodies of the enemy, and killed and wounded about forty of them, with the loss on our part of four killed and thirty wounded.

"We have been prevented by fog four days from having any interview with the commodore and planning an attack. We must have more reinforcements from the colonies, who had inadequate ideas of the enemy's strength. If it be possible to settle with Warren a general attack, it will be done, but should the event bear heavily on the land forces, we shall only be able to act the defensive part for a while, under cover of the ships. Whether Col. McDonald will come on shore to join our forces, or enter the town by boats from the men-of-war is not yet settled. You ask or some of the cruisers to protect the coast, but they cannot conveniently be spared at present."

Again, June 3.—"Have just received yours; am rejoiced to learn that my services are approved. I thank you for timely supplies just received. It is reported here that Duvivier's arrival is expected with two thousand men from France. The zeal and activity of Colonel Bradstreet, are worthy of all praise. It is difficult keeping our counsels secret, (to which the governor had alluded,) and I recommend that you forbid the printing of them."

June 4.—To Commodore Warren, congratulating him on his intercepting a vessel loaded with provisions from Quebec; hopes their incredulity there, as to an armament against Louisburg, will continue a while longer. Requests him to hasten the provisions to Canso where they are short.

June 5.—To Governor Shirley: "I have just had a conference with Commodore Warren on board his ship, who is not inclined after all, to attempt sending his ships into the harbor, till further execution is done against the enemy's batteries. We therefore, propose

to withdraw the six hundred men from the Vigilant, and to man her from Snelling and the two Rhode Island vessels, leaving forty on board to take them to Boston. Mr. Bastide, engineer from Annapolis, has arrived to assist;—reports that the French and Indians drew off from there on the 24th ult., being called away by an express from Louisburg.

"Last night a French soldier deserted from the garrison to us and reports that there are three thousand six hundred men that bear arms, seven or eight hundred of which are soldiers; that they have provisions to last till October, and considerable ammunition; that one hundred and sixteen of our men were taken prisoners at the attack on the island battery; that the enemy judged variously of our forces, from one thousand to four thousand five hundred men; that they have burst one of their mortars and several cannon; that they are prepared to receive an attack every night on all parts of the town; that the guards prevent deserters; that if their expected ships are taken, they will have to surrender, but they do not expect our ships will venture into the harbor; that more ships and soldiers would have been sent from France last fall had not the engineer who went out represented that women were able to defend the place by land. I have sent him to Commodore Warren. Have ordered fourteen transports back to Boston, and Bosch with prisoners. Our scouts are successful, one has just brought in seventeen prisoners."

To Commodore Warren: "I send you a French soldier deserted from the garrison. My council agree that an express should be sent to the Duke of Newcastle if you think it best. Have ordered a cruiser to

the mouth of the harbor to intercept supplies; — as this weakens our land force, hope you will send the Rhode Island or Connecticut schooner on that duty."

To the Honorable Committee of War. Thanks them for timely supplies, and offers his pressing duties on all sides as an excuse for not writing more; refers them to his letters to Governor Shirley; asks for further supplies for the soldiers and a sloop load of boards.

June 6. — To Commodore Warren, to send a cruiser to convey troops from Annapolis, now that the French and Indians have raised the siege there.

June 7. Warren's fleet had, by this time, more than doubled by arrivals of large ships from the West Indies, Newfoundland, and from England, the appearance of which, added to the impression made by Pepperrell's batteries on the fortress and town, and the long and wearisome bombardment of nearly six weeks, awakened some alarm among the French as to the issue of the contest, which was increased by intelligence sent in by a flag of truce of the capture of the Vigilant, of which they were still ignorant. The stratagem by which the intelligence was conveyed was, by requesting the commander of the Vigilant to visit his crew, then distributed about in Warren's fleet as prisoners, that he might see how they fared. He expressed satisfaction at their treatment, when he was told that the governor of the fortress had treated some American prisoners inhumanly, and added unnecessary suffering to their captivity, and he was requested to interpose in their favor. He readily complied and addressed the following note to the governor.

[To Duchambon, Governor of Louisburg.]

On board the Vigilant, where I am a prisoner, before Louisburg, June 8, 1745.

Herewith I send you, Sir, the copy of a letter written me by Mr. Warren, commander of a squadron, who informs me that the French have treated some English prisoners with cruelty and inhumanity. I can scarcely believe it, since it is the intention of the king, our master, that they should be well treated on every occasion. You are to know that on the 30th of May, I was taken by the squadron, as I was about to enter your harbor, and it is fitting you should be informed that the gentlemen, the captains and officers, treat us not as prisoners but as their good friends, and take a very particular care that my officers and equipage should want nothing. To me it seems just you should treat them in the same manner, and see that those be punished who act otherwise, and offer any insult to those whom you may make prisoners.

Yours, etc.,

DE LA MAISON FORTE.

Captain McDonald was bearer of the flag and note, the reading of which was the first intimation they had of the loss of the Vigilant. Although a good French linguist, he spoke to the enemy through an interpreter, as if ignorant of their language. They conversed the more freely for this, and exhibited not only surprise but dismay, at the loss of that large ship, and all the supplies she contained.

June 7.— To Governor Shirley: "The advice that Annapolis was besieged induced Commodore Warren to send Captains Tyng and Thompson, but receiving information that the siege was raised, the vessels

returned and Rouse proceeded to Boston. Vessels were sent into the Strait of Canso to cut off their retreat. We are, therefore, unable to spare any more of the cruisers at present, without hazard to our main enterprise. We are quite out of powder, and our batteries are silent; must have more. It is incredible how much such a siege consumes. We are under the greatest obligation to Commodore Warren for supplies, who has been very obliging every way."

To Governor Mascarene: "I am very glad the enemy has raised the siege at Annapolis, and shall endeavor to intercept them if they retreat this way. On hearing you was besieged, the commodore sent two ships of war to relief. Please to hasten their return back, as we are hourly expecting a squadron of French ships."

At a council of war of naval commanders, held on board ship, "the question being put, whether with the naval force we have now here, it is practicable and advisable to go into the harbor of Louisburg and attack the town and fortresses without the island battery being first taken, considering the assistance proposed to be given by the land forces, by General Pepperrell's plan dated the 26th of May last?" After duly considering the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking, "it was unanimously agreed that it is not practicable or advisable to attack the town, without the island battery being first taken." The question being then put, whether the island battery is to be attacked, and in what manner?

"It was resolved, after having examined the pilots, already on board his Majesty's ships, who declare they do not know how near ships can be carried to the battery, therefore decline taking charge of them; that

if proper pilots can be found who will take charge and anchor them within half a cable's length of the island battery, so as not to be exposed to the fire of the town, and further, if the general will supply us with proper officers and five hundred men in the whaleboats, to be sent on board the commodore, and to land when he shall think proper, to attack the island battery under protection of the ships, we will then use our endeavors to attempt it as soon as the wind and weather will permit.

June 8. — To Commodore Warren: "Your favors by Col. McDonald with a copy of the opinion of the commanders of the squadron relating to attacking the town and island battery, is received. Since the experience we have had of its strength, the great difficulty of landing, the probable transportation of the enemy there, I cannot think it advisable to attack it again in whaleboats which a few musket balls might sink. The circumstances of the army do not admit of any more vigorous measures at present than were proposed in our plan of May 25th. I am doing my utmost to forward every thing which appears to me best for speedy success. Am very sorry that you and the gentlemen who command his Majesty's ships, by misrepresentation from any of what has been done by our troops, should apprehend that no material damage has been done to any of the enemy's batteries, when I am able to assure you that the circular battery, which is the most considerable of any in the city, is nearly ruined, only three or four guns out of sixteen being left. If you decline going in with your ships, we shall continue to do what we can with our batteries; hope to have the light-house battery completed to annoy the island battery, and your ships might attack it from the

outside and be safe to retreat. I send you three pilots to take your ships to anchorage near it. Col. McDonald has been in with your letter and the Marquis's, and will bring you an answer. I shall be happy to wait upon you on shore."

June 9. — To the same: "Our smiths are making langrage and manicles. We have two Swiss deserters who say there are about one thousand six hundred to one thousand eight hundred men in Louisburg capable of bearing arms, about six hundred of them soldiers; that they are short of provisions, have not more than a month's stock, and but little ammunition; that they expect to surrender if their ships do not soon arrive from France; that if the island battery was silenced they would immediately surrender the town, and that a mortar at the light-house battery would greatly annoy them. I shall send over our large mortar this night and with them more cannon to bear upon the enemy, and shall make the island battery too warm for them."

June 10. — To the same, acknowledging the receipt of his, advising that a large ship, the Canterbury, had arrived, and two others expected. "Shall be ready to go on board with some of my council when you think most convenient. I am sending a party of men in boats to Mira after four hundred arms and some ammunition sent there to supply the party expected from Annapolis." The two Swiss deserters being examined were sent off to Commodore Warren.

Preparatory to a general assault on the fortress, which would expose the camp and stores to sudden attack by French and Indians from the interior, Pepperrell ordered his men to surround it with pickets.

The bombardment now grew stronger on both sides; the enemy planted six cannon in the night near the west gate which the provincials soon silenced. Redhot balls were poured into the town, and bombs thrown back in return. Scouts were continually in motion. Three or four large ships of war joined the fleet on the 10th and 12th. June 9, 10.

June 11. — Warren concludes to sail into the harbor and writes: "When the wind is fair, and I expect to get in the same day, I will hoist a Dutch flag under my pennant at the maintop gallant masthead; and as a signal to let us know you are ready you are to make three smokes. When I hoist a Dutch flag, you should march toward the town, drums beating and colors flying; when I hoist the red flag on the flagstaff, you may then be assured I shall be in and begin the attack in about half an hour."

June 13. — To Commodore Warren: "I wrote you this morning, since which I have yours advising of the arrival of the three large ships to join you, and desiring my opinion about detaining them. You, Sir, are the best judge, but since you solicit my opinion, I will say that as Annapolis is safe at present, and our affairs here seem to be very near to a crisis, it may be for his Majesty's service to detain them a while. I rejoice in the additions to your force."

Again: "I am making the necessary preparations with all the despatch possible for attacking the town when the ships go in. Have ordered out all the transports to receive your commands; have also ordered all the boats in the harbor to be fitted with oars and ladders; shall take due notice of your signals; have sent you cohorns and shells and what oakum and moss could be collected. The six hundred men shall

be made up when you think it best, among which will be Col. Moore and the chief part of his New Hampshire regiment. I pray the loan of fifty barrels of powder more, which you offered us. We shall have three more forty-twos ready to play upon the circular battery, and prevent annoyance to your ships therefrom as they come in."

On the 13th all the transports were ordered out of Cabarus Bay to the fleet, to clear them of their lumber. Heaps of brush were made ready on Green Hill for smoke signals, and scaling ladders carried to the advance batteries. On the 15th Warren came on shore, and the troops being paraded, were exhorted in stirring speeches, by both him and Pepperrell, to show their valor and heroism in the designed attack. The fleet, consisting of eleven ships of from forty to sixty guns each, all anchored in a line near the town, made an imposing appearance, and Pepperrell ordered six hundred provincials on board them to augment their crews.

Governor Duchambon now saw no hope of averting the impending storm; his island battery, the palladium of Louisburg, Pepperrell had partially silenced by the light-house battery, and it was still receiving an incessant fire; his north-east battery was damaged, and so exposed to the fire of the advanced fascine batteries that the men could not stand to their guns; the circular battery was ruined and most of its guns dismounted; the west gate demolished and a breach made in the adjoining wall; the west flank of the king's bastion almost ruined; the houses quite demolished; his troops worn down by forty-eight days' siege and broken sleep, and a force of five times his number of men surrounding and gathering in upon him by sea and land, like

surging waves, ready to burst the opposing barriers and pour in a broad flood, he could do no otherwise than surrender. Accordingly, late in the afternoon of June 15th, and while the commodore was on shore, a flag was sent to Pepperrell asking time to consider terms of capitulation. Captain Sherburn, who commanded the advance battery, received the officer midway between it and the gate. Meanwhile all firing ceased, excepting at the light-house battery, which continued its fire upon the island battery, not knowing that a parley was holding. They returned the following answer:—

[To Governor Duchambon.]

Camp, June 15, 1745, 8½ P. M.

We have yours of this date proposing a suspension of hostilities for such a time as shall be necessary for you to determine upon the conditions of delivering up the garrison of Louisburg, which arrived at a happy juncture to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, as we were together, and had just determined upon a general attack. We shall comply with your desire until eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and if in the mean time you surrender yourselves prisoners of war, you may depend upon humane and generous treatment.

We are your humble servants,

PETER WARREN,
WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

[Pepperrell and Warren's second letter to Duchambon.]

Camp before Louisburg, June 16, 1745.

We have before us yours of this date, together with the several articles of capitulation on which you have proposed to surrender the town and fortifications of Louisburg, with the territories adjacent under your

government, to his Britannic Majesty's obedience, to be delivered up to his said Majesty's forces now besieging said place under our command; which articles we can by no means concede to. But as we are desirous to treat you in a generous manner, we do again make you an offer of the terms of surrender proposed by us in our summons sent you May 7th last; and do further consent to allow, and promise you the following articles, namely: —

1st. That if your own vessels shall be found insufficient for the transportation of your persons and proposed effects to France, we will supply such a number of other vessels as may be sufficient for that purpose, also any provisions necessary for the voyage which you cannot furnish yourselves with.

2d. That all the commissioned officers belonging to the garrison, and the inhabitants of the town, may remain in their houses with their families, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and no person shall be suffered to misuse or molest any of them till such time as they can conveniently be transported to France.

3d. That the non-commissioned officers and soldiers shall immediately upon the surrender of the town and fortresses, be put on board his Britannic Majesty's ships, till they all be transported to France.

4th. That all your sick and wounded shall be taken tender care of in the same manner as our own.

5th. That the commander-in-chief, now in garrison, shall have liberty to send off covered wagons, to be inspected only by one officer of ours, that no warlike stores may be contained therein.

6th. That if there be any persons in the town or garrison which may desire shall not be seen by us, they shall be permitted to go off masked.

7th. The above we do consent to, and promise upon your compliance with the following conditions: —

1. That the said surrender and due performance of every part of the aforesaid premises be made and completed as soon as possible.

2. That as a security for the punctual performance of the same, the island battery, or one of the batteries of the town, shall be delivered, together with the warlike stores thereunto belonging, into the possession of his Britannic Majesty's troops before six o'clock this evening.

3. That his said Britannic Majesty's ships of war, now lying before the port, shall be permitted to enter the harbor of Louisburg without any molestation, as soon after six of the clock this afternoon as the commander-in-chief of said ships shall think fit.

4. That none of the officers, soldiers, nor inhabitants in Louisburg, who are subjects of the French King, shall take up arms against his Britannic Majesty, nor any of his allies, until after the expiration of the full term of twelve months from this time.

5. That all subjects of his Britannic Majesty, who are now prisoners with you shall be immediately delivered up to us.

In case of your non-compliance with these conditions, we decline any further treaty with you on the affair, and shall decide the matter by our arms, and are, etc.,

Your humble servants,

P. Warren,
W. Pepperrell.

[Letter from General Pepperrell to Governor Duchambon.]

Camp before Louisburg, June 16.

Sir, — I have yours by an hostage, signifying your assent to the surrender of the town and fortresses of

Louisburg, and the territories adjacent, etc., etc., on the terms this day proposed to you by Commodore Warren and myself; excepting only that you desire your troops may march out of the garrison with their arms, and colors flying, to be then delivered into our custody, till the said troops' arrival in France, at which time to have them returned to them — which I consent to and send you an hostage for the performance of what we have promised, and have sent to Commodore Warren that if he consents to it, he would send a detachment on shore to take possession of the island battery.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

[Letter from Commodore Warren to Governor Duchambon.]

Superbe, off Louisburg, June 16, 1748.

SIR, — I have received your letter of this date, desiring that His Most Christian Majesty's troops under your command, may have the honors of war given them, so far as to march to my boats, at the beach, with their muskets and bayonets, and colors flying, there to deliver them to the officers of his Britannic Majesty, whom I shall appoint for that purpose, to be kept in my custody till they shall be landed in the French king's dominions, then and there to be returned to them, which I agree to in consideration of your gallant defence, upon the following conditions: —

First, That you deliver up immediately to the officers and troops whom I shall appoint, the island battery with all the ammunition, cannon, warlike and other king's stores thereunto belonging, in the condition they now are.

Secondly, That all the ships of war and other vessels do enter the harbor without molestation, at any

time after daylight to-morrow morning, and *that the keys of the town be delivered to such officers and troops as I shall appoint* to receive them, and that all the cannon, warlike and other stores in the town, be also delivered up to the said officer. I expect your immediate compliance with these terms, and beg to assure you, that I am with regard, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

P. WARREN.

June 16. — To Commodore Warren: "I understand you have had an hostage from the governor of Louisburg, as I also have to signify his consent to our proposals, made this day, except their troops' going out of the garrison with their arms and colors. We have considered the affair here, and are of opinion that it is too small a point to hinder any time upon, and are willing to grant it to them, but have thought it proper to know your opinion on it, and if you consent, please to send and take possession of the island battery, as soon as possible. I shall lose no time in getting our troops into the town."

Warren replies: "Sir, I received your favor by Col. Moore, and am glad our sentiments agree with regard to allowing the troops the honors of war which they desired; the uncertainty of our affairs that depend so much on wind and weather, make it necessary not to stickle at trifles. I find you have got an hostage, I have another, and have sent Captain Durell to the governor in his room, and at daylight propose to send men to take possession of the island battery, and to go into the harbor with the ships if possible. I have wrote to Saunders to order all the vessels in Cabarus bay to follow us immediately in. I rejoice at our success, be as-

sured, sir. I shall always be glad of your approbation of my conduct. I beg we may all behave to the prisoners with the humanity and honor becoming English officers, and be persuaded it will add greatly to the reputation which we acquire by the reduction of this formidable garrison. I believe you will think it right to send an express, both to England and Boston, as soon as possible. I will write no letter but what I will show you, that you may be convinced that I do you, and all the gentlemen employed on this expedition, all the honor in my power."

According to the promise above stated, Warren sent marines to take possession of the island battery, and Pepperrell, in accordance with his letter, was about to send troops to take possession of the city; preparatory to which he addressed a note to Gov. Duchambon, saying, "I received a letter from Commodore Warren this morning in answer to mine of last night, in regard to your being allowed the liberty of marching with your forces out of the town with their arms, — drums beating, and colors flying, which he, as well as myself, was ready to comply with, which gives me pleasure.

June 17.

"I desire the favor that your officers and families, with the inhabitants and their families may repair to their own houses as soon as possible, where they may depend on meeting the best treatment, nor shall any person be suffered to give them the least disturbance; and also that your troops may put their arms by themselves in the magazine, where they shall be kept safe, and returned to them the day they are to march out of the town. I shall send Colonel Bradstreet with a detachment at four o'clock this afternoon to take possession of the town and forts, to whom I desire you will deliver them, with all

your warlike stores and keys. Pray send out a gentleman to let Colonel Bradstreet know what gate he is to march in at."

Warren writes to Pepperrell: "Sir, I came ashore to the island battery, and from thence to town, in order to settle matters relating to the capitulation as soon as possible. The governor has shown me your letter desiring he would deliver up the town, etc., to you at four o'clock this afternoon. It is not regular, you will please to observe, to do it till the articles are ratified on both sides, which I will hasten to get done, and will meet you at three or four o'clock at Colonel Richmond's, and if the papers proper can be by that time done, I will bring them with me. I am sorry to find by your letter a kind of jealousy, which I thought you would never conceive of me, after my letter to you of last night, and give me leave to tell you I don't want at this time to acquire reputation, as I flatter myself mine has been pretty well established long before. I shall be glad to see Colonel Bradstreet, Mr. Bastide, or any other of your council or officers with you. My squadron are now coming in, but I believe it will be night before they can get in. I beg leave to tell you that the governor expresses some little resentment at your letter of this date, and be assured that a proper treatment and strict adherence to the capitulation should never be violated, but on the contrary, should be righteously and religiously observed, otherwise we may bring dishonor upon ourselves and our country, which, I am persuaded, you never intend."

Warren was right in his opinion that the terms of capitulation should be exchanged before occupancy, but wrong in attributing the letter of Pepperrell to Duchambon to jealousy. It originated in a belief

that it was his duty to enter the city immediately, to prevent the destruction of property that belonged to the captors, and the ships being outside, it was uncertain when they would enter the harbor to assist. He had requested Warren to take possession of the island battery, and notified him of his intention to send Bradstreet with troops to take possession that afternoon, and his letter to Duchambon asking a guide to enter, was civil and courteous, and less adapted to produce resentment than Warren's, which was dictatorial and authoritative if not menacing; and it is probable that its severe tone conveyed to Duchambon the idea that he was to be regarded as commander-in-chief rather than a coequal, and therefore that Pepperrell had overstept the bounds of a subordinate in requesting him to throw open the gates to his troops. It is, moreover, evident that the complaint of Warren that "it was not regular to ask the delivery up of the town, etc., till the articles are ratified on both sides," is a mere pretence, from the fact that the articles were not translated and signed for two days after, (June 19,) although Pepperrell (instead of Bradstreet) marched in at the head of his troops on the 17th. The foregoing separate letter of Warren to the governor claiming precedence and demanding the surrender of the town, etc., to himself, for so it reads, was unknown to Pepperrell at the time, and probably ever after, for it was not until a recent period that a copy of it was obtained from the French records and deposited in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is most likely that on further reflection Warren assented to Pepperrell's entrance and reception of the keys, for they were in his custody a short time after, when Governor Shirley arrived, and were presented to him in presence of the troops under

arms, with formal ceremony, and Warren being present as a spectator, made a speech highly complimentary of Pepperrell and his army.

We have dwelt longer on this subject than its apparent insignificance would seem to justify, partly because it produced a strong sensation at the time in New England, as will appear presently, but more from the fact that most American histories and some English ones, advert to it as an incident that rankled in the American mind until the outbreak of the Revolution.

By the capitulation six hundred and fifty veteran troops, one thousand three hundred and ten militiamen, the crew of the Vigilant, and about two thousand of the inhabitants, being four thousand one hundred and thirty in all, engaged not to bear arms against Great Britain or New England for twelve months, and embarking on board fourteen cartel ships were transported to Rochefort in France. Seventy-six cannon and mortars fell into the hands of the victors, beside other property to an immense amount, and there were in the town provisions for five or six months. The loss among the provincials was one hundred and thirty, and of the French, three hundred, killed within the walls, which, with the shattered condition of the city and fortifications, proved that the nine thousand cannon balls and six hundred bombs Pepperrell threw at them had done some execution.

Upon entering the fortress, and viewing its strength and the plenty and variety of its means for defence, the stoutest hearts were appalled; and the practicability of taking it by surprise, as contemplated by Shirley, appeared entirely futile.

As a decoy to French merchantmen, the French flag

was kept flying; and the value of all the rich prizes taken by this stratagem was estimated at a million of dollars, half of which went to the crown and the other half to the naval captors.

The provincial army marched into the fortress at the south-west gate, and paraded in a line between the cazmates in front of the French troops, who were drawn up in front of the barracks in a parallel line to receive them. Salutations were exchanged, and formal possession taken.

A banquet was prepared by Pepperrell for the officers. Several chaplains were present, and the senior one, old Parson Moody of York, the uncle of Mrs. Pepperrell, was of right called upon to crave the blessing. Moody's friends were anxious lest he should disgust the guests by a prolix performance, such as he often indulged in; but his temper was so irritable that none would suggest that brevity would be acceptable. They were agreeably disappointed and highly gratified by his performing in the following manner: "Good Lord! we have so many things to thank thee for, that time will be infinitely too short to do it; we must therefore leave it for the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship upon this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ our Lord, Amen."

[Official Report of the Victory to Governor Shirley.]

June 18.—"May it please your Excellency, it is with the utmost pleasure that I now congratulate you and my country on the happy issue of our enterprise against Louisburg, which was effected through God's goodness by the surrender of this strong fortress, etc., on the 16th instant, upon terms of capitulation agreed

to with the governor of said place, by Commodore Warren, and myself, a copy of which I have inclosed to your Excellency; and accordingly the fleet came into the harbor, and a detachment of our troops with myself entered the town yesterday and this morning. The French troops marched out and were embarked on board the ships. We are with all possible speed removing every thing from the camp into town, and are taking an account of the state of the garrison and of stores found here, which I shall send with this, if it can be accomplished in season. We find our shot and bombs have prodigiously distressed and damaged the enemy. The circular battery is almost entirely demolished; but I must omit particulars. Many of our army will be impatient to return home. I desire your directions on that head, also relating to Canso, etc., etc. I shall forthwith forward despatches to the Duke of Newcastle to inform his Grace of our success and situation.

"I need not again express to you, Sir, that I esteem it of the happiest consequence that his Majesty's ships were sent here under the command of a gentleman whose distinguished merit and goodness New England claims a particular right to honor and rejoice in. I should want words to express the instances of his zeal in the affair, and the entire readiness he has shown through the whole of it, to give the army all possible assistance, but to your Excellency and every one who knows him, it is enough to say, Commodore Warren was here. I was favored with his company on shore the day Mr. Duchambon sent out his first letter desiring suspension of hostilities, and we had just before, agreed upon a general attack by land and sea the first opportunity; but heaven has given us an easier victory than

that might probably have been. We have not lost above one hundred men by the enemy in this vast enterprise, including the disaster at the island battery." After speaking of the wants of provisions, flags, and building materials to make the necessary repairs, he adds: "I believe such ruins were never seen before, which, however, is not to be wondered at, as we gave the town about nine thousand cannon balls and six hundred bombs before they surrendered, which sorely distressed them, especially the day before they sent out a flag of truce, when our incessant fire on the town prevented their showing their heads or stirring from their covert ways, and from our light-house battery we played upon the island battery with our cannon and large mortar, so that some of them ran into the sea for shelter."

To Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire and Governor Law of Connecticut he sends an official report of the victory, the terms of capitulation, and says, "The next day the ships entered the harbor, and a detachment of the troops with myself marched into town." Says their respective troops of each State have been always ready to take their share of fatigue. Compliments Commodore Warren as having done every thing in his power.

[Letter to Governor Wanton.]

Louisburg, July 25, 1745.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY: —

I received your favor of the 29th of June per Captain Mumford, and congratulate you and the gentlemen of Rhode Island colony upon the happy success of his Majesty's arms in the reduction of this place and territories adjacent, an account of which I am sensible has

reached you some time since, and am persuaded was received with that pleasure which must fill the breast of all his Majesty's subjects, and of every wellwisher to the prosperity of the colonies. The three companies raised in your colony for our assistance, with commission from you, (whose advancement to the chair of government I beg leave to congratulate you on,) arrived here last week, and you may be assured shall have my favor and countenance in every thing in my power. I have transmitted to the Duke of Newcastle an account of our success, and of the present condition of this place, and am persuaded speedy measures will be taken for the support and defence of it. But until his Majesty's pleasure is known it will be necessary to keep a large body of troops here, and as many of those who first came have been detained beyond what they expected, they will be impatient to return to their families, which will render a supply of fresh troops necessary, it being somewhat doubtful if any can be sent from Europe this year. A great stock of provisions and warlike stores to be laid in here before the fall is far advanced, is also necessary. I think there ought to be at least twelve or fifteen months' provisions for three or four thousand men, and I flatter myself that those governments who have been ready to join their assistance for the reduction of this place, will not be backward in affording their aid in what may be necessary for keeping it from ever falling into the hands of the French again. You will hear by the way of Boston of the taking a ship off this harbor two days since, which proved to be a very rich Indiaman.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

Captain Bennet was despatched to Boston with an account of the conquest, and arrived on the 3d of July about one in the morning. Before sunrise bells were ringing, and cannon roaring, and joyful faces crowding the streets with shouts of victory. The Rev. Dr. Chauney writes to Pepperrell on the 4th of July: "I heartily congratulate you upon the news we received yesterday about break of day, of the reduction of Cape Breton. The people of Boston, before sunrise, were as thick about the streets as on an election day, and a pleasing joy visibly sat on the countenance of every one met with.

"As God has made you an instrument of so much service to your country, at the hazard of your life, and the expense of great labor and fatigue, your name is deservedly and universally spoken of with respect, and I doubt not will be handed down with honor to the latest posterity.

"We had, last night, the finest illumination I ever beheld with my eyes. I believe there was not a house in town, in no by-lane or alley, but joy might be seen through its windows. The night also was made joyful by bonfires, fireworks, and all other external tokens of rejoicing. But I hope we shall in a better manner still commemorate the goodness of God in this remarkable victory obtained against our enemies. I hear next Thursday is set apart for a day of general thanksgiving through the province; and I believe there is not a man in the country but will heartily join in thanksgivings to God for his appearance on our behalf." The letter concludes with the highest encomiums upon Commodore Warren's character, and his good conduct in the siege.

The news of this brilliant achievement filled America with joy, and Europe with astonishment. Not only Boston, but New York and Philadelphia celebrated it with ringing of bells, firing of salutes, and illuminations. Volumes of congratulatory letters poured in upon Pepperrell from towns, corporations, and distinguished citizens, and a day was set apart for thanksgiving in most of the New England colonies. On the arrival of Captain Montague, who went express with the news of the surrender to London, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty made him a present of five hundred guineas; the cannon of the Tower and Park were fired by order of the Lords of the Regency; at night there were great rejoicings with illuminations and bonfires in the city and in places adjacent, and a general joy and gladness diffused itself through the whole kingdom. Almost every city presented congratulatory addresses to the king on his return from Hanover. Despatches had been previously sent to him while there, on receiving which, he expressed the highest satisfaction, and ordered it to be signified to the commanders and other officers and men, by sea and land, who had been instrumental therein. Order was given that General Pepperrell be directed to acquaint the officers with his Majesty's gracious approbation of their services on this occasion; and in further testimony how acceptable this important acquisition was to his Majesty, a patent was sent from Hanover creating General Pepperrell a Baronet of Great Britain, an honor never before conferred on a native of America. Commodore Warren was promoted to be Admiral, and was recommended by the Lords Justices to be appointed governor of the place, which was accordingly done the following year, until which time, the government of

Cape Breton was administered by Warren and Pepperrell conjointly.

To Pepperrell was given a commission to raise and command a regiment in the British line. Governor Shirley also received a colonel's commission, as a reward for his services in projecting and promoting the expedition.

CHAPTER V.

THE weather, which through the last forty days of the siege was remarkably fine for the season, soon changed, and an incessant rain of ten days succeeded. Had this happened before the surrender, hundreds then sick with the dysentery must have perished. There was, throughout the expedition, a favorable concurrence of circumstances, some of them nowise dependent upon human action or foresight, and the hand of Providence was never more visible. "If any one circumstance," says Douglas, "had taken a wrong turn on our side, or if any one circumstance had taken a right turn on the French side, the expedition must have miscarried." The general attributed the event to nothing less than divine interposition, in answer to the prayers that were offered up daily by the people throughout New England, and weekly in meetings of most of the religious societies specially convened for the purpose.

Sir William and the Admiral were highly complimented by the Duke of Newcastle and others, as will presently appear, for their harmonious coöperation for the good of the service at Louisburg. More credit is, however, due to Pepperrell in this particular than to Warren. They both strove to be faithful to their trust, but Warren knew less of character and the springs of human action than Pepperrell. He never could have raised an army of volunteers like Pepperrell's, nor have controlled them by such gentle measures. Not a single

soldier was punished till long after the capitulation. Accustomed to command rough and turbulent sailors, Warren knew little how to discipline men otherwise than by main force. Nor could he like Pepperrell, treat those near him in rank, when their opinions ran counter to his, with due courtesy and respect. He had the *fortiter in re*, but not the *suaviter in modo* of Pepperrell, as was manifested on several occasions.

Pepperrell received a morose letter from Warren, reflecting on him and his council, the nature of which appears in the following reply, which shows his imperturbable spirit and self-possession, as compared with the petulance of the commodore.

July 18.—To Commodore Warren: "Yours of the 16th instant I received yesterday afternoon. I never doubted of your hearty concern for having this conquest duly secured and settled to the best advantage as speedily as possible, and of your readiness to contribute every thing in your power thereto, and am sorry your letter discovers any thing like an apprehension in you that I am not equally so, but as I join with you entirely that it is best to act in an amicable and friendly manner towards each other as we have hitherto done, I will at present pass by the reflections therein on my own and my council's conduct.

"I find, Sir, the particulars that give you great concern are, that we make so little advances in settling this place; that the army are in want of some necessaries, and you apprehend are not duly supplied with others; and that so many of the men have been allowed to return home. As to the first, as you have not pointed out any particular instance of my backwardness, I am at a loss to know what you refer to. We have, together and separately, represented the state of this place, and

what is necessary to be done for its encouragement, both to the ministry at home, and to the several governments of New England, and are waiting their answers. In the mean time the army is employed in such works as his Majesty's engineer thinks most necessary, and as I have before mentioned to you, I am ready to give all the encouragement in my power to any persons that shall appear willing to settle here. As to the army's wanting necessaries, it gives me as much uneasiness as it possibly can you, and would give me more had I not made repeated pressing requests to Governor Shirley for supplies, some part of which have arrived, and I daily expect more, and in the mean time shall do my utmost to make them easy under the want of them, and as to their not being duly supplied with what we have, I have made inquiry, and do not find any blame due to the commissaries in that respect.

"As to the men sent home, which are about seven hundred, they were many of them sick and lame and otherwise incapable of duty, and the rest such as the circumstances of their families would have rendered it cruel to detain them here, without an absolute necessity which I did not apprehend, as we have above three thousand troops now on the spot, and more coming in every day. I have been and shall always be ready to advise with you and communicate the advice of my council, and shall readily join with you in prosecuting any thing that can be done for his Majesty's service in regulating, securing, and settling this important and glorious conquest."

Almost every published history of the siege and conquest of Louisburg speaks, as already stated, of a contention between the two commanders for the honor of receiving the keys. Some rumor of the kind probably

reached Boston, which, in the highly excited state of the public mind, enkindled a flame of indignation against Warren, and evoked censures upon Pepperrell, for having, as was supposed, yielded to him.

The following letter of Rev. Dr. Chauncy is a specimen of the feeling existing at the time, written only two or three weeks after his congratulations to Pepperrell, and his encomiums upon Warren, and verifies the remark of an eminent statesman, that "error may travel far, whilst truth is pulling on its boots." In this case truth has never overtaken and entirely corrected it.

"It is commonly talked in town," says Chauncy, "that *the keys of Louisburg were delivered, not to you, but to Commodore Warren*, and that he has acted too much as though the command of the place belonged to him. You will see the sense of both branches of the legislature upon this head, in their address to the governor to go to Cape Breton. It is, indeed, *highly resented by every New England man in Boston*, that Mr. Warren should pretend to assume the government at Louisburg, and he has lost a great deal of credit in the affair, and some things are said to your disadvantage, for not exerting yourself for the honor of New England upon this occasion. How far you did exert yourself we do not indeed know; but your best friends wish you had insisted upon the preëminence due to you and the troops under your command, so as even to have given up the capitulation if it had not been conceded to. *If the high-admiral of England had been there, he would not have had the least right to command anywhere but in his own ships.* How far a certain colonel (*Bradstreet*) may have had an hand in making mischief we know not. But some of your very good friends are of opinion, that affairs would have been managed full as

well if he had not been there, or less regard had been paid to him."

Rev. Professor Henry Flynt, towards the conclusion of a congratulatory letter, writes: "You need nothing more to add to the glory of your life, but a heart full of humble and permanent gratitude to Almighty God who has improved you as a remarkable instrument to bring about this happy event, so glorious to yourself, your king, and country. Our joy was something abated in hearing of *misunderstanding between yourself and the commodore, but revived again when we were informed there were so little ground for those reports.*" Pepperrell, as already stated, marched into the city at the hour he had named to the governor, received the keys, and some weeks after passed them over to Shirley, and no objection appears to have been made to it by Warren.

It must be admitted that Pepperell's situation was surrounded with trials and difficulties, which required the utmost patience and forbearance, and such as few commanders could have managed successfully. Many of his officers and men were personal acquaintances and neighbors, with whom he was again to mingle, after their return from the scene of war, and they would not endure the severities of military discipline usually required in a siege. The daily jars arising between both officers and men, who had left their comfortable firesides to follow him to scenes of danger and privation, required his utmost skill and tact to settle them amicably. Added to this were the daily supervision necessary in every department of the service, daily sittings of the council of war, frequent correspondence with the governors of New England and with Warren, the heavy responsibility and anxiety working upon his mind as to the result of the enterprise, the deficiency of

timely supplies of provisions and munitions of war, together with broken sleep under a tent, and the frequent occurrence of accidents and disasters, were collectively sufficient to exhaust the energies of any man. Yet nothing seemed to disturb his equanimity, and nothing like complaint escaped from his lips or pen, with one or two exceptions, throughout the siege.

The officers of Pepperrell's army requested Governor Shirley, soon after the capitulation, to visit Louisburg. Sickness had commenced among the troops, and they were discontented and dissatisfied at their detention beyond the time for which they enlisted, which was during the expedition. Those from Massachusetts received only twenty-five shillings a month; those from Connecticut forty; and those from Rhode Island fifty shillings, which occasioned great discontent. Shirley raised the pay of those of his own State to forty shillings, which quieted their almost open rebellion. On his return to Boston the governor addressed the legislature then assembled, in a speech which furnishes some interesting historical facts. After congratulating them on the conquest, and repeating the high encomiums bestowed on their zeal and patriotism by the king, which were by his order transmitted by the Duke of Newcastle, announcing also the honors conferred on Pepperrell and Warren, he adds, that Governor Thomas of Pennsylvania, and Governor Clinton of New York, had sent clothing, and that provisions had arrived there from the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, which were granted by those respective governments for the use of the garrison; that he had raised three hundred and twenty-nine recruits, and Connecticut one hundred and seventy, to relieve the soldiers there; that he had

transmitted to his Majesty a full account of the proceedings of the New England troops during the late siege, from the time of their landing at Cabarus Bay to the surrender of the town. And he adds: "I have the satisfaction to declare, from the knowledge I gained upon the spot, that their conduct and behavior have been such as will reflect a lasting honor upon the colonies to which the troops respectively belong; that the difficulties they grappled with, the toils and fatigues they underwent during the seven weeks' siege, required the most unwearied perseverance and fixed resolution, as well as bravery, and such as none but men determined by the help of Divine Providence to conquer, and I think I may, without partiality to them, say, none but themselves would have surmounted."

As already mentioned, several rich prizes were, by keeping the French flag hoisted, decoyed into Louisburg and captured by the British fleet, amounting to the sum of a million of dollars.* The proceeds of sales were divided, one half to the crown, and the other half exclusively among the officers and crews of the fleet. This was probably in accordance with naval rules, but in the present case was any thing but fair, since but for the toil and enterprise of the army, the fortress had not been taken, with its flagstaffs to hoist false colors upon. To use a homely expression, the army "beat the bush" and the navy "caught the bird." Some portion of the prize money ought in equity to have been distributed among the provincials, but they were told that their portion of the plunder was to be gathered on the land,

* Two East India ships, amounting in value to 175,000*l.*, and the South Sea ship, decoyed by Fletcher in the Boston packet under the guns of the fleet, and taken August 22d, was valued at 800,000*l.*

and that the crown would probably divide the Island of Cape Breton among the soldiers. The only thing they however realized was a mere trifle accruing from the sale of provisions and clothing which the commissary department purchased of them at auction.

In September it was resolved by the council to send three hundred to four hundred troops to St. Johns' Island (Prince Edward's) to take possession. In October the cannon and stores were ordered from Canso to Louisburg, and also from the grand battery as well as the palisadoes and fascines that had been provided before the surrender of the city. The cannon from the grand battery were returned and remounted there the following March.

August 6. — Sir William notifies Governor Shirley of a reported army of ten thousand being on their way from Quebec to the English frontiers, adding, —

" My chief fear is, that the Canada men who lately besieged Annapolis will soon ruin the frontier of Maine. Our army is extremely destitute; appearances alone, without hearing their frequent complaints, would move the pity of any one of the least compassion. Soldiers are almost naked, many of them barefooted. Of the shoes sent, only about four and a half pairs to a company, and these too small. This climate is very subject to fogs and rains. Want of clothing, good lodging, and good water, and the noisomeness of the town, occasioned by so long a siege, with disappointment at not being able to return, so sinks their spirits that they are daily falling sick. There is a general dissatisfaction and uneasiness in the army as a consequence, and unless speedy care be taken to redress grievances, the consequences will be fatal. The pay of Massachusetts troops must be on a par with that of Rhode Island and

Connecticut. New levies must be raised, and provisions and clothing sent forthwith."

[Official Account to the Duke of Newcastle, by Commodore Warren and General Pepperrell.]

June 18.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE: —

We presume you have been made acquainted, by Governor Shirley, of the expedition intended against Louisburg and the territory thereunto belonging. We have now only time to congratulate your Grace on the success of his Majesty's arms by the surrender of said place on the 16th instant, after a siege of forty-nine days, on terms of capitulation, a copy of which we inclose to your Grace. The repeated timely assistance of the squadron of his Majesty's ships sent here, deserves our most grateful acknowledgments. The acquisition of this strong fortress which much exceeds our most extended apprehensions, will, we are persuaded, be thought of great advantage to his Majesty's dominions, especially in North America, and that immediate care will be taken for the defence thereof, by the nation; also that his Majesty's subjects who voluntarily engaged in the expedition will be entitled to such favor from his Majesty as will animate them to make further progress against the settlements of the French in America, and flatter ourselves that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to approve of, by confirming such persons in their posts for their zeal and good behavior, as we from personal observation take leave to recommend to his favor.

June 26. — To the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, Pepperrell repeats the substance of the joint letter to the Duke of Newcastle. Compliments War-

ren, speaks of the value of the conquest, and of the readiness of the New England troops to make further acquisitions.

June 28. — Pepperrell writes to the Duke of Newcastle a separate letter corresponding with the joint one, and speaks more particularly of the hard services of the provincials, what they had done, etc., and compliments Warren.

June 29. — To Governor Shirley: "The council advises earnestly to request you to visit Louisburg. Commodore Warren sent Captain Montague, on 22d, to England, and has ordered Rouse to proceed with a duplicate."

July 4. — A duplicate by Rouse, and which also advises the establishment of two provincial regiments, and to send one of regulars, to protect the place; mentions the condition and wants of the fortress and need of supplies, and recommends Captain Rouse to favor, and to have the command of a snow. Same day writes to Governor Shirley pressingly for supplies, and for his presence. Says Mr. Duchambon and all the French are off, the officers and families in the Launceston.

July 8. — Repeats the request for more supplies; says the army is very destitute and is impatient to get home.

July 9. — To Governor Mascarene giving account of the victory.

July 18. — To Governor Shirley. Calls for more stores, and rum, and molasses. Says Fletcher has taken a large schooner at St. Anns, laden with provisions from Quebec. He adds: "I design the army shall join with our country, to-morrow, in thankfully acknowledging the special favor of Divine Providence

that has most remarkably attended our labors in this expedition."

[To Governor Wanton of Rhode Island.]

September 13.

SIR, — I received with pleasure your letter congratulatory upon the success of his Majesty's arms under my command here, and as you express the full sense your colony has of the consequences of this acquisition to the trade and security of the plantations, etc., and your readiness to support the troops lately sent here by your government if his Majesty shall judge it necessary. I take this opportunity to mention to you that it is uncertain when his Majesty's pleasure will be known, but it is my opinion that the continuance of your troops here, and your support of them till that time, will be acceptable to the king, and that, therefore, you make the speediest provision of various kinds, of good bedding and serviceable warm clothing fit for soldiers in this most inclement climate. There is a deficiency of twenty-eight men in the companies you sent, as by the memorandum given me by Captain Smith. I hope you will not fail to supply them as soon as possible, especially as there is a squadron of French men-of-war on our coast, who may make some sudden and bold push to our disadvantage, if the garrison be not well manned. Or should they not attempt it until spring, it may happen that they will come before recruits from New England can arrive.

Yours, etc.,

WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

[Letter from the Duke of Newcastle.]

Whitehall, August 10, 1745.

SIR, — I received on the 20th of last month per Captain Montague, yours and Mr. Warren's joint letter of the 18th of June, with the agreeable news of the reduction of the fort and town of Louisburg, and of the territory thereunto belonging to his Majesty's obedience, and I had by the same opportunity your separate letter of the same date. On the 20th Captain Geary arrived, and brought me your letter of June 28th, and yours and Mr. Warren's joint letter of July 4th, with duplicates of your former despatches. I laid them all immediately before the Lords Justices, who had the greatest joy in an event which does so much honor to his Majesty's arms, and may be attended with such happy consequences to the trade and commerce of his Majesty's subjects; and their Excellencies recommended to me in a particular manner, to assure you of the sense they have of your prudence, courage, and conduct which contributed so greatly to the success of this enterprise. As I lost no time in transmitting copies of your despatches to my Lord Harrington at Hanover, to be laid before the king, I have now the pleasure to acquaint you that the news of the reduction of Louisburg was received by his Majesty with the highest satisfaction, which the king has commanded should be signified to all the commanders and other officers, both of land and sea, who were instrumental therein: in consequence of which, I am to desire you would acquaint the officers under your command with his Majesty's most gracious approbation of their services upon this occasion. It is a great satisfaction to me to acquaint you that his Majesty has thought fit to distinguish the commanders-

in-chief of this expedition, by conferring on you the dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain, (upon which I beg leave most sincerely to congratulate you,) and by giving a flag to Mr. Warren. The Lords Justices have thought proper to recommend Mr. Warren to his Majesty to be appointed Governor of Louisburg, and his commission for that purpose will be sent to him by the first opportunity. The Lords Justices had under their consideration what orders might be necessary to be immediately given for securing this important conquest, and as you and Mr. Warren have represented the necessity of establishing a garrison of regular troops there, their Excellencies have ordered two regiments to be sent thither immediately from Gibraltar; and as orders were despatched to Gibraltar on the 27th past, to hold the regiments in readiness to embark for Cape Breton immediately upon the arrival of the transports from hence, we hope they may arrive at Louisburg in good time. Their Excellencies have not yet received his Majesty's pleasure with regard to the establishing one or more regiments of the New England forces now at Louisburg, as proposed by you and Mr. Warren, but no time will be lost in settling that affair; and I shall be able to acquaint you, when I have the next opportunity of writing, with what shall have been determined therein. In the mean time you may be assured that in this consideration the greatest regard will be had to establish a sufficient force for the defence of this important place, which will give an opportunity to distinguish your merit and signal services, and also that of those gentlemen under your command, who have behaved so well in the service of their king and country.

[Here follows a short detail of the arrangements for supporting the garrison of Louisburg, and for the adjustment of its accounts.]

. . . The Lords Justices were very glad to find that you had under consideration how to enter upon a treaty with the Indians in the interests of France. And I am to recommend it to you to use your utmost endeavors to cultivate and improve the good disposition which you think they have, to come into our interest. Directions will be given for providing here, and sending by the first opportunity, such presents as are usually made to those people. As to the other points mentioned in your letters, particularly the establishing of a civil government at Louisburg; the making it a free port for a certain time; the giving a power to grant lands to such of his Majesty's subjects as should be willing to settle there, etc., I can at present only acquaint you that they are under consideration, and that no time will be lost in coming to a determination upon them.

I am persuaded it is unnecessary for me to recommend it to you to continue to employ the same zeal, vigilance, and activity you have already exerted, in doing every thing that shall be necessary for the security and preservation of Louisburg, in which the Lords Justices are persuaded that you and Mr. Warren will have the hearty concurrence and assistance of Governor Shirley, who has had so great a share in the forming and carrying into execution this enterprise. As the perfect union and harmony which has happily subsisted between you and Mr. Warren has so eminently contributed to the success of that undertaking, the Lords Justices have the firmest confidence that the same good agreement will continue between you; and that you will employ your joint endeavors for securing in the

most effectual manner the valuable acquisition that has been made by his Majesty's forces under your command.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
HOLLES, NEWCASTLE.

[Letter from the Secretary of the Admiralty.]

August 8, 1745.

SIR, — I have received and communicated to my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, your letter of the 28th of June, giving an account of the reduction of Louisburg and the territories adjacent, with a copy of the terms of capitulation, and am commanded by their Lordships to congratulate you on the success of his Majesty's arms in that expedition, and particularly on the part you have had in it. The prudence and zeal with which Commodore Warren has acted, is highly to be commended, and the happy harmony which has subsisted between you, without which enterprises of war are seldom prosperous, has greatly contributed to your success. The ministry here are highly sensible of the value of this acquisition, which is of so much importance to the trade of his Majesty's subjects in North America, and have already ordered two regiments from Gibraltar to be carried to Louisburg in transports, provided here for that purpose under a proper convoy, and will, I make no doubt, effectually support this new conquest, and reward the valor of the officers and others concerned in it equal to their merit, to whom Mr. Warren has done justice in his letters;* and I heartily wish

* This shows that Warren wrote very favorably of the Provincials. It is to be regretted that his letters containing his opinion of Pepper-

you the satisfaction of seeing this important place well secured to the crown of England, and that the trade of the colonies of America may flourish in the advantages they will secure thereby.

I am, with great regard, Sir, etc., etc.,

THOMAS CORBETT.

[Pepperrell to the Duke of Newcastle.]

Louisburg, Oct. 3, 1745.

MY LORD DUKE, — I have the honor of your Grace's letter of the 10th of August by the Shirley galley, which came to hand the 23d of September. I beg leave to assure your Grace that it gives me the highest pleasure to find thereby that the news of the reduction of Louisburg and the territory thereunto belonging, was received with so much satisfaction by his Majesty and the Lords Justices, and that they have done me the honor to signify their approbation of my best endeavors for the service of my Royal Master's interest, and the good of my country in this enterprise; and I would beg leave especially, with the utmost gratitude, to acknowledge and render my most humble thanks to his Majesty for his Royal favor in the great and unexpected dignity he has been graciously pleased to confer on my family, by creating me a Baronet of Great Britain, (for your Grace's congratulations thereon I beg leave sincerely to thank you). I hope I shall always be ready to express a just sense of his Majesty's royal goodness therein, by improving all opportunities in my power to cultivate and confirm in the hearts of his New England subjects,

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rell are not on hand. There is reason to believe, however, that the compliments so frequently and profusely bestowed on him by Pepperrell, were reciprocated in his official letters to the Board of Admiralty.

those principles of loyalty and attachment to his Royal family, which are already so universally embraced by them, and by exerting myself on all occasions for the honor of his Majesty's arms. It is also grateful to me to find that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to express his approbation of the officers and soldiers who engaged with me against this place, and that such speedy measures are concerting for the effectual encouragement and support of this acquisition, as appears by the troops and stores ordered here, mentioned in your Grace's letter, and by the other particulars which Mr. Warren and myself took the liberty to recommend being under consideration to be determined upon without loss of time. And it was with pleasure that I received your Grace's information that the government of this place is given to a gentleman so well qualified and disposed to promote the welfare and prosperity of it as Mr. Warren, and that the good agreement which hitherto has, and I am persuaded always will subsist between us, is so acceptable to his Majesty and their Excellencies. And as nothing induced me to engage at first in this enterprise but the honor of his Majesty's arms and the good of my country, I determined positively not to let any punctilio of ceremony with the chief commanding sea officer, in regard of precedency or superiority, prejudice his Majesty's service, as has been the case in several expeditions; and I shall with satisfaction leave this place under his protection as soon as his commission and the troops necessary for its security shall arrive here. Your Grace will be informed by him of the capture of a rich South Sea ship, two East India ships, and several other valuable prizes, that *were taken in sight of the troops*, some weeks after we had possession of this fortress, and which they will *think it*

a hardship not to share in, whilst it will be so great a reward to the sea officers and sailors.

[After complimenting Governor Shirley for his zeal and activity in the enterprise, he says]: — When the governor first proposed to me to take the command of the troops raised for this expedition, I declined, on account of the circumstances of my family and business, which were such as I thought would not admit of my leaving them, and it was by his importunity that I was prevailed upon to take the command, — he urging as a reason therefor, that the expedition would not go on without himself or I should go at the head of it; and that if he were to go, (besides his doubt whether he could possibly justify his leaving his government without special leave from his Majesty,) this expedition might not be properly supported from New England in his absence, and since the reduction of the place, he has desired me to remain here until it is effectually secured by his Majesty; but hope I shall have liberty to visit my family very soon.

I am, with all possible esteem and regard, may it please your Grace, your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant,

W. P.

CHAPTER VI.

When Sir William received his royal commission as colonel, he was acting as governor conjointly with Warren. They had both united with Shirley in recommending to the Duke of Newcastle and to the King to prosecute the war vigorously against Canada by further expeditions. Their advice prevailed, and in accordance with it, his Majesty ordered Sir William and Shirley to fill their new regiments as soon as possible, to the full quota of one thousand men each. Accordingly they opened rendezvous at Louisburg, and enlisted some from the Provincial forces remaining there, and Sir William sent recruiting officers to St. Johns (Prince Edward) and to Newfoundland.

October, 1745.

Ryan, the lieutenant-colonel of Sir William's new regiment, was sent from England in December, and with him went the commissions for other officers, and some blank commissions, signed by his Majesty, for Sir William to fill with the names of such provincial officers as had distinguished themselves in the siege, and such others as could aid him most effectually in recruiting. This privilege, given to both Pepperrell and Shirley, was rarely conferred on a colonel of a regiment, and in the present instance was intended as an expression of his Majesty's high appreciation of their services. Ryan, on his arrival in Boston, during Pepperrell's absence at Louisburg, sent three of the new captains on recruiting service, Jacobs to New York, Delegal to the

South, and Wooster to Connecticut, and made his own head-quarters at Boston. His own commission was properly due to Colonel John Bradstreet, or to Major Mercer of Pepperrell's regiment, and the former was recommended for the office by both Pepperrell and Warren. But Ryan was a creature of some favorite at court, whose influence not only disappointed Bradstreet and Pepperrell, but elevated one who proved to be unworthy of the office. The king, however, was not unmindful of Pepperrell's appeal in favor of Bradstreet, and soon after appointed him lieutenant-governor of Newfoundland, he still retaining his captaincy in Pepperrell's provincial regiment. He afterward became a very distinguished general in the Canadian war; while Ryan, as will soon appear, covered himself with ignominy.

Sir William Pepperrell remained at Louisburg until late the following spring. The place was kept under martial law, and a council or court was held two or three days in each week for trying delinquents, Warren and Pepperrell acting as judges. The record of their court is still preserved, and is a curiosity. Among other complaints before the court, was one against Captain Piercy, who was charged by three complainants with drinking "Long life to the Pretender," which, at that time, was deemed high treason. Piercy was arraigned before the court, and the charge and affidavits being read in a solemn tone, the question was put, "what is your defence, Sir?" in reply to this charge of treason, in drinking long life to the Pretender. "May it please your Honors," said the captain, "the complainants entirely misunderstood me. I drank "long life to the potatoes!" The captain's defence was deemed satisfactory.

Lady Pepperrell would fain have gone to Sir William

to remain during his detention after the conquest, but on account of her feeble constitution was dissuaded from so dangerous an undertaking. Lady Warren arrived there in August with Mrs. Greene, wife of the secretary, and remained until the following summer. Sir William's letters to his family are mostly destroyed; some of hers to him are still preserved.

In November, he received at Louisburg a letter from Major-General Wolcott, of Connecticut, who had returned home soon after the capitulation, inquiring after the welfare of the troops he had left at Louisburg, and what share of honor he had been pleased to award for their services during the siege, and congratulates him on the marks of favor bestowed by the king, in his despatches to London. Sir William writes the following reply, which does honor to his head and heart.

[To Major-General Wolcott.]

Louisburg, December 10, 1745.

Honored Sir, — By your favor of the 23d of October last, I find you had received my letter of the 20th of September. It gives me great pleasure to hear of your safe arrival among your dear family, and had recovered your health. I desire that the Almighty will be graciously pleased to continue your life and health for a long time to come, a blessing to your king and country, and that you may yet be enabled to render still more important services.

I thought before you left Louisburg you had seen my representation of the army, it being entered in the copy-book of my letters by my secretary, and this book was always open to any of my council, and was read to them before being sent to London. The only reasons I can assign for your not seeing it, are your illness at the

time, and the confusion we were in, having no house in town undamaged by shot, so that we were obliged to sleep in wet beds. Whatever people may think to the contrary, I can truly say and prove by my letters sent tc England, that I acted according to the best of my ability as a common father to the army, ordering every regiment its proportion of duty in the camp, and that I reported to government alike in favor of the whole, making no difference between those of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. In my letter to the Duke of Newcastle, a copy of which I send you herewith, I inclosed to him a list of all the officers in the campaign, and your name in said list was entered next to my own, and every other officer in the army according to his rank, and stated that they and the soldiers had all behaved bravely. And since the Most High, Holy, and Merciful God, who made us willing to leave our pleasant houses and families for this dangerous enterprise, and has been graciously with us and given us success, why should we find fault one with another? If we would but eye the hand of Providence more, and ascribe to him, as his due, all the honor and glory, we should not be jealous one of another. I am greatly obliged to you for your congratulations, and do join with you in the opinion that the honor done to the head is done to the whole army.

Nothing would give me more pleasure than liberty to visit my family, and as I am sure no other motive brought me here than the good of my country, so nothing else makes me willing to remain away from them. It has been a sickly, dying time among us. Upwards of four hundred brave men have died since we came into this city. The Almighty seems to be angry with us. Next Wednesday is appointed a day of fasting

and prayer. I hope you will all lift up your hands and your hearts on our behalf, and I hope God will be graciously pleased to be entreated to show us mercy. It has been observed that wherever there was a close siege for upwards of thirty days, great sickness has ensued. I cannot but think this is naturally a very healthy place, and if it please the Almighty to continue it in our hands, must become a place of great trade.

Whatever command Providence may place me in, I shall show the same favor to those who came here from Connecticut, that I do to those from my own province, and this I have hitherto done in every particular, and I shall take particular care that no under officer abuses any of our soldiers; for, as you justly observe, there are no braver nor more active men than our countrymen, and they deserve to be encouraged.

I must say that this campaign has borne much upon my constitution, and almost worn me out. But if it should please Him who made us willing to come on this expedition to call us on some other, He can support and carry us through, and I hope we shall at all times be enabled to put our trust in Him.

The short acquaintance I had with you sufficed to give me a profound respect and esteem for you, and I should have been glad if your health had permitted you to remain longer with us. I hope that ere long I shall be able to make you a visit, when we can talk over our past scenes. But if Providence should deny us this favor, I hope through the merits of a glorious Redeemer we shall meet in a happy eternity. We are much obliged to you for the chaplain you have sent, and your good advice, which I always valued and honored. You may remember what a hurry you left me in, which still continues, so that I have not the time to write to my

friends as fully and as often as I wish. I hope they will excuse me. I have inclosed you a copy of the Duke of Newcastle's letter to me, as likewise of one from the Lords of the Admiralty, being the only public letters which I have received. You may see plainly by them that I never made any difference in mentioning one Province more than another, or if my word is disputed, the copies of my letters may be had from each of their offices.

I have written several private letters to my friends in England, four of whom are Parliament men. But the most I said in them was, that the charges I hoped would be borne by his Majesty, and that the provinces of the Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, would be repaid what they had disbursed on this expedition. I did say in these letters that Massachusetts had been at the greatest part of the charges, which must be allowed by all.

Be pleased to give my service to all inquiring friends, but more particularly to those that were here with us on this expedition, whom I shall always value and honor.

I am, with best respects, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend, and most humble servant,

W. P.

The sickness and mortality above noticed, continued for some time. From the last of November, 1745, to the 28th January, 1746, five hundred and sixty-one men were buried from the army, and at the latter date eleven hundred were on the sick list. Sir William then writes, "we flatter ourselves, from the burials of three or four days past, amounting to only three, four, or five a day, which at one time were from fourteen to twenty-seven per day, that the distemper abates. But it has reduced

us to less than one thousand men capable of doing duty."

The provincials were detained at Louisburg much longer than was anticipated. Two regiments were ordered there from Gibraltar in the autumn, and would have arrived in season, but for adverse winds, which compelled the ships to run south to Virginia, where they remained until the opening of spring. Early in April they arrived, and took the place of the provincials, who were permitted to return home.

When the expedition against Louisburg was projected, Rhode Island entered heartily into it, and raised three companies of one hundred men each, paid them more liberally than any colony, and emitted three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds new tenor for the purpose, to be paid by a tax on ratable polls and estates in 1750, 1751, and 1752. But the troops failed of reaching Boston in season to embark with Pepperrell. They, however, proceeded early in July, and proved a valuable reinforcement in preserving the conquest, the other troops being worn down with fatigue and sickness.

Admiral Warren on receiving his commission as governor, and Mr. Warburton's as lieutenant-governor, was saluted from the cannon of the fort, and the army being mustered he addressed them the following kind farewell, and at the close of it ordered a hogshead of rum to be dealt out to them as a parting treat.

April 2, 1746.

GENTLEMEN, — It is with very great pleasure I have called you together at this time, because I have it now in my power to gratify you in what you have so long and earnestly wished for and desired; I mean to return

to your families and settlements, after the great fatigues you have gone through, both in the reduction and protection of this valuable acquisition.

Your signal services upon this occasion shall never be forgot by me, and you may be assured I will (as indeed Sir William Pepperrell and I have already done, by letters from hence) in person, whenever I return to Great Britain, represent your services, and the importance of this conquest to his Majesty and the ministry, in the truest light.

By the early care taken in the sending troops, ships of war, and stores of all kinds for the protection of this garrison, it appears that our mother country is thoroughly apprised of its value; and the consequences of it to the colonies you are all well acquainted with.

In your return, Governor Shirley has strongly recommended your landing in the eastern frontiers of New England, which have been annoyed by some small parties of the enemy Indians. This will give such a countenance to the out-settlements as cannot fail of having a very good effect; and as I am informed many of you have settlements and families upon the frontiers, I flatter myself this will be agreeable to you, especially as it will lay your posterity, to the latest generations, under the greatest obligations to you. Brigadier Waldo will go with you, and proper provision of all kinds will be made for you.

I have seen with great concern how much the officers and men have been crowded in their houses, since the arrival of the troops to relieve them, to prevent which as much as possible, we have kept one of the regiments on board the transports, till we can prepare quarters for them in the hospital, which we are under the necessity of converting into a barrack; when that is done, and

new barracks built, (the materials for which are hourly expected,) I hope there will be room to give houses to all such people as shall choose to settle in this place, and to allow to such of the troops as are married, proper conveniences out of the barracks.

Any persons who have an inclination to remain here as inhabitants, or to enlist into his Majesty's service, may depend upon my protection, and the former shall always be at free liberty to leave this place whenever they please; and as nothing can contribute more to the welfare of any government and people than a religious discharge of their duty, and a benevolent and brotherly behavior to each other, I in the most earnest manner recommend this, gentlemen, to you all, that as we are one people under the best of kings and happiest of governments, we continue in one mind, doing all the good offices in our power for each other.

On Wednesday next we shall be able to land some more of the Gibraltar troops, who, with those that are enlisted into the American regiments, will mount all the guards, and give you an opportunity to get yourselves ready to embark on board the vessels now preparing for you.

I take this opportunity to acquaint you that though I have received my commission as governor of this garrison, and the territories thereupon depending, and Colonel Warburton has his as lieutenant-governor, and as such we are both to be obeyed; but no instructions are yet come to our hands, but we may daily expect them, which I hope will enable us to grant the houses and lands of this conquest to his Majesty's subjects, in the distribution of which you may depend, gentlemen, that the greatest regard shall be shown to you who conquered them.

I sincerely wish you all an happy meeting with your families and friends, and shall ever think it the greatest happiness that can attend me, to have power equal to my inclination to serve every officer and soldier that has been in the least degree instrumental in the reduction of this garrison to his Majesty's obedience; the securing which during the course of a long and severe winter, in which you suffered the greatest hardships, and many brave men perished, till the arrival of his Majesty's troops, highly merits the favor of your king and country, which I hope will be alway shown you.

You are very happy, gentlemen, in the governors and legislators of your different provinces, who in all their letters to Sir William Pepperrell and myself, express the greatest concern at the mortality that raged among you last winter, and that they had it not in their power to keep their faith with you, by relieving you so soon as you expected after the reduction of this place; and such indeed was their care for you, that had not the two regiments from Gibraltar happily arrived, nor the levies gone on so well as they have done for the American regiments, both here and in the colonies, yet they were determined at any expense to raise men this spring to relieve you.

When the two American regiments are complete, which I hope will be soon, I think with those we have from Gibraltar, who have been long used to garrison duty, and while we have so strong a sea force, as that is already arrived and daily expected, under the chief command of Admiral Townsend, (for while he remains I have only the second at sea,) who has in many instances distinguished himself in his country's service as a good and experienced officer, we need not fear the power of France, but should their vanity lead them to

make any attack upon us, I am persuaded the same spirit that induced you to make this conquest, will prompt you to protect it.

P. WARREN.

The legislature of Massachusetts voted a congratulatory address to Pepperrell and his officers and soldiers, tendering them grateful acknowledgments for the important services they had rendered; and also to Admiral Warren and his officers and men for their hearty and successful coöperation.

[Pepperrell's Reply.]

Louisburg, April 5, 1746.

GENTLEMEN, — I am extremely obliged to the Honorable Council and House of Representatives of the province of the Massachusetts Bay, for their congratulation and compliments to me on the happy issue of the expedition against this place; and for his Majesty's most gracious approbation of my services therein, which I had the honor of receiving from you the 2d instant. Next to the consciousness of my having engaged in the important enterprise out of zeal for his Majesty's service and the welfare of my country, and that I have made it my constant aim to discharge the trust reposed in me with fidelity, nothing can give me a more sincere and lasting pleasure than my Royal Master's approbation, and my country's kind acceptance of my services.

May the Lord of Hosts, who has given us the victory, ever defend and prosper this valuable acquisition, and grant that it may effectually answer the noble purposes for which our country was animated to attempt its conquest, in the prosecution of which the generous concurrence of the province of the Massachusetts Bay with

his Excellency Governor Shirley's wise counsels and indefatigable application had so great a share; and may the happy consequences of our success be extensive as its fame, and lasting as the honor due to the heroic resolution and exemplary bravery of the officers and soldiers, whom I shall always esteem it my great honor to have commanded.

It is with pleasure that I observe my country's gratitude for the good services and assistance of the brave and worthy Admiral Warren, whose singular vigilance and good conduct rendered his having the direction of his Majesty's ships employed against this place peculiarly happy; and I flatter myself that the harmony which has subsisted between us in the prosecution of his Majesty's service, has also had an happy effect; and I esteem it an auspicious aspect of Divine Providence upon this place, that a gentleman so peculiarly qualified and disposed to promote its prosperity, is appointed by his Majesty to the government of it.

As I shall ever retain a most grateful sense of the many honors I have received from my country, nothing will give me greater pleasure than any opportunity further to approve myself a true friend to its interest and prosperity; to which, if the honor and command conferred on me by his Majesty can any way contribute, it will enhance their value.

WM. PEPPERRELL.

Warren and Pepperrell embarked at Louisburg in the Chester, Captain Spry, leaving the fortress under the command of Commodore Charles Knowles, and arrived in Boston about the 1st of June. They were received with a salute of cannon at the castle in the afternoon, and entertained by the governor. They arrived in Bos-

ton at 5 P.M., and were saluted by all the ships of war and town batteries. Upon their landing at Long Wharf, his Majesty's Council and the House of Representatives received them, and they all were escorted by His Excellency's company of cadets to the council chamber. It being training day for the Boston regiment, the soldiers were drawn up in two lines in King's (now State) street, by his Excellency's orders, and the officers paid the standing salute to the three, namely, Shirley, Pepperrell, and Warren. As they passed, the street, windows, doors, and balconies were crowded, and the regiment fired three volleys, and gave three hurrahs, in which the whole populace joined.

Sir William soon after took his seat at the council board, to which he was reëlected president. The House of Representatives, then in session, being informed that he and Admiral Warren were in the council chamber, went thither, when the speaker addressed them in the following manner:—

"The House of Representatives of this Province, have a high sense of the services you have done for His Majesty's subjects in general, and for the people of New England in particular; and it is with the greatest pleasure they embrace this happy opportunity of acknowledging it. June 24.

In their name, and by their order, I congratulate you on your safe arrival in the province, and most heartily bid you welcome."

To which Admiral Warren replied:—

"MR. SPEAKER,—I am obliged to this honorable House for the great respect they have shown me. They may depend upon my zeal and service while I live, for the colonies in general, and this province in particular."

Sir William replied as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker,—I am heartily obliged to the honorable house for the respect they have shown me, and I shall be always ready to risk my life and fortune for the good of my dear native country."

Soon after the above ceremony Admiral Warren left Boston for England, where he was employed in the British Channel.

On the 4th of July, Sir William, attended by divers officers and gentlemen, set out for his seat in Kittery. He was met at Lynn by a troop of horse and entertained, and was there received by a company of gentlemen and conducted to Salem; on entering which, he was saluted with cannon, and ringing of bells, and conducted to the town hall to partake of a magnificent entertainment. After dinner the royal healths were drank, Governor Shirley's, Sir William's, Admiral Warren's, Brigadier Waldo's, and all the officers and men at the siege of Cape Breton; at each health the cannon were fired, and a treble discharge made by the troop of horse. On leaving Beverly ferry a cavalcade met him from Ipswich and Newbury, and conducted him to the latter place, where his arrival, at eleven o'clock at night, was announced by a salute from the town cannon and by various fireworks, and the whole party were entertained with an elegant supper by Hon. Major Greenleaf. Next morning at ten, he crossed the Merrimac River, attended by the high sheriff and a cavalcade from the county of York. He was attended from Hampton to Portsmouth by his Majesty's council of New Hampshire, the high sheriff, and numerous officers civil and military, with many other gentlemen, and two companies of horse. On entering Portsmouth a troop of horse led the van, followed by officers of

Louisburg with music and colors flying, then Sir William in a barouche, then the council, sheriff, and a long train of gentlemen, and a troop of horse brought up the rear. He was conducted to the governor's house to dine, and was saluted on his departure in the evening, as he had been on his arrival, by artillery, and was conveyed in the castle barge to his own house at Kittery.

The histories hitherto published of the expedition of 1745 are generally based upon the one by Dr. Belknap, and present a brief sketch well drawn, and in the main correct; but the writers have dwelt less upon the trials, perplexities, and discouragements of Sir William than is necessary in order for a right appreciation of his character. We might, like those authors, have condensed the foregoing pages, and rendered the story far more acceptable and interesting to the majority of readers, but it would have been an unfaithful portrait of the man. We might have rendered the narrative less tedious by arranging the incidents in a more connected form, rather than by letters and extracts; but have preferred to present the reader the means of forming his own opinions from original sources, unbiased by our own partiality or prejudice.

We have dwelt longer on the siege and reduction of Louisburg than the brief period of time it occupied of Sir William's whole life would seem to justify. But it is to be remembered that this achievement was the main pillar of his fame, and inscribed his name on the enduring page of history. Here it was, too, that the prominent traits of his character present themselves in bold relief; his spirit for daring enterprise, his prudence, patience, forbearance, perseverance, self-devotion, patriotism, and reliance on Divine aid, shone conspicuously,

and seemed to rise and increase in proportion to the increasing demand for their exercise.

Here, too, it was that the hardy sons of New England took their first lessons in military service, preparatory to the grand drama of the Revolution, soon to follow. The same old drums that marched into Louisburg, rallied the troops in their march to Bunker's Hill; and the same Colonel Gridley who planned Pepperrell's batteries, marked and laid out the one where General Warren fell, — and when Gage was erecting breastworks across Boston Neck, the provincial troops sneeringly remarked that his mud walls were nothing compared with the stone walls of old Louisburg. Thus the confidence and self-reliance its recollections inspired, proved a favorable preparation for the Revolutionary struggle, while the three years' delay of reimbursements, the refusal to give them a share of the prize money, and the occasional disparaging taunts of individuals, underrating their services, fired them with the indignation requisite to bring their early experience into action, as soon as colonial oppression called for their services. Thus, General Wooster, who commanded a company under Pepperrell, fell mortally wounded at Norwalk; Thornton of New Hampshire, signed the Declaration of Independence; and Nixon, Whiting, Colonel Gridley, the engineer, and many other distinguished officers and men of the continental army, had served with Pepperrell at Louisburg. Mr. Hartwell said, in the House of Commons, in 1775, that the colonists "took Louisburg from the French single-handed, without any European assistance, — as mettled an enterprise as any in our history, — an everlasting memorial to the zeal, courage, and perseverance of the troops of New England." "The conquest of Louisburg," says

Smollett, "was the most important achievement of the war of 1744," and it is remarked in the Universal History, that "*New England gave peace to Europe by raising, arming, and transporting four thousand men,*" *whose success* "*proved an equivalent for all the successes of the French upon the continent.*"

In concluding this brief sketch of the comparative actual services performed by the army and fleet, it must be conceded that the land forces, in the moral aspect of their deeds, won imperishable fame. Warren was bred to arms; his home was on the deep, and his officers and men had dedicated and trained their energies, body and mind, for deadly strife, and were now in their chosen element, and in the ordinary line of their duty. Not so with the army. Pepperrell, a wealthy merchant, unaccustomed to the sea, with no expectation of military preferment to incite him, obeys the call of his countrymen, leaves all the comforts and endeared attractions of home and his peaceful occupations, to brave the dangers of an ice-bound coast, and the fatigues, dangers, and responsibilities of a perilous enterprise of doubtful success,—yet sure to be disastrous to the colonies and to his own fame in the event of failure: and he is followed by four thousand farmers, mechanics, and fishermen,—impelled by no forced levy or press-gang, but voluntarily shouldering their firelocks and girding themselves for a deadly conflict, and patiently enduring the hardships and toil of a seven weeks' siege, —surely, this presents a spectacle of glowing patriotism and self-devotion far transcending the deeds of Warren and his crews.

CHAPTER VII.

AFTER THE CONQUEST OF LOUISBURG.

THE French government was exceedingly exasperated at the audacity of the provincial troops in capturing their strongest fortress in America, and immediately prepared a large force for its recovery, and for the punishment of the New Englanders, by sacking and destroying their principal seaports. The force consisted of forty large ships of war, besides transports, under the command of the Duke D'Anville, fitted out at Brest, and bringing three thousand to four thousand regular troops, "the most powerful armament that had ever been sent into America."

Colonel Bradstreet writes to Sir William from Louisburg: — "We have been up in arms about the Brest fleet's expected arrival here. Since then, we learn that there are five frigates ninety leagues up the St. Lawrence gulf, at Gaspee, and some transports, with four thousand Canadian French and Indians, waiting the arrival of the Brest fleet, and had sent a sloop to a certain latitude to meet it, and return with intelligence to Gaspee, on which they are to join for the attack on Louisburg. The Vigilant has gone up there in order to destroy them." July 20, 1746.

Intelligence reached Boston of the impending danger, which alarmed the colony and threw it into the utmost consternation. In a few days six thousand four hundred of the inland militia marched into Boston; to whose assistance six thousand men were, on the first notice, to march from Connecticut. The old forts on the sea-coast were repaired, new forts erected, and military guards appointed. The country was kept in a state of alarm and anxiety for six weeks.

Sir William, who still retained the command of the western regiment of militia in Maine, on the announcement of approaching danger, issued his orders to the captains to muster their companies and examine their accoutrements, and hold themselves ready to march at a moment's warning. At the same time he ordered sentinels to be constantly on the look-out from commanding heights, to give the signal of approaching fleets.

At length the alarm was allayed by intelligence that the enemy was crippled by tempest and shipwreck; that an expected junction of M. Conflans with three ships of the line and a frigate from Hispaniola had failed; that pestilential fevers had prevailed among the French troops, and had destroyed two thousand of them. Intercepted letters which conveyed intelligence that an English fleet was approaching, disconcerted them. D'Anville's anxiety produced sudden death, and D'Estournelle, next in command, in extreme agitation, fell on his sword, their fleet was overtaken and dispersed by tempest, and the vessels returned singly to France. Thus ended the expedition that threatened desolation to the seaports of New England. A more remarkable instance of preservation seldom occurs. "When man is made the instrument of averting

calamity, the Divine agency ought still to be acknowledged; but this was averted without human power."

The Canadian troops of French and Indians that were to join D'Anville's forces, on seeing them depart, retired to Minas near Pictou. Governor Shirley sent a body of troops in the winter, under Colonel Arthur Noble, who had commanded a regiment at the conquest of Louisburg with Pepperrell.* These were defeated, having sixty killed, including the colonel, and fifty wounded, and the remainder captured. It was an injudicious project of the governor. But the success of the expedition against Louisburg excited his ambition, and prompted him to attempt further conquests. Soon after its surrender, he consulted Warren and Pepperrell on the subject of an expedition against Canada, and their opinions according with his own, he wrote from thence, in a pressing manner, to the British ministry. His plans were approved, and in the spring following the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, wrote to all the governors of the colonies, as far south as Virginia, to raise men for the said expedition. To Shirley and Pepperrell he sent orders to fill up their regiments for garrison duty at Louisburg, and to do their utmost to promote his designs. His plan of operations was, that a squadron of ships of war, under the command of Admiral Warren, and a body of land forces under Lieutenant-General St. Clair, should be sent from England against Canada; that the troops raised in New England should join the British fleet and army at Louisburg, and proceed up the river St. Lawrence, and those at New York and the other colonies at the southward should assemble at Albany, and march

* The town of Nobleboro' in Maine, was named after him.

against Crown Point and Montreal. The colonies, pleased with the measure, readily furnished their quotas of men.

Mr. Sparhawk, son-in-law of Sir William, took his seat in the legislature this year, as representative elect from the town of Kittery. Soon after his arrival in Boston he wrote to Andrew Pepperrell, his brother-in-law, at Kittery: "The expedition against Canada is at last agreed upon by the General Court, and being honored with a seat in the committee to consider the expediency of it, etc., I have been confined day and night almost ever since I came to town, so that instead of having a little respite by my tour from the fatigues of business, I have been in a greater hurry than when at home. I now have the utmost difficulty in finding time to write.

1746.

June 2.

"There are five battalions, beside Lieutenant-General Frampton's regiment, daily expected from Great Britain for the expedition, which are to be joined by the two Gibraltar regiments at Louisburg, which, with the recruits that are to be levied in North America, are to be our land force, and to be commanded by Lieutenant-General St. Clair. The Americans go by land (except what are raised in New England) to Canada, under Lieutenant-Governor Gooch, now brigadier-general. Admiral Warren commands by sea. The governor's and your father's regiments are to defend Cape Breton. I rejoice that he (your father) is excused from a concern in this expedition, and that he is hourly expected here. The General Court have voted three thousand men for it. If you have any small arms, I believe the government must want them, and you may sell them at a good price."

But the expedition against Canada after all was

abandoned for the season, no general to command nor orders arrived from England during the whole summer. Sir William and others finally concluded that the season was too far advanced to expect them.

Colonel John Bradstreet remained in command of a provincial regiment at Louisburg after the siege, until he was appointed by the king lieutenant-governor of Newfoundland. This was a better situation than that of provincial colonel, but having a martial turn of mind and a thirst for military fame, he strove for a commission in the regular army. Through his brother-in-law Captain Aldridge, he made proposals to Sir William to purchase his commission. The fact is here referred to, as showing how commissions were bought and sold in the British army, and what was the estimated value of Colonel Pepperrell's commission at this time. Bradstreet writes to Pepperrell: —

March, 1747. Captain Aldridge tells me you desired I would write and make an offer of what I would give. In the first place it requires good interest at court and is attended with considerable expense, and to be kept quite a secret to get such a thing done, so that I would agree to pay you at the rate of ten years' purchase, and you to have all the perquisites of the regiment, during its standing, or your life, which will make two thousand pounds sterling, which money shall be deposited in any bank in England, to be delivered as soon as the commission is made out, and further, that I will be at all the cost, etc., etc.

The rank as colonel is so much below what the king has been pleased to give you already, and as I apprehend you do not intend to stick by the army, to head a regiment in some other part of the world, that

it will not be worth your while to keep this, when you can get more than an equivalent for it, and be freed from all the plague and trouble. For my own part I will be ingenuous to you. The rank is what I want, and as my friends will then have it more in their power to serve me, notwithstanding it is the youngest regiment. And I will further give you security for receiving all the perquisites, and will make as much as an honest man can for you.

I have nothing more to add than that all the inhabitants out of town, as well as in town, are taxed I may say enormously for house rent.

The following letter of Sir William to his friend Major-General Wolcott of Connecticut, refers, among other matters, to the contemplated expedition against Canada, and requests his aid in raising men for his regiment: —

Kittery, August 19, 1746.

SIR, — Your favor of the 7th of July last I received and am greatly obliged to you for the readiness you show to maintain our acquaintance, and I assure you it would have given me equal pleasure, as you mention it would you, to have met you and paid my respects to you in person, and since you don't incline to take a journey here, I have thoughts of paying you a visit in Connecticut, if I can get my hurry of business over. I observe you write you are to bear no part in the expedition against Canada. I take it that that part of your letter is, you don't go in person, but I do believe you will bear a great part in encouraging the men in so good an undertaking; for if we can but rout out of America that troublesome enemy the French, I hope

we shall be a happy people. His Grace the Duke of Newcastle writes on the 19th of April last, that the two regiments commanded by Governor Shirley and myself, were to garrison Louisburg, and that he was commanded by his Majesty to recommend it to us to use the utmost diligence in completing the two regiments to the highest establishment for that purpose, and furthermore it was expected that the several governors in the colonies would assist therein, and that I would do all in my power for the success of an expedition against Canada, which desire I look upon it to be my indispensable duty to comply with, by every means in my power. It has been a very great grief to me that those brave officers and soldiers with us on the expedition against Cape Breton have not been better paid. My desire is to go to England next spring. As to the commissions sent to me blank, I am sure I made no difference between the men raised in one government or in another who were in the expedition, and shall not in any future favors that lie in my power. You are sensible that Capt. Wooster has a commission for captain in my regiment, and Mr. Nathan Whiting, who, I understand you have a particular value for, will have a commission also; and in New Hampshire Capt. Mason is appointed a captain in my regiment; and to Colonel Moore's nephew I have given an ensign's commission. I am glad Connecticut has done so much towards raising men for my regiment, and I hope you will still continue your good offices to help complete the same. I should esteem it as a particular favor if you would be pleased to make my compliments to all those brave officers that served with us in the last campaign, and in particular to Colonel Burr, Colonel Lathrop, and Colonel Guthridge. I shall be glad to serve yourself

or any friend of yours; and am, with great esteem and respect, Your most humble servant,

W. P.

He writes to General Waldo, one of the council, from Kittery: —

"I am concerned about the province of Maine; am afraid it will be lost if the war holds out long, without there is some care taken of it. Sept. 4, 1746.

"I should think it would now be a good time to build a fort at Penobscot; pray think of it, and put it forward if you are of that opinion. I was in hopes you would have called here on your way to Boston. I should be glad to hear from you, and if the General Court is likely to sit any length of time, and you think I can be of service, although I am not well, yet will endeavor to come to Boston."

The building of a fort at Penobscot was a favorite measure with Pepperrell, as a security against the inroads of the eastern Indians in time of war. It was delayed until the year of his decease, and when at last accomplished by Governor Pownall, it proved to be of great service to Maine.

In August, 1746, Governor Knowles writes to Sir William twice, to send his officers, particularly Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan, immediately to Louisburg, as Major Mercer then in command needed them. Sir William replies: "I have given particular orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan and other officers that are not immediately employed in recruiting, to repair to Louisburg, and hope they will soon be there."

Governor Knowles writes soon after in respect to his

discipline: "When I tell you that several days pass without one man's being confined by guard, you will think I have effected wonders, but such is the conquest I have made over Rum, and at which I rejoice not a little." Sir William replies: "I sincerely congratulate you upon your conquest as to the article Rum, which must be very happy in its consequences. Although your Excellency remarks that you find no season for pleasure at Louisburg, I cannot but think that the good effects of your discipline in the garrison, and the fact that you have placed it in such a posture for defence as will enable you to receive a visit from Monsieur, must, in retired hours, give you no small degree of satisfaction."

Colonel Ryan, on his arrival at Louisburg, presented to Governor Knowles his own commission and those of the subaltern officers, which were sent by him from the war office in London. It soon appeared that all was not right, some of the commissions of lieutenant had been erased. Governor Knowles writes to Sir William: —

Louisburg, December 24, 1746.

SIR, — I desired you some time ago to send down the commissions for your officers here, which I am sorry to observe to you are not yet all arrived, and several of those which are come have erasures in the names and dates, which gives discontent. A commission for Lieutenant Watmough, filled up in England by Colonel Ryan, was antedated, and made senior to Lieutenant Gordon, which occasioned a long debate, and particularly as Mr. Watmough's name was not on the list of officers delivered from the war office to your agent.

It has ever been esteemed a high favor to be intrusted with the filling up of blank commissions, and I must confess it appears to me something strange that a lieutenant-colonel of a regiment in England should have the power to fill one up, and that that commission should not be entered either in the war-office or with the commissary of the musters. However, to appease my astonishment at that, I am given to understand Colonel Ryan is still possessed of a blank commission for a captain, in case of accidents, which fills me with greater wonder. You know best, Sir, what commissions you have given him; but you will excuse me for saying I won't admit of his using that authority in this garrison whilst I am governor, without its being signified to me by the secretary of state to be his Majesty's pleasure, nor will I suffer any alteration to be made in the muster-rolls or victualling-lists whatever; let the erasures be for whom they will in the commissions.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

CHARLES KNOWLES.

P. S. As you have given Captain Jacobs leave to go home without my approbation, I hope you will send the rest of the officers down immediately to their respective duties, as I requested some time ago, except such as are absolutely necessary for recruiting, and I desire to have a list of the names of those, etc.

March 6, 1747.

Sir William replies: — "As to the commissions for the officers in the regiment I have the honor to command, I sent every one of them to Louisburg last summer, except Lieutenant Watkins's, who was recruiting at Newfoundland. Lieutenant Glazier has his, and expected to leave in the Mermaid.

"When I received the blank commissions from Colonel Ryan, it appeared to me that there had been some erasures in the names. I asked him the reason of it, and he told me it was done before he took them out of the war office. I solemnly declare I never made the least erasure in any of them. All that came blank to me I filled up with my own hand, excepting that of ensign for Robert White. I never saw Lieutenant Watmough, nor his commission.

"I join with your Excellency that it is a high favor to be intrusted with the filling up of blank commissions, and he that makes a breach of that trust ought to be condemned. All the blank ones I received were delivered me by Colonel Ryan, not inclosed in a packet, but loose. Sir William Yonge does not mention the number of blank commissions sent me to fill up. Inclosed you have an extract from his letter relating to the commissions.

"His Grace the Duke of Newcastle wrote me on the 11th of September, 1745, viz.:—'You will see that his Majesty has been pleased to nominate the field officers, five captains, the captain-lieutenant, nine lieutenants, and five ensigns, to your regiment; and to sign blank commissions for two captains, eleven lieutenants, and four ensigns, which will be transmitted to you herewith, and which are to be filled up by you with the names of such gentlemen as have distinguished themselves in the late expedition, or as you shall think otherwise the best qualified for his Majesty's service.' And in another letter from his Grace, of the 9th April, 1746, which I showed your Excellency at Louisburg, he writes:—'I am commanded by his Majesty to recommend it to you, in a particular manner, (as I also do to Mr. Shir-

ley,) to use the utmost diligence in completing your regiment to the highest establishment for that purpose; and in order to make it the more practicable and easy for you to comply with his Majesty's directions in this respect, the king has been pleased to command me to acquaint you that his Majesty will accept such recommendations as you shall make of persons to succeed to the commissions that shall at any time become vacant in your regiment.'

Colonel Ryan delivered me but one captain's commission, eleven lieutenants', and four ensigns'; the other captain's commission I demanded of him, and he told me it was with the commissions that were filled up in England for the officers then at Louisburg, and with his other papers was put on board a vessel and could not be got at, and that he would send it to me, which he has not yet done.

As for my giving any officer leave to go from his post at Louisburg, I never designed any such thing without your approbation; neither should I have given leave to Captain Jacobs, had it not been for his ill health, and the importunity of Admiral Warren, who promised to apologize to your Excellency for the act.

I hope every officer in these parts, belonging to my regiment, will be at Louisburg by the time you receive this, excepting Captain Samuel Gardner, recruiting in the province of Massachusetts, Lieutenant Edmund Dwight and Lieutenant Robert Mackinen in Pennsylvania, having sent orders to all the others to hasten to their post at Louisburg, with what men they have enlisted, and these shall soon be sent after them.

May I request this favor of your Excellency, that you would be pleased, after you have read the inclosed

to Colonel Ryan, to order it to be sealed and delivered to him, and to receive the captain's commission, and bring it with you to New England, where I hope to have an opportunity to wait on you."

Soon after he writes again:—"Having been informed that you have directed Captain Gayton of his Majesty's ship Mermaid to sail for Louisburg, in order to wait on you to New England, I beg leave to wish you a safe and agreeable passage, and to give you an invitation to my house on your way to Boston, where I would endeavor to make such time as your Excellency may be pleased to favor me with, as pleasant to you as may be in my power; and if you should incline to see the country between this and Boston, the roads are such as would admit of your having a pleasant journey, and I have a chaise and pair at your service."

Dec. 11, 1746. Sir William thanks Colonel Bradstreet for notifying him of slanders circulated at Louisburg, in reply to which he says: "It having been told me that the commissions sent blank for the subalterns were a perquisite to colonels, until the corps of the New England forces was altered, which I think was some time in May last; my answer was that if it was my due, I ought to have it; if otherwise, I did not desire it; and I heard that the other regiment acted accordingly. Some of the commissions, when they were delivered me by the lieutenant-colonel, had been erased. I asked him the reason of it, and he told me it was done in the secretary of war's office, before they were delivered to him. As to my part I never erased them, but only filled them."

Complaint was sent against Colonel Ryan by Governor Knowles to the secretary of war, together with the deposition of Robert Webb, an ensign in Sir William's

regiment, who testifies that he gave Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan, late of said regiment, the sum of two hundred guineas for his commission of ensign of a company of foot in the said regiment, and that the said Ryan told this deponent that he bought the said commission of Sir William Pepperrell.

Ryan continued in the command of the regiment, under Pepperrell, until he was arrested in the summer of 1747; but his unfitness for the office will appear from the following letter, written by Colonel Bradstreet to Sir William: —

Louisburg, March 19, 1747.

DEAR SIR, — I am sorry to tell you that ever since the arrival of your lieutenant-colonel, your regiment has not been one hour at rest. Such disputes between him and the officers are surprising, and he in the wrong in every one. They have worked him so now that he has taken to his bed, and is determined, since the governor will not let him go to Old England or New to settle about the regiment's bills, that he will die, which, if he keeps his word, he will do well, for then he will rid the world of a r— and a fool. He is as great a novice in the service as one of the common soldiers, and I will pronounce that whilst he commands a regiment, and suppose it complete and composed of the best troops in his Majesty's service, that in two years it would dwindle to nothing. Your major and he are much out, on account of the major's having leave to go to England soon, and that he cannot. As I doubt not of their sending you the proper returns of the regiment at least, shall say nothing on that head; but would just mention to you that it would not be amiss to give Mr. Sparhawk a hint how he writes to Ryan as well

as yourself, for he is made up of nothing but low villany.

The whole matter of selling Ensign Webb's commission, and of erasing the name of a lieutenant and inserting Watmough's, being laid before the secretary of war, he ordered Ryan to be tried by a court-martial, and being found guilty, he was, in the autumn of 1747, dismissed the service.

Sir William then brought an action against him for defamation, in saying he had bought of Sir William Ensign Webb's commission, also another suit for recruiting-money advanced him, and unaccounted for. The result of these suits will appear hereafter.

The Reverend Stephen Williams, of Longmeadow, was in the expedition at Louisburg, as chaplain, and was greatly esteemed and respected by Sir William for his high order of talents and fervent piety. On hearing that an expedition to Canada was contemplated, he wrote a request that he might be permitted to accompany the baronet, who replies:—

Dec. 10, 1746.

Feb. 4, 1747.

"I am greatly obliged to you for your kind expressions. If the Almighty should ever call me into the service of my country again, I hope He will make me willing to go, and give me faith to rely and trust in Him. I have great reason so to do, for He has wonderfully preserved me, and done great things for one of the worst of sinners. O that I may be enabled to live to His honor and glory, as well as to speak of His mercies. No gentleman could be more acceptable to me as chaplain than yourself.

"I shall do all in my power in favor of the poor captives for whom you intercede. I sincerely wish you and yours the best of Heaven's blessings. Desiring remem-

brance in your petitions to the Throne of Grace for mercy."

In March, 1747, Sir William writes the following to his Excellency Governor Wentworth: —

SIR, — The Honorable Peter Warren, Esquire, having signified to me in a letter dated the 24th of October last that the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty by letter to him, dated 13th of March last, had directed him to build four ships of war in New England, two of them of twenty-four guns and two of forty-four guns, and the said Peter Warren, Esquire, having, in his aforementioned letter to me, desired that I would undertake to agree with some shipwright or shipwrights for the erecting and building one of the said ships of forty-four guns in Pascataqua, and whereas I have been treating with Colonel Nathaniel Messerve of this province, and have proposed his coming under contract for his Majesty's service in England, and being desirous of advice concerning the value of such a ship, I beg you will be pleased to appoint three or more gentlemen of probity, skill, and judgment in ship-building, to take the premises under consideration, and report in writing to your Excellency as soon as may be, what such a ship is worth per ton, to be built and completely furnished in the manner aforesaid.

W. P.

Governor B. Wentworth ordered Joshua Pierce, Jotham Odiorne, and Mark Hunking Wentworth to estimate the value of such a ship, who reported nine pounds per ton as a fair price for government to give for the vessel, to be completely fitted with forty-four guns.

This undertaking opened a correspondence between Sir William and the Lords of the Admiralty, who furnished him with models and directions, and honored his drafts while the vessels were building. When finished, they were loaded with spars and naval stores, and sent to London under convoy, having only one tier of guns mounted. The ship was called the America, and was esteemed one of the best frigates in the British navy.

It seems almost incredible that one man should be able to attend to so many and such diversified branches of business at once, — a merchant, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, senior colonel of a regiment and thereby commander-in-chief of the militia of Maine, president of the governor's council, colonel of a regiment in the regular British army, and superintendent and accountant of the recruiting service, commissioner to treat with the Indians, manager of the largest landed interests in New England, owner of saw-mills, extensively engaged in the fisheries, superintending the building of a frigate, and all the while corresponding with persons engaged in these various pursuits, with the recruiting officers of his regiment, and with his old companions in arms. Yet his biographer and pastor, Rev. Dr. Stevens, says that it was a common remark of him, that whatever he undertook was always sure to succeed.

His British regiment was stationed at Louisburg, where he sent recruits as fast as they could be enlisted. In July, 1747, he felt it due to his regiment to visit it, and wrote to Governor Shirley for advice, saying he had received a letter from Governor Knowles in which he writes: "I beg you will make use of my name to the captains of any of the king's ships that

may arrive at Boston for to accommodate you with a passage; had I any ship to send for you I really would, but if the Achilles (my schooner) will suit you, pray command her when ready." I desire your Excellency would be pleased to favor me with your advice, whether I had not best proceed immediately in that schooner, provided they will call in here (Kittery) and take my stores, etc., on board. For if I should not embrace this opportunity it may be too late before I have another to go there and return before winter.

"If your Excellency should have any thoughts of sending Captain Tyng to guard the fisheries on the Sable Island banks, by your permission he might land me at Louisburg, and visit the eastern harbors on his return. Your commands I shall at all times gladly obey."

Governor Shirley advised the commander of the Achilles to send Sir William notice, by express, to be ready, and that he would call for him at Kittery.

A close intimacy existed many years between Sir William and Judge Hill of Berwick, who commanded a company in his regiment, and was an associate at the council board and on the bench. Sir William's will was always in the judge's keeping, and wishing to make some alterations in it before sailing for Louisburg, he despatched a messenger for it, and then returned it to his custody. On the eve of his departure he published a notice to all deserters from his regiment, that "if they would immediately return to their duty they should be kindly received, and have their offences forgiven and their passages paid to Louisburg;" adding, that "all ablebodied men who are inclined to enlist in his regiment shall be clothed, treated, and paid well."

Admiral Warren, who left Boston for the British Channel soon after the proud reception of Pepperrell and himself, writes from Portsmouth, April 2, 1747, and among other things, respecting their accounts at the war department.

DEAR SIR, — I had a very agreeable passage to England. Since my arrival here I have been very much hurried in order to pass our accounts for the disbursements at Louisburg, but can do nothing for want of all the vouchers from Mr. Green, to whom I beg you will write to send all of them as soon as possible. I do assure you that all those disbursements lie as a very heavy charge upon you and me, and will do so upon our heirs if we do not take care to clear them. * * * My expectation of going to America with a squadron of ships prevented my writing to you on this head before; but that being otherwise determined, and I employed in channel service, and only a few ships intended for your coast, not proper for my rank to command, I now earnestly beg you will think of extricating both yourself and me from the difficulties we are jointly involved in by our accounts with the public offices, which give me leave to tell you if neglected may be the ruin of us both. I hope you are very forward in the ship to be built by you for the crown, and that you will, as you promised, recommend my nephew, Mr. Johnson, to the command of the first company that shall be vacant in your regiment. I dare say you will hear I have done every thing in my power for the service of America in general, and of New England in particular. I am so much hurried I can only assure you that I shall never while I live, lessen in my esteem and friendship for you. My best

regards attend you and Governor Wentworth, and all other friends in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. I shall ever be proud of an opportunity of serving them and you, being very sincerely, etc., etc.

It was in the autumn of 1746, that the French fleet was dispersed and wrecked or disabled, and returned to France. The following year another fleet of thirty-eight sail was fitted out from France, under M. de la Jonquière, who was the third officer in rank in D'Anville's fleet. One part of this fleet was appointed to convoy six East India ships, and the rest, with the transports and merchantmen, full of soldiers' stores and goods, were destined for Canada and Nova Scotia. The English Admirals, Anson and Warren, sailing in pursuit of this fleet, fell in with it on the 3d of May, when, after a regular and well-fought battle, the French struck their colors. Six of their men-of-war and all their East India ships were captured, and between four thousand and five thousand French were made prisoners. This was the third disaster that befell the French navy within less than three years, — the first at Louisburg, when the Vigilant was captured with other armed vessels off the harbor; the second in 1746, under the Duke D'Anville, when a large fleet was dispersed by tempests and nearly unmanned by pestilence; and in this third defeat, the loss of ships was attended by the loss in property of a million and a half. For this glorious achievement Admiral Warren was in turn made a Baronet.

Sir William was delighted at the success of his old companion in arms, and after congratulating him adverts to the difficulties met with in settling their accounts, and encourages him that his nephew will be provided for.

[To Admiral Warren.]

Louisburg, September 10, 1747.

Dear Sir, — I left New England the beginning of last month, and upon my arrival here, I received your most esteemed favors of the 2d April and 1st June last; and hearing of your good success against the French fleet, and the honor conferred on you of Baronet, has given me such pleasure as I cannot find words to express.

I am much concerned to hear you meet with difficulty in getting our accounts passed. Mr. Green is now having the vouchers compared and signed by Governor Knowles to go by this conveyance, and I have ordered Messrs. Apthorp and Sparhawk to hasten theirs, and I design to take my passage for New England next week. If they have not sent them before, I shall hasten them. I am sure all our accounts are honestly kept, and considering the difficulty we labored under after we came into this place, in having the French to take care of, the houses torn in pieces, the rain, no fuel in the garrison, and the long, cold winters, that it was impossible to do things in a regular manner, as might have been done in a regular garrison. I am sure we made no advantage to ourselves, and to suffer in our estates would be very hard.*

I have written you several letters since you left New England, but do not find whether you wrote me, or had received either of them.

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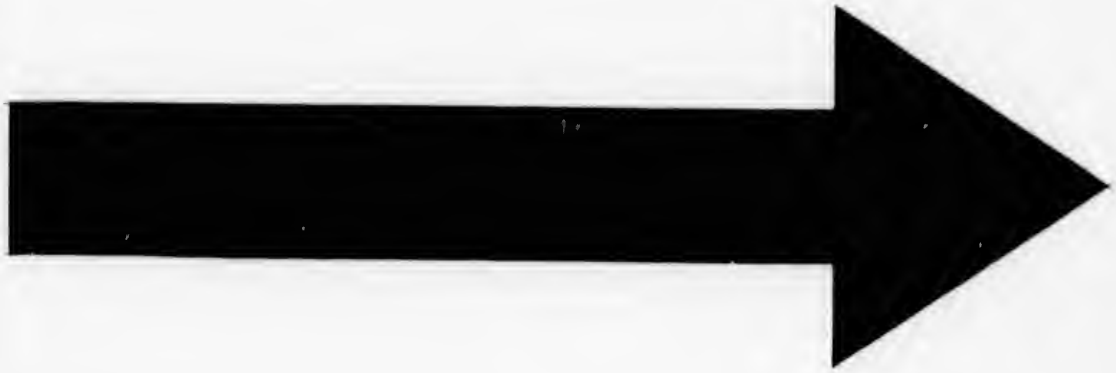
* The deficient vouchers amounted to twenty-six thousand pounds sterling, but new certified vouchers were obtained for about the whole sum.

I sent by the Mermaid to the Lords of the Admiralty and to the commissioners of the navy, a copy of the contract to build two forty-four's, made with Colonel Messerve, as you desired. I think he will build a fine ship, and hope it will be an honor to the country. I was obliged to agree with him to pay in sterling money.

Your nephew, Mr. John Warren Johnson, left this place a few days before I arrived, in order to wait on Lady Warren to England, as we hear you have sent one of his Majesty's ships for her.

Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to have an opportunity to serve yourself or any friend of yours. There is no company as yet become vacant in our regiment, neither has any officer died. I am sorry there should be occasion, the day I arrived, for a court-martial being held by order of his Majesty, for trying my Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan, for filling up a blank commission without leave, and it is believed he will be cashiered. If so there will be a vacancy for your nephew, provided the rank in my regiment go according to seniority, the major to be lieutenant-colonel; and I now mention this to you that you may move in time, and I shall write to the secretary of war in his favor, and shall be glad if something may be done to advance his prospects. But as Captain Blayney is the oldest captain, he will expect to be made major.

We are too sensible of the value of your services to New England even to doubt of your doing all in your power to serve us; and your kind expressions of friendship to me lay me under new obligations. I hope I shall never do any thing to lessen your friendship. And it is my earnest desire that the Almighty, who rules and governs all things, will still be with you, and make



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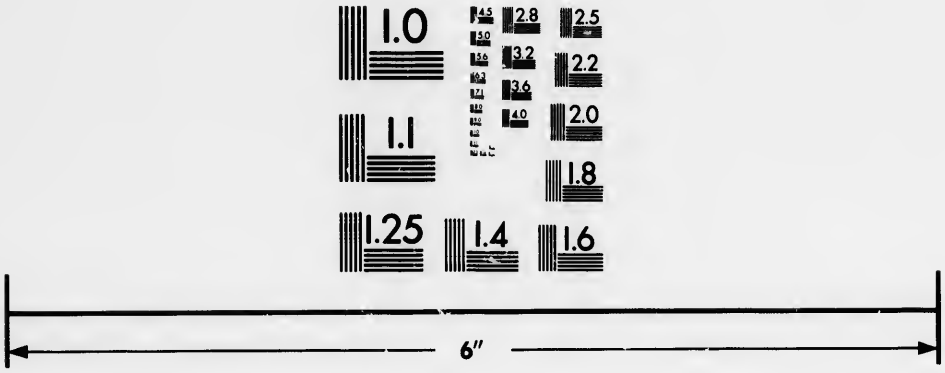

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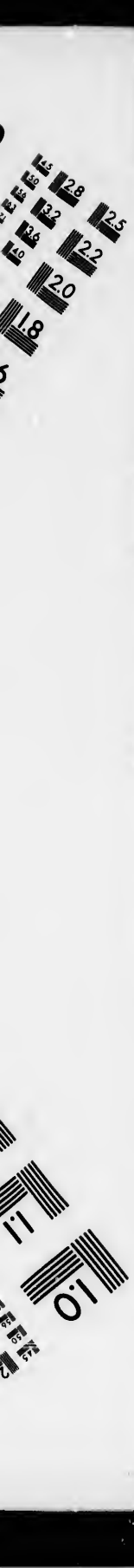
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you a still greater blessing to your king and country. I hope your most estimable lady and children will arrive in safety. I am, dear Sir,

Your friend and most obedient servant,

W. P.

P. S. If Major Mercer, who was sent some time past to England by Governor Knowles, should be removed into another regiment, then there may be a vacancy for Bradstreet.

Sir William writes, on the same date as the above, to the Right Honorable Henry Fox, secretary of war, that Colonel Ryan, by order of his Majesty to Governor Knowles, is on trial for filling up a lieutenant's blank commission to Edmund Watmough without authority, and requests "in case he is dismissed that he would apply to his Majesty to have Lieutenant Warren Johnson, nephew to Admiral Sir Peter Warren, and a very promising young gentleman, appointed captain," "whom," he adds, "I have a very great regard for, and if his Majesty would be pleased to give him the commission it would be very grateful to me." The request was complied with much to the gratification of Pepperrell.

He furnishes, at the same time, an account of his progress in filling his regiment and the difficulties encountered. "Governor Shirley," he says, "having communicated to you an account of the difficulties attending the raising of recruits for his Majesty's regiment under his command, and the necessary and unavoidable charges, I must take leave to refer you thereto, not to give your honor the trouble of having the same repeated by me. I would only take the freedom to intimate that his Majesty's regiment, of

which I have the honor to be colonel, has labored under still greater difficulties, and the loss it has sustained of soldiers that have been detached from this place in some of the small armed vessels to reconnoitre the enemy, has been considerable. As I am informed that the troops raised for the expedition against Canada are to be disbanded, I have determined to embark immediately for Boston with Governor Knowles, with a view of improving the opportunity for recruiting my regiment, but as I hear that a number of soldiers are to be raised from them for the security of Annapolis Royal, I expect to meet with difficulty. As they were enlisted for an expedition only against Canada, they will expect the same bounty as if they never had been enlisted, but nothing in my power shall be wanting to complete the regiment."

Sir William's royal regiment was, by order of the king, to consist of ten companies. One of the weekly returns mentions the following list of officers as captains: 1. Sir William Pepperrell; 2. Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan; 3. Major Mercer; 4. Captain Blayney; 5. Captain Boyles; 6. Captain Jacobs; 7. Captain Bradstreet; 8. Captain Mason; 9. Captain Wooster; 10. Captain Gardner. The organization of armies seems to have been different from that of modern times. In the army that went to Louisburg, Pepperrell was lieutenant-general, and also colonel of a regiment. In the above list he is colonel of the regiment and captain of one of the companies, and his lieutenant-colonel and major are captains also.

Oct. 30, 1746.

Captain Blayney was a man of some distinction at home, and was a favorite with Sir William, to whom he writes: "I beg you will be so good as to remember your promise, and ask Mr. Knowles

Aug. 18.

and the commanding officer, that I may go to New England this winter, as I long greatly to see it; and could I have the pleasure of attending you to Old England, as I hear you are going, it would give me great pleasure, as I am intimately acquainted with several persons at court, whom you will be obliged to see, as Lords in waiting to his Majesty, and the Duke of Richmond who is my personal friend, and I am sure will esteem it a particular favor." Sir William replied: "Before I go to England I shall endeavor to see you, and should be pleased to have you travel with me, and to serve you at all times." But in a short time after he had the pleasure of congratulating Blayney on his promotion to major in Shirley's regiment, and concludes his letter with a regret at losing him from his own regiment, and reiterates the desire to have his company in a travel through England, which he hopes soon to undertake.

In the summer and autumn of 1746 there were frequent rumors of French fleets being expected to attack our seaports, on which occasions Pepperrell addressed circulars to all his militia captains, one of which is before us, and reads thus: "Kittery, Sept. 18, 1746. There is talk of a French fleet being on our coast; if so, you may depend there will be an army of French and Indians upon our backs. Pray be careful, and direct all the captains in Berwick to see that all the men are provided with arms and ammunition, and let there be a good watch kept in your town, and be much upon your guard." Circular orders like this were frequently issued to the captains during this and the following year, some of which are still preserved in York county as autographs.

CHAPTER VIII.

After a few weeks passed at Louisburg, in overseeing the concerns of his regiment, Sir William left it under the command of his senior officer, Captain Chad Blayney, — the lieutenant-colonel being cashiered, and the major absent in London. He embarked in the squadron of Admiral Charles Knowles, who left Louisburg under the charge of Lieutenant-Governor Hopson. On their passage, when near Cape Sables, on the 24th of September, they encountered a storm so violent that the Canterbury was obliged to throw overboard sixteen guns, the Warwick lost all three of her masts, the schooner Essex lost her three guns, and the Achilles was obliged to cut away her main topmast. In this shattered condition they arrived in Boston on the 2d of October, excepting one vessel, the Shark, which put into Pascataqua. Sir William describes the storm in a letter to Lieutenant-Governor Hopson, giving the foregoing particulars. In the same letter he subjoins a few words in favor of the bearer, a lady who had formerly resided at Louisburg: —

"This, I expect, will be delivered you by Mrs. Decaret, a gentlewoman who was at Louisburg when it was surrendered to us. She and her relations had many houses there. She tells me her design in going there is, to open a coffee-house. She has a good character, and as it must be pleasing to every generous person to show kindness to the distressed, I recommend

her to your favor. To-morrow, I design to set out for Pascataqua, where my dwelling is, and shall be glad to render you any service in my power. My best respects to the honest chaplain and all inquiring friends."

Pepperrell, soon after landing in Boston, took his seat as President of the Governor's Council, and Knowles proceeded to repair his ships and equip them for active service. Having done this, he dropped down the harbor, and anchored at Nantasket Roads. By this time a large number of his men had deserted, and he thought it reasonable that Boston, where they had escaped, should supply him with as many men as he had lost. Early in the morning of November 17th, he sent his boats up to town, and surprised not only as many seamen as could be found on board any of the ships, outward bound as well as others, but swept the wharves, taking some ship-carpenters' apprentices and laboring landsmen. His conduct was universally resented, as outrageous. A mob soon collected, and at nightfall several thousand people assembled in King (now State) street, below the town-house, where the General Court was sitting. Brickbats and other missiles were dashed through the windows into the council-chamber. The governor, by advice of Pepperrell and other councillors, made a speech from the balcony, in which he condemned the impress, and promised his utmost endeavors to have the men released, and he gently reprehended the turbulent proceedings of the people, but without effect. Pepperrell, with all his personal popularity, was equally unsuccessful in stilling the tumult. The seizure and restraint of the commanders and other officers who were in town, was insisted on, as the only method likely to procure the release of the inhabitants from on shipboard. The militia of Boston were summoned next day to the aid of government, but re-

fused to appear. Apprehensive of still greater outrages, the governor withdrew to Castle William. Letters meantime were passing between him and the commodore, while Pepperrell, who of all persons was best adapted to meet such an emergency, exercised his masterly tact in pouring oil upon the troubled waves, yet at the same time urging upon the Council and House of Representatives the necessity of passing vigorous resolutions condemning such riotous proceedings. The course was successful. A town-meeting was called, in which both the high-handed course of the commodore, in ordering the impress, and the tumult of the populace, were alike censured. "The militia of the town the next day promptly made their appearance, and conducted the governor with great pomp to his house. The commodore dismissed most if not all of the inhabitants who had been impressed, and the squadron sailed, to the great joy and repose of the town." Pepperrell's agency in extricating the commodore from his difficulty won his gratitude and respect, as will hereafter appear from his subsequent letters.

A few days after this disturbance, December 9th, and whilst the legislature was in session, the old Province house took fire, and its whole interior was consumed. The legislature adjourned its session to a hotel, and there dissolved, to meet the following February. Sir William did not appear until after he received the following letter from General Waldo: "Your presence in the General Court has been always of great service to Maine, and I assure you it was never more necessary than at present, though little else has yet happened than fruitless debates about a place for building a Province house. You have doubtless heard it was voted at Cambridge. They have now got it at Roxbury; and very

probably, as the Board of Councillors have this day been so hardy as to pass a non-concurrence, it may again be in Boston. Mr. Royal offered them five hundred pounds, old tenor, if they would build it at Cambridge. I have endeavored to outdo him in generosity, and have proposed to some of the leading men, as I think they are called, in the honorable house, a gift to the province of 100,000 acres of land, and that next adjoining the court house, if they will build it at Penobscot!! and rather than fail, though my esteem for land does not abate, I would go to a further quantity, if well assured all the members would attend there! It however accorded with the views of Sir William, and of a large majority, to repair the old Province house, which was occupied by the legislature until the present State house was built, and has always gone by the name of the Old State House, since the Revolution.

Early in 1748, Sir William notifies his foreign correspondents, that he had retired from mercantile pursuits, and recommends to them his son as his successor. About this time he was severely afflicted with rheumatic fever, from which he was ever after a periodical sufferer; which, in a letter to Governor Shirley, he attributed to the cold during the long siege against Louisburg, and to the shattered condition of his head-quarters during the following winter. To his friend General Waldo he also writes of his ill health, and thanks him for advice to quit business, which he says he has already done, excepting some affairs that none but himself can well settle.

There was about this time arising an unfriendly spirit among a few of the members of the General Court against Sir William, which originated partly in his determined opposition to the *land bank*, and to an inflated

paper currency, and was no doubt fostered in some degree by a spirit of envy at the distinguished honors lavished upon him by king and people. It was akin to the Newburgh letters that were written against Washington. Among the leaders of this faction were colonels Campbell and Robert Hale. General Waldo apprises him of it, and advises to bring, when he comes, the account of their proceedings in the garrison at Louisburg, that it may be settled, "as there are complaints against us from several quarters of our not having done our duty. I have diverted Campbell's applying to the General Court until the arrival of yourself, Colonel Moulton, and Mr. Hill. On the appearance of either, if not sooner, you may depend on hearing of petitions by way of complaint to the House. The mean or bad spirit that will appear will be disreputable to individuals, and probably may prejudice the whole country."

Sir William little thought after leaving Louisburg, as he supposed in peace and friendship with his officers there, that they would immediately after raise a storm more trying to his feelings than the one he had encountered on the passage. A few days after his arrival in Boston, a letter was received from Captain Blayney, commander of his regiment, Mercer being absent, inclosing a letter from lieutenants Glazier and Grant, and ensign Winslow, the purport of which may be inferred from the following reply to Blayney.

Sir, — I am favored with your letter of the 2d October, and at the same time received a very impertinent one from Lieutenant Glazier of my regiment, who, together with Lieutenant Grant and Ensign Winslow, I understand from yours, have complained of my stopping a year's pay, which they pretend is due to them

for service done for the regiment before they received their commissions. A copy of Glazier's letter I inclose to you, in which I persuade myself you will think he has treated me so indecently, that it would be showing him too much regard to send him an answer to it; and if I did, there could be no other proper one than to tell him that his behavior to me is impudent and ungrateful in the extreme. You will, therefore, since you have so far indulged him and the other two officers, as to receive their complaints, and taken the trouble upon you to represent them to me, give me leave to trouble you likewise with an answer to them, together with a copy of Glazier's letter to me, which I desire you will take an opportunity of making as public in the garrison, by reading them openly, as you shall judge proper, or as it seems their talk has been, since my leaving Louisburg; for not one of them thought fit to make the least mention of their pretended grievance to me whilst I was there, but waited for an opportunity to raise a clamor about it behind my back, which I think a base circumstance in their behavior.

As to Lieutenant Glazier and the liberty he has taken to observe upon my disposal of a commission to Mr. McKenny (who is the person, I suppose, he means in his letter), in the manner he has done, all I need say of it is, that it is contrary not only to the duty and gratitude which he owes me as his colonel and benefactor, but to common decency, and that I have reason to think Mr. McKenny will not disgrace his commission nor the king's service, as I have now too much reason to fear *he* will. But I shall further add, though I think it is too condescending to vouchsafe any further answer upon it, to so mean and ungrateful a man, that I had very early promised that commission to Mr.

Bourne, who had served at Louisburg, in the expedition, and that upon his request, and for his benefit, as well as for the service of my regiment; Mr. McKenny having engaged to raise me fifty men at Philadelphia, I did, upon his being recommended to me as a gentleman well qualified for an officer, fill up that commission with his name instead of Mr. Bourne's.

As to Lieutenant Glazier's pretending a right to one of my commissions for his distinguished behavior in the late expedition, I do not think he has the least. Governor Shirley had given him an ensign's commission, and upon an attempt being made upon the island battery, during the siege, the men who undertook that enterprise, and were thereupon indulged in their humor of choosing their officers in it, desired he might go with them, in the rank of a captain, which he did; but whether he behaved well or ill upon that occasion does not certainly appear.

His pretence that I employed him as an officer in my regiment before I delivered him his commission, or that I stopped a penny of pay that he had the least claim to, is groundless. He enlisted one or two men for my regiment at Louisburg, for which service I allowed him pay, as I did to others who enlisted men for me; but it is false that I then promised, or had the least thoughts of giving him a commission; and, I dare say, it is equally so to pretend that he had any expectation of it, for, upon his going to Boston, he took beating orders, from Governor Shirley, to raise men for the expedition against Canada, in *his* regiment, and received money for enlisting them, as all the other officers in that service did, and was to have a commission given him by Mr. Shirley, according to the number of men he should raise, upon which condition, all the other officers in

that expedition took their beating orders, and acted as he did; and so he continued, till upon his failing of success in raising any number of men, he applied to me in New England, telling me he could not return again to his trade (carpenter), and should be ruined if I did not provide for him in my regiment; upon which, and the intercession of several persons, particularly Major Titcomb, who told me he should take the favor as done to himself, I did out of regard to the major, and compassion for him, give him a commission. Major Titcomb, indeed, and he promised that he should raise some men for the regiment, but he never raised one afterwards, so that I was obliged to order him to his post at Louisburg without any. The day that he received his commisson he drew for subsistence, and continued to from that time; and though he had received some of the regiment's money to enlist men, he has not yet accounted for one penny of it. His commission, indeed, I dated in September, 1745; but surely no man of common sense will say he had the least right, when I gave it to him, to claim a year's previous pay, in which he had rendered no service in the regiment, any more than he had to have his commission antedated. And if (as he pretends) I did, upon his quitting all pretence of drawing pay before he received his commission, and thereby gave him the advantage of a year's rank, was any wrong done him in receiving from him an acquittance of pay which was not due to him; and did he not, on the other hand, receive an advantage by his commission's being antedated; and how can he, with the least truth or modesty, say that he paid a penny, or gave any consideration for his commission, in this case?

He writes in a strain as if he had a right to his com-

mission from the beginning; he says he "*could not have it from me till I stopped a year's pay.*" Pray what right had he to the commission above other officers of the expedition, or any other person whom I might think proper to give it to? Was I under any obligation from his Majesty to dispose of it to him, or any other of his brother officers? Was I not at liberty to dispose of it to any suitable gentleman I pleased? and am I accountable to any one but his Majesty for making use of the commissions he intrusted me with? Nay, had the lieutenant been obliged to give an acquittance of pay that was *really due* to him, before I would consent to give him the commission, or had I even taken a sum of money out of his pocket as a present for it, what has a court of inquiry to do with that? or if they had, I presume they would scarcely inquire into the matter behind my back, and without giving me an opportunity to defend my honor against these complaints, especially when the officers who make them must at all events act dishonorably and ungratefully in the case. For was it as they state it, namely, that I had taken a gratuity from them for giving them the preference in my disposal of the commissions, by which they now enjoy a considerable advantage, which they had no right to claim from me above others of their fellow officers, or which I might have disposed of to a stranger, was it not base and ungrateful in them to fly in my face for it, and against all rules of honor to demand that gratuity back? But this is not the case; they had no right to a farthing of the pay, they pretend to say has been stopped from them, which makes their behavior still more base and ungrateful, and I should think the countenancing of it against the

custom of the army. I hope my using such plain terms may be excused, when it is considered that these three subalterns have no pretence to the name of gentlemen, but from the king's commission, which they obtained through my favor, and most unworthily wear. As to their pretence that they lost any part of their New England pay, on account of the commissions I gave them, if they have, it must be their own fault in not applying for it properly.

It would be repeating the same thing to speak of Grant and Winslow. Grant in particular had beating orders in the service of the Canada expedition, till he received his commission from me, as Glazier had, and never was employed by me, nor by any officer in my regiment, till I delivered him his commission. And as to this poor creature, whom I have been obliged to support, after being sent out of the garrison for dishonoring his commission, by making part of Mr. Knowles' kitchen, I must observe that I find his ingratitude rises in proportion to his obligations to me.* As to Winslow, I never employed him in the least service for the regiment, or promised him a commission, before I delivered one to him.

Doubtless the pay in dispute strictly belongs to the king, if custom has not made that, as well as other vacant pay, the colonel's perquisite, which I have very good authority to think it does. If it does not, and I am mistaken, it lies ready to be stopped as a saving to the crown.

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* Grant was a Salem man, and was highly recommended to Sir William for a captaincy, by Rev. John Sparhawk of Salem, brother of his son-in-law Colonel S., which accounts for his being supported by Sir William.

In two or three months after the date of the above letter, Mercer returned from England to Louisburg, promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in Pepperrell's regiment. The three officers who had addressed the letter to which the foregoing is a reply, were joined by three others in an appeal to Lieutenant-Governor Hopson for redress; and he forwarded their complaints to the secretary of war, without giving Pepperrell any notice. They also addressed a letter to Sir William, to be forwarded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, to which he makes the following reply, addressed to Mercer: —

Kittery, February 19, 1748.

SIR, — Yours of December 30th is received. I observed what you wrote relating to the copy of a letter you inclosed me, signed by Lieutenants Dwight, Staples, Grant, Glazier, Whiting, and Winslow. I think these persons have treated me so ill in their letter as to render it improper for me to give them any further answer than that I am ready to respond to any of their complaints to the secretary of war, whenever they are made.

The blank commissions sent me all bore date in 1745. These persons who complain had pay from the several governments that employed them, until about July, 1746, and most of them had made application to Governor Shirley for beating orders to raise men to go in the Canada expedition, and had enlisted men and taken money of this government for the same. Some of them made an advantage of it, as you may see by the inclosed copies of affidavits, by clearing the men after enlistment, without any leave so to do. I could send more of them, but I would not give you the trouble. When they found they could not obtain a commission

for that expedition to Canada, they and their friends applied to me for one. I could not think they were entitled to pay until the time I thought fit to give them the commissions, and as I was informed that the vacant pay belonged to the colonel, I fairly stated the case more than a year ago, and sent it to the agent to be laid before the honorable secretary of war for his opinion, that if I had a right to it I insisted on it, and should dispose of it as I pleased. If it was a saving to the crown it was well, and if the officers had a right to it I was content, for I never desired any money but what I had a just claim to, and could own before the world. I have never made any use of the money, nor ever designed to, until I was well assured from the secretary that it did of right belong to me.

The secretary of war returned the following answer to the six complaints: —

"All the commissions for Sir William Pepperrell's regiment were dated in September, 1745, with blanks for the days of the month only. They were sent by Lieutenant-Colonel Ryan, who went first to New England, and there tarried until Sir William's return from Louisburg, in July following, when they were put into his hands.

"All the officers appointed by Sir William Pepperrell who were on the spot and did duty at Louisburg, had their pay from the establishment of the regiment, the 24th of September, and so had those officers that were first employed as candidates in raising men, who applied themselves entirely to, and succeeded in that service. But it was Sir William Pepperrell's opinion that those who had made an attempt for superior commissions by endeavoring to raise men for the *Canada*

expedition, or who had not otherwise qualified themselves for constant services, or had met with but little success, were not entitled to the pay from the date of the commissions, which he could not alter, and therefore took their relinquishments, which, whether it be his perquisite as he has been informed, or a saving to the public, makes no difference in his apprehension with respect to the memorialists, who can have no pretensions to it."

Although Sir William had resolved, as stated in his letter to Captain Blayney, and subsequently to Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, not to answer the impertinent letters of the officers, he relented, and after the lapse of a year he addressed them the following: —

[To Lieutenants Edmund Dwight, Peter Stapley, James Grant, Beamsley Glazier, Nathan Whiting, Ensign John Winslow.]

Kittery, December 30, 1748.

As I have been confined for some time by a cold which still remains upon me, I cannot enlarge, but shall defer it until next spring, when I hope to see you all at Louisburg. I don't think it is in any man's power justly to accuse me of breach of promise, and I hope it never will be. If you were entitled to pay before you had your commissions or did duty in the regiment, I have no power to hinder it. The affair has long since been laid before the Honorable Secretary at War, though I have no account of his determination, not having received any letter from the agent, Mr. Kilby, for several months. No doubt, if you write him, he will inform you. You took out beating orders and the government's money to enlist men for the *Canada expedition*, as appears by the obligations under your hands. I have several affidavits sent me from several

parts, much of the same tenor as the inclosed. Surely, had I known this, I should have doubted whether those persons were entitled to his majesty's commission, that cleared men from his majesty's service without orders. These affidavits were sent me when the signers of them heard how my character was treated by some ungrateful persons to whom I had been a benefactor. But I desire, when I am reviled, not to revile again, and to forgive all that abuse me. I am too well acquainted with ingratitude not to know from what manner of persons it must proceed.

Yours, etc., W. P.

1748. The Secretary of War wrote by order of the Duke of Cumberland to both Pepperrell and Shirley, against whom complaint was made by the officers of their regiments, that he not only approves but applauds the stoppage of the Cape Breton officers' back pay, (which he says, however, is not a colonel's perquisite, though it was formerly, that it must now be a saving to the crown,) that they are entitled to his Majesty's favor thereby, and they may depend on his Royal Highness's peculiar regards.

It was, doubtless, apprehended by Sir William, that his officers, who were so signally foiled in their attempt to prejudice him with the government in London, would resort to secret detraction, by false representations to individuals there, who would spread them before the public. Rumors of the kind actually reached him, which determined him to embark for London, to meet and silence them. Besides this object, he felt that his interests there required his presence.

Oct. 14. To Governor Shirley he writes, "I have private affairs to settle in England with several

merchants; and, understanding my character has been aspersed there, I have thoughts of going out in the Hastings, but have not fully determined. If I had, your Excellency should have known it, in order to receiving your commands, which it would give me pleasure to execute. I hope to have an opportunity to wait on your Excellency soon in Boston."

Captain Kinselagh, of Pepperrell's regiment, arrived at Louisburg, and writes him respecting the rumors that had been floating against him in London, saying, "I had the pleasure of taking my leave of Sir Peter Warren and lady, and Mr. Kilby at Portsmouth. They all desired to be remembered to you, and were glad to find you were so clear of the reflection of selling commissions, as also of taking the officers' pay. Mr. Kilby had shown your letter to the Duke of Newcastle (wherein you doubt the back pay being your due) and to the Secretary of War, who were well pleased with your conduct in that affair." General Waldo received intelligence about the same time from persons of distinction in London, relating to the rumors, and their favorable termination, and writes to Sir William, "I congratulate you heartily on the account I have that your mountain stands strong." These reports relieved Sir William's mind, and induced him to delay his voyage to London until the following year.

Admiral Knowles, after the tumult in Boston, sailed to the West Indies, to cruise against the French and Spanish shipping. He writes from Jamaica, April 3, 1748:—

Dear Sir,—I embrace this opportunity of letting you know of my arrival here the 28th of January, from Boston, and since my arrival have been much hurried

to get the squadron fitted for the sea, all hands being in port, revelling as if in profound peace, with nothing to do, or you should have heard from me long since by some opportunity or other. As soon as ever the ships could be got ready for the sea, I went out with a design to attack St. Jago de Cuba, but the winds proving northerly, I could not lay hold of that coast, and therefore, that no time might be lost, I went up to Port Louis, upon Hispaniola, and attacked that, and the 8th past took it after some hours' pretty warm work on both sides. There were in the fort seventy-eight guns, mostly forty-two and thirty-six pounders, four brass mortars, and great quantities of all kinds of ammunition. Thank God, the loss on our side has been very inconsiderable, the enemy more than six times our number. After having blown up the fort, I proceeded to St. Jago as at first designed, but found the enemy had got intelligence of my intentions, and had secured the harbor's mouth with vessels and fire-ships. I have therefore requested some land forces, and doubt not by next spring of taking it. In the mean time, I shall endeavor to distress our more inveterate enemy the French, at all places where ships can go. I have taken and destroyed five privateers this cruise, and about nine or ten merchant ships, and shall get fitted out again, I hope, in about a fortnight, and be amongst the thickest of them again.

I cannot help being angry with the malicious author of a scurrilous libel published against me, soon after I left Boston, which Governor Shirley was so kind as to send me, and to express his resentment at. As he tells me, the author is unworthy and below my personal chastisement, I am determined to punish him to the utmost rigor of the law; and although the liberty of the

press is carried to a great length in England, yet I am convinced no printer dare publish so scandalous a reflection upon any person whatsoever; and therefore I think he ought to be punished as well as the author.

I am far from reflecting upon any gentleman in New England upon this affair happening; on the contrary am highly glad to find, as Mr. Shirley tells me, they all show a detestation of it. This will be delivered you by Captain Pearse of the new twenty-gun ship, whom I beg to recommend to your favors, and as the Louisburg stationed ship will sail soon, I shall write you more fully by her; being with great truth and regard,

Dear Sir, your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

CHARLES KNOWLES.

He writes again: —

Jamaica, April 15, 1748.

MY DEAR SIR, — This accompanies a duplicate of my last, since which nothing has happened in these parts worthy your notice; but as the Worcester was bound to Cape Breton, and to call in her way to Boston, I could not let her go without addressing my good friend Sir William Pepperrell, and letting you know, blessed be God, that I am much mended in my health, and I think gather both flesh and strength daily.

I have sent you by Captain Andrew a box of sweetmeats, and desired Governor Shirley to send you part of some good old rum I have sent him. You shall soon have a hogshead yourself, but I am nice, and therefore till I can meet with what is old, choice, and good, I have deferred it at present, but my friends have promised to get me some. If there is any thing that these parts

afford, I beg you will freely lay your commands upon me, for there is no one I can have greater pleasure in serving than yourself. I shall give you the trouble of a letter by all opportunities, and hope some of them will convey you agreeable news. I know you sincerely wish me well, and therefore my satisfaction will be double when I can render you any account of my successes.

My best compliments to all friends, and believe me, ever, dear Sir, your most obedient and most faithful humble servant, CHARLES KNOWLES.

Sir William addressed Governor Hopson on his promotion to the command of Louisburg:—

April 22, 1748.

DEAR SIR,—The advice of your appointment to be governor-in-chief of Louisburg, gave me great pleasure, and I congratulate you and the gentlemen of the garrison on your promotion. Although I may not have been so early in my address on this head as others of your friends, yet I beg leave to assure your Excellency I am as hearty therein, hoping you will long enjoy it, and that I shall have the yet further satisfaction of seeing Cape Breton and its dependencies annexed to the crown of Great Britain, and become a flourishing colony under your administration. And as your Excellency is satisfied, from its situation, that it may be of the utmost importance, as well to the trade of Great Britain as to the security of all the Northern colonies, I doubt not you and your friends' interest will be employed in effectually securing it in English hands, which, from the late success of our ships in Europe, and Mr. Knowles's in the West Indies, I flatter myself may be easily effected.

I have applied to his Majesty for permission to visit Europe, which if obtained, I promise myself the pleasure of calling on you on my way at Louisburg, and taking with me your commands. In the mean time, if I can render you any acceptable service here, I shall gladly court the occasion to let you know how much I am, dear Sir, your Excellency's most faithful and humble servant,

W. P.

Sir William instituted suits, as before observed, against Colonel Ryan, for defamation, and brought a civil action for moneys he had used belonging to the regiment. Mr. Pratt, an attorney in Boston, brought the actions, to whom and to Benjamin Colman, a merchant there, the whole matter was intrusted. Great as was the injury done, or attempted to be done, to Sir William, his natural benevolence caused him to relent. In a letter to Colman, June 21, 1748, he says: "When I think of Colonel Ryan, what a poor creature he is, and I am afraid forsaken by God and man, I cannot help pitying him, and if he would make a proper acknowledgment in writing and secure the debt to me, as far as it is in his power, I could forgive him, but I am determined to refer the whole matter to you and Mr. Pratt."

Governor Shirley sent for Mr. Colman to talk about the affair, and then wrote to Sir William, advising him to accept of an acknowledgment, clearing his honor from the defamatory expressions of Ryan, and an order on Mr. Kilby, the agent of the regiment in London. Ryan signed the acknowledgment, upon which Sir William released him from jail; but before a bond was executed and an order given for the debt, Ryan made

his escape in a ship bound to England. But Kilby secured the debt for Sir William, when Ryan adjusted his accounts at the war office.

Governor Hopson having written him a request to pay a tailor's bill for work done for his regiment at Louisburg, his answer shows his sensitiveness at being thought remiss in the fulfilment of his engagements.

* * * As to what you are pleased to mention relating to the making of the waistcoats for the regiment, I have to say, that I had advanced considerable money for said regiment, in recruiting-money, which I sent two years past towards paying the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. I expected this tailor's bill to be deducted out of it. It cannot be expected that I should be acquainted with all the rules of the army, but so far as I do know, I shall endeavor faithfully to perform my duty in every particular.

I do think it is the first time that ever any complaint was made against me for not paying my debts; and if any person had given me a hint that the bill in question could not have been deducted out of that money which I had advanced for the regiment, payment should have been ordered long since.

Your Excellency's most obedient, W. P.

During his absence at the siege of Louisburg, important events transpired among Sir William's near relatives at home. His brother-in-law, William Tyler of Boston, writes him: "Your sister Frost" (widow of the late Hon. John Frost) "came to town to see her son Joseph who we thought would have died, and Rev. Dr. Colman has persuaded her to come

July 5, 1745.

and live with him, and they are to be married in thirty days from this date.* Her son Joseph has bought her place at Great Island, and is going to live on it." But a more interesting event related to his only son now to be noticed.

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* They were married August 12, 1745, and Dr. Colman dying two years after, she married, after a lapse of another year, Judge Prescott of Danvers.

CHAPTER IX.

Andrew Pepperrell, the only son of Sir William, graduated at Harvard, 1743, at the age of twenty. While pursuing his preparatory studies and during his collegiate years, he was accustomed to mingle in the best circles in Boston.

His mother's family were among the best connected of the town, as Balstons, Chauncy, and Sewells. He was also remotely connected by marriage with the family of Jonathan Waldo, a wealthy merchant, Mrs. Waldo being the mother of Nathaniel Sparhawk his brother-in-law, whose father was Rev. Nathaniel Sparhawk of Bristol, Rhode Island. Mr. Jonathan Waldo had a son by a former wife, named Samuel, who, to the best education the province afforded, added the advantages of foreign travel, having crossed the ocean fifteen times. Extensively concerned in the Waldo land patent in Maine, Samuel passed a portion of his time at Falmouth to superintend the landed interest. On the division of Pepperrell's regiment of Maine militia into two, Samuel Waldo was appointed to the command of the eastern one. He was also chosen many years a councillor at the same board with Pepperrell, and was largely concerned with him in mercantile affairs. Young Andrew, through the prominent families of Waldo, of Judge Sewall, Dr. Chauncy, Hirst, and his uncle Tyler, a merchant, with their numerous acquaintances, became extensively known; his comely person and polished

manners were a passport to the best circles; and his heirship to a fortune and a baronetcy placed him in the highest social position. Among the young ladies that attracted his admiration was Miss Hannah Waldo, daughter of the aforesaid Colonel Samuel Waldo. Highly educated, accomplished, and beautiful, Andrew could not resist her attractions, and after some desultory skirmishes, he struck his flag and acknowledged himself vanquished. They were betrothed in 1746, much to the gratification of both families. Sir William and Lady Pepperrell both expressed their joy at the prospect of receiving Miss Hannah as the wife of their only son.

The lovers of romance are under no small obligation for the rich entertainment furnished them by several writers, in their versions of this affair, and of its sad catastrophe. But their materials were traditionary, and from the nature of the subject, were liable to embellishment in their transmission. The narratives are so gracefully drawn that it seems hard and unkind to mar them with the weapons of sober truth. It is, however, due to the memory of the young lady to remove from her the imputation of fickleness and heartless coquetry, which the authors of these stories have unknowingly fixed in the mind of every reader. But for this consideration the following letters would have been suppressed. They are not a continuous series of all that passed between the parties on the subject; but there is enough contained in them to place the lady's memory in a blameless light. Scattered as the Pepperrell papers have been to the four winds, it was only after much research that enough have been gathered to set the affair right.

Sir William had expressed in a letter to General Waldo, his gratification at the prospect of a union of their families, and mentioned the amount he had done and intended to do for the young couple, closing his letter with kind messages to Miss Hannah.

After the lapse of some months, General Waldo writes, January 9, 1748, on business, and adds: "As to the long talked of affair between Mr. Pepperrell and my daughter, I am at a loss what to think about it. You know matches are made in heaven, and what's appointed must be. It is not best for any to be over-anxious, but to govern with prudence, on which head no caution is necessary to you. I am very much obliged to Lady Pepperrell as well as yourself for your good liking of my daughter, and more especially that she should become yours. The proposed union gave me great pleasure, and the more so as I knew she could not fail to be happy in your family, and I promised myself it was not in her power to misbehave. I had never, Sir, any reason to doubt of yours or your lady's heartiness in the affair, but if there be not a mutual good liking between the young people, it will not be best they should come together. But I leave the affair to them.

"I am, by yours, confirmed in my former sentiments, that you had done very handsomely for your son. Above a twelvemonth ago, I think it was, I had a conversation with him when I proposed a speedy issue to the business, and assured him my intentions as to the future well-being of my daughter were not contracted. He declared himself in a very genteel and generous manner. The sum you mention is large; part of it is probably laid out upon his house. Some

misfortunes he has met with in trade, and possibly he may think that the improvement of the remainder may not be a sufficient sum to support upon as your son. I had some difficulty on this head myself before marriage. I got what I could from my father, and trusted Providence for the rest. My daughter is very well and presents her duty to you and Lady Pepperrell. Be also pleased to accept of my best regards."

Both fathers, as we have seen, approved of the match. Waldo writes again in February: "I am obliged to you, Sir, and Lady Pepperrell for your good liking of the proposed alliance between our families; nothing can be more agreeable to me, and it would be an additional satisfaction could there be a speedy consummation. It has been long enough pending for the young people to know, not only their own, but each other's mind. My good liking to it they have both of them been long acquainted with. Till lately I flattered myself that before I embarked for Europe, which I hope will be soon, (though not before I make you a visit to Kittery,) the proposed alliance would be finished." In a few days he writes again to the same purport, and adds: "We very much esteem yours and Lady Pepperrell's kind notice of us. Miss Hannah joins with me in most grateful acknowledgments."

Sir William writes, March 15th: "I observe by your letter that you are exceedingly surprised that I did not know the reason that the family affair, so long pending, was delayed; but what I wrote you is certainly true; and if ever my son will do an ill thing I cannot help it, nor ever can or will pretend to justify it; and if he never marries I will never say so much to him about it as I have said. I do think, so far as I have been

enabled, that I have discharged my duty to him. It is certain that he has laid out upwards of ten thousand pounds in a house, contrary to what I should have advised, but considerable of that I gave him, beside the twenty-eight thousand I mentioned, and my design was, that if he should marry, I should give him land that would be an immediate income, but if he does not, I look upon myself to be the best judge how to dispose of my estate, and shall act accordingly as long as it shall please the Most High to preserve my reason and senses. It is true that he has met with considerable losses in his trade, but from what I know, his interest sent abroad is safe, that he has upwards of thirty thousand pounds, old tenor, in trade; considering that he has wharves, warehouses, etc., fitted to his hand, I think it is a handsome fitting out, and if he behave himself well, as long as I am able I shall be doing for him. I always thought that you would be doing all in your power for all your children, and I know that you are able; but as every thing in this life is uncertain, if Providence should order it that you could not give Miss Hannah any thing, I say if this should be the case (though I hope it never will), I should be freely willing my son should marry her, and I cannot think he will ever be happy in this life if he don't, nor can expect a blessing; but I hope he soon will, and not expose himself and friends to unfriendly remarks. If you knew the trouble it gives me to write, you would readily excuse me from enlarging.

"Mrs. Pepperrell joins with me in best respects to yourself and family, and in particular to Miss Hannah.

"I am truly, dear Sir, your faithful and most humble servant, WM. PEPPERRELL."

General Waldo writes to Sir William again: —

Boston, March 20, 1748.

Your generous declarations respecting the depending match between your son and my daughter Hannah, I greatly esteem, and am much obliged to you for. I hope all impediments to a consummation will soon end in their mutual happiness, and to the satisfaction of their respective friends, as well as the mortification of those who are foes to every one. The sum you mention to be in Mr. Pepperrell's hands is undoubtedly a pretty fortune in itself, and beyond all dispute a handsome outset, and if success attend his endeavors, he may soon make a good figure among the busy part of the world. Your further generous intentions towards him will yet further distinguish as well as advantage him, and your advice occasionally will be of no small importance in the pursuit of business; and though I have no reason to suspect his honor in the pending affair, yet the delay (the consequence of which is not to be foreseen) must be very disagreeable to us. Your own concern for the issue of it will excuse my anxiety for the future welfare as well as present peace and honor of my daughter, toward which it is my duty to contribute my best endeavors.

Miss Hannah joins with me in acknowledgment of your and Lady Pepperrell's kind notice of her, and in our best respects.

Isaac Winslow, who married Miss Hannah's sister, writes to Andrew Pepperrell: —

Boston, May 3, 1748.

"Dear Sir, — I am sorry I am out of my guess that you would have an epistle from your dear friend. But

that you have not, I dare say is owing to nothing more than a superior modesty. I hope your business will admit of your seeing us sooner than June. Consider that after that comes hot weather, and I hope you will give us the pleasure of your company sooner. I have thoughts this month of showing Mrs. Winslow Rhode Island, and I would fain prevail on my sister Hannah to accompany us, but can't yet do it. If we could also have the pleasure of your company, we should make a delightful tour of it, and I wish you would contrive to be here by the middle of this month." Again, May 9th, after a few lines on business, in answer to a letter, he writes: "I am much obliged to you for your invitation to visit Kittery, and hope it will not be long before we see you here, that we may have the pleasure of returning under your convoy. I had the pleasure of drinking your health last evening at my father Waldo's, about 10 o'clock. It was at that time when your dear Miss Hannah drank the toast, with the usual becoming blush on her countenance. She desired me to send you her compliments," etc. Again, May 29th, after a few lines on business, he says: "The month of June is very near, and I shall then hope for the pleasure of seeing you here. Miss Hannah gave us the pleasure of her company last night, and is very well. We drank your health." Sept. 20. — "Miss Hannah is well, and gives her service to you."

Early in the autumn of 1748, Mr. Pepperrell and Miss Waldo were published; soon after which he was attacked with a lingering fever, which left him feeble and dispirited, the more so from the loss of property at sea.

Sir William writes to General Waldo: —

Kittery, December 16, 1748.

DEAR SIR, — Your favors of the 5th and 12th inst. are received. I make no doubt but you will meet with many friends in England. I wish you were safe there. I am tired with winter journeys; should be glad I could contribute any thing toward building the proposed fort at Penobscot, but I am tired of trying. If Andrew would go and be married, I would willingly undertake one winter journey more; but he has got a vessel which he will endeavor to fit out this winter, contrary to my advice, which I am afraid will make him sick again.

I am afraid I shall lose the post, and cannot enlarge. Mrs. Pepperrell joins with me in best respects to yourself, Miss Hannah, etc. W. P.

Colonel Waldo replies: —

SIR, — It would give me the greatest pleasure to wait on you and Lady Pepperrell, and all the good family, upon the particular occasion, that of your son's marrying, which would induce you to take a winter journey, if the only impediment thereto is what you quote, that of the intended equipment of a vessel for the sea. I should think that could stand in no competition with the grand affair of a settlement for life, which he has been now nearly two years engaged in, and it gives me no small concern, as the honor of either of the parties, as well as my own, are engaged therein, it should be seemingly in suspense; the many rascally stories that are industriously bruited gives great amusement to some ill-natured persons among us, and no small chagrin to the friends of either party.

My daughter Hannah makes her acknowledgments for yours and Lady Pepperrell's favorable regards to her, and I beg that mine may accompany them, and that you may be assured that I am your most faithful and obedient servant, S. WALDO.

Sir William writes again, March, 1749, from Kittery: "Mrs. Pepperrell joins with me in your wish that the alliance between our son and your daughter were completed, which I do think would be a satisfaction to all their friends, and a means of putting a stop to the talk of their enemies, as there are none without some. As I have often urged him to finish the affair, and he has declined to let me know the time designated, I have no thoughts of mentioning it to him again."

The delay, as will appear presently, was prolonged nearly two years after the date of this letter.

Sir William sends his friend Warren from Kittery by the mast-ship Hastings, his usual present of a quintal of dun-fish, and another of cusk, and writes, Nov. 28, 1748:—

As we understand Louisburg is to be delivered up to the former owners, I could wish something might be done for Nova Scotia, by fortifying and settling it with good Protestants, which, by prudent management, might bring the Indians to be our friends. I am sensible you have New England much at heart, and that nothing will be wanting in your power for the service and security of it.

This will be delivered you by Major Gilman and Captain Joseph Sherburn, whom you knew at Louisburg to be very serviceable in the expedition. They

were likewise bound on the expedition to Canada. I know you love to reward good actions, and to help men to justice, and I hope you will serve these gentlemen. As the ships are unmooring I cannot enlarge, but am, with the utmost respect, honorable and dear Sir, your faithful and most obedient humble servant,

W. P.

[From Commodore Warren.]

December, 1748.

I have received several of your favors, which should have been sooner answered if my time had allowed me. I am extremely glad to hear of your and all my friends' health on your side of the water, and wish it were more in my power than it is, to show my regard for them. I presume ere this will reach you, the forty gun ship will be finished. If you have as much trouble and expense in passing accounts of disbursements for her as we have with those for Louisburg, you will have a bad time of it, for I don't find they are a jot forwarder than when first put into the offices, though at a very considerable expense to us both, and more must follow, or that fortress will lie over us and our posterity. I will this winter exert myself about it. I presume one of the consequences of giving up Cape Breton will be the breaking the two New England regiments. Many of marines are already broke here, so that the peace is looked upon to be well founded. God grant it may be advantageous to our country! Mr. Green, I believe, has been very diligent, and I think has sent every thing in his power home to facilitate the passing our accounts. What will become of him, and all the gentlemen whose dependence was, on Louisburg being kept in our posses-

sion ?* I wish you health and happiness, and I think you enjoy more of the latter than we do here; and that it may never be lessened to you is the sincere wish of, my good old friend,

Your most humble servant,

PETER WARREN.

My wife and Nancy desire to be kindly remembered to you.

Sir William's long practical education and constant intercourse with all classes of men, gave him a clear perception and accurate judgment of character, and of the springs and motives of human action, which no doubt contributed in a great degree to his success in wielding so extensive an influence among the people at large. His accurate estimate of character is observable in his selections of intimate and confidential friends. With the clergy, far and near, who were highly educated and influential, he was on the most cordial terms. Governors Belcher of Massachusetts and Wolcott of Connecticut, he loved and honored. Waldo, his intimate associate in various offices through life, was among his most confidential friends. Meserve, of the New Hampshire regiment, and Hill, of Berwick, were ever in high favor with him, and Bradstreet, the lieutenant-colonel of his own regiment at the siege, he omitted no opportunity to serve and promote. These men were every way worthy of his esteem, friendship, and confidence. He regarded Bradstreet as a protegè of rare promise, and destined to arrive at great distinction as a military chieftain, which eventually proved true.

* Mr. Green was appointed to office in Halifax on the surrender of Louisburg to France.

He writes to him, December 22, 1748, acknowledging the receipt of several of his letters, and adds:—

It very much surprised me that you have received but one letter from me the summer past. I assure you that I have written several and sent them to Boston to be forwarded, and there is no one can take greater pleasure to hear from another than I do from you, and to rejoice at your prosperity, which I shall always do all in my power to contribute to. I often mention you to our good friend Sir Peter Warren. I have no account as yet of our regiment's being disbanded. Some think it will be ordered to Nova Scotia. If so, and you were to be with me in such a post as I wish you, I should feel very indifferent about selling, but we must leave all these things to Him that rules and governs all, and makes peace or war. I observe what you write about Colonel Ellison. It is true that when I was last at Louisburg, he did mention purchasing my commission to me, but never offered me any sum, neither did I ever ask him. If the regiment should be disbanded I doubt not there will be half-pay; and if liberty could be obtained for the disposal, I would rather sell and should prefer to be quite clear of pay and all.

What you write about your being pleased that I came off so well in England respecting money affairs, I am too well acquainted with you to doubt of your being sincere in, and I hope I shall never desire any thing but what is right and just. I sincerely wish you and yours the best of blessings, and shall always rejoice at an opportunity to serve you. My wife and son send their best respects to yourself and lady, etc.

I am, dear Sir, your faithful and most obedient humble servant,

W. P.

Sir William was confined with rheumatism during February and March, 1749. He writes to General Waldo, March 29, thanking him for the friendly concern shown for his recovery, and says, "through God's mercy I am now so far recovered as to be able to walk out of doors." . . . . . "I now find there are orders sent to Louisburg for the disbanding of Colonel Shirley's and my regiments, which is no more than I expected."

Governor Hopson notifies him of the disbanding of the regiment forthwith, on the arrival of transports to remove them, and urges him in friendly terms to send money to enable the non-commissioned officers and privates to pay their debts before embarking. He replies: "I have always been fond of your opinion, and shall endeavor to follow it. My design was to wait on your Excellency by this conveyance, but considering that the regiment is disbanded and that you daily expect the French there to retake possession, and as his Majesty's ship America is this day to be launched, and as I have had directions from the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to assist in completing the ship, etc., you will be pleased to excuse me; but it will give me a vast pleasure to wait on your Excellency here. In respect to supply of money I now send to Colonel Mercer one thousand four hundred and twenty heavy dollars which I have found very scarce and with great difficulty to be had, and very dear, costing fifty, fifty-one, and fifty-two shillings each in our currency. If Colonel Mercer had drawn on me, it would have been a saving to the crown. If your Excellency should order away the transports with soldiers belonging to these parts, the same conveyance might bring what things I

May 4, 1749.

have at Louisburg to this port, which would lay me under new obligations to you," etc., etc.

[To Governor Shirley.]

Kittery, July 10, 1749.

SIR, — The inclosed is a petition that came to me from the poor condemned prisoner in York goal (jail) which he desired me to forward to your Excellency. I am afraid he is not prepared to die, but as you are wise and merciful and know the worth of souls, I shall be silent.

I should be glad of the form of your Excellency's recruiting accounts. As I have advanced several thousand pounds of my own money, I want to have mine finished.

W. P.

[Answer.]

Boston, July 17, 1749.

SIR, — I am favored with yours by last post, inclosing Dearing's petition; and have thereupon ordered the secretary to make out a reprieve for him to the —— of September, ——, which I hope he will improve, to prepare himself for a better death, than I fear from the heinous, unnatural offence for which he is condemned, his life has been. However, I shall pay so much further regard to his petition, since he there insinuates that the court and jury were deceived by the evidence produced against him, as to inquire into the circumstances of it from the judges.

As to the recruiting accounts, Sir William, I hope you will continue to be of opinion that our agreeing in every circumstance of our settling them for our respective regiments, is absolutely necessary towards our procuring their allowance without difficulty, which is a

matter that most highly concerns us not only in point of interest but reputation; the latter of which, as it has already been assailed most ungratefully and dishonorably by our subalterns, I think we have sufficient notice given us to guard against them and all others in this most material point — and I hope, therefore, you will not think this can be done without a mutual consultation and advisement with each other in every point, that we may conform and settle the accounts in the best manner, which cannot possibly be done without an interview of two or three days; and I hope you will not fail to do me the favor to let me see you at Boston to-morrow — come in a fortnight at furthest, which is the day before the assembly meets, by which time I shall be ready for you with all my accounts prepared.

Since my seeing you, I have obtained the king's leave to absent myself from my government for a year from the 10th of last April, which I am determined to embrace this fall. Hope I shall see you on August 1st.

Yours, etc.,

WILLIAM SHIRLEY.

[Reply of Sir William.]

July 21, 1749.

Your Excellency's favor of the 17th instant I received, and likewise Dearing's reprieve which I shall send to the sheriff. As to the recruiting accounts, I have no thoughts of doing any thing with them without consulting yourself. I shall endeavor to be in Boston at the time you mention. Wishing you and yours the best of heaven's blessings, I am, etc., etc.,

W. P.

[From Sir Peter Warren.]

Portsmouth, August 13, 1749.

"I would not, by any means, though much hurried, omit assuring you of the perfect regard I have for you.

This conveyance carries the money voted by parliament for reimbursing your Province, and I hope sincerely that it will have a good effect, by establishing and keeping a silver medium of trade among you. I have exerted myself in every necessary shape to get the money away to you."

William Bollen, who married a daughter of Governor Shirley, was sent to England to solicit reimbursement of Louisburg expenses, which, with the joint agency of Commodore Warren, was obtained, after three years' toilsome and anxious service, and amounted to the sum of £183,649 sterling, or $800,000. It arrived in the shape of six hundred and fifty-three thousand ounces of silver, and ten tons of copper. "The money was landed on Long Wharf, placed in wagons, and carried through the streets with much rejoicing, and was divided between the four New England colonies, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, Massachusetts, including Maine, receiving most of it, New Hampshire being entitled to about $16,000." The paper currency of Massachusetts, previously reduced to the rate of seven to eight for one in silver, was now redeemed at a rate about one fifth less than the current value.

It was the opinion of both Shirley and Pepperrell, that the New England vessels of war which were at Louisburg when the rich prizes were captured, were entitled to a share of the prize money equally with Warren's

ships. But little or nothing was ever received. Shirley writes to Pepperrell on the subject: —

Sept. 4, 1749. I wish you joy of the delivery of the Provinces' money to Sir Peter Warren and agent Bollen, and desire you would let me know by the return of the post, whether you sent any power to Mr. Bollen to claim a share of the South-sea-man which was taken by the Chester, and others of the king's ships and Fletcher, as you proposed to me to do upon my mentioning it to you frequently at Louisburg, and whether if you did, it ever reached Mr. Bollen.

I hope this will find your family and self perfectly well, who will ever have my best wishes for their health and happiness. W. SHIRLEY.

[To Peter Kenwood, his merchant in England.]

Piscataqua, August 29, 1749.

SIR, — Your favor of 3d of March and 11th of April last I received.

Louisburg is delivered up to the French, and the English are settling Chebucto (Halifax) on Nova Scotia side, and I hear they go on bravely. I hope it will make a fine colony of Protestants and good subjects. Land is good, and mast timber abundant. I have no thoughts of entering again into trade. As my son Andrew Pepperrell is in trade, you may recommend any of your friends to him; I will be bound for him.

My regiment is disbanded, and I design to turn farmer. I am sure I spent a good part of my estate in the reduction of Louisburg. I am obliged to you for your wish that I might be governor, but you know I am

a wes-countryman, (meaning Wales,) and they dislike to put such men in for governors. I should be glad you would make my compliments to my nephew* Frost's lady, and all inquiring friends. My wife and children desire to be remembered to you.

With much respect, W. P.

* Honorable George Frost of Durham, M. C., the son of Honorable John Frost of Newcastle, who married Sir William's sister. Mr. Frost had married in London, and left his wife there.

CHAPTER X.

THE Province of New Hampshire was annexed to Massachusetts in 1641, and continued so, under one governor. Belcher was the last appointed over the two provinces, each of which had a lieutenant-governor. In 1741 the provinces were separated, Shirley being appointed governor of Massachusetts, and Benning Wentworth, of New Hampshire.

Governor B. Wentworth, son of the former lieutenant-governor, had been engaged in trade, and became eminent as a merchant. He contracted with an agent of the Spanish government to supply it with a large quantity of the best oak timber, to the amount of fifty or sixty thousand dollars, and borrowed the money in London to enable him to fulfil the contract. The timber was delivered, but the Spanish court refused payment, and he in vain sought redress there. On his homeward voyage his ship foundered, and he with his crew saved their lives by taking to the boat. He at length represented his case to the British Court, and solicited aid in obtaining redress. Negotiations were commenced, but did not succeed, and the war between the two nations destroyed his expectations of receiving his pay. Mr. Wentworth then, through the assistance of his friend Mr. Thomlinson, colonial agent, applied for the government of New Hampshire, and obtained it. Having received his commission, he embarked for this country,

and arrived in Portsmouth the 12th of December, amidst the acclamations of a large concourse of people, who had assembled to welcome him as governor.

While in Spain and England he corresponded with Pepperrell and acted sometimes as his mercantile agent. He afterwards, as we have seen, coöperated with Shirley and Pepperrell in forwarding the expedition against Louisburg, and aided the latter in his contract for building a forty-four gun ship for the crown.

Wentworth had created disaffection in his province by sending writs to new towns set off from Massachusetts for the choice of representatives. These were excluded from the legislature by the other representatives from the old towns. The British court instructed him to dissolve the assembly and call a new one, and to send writs to those towns again, whose representatives had been excluded, and to protect them in their legislative privileges. The assembly, notwithstanding, excluded them again, and arrayed themselves against the governor in other measures, so as quite to obstruct legislation and injure the public interest. They petitioned the king for Wentworth's removal, and requested Sir William to use his influence at court to obtain the office. The petition was sent to Mr. Thomlinson, provincial agent in London for New Hampshire, who advised not to present it, for the reason that the governor had followed the king's instructions. Pepperrell, in reply to their request, both before and after he sailed, was strictly non-committal, though very civil. The office would doubtless have been very acceptable to him, but in spite of the importunities of his son Sparhawk, which will appear presently, he probably felt unwilling to supplant Governor Wentworth.

Sir William embarked for London late in September,

1749, and about the same time sailed Governor Shirley, who, with M. Galissonière, governor of Canada, were appointed, by their respective governments, commissioners to settle the disputed boundary line between the French and English in Nova Scotia. General Waldo also sailed soon after Pepperrell with his two sons Frank and Ralph, the former to be educated in Paris, and the latter to remain with him in London, where the general expected to be detained some time in settling private claims, and probably in soliciting favor from the court. On Sir William's arrival he was cordially received and entertained during his stay at the house of his friend and agent, both mercantile and military, Mr. Kilby, at Spring Gardens. His old companion in arms, Sir Peter Warren, residing at Westbury, soon made his appearance in London to welcome his arrival. Both he and General Waldo were received also at Mr. Kilby's, and had a favorable opportunity to review former scenes at Louisburg. They were soon presented at court, where King George II. gave Sir William a cordial reception, and bestowed high encomiums on his services at the siege. On expressing a desire to render him some service, Sir William replied that protection to the fisheries, in which he was employing many hundred of his Majesty's dutiful subjects, was the chief favor he had to solicit. The Prince of Wales sought frequent interviews for conversation, and bestowed upon him many civilities, as did Lord Halifax and other noblemen. The mayor of London waited on him, and caused a service of plate to be raised and presented as a token of respect for his military services. He was invited to see the public institutions of the city by their respective governors, and was made a guest at the tables of the nobility, while the impression occa-

sioned by the victory at Louisburg made him an object of universal interest everywhere among the people.

He remained in London until the close of the following summer, frequently receiving letters from home. It is believed that none of these are preserved, excepting some from his son-in-law Colonel Sparhawk, extracts of which will be introduced, in order to give some idea of what was passing at home.

Silas Hooper, his old commercial agent in Plymouth, addressed him a complimentary letter on his past services, and inquires what are his future plans in respect to trade, to which he replies: —

I am sensible that the brave men raised in three of the colonies in New England, all of whom I had the honor to command, were the means of the reduction of Cape Breton, and several gentlemen have mentioned to me, as you are pleased to write, that this victory has produced us a peace; may it be good and lasting. As to past services, they are often forgotten, and as I am a disbanded officer, I design soon to return to New England; but as to entering into trade, I have no thoughts of it. My son, Andrew Pepperrell, a merchant in Pascataqua, is in my former business; I have likewise a son-in-law, Nathaniel Sparhawk, Esquire, a merchant there, to whom I will mention your house.

I am obliged to you for your congratulation on my safe arrival in London. Yours of the 19th of August last I have not had the pleasure to receive. The kind present you mention, should it never come to hand, my obligations to you for it are none the less, and for which you will please to accept my hearty thanks.

Ever happy to serve you, I am, with great esteem, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

W. P.

[Extracts from letters written to Sir William from Nathaniel Sparhawk, Esquire, soon after Sir William sailed.]

Kittery, September 24, 1749.

HONORED AND DEAR SIR, — I hope this will find you (through the great goodness of God to you and your family) safe arrived at London, and that you will have found favor with the king and his ministry, and a kind reception from mankind in general, but especially with all you may be more immediately concerned, and that you will always enjoy the kind influences of heaven to preserve your life and health, to assist, direct, and to succeed you in all your laudable undertakings, both public and private. There has little occurred since you left New England that I think it material to advise you of. What relates to the public, Brigadier-General Waldo will easily recollect when you meet. As to your private affairs, my brother, to whom I conclude you have committed the care of them, will doubtless communicate to you what may be needful.

I have, a day or two past, had a conversation with Mr. Odiorne of Portsmouth, and he tells me that it is proposed by him and some other of your friends, that all the leading people, a certain family only excepted, (referring to the Wentworths,) in the province of New Hampshire, should sign a letter to you praying that you will use your interest to get the government. . . Such is the unhappy state of that people, and such is the dislike of the great family to you and yours, which is increased now to a degree that denominates them our proper enemies; that I should imagine, all things considered, that nothing would be wanting to push your interests to the utmost if need be, to obtain the government. Mr. Odiorne tells me they (the Went-

worths) were exceedingly shocked at your sudden departure, and that it is evident they have the greatest apprehensions from your voyage. However, they cannot help showing their teeth, an instance of which I beg leave to mention. The morning you sailed, it was discovered that William Dearing, who was reprieved partly by your intercession with Governor Shirley, had broke jail, and it was soon industriously reported among your good friends at Portsmouth, that he was doubtless gone in the mast-ship, and that you ought to have the credit of his escape, etc. This I think it my duty to tell you; but inasmuch as this and many other things plainly show how we should be treated, if in the power of some, it would lead almost any man to endeavor to get as far removed from it as possible, to unhorse them at least, if he did n't himself take their place. But I would not trouble you further on this subject at present.

I would take leave to pray your remembrance of me, as a branch of your family, in respect of any business you may be able to influence the negotiation of in relation to New England, and I make no doubt that as there is not the least prospect of any masts being got in the contract this winter, you might, for a price little less than what is given in England, take an order from the commissioners of the navy to procure a number of ship loads on the king's account, to be delivered here to the king's ships, which might call for them as they go home yearly from Virginia, the West Indies, Chebucto, etc., and be little or no expense to the crown, whereas the freight they pay to the contractors is very considerable. Besides, if the Board of Ordnance knew that the Messrs. A . . . . . p and H . . . . . k had no share in the expedition to Louisburg, and have got more money by

it, than anybody else, that was upon it, it might be thought reasonable that your family should have the supply of Chebucto (Halifax) and Newfoundland, rather than they.

But beside these public things, there will be great opportunities of your recommending private gentlemen that may want ships, fish, etc.; I say, Sir, that a share of your notice on these occasions I should esteem as a token of your parental regard and affection for your family, which you must be sensible is large and expensive; nor have you any reason, I hope, to question, from seven years' experience of my conduct, my answering your recommendations of me, or my making a good use of any advantages that might accrue to me through your influence, to which I shall only add, that you may always be sure of my most grateful returns, and that, as my partnership will soon be closed, no stranger can reap any benefit with me, but that all the effects of your goodness to me will centre in the happiness of my own family."

At a subsequent date he says: —

Mr. Odiorne and several other of your friends have, on behalf of a great number of the most influential people in New Hampshire, formed an address to you, which they were so good as to send me a copy of, wherein they have earnestly entreated you to accept of the government of that province, and it is very likely by this opportunity you will receive the same signed by a very large number of gentlemen, beside many private letters on the same occasion; and I beg you will excuse me if I say, that seeing your family is situated in trade so near that government, and those in power there at

present are far from being well disposed to us and our interests, and considering, too, what a vast public blessing you might be to the interest of the dissenting church, which receives no encouragement from the present administration, and also to the civil interests of that people, I say, Sir, that, inasmuch as so many advantages, public and private, civil and religious, will be the happy consequence of your accepting the commission, what inducement greater can you possibly have? But I submit the matter, with a sincere petition to Heaven for an event that will contribute so much to the happiness of a great number of his Majesty's subjects, as well as to many of our friends, and add vastly to my private satisfaction in life. In case you should have this mark of his Majesty's favor, you may, I doubt not, for your colonel's commission purchase the surveyor's post, which as your years advance, I should think would be a more genteel and agreeable thing to you. Mr. Colman and I have at last agreed, under hand, to part the 31st March next, and we are each of us writing and soliciting our friends separately in respect of business, and whatsoever is addressed to either of us separately after this our agreement, whether it arrives to us before or after the 31st March, is to be for the sole use and benefit of him to whom it is so addressed. Therefore, if you should be so good as to recommend any thing for me in the way of trade, to any of yours or my friends, I must beg it may be in my name only.

It is a satisfaction to me, that I can inform you, that when Mr. Colman and I shall part, we shall not have a shilling to remit any of our friends, and that we shall have, for young men, something handsome to divide. I am now writing several of my friends for a supply of goods on my own account, and if I should determine to embark

for London in the spring, Mr. Cutt, who is a very sober man, and very capable and honest, will have the care of my warehouse in my absence, in which I shall think myself safe and happy.

The death of Mrs. Balston, much lamented, has had an ill effect on my mother Pepperrell's health and spirits, together with your absence, and I could wish, if only on her account, though I have many other motives, that we could once be so happy as to hear of your safe arrival, and your escape of or recovery from the small-pox, and that there was a prospect of your speedy return to us. In the mean time, I believe you may depend that nothing in the power of any of us will be wanting to alleviate her grief and promote her comfort and happiness. I have the pleasure now to acquaint you that she is with us on a kind visit. Mrs. Sparhawk did herself the honor of writing you from Boston.

March 8, 1750. Again he writes: "The New Hampshire address to you I hope will prevail on you to relieve that distressed people. I did not hint to you that you will not be safe in trusting Mr. Thomlinson with any of your schemes, as whatever may be pretended, he is certainly in an opposite interest. It is reported here that the late province of Maine is likely to be a separate government, and that you are to have a commission for it, but this is credited but by few. It is generally hoped and wished that you may have New Hampshire, by some, Massachusetts. But all things considered, especially how much more difficult the administration would be at Boston than at New Hampshire; the situation of your family and estate, I should think the latter much more eligible. The surveyor's post will be to be purchased, and I should think it well worth your notice. If you decline it, I

should be glad of it at twelve thousand pounds sterling, one half to be paid upon advice of the purchase, and the rest in six months after. I mean the surveyorship of the woods.

"Our parish have passed a vote for a division, which is to be made equally as to quantity and quality of soil. Mr. Stevens will be settled with us. You may remember you have proposed that Tate and Brady's version should be used in our church, and in order to it that you would give a number of them to the congregation; this I thought I would hint to you, and that if you would bring Mr. Stevens a handsome preaching Bible, it would be very acceptable to him. The cones of pine for Lord Edgecomb are provided, and shall be sent.

"The love affair between Andrew Pepperrell and Miss Waldo, now of four years' duration, is still pending, much to the annoyance of both families as well as trying to the patience of the young lady."

Stephen Minot, a merchant of Boston and a relative of Waldo, writes to Andrew: "I hope, my friend, it will not be long before we have the pleasure of seeing you in town to disappoint the enemies as well as to complete the approaching pleasure which you have in view, in enjoying the society of so charming and desirable a lady as is Miss Hannah. I beg leave only to add, that could you be fully acquainted with the steady and proper behavior in your long absence (amid the ill-natured queries of the world with respect to each of you) it would ever heighten your affections for her, and endear her to you as it has done to me, and all her relations and friends here. I really wish each of you, as I believe you will be, happy, if it shall please God to bring you together in the matrimonial state."

June 3, 1750.

The following comical letter, though unworthy of a place in sober biography, may serve as an interlude to some readers who are wearied with the foregoing dry narrative of incidents in Sir William's career; and its insertion is perhaps excusable as shedding light upon the customs and fashions prevailing a century ago, and upon the convivial turn of some branches of Sir William's family. William Tyler, the writer, was his nephew, and a clerk in his father's store in Boston. Joel Whittemore, another nephew, and a lieutenant on half-pay living at Kittery Point; and the recipient of the letter, was the son of Sir William. We may imagine the appearance of these dashing blades in cocked hats, laced waistcoats, and powdered wigs. The lady alluded to, was Miss Hannah Waldo to whom young Pepperrell had been three or four years engaged.

[To Andrew Pepperrell, Esquire, Kittery Point.]

Boston, August 14, 1750.

SIR ANDREW, — Per post I'm informed you are well, which gives me a dish of pleasure. I hope honest Joel got home safe after his secret expedition here to Boston, for he was plotting something, and I am afraid it is against ye State or ye Church, therefore, as you are one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, make no doubt but you will strictly inquire into the affair. So I would inform your Honor that which he did in Boston, from his first arrival to his departure. May it please your Honor what I write is the truth, and if your Honor desire, I'll swear to it.

Joel Whittemore arrived here at half after one. Ate a good dinner of salt-fish, drank good punch, but poor cyder. Then smoked a pipe, came into the shop and

never was out of my sight the whole afternoon (here 's plotting). Saturday evening after the shop was shut we sat down together and drank the health of the night, talked of you and the rest of our Kittery friends. Then smoaked another pipe, drank another bowl of punch, and at eleven he and I went to bed, and he never rose till ten o'clock Sunday morning. At half after ten drank coffee, ate toast and butter, and then everybody being at meeting and all silent, we talked about keeping chariots, and he burst out all at once with these traitorous words, namely, "if I had but one half of Sir William's money," says he, "I should live like a king." This makes me think he has some designs upon your honor. But to go on, — I took the Church Prayerbook, which I had not looked in for six months before, and I read him over the service of the forenoon, and I played upon the organ, and he said Amen. There 's treason. This makes me think he wants to have the Church of England established at the Point. I hope your Honor takes notice; when the service was over we had some punch and ate our dinner. In the afternoon we went to church, and my pew being full I sat next to Mr. Waldo's, and then he sat and stood looking first this way and then that way to find out Miss Hannah. Then he beckoned to me to point out where she sat, and I would not take any notice but laugh. The people thought that the man was crazy. Now Miss Hannah wa'nt at meeting, and I wondered what the plague he would have me point to. Church being over, we came home and passed the afternoon and evening, went to bed at eleven or twelve. He rose at seven, breakfasted, stayed at home all day, and so did all the week just as Saturday and Sunday, setting aside going to church, and the

forenoon service. Now, Mr. Justice, is not this something extraordinary?

Your loving kinsman,

WILLIAM TYLER.

P. S. His wig was powdered to the life.

Mr. Sparhawk writes from Boston, September 11, 1750, to Andrew: "I arrived last evening; have not had time to deliver your letter, or to see your lady. Let me take the liberty to inform you that the country, especially the more worthy and better part of it, are very much alarmed at, and appear quite exasperated with your conduct relating to your amour, and your friends and those that are much attached to your father and family, are greatly concerned about you, being fully of opinion that if the matter drops through and you lie justly under the imputation of it, that your character is irretrievably lost. I am sorry to say so much, but a tender concern for you obliges me. You can't imagine how I was attacked in a large company of gentlemen and ladies at Salem, where I was invited to spend the evening on Sunday; and what you may imagine will pass still for a justification of your conduct, that you 'intend nothing but honor in the case, and will be along soon' is perfectly ridiculed. I find you must be published again if you marry in this province, and if you intend ever to marry the lady, my advice to you is, by all means to be republished and to finish the matter at once, unless you can prevail on the lady to meet you at Ipswich, and from there proceed to Hampton, which is very much questioned, though when I know your intentions it may be attempted, if there is occasion, from your ascertaining the lady's mind and

her friend's, that you will be quite punctual, and agree to the arrangement in case she is good enough to comply. But I cannot add further than that I feel a real concern for your welfare and the support of your honor."

Very little is preserved in writing to show how Sir William passed his time in London; most of his letters to his family being destroyed. Having concluded to return home, he writes to Sir Peter Warren from Spring Gardens, as follows: —

July 31. — I have had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 28th instant, and am greatly obliged to you for your kind invitation to Westbury, and for the expression that you hoped I had finished my business to my satisfaction.

I have finished nothing more than when you left London. As I am sure no man can be happy while absent from an agreeable family, which is my case, I have taken my passage in a schooner of my son's, and did design to go on board in a day or two, but as I wish to mention something to you before I leave England, I shall order her to Portsmouth, and design to take a post-chaise, and in my way to wait on yourself. Your kind offer of service, has laid me under new obligations, and I know what you say comes from a sincere heart.

My best respects to yourself, lady, and your dear little olive branches. I sincerely wish you all the best of blessings, and if it should ever be in my power to serve any branch of your valuable family, it will give me pleasure to do it.

Your faithful and most obedient W. P.

On his return to Kittery, Sir William writes to the honorable Josiah Willard, of Boston: —

October 19. — "On the 9th instant I arrived here, being fifty-seven days from London. Sir Peter Warren has sent under my care, by the vessel I came in, two large black horses, for Massachusetts. I understand by him, that the sum paid for them was part of what he drew out with Mr. Bollen, the agent, as commissions on the money received for the Cape Breton expedition, and which he offered to make a present of to the province. He told me he should be glad if the government would make a present of the remainder of the commissions, to encourage the Protestant School in Ireland.

"Sir Peter proposed that these horses should be sent into several parts of this province, and that every one who profited by them should pay the necessary expense for their keeping. I think that one third part of the forces that went on the expedition to Louisburg, were enlisted from Maine. I should be glad if one of the horses might be sent there for some time."

This statement of the large enlistment for the Louisburg expedition is repeated on several occasions. Maine won more military fame in this expedition, in proportion to her population, than in any or all other succeeding wars.

To Sir Peter Warren, same day: "You will excuse brevity, as I arrived here but the 9th instant, and have had so many visitors, that my house has been much crowded, and much of my time taken up ever since. The horses were landed well, although we had a very troublesome passage. I have not yet been to Boston, but design to go next month.

"You was pleased to say, when I was last at your

house, that you would go to the secretary of war with Mr. Kilby in my behalf. You have made me too sensible of your readiness to do all in your power to serve me. I only mention this to you lest the magnitude of the affairs you are concerned in, should put it out of your mind. Your repeated favors have laid me under great obligations; and if it should ever be in my power to serve you or yours, it will give me the greatest pleasure, to show you that I appreciate your kindness.

"My wife joins her compliments to yourself and lady, and acknowledges her obligation for your kindness to herself and husband. W. P."

1750. On the 29th of October he writes to his friend Sir Peter Kenwood: "I am allowed half-pay as a colonel, but am sure this will not pay the interest of the money I have expended out of my estate, but I have reason to be thankful my lands will maintain me, and I shall endeavor to live a retired life, unless they give me a post of profit. My son has had some consignments, and has ordered the building of several ships for gentlemen abroad, and has the character of a diligent, honest man, which gives me great comfort. Remember me to my cousin Frost. Her husband [Hon. George Frost of Durham] has been sick. He designs to bring her to New England next spring."

1751. Sir William visited his estates in Scarboro, attended court at Falmouth, where he had some important causes for trial, and took a survey of his other concerns, that had been long neglected. He wrote to General Waldo, in London, that he now had every reason to hope that the long talked of alliance of their two families would soon be completed, much to the joy

of himself and family; that the nuptial day was appointed, and that his lady and family connections anticipated the pleasure of joining in the celebration.

Miss Waldo was making preparation in a style becoming of the occasion, and of the distinguished guests that were to attend; but a few days before the one appointed for the wedding arrived, Andrew wrote to her that circumstances had occurred which would make it necessary to defer it to another day, which he named, as more convenient for himself. This was too much for her to bear; her mind was from that moment firmly fixed. She returned no answer; the guests from far and near, minister and all, assembled at the appointed hour and place, when she enjoyed the sweet revenge of telling Andrew that she would not marry one who had occasioned her so much mortification, and who could not have that love and friendship for her that was necessary to her happiness.

Sir William and lady returned home disappointed and chagrined at this result of the affair, which had occasioned them such long-continued solicitude; but they felt conscious of having done their duty, and doubtless preferred even this form of crisis to further procrastinations, knowing as they did, that it had already prejudiced the public against the family.

General Waldo was more seriously disappointed. He writes to Sir William from London: —

I was greatly chagrined at the news of my daughter's changing her mind and dismissing your son after the visit you mention, which I was apprised of by her, and concluded that the affair would have had the issue I had long expected and desired, and that the ship which brought the unwelcome news of a separation, would

have given me the most agreeable advice of its consummation; but I find she was jealous that Mr. Pepperrell had not the love and friendship for her that was necessary to make her happy. This I understand from her letter to me, and that the last promise made when your son was in Boston was disregarded by him in not returning at the period he had fixed. This disappointment to a close union with your family, which above all things I desired, has given me great uneasiness, and the addition thereto will be greater if I should find the fault lie on my daughter; but be that as it may, I should be very sorry to have it break friendship between us, or any of the several branches of our families; — those of yours I assure you I wish as well to as my own, and I shall, if ever in my power, convince them of it.

S. W.

The young lady enjoyed more consolation than any of them. In less than six weeks she was led to the altar by Thomas Fluker, Esquire, secretary of the province. At the outbreak of the revolution twenty-five years after, Mr. Fluker's loyalty drove him to England. His daughter married General Henry Knox of revolutionary renown, and afterwards secretary of war, and through the commanding influence which his military services and political station gave him, he was enabled to rescue from confiscation much of the landed property which descended to his wife from her grandfather General Waldo.*

Andrew Pepperrell, far from running mad and "fall-

* A daughter of General Knox married Mr. Swan and resided at Thomaston, Maine, and after his decease she became the wife of the late Honorable John Holmes of Alfred.

ing down dead two days after his dismission," as writers of romance inform us, passed a quiet winter in his counting-room at Kittery, mingling occasionally in the gay circles of Portsmouth, and giving much of his time to the assistance of his father in administering the hospitalities of the family mansion to the many distinguished visitors. His present position before the public gaze exposed him to some gossip, and afforded the censorious a choice bit of scandal "to roll as a sweet morsel under their tongues." His cousin, William Tyler, writes him: "Sir Andrew, I received yours by last post. I inform you that last Monday evening Miss Hannah was married to Mr. Fluker and appeared a bride at the West Church, New Boston, brought in her chariot. The talk is almost over, for everybody thinks and tells me they believe it is what you wanted, but more of this when I see you." How much of this was administered as a placebo or an anodyne to wounded pride doth not appear.

The probable solution of Andrew's mysterious conduct is, that he would have married in the autumn of 1748, immediately after being published, but for a long protracted sickness which ensued, and was followed by heavy losses of property at sea, which produced a settled state of despondency, and from which he probably never entirely recovered; that having erected an elegant house for the lady, as an earnest of his future intentions, he deferred the wedding from time to time, occasionally visiting and frequently writing to her, hoping that the smiles of fortune would return to brighten his prospects; and it is not improbable that the impatience and frequent importunities of both families to hurry the nuptials, though perfectly reasonable, tended to annoy him and even to weaken the strength of his attachment.

Be this as it may, no other lady shared his affections; and it should be mentioned in palliation, that in every thing else his conduct through life, in all its relations, was exemplary and unexceptionable. The subject has been thus dwelt upon partly with the view of correcting erroneous accounts hitherto published prejudicial to the lady, but more particularly to present the conduct of Sir William in a true and proper light, as characterized throughout by generosity, candor, and magnanimity. The dignified conduct of General Waldo, placed in so delicate and trying a relation in the affair, was graceful and appropriate, and that of his daughter blameless and commendable.

CHAPTER XI.

THE opponents of Governor Wentworth continued restive, and their leader, Honorable Richard Waldron, (the grandson of Richard of Dover, who was murdered by the Indians,) addressed a letter to Sir William, after his return from London, in which he portrayed in lively colors the sufferings of the people of New Hampshire under its present governor. The following answer is a specimen of *non-committalism*, that would compare well with the published letters of some modern politicians.

[To the Honorable Richard Waldron.]

November 29, 1750.

DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 31st of last month I received after my return from Falmouth, and would say I am pleased with the generous public spirit that appears in yourself and Mr. Sherburne in your concern for, and consultations about the distressed state of New Hampshire. I should have been very glad to have had further conversation with you about your affairs, if it might have been of any advantage to you.

I hope your province is not in such imminent danger of ruin as you fear. The Lord, I hope, will interpose, and in order for your safety, will rouse your people from that indolent state you complain of, if there be occasion for it. Hope for the best.

You are at a stand, you say, about the main question, What is to be done? We must stand and wait on Providence, when we know not what to do.

Your kind and honorable thoughts of the man whom you seem to have some expectations from, he is much obliged to you for, and if Providence should call him to so great a trust and charge, as it has strangely led him into every thing of a public nature wherein he has been hitherto engaged, he would indulge no distrustful thought, but that he shall be prepared for it, and if fairly introduced will be assisted and carried through it.

But verily, what you mention of his early entrance into public service, his knowledge in some measure of your constitution and circumstances, his poor merit for his services to the crown, his acquaintance at court, or any supposed influence he has, and his worldly possessions, have he fears but poorly qualified him for a gap-man to stand in the breach made in your State affairs; so that, finally, he must leave his good friends to act as they think wisest and best, heartily wishing them Divine direction, trusting that when their province is prepared for such a mercy, relief will be sent from one quarter or another.

With my own and Mrs. Pepperrell's compliments to yourself and Madam Waldron, I am, dear Sir,

Your faithful and most obedient humble servant,

W. P.

A particular history of the dissensions between the governor and people of New Hampshire, will be found in Belknap's history of that State.

Sir William was surrounded by numerous relatives, requiring aid, which, added to his expensive style of living, drew heavily on his fortune, already diminished by the Louisburg expedition. He was ambitious, however, to maintain a style of living suited to his elevated rank. He was head of the council, chief justice on the

bench, colonel in the royal army, and a Baronet, all which necessarily drew many distinguished visitors to his house, whom it was his choice as well as duty to greet with an elegant reception. His walls were hung with costly mirrors and paintings, his sideboards loaded with silver, his cellar filled with choice wines, his park stocked with deer, a retinue of servants, costly equipage, and a splendid barge with a black crew dressed in uniform, — all these, especially after his return from Europe, were maintained in baronial style.

But he had an ambition that transcended this, in regard to his only son, the heir to his title and estate, the main pillar of his house and object of his fondest anticipations, — to prepare him to act well his part in the elevated sphere in which he appeared destined to move, was the all-absorbing object of his ambition, and we may reasonably imagine that much of the information collected while abroad was, during the winter evenings after his return, fondly imparted, mingled with lessons of wisdom suited to his years and future necessities.

But how limited is human foresight! On the 20th of February, Andrew attended a gay party in Portsmouth, and in returning across the Pascataqua, late in the night, was exposed to the cold air, which, on the day following, caused a fever, that soon assumed a typhoid character. The best medical aid proved unavailing, and the imminent danger of the case was announced to his anxious parents. Trembling with alarm and dismay, their grief was inconsolable. Despairing of human skill, and believing firmly in the special providence of God, and that "the prayer of the righteous availeth much," and ever deeply impressed with the belief that the success at Louisburg was in answer

to the earnest pleadings of Christians throughout the province, they now implored intercession for an afflicted family of all the clergy in the neighboring parishes, and a special messenger was sent to the ministers in Boston with the following touching appeal: —

[To Rev. Dr. Sewall, Mr. Prince, Mr. Foxcroft, Dr. Chauncy, etc., in Boston.]

Kittery, February 28, 1751.

DEAR CHRISTIAN FRIENDS: —

The great and holy, just and good God is come out against us in his holy anger. O, may it be fatherly anger! He is bringing our sins to remembrance, and seems to be slaying our only son. O pray! pray! pray! for us, that the Lord would keep us from dishonoring his great name in our distress and anguish of soul; that He would support us under, and carry us through, what he shall, in his sovereign pleasure, bring upon us, and if it be his blessed will, that our child may yet be spared to us, and sanctified, and made a blessing. Pity us, O our friends, and cry mightily to God for us!

We are your distressed friends,

WILLIAM PEPPERRELL,
MARY PEPPERRELL.

P. S. Dear cousin Gerrish, let our case be known to Christian friends along the road, and carry this letter as soon as you get to town, to each one of the ministers to whom it is addressed.

Young Pepperrell died the 1st of March, after a sickness of ten days. A large concourse of friends attended the funeral, deeply sympathizing with the bereaved family. "The afflicted mother, mourning her only and beloved son; the fond sister, deprived of her

accomplished brother; and the bereaved father, reeling under this heaviest blow which his house had ever sustained, presented a scene of distress truly appalling. His earthly hopes were blasted forever." His pillar and support was gone, and the old hero commenced preparations for his own summons, which he felt might be near at hand. Many were the letters of condolence that poured in upon him, especially from the clergy, with whom he was in high favor, and from several members of the council board. To one of them, Colonel Rowland Cotton, whose letter is beautiful and appropriate, he replies, "I have received your kind and sympathizing letter on the death of my dear and only son, for which I am much obliged to you. I cannot enlarge, but must say, with that holy man of old, *Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends, for the hand of God hath touched me.* I beg your prayers, and am, dear Sir, etc. W. P."

[Obituary notice taken from the Boston Evening Post.]

Portsmouth, March 14. On the 1st instant, died, at Kittery, at the seat of the Honorable William Pepperrell, Baronet, his only son, Andrew Pepperrell, Esq., in the 26th year of his age, and on the 7th instant, his remains were interred in a manner suited to the superior condition of the family.

He was a young gentleman happy in his natural temper; cheerful, friendly, and social in his make; of that unaffected sincerity and openness of heart, which are the marks of thorough honesty; not without the prudence and caution which proceed from some knowledge of the world.

His treatment of mankind was inoffensive and engaging; respectful to his superiors; obliging to his

friends and acquaintance, condescending and easy to those below him; free from that assuming and haughty behavior towards inferiors, which gives reason to suspect want of sense and want of breeding. But what is yet more excellent, it was not in his heart to despise the poor; on the contrary he felt a tender sympathy for them, and his unrequested charities frequently prevented their cries. Such sharers were they of heaven's bounty to him, that he might as properly be said to be their *steward* as *benefactor*.

He was allowed by good judges to be happy in the powers of his mind; and had not his inclination led him into an extensive trade, in which he was eminent for capacity, industry, and integrity, he might have distinguished himself by his acquaintance with the arts and sciences, for which a good foundation was laid in his liberal education.

He was early instructed in the principles of religion; nor did he want very near him some eminent examples for the practice of it, which had a good effect upon him, and appeared in his dutifulness to his parents, his constant attendance on the public worship of God, his zeal for the settlement of a gospel minister, and his ambition for his honorable support. In short, he promised to be a most useful member of society, and a still greater blessing to mankind, but alas! a premature death cut off our hopes and expectations.

Several of the letters that passed between Sir William and his intimate friends, relating to his sore affliction, are worthy of insertion, as showing the deep sympathy felt for him, and the Christian spirit with which he bore his trials.

[To Sir Peter Warren.]

Kittery, in New England, April 26, 1751.

HONORABLE AND DEAR SIR, — As I have written you several letters since I left your seat at Westbury, and not receiving any of your favors, I shall be very brief. I acquainted you in some of those letters that I had arrived safely, and found my friends and family well. A great mercy that I was preserved abroad, and then returned in health. But that mercies and prosperity are not always to be our experience, I have lately been taught, for on the first day of March, my dear and only son, after an illness of nervous fever of ten days, a healthy, strong, and promising young man, was taken from us by death, — a very great bereavement. May God be graciously pleased to sanctify this affliction for our eternal good, that we may more and more realize the uncertainty of life and of all earthly enjoyments, and that we may be more earnest in securing an interest in the blessed Lord Jesus Christ, which is the only thing that can avail us in a dying hour. I hope you and your lady will never meet with so great a bereavement and trial.

I have written to Mr. Kilby to send yourself and lady a mourning ring, in remembrance of our dear departed son, which I beg your acceptance of.

I had thoughts of paying you another visit, but I know not what to do. O that God would graciously be pleased to enable me to acknowledge him aright in all my ways, and then I shall be safe in life or death.

Wishing you and yours much of his presence, my wife joins with me in best respects to yourself and lady, and your dear but uncertain comforters.

I am, much respected and dear Sir, your distressed friend, and faithful humble servant, W. P.

[Sir Peter Warren's reply.]

My dear Sir, — I have received your favor of the 26th of April, and am sorry to assure you it is the only one I have had from you since I saw you, though you say you have wrote me several. I most sincerely condole with you on the great affliction with which you have been visited by the hand of Providence in the death of your only son; but if I know you rightly, I think you have fortitude and resignation sufficient to bear it as becomes a good man, and to submit to that great Power whose will it was to call him from this vain world, and to bereave you of so great an earthly comfort as we look upon our children to be. But why should I, who have felt the same distress myself, say so much to renew your grief? My wife joins with me in wishing you to bear with patience this trial, and in thanking you for the memento of rings sent to us both.

Our portraits should have been with you ere now, could we have got the painter to finish them. Mine is pretty forward, and I hope you will have it this fall, and the other as soon as possible.*

I came here a few days ago to drink the waters, by the advice of my physician, for the scurvy, and I think I derive benefit from them.

I believe you and I have been together more than once at my neighbor Mr. Naith's. His son is appointed consul at Madeira, is a man of business, and his father has prevailed on me to recommend him to you and your friends, for commission business, which I take the liberty to do most heartily.

Smybert has not sent me your and Captain Spry's

* These portraits are in the Atheneum, Portsmouth, N. H.

portraits, which I admire [wonder at]. Sir Harry Frankland had commissions from me to get them sent to me.

My dear Sir William, your most faithful obedient servant, P. WARREN.

[Extract from Mr. C. Kilby's letter.]

October 7, 1751.

I executed your commission to Sir Peter and Lady Warren, but did not see it necessary to go any further than to accept of that melancholy token of your regard to Mrs. Kilby and myself, at the expense of four guineas in the whole. But, as it is not unusual here on such occasions, Mrs. Kilby has, at her own expense, added some sparks of diamonds to some other mournful ornaments to the ring, which she intends to wear, the whole of which is finished, and we recommended it to the maker to wait on Lady Warren, in order to give her an opportunity to express her regard for the present, which it is probable she may have already done. I have been silent under a deep feeling of sympathy, nor do I now find myself at present able to discharge the duties of a relation and friend with propriety. Our religion teaches us that it is our confidence in God only that can support us.

Sir William writes to Colonel John Gorham, one of his colonels at the siege of Louisburg: —

Kittery, April 6, 1751.

I am favored with yours of the 12th of last month. It would have given me pleasure to have seen you at Boston, or at Halifax, in my passage from England. My design was, if we had sailed near, to have gone in and paid his Excellency Governor Cornwallis and friends a

visit, though I have no acquaintance with that worthy gentleman. I once did myself the pleasure of writing to him, but never was favored with a line in return. Sure I am that I should be glad to do him any service. Please to present my compliments to him and to my friend Greene and lady, and all inquiring friends.

I met with a very handsome reception in Great Britain. I think they have at home a great value for this country, and I hope we shall always so behave as to deserve it.

What you have heard of an unwillingness in this government to encourage the settlement of Nova Scotia must be a great mistake, for certainly every reflecting man must be sensible that not only the four New England governments, but the whole English America, depends, under God, on the well settling and fortifying of Nova Scotia.

Governor Cornwallis's letter to our lieutenant-governor, asking for assistance, was referred to a committee of both houses, of which I was chairman. Our report thereon was, that we had a large frontier, and were likely to be invaded in an Indian war, and that, considering how many of our men had been impressed on board the king's ships, and not returned, and how many were lost at Louisburg and Minas, we did not consider it convenient, or even safe at that time, to spare men out of this province; and if we did, the men could not be raised and sent down soon enough to answer the end proposed by his Excellency; and that the other governments who had no frontiers, and had not lost so many men as we had, in the late war, and could spare men without any hazard of being attacked, should be applied to. I have no reason to doubt but if the several other governments on this continent would join to

send men to remove those vexatious neighbors, (meaning the French Neutrals,) this province would very heartily concur with them. Certainly I for one would do all in my power to promote such a design.

I join with you in the opinion that our Americans, who are used to the woods, are the best men to pursue the Indians, and that it would have been better to have continued the two American regiments.

I have recommended in our mother country the good services of Colonel Gorham and others that behaved well against Louisburg.

Your obedient humble servant, W. PEPPERRELL.

Colonel Gorham replies, July 5, 1751, from Halifax: —

I did your message to our governor, who since tells me he has wrote your honor.

I will take the freedom to remind your honor how I came to be in that glorious expedition against Louisburg.

I was sent up to recruit from Annapolis Royal, by Governor Mascarene, as that fort was then in great danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, and this expedition being then in embryo, I was importuned by Governor Shirley, and desired by your honor and many more of the council, to raise a number of men, and purchase whaleboats, and proceed in the expedition, as I did, upon condition of my having the liberty of going home with your honor's packet in my own sloop, as soon as the English flag should be hoisted at Louisburg. But I was disappointed in this, and received no commission in his royal regiment. My father died, and most of his regiment at Louisburg. But I thank you for giving me the commission of colonel of my father's

regiment; and I now solicit a letter of recommendation abroad, and assistance to carry through my memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts.

These favors were granted; and in respect to the promise of sending him bearer of despatches announcing the conquest, it should be remembered that it was made before Warren joined the expedition, who had an equal voice with Pepperrell in selecting a bearer, and would prefer a regularly commissioned officer of high rank in the navy, as being more respectful to the king.

Secretary Willard writes, requesting him to attend as a commissioner, being one of the council, to treat with the Indians. He answers from Kittery, July 19, 1751: —

SIR, — Your favor of the 13th and 16th instant, I received with a copy of Captain Lithgow's letter to the honorable lieutenant-governor. I should be glad if the gentlemen in the lower part of this province, when they apprehend danger from the Indians, were directed to communicate to the upper part, Kittery, York, and Wells, which are greatly exposed.

I observe by his honor the lieutenant-governor's and your letter, that you are desirous of my attendance at the proposed treaty at St. George's, and that you think I may be of service. O, Sir, the severe stroke which I have met with in the death of my dear and only son, has brought me very low, so that I cannot think at present I am fit for any business. Besides, there are a number in the council that have not taken their turns, and I have attended, I think, all the treaties but the last one with the eastern Indians, for upwards of thirty years past. I must therefore desire you to excuse me.

With sincere respects, I am, Sir, your most obedient servant, W. P.

From the Reverend Henry Flynt, tutor in Harvard College, he received a letter of condolence, to which he replies: —

Kittery, July 23, 1751.

Reverend and dear Sir, — Your kind and sympathizing letter of the 14th April last, I received. I am sure it is from no want of respect that I have so long delayed acknowledging the receipt of it, but the heavy blow received by the death of my dear and only son, a promising, healthy young man, has taken me off from doing my duty, and I hope you will therefore pardon my seeming neglect. I am greatly obliged to you for your good advice and instruction in said letter. I hope the Almighty will be graciously pleased to enable me to lay it up in my heart, and practise it in my life all my days. May this death be sanctified to us all; and may poor sinking Mrs. Pepperrell, my very dear consort, be supported under this heavy bereavement, who joins with me in our best respects, desiring your prayers.

I am, dear Sir, your faithful and obliged humble servant, W. P.

[From Governor Wentworth.]

May 9, 1751.

Dear Sir, — I have flattered myself with being able to pay you a visit for some time past, but my feet are so bad that I am afraid it will be longer than I expected. Please to excuse my hurry and manner of writing, being under great anxiety for my son Foster, whose life I almost despair of. I hope I shall be prepared for the pleasure of the Almighty, let what will happen.

I heartily condole with you and your lady for your unspeakable loss. But the will of God must be done, and we as Christians ought (let our lot be ever so hard) to pay all due submission thereunto.

I am, with great truth, Sir, your most obedient and humble servant, B. WENTWORTH.

The governor's son died in a few days after the above date, and Sir William sends the following reply: —

Kittery, June 10, 1751.

DEAR SIR, — I can sincerely and sensibly sympathize with your Excellency and your sorrowful lady in the loss of your dear son. What shall we say to these things? God is wise and holy and just and good in all his ways and works. Why should a living man complain for the punishment of his sins? Let us search and try our ways, and turn unto the Lord. May our profiting appear unto all.

I ask your acceptance of a piece of fine venison out of my own inclosure.

I am, Sir, your Excellency's, etc. W. P.

Little did Lady Warren expect, when she sent the kind message by her husband to Sir William, that it would so soon fall to her lot to receive a message of condolence from him in return. In less than a year after, he writes her: —

Kittery, New England, November 18, 1752.

MY LADY, — I do heartily sympathize with you in your sorrows for the death of my honored and dear friend, your late beloved husband, New England's friend. Your Ladyship, I trust, and your dear father-

less children, are not forgotten in the prayers of the good people of this land. Many and exceedingly precious are the promises made to the widow and the fatherless, recorded in the Scriptures of truth. They were written, you know, for our instruction and consolation. Had it not been for Divine recruits from them, poor Lady Pepperrell and I should have perished in our late sore affliction and bereavement. But blessed is the man, the woman, whom the Lord chasteneth, therefore let us not despise nor faint under his chastenings. O may our profiting appear unto all! May we study and find out wherefore the Lord contendeth with us, and if we have done iniquity (as there is not a just man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not), may we do so no more. Is any afflicted, let him pray. May we pray always, and remember each other in our daily addresses to the Throne of Grace, social and solitary. And may we thus hold a sweet, Christian communion with each other in the house of our pilgrimage, till a few sorrowful days are rolled away, and then may we have a happy and joyful meeting with our dear departed friends in the presence of our holy, and blessed, and glorious Redeemer! I wish the best of blessings to your Ladyship and your dear children, and I should be glad to do them any service, if it lay in my power.

I am, dear Lady, your Ladyship's most faithful and most obedient humble servant,

WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

On the bottom of the above to Lady Warren, the following was written and erased: —

"I have ventured to inclose, as a rarity, being an American production, a hymn composed by a lady a little before the death of her only son, who died last

March was twelvemonth. Your Ladyship's known candor will excuse this freedom."

Andrew Pepperrell died in March, 1751; and undoubtedly the hymn was by Lady Pepperrell; probably Sir William concluded not to send it, and suppressed the postscript.

Among the distinguished clergymen who visited Sir William to administer religious consolation, was the renowned Dr. Jonathan Edwards, a missionary at the time among the Stockbridge Indians. Mr. Edwards was many years settled at Northampton as colleague, and afterwards as successor of Rev. Dr. Stoddart. Having introduced some innovations into the established terms of church membership offensive to a majority of the church and parish, he was regularly dismissed, and was thence invited to the pastoral care of a society in Stockbridge, and about the same time received proposals from the commissioners at Boston, of *The Society in London for propagating the Gospel in New England*, to become the missionary of the Housatonnucs or Stockbridge Indians. Distinguished individuals in London felt an interest in this tribe, among whom was Joshua Paine, Esquire, who addressed a letter to Sir William, requesting information respecting some suitable plan for a school for Indian girls at that place. The secretary of the Boston commissioners sent Dr. Edwards an extract from Mr. Paine's letter, with a request that he would write to Sir William on the subject. He accordingly gave his views at length in an able and comprehensive survey of the whole matter, dated in November after his visit of condolence in April.* Pepperrell, at the time of the visit, expressed a deep interest in the

* See Works of President Edwards, Vol. I. p. 474.

Indian mission, and soon after, wrote to persons of influence in London, and, among others, to his old companion Admiral Warren, saying: "I have this day been favored with a visit from Rev. Jonathan Edwards, a worthy minister of the Gospel, who has, the last winter, been preaching to some of the six nations, the Housatonnucs of Stockbridge. He tells me he has great encouragement, that many of them incline to embrace the Protestant religion. This seems to be a token for good, and will not only tend to make them our fast friends, and keep them from going over to the French, but may be a means of building up the kingdom of our glorious Redeemer, which is far more important." Warren, who had first intended to appropriate the seven hundred pounds received as commissions on the disbursements allowed to New England for the Louisburg expedition, to the support of a Protestant school in Ireland, and subsequently changed his purpose to that of building a town-hall in Cambridge, was now induced by Pepperrell's letter to appropriate it to the object therein suggested, of educating the Indians. In reply to said letter, Warren says: "I am extremely pleased at the mention you make of bringing the Indians over to Christianity, and I have wrote to Secretary Willard that I should be very glad if the seven hundred pounds, which I ever intended for public use might be well improved for that great end, instead of building any town-hall at Cambridge. I am in hopes the letters I have wrote will divert them from that intention, and lead them to the other." Thus the flourishing schools and missionary success that ensued at Stockbridge were greatly promoted by the contribution of Warren, through the suggestion of Pepperrell, made at the request of Rev. Dr. Edwards.

In the package containing Mr. Edwards's letter to Sir William, was the following letter to Lady Pepperrell, written on occasion of her deep affliction, which has been much admired as a happy specimen of Christian sympathy and condolence. The entire letter is too long for insertion.

My Lady, — When I was at your house in Kittery, the last spring, among other instances of your kind and condescending treatment to me, was this, that, when I had some conversation with Sir William concerning Stockbridge and the Indians, and he generously offered me any assistance in the business of my mission here, which his acquaintance and correspondence in London enabled him to afford me, and proposed my writing to him on our affairs; you were also pleased to invite me to write you at the same time. If I should neglect to do as you then proposed, I should fail not only of discharging my duty, but of doing myself great honor. But as I am well assured, even from the small acquaintance I had with you, that a letter of mere compliments would not be agreeable to a lady of your disposition and feelings, especially under your present melancholy circumstances; so the writing of such a letter is very far from my intention or inclination.

When I saw the evidences of your deep sorrow, under the awful frowns of heaven in the death of your only son, it made an impression on my mind not easily forgotten; and when you spoke of my writing to you, I soon determined what should be the subject of my letter. It was that which appeared to me to be the most proper subject of contemplation, for one in your circumstances; that, which I thought, above all others,

would furnish you a proper and sufficient source of consolation, under your heavy affliction; and this was the Lord Jesus Christ: — particularly the amiableness of his character, which renders him worthy that we should love him, and take him for our only portion, our rest, hope, and joy; and his great and unparalleled love toward us. And I have been of the same mind ever since; being determined, if God favored me with an opportunity to write to your Ladyship, that those things should be the subject of my letter. For what other subject is so well calculated to prove a balm to the wounded spirit. [Passing over three or four pages to the concluding part of this letter, which glows throughout with Christian sentiment and love, we arrive at the following conclusion, most gracefully expressed.]

We see, then, dear Madam, how rich and how adequate is the provision which God has made for our consolation in all our afflictions, in giving us a Redeemer of such glory, and such love; especially when it is considered what were the ends of this great manifestation of beauty and love, in his death. He suffered that we might be delivered. His soul was exceeding sorrowful even unto death, to take away the sting of sorrow, and to impart everlasting consolation. He was oppressed and afflicted, that we might be supported. He was overwhelmed in the darkness of death that we might have the light of life. He was cast into the furnace of God's wrath, that we might drink of the rivers of pleasure. His soul was overwhelmed with sorrow that our hearts might be overwhelmed with a flood of eternal joy.

We may also well remember in what circumstances

our Redeemer now is. He was dead, but he is alive, and he lives forevermore. Death may deprive us of our friends here, but it cannot deprive us of this our best friend. We have this best of friends, this mighty Redeemer, to go to, in all our afflictions; and he is not one who cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities. He has suffered far greater sorrows than we have ever suffered; and if we are actually united to him, the union can never be broken, but will continue when we die and when heaven and earth are dissolved. Therefore, in this we may be confident, though the earth be removed, in him we shall triumph with everlasting joy. Now, when storms and tempests arise, we may resort to him, who is a hiding-place from the storm, and a covert from the tempest. When we thirst we may come to him, who is as rivers of water in a dry place. . . . . Christ said to his disciples, "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but in me ye shall have peace." If we are united to him we shall be like a tree planted by the waters, and that spreadeth out its roots by the river, that shall not see when heat cometh, but its leaf shall ever be green, and it shall not be careful in the year of drought, neither shall it cease from yielding fruit. He will now be our light in darkness; our morning star, shining as the sure harbinger of approaching day. In a little time he will arise on our souls, as the sun in his glory, and our sun shall no more go down, and there shall be no interposing cloud, no veil on his face or on our hearts; but the Lord shall be our everlasting light, and our Redeemer our glory.

That this glorious Redeemer would manifest his glory and love to your mind, and apply what little I have said on this subject to your consolation, in all your afflictions, and abundantly reward your kindness and

generosity to me, while I was at Kittery; is the fervent prayer, Madam, of your Ladyship's most obliged and affectionate friend and humble servant,

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

It may interest some readers to know more of the history of the Stockbridge mission and school, and of Mr. Edwards's labors. The Rev. Dr. Stephen Williams, son of Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield, and in boyhood an Indian captive with his father, was educated for the ministry, and was a chaplain in high favor with Pepperrell at Louisburg. He was subsequently chaplain with Colonel Ephraim Williams, when he fell near Lake George. This Reverend Stephen Williams was among the early and active promoters of the Indian mission at Stockbridge, and assisted at the ordination of Rev. John Sargeant, the first missionary sent there. Mr. Sargeant married a sister of Colonel Ephraim, and her husband dying, she married for her second husband, Brigadier Dwight. The wealth and talents of the Williamses already gave them commanding influence in the western part of Massachusetts, which was increased by family alliances, and particularly by this with Brigadier Dwight. The father of Colonel Ephraim and of Mrs. Dwight was the leader of four families selected and sent by the legislature to reside at Stockbridge, as companions and assistants with the missionary, and he was surveyor and one of the trustees, and to some extent steward of the funds sent from London and from Boston.

The Williams family had been strenuous opponents of Mr. Edwards at Northampton, and active in effecting his dismission, and were opposed to his settlement at Stockbridge. Mr. Woodbridge, an Indian teacher at

Stockbridge, and one of the four sent by the province, was in favor with Mr. Edwards, and so was Mr. Hawley, his assistant. Mr. Ephraim Williams, senior, wished to introduce two of his kinsmen into the place of these teachers, and Mrs. Sargeant, his daughter, was already employed during her widowhood as teacher of the Indian females. Such was the relation in which individuals stood to each other. Mr. Edwards, probably remembering the opposition of the Williamses at Northampton, disliked and opposed the further increase of their power, by substituting their kinsmen for Woodbridge and Hawley, as teachers, and spoke of Mrs. Sargeant, now Mrs. Dwight, as too much engrossed with domestic cares to fulfil her duties as a teacher of the Indian females. Thus two parties existed, whose dissensions threatened to injure the whole Indian mission. The Williamses endeavored to displace Mr. Edwards, by drawing up a report to the legislature, representing him as obstinate and self-willed, knowing that if they succeeded in removing him, the tutors Woodbridge and Hawley might easily be displaced, and that Mrs. Dwight would remain undisturbed in the female department, and Mr. Williams remain steward and controller of the donations of Hollis, Paine, and Warren, and of legislative appropriations.

Both parties made interest with Pepperrell, Oliver, and Secretary Willard, and other prominent men. Edwards, in a long epistle, dated January 30, 1753, to Sir William, defended his own conduct against the complaints of his opponents, and solicited his influence with the corporation in London. But an officious friend of Dwight and Williams intimated to Edwards's friends that *they* had secured Sir William's interest with the corporation on their side, for the removal of

Mr. Edwards. On hearing which, Secretary Willard addressed a letter to Pepperrell: —

Boston, February 24, 1753.

HONORED AND DEAR SIR, — The occasion of giving you this trouble, is a rumor we have that you have promised Brigadier Dwight that you would use all your interest with your friends in England, that Mr. Edwards should be discharged from his trust as missionary among the Indians. Indeed, I am fully persuaded, from the knowledge I have of your candid and generous temper, and the love you have for good men, that there is not the least ground for this report.

The commissioners for Indian affairs, after a full and impartial inquiry into the dissensions lately arisen at Stockbridge, are well satisfied as to the general good conduct of Mr. Edwards, and apprehend he has been very faithful in the discharge of that important trust; that his heart is sincerely engaged therein; that he has acquired the general affections of the Indians, and influence over them, which he constantly employs for the best purposes, and the success thereof will doubtless be more evident, were it not for the unwearied opposition of some people from personal prejudices. I know of but one colorable pretence they have for disqualifying Mr. Edwards for this mission, and that is his want of the Indian language, and unsuitable age for learning it. But if this is a sufficient reason against him now, it was doubtless so when Brigadier Dwight was so eager, before his alliance with the Williams family, to have Mr. Edwards put into this employment. Besides, I apprehend Mr. Edwards's other excellent accomplishments for this work, will more than make amends for that defect.

Sir William replies: —

Kittery, March 6, 1753.

HONORED SIR, — Your favor of the 24th of last month, I received by Colonel Dwight, and at the same time received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Edwards. It is strange to hear what liberty some people will give themselves. I never was at court to hear any of the arguments relating to the difference between Brigadier Dwight and the Rev. Mr. Edwards, and am altogether a stranger to it; and how I should expose myself, by writing on an affair that I was a stranger to. You have been pleased to say you have known me when I was very young, and been acquainted with me ever since, and if you have seen such imprudent and vile actions by me, I must say you have not acted like a faithful friend, in withholding reproof. I can assure you that I never told any person that I would ever write for or against Mr. Edwards, and that I never thought of writing a syllable against him in my life.

Mr. Edwards continued to retain his place at Stockbridge four or five years, when he was invited to the presidency of Princeton College, as successor to his son-in-law, Rev. Aaron Burr; but he died in the course of the first year, of smallpox.

Soon after Dr. Edwards's removal from Stockbridge, Colonel Ephraim Williams writes to Pepperrell, asking aid and influence with his correspondents in London of the missionary board, to prevent the removal of his sister Mrs. Dwight, from the office of teacher of Indian girls, and the letter was carried and presented by her husband the brigadier. Doubtless the application succeeded, as no complaint had been made except her

family cares, and it appears that she was not displaced. The number of Indian families at the time in Stockbridge, was fifty-three, and of Indians two hundred and eighteen, of whom one hundred and twenty-nine had been baptized, and forty-two were communicants.

Colonel Israel Williams, of Hatfield, one of the most distinguished men in that region, was a graduate of Harvard, judge and councillor, and a particular friend and correspondent of Sir William. The two following letters, relating to their afflictions, contain such appropriate sentiments of Christian resignation, as to render them worthy of preservation, for the perusal of such as may be called to drink of the cup of similar bitter ingredients. Colonel William's son was a recent graduate of Harvard, of rare promise, whose death was greatly lamented by a wide circle of friends and acquaintances. Sir William's reply mentions a new occasion of grief, in the death of his beloved grandson.

Hatfield, April 3, 1752.

Sir William, — I received your favor; should gladly wait on you at Boston, at the time you propose, would my circumstances allow: but, Sir, I have neither strength nor heart. Since I wrote you in April last, it has pleased God to visit my house in an awful manner, myself and several others with long and distressing sickness, and to remove several by death; the last was my first-born and oldest son. As you have been called before me to tread the thorny way, so you know well how to pity me and sympathize with me under my sorrow. I feel what you have felt, and can heartily mourn with and for you. It is no small comfort, that we are not called to mourn without hope, and that we have reason to believe that God took hold of our chil-

dren's heart by his grace, and that they are now adoring him above, with other kindred spirits there. But when we view them commencing manhood, and promising to repay our labors, pains, sorrows, vows, and wishes, in a virtuous and useful life, and then taken from us, and all our hopes are dashed, and confined to a dark and narrow grave, it pierces a fond parent's heart in a manner you know better than I can express. However, it is the will of the glorious Jehovah; he has done right, and it becomes us to acquiesce in his sovereignty, wisdom, and righteousness. Our heavenly Father sees we have need of these things, to recover our wandering hearts, and to bring us to live upon him, as our only portion and happiness. May the rod be in the hand of love, and so improved by us as not to render such strokes necessary to reduce us. May these afflictions work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

ISRAEL WILLIAMS.

[Answer.]

Kittery, June 5, 1752.

COLONEL ISRAEL WILLIAMS: —

Sir, — Your favor of the 3d of April, I should have acknowledged the receipt of before, but was in hopes of seeing you at the General Court at Concord. But the Grand Orderer of all things has prevented me. About six days since, I had a grandson about three years old, named for my dear deceased son, a promising child, removed from us by death. This has brought afresh our late great loss in our only son; not lost, I trust, but gone before to the mansions above, there adoring free, sovereign grace, where there will be no more sin nor sorrow. I do sincerely sympathize with you in your bereavement, as I am made sensible what your soul

feels. O that these afflictions may be sanctified to our eternal good, and that they may teach us so to number our days that we may apply our hearts more and more to true spiritual wisdom! We desire to be thankful that we are not of them who sorrow without hope. These are shocking trials to poor human nature. A parent never buries a child, when grown in years.

W. P.

CHAPTER XII.

Sir William owned real estate in nearly every town on the seaboard, from Hampton to Portland, and also in the towns bordering on the Pascataqua River. During the two or three years after his return from England, his attention was occupied in looking after these estates, and in closing his mercantile accounts. The historian of Saco remarks, that the baronet was often in that town, and his appearance is described by several aged persons. "He passed much time at the house of Rev. Mr. Morrill, and always attended meeting when here on Sunday. His dress was usually in the expensive style of those days, of scarlet cloth trimmed with gold lace, and a large powdered wig. When strangers were present at meeting, it was common to solicit a contribution, the avails of which were the perquisites of the minister. Pepperrell would sometimes, it is said, throw a guinea into the box, in token of friendship and regard for the worthy pastor."*

The first bridge over any part of Saco River was built with the proceeds of a lottery granted by the General Court, 1757, on the petition of Sir William Pepperrell

* The town of Biddeford included the town of Saco until 1762, when it was separated, and all on the east side of the river, including Cutts' island, was incorporated into a separate town, named Pepperrellboro', in honor of Sir William; and it retained this name until 1805, when the old and more convenient designation, Saco, was, on petition of the inhabitants, substituted by an act of the legislature.

and others, and Sir William was placed at the head of commissioners who were to raise and superintend the drawing of this lottery. This bridge crossed the branch of the river on the east side of the island, above the present one.

Residing in Maine, near the Indian tribes with whom treaties had existed, of one kind and another, for nearly a century, which were renewed from time to time, and especially after any Indian war, Sir William had been employed as commissioner in forming most of these treaties for the last thirty years, and generally as president of the board. An account of their proceedings on one of these occasions was published in a pamphlet, from which the following abstract is made, illustrating the relative position and condition of that nearly extinct race a century ago, and the manner of holding Indian councils.

The conference was held at St. George's, between Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, September 20, 1753, between commissioners appointed by Governor Shirley, namely, Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet; Jacob Wendell; Thomas Hubbard; John Winslow, Esquire; and Mr. James Bowdoin, and the Penobscot chiefs.

The commissioners being seated at a large table near the Fort, attended by a number of gentlemen and others as spectators, the chiefs and others of the Penobscot tribe of Indians were seated over against them. After the usual salutations had passed, an interpreter and secretary were sworn, and Sir William Pepperrell, in the name of the commissioners, spoke to the Indians as follows: —

"Friends and Brothers, — Governor Shirley has done us the honor of a commission, and given us full power to act in behalf of the government. Through the favor

of Divine Providence we have been preserved in our voyage hither, and are glad of this opportunity of seeing so great a number of you.

"The last treaty with you has been kept sacred and inviolate on our part; and in some respects we have exceeded our engagements, particularly as to your trade with us, ... and we doubt not that you have before this, reaped the happy consequences of it.

"We rejoice in the happy effects of the peace and friendship subsisting between us. That we may open our minds freely to each other, we shall now proceed to a conference with you, in which we have nothing new to offer, but to renew and confirm our former treaty, the same that was formerly agreed upon between you and Governor Dummer, that so the chain of friendship subsisting between us may become brighter and brighter. To this end we are ready to receive any proposals that you have to offer."

Abenquit, in the name of the rest of the Penobscot tribe, arose and spoke as follows: —

"BRETHREN, — We are well pleased to see you here, and that God has preserved you in your voyage, and brought you in safety.

"We like what Governor Dummer and Governor Shirley did, and we will stand to what our sachems then did. No man shall prevent the happy union subsisting between us; the several treaties now existing between us we are ready to ratify."

Several talks were held on the subject of furs, trade, and prices; the deceptions practised on them by their Catholic priest; and their failure to restore captives, according to the promise made by them and the Norridgewalks the preceding year, when they engaged to go after and redeem them in the spring. Explanations

were offered. The Indians then said they were ready to confirm all the treaties in order to brighten the chain, and wished that peace might continue forever. They acknowledged the deceptions practised on them by their Catholic priest.

More than thirty of the chiefs and others of the Penobscot tribes then ratified and signed the treaty of Falmouth, of 1749. After which, the commissioners delivered to the Indians the presents sent by the government, for which they expressed great thankfulness, and desired liberty that their young men might show their good liking of what had been now done, by having a dance in the presence of the commissioners. After this was finished, the commissioners drank King George's health, wishing that the peace now ratified might continue as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

The commissioners then embarked in the sloop, in order to proceed to Fort Richmond (Waterville) to meet the Norridgewalk tribe of Indians; and in an hour after their arrival there, Quarnet, a Norridgewalk Indian, came down the river in a boat to wait on them. The next day five canoes, with the chiefs of the Norridgewalk tribe, arrived. Being assembled as before, without the fort, Sir William Pepperrell, in the name of the commissioners, addressed them as follows: —

"Friends and Brothers, — We appear here by the order and commission of Governor Shirley, and are fully authorized to treat with you."

After cautioning them against the treachery of Pierre Gannon, their Catholic priest, he says: "If we look into the last treaty, we shall find that three articles composed it, namely, trade, our captives, and our lands. As for trade, the governor has given orders to the truck-masters to supply you at a lower price than

the French, which we are abundantly able and disposed to do.

"As to our friends in captivity, we must remind you of your solemn engagement to return them by the last spring at furthest; yet they still remain in the hands of the French. This conduct of yours is base and unjust, and as such deserves the highest resentment; and, therefore, after all your promises, we must demand of you the reason why they are not returned; and unless satisfactorily accounted for, we must plainly tell you that you have not fulfilled your engagements, and that unless restored forthwith we must look upon it as a violation of the treaty made and ratified last year.

"We shall, in the course of this conference, offer you such evidence of our claim to these lands as shall convince you that we have done you no injustice."

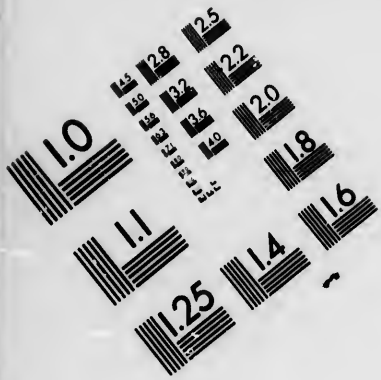
To this the Indians, in the afternoon, answered very briefly, telling them not to mind the lying Jesuit; "we want peace as much as the Penobscot Indians do."

A long parley was then held, in which the Indians begged that the English would not encroach further on their lands than Fort Richmond (Waterville) where they then were.

"We live," says *Quenois*, "wholly by this land, and live but poorly; the Penobscots hunt on one side of us, and the Canada Indians on the other side; therefore do not turn us off this land. We are willing you should enjoy all the lands from Richmond downwards to the sea."

In respect to the captives, the excuse offered by *Quenois* for not bringing them in was, that he broke his arm, and was unable to paddle a canoe to Canada for them.

Commissioners.—"When the English promise, they



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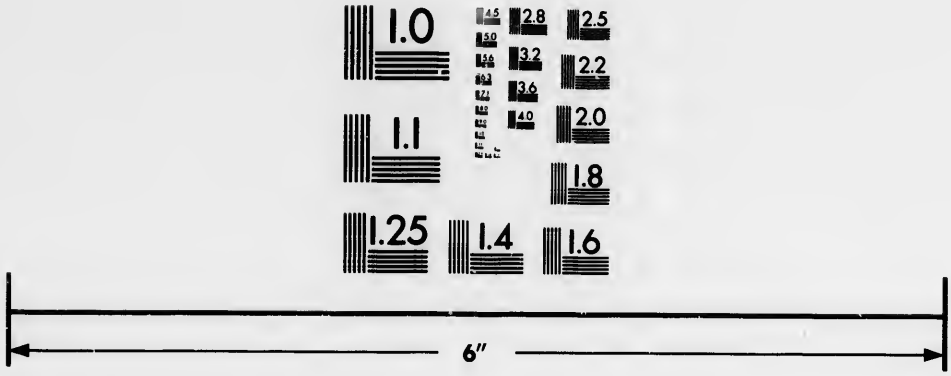

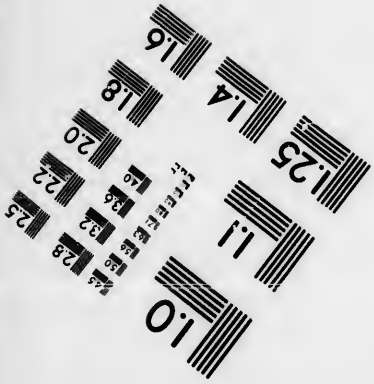

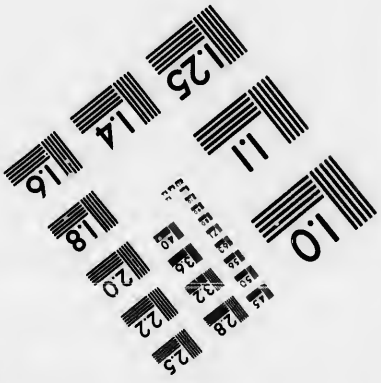

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religiously perform; they promised last year that your complaints should be redressed, respecting the English hunting on your ground, and taking your game; immediately upon the great court's sitting after their return, a law was made to prevent it."

Answer.—"We made a promise to fetch the captives. We are going upon our hunting now; but in the spring we will go to Canada and talk with the French governor, and do what we can to bring them."

Friday afternoon. The title of the English to the lands on the Kennebec was discussed. The Indian deeds were exhibited, signed by ancient Sagamores, many of whose names the Indians remembered. This embraced all the lands deeded by the Indians to the English, and all on which they had settled.

Saturday morning, September 29. *Pepperrell.*—"We are glad to see you this morning, and hope you are all well. We told you yesterday that all the lands on both sides the Kennebec River, as high up as Wasserunsick, belonged to the English. Your forefathers sold them to the English, who settled them at Cushnoc (Canaan) and Tecounet, where are now to be seen the ruins of English houses. You have since renewed the treaty by which they were ceded, several times."

The Indians, in reply, stated that it was agreed formerly that they should go no further than Richmond, where they now are, and they hoped they would not settle further up the river. "The Indians hunt on both sides of us." "We get our living on these lands, and if the English should settle on them, it would drive away our game, which has been the case with respect to the lands between Richmond and the sea."

Pepperrell.—"We fairly purchased these lands from your forefathers, which you do n't pretend to deny."

Indians.—"We do n't think these deeds are false; but we apprehend you got the Indians drunk, and so took the advantage of them, when you bought these lands."

Pepperrell.—"It was not so; the English settled them before your eyes, and nothing was said against it."

Indians.—"We had no religion in that day, and used to buy only rum and wampum."

Pepperrell.—"There was no rum at that time; the whole trade then carried on was in corn, clothing, and provisions."

Indians.—"We know of a man that occasionally traded at Teconnet; he built a tent there."

Pepperrell.—"Above a hundred years ago, government built a truck-house at Teconnet, at the Indians' desire, and there was more trade carried on in that day, than there is now in all the truck-houses put together."

Indians.—"There was a trade then; but we know of no lands sold at that time. There was not religion in that day."

Pepperrell.—"We are fully satisfied these lands were fairly purchased of the Indians; we desire you will inquire and search into it; and we doubt not you will then be satisfied of the justice of our claim, and that we shall live in peace like brethren."

Quenois.—"We will inquire of our old men."

Pepperrell.—"Are you ready to sign the ratification of the articles of peace made and concluded at Casco Bay in 1749?"

Indians.—"We are ready."

Quenois.—"I would say one word more. Our young men are very apt to get drunk: we desire you

would give orders to Captain Lithgow not to let any one of them have more rum than one quart in two days."

Pepperrell.—"We are well pleased with what you say. We are sensible of the mischievous consequences of your young men's having too much rum. Captain Lithgow is present, and we now give orders to him before you, not to let your young men have any more rum than you have now desired."

The conference being ended, the presents ordered them by the government were delivered, King George's health was drunk, and the commissioners took leave.

The peace which had subsisted between Great Britain and France, since 1748, was but a truce for digesting and maturing an extensive plan of hostile operations between Lake Erie and the valley of the Ohio. M. DuQuesne, governor of Canada, received instructions to take possession of that region of territory for the crown of France, and to extend a chain of forts through it so as to connect Canada with the Mississippi. Early in 1753, he ordered a military force, under Sieur de St. Pierre, to march to Le Boeuf, (Waterford, fourteen miles south of Erie,) and erect a fort for security, to be succeeded by others at Venango and Pittsburgh. The governor of Virginia claimed the territory from the Atlantic westward to an unlimited extent, and he considered these forts as an invasion of his province. Menaces were reciprocated by both parties. Three British fur traders were taken on the disputed territory, and carried to a fort then building at Erie; and this was retaliated by the capture of three French fur traders. A formal protest against the French encroachments was now sent, in the autumn of 1753, to Fort DuQuesne (Pittsburgh) by Washing-

ton, then only twenty-one years of age, which was answered by St. Pierre in a spirited manner, declining to suspend his operations. To this subject of contention in the West was added the disagreement about the boundary line of Nova Scotia, which Shirley and Gallisonière had vainly endeavored to settle.

Sir William regarded these and other occurrences as indications of an approaching war, and bestirred himself to prepare for it. To the captains of his regiment he wrote: —

March 13, 1754.

It is much feared that the Indians will soon make a disturbance. I have no orders from his Excellency, but I think this upper part of Maine is worth looking after. Should we be alarmed by an enemy's attack, and there should be a deficiency in the town's stock of ammunition, and the men not provided with arms, the officers would be blamed, and ought to be severely punished, and a brand set upon them. I desire, and it is my order, that you take care and see forthwith, that your town is well provided. But I have no thoughts of sending you any more orders, as I design to write for a dismission from the regiment, until which time I hope to be able to do my duty.

Your faithful humble servant,

W. P.

The following letters show that Sir William's apprehensions of war were well founded, and that the governor, in anticipation of it, erected Fort Halifax on the Kennebec, and took other measures preparatory for the event.

[To Honorable Josiah Willard, Secretary of State.]

Kittery, March 15, 1754.

HONORED SIR, — We have had a report that the Indians are like to do mischief, but from whence it comes we know not, or whether any credit is to be given to it. You are sensible that this upper part of Maine lies as much exposed to the French and Indians as the lower part, there being but a single line of towns. I have ordered the officers to make inquiry into the several town stocks of ammunition, and to see that the men are well provided with arms, etc., but as I mentioned to you, when at Boston, that there were, in this first regiment, upwards of twenty commissioned officers that did not take the oath in June last relating to receiving and paying the other province's bills of credit, some through neglect, others in contempt; the latter are unworthy of a commission. As Colonel Moulton and myself are growing in years, I have thought when I go to Boston to mention to his Excellency that there might be two lieutenant-colonels in this regiment and two majors, as every part of the frontier is exposed, and the distance from Berwick to Scarborough is considerable, Colonel Storer to be one of the colonels and Captain John Hill and Major Richard Cutts to be the two majors. But as our inferior court sits at York the first Tuesday of April, where I have business, I may have to be excused from coming to Boston until election. If there be danger of the Indians, I think it is best to fill up the commissions for the offices that are vacant as soon as it can be done. I should be glad to be excused from the command of the regiment.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

WM. PEPPERRELL.

[Letter from Governor Shirley.]

Boston, June 3, 1754.

SIR, — Pursuant to the request of the two houses in the last assembly, I have raised between four and five hundred men for the service of the eastern parts of the province, and shall embark with them at this place, accompanied with some of his Majesty's council, and of the House of Representatives, for Falmouth, where I propose to be about the 15th instant, to have an interview with the Norridgewalk, Penobscot, and Arpeguntocook Indians, whom I have appointed to meet me there at that time. I purpose at the same time to send a party of these soldiers up the river Kennebec in quest of a French settlement, said to be made upon a carrying place between that river and the river Chaudière, which falls into the river St. Lawrence nearly opposite Quebec, and to cause a new fort to be built higher up the river Kennebec than Fort Richmond (Waterville), which has grown so ruinous that I shall cause it to be dismantled and demolished.

If it suits your convenience and inclination to meet me at Falmouth, I shall be glad of your advice in the execution of this service, as one of his Majesty's council, and of the pleasure of seeing you there; being,

Sir, your obedient humble servant,

W. SHIRLEY.

[Sir William's reply.]

Kittery, June 6, 1754.

SIR, — Your Excellency's favor of the 3d instant I received. I am in a poor state of health, otherwise should have been at Boston at election. I am at present incapable of riding, and scarce able to write. If my health should be restored, it will give me great

pleasure to meet your Excellency at Falmouth at the time you mention, and to give my best advice for his Majesty's service.

Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

W. P.

The governor went at the time appointed, accompanied by many persons of distinction and five hundred soldiers, and met the eastern Indians at Falmouth, and ratified the former treaties, and returned to Boston in September.

Virginia had adopted prompt measures in return for the spirited reply she received by Washington from St. Pierre. A regiment was immediately raised and marched over the mountains toward Fort DuQuesne, but it was met by a superior force, and Washington, who commanded, was obliged to capitulate. Intelligence of this defeat reached Shirley on his return from the eastward, and was soon followed by news of an irruption of six hundred Indians into Hoosac, near the north-west corner of Massachusetts.

July 4, 1754.

An Indian war immediately succeeded, as the following letter from Colonel Moulton to Sir William will show.

York, November 2, 1754.

Honored Sir, — This day, one John Pearce, a soldier at the upper fort on the Kennebec River, came with an express for the governor. It was sealed up. He came to me to get a horse pressed for him. He told me that last Wednesday the Indians had killed a man and scalped him at their garrison (which is at Taconit) and had taken four men more and carried them off. One made his escape. There were six of them hauling logs

to saw for making cabins, when the Indians came upon them and served them as above and killed their oxen. He further says that eight Indians came into the fort in a friendly manner, and told them there were some Indians come from Canada, and designed to do them some damage, and that they wanted some provisions for themselves, which they took, and also some new blankets, and went off, and it is supposed these are the same Indians that did the mischief, as the man who made his escape recognized one of them. Dr. March ran out, with twenty-two men, after the Indians, and they dropped two of their guns and one new blanket that they had just taken out of the stores, proving that they were the same that were in trading. Great sickness prevails in the garrison, only twenty out of eighty fit for duty. Five men have deserted, five killed and taken by Indians, and those that are left are discouraged, and have sent for more men, and unless they arrive, they must surrender.

Your humble servant,

JERE MOULTON.

CHAPTER XIII.

DURING THE FRENCH WAR OF 1755.

THUS colonial hostilities were commenced, both east and west, which threatened soon to involve both European nations in a general conflict. It had been apprehended by the British ministry, who were preparing secretly for it; and the defeat of Washington was the signal for open preparation. Before news of this arrived, Sir Thomas Robinson wrote to Sir William confidentially, that there was a prospect of his being soon called into service, and suggesting that he prepare himself accordingly.

Active measures were pursued for disciplining and equipping the militia throughout New England. Governor Shirley issued orders to all the commanders to muster and inspect their regiments. Sir William writes him from Kittery: "Pursuant to your Excellency's commands I have had the first regiment of militia in Maine together, and find them better provided with arms and ammunition than I expected; and inasmuch as there has not been a regimental muster before for some years past, I have ordered them to assemble again on the 15th instant. Nine blank commissions would complete the regiment with officers, which I will endeavor to fill for those persons who will most honor them."

Oct. 8.

Sir Thomas Robinson writes him again: "Having informed you in my letter of July 5th, that the king had under his royal consideration the state of affairs in America; I am now to acquaint you that amongst other measures that are thought proper for the defence of his Majesty's just rights and dominions in these parts, the king has not only been pleased to order two regiments of foot, consisting of five hundred men each, beside officers, commanded by Sir Peter Halket and Colonel Dunbar, to repair to Virginia, and to be there augmented to the number of seven hundred each, but likewise to send orders to Governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperrell to raise two regiments, whereof they are respectively appointed colonels, of one thousand men each; and also to sign commissions for a number of officers to serve in the said two regiments. Oct. 26.

"Whereas there will be wanting a considerable number of men to make up the designed compliment of the said four regiments, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should be taking the previous steps towards contributing as far as you can, to have three hundred men in readiness to be enlisted, and it is intended that a general officer of rank and capacity to be appointed to command-in-chief all the king's forces in North America, a deputy quartermaster-general, and a commissary of the musters, shall set out as soon as conveniently may be, in order to prepare every thing for the arrival of the forces above-mentioned from Europe, and for raising the others in America.

"I therefore call upon the quarter-master and commissary to fulfil his Majesty's expectations by furnishing supplies of every kind for the army, and at the expense of the colonies, and to correspond with the general and all the governors."

Lord Halifax writes to Sir William again:—

October 6, 1754.

His Majesty having appointed you to be colonel of a regiment, consisting of one thousand men, to be raised in North America, I have appointed Mr. John Colcraft to be your agent, and to do the very many things that were immediately necessary. If you will confirm and continue him in your agency I will be security for him, and can promise you that he will serve you ably and agreeably as well as faithfully, and it will be an obligation that I shall ever acknowledge.

Most of the officers will be appointed here and set out immediately, but some blank commissions will be sent over for the encouragement of those who may best assist you in raising your men.* But of these and many other particulars you shall soon hear more fully from Sir Thomas Robinson, and from, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant, H. Fox.

Sir William acknowledges the receipt of his commission, and adds: "The notice your Lordship was pleased to bestow on me when I was in England, laid me under very great obligations. Your request that I would accept of Mr. Colcraft as my agent for the regiment is cordially complied with, to which end I have sent him a power of attorney duly executed. Be assured your wishes shall always be a command to me and faithfully executed." He, at the same time, writes to Mr. Colcraft:—

*It is obvious from this letter, trusting him again with blank commissions to fill, that Sir William, notwithstanding the former false imputations of selling them, retained the unimpaired confidence of the king and secretary of war.

My residence being seventy miles to the north of Boston, at a place called Kittery, I met the post on my journey hither with your favors of the 8th and 26th of October last, in which you inform me that you are appointed agent to Governor Shirley's and my regiments. I have also received a letter from my Lord Halifax, Mr. Fox, and from Alderman Baker in your behalf, desiring me to confirm you in the office. I therefore take this first opportunity to manifest my respects for, and compliance with, the commands of those gentlemen. Inclosed are the two powers witnessed by one of his Majesty's council and the secretary of this province, which is sufficient. I doubt not you will be a faithful agent, and will take all proper steps to serve the regiment. The more blank commissions I have the easier it will be to raise men for the regiment.

I am very glad to find, by Sir Thomas Robinson's letter, that my regiment is to rendezvous at Boston, as the men will be such as are mostly raised at the North, and the southern climate is very unhealthy and often proves fatal to them. Not one of the officers appointed for my regiment has arrived here, nor blank commissions, which I am very sorry for. I shall do all in my power to raise men for the regiment, and flatter myself we shall soon make a good appearance. There will be a considerable charge, but I shall save all I can. I am sending to Captain David Wooster, in the colony of Connecticut, to raise what men he can there, and to draw on you for what money he needs for that service. I hope you will have a sufficiency in your hands before the bills will reach you, as some of the colonies allow twenty per cent. damage for protested bills. Whatever money I have by me I shall advance, and be as sparing

in drawing as possible, till I hear what you may have in your hands.

I have been very lame for some time past, occasioned not by a wound, but by the great colds I got in the forty-nine days' siege against Louisburg, and living there the first winter after we reduced it, before the houses were fitted up that we had shattered by our cannon and mortars, but I think I am daily recovering.

I am, etc., W. P.

P. S. I have already a number of men enlisted, and as no clothing is yet arrived, I must advance money to clothe them, at least such as are in want, and if our regimentals are not altered, those that are now to be sent over may serve for another year. My good friend, Alderman Baker, recommends Mr. Brice Fisher to provide the clothing for the regiment hereafter. If you and he think there can be no inconvenience in the same, I submit it to you and that gentleman whether, if some of the cloth were sent over here in pieces, it might not be made up to fit the men better.

[To Governor Belcher of New Jersey.]

Boston, February 18, 1755.

I received, some time last December, his Majesty's orders to raise a regiment of foot for the service and defence of his Majesty's provinces in America, and to correspond with your Excellency and the several governors of the colonies. With said orders I had the copy of a circular letter to the governors of North America, dated the 26th of October last, which I am sure you will endeavor to comply with.

I doubt not but you will with pleasure afford your best assistance to me or any of my officers, not only by

your duty to his Majesty, but from the regard you have for me. If any of your gentlemen would supply my lieutenant-colonel, James F. Mercer, with what money he may have occasion for in the regiment, and take his bills on the agent of my regiment, John Colcraft, Esquire, I am well assured they would meet with due honor. Or as soon as I know he has arrived, I would draw the bills and send them to those that supply him.

Upon the first orders I received to raise the regiment, it was to rendezvous at Boston, but since my coming here, which was two days past, I find that my regiment is to rendezvous at New York and Philadelphia, which has very much prevented my completing it. Governor Shirley has had a thousand advantages over me. I hope I shall do my best and leave the event to Him who governs all things. My difficulties at present seem great.

I hope, since we are to rendezvous so near your government, I shall have a considerable number of brave fellows enlisted there, and the pleasure of soon taking my dear old friend by the hand. W. P.

[To the Right Honorable Henry Fox, Esquire, (Lord Halifax).]

Boston, February 23, 1755.

I had the honor to write you the 21st of December last, in answer to yours of October 6th, since which, upon my arrival in town a day or two past, from my place of residence about seventy miles north, I have the honor to receive your letter of the 4th of November last. I am greatly obliged to you for your congratulations upon his Majesty's appointment of me to the command of one of the two regiments to be raised for the defence of his colonies in North America.

I have received, by the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel

Mercer, blank commissions for two captains, the captain-lieutenant, four lieutenants, and four ensigns; and in the disposal of them I shall pay the strictest regard to his Majesty's commands, which, in justice to myself, I must say, and beg leave to assure you upon my honor, perfectly corresponds with the resolution I had taken before the receipt of the same, not to avail myself of the least advantage, but to make his Majesty's service the invariable rule of my conduct in disposing of them. Accordingly, when I was some time since solicited for a captain's commission by a gentleman that married my only child, whose solicitations had the countenance of no small number of our best people, and who is a member of our general assembly of superior influence, and was greatly serviceable in that station the last war, inasmuch as I knew that I could command his interest for the service of the regiment, without gratifying him in this particular, I made no hesitation of denying him his request, and laid myself under an obligation to another, provided he could seasonably enlist a certain number of men for the service. And as such has been my disinterested conduct hitherto, and as I can assure you was the case the last war, when I had the disposal of a number of blank commissions in the regiment I had then the honor to command, I hope you will have no doubt of my acting in future upon like generous principles.* And I should now do myself the honor to transmit you a list of the officers' names, and assign my reasons for the appointment of them respectively; but the short time I have been in town, and the vessel's

* The secretary of war, (Mr. Fox,) in reply to this letter, says: "Your conduct in the disposition of the commissions sent you is truly disinterested." See Dr. Stevens's funeral sermon.

sudden departure by which this goes, will not admit of it. I must therefore beg your indulgence till another opportunity offers, which will not be long first, when you may depend on my putting what remains of your commands in execution.

I am sorry to observe the officers of my regiment are to receive pay only from the day they enter their commissions with Mr. Pitcher, commissary of the musters, or his deputy. But when it is considered that upon the receipt of his Majesty's commands on or about the 20th of December last, I immediately employed as many persons in recruiting for the regiment as I expected to provide for (some of whom I now find will be disappointed), and that they have been constantly in the service ever since, and that Mr. Pitcher is at a great distance from hence, and that it will require some considerable time to enter their commissions with him, I hope that this order will be so far dispensed with, as that they will be allowed pay for the time they have been in actual service. As none of the officers appointed by his Majesty for my regiment have arrived till very lately, and much the greater part of them are still wanting, I have had no assistance but from the few that I could engage to provide for, and they being very much dispersed, I am not able to ascertain the number now enlisted, but from my last advices from them it exceeded four hundred. You are sensible how great an advantage Governor Shirley must have had over me in filling his regiment, not only from his having the appointment of all officers, civil and military, within this government, but he has the filling up also of all the commissions for the two regiments now raising for his Majesty's service in Nova Scotia, to aid him in complying with his engagement, which enables him to reward every person

that assists him, and their number is far from being small.

By my first orders from Sir Thomas Robinson, my regiment was to rendezvous at Boston, and Governor Shirley's at New York and Philadelphia. But upon receiving a duplicate, I find this order is reversed. Had I been apprised of this sooner, I should have sent my recruiting officers chiefly to the southward, which would have saved the charge of transporting a considerable number of recruits, raised in New Hampshire and Maine, in vessels to the southern governments. I shall, in order to prevent an increase of this charge, order my officers into those parts, where I have already directed Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer to repair. W. P.

Soon after this Sir William repaired to New York to superintend the concerns of his regiment. Whilst remaining here he received many respectful attentions from persons of distinction, particularly from Hon. P. V. B. Livingston.

The encroachments of the French and the defeat of Washington, with other indications of impending war, induced the British government to send General Braddock, early in the spring of 1755, to assist the colonies with a respectable body of regulars. He assembled the colonial governors in Virginia, to decide upon a plan of military operations, and it was concluded to attempt three expeditions. The *first* against Fort DuQuesne, now Pittsburgh, by Braddock and his regular troops; the *second* against Crown Point, by provincials from the northern colonies and some Indians; and the *third* against Niagara, by American regulars, consisting of Shirley's and Pepperrell's regiments, and a body of Indians. Both Shirley and Pepperrell had recently

received the appointment of major-general, the former having precedence, and thereby was next in command to Braddock of the British regulars and provincial troops in America.* Braddock's defeat and death, and the retreat of Washington with the remnant of the army, was the result of the first expedition. The second, under General Johnson, marched from Albany late in the summer. General Lyman, of Connecticut, led the van of five thousand troops up the Hudson to within fourteen miles of Lake George, where he halted and built Fort Lyman, afterwards named Fort Edward. General Johnson soon followed with provisions and munitions of war, and leaving a strong garrison at the fort, proceeded with Lyman to the lake shore, where

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* An interesting history of Braddock's expedition, founded on original documents copied at the colonial office in London, has recently appeared in the transactions of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, from which we extract the following curious item, from the instructions given by the Duke of Cumberland to Braddock on his departure for America.

"Should the Ohio expedition continue any considerable time, and Pepperrell's and Shirley's regiments be found sufficient to undertake, in the mean while, the reduction of Niagara, his Royal Highness would have you consider whether you could go there in person, leaving the command of the troops on the Ohio to some officer on whom you might depend, unless you shall think it better for the service to send some person whom you had designed to command on the Ohio; but this is a nice affair, and claims your particular attention. Colonel Shirley is the next commander after you, wherefore, if you should send such an officer, he must conduct himself so as to appear only in quality of a friend or counsellor in the presence of Colonel Shirley; and his Royal Highness is of opinion that the officer must not produce or make mention of the commission you give him to command, except in a case of absolute necessity."

Letter from aid-de-camp of Duke of Cumberland to General Braddock, in History of Braddock's defeat, p. 398.

Fort William Henry was afterwards erected. Baron Dieskau, commander of the French and Canadians, ascended Lake Champlain from Montreal, to meet and give battle to the provincials and Indians. He approached near Fort Edward, but finding his Canadian troops and Indians unwilling to face the cannon, he changed his plan and marched towards Johnson's and Lyman's camp, intending to surprise it.

Johnson supposing him to be still investing Fort Edward, sent Colonel Ephraim Williams, with one thousand men, to cut off his retreat to Canada; but they unexpectedly met Dieskau's troops on their way to Johnson's camp, and being outflanked by them, received a sudden and destructive fire, killing Colonel Williams and Hendricks, the Indian leader, and many men, compelling the remainder to retreat. Johnson and Lyman received the news from the returning fugitives, and drawing up their men in order of battle, sustained a long and vigorous attack, and finally repulsed the French and mortally wounded their commander Dieskau. Johnson being wounded early in the fight, the command devolved on Lyman, who conducted it to a successful issue.*

A detachment of New Hampshire troops marched from Fort Edward and came upon the retreating French just after halting for refreshment, and drove them back towards Ticonderoga. The total loss of the French was six hundred killed. Some of the provincials remained during the winter to erect Fort Wil-

* Johnson, from feelings of jealousy towards Lyman, withheld from him, in his official report of the battle, a due share of credit for his services, which resulted in a settled enmity between the two generals and their partizans.

liam Henry under the direction of Colonel Gridley, the same who planned Pepperrell's batteries at Louisburg, and thirty years after marked out the one on Bunker's Hill. For this partial success of Johnson and Lyman at Lake George, Governor Shirley received the thanks of the king, not as a participator in the conflict, but as commander of the British army in America after Braddock's death.

The third expedition against Fort Niagara and Frontinac was under Shirley's immediate command. His and Pepperrell's regiments and a large body of Indians of the six nations, left Albany for Oswego, there to embark on Lake Ontario. But the difficulties attending the transportation of provisions and munitions of war, and the desertion of batteaux, men, and wagons, delayed the arrival at Oswego till late in August, and the troops were not ready to embark until the middle of September, when storms set in that rendered lake navigation dangerous, and which led to a postponement of the enterprise to another year. Shirley left Oswego for Albany, giving the command of the two regiments to Lieutenant-Colonel Mercer, who, in the following winter, built two forts. Thus ended the three expeditions of 1755, on the northern and western frontier.

But an enterprise was prosecuted in another direction. The boundaries of Nova Scotia, as we have seen, were unsettled, and while Shirley and Gallisonière were engaged at Paris in discussing the subject, the French, who occupied the disputed territory, had recently erected forts on the two shores of the isthmus, at Beau Sejour and Gaspereau, and at the mouth of the St. John's. John Winslow, a major-general of militia in Massachusetts, was sent with three thousand men, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was joined by Colonel

Monkton with three hundred British regulars, and holding rank superior to Winslow, conferred by Shirley. The forts made very little resistance, and the French troops were readily expelled from the Bay of Fundy. But what was to be done with the twelve or fifteen thousand French colonists settled at Chignecto, Minas, and along the river Annapolis? "It was thirty years," says Hildreth, "since Nova Scotia had become a British province; but these settlers, who had more than doubled their number in the interval, continued still French, not in language, religion, and manners only, but also in attachments, receiving their priests from Canada, and always ready to favor any movement that tended to restore them to their ancient allegiance. By the terms granted when the British authorities took possession of the province, they were excused from any obligation to bear arms against France, and were thence known as *French neutrals.* But they did not act up even to that character. Three hundred of their young men had been taken in arms at the surrender of Beau Sejour, and one of their priests had been actively employed as a French agent. To curb these hostile people, would require several expensive garrisons. If allowed to quit the country and go where they pleased, they would retire to Canada and Cape Breton, and strengthen the enemy there. To devise some scheme adequate to the emergency, Lawrence, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, consulted with Boscawen and Mostyn, commanders of the British fleet, which had just arrived on the coast, after its cruise to intercept Dieskau. These military men took counsel with Belcher, chief justice of the province, a son of the former governor of Massachusetts. The result was, notwithstanding the express provision in the capitulation of Beau Sejour, that the

neighboring inhabitants should not be disturbed, a plan for treacherously kidnapping the Acadians, and transporting them to the various British provinces. The capitulation of Beau Sejour did not apply to the settlements of Minas and Annapolis, who strenuously denied any complicity with the French invaders, and which never was proved against them.

"Knowing how much was to be dreaded from despair, the ruthless design against them was kept a profound secret. Assembled under various false pretences at their parish churches, they were surrounded with troops, made prisoners, and hurried on board the ships assigned for their transportation! Wives separated from their husbands, in the confusion of embarking, and children from their parents, were carried off to distant colonies, never again to see each other. Their lands, crops, cattle, and every thing except household furniture, which they could not carry away, and money, of which they had little or none, were declared forfeit to the crown; and, to insure the starvation of such as fled to the woods, and so to compel their surrender, the growing crops were destroyed, and the barns and houses burned, with all their contents!" These broken-hearted and disconsolate exiles were a burden to the provinces, and it was an object to get rid of them. Some made their way to France, others to the West Indies and Louisiana — the expenses of their transport being paid in many instances by the colonial assemblies — and many of them sank into fatal despair. The removal of this humble people, even in a humane manner, was, to our apprehension, impolitic and uncalled for. The hostile influence they exerted could have been neutralized by transporting a tenth part of the male adults to the provinces as hostages for the good behavior of those that remained, and there

compelled to support themselves by manual labor during the war. It was, however, the opinion of leading men of the day, that they should be removed in a mass, in order to exclude the malign influence their priests exercised over them and the Indians in time of war, and Pepperrell, as we have seen, (page 240,) was in favor of the measure, although his humanity would doubtless have revolted at the treacherous and cruel manner in which it was effected.*

When the three expeditions against Du Quesne, Crown Point, and Niagara were projected, it was the expectation of all that Pepperrell would go against Niagara, at the head of his own regiment, under Shirley. But in June, while he was filling his regiment in New York, he received from the king a commission of major-general, which entitled him to a higher command than that of a single regiment. Mr. Sparhawk, representative in the legislature, writes to him June 14th: "We see in our country journal an extract of news from the New York paper, which assures of your commission as major-general being got to your hands. Rev. Dr. Chauncy tells me that Doctor Clarke, who you know has a great intimacy with the governor, says, that now you are a general, you can't be obliged to go under Shirley to Niagara; and since that, Doctor Gardner, another that has his ear much, told me that you were not obliged to go, now you had this promotion, and asked me if I could tell your determination; I told him I did n't know that you could be excused if you desired it, and that from your advices to your family you fully intended to

* Mrs. Williams, of Rhode Island, has written an interesting tale relating to the seizure, captivity, and dispersion of the French Neutrals, and Mr. Longfellow has embalmed their memory in his beautiful poem, "Evangeline."

go; which I thought was the safest answer I could make. However, I hope you will fully weigh the matter, and if you can, consistently with your honor, excuse yourself, that you will do so. You know that when you went to Louisburg, though Mr. Shirley tarried in Boston the whole time, his friends endeavored to ascribe a great deal to him, and as he will now be at the head of this expedition, distinguish yourself as much as you will, he will have the honor and applause. On the other hand, if you refuse to go, I can't tell what construction your enemies will give it. Your friends will justify you, and all others that consider it impartially."

Again he writes: "The governor is yet here, (24th,) and some endeavors have been used to bring the General Court into an address, to prevent his proceeding, which was treated with the utmost sneer, and but one hand in the whole House for it. The court's sitting is the only reason, it is said, for his tarry: we desired a recess last Saturday; but still we are kept, to consider things over again which have been rejected by a large majority. The above affair was attempted last Saturday for a second time, but ended only in an address to prompt rather than prevent his going. I suppose you will see it in print. There is a great deal of talk in town upon the subject, and many conjectures. I am concerned to have you fairly excused from the expedition, which it is said here you may be if you please, and it is inconsistent, as you are a general officer, to proceed under one of the same rank. I hope you'll be furnished with the safest and best advice, and act with all possible caution, for upon any slip or blunder of S . . . . . y, or upon his losing his popularity, which seems to be going fast, or in case of sickness or death, it is easy to judge who will

succeed. I could greatly enlarge, but I fear to venture too much in a letter."

* * * * "Our friend Mr. Gridley is now a member in the House for Brookline, and I cannot but think that, if you ever intend to present another memorial to the court in respect of your services at Louisburg, some time this year will give you the best chance."

* * * * Again: "I cannot help questioning whether something or other won't intervene to prevent the expedition you are destined to proceed upon, as I have hinted already. But time alone will make us certain as to this matter. Surely two thousand men can never be thought a proper number to render it barely probable that we shall succeed, and our hero is of too much consequence to be put at hazard, on any occasion. A war with France may happen, and a blow at the root be thought necessary, instead of attacks upon the branches. If I really thought that the intended expedition to Niagara would proceed without a very great augmentation, I should be deeply concerned. But this I flatter myself will not be the case.

* * * * "It is rumored here that Admiral Boscawen was seen off Newfoundland about eighteen days since, and about the same time that a squadron of men-of-war and transports from France was met. I have a letter which says that war is agreed, on all hands, to be necessary, and will be declared as soon as they hear from America."

Shirley ordered Sir William to take command of the eastern frontier, which, residing as he did in Maine, and knowing more of its condition and danger than any other officer, was on the whole a very judicious appointment. On his arrival at Kittery, he writes to Lord Halifax respecting his regiment: —

[To the Honorable Henry Fox, Esquire.]

August 19, 1755.

Inclosed I give you the trouble of the returns of my regiment, which I now hope soon to have completed. This province, and, indeed, the other provinces in New England, have had such a call for men to fill the regiments employed at Nova Scotia, Crown Point, etc., that it has been extremely difficult to get men to enlist in the king's regiment for life. The inhabitants of these provinces are in general quite averse to it, whilst no people can be more ready to serve his Majesty on any expedition, provided they are commanded by the officers of their own country, and can be discharged when the particular service they enlisted for is ended, and they are not held to garrison duties after places are taken; which, as they have been long inured to constant action and hard labor, is found to enfeeble them, render them unhealthy and unfit for further service, if it do not wholly destroy them. An army of these North Americans are, I conceive, the only fit men to meet a mixed army of French and Indians in the woods; at least, in order for success, the English forces must consist in some measure of our New England officers and men, who are acquainted with their manner of fighting, and can deal with them in their own way; and I think that if General Braddock had had a regiment or two of our people with him, under the command of suitable officers, to clear the woods of the enemy, he would have marched safely with his regular troops to the Ohio, and given a good account of them, instead of meeting with so shocking a defeat, as you will find related in the inclosed print, to which I beg leave to refer you. You will find, by comparing my former advices of this unhappy event

with what I now send you, that those were but very imperfect, but they were the most authentic that could then be had. You 'll pardon my transmitting them, as well as the freedom I have used in so plainly exhibiting my sentiments, which I could not, consistently with my duty to my king and country, avoid doing.

I hope, ere this reaches you, that suitable bedding will be sent out for my regiment, to preserve it during our inclement winter season, which is extremely severe in these parts. W. P.

The frontier posts being garrisoned, General Shirley returned from Oswego to Albany, where he received from England a commission as commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, and thence he proceeded to New York, and (December 12) held a council of war of the governors of the colonies of Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, those of the other colonies failing to appear. It was there agreed that ten thousand men should be raised for another expedition against Crown Point, six thousand for one on Lake Ontario, and three thousand for an attack upon Fort DuQuesne; and two thousand were to be sent up the Kennebec River to the Chaudierè, and descending to the mouth of that river within three miles of Quebec, were to keep all that part of Canada in a state of alarm.

Shirley returned thence to Albany, intending to prosecute a winter's expedition against Ticonderoga. But frost and snow, necessary for transporting stores, failing to appear, he abandoned the enterprise, and proceeded to Boston, where he was received with demonstrations of respect from the military and both branches of the legislature, and treated with an evening banquet; all

which was made the more ostentatious from a desire to equal New York in its honors conferred upon General Johnson, between whom and Governor Shirley a jealous rivalry was evidently arising.

Although war had existed in America two years, it had not yet been formally declared by either of the home governments. But besides the hostile forces sent by England, there had also been sent by France the last year, a fleet from Brest, with warlike preparations to Canada, and Boscawen was sent after it with a squadron to watch its motions, who overtook and captured two of the vessels, the Lys and Alcyde near Newfoundland. On hearing this, France determined on hostilities, and recalled her minister from London, and both nations declared war. The Earl of Loudon was appointed commander-in-chief of the British land forces in America, and until his arrival, General Abercromby was ordered to supersede Shirley as commander, who sailed immediately, and, on his arrival, proceeded to Albany, where the provincial troops were assembled, waiting for a commander until the end of June.

In January, 1756, the legislature of Massachusetts was applied to by Governor Shirley for three thousand men, and on their plea of poverty, he loaned the province 30,000 pounds sterling out of the king's money in his hands. Early in February he offered the command of the troops which were to operate against Crown Point to Pepperrell, by which he aimed more effectually to secure his strenuous exertions in the council, and render his own measures more popular in the legislature. But having accomplished his object, he revoked his promise to Pepperrell, and conferred the appointment on General Winslow, the transporter of the French

Neutrals, much to the dissatisfaction of Pepperrell, as will presently appear.

The provincial troops assembled at Albany under Winslow for the campaign of 1756. They fell short of the number proposed to be raised, and were probably not sufficient to attack Crown Point. But Abercrombie brought over two regiments, which with eight independent companies raised by New York and Carolina, constituted an adequate force. The combined army under Lord Loudon, after pressing every wagon within thirty miles of Albany into public service, commenced their march, the provincials being in advance under General Winslow, in order to keep them separate from the regulars, and under their own officers. But ere they had reached their place of destination, the sad news arrived that Oswego had fallen.

It appears that after the death of Baron Dieskau the preceding year, M. Montcalm took command of the Canadian forces, and on the 10th of August 1756. approached the forts of Oswego, on Lake Ontario, with 5,000 regulars, Canadians, and Indians. After a gallant defence, and the death of Colonel Mercer, the American forces, — Shirley's and Pepperrell's regiments, consisting of fourteen hundred men, capitulated. Montcalm destroyed the forts, and retreated with the prisoners to Montreal, taking also 121 pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, and an immense quantity of stores and ammunition.

On this disastrous event, every plan of offensive operation was immediately relinquished. General Winslow was ordered not to proceed against Ticonderoga, but to fortify his camp. General Webb, with about fourteen hundred men, was posted at the great

carrying place, and Sir William Johnson was stationed at the German flats. The proposed expedition up the Kennebec, to destroy the settlements on the Chaudière, resulted in a mere scouting party, which explored the country. The attempt against Fort DuQuesne was not prosecuted. Thus ended the campaigns of 1756 against Canada, — nothing gained, Oswego lost, and the country impoverished.

General Shirley returned to his government in Massachusetts 9th of August, and soon after issued orders to the colonels of militia to draft men from their regiments for the frontier. Sir William being still commander of a regiment of militia, received one among the rest, and on the 31st of August he writes: —

Your excellency's warrant to draft ten men out of this regiment, I received this day, and have sent warrants to effect the same; but to have them at hand by the third of September, I am afraid is impossible, but nothing shall be wanting on my part. I am grieved at the loss of Oswego, and am afraid Maine will share the same fate, more particularly the forts Halifax and Weston, (on the Kennebec,) as the enemy has been often discovered lurking about the towns, and the frontier here is of larger extent than all the rest of Massachusetts. We used to have hundreds of men to assist us from other counties in time of war, but all our forts and marching scouts are now raised here, and the repeated impresses have drove the young men away, and being remote from any other part of the province of Massachusetts, we cannot expect any assistance before it may be too late.

The regiment of militia in Maine, which has been under my command about thirty years, I desire you

will appoint some other person commander of, and excuse, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant, W. P.

In the last communication from Shirley to Pepperrell, August 31st, he complains that officers in his Maine regiment received fines from drafted men and let them off, and orders him to inquire into the matter. Pepperrell replies: —

Pursuant to your order I have made strict inquiry relating to any fines being received by any officers belonging to this regiment of militia from any person or persons impressed against Crown Point, or any other expedition, and they solemnly declare they never received any thing whatsoever, which I verily believe true, for good and satisfactory reasons; for on the expedition to Louisburg one third of the army went from Maine, since which they have been so harassed by guarding and fortifying their own houses, and are reduced to a degree of poverty so low as to be unable to pay a fine.

Your obedient servant, W. P.

Pepperrell had long known that Shirley was unfriendly to him. Waldo had apprised him of it in 1748, as did the letters of Sparhawk. But not a word escapes him indicative of a corresponding feeling on his part, until the command promised him against Crown Point was revoked in favor of Winslow. He was silent and cautious until this unmistakable evidence was exhibited to the public gaze. After which, he held little or no further intercourse with him, except on official duties.

He wrote to Major Craven: "Having had the honor

to be president of his Majesty's council of this province for several years, I have been much hurried on committees to assist on the expedition against Crown Point. I expected to have been there with my regiment within a few weeks, as Governor Shirley, ever since the beginning of last month, told me that I was to take the command of the troops on the expedition against Crown Point, and that I should take my regiment with me; but three days since he sent me a letter in which he says he could not do it. I hope we shall soon have letters from London."

[To his Excellency the Right Honorable Henry Fox.]

Kittery, April 19, 1756.

I had the honor to receive your letter of November last, in which you are pleased to let me know that his Majesty had been pleased to declare his intentions of appointing you Secretary of State. I heartily congratulate you, Sir, and sincerely hope you will be continued for a long time to come, a great blessing to his Majesty and to all his dominions.

I take the liberty of letting you know that early in February last, General Shirley told me that I was to have command of the expedition against Crown Point, and to have my own regiment with me to join the provincial troops. I told him that nothing in my power should be wanting to promote his Majesty's interests. I was likewise desired by some of the leading men of the other governments to head that expedition. But I received a letter from him dated the 26th of said February, by his secretary, of which the inclosed is a copy, by which you will see that he has since appointed General Winslow commander of said army. I hope this

year's campaign will prove more successful than the last. With the utmost esteem, etc., W. P.

Very few would have submitted so quietly to all these slights and freaks of Governor Shirley. In accomplishing any ambitious project he could be very gracious. In the expedition against Louisburg, he placed Pepperrell in command, because the influence of his popularity was indispensable in raising an army. After he had tendered the command of the expedition to Pepperrell, and prevailed on him with repeated solicitation to accept it, he wrote to Warren, then in the West Indies, asking him to send assistance, saying, "if the service in which you are engaged would permit you to come yourself and *take upon you the command of the expedition*, it would be, I doubt not, a most happy event for his Majesty's service." This message was unknown to Pepperrell until Warren, by way of enforcing his own plan of operations upon Pepperrell at Louisburg, who thought them not feasible, disclosed it to him, adding, however, "I do not mention this from any desire of command, because I think it impossible to do one's duty well in two capacities, both by sea and land."

In his letter to the Duke of Newcastle, and after he had surveyed the premises at Louisburg and collected accurate information on the spot from all reliable sources, Shirley compliments the provincial troops in unmeasured terms, and also Commodore Warren, but of Pepperrell's faithful services, although he had done all that a vigilant and intrepid commander could do, and had advanced a large sum out of his own fortune to carry on the expedition, and received but partial remuneration for his services and sacrifices, he says

nothing complimentary. It is doubtful if a parallel case can be found, where a commander-in-chief, as Shirley was, treated the executive officer, after a successful battle or siege, so indifferently.

Again, when Shirley wanted the influence of Pepperrell to assist as president of the council in raising troops for the Crown Point expedition, he promised him the command of it early in February, and having gained his object he transferred the promised honor to General Winslow.

Pepperrell writes to Captain Peter Kenwood, "Governor Shirley would not let me go against the French last year and this, and now I think I am too old. Affairs here have been managed but poorly, and now we are in miserable circumstances, and have lost many of our young men and our strength.

"Things have looked dark in America. We have done nothing here against the French for two or three years past; we have lost Oswego, but it is to be observed that there was no American officer in command there."

But Shirley's popularity and influence had, early in the spring, reached their culminating point. He had lost popular favor in the provinces three years before, by marrying, at the age of sixty, a young French girl in Paris of the Catholic faith, but he was now losing public confidence with government. William Tyler writes to Pepperrell in June, from Boston, that it was the general opinion that the governor is in disgrace at home. "You will see by the paper that he has the thanks of his Majesty for his good services, but it was soon after the battle of Lake George, (by Johnson and Lyman,) and not after his services at Oswego. Lord Loudon is by this time arrived, as several vessels

arrived at Rhode Island, saw the fleet off." Shirley received his recall in a letter from Mr. Fox, secretary of State, early in July, acquainting him that his presence in England was deemed necessary to his Majesty's service, as he was able to give much information relative to the state of affairs in America, and that a frigate was ordered to convey him.*

On his return to Kittery, at the close of the session, Sir William received a letter from his old friend and his father's friend, Governor Belcher of New Jersey, by the son of Colonel Burr of General Wolcott's regiment at Louisburg, and father of Colonel Aaron Burr, afterwards vice-president of the United States, and returned him the following answer: —

[To his Excellency Jonathan Belcher.]

Dear Sir, — I am honored with your Excellency's letter of April 17, by the hands of the reverend and worthy Mr. Burr. I can truly say that it fills my heart with joy to hear that your useful life is preserved, and hope it will continue many years.

I observe what you are pleased to write relating to New Jersey college. My lot is cast in a place where the people are very poor and much exposed to the enemy, learning is greatly neglected, and all around me are numbers that are in need of charity. But your

* He was not sent back to New England either as governor or general, but was appointed governor of one of the Bahama islands, and his son succeeded to the office. He returned to Roxbury and died at his seat March 24, 1771, and was buried in King's Chapel with public honors. He left no property. He was educated at Edinburgh University, read law, was an elegant writer. Beside State papers, he published, in 1765, a tragedy, and Birth of Hercules, a masque.

desire has ever been regarded as a command to me, and can I now refuse my old and most valued friend? No, I have done as you desired.

My dear and valued pastor Mr. Stevens, and myself talk of paying you a visit.*

I sincerely wish the best of blessings on you and yours, and am, with best respects to yourself and lady, dear Sir, etc., etc.,

W. P.

Sir William writes to his friend Kilby, March, 1757: "I am hurried in raising men for the provincial army under my Lord Loudon, and they will not let me be clear from the command of the militia in Maine, which gives me much trouble, considering I cannot be so active as I was formerly." From Kittery he writes, in June, to the council in Boston, that since his arrival he had endeavored to put that part of the province in as defensible a state against the enemy as was in his power, and had given orders to Colonel Cushing, "if there should appear five or more ships on the coast of Maine at one and the same time, to send me an express immediately."

After General Shirley had embarked for London, on the 12th of September, 1756, the government devolved on Lieutenant-Governor Phipps. By the death of Phipps, which occurred the March following, the government was administered by the council, of which Sir William was president and *de facto* governor, until the arrival of Governor Pownall. Sir William was appointed, by the council, commander of Castle William in Boston harbor, and of the whole military forces of

* Governor Belcher died the following year, August, 1757, at Elizabethtown, aged seventy-six.

Massachusetts, with the rank of lieutenant-general — offices of great honor and trust in time of war.

Governor Pownall on his arrival, August 3, 1757, was received with numerous and flattering addresses. In a few days he performed the ceremony of taking possession of Castle William. When Sir William presented the keys, he observed that *that* fortress was the key of the province, which gave the governor an agreeable opportunity of complimenting the conqueror of Louisburg. "The interest of the province," he replied, "is in your heart; I shall therefore be always glad to see the keys of it in your hands."

The plan of the campaign proposed in 1757 by Loudon, and assented to by the military council at Boston, was limited to the defence of the frontiers, and an expedition against Louisburg. Instead of sailing there as Pepperrell did early in the spring, Loudon's embarcation, with six thousand regulars, was delayed till the 9th of July, and at Halifax he was joined by a fleet from Great Britain of eleven sail of the line, under Admiral Holburn, having on board and in transports six thousand additional soldiers. Here he lingered with his usual indecision, giving further time for the French at Louisburg to receive an additional force of seventeen ships of the line, which gave them a decided superiority. The pusillanimous Loudon then set sail for New York.

During his absence on this futile expedition against Louisburg, Montcalm seized the favorable moment to concentrate his forces, amounting to eight thousand French and Indians, at Montreal, and to ascend Lake George and land at its southern extremity, to besiege Fort William Henry. Colonel Monroe, the officer commanding the fort, had a garrison of two thousand

men. The imbecile Webb was encamped at Fort Edward, only fourteen miles distant, with four thousand troops, and might have summoned the militia from all the neighboring villages to the rescue, but he sent nothing to Fort William Henry save a letter, giving an exaggerated account of the French force, and advising to capitulate. Montcalm intercepted the letter, which he immediately forwarded to Monroe. Yet not till many of his guns were burst and his ammunition exhausted, did Monroe surrender. The terms of capitulation were, that the garrison should march out with the honors of war, and were to be protected as far as Fort Edward. But Montcalm's Indian allies, dissatisfied with the terms, and greedy for plunder, fell upon the retreating and disarmed troops. Monroe, with a greater part of the men, fell back to the French camp for protection. About six hundred fled into the woods, and the first who reached Fort Edward reported the massacre of the others. Some few were killed or never heard of; the rest came in one after another, many of them having lost their way and suffered extreme hardships.

General Webb, who had remained idle when he should have marched forward to the relief of Fort William Henry, was panic struck, and thought only of retreat. Captain Christie, who commanded at Albany, partook of the trepidation, and wrote to the governors of Connecticut and Massachusetts a doleful appeal. "For God's sake exert yourselves to save a sinking province; New York itself may fall; save a country; prevent the downfall of the British government upon this continent." With such an appeal Massachusetts awoke and bestirred herself, as if roused by a midnight fire bell. The council was in session, and in the gen-

eral consternation all eyes were turned to the victor of Louisburg to lead them to the field of battle; and the governor gave him the supreme command of all the forces of the province.

[To Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet, major-general of his Majesty's forces, and lieutenant-general of this province.]

August 8, 1757.

You will repair to Springfield or any other part of the frontiers of the province, and there collect forces now to be raised for the immediate defence of the country.

August 10. — Send off all the men you can possibly induce to go, on horseback, and coöperate with Sir John Sinclair.

Again. Since I wrote you in the morning, the council have advised me to order up to the western frontiers one fourth part of each regiment in the province, excepting those in Maine, Nantucket, and Dukes county; and I have issued my orders accordingly. The council have likewise advised the forming a train of artillery of eight pieces of cannon under proper officers, which I shall put in execution, and send thither also as fast as possible; and I desire that you would advise Captain Christie, at Albany, what I am doing, and that you would give the necessary orders for provisions for the people.

Again, same day. I must desire you will form a magazine at Springfield, and if the enemy should approach our frontiers you will order all wagons west of Connecticut River to have their wheels knocked off, and to drive away all horses, and to order in all provisions that can be brought off, and what cannot, to destroy. Your most obedient servant,

T. Pownall.

[Sir William writes to Captain Christie.]

Springfield, August 13, 1757.

SIR, — When I came here from Boston by his Excellency Governor Pownall's direction, in order more effectually to forward the several regiments of militia that should be necessary for the relief of the garrison at Fort William Henry, etc., I found Colonel Worthington, Colonel Williams, and Colonel Ruggles' regiments were all marched forward for that purpose, and some of them even before the governor could get orders to them to proceed. Such was his Excellency's care to send, and such the readiness of these people to go to the assistance of the distressed in this most important situation of his Majesty's affairs above you, that in truth this part of the province seems almost deserted, and should an enemy now attack them, its frontier on the north is left in a most dangerous condition, the whole militia near, or within forty or fifty miles, being drawn off for the relief of the garrisons on Hudson's River. Colonel Chandler's regiment arrived here last night having travelled, most of them, fifty miles, and the very heavy rains yesterday so hurt their bread that I was obliged to order a new supply to be baked for them here, which, in their great haste, they received even before it was cold. I shall forward them all as fast as possible after the other three regiments, most of whom I hope are by this time at Fort Edward, or very near it. As they marched with the greatest freedom and alacrity and in great numbers, although with serious detriment to their private affairs, I trust the same good disposition will continue and engage them to hasten with all possible expedition; and I wish they may be the instruments of some real service. As soon as I have sent forward

all the men that are ordered up from this province, I purpose myself to follow after them as fast as possible that I may do every thing in my power to repel this threatening force and promote the general service.

W. P.

[Governor Pownall to Sir William Pepperrell.]

Boston, August 14, 12 *o'clock, M.*

SIR, — You will, before this express arrives, receive an account that I have ordered up all the troop of horse and a fourth part of the militia to put themselves under your command. This will not only enable you to secure the frontiers, but send off such further reinforcements as shall be necessary. Governor Wentworth having written me that he had two hundred men ready to send off, I have desired him to send a reinforcement to number four. I am forming a train of eight pieces of cannon which I shall forward as soon as completed.

T. P.

[To Captain Christie.]

SIR, — I herewith send you a copy of his Excellency's letter to me of the 13th of this month, by which you will perceive what sense the governor's council of this province have of the importance of supporting Fort Edward against an attack of the enemy, and preventing their further penetrating into the country, after their success in the reduction of Fort William Henry. As it seems by some intelligence General Webb has obtained, there is no probability that the enemy will proceed further, and as the execution of these orders of the governor will subject this province to an immense expense, and also prevent the ingathering of the harvest to the unspeakable damage of the people, it is of the utmost importance, therefore, that these people should

be ordered to stop, if they are not greatly needed, which, by the copy of General Webb's letter to Governor DeLancy, and by the return of some of the regiment by Governor DeLancy's countenance and advice, I am ready to conclude is the case. If, therefore, the enemy are drawn off, I hope you will immediately give me the most speedy advice, in order that while we are unhappily subjected to so much necessary expense, we may endeavor as much as possible to prevent that which is needless.

I perceive, Sir, that while those troops are returned which went last into the province of New York, those whose early zeal carried them as volunteers to Fort Edward for the relief of the garrison are detained, on which I beg you to consider that being foremost in their attempts to relieve the distresses of your forts, they are thereby subjected to a longer absence from their families and harvests than the rest, and that, too, without their consent; that it will most effectually discourage any of our people from displaying a like laudable zeal and readiness for such a voluntary service, should there be a like unhappy occasion for it hereafter, and will therefore, not only greatly disoblige the persons detained, but raise the resentment and uneasiness of multitudes of others, whose voluntary service may possibly be of great importance in some critical moment yet to come.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

WM. PEPPERRELL.

He also addresses a line to Governor Pownall: —

Springfield, August 15, 1757.

SIR, — Your Excellency's favor of the 13th instant I received. Last Saturday morning the remainder of

Colonel Chandler's regiment went over this river to hasten to Fort Edward, and my design was to follow them and to hasten them forward; but finding that the enemy did not intend to come down lower than Fort William Henry, I could not see any good it would answer. W. P.

On receiving this, the governor writes: "I beg, Sir William, you will in due form give my thanks to the gallant officers and men who have on this occasion so cheerfully turned out to serve their country. I shall always retain a very high esteem and honor for them, and do every thing that falls within my power to make them amends for their fatigues and privations." Thus ended the panic occasioned in Massachusetts and Connecticut by the letter from the terrified Captain Christie. The commotion was so fruitless in its results, that history makes but slight allusion to it, and it would have been passed over on the present occasion, but for the evidence it affords of the confidence felt by the government and people in Sir William Pepperrell as a military leader in times of public danger.

Admiral Knowles, who succeeded Warren as governor of Cape Breton, and made such a disturbance in Boston by impressing seamen, and afterwards corresponded so frequently with Sir William, we hear nothing further of, though it is probable that other letters passed between them until December, 1757, when Sir William wrote him as follows:—

Not only myself, but the greater part of these colonies, were in great hopes of seeing you here last summer.

Last year, Christopher Tyler, son of my widowed

sister, has been mate of several vessels, and the ship he went mate of last to London, was sold there, and as he came a passenger in a vessel to Boston, Captain Washing Shirley, commander of his Majesty's ship Mermaid, impressed him, and he is still on board said ship. My request to you is, that if you should meet with him, you will be pleased to prefer him according to his merits, which I shall always acknowledge, with the several other favors received from you. I sincerely wish you the best of blessings, and am, with the utmost esteem, honored Sir, your faithful and most obedient servant,

W. P.

Early in 1758 the British ministry was changed. William Pitt was appointed Secretary of State, and the Duke of Newcastle, whose administration and disastrous campaigns in America dipleased the nation, superintended domestic affairs only, whilst Pitt assumed the control of colonial concerns, and the entire management of the war. Loudon, who had accomplished nothing, and exhibited on all occasions an entire unfitness for colonial warfare, was ordered home. His chagrin must have equalled Shirley's, who when recalled had gained no victory, had been charged with tardiness in the attempt against Niagara, in 1755, which compelled him to stop and encamp till another season at Oswego, and the subsequent loss at that place of his own and Pepperrell's regiment, with a large armament. It was, however, a matter of dispute and recrimination between him and Loudon, which of the two was most in fault. But be this as it may, all the British generals were blamed. Braddock was killed, and Webb, Loudon, Shirley, and soon after, Abercrombie, were ordered home, for their imbecility or unfitness.

At this time, "the English," says Bancroft, the accomplished historian, "had been driven from every cabin in the basin of the Ohio; Montcalm had destroyed every vestige of their power in that of the St. Lawrence. France had her posts on each side of the Lakes, and at Detroit, at Mackinaw, at Kaskaskia, and at New Orleans. The two great valleys of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence were connected chiefly by three well-known routes, — by way of Waterford to Fort DuQuesne, by way of the Maumee to the Wabash, and by way of Chicago to the Illinois. Of the North American continent, the French claimed, and seemed to possess, twenty parts in twenty-five, leaving four only to Spain, and but one to Britain. The territory exceeded that of the English twenty fold. As the men composing the garrison at Fort Loudon, in Tennessee, were but so many hostages in the hands of the Cherokees, the claim of France to the valleys of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence seemed established by possession." "America and England were humiliated." *

Sir William writes, February 7, 1758, to his old friend, Sir Peter Kenwood, M. P.: "I have not been upon any campaign yet, as we had no governor here until lately, and Lieutenant-Governor Phipps dying, and apprehending a visit from the French, the whole council desired me to take command of the castle and all the militia of the province, so that considerable part of last year I spent my time and estate in visiting the frontiers, and getting the militia ready for action. I am allowed nothing for my time and expenses, neither have I had another opportunity to thrash the French, which

* Bancroft, Vol. IV. p. 267.

I should like to have done. But as I grow old, it is time for me to retire from the field. I never have been consulted, nor has my advice been asked by Governor Shirley nor any of the commanding officers during this war; so I chose to be silent.

"Last August I was at Boston, when Governor Pownall heard that Fort William Henry was besieged by the French and Indians. He desired me to proceed to Springfield, one hundred miles from Boston, there to give out orders to the militia. In less than three days I arrived there from Boston, where I heard that said fort was surrendered to the French. Some say, that had General Webb gone with what men could have been spared from Fort Edward, which is fourteen miles nearer Albany than Fort William Henry, he might have raised the siege and driven the enemy. When I was at Springfield, an express brought me intelligence that they expected the enemy to march down to Fort Edward, to lay siege to it, as they had done to Fort William Henry. This gave me pleasure, as I had five or six thousand soldiers in arms. I immediately procured provisions for them, and was determined to march, and to have got between them and the lake, and given them battle, but to my great mortification, another express arrived as we were setting out, and gave account that they had demolished Fort William Henry, and shipped off the stores, etc., and were retreating. I then found that as we had no vessels to follow them, it would answer no purpose to proceed. . . . . The officers of the army have not shown me due respect. It is true I am unacquainted with the regular service, though I was born on the frontiers, and when young had a commission in Queen Anne's war. I have greatly impaired

my private fortune by ever being employed in the public service."

The cursory reader might infer that this complaint of neglect from Shirley and the British generals, proceeded from wounded pride alone, but in reality it originated more in a desire to exonerate himself from the charge of participating in the late unwise counsels that had proved disastrous to the British arms in America. He felt that the errors of others, to which he had in no way contributed, should be borne by them in England, and not ascribed to him, who had not been deemed worthy of being consulted by the commanders.

All history condemns the course of Braddock in refusing to listen to the counsels of young Washington, and Shirley, Loudon, Webb, and subsequently, as will appear, Abercrombie, who deemed it beneath their dignity to call Pepperrell in council, proved themselves incompetent to command, and were ordered home, while Pepperrell retained the confidence and esteem of both crown and people.

Abercrombie, on his arrival, found the colonies more ready to raise men and supplies than in any former year. Pitt had given assurance that they should be reimbursed, and that all officers below colonel should be ranked as equals with officers of the same grade in the British army. This stimulated to extraordinary exertions. Massachusetts alone furnished 7,000 men. Taxes were enormous. Individual merchants in Boston paid to the amount of two thousand dollars, and the tax on real estate amounted to two thirds of the income, and produced numerous bankruptcies.

The other colonies, beside Massachusetts, made strenuous exertions to meet the expectations of Mr.

Pitt. Connecticut raised 5,000 men; Rhode Island and New Hampshire, 500 each. Large reinforcements were sent from England, making in all an army of 50,000 men, the largest number ever mustered in America, and greater than the whole population in Canada. Twenty-two thousand of these were British regulars.

CHAPTER XV.

THE plan of the campaign for 1758 was similar to that adopted by Shirley in 1756. It was proposed to attack Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Fort DuQuesne, (now Pittsburg). The first onset was upon Louisburg.

Lord Amherst sailed for Louisburg from Halifax, in the fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen, on the 28th of May, and arrived in Cabarus Bay June 2d. Prevented from landing by a heavy surf until the 8th, the brave General Wolfe then led the army in three divisions of boats to nearly the same place where Pepperrell's army landed. The enemy were arrayed along the shore, and after making some resistance, fled to the city. The British lost, in killed or drowned, forty-three regulars and six provincials, and the French lost two lieutenants killed, and seventy prisoners. Two large guns, and thirty-two small ones, planted along the shore, were taken, with their ammunition. The French destroyed the grand battery, and called in their outposts. General Wolfe, with eighteen hundred men, marched around Green Hill and the north-east harbor, to the light-house, which the enemy deserted, destroying their cannon. A road was now made over the morass through which Pepperrell had dragged his cannon; this occupied several days. A French frigate, in attempting to escape in the night for Quebec, was captured. The smallpox broke out among the 108 provincial carpenters under Colonel Meserve, (who had been there with Pepperrell,) and he, his son, and nearly half the others, died.

On the 29th, the French sunk four ships, of from twenty to sixty guns each, in the harbor's mouth, to obstruct the entrance. Batteries were erected on Green Hill, back of the grand battery, and fascine batteries, as in the former siege. The light-house battery silenced the island battery. On July 25th, the admiral sent in six hundred men in the night, to destroy the two remaining ships of the line, who burnt the Prudent, a seventy-four, and towed off the Bienfaisant, a sixty-four, to the north-east harbor, and when he was about to send in six ships, the French proposed terms of capitulation, but were required to surrender unconditionally. Total force captured, 3,031 soldiers and 260 seamen. There were killed, of the English, 21 officers and 146 privates, wounded, 30 officers and 301 men. The British lost more than a hundred boats in landing.

To Pepperrell, the restoration of his own conquest of 1745 was a joyful event. This was the main pillar of his fame; and to see the proud trophy of his toil and valor again wrested from a foreign grasp, filled his heart with delightful emotions. Although he took no part in this expedition, it must interest the reader of the account of his expedition in 1745 to have this brief sketch of the second surrender, to compare with the former conquest by himself.

Amherst sailed with part of his army from Louisburg to Boston, and from thence marched to Fort William Henry. During the siege of Louisburg, Abercrombie had embarked in boats at Fort William Henry with 16,000 men, prepared for the enterprise, and passing down Lake George, landed on the west side near its outlet, and, marching towards Ticonderoga, drove before him a battalion of the enemy which was encamped on the way, and soon after had a skirmish with some straggling

troops, in which fell the lamented Lord Howe. Pressing onward, he came near the fort, and arranged his troops to storm it. But by the skilful defence of the enemy, his soldiers were entangled among fallen trees, and after a brave struggle of four hours, were repulsed, with the loss of 2,000 killed and wounded, mostly British regulars, and but a trifling loss to the enemy. This defeat induced Pitt to order Abercrombie home, and to give the command to Amherst, who had returned from there to Louisburg. Amherst marched back, and commanded the army on Lake Champlain till the war closed.

Colonel John Bradstreet, captain of Pepperrell's regiment at Louisburg in 1745, and his intimate friend and protegé, was in the disastrous engagement against Ticonderoga, with Abercrombie, and immediately after earnestly solicited permission to march against Fort Frontinac, near the head of Lake Ontario, with a force of 5,000 men, chiefly of provincial militia,* carrying eight pieces of cannon and two mortars.

On arriving at Oswego, he had the sad privilege to survey the fortifications ruined the year previous by Montcalm, and to lament over the graves of his old companions in arms, Colonel Mercer and others, who were at Louisburg. The troops embarked here, and in the evening of the 25th of August landed within a

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* Regulars,	135
New York Provincial Militia,	1,112
New Jersey " "	412
Boston " "	675
Rhode Island " "	318
Batteau men,	300
	2,952

mile of Fort Frontenac, which, after a spirited assault of two days, surrendered at discretion. The Indians having previously deserted, left but 110 prisoners of war. But the captors found in the fort sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, a large number of small arms, a vast quantity of provisions, military stores, and merchandise, and nine armed vessels. Having destroyed the fort, vessels, and stores, he returned to the main army. For this noble achievement, Bradstreet was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general in the royal army, to the great joy and satisfaction of his old commander and patron, Sir William Pepperrell.

The fall of Frontenac cut off the supplies intended for Fort DuQuesne, (now Pittsburgh,) and hastened its reduction. General Forbes, who marched against it with 8,000 men, accompanied by Washington, arrived there late in November, and found the fort evacuated the preceding evening. The neighboring Indians entered into a treaty, and the victorious army returned to Virginia. Thus ended hostilities between Lake Erie and the Mississippi, and the claim of the French to this territory never after revived.

After the capitulation of Louisburg, July 26, 1758, and before the British took possession, a large number of French and Indians escaped from there in the night, and fled toward New Brunswick. General Monckton, of Nova Scotia, wrote to Governor Pownall that a body of Frenchmen, in conjunction with the Indians on the rivers St. John, Penobscot, and probably Passamaquoddy, were meditating an attack on Fort St. George's in Kennebec, and the destruction of all the settlements in the vicinity. Immediately, Governor Pownall collected such a military force as could be mustered, and hastened with them by water to reinforce that place.

On arriving, he threw these auxiliaries, with supplies of warlike stores, into the fort at a most fortunate juncture; for within thirty-six hours after his departure thence, the fort was assailed by a body of 400 French and Indians, who could make no impression on it, and returned.

General Waldo of Falmouth wrote to Sir William several letters, apprising him of impending danger to the eastern settlements, from the above-mentioned Indians, of which Sir William notifies all his officers by the following circular: —

Kittery, August 31, 1758.

SIR, — Inclosed you have copies of several letters sent me by General Waldo, and I expect every hour to learn North Yarmouth, Falmouth, and other towns this side, are attacked by the enemy; for if those that came out of the city of Louisburg the night before the English took possession of it, have joined those we heard before were coming upon the eastern frontiers, there must be a large number. You are therefore hereby directed immediately on sight of this, to send out positive orders to the several captains of troop and foot, to see that their men are well provided with arms and ammunition, and to hold themselves ready at a minute's warning to march, and if you hear of any place being attacked, you are to proceed with them forthwith to afford relief and to pursue the enemy, sending me the intelligence, and if my life and health will permit, I will soon be with you. Be sure to see that the men are well provided, fail not.

When the former ministry was changed to make room for the energetic Pitt, Sir William doubtless felt

the loss of the Duke of Newcastle and of Lord Halifax, who had honored him with every token of respect when he was in London, and had since corresponded with him in a free and friendly manner on provincial concerns. They had twice sent him the king's commission of a colonel in the royal army, and in 1756 that of a major-general. On their removal from power he must have apprehended that all his past services would, in a measure, be overlooked by young Pitt, to whom he was almost, if not entirely a stranger. But such was not the case. The conquest of Louisburg was indelibly inscribed on the page of history, and Pitt learned from all quarters that no man in America wielded an influence like Pepperrell's. He had recently seen, too, that when Massachusetts was threatened with invasion from Fort William Henry, and the whole population were in the greatest consternation, lest the enemy should overrun the settlements with fire and sword, the eyes of all turned to the old hero of Louisburg as their leader, that they dropped their implements of husbandry in the field, seized their firelocks and marched forth in a mass under his banner to repel the enemy from the borders of the province.

The moral influence of such a man on the masses Pitt knew how to appreciate, and felt the importance of enlisting it to the uttermost in the existing crisis, in the service of the crown, by such merited tokens of respect for his character and past services as it was in the power of the king to bestow. Accordingly his Majesty honored him with a commission of lieutenant-general in the royal army, bearing date February 20, 1759, an honor never before conferred on a native of America. But Sir William was not permitted to take the field. His health had failed, his end was approaching, and he

could only cheer his countrymen and urge them onward to victory.

Among others who were compelled to succumb to the pressure of heavy taxation in 1758, as before noticed, was Sir William's son-in-law, the Honorable Nathaniel Sparhawk. In February, commissioners were appointed to receive his effects, and divide the proceeds among his creditors. This was a painful occurrence to Sir William. He writes to the chairman, Major John Hill, June 8, 1758:—

I have been very much out of order ever since you saw me, and think that a journey will do me good. My son Sparhawk is under great concern lest something should prevent your being here next Monday, and if you fail of coming, all that is done relating to the surrender of his effects would end as if nothing had been done, and then he must begin anew. Since you have begun I hope you will not fail to finish it.*

With respect, etc., W. P.

Colonel Sparhawk's property was advertised for sale at auction, September 15. In the same Gazette, Sir William publishes notice to all persons to settle with him immediately, and in December following, he advertises several farms for sale.

Sir William was impressed with the firm conviction that his earthly career was drawing to a close, and that it was his duty to be intent on putting his house in order. He employed an eminent lawyer, David Sewall,

* A bitter controversy arose between Sparhawk and Colman in the settlement of their accounts, with sharp recriminations, which were published in the Boston Evening Post.

to write his will, which was duly executed in January, 1759.

Early in the spring of 1759 he journeyed to Boston, and on his return home, through Danvers, visited his sister Mrs. Prescott, formerly the widow of Hon. John Frost, and subsequently of Rev. Dr. Colman. Judge Prescott writes him from Danvers to Kittery, April 23, acknowledging the receipt of a letter dated 16th instant, containing discouraging accounts of his health, and adds: —

I pray God direct you into the best remedies, and to give a blessing to the means used for your recovery. . . . . I am told his Excellency Governor Pownall thinks of making you a visit next week or the week after. Mrs. Prescott joins me in sending our love.

Your affectionate brother,

BENJAMIN PRESCOTT.

In accordance with this, the New Hampshire Gazette of May 4, 1759, contains the following notice: —

"Last Wednesday came to town his Excellency Governor Pownall, Esquire, governor of Massachusetts, attended by Captain Moulton's troop of horse, who was ordered by his Excellency, our governor, to receive him at the province line. He passed through the town at ten o'clock, and was escorted to his Excellency Governor Wentworth's seat, where he dined and lodged, and went next morning in his Excellency's barge to the seat of Sir William Pepperrell, Baronet. In Kittery he received a handsome salute as he passed by the castle. We hear that Sir William Pepperrell lies dangerously ill at his seat in Kittery."

At the close of the campaign of 1758, the right and

left extremes of the contested territory, Pittsburgh and Louisburg, had fallen into the hands of the British; their arms were victorious at Louisburg, and Fort Du-Quesne, and Frontenac.

Three expeditions were determined on for 1759, all to concentrate upon Quebec, the capital and palladium of Canada. One through the Gulf of St. Lawrence, another through Lake Champlain, and the third against Fort Niagara, near the falls, and this captured, to proceed through Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence to Montreal.

General Wolfe, after the capture of Louisburg, returned to England, and was despatched, early in the spring, with an army and large fleet. He arrived at Louisburg and embarked thence, with eight thousand troops in a large fleet, and by the end of June landed them on the Island of Orleans, within sight of Quebec. Amherst was to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and proceed through Lake Champlain, and by the way of Richelieu River to the St. Lawrence, and down this to join Wolfe. He reached Isle aux Noix, the northern extremity of Lake Champlain, where the enemy were posted too strong for him, and he retired for winter quarters to Crown Point. Prideaux's army of provincials and Indians passed through Lake Ontario, and besieged Fort Niagara early in July. Prideaux was killed and Johnson succeeded him in command. An army of French and Indians hastened from Detroit and the lake shores to attack Johnson and raise the siege. But he arranged his men to receive them, in a line extending from the fort to the cataract, flanked right and left by Indians. After a vigorous onset of the enemy, they were repulsed, and the fort surrendered to Johnson.

Wolfe, after some severe skirmishing about the outposts of Quebec, embarked his troops in boats, sailed up the river, and landed in the night, then scaled the cliff in the rear of the city, and next day, September 13th, gave battle to Montcalm. Both commanders were killed, and the French were vanquished, which proved a death blow to French power in Canada. The following year, 1760, Amherst, Johnson, and Murry, the successor of Wolfe, concentrated their armies upon Montreal where Vaudreuil, the French commander, capitulated, and the Canadas soon after were ceded, by treaty, to Great Britain.

The French war reflected little honor on the British arms until Pitt was placed at the helm of government. Whatever was achieved during four years, from 1754 to 1758, was the work of provincial troops, and all the defeats and disasters were chargeable to incapacity or dogged obstinacy of British commanders. When Pitt, with discerning eye, saw that American valor was equal, and skill superior, to British regulars against allied French and Indians, with all their experience in military tactics, he elevated them to an equal rank, and gave the command of the armies to younger and more enterprising generals. Amherst, Wolfe, Johnson, and Bradstreet soon turned the tide in favor of the British armies, and achieved the conquest of Canada.

Sir William's military career, we have seen, was so interwoven with the French wars of 1745 and 1755, until his health failed in 1758, as to render it convenient if not necessary, to give a connected sketch of the campaigns as they occurred, and as the closing year of the war was fraught with events of intense interest, it seemed proper to continue the sketch until it terminated,

although the part he bore, towards its close, was feeble and unimportant.

But it is interesting to know that his life was spared until the British and provincial armies had approached to the very verge of conquest, — till he had seen one fortress after another surrendered, and powerful armies marching on triumphantly, conquering and to conquer, — that he could contemplate savage warfare as about to cease on the confines of New England, and that the reports of tomahawking and scalping, of conflagrations and captivities and Indian tortures that had rung their changes in his ears, from boyhood to his old age, were no more to be heard within our borders. As it was with the leader of Israel who toiled on through many years and trials, and reached at last the summit of Pisgah, from which the beauty of the promised land burst upon his enraptured vision, only to close his eyes forever, — so with Pepperrell, who now beheld the conquest of a vast region soon to be added to the realms of his sovereign, and to become the future abode of peace, civilization, and Christianity, and inland seas hereafter to be whitened with the canvas of peaceful commerce. Well may we imagine him offering up the pious ejaculation of Simeon, "now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

Sir William Pepperrell died on the 6th of July, 1759. His funeral obsequies were attended by a vast concourse. The drooping flags at half mast on both shores of the Pascataqua, the solemn knell from neighboring churches, the responsive minute-guns from all the batteries, and the mournful rumbling of muffled drums announced that a great man had fallen and was descending to the tomb.

The funeral discourse, delivered on the following Sabbath by Rev. Dr. Stevens, was published by Lady Pepperrell, and a copy sent to each member of the house and council. Many copies are, by this measure, still preserved.

The writer of his obituary notice, probably his neighbor and pastor, Dr. Stevens, remarks that "the sickness whereof he died was of long continuance, and accompanied with great pain, which gave occasion for the exercise of exemplary patience." He met death with Christian fortitude, possessing calmness of mind and expressing his resignation to the Supreme Ruler of the world. His hope respecting a future and better state of existence was grounded on the mercy of God through the merits of his Saviour Jesus Christ.

In contemplating the career of Sir William Pepperrell from the uneducated son of a fisherman, rising gradually by the force of his genius to princely opulence, — to the command of the military forces of Maine, — to the first seat on the bench of justice, and to the presidency of the governor's council, and all this before he had arrived at middle age, — enjoying, too, a popularity so transcendent that in a projected military expedition of greater magnitude and peril than the colonies had ever undertaken, he was selected as their leader, under whose standard all classes were willing and eager to enlist, from the hoary-headed Governor Wolcott down to the humblest axeman of the forest, we naturally inquire what were the elements of his character that were so attractive and gave him such influence and success, — and which drew from his sovereign the commissions, twice of colonel, then of major-general and lieutenant-general, and the title and dignity of a baronet, — honors never before conferred on a native

American. The word *tact* conveys a comprehensive idea of the nature of his power, a quick perception with sound common sense, derived not from books, but from the study of man, of his character and springs of action in all the diversified conditions and relations of life, by constant intercourse and observation,—in which study he was an early and an apt scholar, and enjoyed an ampler field for instruction through life than usually falls to the lot of any one. It was this practical knowledge, stimulated by aspirations for honorable fame and distinction, and sanctioned by an enlightened conscience and Christian principles, that crowned his career with unparalleled success, and distinguished him from men of more education and equal purity of intention. It fixed upon the best attainable ends, and resolutely pursued them; it selected the most efficient means, and made judicious use of them.

His perceptions were clear, resolution strong, his judgment sound, and he ever formed his plans with due caution. It was a common saying in his day, that whatever he willed was sure to come to pass, attributable, probably, as much to caution in willing as to stern inflexibility in acting.

He was particular in exacting from others the fulfilment of their engagements, and equally so in fulfilling his own. He not only spoke often of the importance of punctuality, but more than once remarked that he did not remember ever to have promised payment and failed either as to time or sum. Such a course of policy tended to healthy trade and commerce, whilst it insured in his case both prosperity and popular favor.

He was humane and forbearing and forgiving. At Louisburg not one of his soldiers was punished during the siege;—he aimed, and with great success, to con-

trol them by moral suasion, and by requiring a good example in his officers. His lieutenant-colonel, Ryan, who had defamed him and was amenable to heavy punishment, he allowed to go free on making an acknowledgment of his offence. "As a judge he was not insensible of the necessity of punishing crime, yet the humanity of his temper ever disposed him to make all those allowances which might be alleged in extenuation of the fault." *

Sir William's education, though very deficient in early life, even to his orthography, was always progressive. Frequent intercourse with his library and extensive correspondence with persons of education, trained him to a good degree of accuracy in orthography, in the structure of sentences, and in the logical arrangement of his thoughts, insomuch that the rough draughts of many of his letters are written, not only grammatically, but frequently in good taste. As a public speaker he is said to have been always ready, and like most other men exclusively practical in their education, he spoke to the point, regardless of polished sentences and rhetorical flourish.

He was distinguished for popular and engaging manners and elegant address, had a high relish for the innocent and refined pleasures of society, was the delight of his friends and the life and spirit of every company, and however engrossed with public duties and domestic cares, he could readily lay them aside in the social circle and play the easy, affable companion. Amid the perplexities that beset him on every side during the siege, he preserved equanimity, and his cheerfulness inspired with hope and confidence all around him. That he

* Dr. Stevens' Funeral Sermon.

was devoutly religious is abundantly shown in the foregoing pages, his sentiments being strongly tinctured with the prevailing theology of his times, as evinced in the letter of condolence to Lady Warren and to Governor Wentworth. He was much displeased with profane language, and discountenanced it in the officers and soldiers under his command. Some in high rank both in the army and navy, he often restrained from taking the name of God in vain.

Sir William expended liberally in the purchase of books. Guided, in some degree, in his selections by the advice of his pastor, a large portion of them were religious, with some historical, and but few miscellaneous. The graceful biographer of the Rev. Dr. Buckminster remarks that his father-in-law, the Rev. Dr. Stevens of Kittery Point, enjoyed such privileges during a winter's day as rarely fell to the lot of clergymen of that time, in his free access to the library of Sir William Pepperrell, which consisted of the best English editions of standard works imported by himself. When his library had grown so as to be burdensome, a large number of volumes were selected to form, in conjunction with contributions from other individuals, what was called the Revolving Library, for the benefit of the first and second parishes in Kittery, and one in York, each parish enjoying its use a certain portion of the year.

It is to be regretted that he made so few endowments for educational, humane, or religious purposes; but he was surrounded by a very destitute population who needed daily relief. Nor were public benefactions frequent and fashionable then as at the present day, and his will shows that he had many poor relations who had anticipated their legacies and might require further aid. He contributed liberally to his parish and

church, and gave a four-acre lot for a church in Saco, a liberal sum to New Jersey College at Princeton, and a bell to the church in Pepperrell, Massachusetts, which town was named for him at the desire of the minister who had been a chaplain at Louisburg. The bell, however, got mislaid in Boston, and, it is believed, was found by the British and removed. It was inscribed with the name of Pepperrell and a couplet: —

> "I to the church the living call,
> And to the grave I summon all."

"Few were blessed," says a contemporary, "with a stronger constitution of body, and his mind was equally firm. Difficulties and dangers served only as occasions to draw forth his resolution, boldness, and intrepidity." But the siege of Louisburg subjected him to exposures, and laid the foundation of rheumatism, which occasionally returned, and finally terminated his useful and eventful life in the sixty-third year of his age.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE eventful life of Sir William Pepperrell closed a few years before the outbreak of the revolution. Patriotism in his day implied loyalty and fidelity to the king of England; — but how changed the meaning of that word in New England after the Declaration of Independence! Words and deeds before deemed patriotic were now traitorous; and so deeply was the idea of their moral turpitude impressed on the public mind as to have tainted popular opinions concerning the heroic deeds of our ancestors, performed in the king's service in the French wars. We have no sympathy with the joyous acclamations then bestowed on the successful victor returning from the field of glory to be crowned with laurels. We have felt no desire to perpetuate the fame of his achievements, although characterized at the time by patriotism as pure and disinterested as any exhibited during or since the struggle of the revolution. The latter war absorbed and neutralized all the heroic fame of the illustrious men that preceded, and the achievements of Pepperrell, of Johnson, and of Bradstreet are now almost forgotten.

The extinction of their fame by the revolution was not more remarkable than the wreck of their fortunes. The Penns, Fairfaxes, Johnsons, Phillips, Robinson, and Pepperrell were stripped of their immense possessions by confiscation, who, up to that hour, "had been but little less than hereditary colonial noblemen, and viceroys of boundless domain." Pepperrell, it is said,

could travel from Pascataqua to Saco River, nearly thirty miles, on his own soil; and his possessions were large in Scarboro', Elliot, Berwick, Newington, Portsmouth, Hampton, and Hubbardston. In Saco alone, he owned 5,500 acres, including the site of that populous town and its factories.

In his will, rewritten with great care in January, 1758, he gives, after the decease of his wife and daughter, portions of her real estate to his grandchildren, Nathaniel, Andrew, Samuel, and Mary Sparhawk; but the great bulk of it, including his Saco lands, was left, unspecified, to a fourth grandson, William, as residuary legatee, on condition of his changing his name from Sparhawk to Pepperrell. All these grandsons remained loyalists or tories, and left the country, and these vast domains passed into other hands. A life-interest in the Saco lands was enjoyed by Lady Mary, the relict of Sir William and her daughter Mrs. Sparhawk, devised to them by the Baronet's will. In exchange for the right thus arising, the State assigned two ninths, in absolute property, to Lady Pepperrell and her daughter Elizabeth Sparhawk, by a deed executed in 1788. Mrs. Sparhawk appointed Charles Chauney, Esquire, her agent, by whom several lots were sold, and among them the mill lot, to Colonel Thomas Cutts, who purchased, from time to time, a large portion of the Pepperrell lands in Saco.*

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* Hon. Thomas Cutts, the youngest son of Hon. Richard Cutts of Kittery, born April 5, 1736, having served a clerkship in Sir William's counting-room, when about twenty-two years of age removed to Saco, where, from a capital of one hundred dollars lent him by his father, he amassed the largest fortune in Maine next after Sir William's, raised a large family, was active during the revolution, was a noted merchant, president of a bank, senator in the Massachusetts

Thus the princely fortune of Pepperrell, that required a century to construct, from the foundation laid by John Bray the shipwright, to the massive structure raised by the fisherman William Pepperrell, and completed by his son Sir William, fastened and secured though it was, by every instrument that his own skill and the best legal counsel could devise to give stability and perpetuity, was in a brief hour overthrown and demolished, and its fragments broadcast, by the confiscation act of 1778; and two of his daughter's grandsons have since been saved from the poor-house by the bounty of some individuals, on whom they had no claims for favor. "Surely every man walketh in a vain show. He heapeth up riches and knoweth not who shall gather them."

His plate was given to his grandson, Sir William, and was allowed in the confiscation act to be taken away from the dwelling of the deceased at Kittery Point. Colonel Moulton of York, with six soldiers, guarded its conveyance to Boston, whence it was shipped to England. Two or three pieces were presented to individuals and are still preserved, one of them is owned by Mrs. Freeman of Illinois, and another by Mrs. Jarvis of Maine. The sword he wore at Louisburg is in my possession. Another sword, richly mounted with gold and jewels, given him by Sir Peter Warren, is in possession of Dr. Jarvis of Claremont,

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legislature, colonel of a regiment, and one of the founders of the Massachusetts General Hospital. He died January 10, 1821. His son Richard was many years a member of congress, and a daughter married Hon. Thomas G. Thornton, United States Marshal for Maine from 1803 to 1824. Their grandson, J. Wingate Thornton, Esquire, a highly respected attorney in Boston, has furnished me with some valuable materials for this Memoir.

New Hampshire. It was presented by his granddaughter, Mrs. Dr. Charles Jarvis of Boston, to Dr. Leonard Jarvis of Claremont, New Hampshire, whose son, Dr. S. G. Jarvis, is now the owner. A gold snuff-box, said to have been given him by the Prince of Wales, afterwards George the III., is owned by George A. Ward, Esquire, of New York, who prepared for the press the Journal of Curwen his ancestor, which is so much admired by every reader.

After the death of Sir William, Lady Pepperrell caused a neat house, in modern style, to be erected near that of her daughter, and the village church, both of which still remain. Here she died, on the 25th of November, 1789, after being a widow thirty years. The old mansion she left, built by the first Colonel Pepperrell, and enlarged by his son, is plain in its architecture and contained a great many rooms before it was curtailed ten feet from each end; "it was well adapted to the extensive domains and hospitalities of its former owners. The lawn in front extends to the sea, and the restless waves over which Sir William successively sought fortune and fame, still glitter in the sunbeams, and dash around the disconsolate abode. The fires of hospitality are extinguished, and the present inhabitants of the mansion, (families of poor fishermen,) seem to wish to exclude all visitors and strangers. The hall is spacious and well finished; the ceiling is ornamented, and the richly carved banister bears traces of former elegance. On ascending the staircase, paintings of angels' heads decorate the hall window." A few years ago there was a noble avenue of trees of a quarter of a mile in length, leading to the house of Colonel Sparhawk, east of the village church. The large hall of this mansion was lined with some fifty portraits of the

Pepperrell and Sparhawk families, and of the friends and companions in arms of Sir William — such as Admiral Sir Peter Warren, Commodore Spry, etc. "Some of them were rescued from destruction by the indefatigable antiquary and elegant historical writer, the Rev. Dr. Burroughs of Portsmouth, and now adorn the walls of the Athenaeum here." *

LOUISBURG AND CAPE BRETON.

The English having achieved the conquest of Canada, deemed it the best policy to demolish the fortifications of Louisburg, and thus save the expense of maintaining a garrison there, and also prevent its falling again into the possession of France, and endangering the safety of Nova Scotia. Accordingly, some able engineers were despatched from England, who, by means of mines judiciously disposed and well constructed, reduced the fortifications to a heap of rubbish, levelled the glacis, and filled up the ditches. All the implements of war were removed to Halifax. A few private houses, with some barracks, were left standing.

Cape Breton, after the acquisition of Canada, remained dismantled nearly thirty years, utterly neglected by the home government, and but slightly favored by the government of Nova Scotia, of which it formed a dependency. Louisburg, its capital, ceased to be a place of trade, and its dwellings were suffered to crumble into ruins. The war of the revolution occupied the attention of England for seven long years, and during

* Extracted from the Appendix of Curwen's Journal, by George A. Ward, Esquire.

this time the population of the capital and of the island dwindled to a few hundred. In 1784 public attention was called to it as a convenient place for loyalists and disbanded troops. With this view the island was formed into a separate government, with Lieutenant-Colonel Desbarres, a distinguished officer of the sixtieth regiment, as governor. He was in the British army in the revolutionary war, and had rendered important services in surveying the coast of Nova Scotia. This gentleman, the father of Judge Desbarres of Newfoundland, left Louisburg to its fate, and selected for a capital the present site of Sidney, Old Town, about six miles south of the coal-mines and ten from the ocean. Its numerous advantages for commerce and the fisheries, and its vicinity to inexhaustible beds of excellent coal, seemed to mark it for a prosperous settlement, and soon brought an accession of "nearly 4,000 souls, chiefly from Nantucket, Rhode Island, and Martha's Vineyard, — stanch loyalists and a hard-working people, whose descendants are at this day distinguished from their neighbors by superior intelligence and more civilized habits." A regiment was stationed here at first, which gave an impulse to trade. Beside American loyalists, there are remnants of the early French settlers, a quiet, inefficient people, and a large number of Irish. But the most numerous class are the Celts from the northern coast of Scotland and the adjacent islands, half civilized, improvident, and uneducated, and who speak the Gaelic language, which is not understood by the other settlers. The site of Sidney, Old Town, is one of the most beautiful in North America, and the inhabitants are, many of them, very intelligent and respectable. It is about twenty miles from Louisburg in a straight line, and by water from sixty to eighty. At the mines, near the

mouth of the river, there is a more industrious people, and there are some magnificent dwellings. Both settlements abound in beautiful and accomplished ladies, that would grace any circle in America. On the north side of the bay, as it opens into the ocean, and near the mines, are some beautiful and picturesque residences. At Old Town are stationed a small number of British troops, and there are wharves and other conveniences for commerce. To those who frequent watering-places in the summer, a trip to Sidney would prove a novel and pleasing excursion.

In a recent visit to Louisburg with his nephew, Edwin Parsons, Esquire, of Savannah, for the purpose of seeing its ruins, the author rode from Sidney, Old Town, over a good road to Miray River, about twelve miles; the remaining twelve miles of road were very rough and fatiguing. He approached the bay over Green Hill near to the grand battery, and then followed the shore round the cove, and entered the old city ground, where the west gate stood, which Pepperrell's batteries demolished. Beyond this there is a bend in the shore, formed by projecting points of land, between which a chain-boom once extended for the protection of shipping moored within. In this bend are two very humble cabins, where strangers can obtain lodgings. An old cellar or two, quite filled with rubbish, is nearly all that remains to mark the former habitations; the rest of the old ground being levelled and converted into grass land.* The form of the batteries is easily traced, and the city

* It is a curious fact that although the grounds formerly occupied by dwellings is now level grass land, the spots occupied by chimneys are distinguishable by rich clover nowhere else to be found in Louisburg.

wall on the west side, once thirty to forty feet high and six feet thick, now presents a huge mound covered with verdure, but still retaining the form and showing the site of the ancient fortification. Looking in a northerly direction from the cabin one sees the grand battery, nearly a mile distant, and beyond this, and near where Vaughan fired the storehouses, the rising ground is dotted with a dozen or more houses, among which is a small Catholic church. On the right and in a northeasterly direction, stands the light-house on a high cliff, which makes the north side of the entrance into the bay, and to the passing mariner denotes the harbor of Louisburg.

Such is the present state of Louisburg, once the foundation of French power in America, whose fortifications cost six millions of dollars, and which is so celebrated in history for the two sieges it sustained, and for the waste of blood and treasure upon its soil. Here, where the morning and evening gun reverberated on the distant hills, and drums beat the reveillé, where the hoarse sound of the trumpet and shrill pipe of the boatswain called mariners to their duties, and the church bells rang their merry peals, and every street was alive with the busy hum of thronging people, — silence, solitude, and desolation reign, broken only by the rumbling of the distant surf, or whispering murmurs of lighter waves that wind along its sandy beach.

Nearly midway between the two extremities of the western wall, and just within it, was a parade ground, bounded on the other or eastern side by soldiers' barracks. At the ends of this ground, and opening to it, facing each other, were the casemates or places of retreat for women and children, rendered bomb-proof by an arch of heavy stonework thrown over each. Two

floors divided the space into three apartments, one above another, six feet in height. The floors are gone, but the large cave of each casemate remains entire, and affords a winter retreat for sheep and cattle.

All the public buildings were faced with hewn tufa-stone of a cream color and the texture of common sandstone, and being highly wrought into arches, architraves, and pilasters, must have presented a beautiful appearance. A few cart-loads only of these materials remain, and these are mostly at the grand battery, the others having been transported to Halifax and to some of the seaports of New England. In examining a pile of these at the grand battery, I found deeply chiselled in one of them the name of "Gridley, 1745," whom Pepperrell stationed here in command of the battery; it was probably done by his own hand. This same Gridley, thirty years afterward, planned the battery on Bunker's Hill, that was thrown up in the night preceding the memorable battle. The old burying-ground beyond the eastern extremity of the city is rich grass land, fertilized it may be, by the decomposing bones of five hundred New Englanders, who were buried here soon after Pepperrell's siege. On Light-House Point, fragments of shells, thrown here during the two sieges, are to be found in great numbers, and in the clefts of rocks that face the sea, and near high-water-mark, are several old cannon that were tumbled down from the battery nearly a century ago. The island opposite the light-house shows the boundary and defences of the old battery, — portions of which still remain. Such is the present state of old Louisburg. "That such a city existed at so early a period, is a marvel; that such a city yielded to the farmers, mechanics, and fishermen of New England, is almost incredible. The lovers of the

wonderful may read the works which contain accounts of its rise and ruin, and be satisfied that truth *is* sometimes greater than fiction." *

DESCENDANTS OF SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

Descendants of Sir William Pepperrell's daughter and only child, Mrs. Elizabeth, wife of Colonel Nathaniel Sparhawk: —

1. *Nathaniel, Junior*, born August, 1744; graduated 1765; married his cousin Miss Susan Sparhawk, and had five children, — Nathaniel, William P., Eliza, Susan, and Catherine. By second wife, *Miss Elizabeth Bartlett* of Haverhill, whom he married in 1780; he had one daughter named Mary Pepperrell, born in Kittery. His third wife was *Miss Parker* of Portsmouth. Some difference arising between him and his last wife, he left her and went to England, where he remained till 1809, when he returned, and died in Kittery, 1814. His two sons never married. Nathaniel the elder, was feeble and inactive. Consul Jarvis, who married his niece, Miss Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk, gave him a home and thus saved him from the almshouse. He died in Weathersfield, 1836. The other son of Nathaniel, Jr., named William Pepperrell Sparhawk, graduated in 1789, and went to England. He returned deeply imbued with aristocratic feeling, but very indigent and indolent. A few families noticed him kindly on account of his noble ancestor, being great-grandson of the elder Sir William. He died in York, 1817. *Eliza*, the eldest daughter of

* George A. Ward, Esquire, in his edition of Curwen's Journal of the Loyalists.

Nathaniel Sparhawk, Jr., married Andrew Spooner, a merchant in Boston. They both soon died, leaving one daughter who was adopted by a single sister of Dr. Charles Jarvis of Boston, and received from her an accomplished education. She married Edward Jarvis of Castine, Maine, brother of Captain Joseph Jarvis, United States Navy, and has a promising family of children. Susan, second daughter of Nathaniel Sparhawk, Jr., went to London to nurse her father in sickness, and died there of smallpox, 1803, unmarried. Catherine, third daughter of Nathaniel Sparhawk, Jr., married Daniel Humphreys, Jr., of Portsmouth. He died, leaving two daughters and one son. She removed to Kittery to her father's former residence, and died there quite indigent, in 1806. Her son died 1828, unmarried. The two daughters are now pleasantly situated in Conway, New Hampshire, unmarried. Nathaniel Sparhawk, Jr.'s only daughter by his second wife, was adopted by her uncle Bailey Bartlett of Haverhill, Massachusetts, high sheriff of Essex county. After she was ten years old she passed much of her time in Boston with her aunt, Mrs. Dr. Jarvis. At the age of twenty-seven she married William Jarvis, Esq.,X consul at Lisbon, and lately a resident in Weathersfield, Vermont, where her half-brother, the invalid, Nathaniel Sparhawk, 3d, found a home. Mrs. Jarvis died leaving two daughters who were married to D. Everett, Esq., of New York, and she has recently deceased, leaving two children; and Miss Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk Jarvis, who married Hampden Cutts, Esquire, of North Hartland, Vermont, and has five children. Besides these two ladies, there is Mrs. Edward Jarvis of Castine, Maine, the daughter of Miss Spooner that was, who has also a promising family of children. Then there

X He died at Weathersfield Vt. Oct. 1859

are the two maiden ladies named Humphreys, living in Conway; and all the above are descended from Nathaniel, the first son of Hon. Nathaniel, who married Sir William's daughter. The only other descendant of the baronet living in America, is Miss Harriot Hirst Sparhawk, daughter of Samuel, the third son, an elderly maiden lady, and the only Sparhawk living, of Pepperrell blood, in America.

II. The second son of Hon. Nathaniel Sparhawk, named WILLIAM PEPPERRELL SPARHAWK, whose mother was the only daughter of Sir William, was, on the death of his only son Andrew, adopted by his grandfather as heir to his estate and title, on the condition that at the age of twenty-one years, he, by an act of the Legislature, dropped Sparhawk from his name. He was educated in the best manner, and graduated at Cambridge in 1766. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. Isaac Royall, of Medford; was chosen a member of the governor's council, and succeeded to his grandfather's title of baronet in October, 1744. When the council was reorganized under the act of Parliament, "he was continued under the mandamus of the king, and incurred the odium which was visited upon the counsellors, who were thus appointed contrary to the charter. The people of his own county (York) passed the following resolution at Wells, on the 16th of November, 1774: 'Whereas, the late Sir William Pepperrell, honored and respected in Great Britain and America for his eminent services, did honestly acquire a large and extensive real estate in this country, and gave the highest evidence not only of his being a sincere friend of the rights of man in general, but of having a paternal love of this county in particular; and whereas, the said Sir William, by his last will and testament,

made his grandson residuary legatee and possessor of the greatest part of said estate, who hath, with purpose to carry into force acts of the British Parliament made with apparent design to enslave the free and loyal people of this continent, accepted, and now holds, a seat in the pretended board of counsellors in this province, as well in direct repeal of the charter thereof, as against the solemn compact of kings and the inherent rights of the people. It is therefore resolved, that he hath forfeited the confidence and friendship of all true friends of American liberty, and, with other pretended counsellors now holding their seats in like manner, ought to be detested by all good men: and it is hereby recommended to the good people of this county, that as soon as the present leases made to any of them by him are expired, they immediately withdraw all connection, commerce, and dealings from him, — and that they take no further lease or conveyance of his farms and mills until he shall resign his seat, pretendedly occupied by mandamus. And if any persons shall remain or become his tenants after the expiration of their present leases, we recommend to the good people of this county not only to withdraw all connection and commercial intercourse with them, but to treat them in the manner provided by the third resolve of this congress.'

"The baronet, not long after, thus denounced by his neighbors and the friends of his family, retired to Boston, and sailed thence in 1775 for England. His lady died of small-pox, and was buried at Halifax. In 1778 he was proscribed and banished; and the year following was included in the Conspiracy Act, and all his vast landed estate in Maine was confiscated, excepting a small part reserved as a portion of the widow's dower, as noticed in page 327.

"During the Revolution he was treated with great respect and deference by his fellow exiles in England. His house was open for their reception, and in most cases in which the loyalists of New England united in representations to the ministry or to the throne, he was their chairman. He was allowed £500 sterling per annum by the British government, and this stipend, with the wreck of his fortune, consisting of personal effects," and a small plantation in Surinam, "rendered his situation comfortable, and enabled him to educate his children in the best manner, and to relieve the distresses of the less fortunate. And it is to be remembered to his praise, and to be recorded in respect for his memory, that his pecuniary benefactions were not confined to his countrymen who were in banishment for their adherence to the crown, but were extended to Whigs who languished in England in captivity. It is to be remembered, too, that his private life was irreproachable, and that he was among the founders of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He died in Portman Square, London, in December, 1816, aged seventy. Additional facts respecting him may be gathered from Curwen's Journal and Sabine's Loyalists."

He had one son and three daughters. The son, named William, it was hoped would live to bear up the adopted name of Pepperrell, and inherit the title of his father; but he died at the Isle of Wight in 1809, unmarried.

The daughters were Elizabeth Royall, Mary Hirst McIntosh, and Harriot.*

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* ELIZABETH ROYALL PEPPERRELL, married Rev. Henry Hutton, who died in 1813. Their children were, 1. Elizabeth, married, 1814, to William Moreton, who died, leaving two daughters. 2. Charles

III. The third son of Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk, named SAMUEL HIRST, graduated at Harvard College, 1771, was a refugee to England with his brothers Nathaniel, William, and Andrew. He died in Kittery, August 29, 1789, aged thirty-eight. He left an only daughter, just alluded to, who, at his request, was adopted by his sister in Boston, Mrs. Dr. Jarvis, with whom she lived until the death of that lady in 1815. She now resides in Portsmouth, and has lately expended one hundred dollars in repairing the old Pepperrell tomb.

IV. The fourth son of Col. Sparhawk, named ANDREW, married a Miss Turner, was a loyalist, and went

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Henry. 3. Mary Anne, married, 1832, Rev. William Moreton, and has seven children. 4. Henry, married Sophia Brevort, and has eleven children. 5. Anne. 6. Harriot, married, 1829, Rev. David Drummond, and has one daughter. 7. Louise, married, 1824, Archdeacon Parry, since bishop of Barbadoes, and has twelve children. 8. William Pepperrell, married, 1836, Elizabeth, who died 1846, and a second wife, Ellen Porter, of Chester. 9. Thomas Palmer, married Mary Drummond, and has five children. 10. Frances, unmarried. The above were all living in 1848.

MARY HURST MCINTOSH PEPPERRELL, the second daughter of Sir William married in July, 1799, William Congreve. She died without issue, February 4, 1839.

HARRIOT, the third daughter of Sir William, married, 1802, Charles Thomas, eldest son of Sir Charles Grave Hudson, Baronet, of Wanlip Hall, in the county of Leicester, and of Catherine S., his wife, who was eldest daughter and heiress of Henry Palmer; and said Thomas inherits his title of baronet. Their children are, 1. Louisa Catherine. 2. Mary Anne. 3. Caroline Harriot. 4. George Joseph, married, February, 1836, Emily Elizabeth Holford, of Westonbirt, county of Glocester, and has two sons. 5. Charles Archdale, married, February 27, 1838, Julia Simpson, of Launde Abbey, in the county of Rutland, and has two sons and two daughters. 6. William Henry, died September 2, 1823, aged eight years.

Sir Charles Palmer (formerly Charles Thomas Hudson) died April 27, 1827, and his widow, Harriot Pepperrell, died January 2, 1848.

to England with his wife, who died soon after, and he died there in 1783, leaving no children.

V. Miss Mary Pepperrell Sparhawk, married Dr. Charles Jarvis, of Boston, and after his death, she passed the remainder of her days at Kittery Point, near the village church, and nearly opposite the residence of her grandmother, Lady Pepperrell's dwelling, built after the baronet's death. She died in 1815.

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APPENDIX.

A.

Abstract of Sir William Pepperrell's Will.

He gives to Lady Pepperrell half of his real estate, four negroes, the use of all his furniture during her natural life; and the increase of all his live-stock on all his farms; his chariot, chaise, and her choice of two of his horses; all his wines and other liquors, and one thousand pounds sterling.

To his son-in-law, Nathaniel Sparhawk, all the dividend to be allowed for his demand against the late firm of Sparhawk & Colman, and for his wife and children's support, the income of the other half of his real estate, and the interest of one thousand pounds; also, all his real estate in the north parish of York and in Berwick; she being required to sign all receipts and to have sole power to bequeathe her legacy.

To his grandson, Nathaniel Sparhawk, junior, all the lands bought of his father (after Lady Pepperrell's and daughter's death); also, one thousand pounds sterling.

To Samuel Hirst Sparhawk, his house and land in Portsmouth; farm in Newington; farm near the lower ferry; a house and four acres of land at Kittery Point, with the pasture between the battery and the house of Black Richard, and one thousand pounds sterling.

To his grandson, Andrew P. Sparhawk, the house built for his son Andrew (deceased) in Kittery, and the land fenced in

around said house; the garden fenced in next the harbor over against said house; the three fields on the north side of the highway next to the pasture given to his son Samuel; the battery field joining on the west side to the pasture before given to his brother Samuel; all the lands bought of Charles Frost at Sturgeon Creek; and if he dies, it goes to his brother William; also, one thousand pounds sterling on arriving at twenty-one; and all the furniture left in his son Andrew's house.

To his granddaughter, Mary P. Sparhawk, the house and forty acres of land bought of the Baxters; his lands in Boston and in Rutland; and if she dies, it is to be divided among his other grandchildren; also, his diamond ring, and one thousand pounds sterling.

To his sister, Mary Prescott, thirty pounds sterling.

To his sister, Miriam Tyler, all his right in her house, and what is due on mortgage or otherwise.

To his sister, Dorothy Newmarch, all her husband owes him and six pounds sterling.

To his sister, Jane Tyler, twenty pounds sterling.

To his kinsmen, John and Andrew Phillips, what they owe him and three pounds sterling; and to John, the use of fifty acres of land, for life, in Saco, where he now lives.

To his kinswoman, Sarah Frost, his deceased brother's oldest daughter, all the money she and her deceased husband, Charles Frost, owed him, and thirty pounds sterling.

To the children of his deceased kinswoman, Margery Wentworth, all the money that their father, Capt. William Wentworth, owed him, and ten pounds sterling to each.

To his kinswoman, Jane Watkins, all the money that her deceased husband, Capt. Andrew Watkins, owed him.

To his kinsman, Capt. William Frost, one half of all he owes him, provided he pays the other half, within two years, to his brother, Andrew P. Frost, and his sister, Sarah Blunt, equally. To the children of Joel Whitemore, all the money that their father owed him.

To his kinsman, William Whittemore, all the money he owed him.

To each of the children of his kinswoman, Margery Gerrish, five pounds sterling.

To the Rev. Benjamin Stevens, ten pounds sterling.

To each of the children of his kinswoman, Eliza Hale, deceased, five pounds sterling.

To his kinsman, John Watkins, twenty pounds sterling.

To his kinsman, Edmund Moody, all he owed him, and ten pounds sterling.*

To his kinswoman, Dorothy Pitman, all the money that her husband, Derry Pitman, owed him.

To his kinswoman, Joanna Frost, all the money that her deceased husband, Charles Frost, Esquire, of Falmouth, owed him, and ten pounds sterling.

To his kinsman, John Frost, (of Elliot,) all the money he owed him.

To Hannah Billings, five pounds sterling.

To the poor of the parish in Kittery, two hundred bushels of corn, fifty bushels annually, as his executors and minister should direct.

To the poor of the church, ten pounds as above, and ten pounds for plate for the church.

To his grandsons, to be equally divided between them, his clothing and armor and gold rings.

Should his daughter have any more children, he gives them one thousand pounds each.

To his grandson and residuary legatee, William P. Sparhawk, one thousand pounds; and after his wife and daughter's decease, on condition that he has his name legally changed from William Pepperrell Sparhawk to William Pepperrell, all his set of plate received from Sir Peter Warren; and all the portraits of his relations and friends in his house; his sword

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* This Edmund Moody removed from Kittery to Saco, and erected the first meeting-house there. He had a son named William Pepperrell Moody, who succeeded him at Saco, and a grandson, namely, Colonel William Moody, an able politician of that town.

and gold watch, and all his real estate in Saco and Scarborough, to hold for his natural life, and then to descend to his son, who is to assume the name of William Pepperrell, and to his son's son forever, so long as there shall be one of the name in his line . . . . . But in case he should have no son but a daughter, then the said estate shall be and remain in his eldest daughter, on condition, that if she marry, her husband shall legally assume the name of William Pepperrell, and after her decease, to go to the male issue, and to the heirs of such issue, and heir male successively forever. But if she shall have no son, then said estate shall be to her oldest daughter, and her male heirs, in manner aforesaid, successively forever, provided that he legally assumes the name of Pepperrell.

But if his said grandson William shall not leave any issue male or female to inherit the estate and name, then his grandson, Andrew P. Sparhawk, is substituted, with his heirs, in like manner and on like conditions; — and in case of failure in this line, then Andrew and his descendants are in like manner substituted; and in case of failure in this line, then Samuel Hirst Sparhawk and his heirs and descendants are in like manner substituted; and in case of failure in this line, then the son of his daughter (should she have one) and his descendants are in like manner substituted; and in case no grandson succeeds to the inheritance as aforesaid, then my granddaughter's husband shall, he assuming the name of Pepperrell, be in like manner substituted; and next to her, in case of failure in this line, my daughter's second daughter (should she have one) shall be substituted. And in case of failure of all his direct descendants of issue, Joanna Frost, of Falmouth, and her children are substituted; and next to Joanna is substituted Pepperrell Frost, son of widow Sarah Frost, of Kittery; next, the oldest surviving son of his kinswoman, Margery Wentworth, deceased. And in case all the above fail of issue, then the said estate is to be kept in repair, — also the family tomb; and one third part of the residue of the rents and profits of said estate to be applied towards supporting a Congregational minister, where the pres-

ent meeting house now stands; and a free school near to it, to be supported by the remaining two thirds, under the care of the minister and his executors, within half a mile of his dwelling-house.

The remainder of his lands in New Hampshire he gives to his grandson, Andrew P. Sparhawk; and in case of his death, to his grandson William. All other estates, real or personal, are given to William as residuary legatee; and in case of his death, to Andrew; and in the event that both die, it is to be divided between his other children equally.

He appoints Mary Pepperrell, his wife, and Benjamin Greenleaf, executors, until his grandsons Nathaniel and William arrive of age. The will was signed in January, and a codicil to it was signed the 4th of July, 1759, two days before his decease.

B.

Officers in Pepperrell's Army at the Reduction of Louisburg, 1745.

1. *York County,* Pepperrell's Regiment. — Colonel Bradstreet, Lieutenant-Colonel Storer, Major Cutts. *Captains:* Peter Staples, Ephraim Baker, John Fairfield, Bray Dearing, John Kinslagh, John Harmon, Moses Butler, Thomas Perkins, William Warner, Moses Pearson.

2. *Connecticut,* General Wolcott's Regiment. — Colonel Burr, Lieutenant-Colonel Lothrop, Major Goodridge. *Captains:* David Wooster, Stephen Lee, Daniel Chapman, William Whiting, Robert Dennison, Andrew Ward, James Church, Henry King.

3. *Cumberland County,* Colonel Waldo's Regiment. — Lieutenant-Colonel Noble, Major Hunt. *Captains:* Samuel Moody, John Watts, Philip Damarisque, Benjamin Goldthwait, Daniel

Hale, Jacob Stevens, James Noble, Richard Jacques, Daniel Fogg, Joseph Richardson.

4. Brigadier Dwight's Regiment. — Colonel of Artillery, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas, Major Gardner.

5. *York County*, Colonel Moulton's Regiment. — Lieutenant-Colonel Donnell, Major Ellis. *Captains:* John Card, John Lane, Christopher Marshall, James Grant, Charles King, Peter Prescott, Ami R. Cutter, Samuel Rhodes, Bartholomew Trow, Estes Hatch.

6. *Worcester*, Colonel Willard's Regiment. — Lieutenant-Colonel Chandler, Major Pomroy. *Captains:* Joshua Pierce, John Terry, John Alexander, David Melvin, John Warner, Jabez Homestead, Joseph Miller, James Goulding, James Stephens.

7. *Essex*, Colonel Hale's Regiment. — Lieutenant-Colonel Eveleigh, Major Titcomb. *Captains:* Benjamin Ives, Daniel Eveleigh, —— Titcomb, John Dodge, Jonathan Bagley, Jere Foster, Samuel Davis, Thomas Stanford, Charles Byles.

8. *Bristol*, Colonel Richmond's Regiment. — Lieutenant-Colonel Pitts, Major Hodges. *Captains:* Nathaniel Bosworth, Thomas Gilbert, Josiah Pratt, Robert Swan, Ebenezer Eastman, Cornelius Sole, John Lawrence, Nathaniel Williams, Ebenezer Nichols, —— Weston.

9. Col. Gorham's Regiment. — Lieutenant-Colonel Gorham, Major Thatcher. *Captains:* Jonathan Carey, Elisha Doane, Sylvester Cobb, Israel Bailey, Edward Demmick, Gershom Bradford, Samuel Lombard.

10. *New Hampshire*, Colonel More's Regiment. — Lieutenant-Colonel Meserve, Major Gilman. *Captains:* Samuel Whitten, William Waldron, True Dudley, Tufton Mason, William Seaward, Daniel Ladd, Henry Sherburne, John Turnel, Samuel Hale, Jacob Tilton, Edward Williams.

C.

Brief Notices of some Persons engaged in the expedition to Louisburg in 1745.

GOVERNOR WOLCOTT.—The army engaged in this expedition was the largest ever raised in the colonies. The only one that approximated to it was raised in 1711, and commanded by General Nicholson, which made an unsuccessful attempt against Canada. Very few, if any, of the officers who were with Nicholson went to Louisburg, with the exception of General Wolcott. He was deputy-commissary of the Connecticut troops, who, with those raised in New York and New Jersey, marched from Albany towards Quebec; but learning on their way that the large fleet under Admiral Walker, having seven thousand regulars and provincials on board, designed to coöperate against Quebec, was driven back from the Saint Lawrence by adverse winds and unskilful pilotage to the Sidney River, and had abandoned the enterprise, they retreated to Albany, making it a disastrous campaign for the colonies.

In 1745, Wolcott, at the age of sixty-six, headed the troops of Connecticut as major-general, next in rank to Pepperrell, and returned soon after the conquest to New London, the place of embarkation. He was afterward chief justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, and Governor from 1751 to 1754. He died May 13, 1767, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. His son signed the Declaration of Independence.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL WALDO, third land officer, was son of Jonathan Waldo, a wealthy merchant of Boston. There were several coincidences in his life compared with that of Pepperrell. Both were extensive landholders in Maine, both resided there; the two commanded the two regiments of Maine; they were many years associated in the Governor's Council; were at Louisburg together; their children were betrothed; they passed a year together in England; they were born the same year, and died within a few days of each other.

In the winter of 1746 and '47, Massachusetts raised fifteen hundred men to march in mid-winter against Crown Point, under General Waldo; but they were attacked by smallpox, which frustrated

the enterprise. Waldo was an accomplished gentleman, active and enterprising, had enjoyed the advantage of foreign travel, having crossed the ocean fifteen times, and was an elegant military officer, tall and portly. In May, 1759, he accompanied Governor Pownall to the Penobscot River, and was standing near him, indicating the boundary of his own land, when he fell dead upon the spot, aged sixty-three. His son, Samuel Waldo, junior, succeeded his father as colonel of a regiment, and was judge of probate, representative eight years, and died 1770, aged forty-nine. Francis, second son, was the first collector in Maine, representative 1762 and '63; proscribed and banished 1775. Died in England 1782, unmarried.

Colonel John Bradstreet, who commanded Pepperrell's own regiment in 1755, was, after the reduction of Louisburg, appointed Governor of Newfoundland. In the war of 1775 he was actively engaged, and repulsed a superior force that lay in ambuscade, in his pathway from Oswego to Albany, while at the head of a large force of boatmen. In 1758, he commanded three thousand men against Fort Frontinac, which he reduced, and captured a large supply of provisions, cannon, and ammunition. In 1765, he advanced with troops towards the Indian country, and at Presqu Isle (Erie) compelled the Delawares and Shawnees and other Indians to submit to terms of peace. He was appointed major-general in the royal service in 1772, and died at New York, 1774. Two other very distinguished generals in the French war died this year,— Sir William Johnson and General John Winslow.

Captain David Wooster, in the Connecticut regiment in 1745, was made a colonel in 1755 in the Provincial army, and was appointed brigadier by Congress in the Revolutionary army. He resigned, and was appointed first major-general in the Connecticut troops, and was mortally wounded near Norwalk.

Lieutenant-Colonel Lothrop, of the Connecticut forces, was an enterprising and religious man, fond of military life, and held many civil offices.

Colonel Richard Gridley commanded the artillery at Louisburg, and thirty years after traced and superintended the battery on Bunker's Hill, which was thrown up in the night before the memorable battle. He also planned and superintended the building of Fort William Henry in 1775. He was appointed commander-in-chief of artillery in the Continental army by Congress, but, on account of advanced age, gave way for the appointment of General Knox. He held civil offices, and was a member of the General Court.

Colonel Jeremiah Moulton was born in York, Maine, 1688; was taken prisoner by Indians at York when four years old. He marched with Captain Harmon and two hundred men to Norridgewock, and destroyed the Indian village, killing Father Rawle and twenty-six Indians. He commanded a regiment at the siege under Pepperrell, and was afterwards sheriff, counsellor, judge of the common pleas and of probate. He died at York, July 20, 1765, aged seventy-seven. His son and grandson were sheriffs of York county.

Major Pomroy, in Colonel Willard's regiment, was appointed a brigadier in the Continental army, but declined in favor of General Thomas.

Matthew Thornton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was surgeon of the New Hampshire regiment commanded by Colonel Moore at Louisburg, in 1745.

Brigadier John Nixon, of the Revolutionary army, a native of Framingham, Mass., was a soldier under Pepperrell at Louisburg.

Colonel Robert Hale, high-sheriff of Essex county, and many years a member of the Legislature from Beverly. He was appointed hospital surgeon in the subsequent war of 1755, but declined the office. An interesting account is given of him by Rev. Mr. Stone, of Providence, in his History of Beverly.

Major Moses Titcomb, of Colonel Hale's regiment, was appointed colonel in the war of 1755, and was killed September 8th of that year at Crown Point.

Lieutenant-Colonel Meserve, under Colonel Moore of New Hampshire in 1745, was colonel of a regiment of New Hampshire troops sent to Crown Point, under Abercrombie and General Winslow. He went with Amherst in the second expedition against Louisburg, with the rank of colonel, but in charge of two hundred ship carpenters. Most of them were attacked with smallpox, and Colonel Meserve and his son died during the siege.

Of the subsequent career of the officers of the British fleet at Louisburg, little is known, excepting of Commodore Warren.

Sir Peter Warren was born in Ireland, was long employed on the coast of America and in the West Indies. He married Susan, daughter of Lieutenant-Governor James Delancy, of New York, and purchased lands extensively on the Mohawk River and further westward. In 1734 he invited from Ireland his nephew, William Johnson, to take charge of his estates on the Mohawk. Johnson resided among the Indians thirty miles from Albany, acquired a large influence over them, led a numerous body of them to Crown Point and

Niagara, and was made lieutenant-general and baronet. He died in 1774; and his son John inherited the baronetcy, who became a tory, fled to Canada, was commissioned major-general, left his immense estates to be confiscated, and incited Canadian Indians to ravage his former neighborhood. He was appointed Governor of Upper Canada, 1796, and died 1798. Warren, his uncle, we have seen, gave seven hundred pounds to educate Indian children on the Mohawk River, was made a baronet in 1747, and died in England in 1752.

D.

Extracts from Duchambon's French Account of the Siege and Fall of Louisburg, addressed to the Minister of War.

"The first appearance of any English Cruisers about Louisburg was one about the 25th of March, which passed three or four times in a north-east direction, the harbor being then closed with ice. Many axe-men and soldiers wintering in the woods near Main-a-dieu had seen two suspicious looking vessels. [These were the provincial vessels sent to reconnoitre.] I ordered the settlers along the coast to arrange signals with Louisburg. They were also arranged between the city and the Island and Royal batteries. On the 20th of April we discovered in the floating ice off White Point four large ships, [Warren's squadron] who fired several guns which were answered by our small battery. We supposed them to be French ships trying to enter the harbor through the ice. Three men, a citizen, a soldier, and an Indian were despatched on foot to the mouth of Canso streight, to make prisoners. They took four who rose upon them while asleep in the night, and thus deprived us of intelligence of the enemy. The large vessels appeared off and on, several days, and captured two or three wood vessels laden for the garrison. On the 27th a large merchantman entered Louisburg safely, and reported that he had been chased by a squadron and fired into. The inhabitants of Louisburg were now formed into four companies and properly stationed. Up to this day we were in doubt whether the large vessels were English or French trying to enter through the ice. I ordered two vessels to be despatched to France with intelligence of our situation, which were prevented sailing by head winds.

"May 1st. At 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning we discovered from the ramparts of Louisburg about 100 vessels approaching, wind N. West. On nearing us they appeared to be transports with troops. I made signal to the out-settlers to hasten to the city, and ordered out 80 militia and 30 regulars under Morpair and Mesillac to oppose their landing. In this attempt we had four or five soldiers killed or made prisoners and as many citizens, and three or four were wounded, who reached the city. The enemy landed 4 or 500 men, who marched into the open grounds in view of the city, but without order. They then skirted along the woods on Green hill behind the Royal battery. In the evening Capt. Cherry whose company held the Royal battery, wrote me a letter, stating the bad state of his post, which might be easily taken, — that he believed it for the good of the service to spike the cannon and leave. The chief engineer was of the same opinion, and thought that the 4 or 500 provincials in the rear could with cannon destroy the battery, defended only by 200 men. The council of war were therefore in favor of spiking and dismounting the cannon, and removing the ammunition. The battery being not entirely destroyed, I next morning sent officers and men in boats to finish the work, who were repulsed.

"On the 2d and 3d of May the enemy took possession of the battery, drilled the cannon and turned them upon the city, and planted mortars and two cannon on Green hill opposite the King's bastion.

"On the 5th I sent an express to Mr. Marin at Minas, to hasten with his force of Canadians and Indians to Louisburg, but they had gone to Port Royal, and on receiving the message there, many of them declined accompanying him. They embarked 400 men in a small vessel, (there being no land conveyance,) and on their way from the Bay of Fundy round Cape Sable, were chased by a provincial armed vessel, and while preparing to board her, another armed vessel hove in sight, which compelled them to land, and they did not arrive near Louisburg till July. Had they arrived in season, the enemy must have raised the siege." [This corps it was, that took 13 men who went on shore for water. The same too that induced Pepperrell to surround his camp with pickets a day or so, before the surrender of the city.]

"On the 7th the English commanders summoned me to surrender, proposing terms; to which I replied that my answer must be at the cannon's mouth. On the 8th they established a battery of seven guns at the foot of Green hill, behind a little pond, and fronting the King's bastion, which never ceased firing during the siege, and was the most

dangerous of any — sending its balls against the caserns and into the town, where they traversed all the streets their whole length, and, through houses." [After describing the means used for the protection of the city walls by plank boxes, filled with earth, and the erection of new batteries against the English, he called a council of war, to decide upon a sortie; but, having only 1,200 men, it was deemed unsafe. All the cannon of privateers were drawn to the walls, and mounted thereon.] "13th. The enemy sent a fire-ship against the wall, but it did no harm. They now opened trenches 250 yards from the Dauphin bastion, in the face of our constant fire, and these did not cease to fire heavy balls in order to force a breach. The enemy now seemed busy near the Light-House Point, and the Lt. of artillery came to notify me that they had discovered many cannon there left as a reserve ten years ago; — that he had reported them to the former governors many times, how the enemy might easily transport them to the light-house to mount, and turn against vessels passing in and out, and might also attack the Island battery. Upon advice so important, and the enemy already having a breastwork erected there, I sent 100 men to surprise them and stop their works. They landed from three shallops at Lorembee, north of the harbor, and next day approached the light-house. But they were repulsed by 200 of the enemy stationed there, and after interchanging a few volleys of musketry they returned." [After detailing the measures adopted on both sides for attack and defence, the severe injuries sustained daily by both, and their repairs in the night, he says, May 19th,] "a large vessel was discovered approaching four leagues distant south-east, which chased a small vessel, when suddenly, three of the enemy's large vessels, lying between White and Black Point, hastened towards the large vessel and kept up a long fight until 9 or 10 o'clock in the evening. This large vessel proved to be the Vigilant. The next day the enemy's squadron was augmented by a large ship, and we saw among them a still larger one, which we have since learned was the Vigilant, that we saw begin the fight. Another fire-ship was sent in, but it proved harmless." [The attack on the Island battery is described particularly, but he states the number of killed and wounded and captured to be larger than Pepperrell does, namely, 250, besides some wounded who died. He describes other measures of defence adopted at the Dauphin, which were resisted by the increased fire of the enemy.]

"June 1st. Having prosecuted their work at the light-house, in the face of our continual fire of mortars and cannon from the town and Island battery, we now shielded the latter with plank and tim-

bers. But our temporary batteries and shields at the King's and Dauphin bastions were soon shattered by the cannon of the enemy, and a breach was made in the wall, and all our embrasures were dilapidated and the walls perforated through and through."

[Here follows an account of a flag sent with complaints about Indian cruelties,] "and which brought the first intelligence of the capture of the Vigilant," [which agrees with the English account of the same.]

"June 11. The battery at the light-house kept up an incessant fire upon the Island battery.

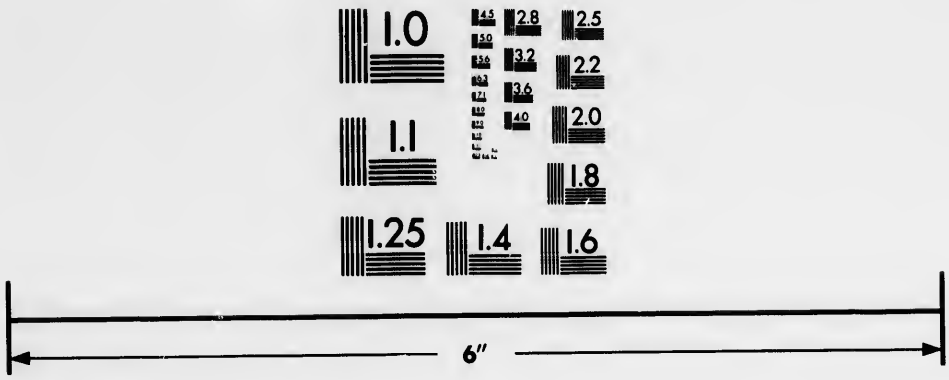
"June 14. Four large vessels joined the enemy. On the 15th, they all drew up in a line off White Point, two leagues from the port of Louisburg, and piles of brush were made on Green hill for signals.

"The fire of the enemy from cannon and mortars was without cessation from the beginning of the siege — the houses of the city were perfectly riddled with balls — the flank of the King's bastion was demolished — the wooden and turf embrasures, that have been frequently repaired were destroyed, and a breach was made in the Dauphin gate through which an entrance was now practicable, by the help of fascines, which the enemy were bringing forward for two days to the advanced battery — and all this had been done in the face of our cannon and musketry, and which were served with an activity and vigor beyond expectation. This is proved, Monsieur, by the fact that of the 67,000 kegs of powder we had at the commencement of the siege, there remained on the 17th of June but forty-seven in the city, which quantity was absolutely necessary on the eve of capitulation. We had also expended all our shells of nine and twelve inches.

"I ought in justice to all the officers and soldiers of the garrison and the inhabitants generally, to say, that they have all endured the fatigue and privation with intrepidity unequalled, — passing all their nights without undressing, and sleeping on the bare ground, and those stationed on the ramparts found no corner for repose, since the enemy's cannon balls reached every part of the city. Every one was worn down with fatigue and watching, and of the 1,300 men at the beginning of the siege, fifty were killed and ninety-five wounded, and many were sick from the hardships they endured.

"On the 16th of June, the inhabitants of the city sent me a petition, stating that as the forces of the enemy by sea and land augmented daily, without any prospect of the arrival of succors for us, nor any hope of our being able to hold out much longer, that it is better to capitulate with the English commanders, in order to preserve the few lives that remain.

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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Sciences
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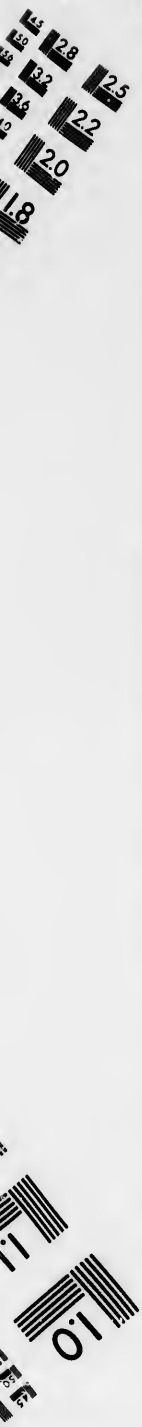
23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503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"This petition touched me with the deepest emotion. To think of surrendering Louisburg which had cost the king vast sums of money; that there were a number of inhabitants with families who were to perish immediately, or to lose the fruit of their labor since the commencement of the colony. But, here was a practicable breach made in the wall by the enemy, and thirteen large ships all ready to join in an attack. In a conjuncture so critical, I directed the chief engineer, Mr. Verrier, to render an account of the fortifications and of the place, and the officer charged with the artillery, to give a report of the munitions of war,—and, upon their report I held a council of war, which decided unanimously, that in view of the forces of the enemy and of the state of the garrison and the place, it was necessary to capitulate."

[All that follows accords with the English account.]

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