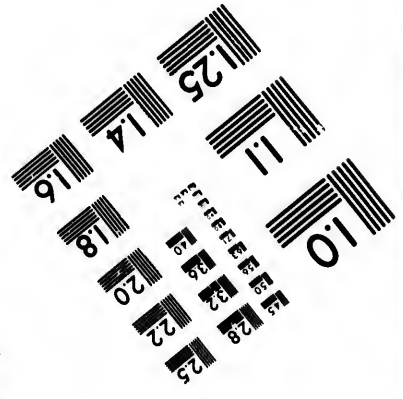
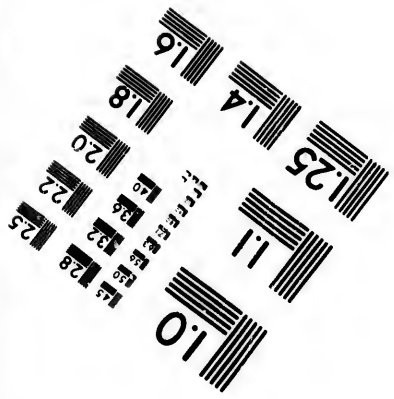
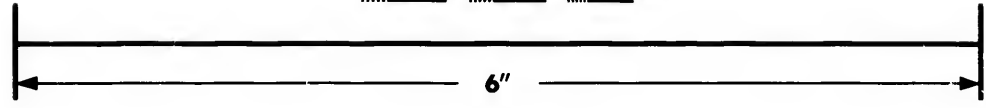
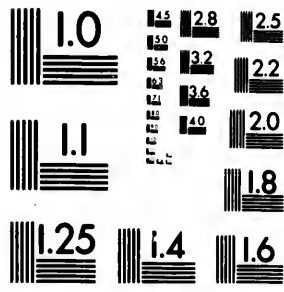


**IMAGE EVALUATION  
TEST TARGET (MT-3)**



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

23 WEST MAIN STREET  
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580  
(716) 872-4503

0  
LE 28  
LE 25  
LE 22  
LE 20  
LE 18  
5

**CIHM/ICMH  
Microfiche  
Series.**

**CIHM/ICMH  
Collection de  
microfiches.**



Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions / Institut canadien de microreproductions historiques

11  
01  
51

**© 1982**

Technical and Bibliographic Notes/Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured covers/<br>Couverture de couleur   | <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured pages/<br>Pages de couleur   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers damaged/<br>Couverture endommagée  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pages damaged/<br>Pages endommagées  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Covers restored and/or laminated/<br>Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée  | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages restored and/or laminated/<br>Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées  |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cover title missing/<br>Le titre de couverture manque  | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/<br>Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured maps/<br>Cartes géographiques en couleur   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Pages detached/<br>Pages détachées   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/<br>Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)   | <input type="checkbox"/> Showthrough/<br>Transparence  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Coloured plates and/or illustrations/<br>Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur  | <input type="checkbox"/> Quality of print varies/<br>Qualité inégale de l'impression   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bound with other material/<br>Relié avec d'autres documents   | <input type="checkbox"/> Includes supplementary material/<br>Comprend du matériel supplémentaire   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion<br>along interior margin/<br>La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la<br>distortion le long de la marge intérieure   | <input type="checkbox"/> Only edition available/<br>Seule édition disponible   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Blank leaves added during restoration may<br>appear within the text. Whenever possible, these<br>have been omitted from filming/<br>Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées<br>lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte,<br>mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont<br>pas été filmées. | <input type="checkbox"/> Pages wholly or partially obscured by errata<br>slips, tissues, etc., have been refilmed to<br>ensure the best possible image/<br>Les pages totalement ou partiellement<br>obscurcies par un feuillet d'errata, une pelure,<br>etc., ont été filmées à nouveau de façon à<br>obtenir la meilleure image possible. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Additional comments:/<br>Commentaires supplémentaires:  |  |

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/  
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The copy filmed here has been reproduced thanks to the generosity of:

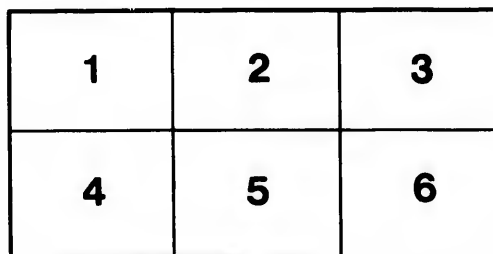
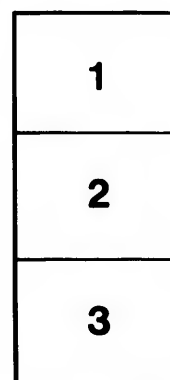
Library of Congress  
Photoduplication Service

The images appearing here are the best quality possible considering the condition and legibility of the original copy and in keeping with the filming contract specifications.

Original copies in printed paper covers are filmed beginning with the front cover and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression, or the back cover when appropriate. All other original copies are filmed beginning on the first page with a printed or illustrated impression, and ending on the last page with a printed or illustrated impression.

The last recorded frame on each microfiche shall contain the symbol  $\rightarrow$  (meaning "CONTINUED"), or the symbol  $\nabla$  (meaning "END"), whichever applies.

Maps, plates, charts, etc., may be filmed at different reduction ratios. Those too large to be entirely included in one exposure are filmed beginning in the upper left hand corner, left to right and top to bottom, as many frames as required. The following diagrams illustrate the method:



L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

Library of Congress  
Photoduplication Service

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole  $\rightarrow$  signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole  $\nabla$  signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.

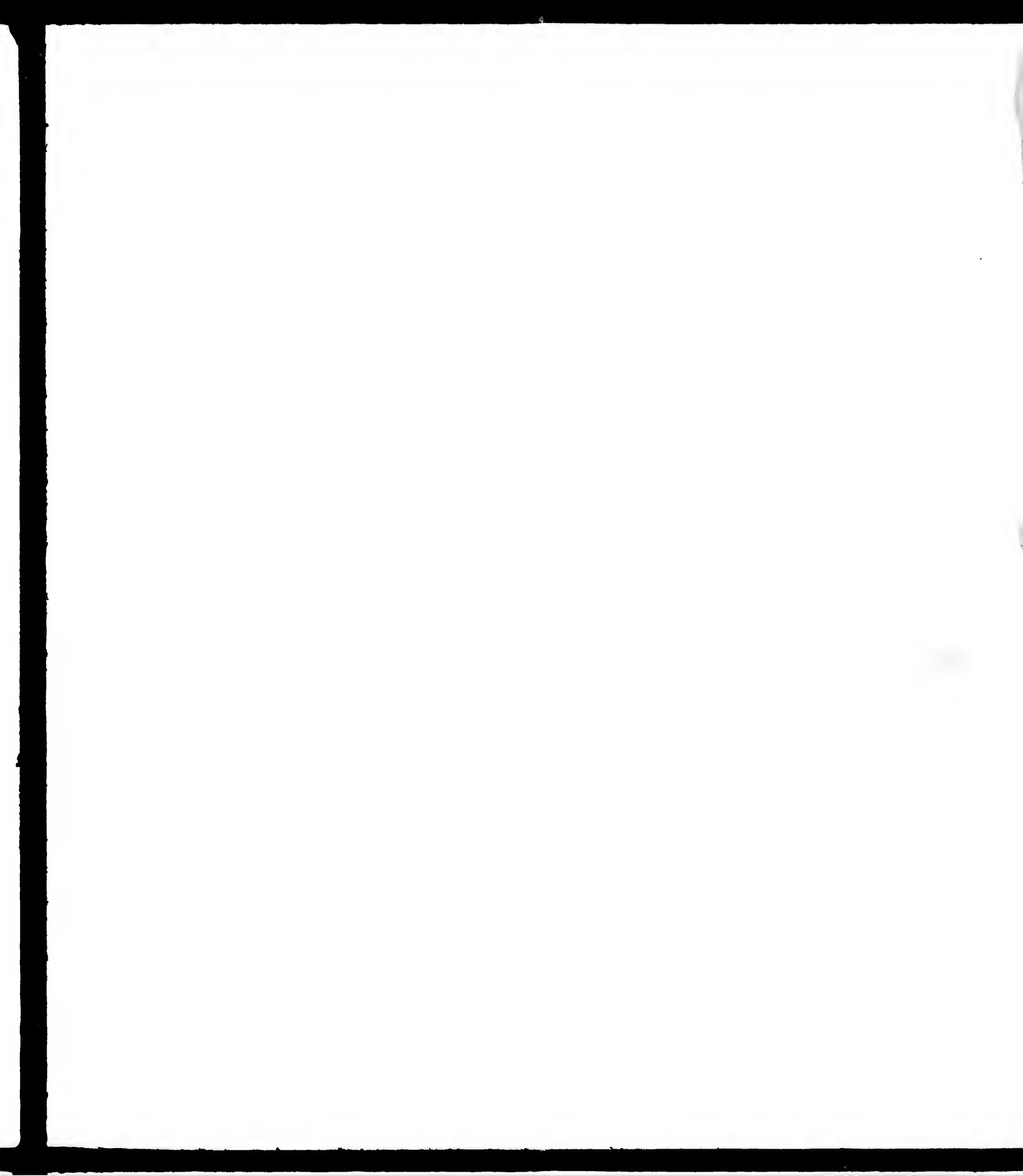
ails  
du  
odifier  
une  
image

errata  
to

pelure,  
en à



32X



Do not  
PEPPERRELL PAPERS,

*WITH SKETCHES OF*

LIEUT.-GEN. THE HONORABLE JAMES ST. CLAIR

AND

ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES KNOWLES, BART.

By ALBERT H. HOYT.

REPRINTED, WITH REVISIONS AND ADDITIONS, FROM THE HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER FOR OCTOBER, 1874.

BOSTON:

1874.

34517

103  
1886

DAVID CLAPP & SON, PRINTERS,  
334 Washington Street.



Two letters of Christopher Kilby, Esq., one of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., and the "Instructions of General Braddock to Colonel Shirley," governor of the province of Massachusetts, appear in the following pages.

The original papers are the property of Captain Luther Dame, of Newburyport, Mass., by whose courtesy copies were taken by Charles W. Tuttle, Esq., and placed in my hands for publication in the HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER. These and other Pepperrell papers came into Captain Dame's possession from his maternal uncle, Medical Director Charles Chase, U. S. N., who was born in Kittery, Maine, and lived for many years in the Sparhawk House. As will be seen, they relate to matters of public interest, and contain facts that have never before appeared in print.

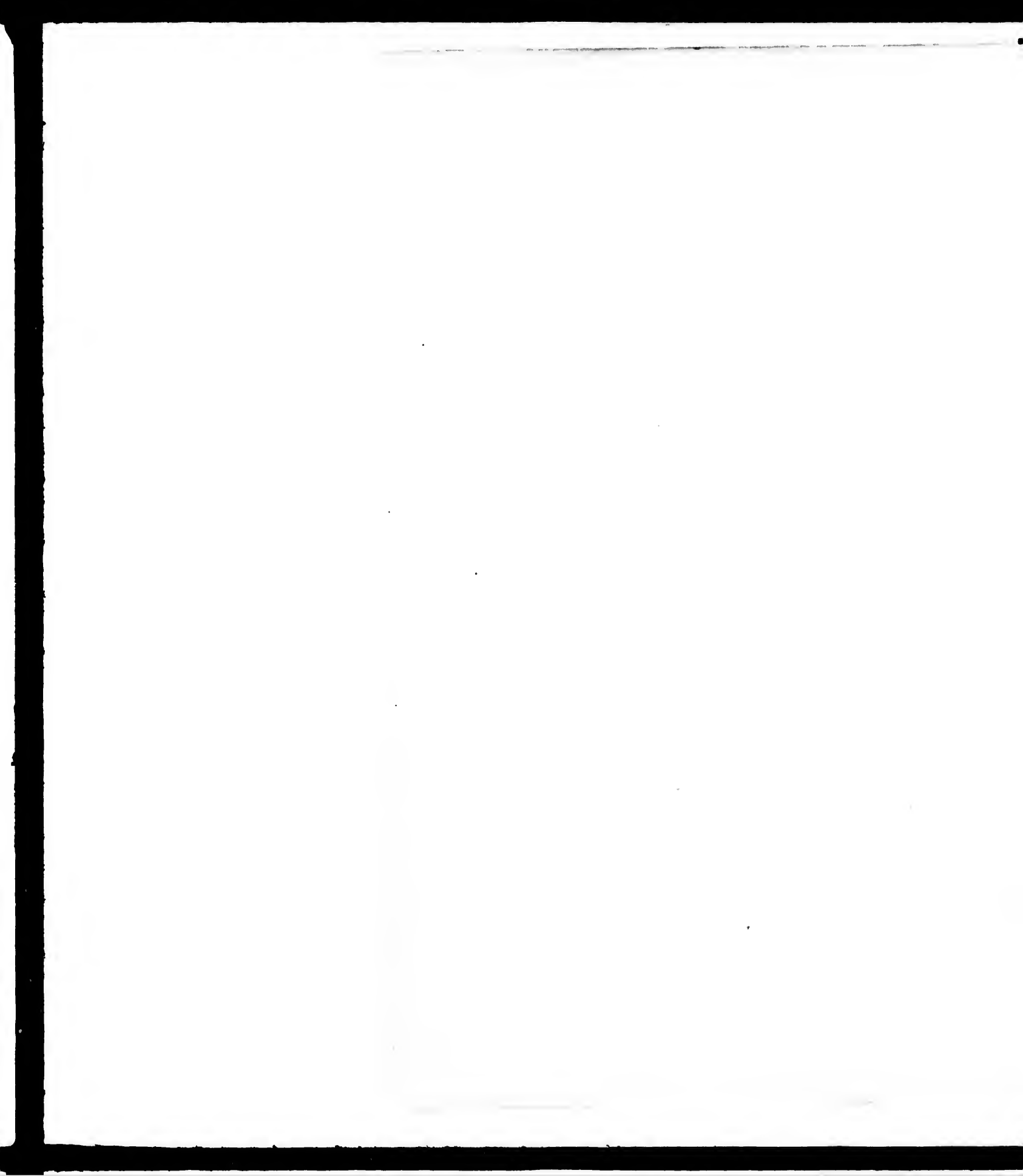
For the explanatory notes upon these papers, and for the sketches of two important personages therein named, I have drawn materials, as far as possible, from original sources, some of which are indicated in foot-notes.

Considering the distinguished career of Lieutenant-general James St. Clair, and of Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, it seems strange that neither of them has been counted worthy of notice in any biographical dictionary, in America or Europe. This omission is hardly less strange than that the name of Admiral Knowles is not mentioned in our American histories, except in connection with a disturbance in Boston, in November 1747,—an affair of no political significance whatsoever.

A. H. H.

OCTOBER, 1874.





PEPPERRELL PAPERS,<sup>1</sup>

WITH SKETCHES OF LT. GEN. THE HONORABLE JAMES ST. CLAIR,  
AND ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES KNOWLES, BART.

---

THE following memorial of Christopher Kilby,<sup>2</sup> addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, is cumulative evidence of his influence and active interest in our colonial affairs. He had the confidence of the leading men of his day, both in England and America; and his relations with Sir William Pepperrell, in particular, were of the most friendly nature. The latter, when he was in England in 1749-50, was the guest of Mr. Kilby at his house in Spring Garden, London, and there had the pleasure of the society, also, of Admiral Sir Peter Warren and General Samuel Waido, his late companions-in-arms at Louisburg.

[CHRISTOPHER KILBY TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.]

(Copy.)

*"To his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.*

*"The Memorial of Christ' Kilby, Agent to his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New-England.*

*"Most Humbly Sheweth,*

*"That in consequence of the Advices dispatcht to North America, it is most probable his Majesty's Colonies have made preparation for the Arrival*

<sup>1</sup> It is to be regretted that the public and private correspondence and other papers of Sir William Pepperrell should ever have been scattered, or any portion of them destroyed. Their fate is another illustration of the insecurity that attends private collections, no matter how valuable, unless they are placed in the custody of some institution whose existence is not subject to the ordinary accidents of a single life, or the caprices of a single will. Is it too much to hope that, before many years elapse, all the Pepperrell papers will come together? It will make but little difference what depository is selected, provided it be safe and accessible.

<sup>2</sup> The credit of having discovered, and first made known to historical students of this day, the life and character of Christopher Kilby, is due to the critical researches of Charles W. Tuttle, Esq. See his valuable paper in the twenty-sixth volume of the HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, xxvi. 43-8, and 437.

of the Expedition intended thither, and considering the unprecedented dispatch of the New-England Expedition against Louisburg, it is to be apprehended that the Zeal and Vigilance of his Majesty's Subjects in that part of the World may have animated them not only to raise but possibly to march a Number of Troops in confidence of securing some proper passes, and being effectually supported therein and enabled to advance towards their Enemies at Canada, by the junction of his Majesty's Forces from hence.

"That the French Fleet having escaped Adm<sup>l</sup> Martin, may probably proceed to North America, and after harrassing the Fishery, and destroying the Settlements at Newfoundland, taking possession of Nova Scotia, distressing all the Trade of the Continent, and landing in and pillaging every part of the English Settlements (Boston & Louisburg only excepted), may pass into the River of St. Laurence thro' the Straits of Belle Isle, and not only secure Canada, by throwing Troops into Quebec and Montreal, but by that means induce the Indians to join them and thereby be enabled to cut off and destroy such parties of his Majesty's American Subjects as may possibly be advanced towards Canada in faith of being supported by the Expedition which has been notified to them.

"That there has been no Intelligence from Louisburg since January last, and none from Boston since the middle of April.

"That the next Advices which may be hourly expected, will probably be of the utmost Importance.

"Wherefore your Memorialist most humbly prays, if the whole of the present Expedition under his Excellency, General St. Clair, should not be immediately necessary to the more important Concerns of the Kingdom, that such other part of the said Armament as will not be prejudicial to his Majesty's Service in Europe may be continued a few days in such Situation, that if the Advices from America should make it necessary, they may be sent forward to perfect any plan entered into by his Majesty's American Subjects for an attack, or to afford them such succour as may possibly be of absolute necessity for their defence and Security.

"And your memorialist shall ever pray, &c.

"*London, July 1, 1746.*"

Mr. Kilby's memorial, it will be observed, is an earnest appeal to the ministry to send immediate reinforcements to America in anticipation of a threatened attack by the French fleet. We may more fully understand the urgency of the case, if we recall the history of the times touching the long contest between France and Great Britain for territorial and political supremacy in North America.

The capture of Louisburg<sup>1</sup> in 1745, brought about chiefly by the energy and prowess of New-England troops, stimulated the inhabitants of the eastern provinces, especially Massachusetts, to attempt further conquests; in fact, to bring the whole of North America under the dominion of the British crown. This idea seems to have definitely shaped itself in the minds of Governor Shirley, Sir William Pepperrell and Admiral Warren as early as the month of October, 1745,<sup>2</sup> and the project was at once pressed upon the attention of the ministry.

<sup>1</sup> Letters of Pepperrell, Shirley, and others, about the first Louisburg expedition will be found in the Mass. His. Society's Collections, I. 13-60. See also the HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, v. 88, xii, 263.

<sup>2</sup> See Provin. Papers of New-Hampshire, v. 949-50, for letters of Governors Shirley and Wentworth on this subject, as early as April, 1745.

The latter gave their approval; and in the ensuing spring the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the colonies, entered upon the work with more than his ordinary zeal. All the provincial governors, as far south as Virginia, were urged to cooperate in the expedition. Shirley and Pepperrell received orders to put their royal regiments in condition for garrison duty at Louisburg, and to promote the design by every means in their power. The plan of the campaign contemplated an invasion of Canada by land and naval forces combined: the former under the command of Lieutenant-general James St. Clair,<sup>1</sup> and the latter under Admiral Sir Peter Warren. It was intended that a squadron of ships-of-war and a large number of troops should be sent from Europe, making a junction at Louisburg with the troops raised in New-England; and that they should proceed, together, up the St. Lawrence. The forces raised in New-York, and further south, were to rendezvous in Albany, and thence, under the command of Brigadier-general William Gooch, governor of Virginia, move against Crown Point and Montreal. The province of Massachusetts raised three thousand men for this expedition, and the other provinces furnished in all about as many more. But to the great disappointment of all the provinces concerned, especially of the New-England, the movement was delayed until the season was too far advanced, and then was given up by the ministry, after extensive preparations had been made both in England and America. This result was chiefly due, it was alleged, to delays caused by conflicting orders from the war-office, based upon the disturbed condition of Europe and the embarrassments of the British administration. It now appears, however, that the miscarriage of this expedition was mainly owing to the inefficiency of the Duke of Newcastle.

France, in the meanwhile, was not an idle spectator of the events transpiring in America. The success of the provincial forces at Louisburg, while it astonished all Europe, aroused France to attempt not only the recovery of what she had lost, but the conquest of Nova Scotia and the extirpation of the English along the sea-coast from Nova Scotia to Georgia. For this she had plenty of troops, a formidable navy, and able commanders. The plan concerted by Shirley, Pepperrell and Warren for the conquest of Canada, above referred to, was no secret at Versailles, and the assembling of the French expeditionary force at Brest was as well known in Boston as in London. Preparations for the reduction of Canada were being rapidly perfected in America; yet it was obvious that the provincial troops unaided by the navy of Great Britain could accomplish but little; and that the removal of so large a portion of the arms-bearing population from the sea-coast would expose it to sudden and ruinous

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that three other officers of this surname figure more or less prominently in the military annals of Europe and America in the 18th century, namely: Gen. Patlek, Gen. Arthur, and Sir John; the last named as quartermaster-general under Blandock.

attacks by the enemy. The news at last came that the Brest squadron had escaped the British cruisers and sailed westward, and might at any moment be thundering at our doors.

During the summer and autumn of the year 1746, France sent out no less than three powerful fleets designed for active operations on our coast. These were to be joined by such squadrons as were already in the West Indies and in other American waters. The threatening movements of the latter, the expected arrival of the entire fleet with troops, and the delay of the auxiliary forces promised from England, produced intense and prolonged excitement in America, such as we might have experienced at almost any period of our late war, had our sea-ports been menaced for months with the descent of the combined navies of France and Great Britain. "England," says Hutchinson, "was not more alarmed with the Spanish armada in 1588, than Boston and other North American sea-ports were with the arrival of this fleet in their neighborhood." He adds, "The firmest mind will bend upon the first advice of imminent danger to its country. Even the great De Witt swooned when he first opened a letter giving intelligence of England's confederating with France to enslave the Dutch, though the next moment he recovered his natural courage and vivacity."<sup>1</sup> So in the presence of a great external danger, the ambitious longing of the patriots of 1746 for colonial independence was turned, as it was on other like occasions, into an appeal for succor from "the hand of tyranny," but it revived as soon as the peril had vanished.

Everything was done by the New-England provinces in this emergency that was practicable; but what they could not, and the British navies did not, accomplish was brought about by tempests and sickness. The French armadas of 1746, like the Spanish of 1588, perished without striking a single effective blow.

The Honorable James St. Clair, at this time a lieutenant-general in the British army, was selected to command this expedition. He was the second son of Lord Henry St. Clair, eighth Lord Sinclair. The family of St. Clair was one of the most ancient and highly connected in Scotland; its descent from Norman, Scandinavian, and Scottish kings and nobles being clearly traceable.<sup>2</sup>

His elder brother having engaged in the rebellion of 1715, was attainted by act of parliament, and, upon the death of their father, the estates and the title passed to James, who thus became *de jure* ninth Lord Sinclair. But he never assumed the title; and when, subsequently, his brother's attainder was removed, James transferred to him the family estates. James entered the army, and on the 26th of July, 1722, obtained the rank of colonel; that of major-general on the 15th of August, 1741; and that of lieutenant-general, the 4th of June, 1745. In the latter year he was quartermaster-gene-

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson's History, ii. 382.

<sup>2</sup> Burke's Peerage and Baronetage (ed. 1867), title *Sinclair*.

ral of the British forces in Flanders. General St. Clair passed the greater portion of a life of active military service on the continent of Europe. He acquired the reputation of being an able officer, and more than once was entrusted by the king with diplomatic missions.

Hoping to escape censure for the large expenditures caused by the projected American expedition of 1746, the ministry directed General St. Clair, in connection with Admiral Lestock, against the judgment of both those officers, to attempt the reduction of l'Orlent (the depot of the French East India Company), la Rochefort, and la Rochelle, on the coast of Brittany. The forces, made up chiefly of those which had been intended for Canada, and consisting of sixteen ships-of-the-line, eight frigates, and two bomb-ketches, with land-troops to the number of 5,800, set out from Plymouth on the 14th day of September, 1746. This attempt, owing to an almost total ignorance of the condition of the places to be attacked, on the part both of the war-office and of the commanders of the expedition, proved an utter failure.<sup>1</sup> The conduct of the British ministry in undertaking this expedition, as well as in abandoning the one lately proposed, was gravely censured in both hemispheres. They furnished an example, since then repeatedly and unwisely imitated, of a cabinet or an administration of civilians overruling the judgment of experienced officers upon purely military affairs, and from no higher motives than such as spring out of party exigencies.<sup>2</sup>

General St. Clair was a member of parliament many years, having been elected for the Dysart boroughs in 1722, and subsequently for the counties of Sutherland and Fife. At the time of his death, which occurred at Dysart near the close of the year 1762, he was a member of parliament for the county of Fife, governor of Cork, and colonel of the first regiment of foot, or "the royals."

It is an interesting fact that, when the expedition of 1746 destined for Canada was preparing, the celebrated David Hume accepted the invitation of General St. Clair to accompany him as military secretary; and went in that capacity with this officer in the attempted reduction of l'Orlent. By appointment of his chief, Hume also filled the difficult and responsible position of judge advocate.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, in the diplomatic missions of General St. Clair to the courts of Austria and Turin in 1748, Hume was his secretary and aide-de-camp. The failure of the attempted reduction of l'Orlent became the subject of bitter and endless controversy, and it is fortunate that we now have a candid and intelligible account of that

<sup>1</sup> Hume says, on the 15th, but the larger number of authorities say, the 14th.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Charnock (Blo. Navals), Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, the Naval Chronicle, and the general histories of this period.

<sup>3</sup> See Bancroft's Hist. United States, iii. 461, and other authorities.

<sup>4</sup> Burton's Life and Correspondence of David Hume, l. 209-210, gives the date as November 30; but according to the Gentleman's Magazine, xxxii. 690, his death occurred October 4th.

<sup>5</sup> The advantage to the historian from having been an eye-witness of military operations, as evidenced by the works of Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Guicciardini, Davila and Rapin, and, in a less degree, by the histories of Niebuhr and Hume, has not escaped the attention of historical students.

expedition drawn by the pen of Hume himself.<sup>1</sup> But for the change in the direction of the Canada expedition, it is probable that Boston would have had the honor of a visit from Hume, the most distinguished philosopher and historian of his age; for Christopher Kilby in a letter to Thomas Hancock, written just before the fleet was expected to sail for America, requests Hancock to allow General St. Clair to lodge at his house,—the Hancock House<sup>2</sup> of our day,—till he could be otherwise accommodated.<sup>3</sup>

[CHRISTOPHER KILBY TO SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.]

“Spring Garden, 30 May, 1747.

“Hon<sup>d</sup> Sir.

“I have delivered Major Wise who goes Passenger in one of the men of war, your Patent for Baronet, in a box with the Broad Seal. The Grant of Arms from the Herald's office in a Glass Frame cased, a Small Box containing your own watch & Lady Pepperrells with a Gold chain, an Egg, a Seal, a Crystal heart & a picture of the Duke, also your own Seal very neatly cut & a box with the Impression of three faces.<sup>4</sup>

“Since my last another bill has been presented to me drawn by Capt. Mason<sup>5</sup> for £100. One from Lt. Dwight<sup>6</sup> £100. two from Lt. Johnson<sup>7</sup> 38. 9. 4. and £61. 10. 8. making £100. & two from Robert McKennen<sup>8</sup> for £100 & £50. I have never had any information of Mr. McKennen's being in the Regiment, and adding him & Lt. Whatmough<sup>9</sup> to the list of Lieutenants it makes 22 instead of 21, and that Whatmough is a Lieutenant seems Evident as he has been the subject of a Court Martial, and a Court of Enquiry has satt upon his Commission. It is however very extraordinary that the return of the Court of Enquiry which was delivered into the Secretary at war's own hands is not to be found. But as the Secretary at war has wrote to Louisbourg on this occasion the affair will doubtless be cleared up. I think it impossible that Lieut. Whatmough can have one of the Eleven blank Commissions Lt. Col. Ryan carry'd with him to deliver you. And the other ten were filled up here—the seventh in rank & dated the 7<sup>th</sup> September was given to one William Fullwood whom I never saw or could hear of. But I apprehend however that may be that its very material to know whether this same Mr. Whatmough was appointed by your directions or with your consent, for it was never intended that any of the Commissions which went from hence should be fill'd up by any other person. There is certainly some thing wrong about this commission as his power of attorney to his wife bears date before Mr. Whatmough's departure from England. I can come at nothing respecting this affair here (as the return of the Court of Enquiry is lost) to be depended upon further than these Intimations. I fear I shall not be able to procure any more money from the Pay Office on acc't of the non-commission officers & private mens

<sup>1</sup> Burton's Life and Correspondence of David Hume, I. (Appendix A).

<sup>2</sup> Built in 1737, and taken down in 1863.

<sup>3</sup> HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, xxvi. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Probably a portrait of the Duke of Newcastle. It would be interesting to know what has become of these articles.

<sup>5</sup> John Tufton Mason.

<sup>6</sup> Edmund Dwight.

<sup>7</sup> John Warren Johnson, a nephew of Admiral Sir Peter Warren.

<sup>8</sup> Sometimes written Mackinen and McKenny by Sir William Pepperrell.

<sup>9</sup> Edmund Whatmough. Whatmough is given by Pepperrell as the surname of this officer.

subsistence till we have advice from Louisbourg after their ships arrival there, and the paymaster's deputy & the remitters have been able to adjust with the Regimental paymasters respecting the pay of the last year. But I shall notwithstanding upon any advice or directions you may be pleased to give me, pay the several Bills that are now presented, tho' its very extraordinary that £350 of them should be from the same spot Philadelphia & drawn by three different officers.

"The Cloathing goes by this opportunity to Louisbourg with an acct thereof, and we have been rather governed as to the number of suits by what might pass muster with the General Officers than what were absolutely necessary to the men on the spot. It will be necessary that an exact account should be kept of the expense of Inlisting, as it is yet apprehended that there will be a very great saving out of the non effective pay, and if so its intended to apply it to the payment of part of the Province demands for taking & holding the place. But little assistance can be expected from this quarter by any body that knows the difficulty of inlisting, tho' if they who are to pay the money are inclined to amuse themselves it is not in our power to avoid it.

"Your worthy Friend Admiral Warren is created a Knight<sup>1</sup> of the Bath thro' his late success, which however robs North America of his good services, and I shall be very glad if we are not neglected thro' a persuasion that the taking of the men of war intended thither has removed every danger. I am impatiently waiting the pleasure of a letter from you, & am with the greatest respect to Lady Pepperell, your Family & all its friends,

"Sir, Your most obedient humble Sev't

"CHRIS. KILBY."

"All the officers of both Regiments are under orders to proceed to their posts on pain of being superceeded except Capt. Boyle who has leave of absence for the recovery of his health."

Lieutenant-colonel William Ryan, spoken of in this letter, was an officer in Pepperrell's royal American regiment. He was an Englishman, and when he first joined the regiment brought over a number of commissions. From some of these he erased names and dates, substituting others; and some which were sent in blank he filled up, without authority. He also made false accusations against his colonel, Sir William Pepperrell, charging him among other things with selling commissions. For his conduct in this matter Ryan, upon the king's order, was tried by a court-martial, and cashiered.<sup>2</sup>

[SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL TO MR. SECRETARY CORBETT.]

"Piscataqua in New-England, Sept. 12, 1749.

"HONORABLE SIR:

"As I make no doubt but that long before this you have heard that His Majestys Ship America<sup>3</sup> is all compleated, and will you be pleased to give me liberty to desire this favor of you, that as Col. Nath<sup>l</sup> Meserve

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Parsons (Life of Sir William Pepperrell) and Adams (Annals of Portsmouth) are in error in saying that Admiral Warren was made a baronet.

<sup>2</sup> Parsons's Life of Pepperrell.

<sup>3</sup> A list of the vessels of war built in Portsmouth between the years 1690 and 1868, with historical notes, by Commodore Geo. Henry Preble, U.S.N., will be found in the REGISTER, xxii. 393-402.

t for the change  
ble that Boston  
ost distinguished  
Kilby in a letter  
expected to sail  
Clair to lodge  
e could be other-

ERRELL.]

30 May, 1747.

ger in one of the  
Broad Seal. The  
me cased, a Small  
a Gold chain, an  
so your own Seal  
es.

ne drawn by Capt.  
Lt. Johnson<sup>7</sup> 38. 9.  
Kennen<sup>8</sup> for £100  
Kennen's being in  
list of Lieutenants  
is a Lieutenant  
rtial, and a Court  
very extraordinary  
delivered into the  
s the Secretary at  
will doubtless he  
h can have one of  
ith him to deliver  
h in rank & dated  
whom I never saw  
y be that its very  
appointed by your  
ed that any of the  
by any other per-  
mission as his  
mough's departure  
affair here (as the  
upon further than  
any more money  
ers & private mens

A).

interesting to know what

pperrell.  
surname of this officer.



the builder of sd ship by the desire of Rear Admiral Knowles made her some feet longer by ye Keel than ye contract, that you would mention this to their Lordships that he may have some allowance for it as this Length must be in the body of the ship the builder declares that he shall be a great sufferer if this is not done.

"Before Mr. Wallis came here to look after the ship I constantly visited her twice every week to see that the timber was sound and well worked & as I was obliged to go in a boat upwards of three miles by water ye Expence of the hands with drawing and copying the contract cost me upw<sup>de</sup> of fifty pounds Sterl. besides my own time and expence. I was likewise at some expence to procure part of a cargo of Naval Stors to lode her & after to dispose of them as I had direction so to do.

"I desire that you would mention this to their Lordships and what they see cause to allow me I shall submit to, and whenever they have any further commands I shall take a pleasure to Execute them."

"I am with the Utmost Esteem,

"Hon<sup>ble</sup> Sir,

"Your Faithful and Most Obedient Humble Servant,

"W<sup>m</sup>. PEPPERRELL."

"The Honorable Thomas Corbett, Esq.,

"Secretary to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Lord Comm<sup>r</sup> of the Admiralty."

The ship-of-war *America*, 44 guns, referred to in the preceding letter, was the third vessel of war built in Portsmouth, N. H. Her constructor was Colonel Nathaniel Meserve,<sup>1</sup> lieutenant-colonel of Moore's regiment at the siege of Louisburg, in 1745. He was colonel of a regiment under Abererombie and Winslow in the Crown Point expedition of 1756, and held the same rank in the expedition against Louisburg in 1758, where he died of disease contracted in the service. He was an excellent shipwright and a brave and intelligent soldier; and, whether he was fighting the French at Louisburg, or defending Fort Edward against both French and Indians, or building ships in Portsmouth, his work was always thorough.

The *America* was begun in 1747 and launched on the 4th of May, 1749. The terms of the contract under which she was built have not been preserved, and we have no exact knowledge of her tonnage or cost. The ship-of-war *Boston*, 44 guns, said to have been built in New-England and launched in 1749, was a vessel of 862 tons. The board,<sup>2</sup> appointed by Gov. Benning Wentworth at the request of Sir William Pepperrell, fixed the price to be paid to the constructor of the *America* at nine pounds sterling per ton. Her cost to the admiralty was, therefore, not far from £8,000.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a sketch of Col. Meserve, by Charles W. Tuttle, Esq., see REGISTER, xxiii. 201-203.

<sup>2</sup> Jotham Odiorne, Joshua Pelire, and Mark Hunking Wentworth.

<sup>3</sup> The price fixed by the board was based upon the model and specifications for a 44 gun-ship, which were sent from the admiralty-office. By the advice of Admiral Knowles, she was made some feet longer than was first intended. How much her tonnage was thereby increased is not now known. Brewster (*Rambles about Portsmouth*) calls the *America* a 50 gun-ship. This may be based upon her increased length. Pepperrell intimates in another letter that Meserve entered into contracts to build two ships of war; but after a good deal of research we fail to ascertain whether he built more than one, or where or by whom the *Boston* was built. The sloop-of-war *Essex* was built about this time by Benjamin Hallowell, of Boston.

Admiral Sir Charles Knowles, Bart., was descended from Sir Thomas Knowles, who attended Richard the First to the Holy Land, and received from him the arms since borne by the family. He was the natural son of Charles Knowles, Earl of Banbury, by a French lady of rank and uncommon beauty. He was born in the year 1702, and was educated at the charge of his half-brother, Lord Wallingford.

At the age of fourteen he entered the British navy, and served as midshipman under Admiral Sir George Byng, afterward Lord Torrington. He was present in the famous battle off Cape Passaro, Sicily, in 1718, and in the still more memorable contest between the British and Spanish fleets near Messina in August of the same year. While yet a lieutenant, his reputation as an engineer and mechanic was such that he was requested to superintend the building of Westminster bridge over the Thames, but unfortunately that duty was afterward assigned to another, and the bridge eventually gave way precisely where Mr. Knowles predicted.

About the year 1727 he was raised to the rank of commander, made post by Lord Torrington in 1731, and received his commission as captain, February 4, 1737. In the year 1739 he commanded a frigate in the West Indies under Vice-admiral Vernon; and in the brilliant naval operations, in the West Indies and on the coast of South America, during the ensuing three years, he was of the highest service to that admiral, and to Brigadier-general Wentworth.<sup>1</sup> Captain Knowles was the first person to carry a ship-of-the-line into English Harbor, Antigua, which he accomplished in February, 1743. In the same year he had a separate command for the reduction of la Guira and Porto Cavallo, but this expedition failed of complete success. In 1744, he and Captain Peter Warren jointly commanded a squadron stationed off the Leeward Islands, and had the good fortune to capture a large number of prizes, namely, three Spanish and twenty-one French ships. In September, 1745, he returned to England, and in January of the next year had the command of a detachment for observation in the English Channel.

On the 23d of May, 1746, Commodore Knowles arrived at Louisbourg, as the successor of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, and, on the departure of Pepperrell and Warren in the month of June, he assumed the governorship of Cape Breton, to which he had been appointed. On the 15th of July, 1747, he was promoted rear-admiral of the white, and two months later sailed for Jamaica, as commander-in-chief on that station. In March, 1748, he carried the strongly fortified forts of St. Louis,<sup>2</sup> St. Domingo, after a severe contest; and on the 12th of May of that year was promoted rear-admiral of the red. On the first of October following, he fought a severe and partially successful battle with the Spanish forces under Vice-admiral Reggio, which were convoying the annual plate-fleet, containing about 40,000,000 of

<sup>1</sup> As to the character of this officer, see Wright's Life of Maj. gen. James Wolfe, 15, 17.

<sup>2</sup> Admiral Penn and General Venables, acting under the orders of Cromwell, in 1655, and Admiral Vernon, nearly a century later, failed in their efforts to reduce these forts.

dollars, from Vera Cruz. This battle lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon to eleven o'clock at night, and but for the darkness would have resulted in a complete victory.<sup>1</sup>

In 1752, Rear-admiral Knowles, then a member of parliament for Gatton in Surrey, was appointed governor of Jamaica, in room of Edward Trelawney, Esq.; and his administration, which terminated by his resignation in January, 1756, was generally conceded to have been eminently successful.<sup>2</sup> In 1757 he was second in command to Admiral Sir Edward Hawke in the fruitless expedition against la Rochefort. Upon the management of this expedition, particularly upon Admiral Knowles's part in it, Smollett, then a mercenary scribbler, made such severe strictures in the *Critical Review*, as led to his being tried on the charge of writing and publishing a false and malicious libel, fined £100, and imprisoned in the Marshalsea.<sup>3</sup> Smollett was originally a loblally-boy, or inferior attendant on the surgeon on board Commodore Knowles's ship at la Guira, and from the latter received his first warrant as surgeon's mate, and repeated acts of kindness, which he afterward repaid in his libels and in his history of England, with the baseness characteristic of his nature, "by suppressing or distorting every circumstance that tended to the honor of his former patron."<sup>4</sup>

For such conduct neither Smollett nor his friends could invoke for him the charity ordinarily extended to the rashness of youth; nor could they claim immunity for him on the ground that he had reached that condition, sometimes seen in the case of an old man who has outlived all his capacities, save for the vices of avarice and mendacity, and all his faculties except that which has become strongest through habitual exercise in depicting his own infirmities.

In 1755, Admiral Knowles had been advanced to be rear-admiral of the blue, and vice-admiral of the white; and, after his return to England, he was promoted vice-admiral of the red. Subsequently he was promoted to be admiral of the blue, and admiral of the white. In October, 1765, he was created a baronet, and in November was made rear-admiral of the navies and seas of Great Britain, as successor to Lord Hawke.

In October, 1770, he accepted the invitation of the Empress Catharine to preside over the department of marine in Russia, and was made a member of the imperial council of state. There he remained till 1774. He re-constructed and greatly enlarged the Russian navy on his own plans, and built the docks of Cronstadt and other im-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Charnock and the criticisms of Dr. Berkenhout on the conduct of this battle. The authorities conflict in dates and in opinions.

<sup>2</sup> Charnock, iv. 362-3. *Naval Chronicle*, i. 116-118.

<sup>3</sup> Admiral Knowles would have overlooked the libel, but his friends, among whom were the Earl of Mansfield, then Mr. Murray, and Hume Campbell, afterward lord-register of Scotland, would not permit it. The admiral being a gentleman, disdained to notice the cowardly bluster of an anonymous pamphleteer; believing, no doubt, that the utterer of the calumny would be the first victim of his own malice.

<sup>4</sup> Wright's *Life of Major-general James Wolfe*, 375, 380; *Naval Chronicle*, i. 119 (5th ed.). See also Hume's opinion of Smollett as an historian.

portant works. His services, both professional and political, in behalf of Russia and England, at the same time, are entitled to special notice. They stamp him as a naval officer and engineer of extraordinary skill, and as a statesman of no mean capacity.<sup>1</sup>

When he entered the service of the Empress Catharine, in 1770, his own government, with whose consent that step was taken, dropped him from his hard-earned rank in the navy, and took away his half-pay allowance. Catharine, too, was mean in her rewards; and, after four years of brilliant and meritorious labors in Russia, he returned poorer than he went. Upon his return, he made application to his own government for arrears of pay, and filed a memorial of his naval service, from which the following is extracted:

"That he had been in thirteen general actions during the wars that had happened within his time; and commanded in six himself. In that of la Guira and Porto Cavallo, out of six ships he lost nearly 600 men, killed and wounded. That he took two French ships with one regiment of Fitzjames on board, consisting of 630 men, with the count, and five other general officers (in 1745), going to Scotland; and beat back three other ships with Lord Clare's regiment, into Dunkirk: which service His Royal Highness the late Duke of Cumberland often acknowledged facilitated his victory at Culloden. That in the late war he drew up the original plans for attacking Senegal, Gorée, Louisbourg, Martinique, and the Havana, by which plans, and the intelligence he furnished, all those places were taken; the several copies of which, His Majesty has now in his possession. That he served also several years in quality of governor of Louisbourg and Jamaica, and fortified both those places." \* \* \* \*

He had served his king and country long and well; and, by habitual generosity<sup>2</sup> both to officers and men, and by large expenditures from his own means for the public benefit, had impoverished himself and his family; nevertheless, he was permitted to pass the remainder of his days in poverty and comparative obscurity, in that England to whose immense wealth and political influence he had so largely contributed.

His death occurred at his house in Bulstrode street, London, on the 30th of November, 1777, and he was buried in the middle aisle of the church of St. Nicholas, Guildford, Surrey.

We have seen that he was a good engineer and a capable officer; brave and skilful in war, vigilant and useful in time of peace. But he was more than a good engineer, and more than a good fighter. Chancellor Hardwicke declared that "his civil administration as governor and chancellor of Jamaica had never been surpassed;" and Mr. Beach, the attorney-general, said that "but for his naval profession he should have thought Mr. Knowles had been bred to the bar." "He

<sup>1</sup> Naval Chronicle, ii. 265-287; where he is styled the "second father of the Russian navy."

<sup>2</sup> The £3000 that fell to his share of prize-money at the taking of Port Louis, he distributed among the sailors of the fleet, and a like sum due him for his capture of Spanish ships off Havana he distributed in a similar manner. After his death, notes-of-hand amounting to £5000, for money loaned by him to officers of the navy, were found among his effects.

translated a work of M. de la Croix; and published a vindication of Sir John Mordaunt's conduct. He also invented a machine for discovering the pressure of the wind and its weight; and a method for ascertaining its velocity; in this particular having "preceeded the invention of the celebrated Euler, as the latter himself acknowledged."<sup>1</sup>

In the war of 1758, Admiral Knowles was offered £20,000 by the French government for his recipe for curing beef and pork, but he refused to sell to the French, or to receive any compensation from his own government. The subsequent publication of this recipe caused an entire revolution in the method of preparing beef and pork for sea-use; and it was the means of preventing great waste, and much of the usual sickness arising from scurvy. Meats prepared by this process have been known to preserve a wholesome condition after six years of sea-transportation in the hottest climates. This recipe, or one much like it, has been generally employed in all the navies and in the mercantile-marine service from that time to this. Its efficacy is as well known to the farmers of America as to the sailors of the tropics.

The English colonies in America were greatly indebted in many perilous times to the skill and courage of the British navy, and frequently in time of peace to the friendly interest of its commanders; but to none, probably, more than to Admiral Knowles whose services as governor of Louisburg and Jamaica, and whose various naval commands in American waters, brought him into close connection with public affairs. He rendered important services, also, as a commissioner, with Shirley, in collecting the necessary data for determining what portion of the expenses of the proposed Canada expedition should be refunded by the imperial government to the American provinces.<sup>2</sup>

He was an intimate friend and correspondent<sup>3</sup> of Sir William Pepperrell, who relied much upon his judgment. He frequently visited Boston; and brought Sir William to this place on his second return from Louisburg, in October, 1747. It was during this visit that an event occurred, which has furnished a text on which historians and annalists, from that day to this, have founded statements, more or less highly colored, at the expense of Admiral Knowles. Gathered from Hutchinson, from the newspapers of the day, and other equally credible sources, the most material facts in the case are as follows:

After refitting his ships, which had been badly shattered<sup>4</sup> by the violent storm which they encountered on their way from Louisburg, the admiral proceeded to Nantasket roads and anchored. While waiting there for the assembling of the merchant-fleet which he was to convoy, a large number of his men deserted. In accordance with

<sup>1</sup> Naval Chronicle, iii.

<sup>2</sup> Provincial Papers of New-Hampshire, v. 534-6.

<sup>3</sup> Several of Admiral Knowles's letters will be found in Parsons's Life of Pepperrell.

<sup>4</sup> The squadron, consisting of the frigates Canterbury and Warwick, and the schooners Achilles, Essex and Spry, left Louisburg on the 19th of September and encountered the hurricane off Cape Sable on the 24th. The Canterbury had to throw over her 16 upper deck guns; the Warwick lost her masts, and the other vessels suffered severely. (Boston Evening Post, Oct. 5, and 12, 1747.)

the custom of that period, in such cases, the admiral resolved to make good his loss by impressments; and on the seventeenth of November he sent officers and men in boats to Boston to accomplish that purpose. They took sailors from the merchant-vessels and laborers from the wharves. This proceeding called together an excited mob of "foreign seamen, servants, negroes, and other persons of mean and vile condition,"<sup>1</sup> who seized and held some of the officers, and assaulted the town-house in King (now State) street, where the general court was then in session, and where one or more of the officers had taken refuge. The whole town and vicinity was under the control of the mob for three days, and several of the naval officers barely escaped violence. The governor, having called in vain upon the local militia for support in his efforts to restore order, took refuge in Castle William. After several days of tumult, with threats of violence on the one side and of retaliation on the other, negotiations were had with the admiral, and he was induced to release most, if not all, of the inhabitants who had been impressed; and quiet was restored. The tact and wise counsel of Sir William Pepperrell were successfully employed in these negotiations.<sup>2</sup>

The act which provoked this mob, is entitled to the benefit of such apology as may be drawn from the custom of the navy in cases of desertion; from the admiral's averment that his officers had exceeded instructions; and from the fact, alleged, that many of his deserters had taken refuge on board the very merchant-ships which he was waiting to conduct beyond the reach of French and Spanish cruisers.<sup>3</sup>

But a more pleasing incident occurred during an earlier visit of the admiral, in April, 1747, when the news arrived of the brave defence of the garrison at "Number 4" (on Connecticut River in New-Hampshire) by Captain Phineas Stevens, against a protracted assault by a party of French and Indians, under the lead of M. Debelinc. Admiral Knowles was so well pleased with the conduct of Captain Stevens that he presented him with as costly and elegant a sword as could be procured in Boston. And afterward the town-ship, "Number 4," was named Charlestown, by Captain Stevens and his associate proprietors, in honor of the admiral.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Language of the "Freeholders and other Inhabitants of Boston" in their address to Gov. Shirley, Nov. 20, 1747. (Boston Evening Post, Dec. 21, 1747.) See also the governor's proclamation. (Boston Evening Post of Nov. 23; News-Letter, Nov. 27.)

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bancroft (History, iii, 465), in referring to Admiral Knowles in connection with this affair, seems to adopt the language applied to that officer by Smollett in his strictures in the Critical Review. Where is the evidence of their correctness?

<sup>3</sup> A somewhat different version of this affair is given by Charnock (*Bio. Navalis*, iv, 356): (A letter from Louisburg, dated Nov. 17 [sic], 1747.) "We have advice from New-Hampshire that there has been an insurrection at Boston, occasioned by Admiral Knowles ordering a schooner to be advertised to go as a privateer on the Spanish main, for which they beat up for volunteers, and a great number of men enlisted, but when he was ready with his ships to sail he declared the schooner a ship of war, and immediately impressed all the men from the merchant ships in the harbor that were ready to go under his convoy. This exasperated the people to such a degree that they detained some of his officers on shore, and carried their barge up into the streets. Gov. Shirley retired to his castle, and the admiral had ordered his ships up into the town, threatening to fire upon it if they did not release his officers and barge; but was prevented by the winds shifting while he was under sail, otherwise great mischief might have ensued; the people being in possession of all the batteries of the town."

<sup>4</sup> Boston Evening Post, No. 611. Belknap, ii, 248-251.

In the same month and year a correspondence took place between Josiah Willard, secretary of the province of Massachusetts, and Admiral Knowles, which was honorable to the character of both these men.<sup>1</sup> An unsigned, autograph copy of Secretary Willard's letter reads as follows :

" Sir,—I doubt not but you will condescend to allow me the Freedom to acquaint you with my Grief & Surprise to hear the Name of God profaned yesterday. It seems to me a great Unhappiness that the distinguished Reputation you enjoy (& I believe very justly) of a publick & self denying Spirit & genuine Love to your Country, & those Abilities of Mind which render these Virtues in a gentleman of your high Rank eminently useful to Mankind, should be in any Degree impaired by such a Practice. I presume you have observed the Sense which the Legislature of Great Britain has expressed of this too common Evil in their late Act for suppressing it. Because the Rules of Hospitality might seem to forbid my interposing in this Case yesterday, tho' with the greatest Modesty & Humility, I have chosen this Method to discharge my indispenible duty as well to you as to that glorious Being upon whom I depend for every Moment of my Existence & for every Blessing which I enjoy, & at whose awful Tribunal I must very soon appear to receive the decisive Sentence on my eternal State.

" I have the utmost Confidence in your Goodness to excuse this Liberty.

" I remain with great respect & with sincere desires of your best Prosperity,

" Sir, Your most humble, &c.

The following is the reply :

" Boston, April 30<sup>th</sup> 1747.

" Sir,—I have the favour of your Letter and beg to assure you I receive your kind Admonition (w<sup>th</sup> great Candor) as I persuade myself you intended

<sup>1</sup> Admiral Knowles had a warm and impulsive temperament, which sometimes led him into errors of judgment and conduct. But more than once when he did not deserve it, he was visited with censure and even abuse.

On the 24th of December, 1747, Dr. William Douglass, then a resident of Boston, published in the xvth Number of his monthly magazine (entitled "A Summary, Historical and Political") a scurrilous attack on the personal and professional character of Admiral Knowles, a copy of which Gov. Shirley sent to the admiral, after he had sailed for Jamaica, with the remark that the author was beneath notice.

For this defamation of his character, the admiral brought an action against Douglass, in the inferior court of judicature for the county of Suffolk, Mass.; and at the July term, 1748, the plaintiff was beaten, the defendant obtaining judgment for costs. On appeal to the superior court, at the February term, 1748-9, the admiral obtained judgment for damages, in the sum of £750 sterling, and for his costs. From this judgment Douglass appealed, and, on the 8th of September following, this judgment was reversed. Thereupon, the admiral had leave to carry an appeal to the king in privy-council. Whether this appeal was further prosecuted, we have no means of ascertaining.

The note containing this defamatory matter was suppressed by the author in the second edition of his publication.

Douglass seems to have been a busy-body in collecting materials for his magazine, but he was as careless as to facts as he was uncautious in the expression of his opinions. It was the opinion of Adam Smith that Dr. Douglass, "in his history of the American colonies, is often incorrect; and it was his foible to measure the worth of men by his personal friendship for them."

A writer in the *Boston News-Letter* of June 10, 1748, says, Dr. Douglass pours out his calumnies upon the "objects of his spleen and ill-nature, among whom he deals his bites like a mad dog, at random, and with as little reason, breaking through all rules of truth, common sense, and common decency." Evidently he indulged his habit of invective until he ceased to appreciate the violence of his words. He could hardly have written more like a savage, had he spent the greater part of his life in writing upon Indian warfare.

it; and am truly Sorry I should transgress the great Com'ands of our Maker, as well as the Laws of Hospitality: permit me to assure you I have as great an Abhorrence of the Crime as any man living has, and tho' I cannot charge my memory with the particular Subject I might do it upon, yet I am perswaded it must have Slipped from me or you cou'd not have hid it to my Charge. However do me the Justice, S<sup>r</sup>, to believe that it is not a common Practice with me, and that I stand convicted, and shall have a more Watchful regard for the future.

"I sincerely thank you for your good Opinion of me, & kind Wishes, and beg to assure you I entertain the same Sentiments towards you, & am with great truth,

"Sir, Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Hum<sup>l</sup>. Ser<sup>t</sup>.

"CHAS<sup>r</sup> KNOWLES.

"JOSIAH WILLARD, Esq<sup>r</sup>."

Admiral Knowles married, December 23, 1740, Mary Alleyne, sister to Sir John-Gay Alleyne, Bart., of Barbadoes, whose other sister married Mr. Bouverie, afterward Earl of Radnor. She died March 16, 1742. They had one son, Edward, who reached the rank of captain in the royal navy, and was lost in the sloop-of-war *Peregrine*, which foundered on her return voyage from North America in 1763. In 1750 he married his second wife, Maria-Magdalena-Teresa Bouget, of an old Lorraine family. She was a daughter of Ferdinand Compte de Bonget, a general in the Austrian service, by his wife who was a descendant maternally from the father of the celebrated Chevalier de Bayard's father. By this marriage he had three children: Charles Henry; and two daughters, one of whom in 1781 married John Winder, Esq., of Vaynor Park, Montgomeryshire. This house and park once belonged to the unfortunate Earl of Essex, a grandson of Sir Francis Knollys,<sup>1</sup> K. G.

Charles-Henry Knowles succeeded his father in the baronetcy, December 9, 1777; attained the rank of post-captain, February 2, 1780; rear-admiral, February 14, 1799; vice-admiral, April 22, 1804; admiral, July 30, 1810; and was created G. C. B., May 20, 1820. In 1823, he was admiral of the red; and resided at Lovel Hill, near Windsor, co. Berks, England.<sup>2</sup> He died in November 1831, and, probably, was buried in the church of St. Nicholas in Guildford, Surrey, near his father's remains. In the north gallery of that church, says the historian of Surrey, is a small, neat mural monument by Behnes, of white marble, displaying a sarcophagus and funeral pall, with the following inscription:

"In memory of Sir Chas.-Henry Knowles, Admiral of the Red, Bart. G. C. B. Born in Kingston, Jamaica, on the 15th of August, 1754; at which time his father, Sir Chas. Knowles, Bart. was governor of that Island. Died in London, on the 28th of November, 1831. This brave officer fought and bled in defence of his country in several parts of the Globe; Received the Thanks of the

<sup>1</sup> Betham, iii. 313-1; Naval Chronicle, l. 89; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage.

<sup>2</sup> Marshall's Naval Biography.



Legislature for his Services, and from his Sovereign Honorary distinctions."

[BRADDOCK TO SHIRLEY.]

"Instructions to Colonel William Shirley.

"You are to take upon you the command of your own and Sir William Pepperrell's Regiment and to proceed with all convenient Expedition to attempt the Reduction of the French Forts at the Streight of Niagara.

"You are to leave in the Fort at Oswego, the Garrison already ordered thither, consisting of two Companies of Sir William Pepperrell's Regiment, and the two Independent Companies of New-York, with such further Augmentation as you shall judge necessary for its Defence and if it shall find it absolutely necessary for his Majesty's Service to lessen that Garrison by calling some of these Troops to your assistance, You are to do it.

"You are with all imaginable Dispatch to put the Fort at Oswego into such a State of Defence and to enable the Garrison to make a proper Resistance in Case of being attack'd.

"You are to make application to Gov<sup>r</sup>. Delancey for the Money wanted for such Purpose out of those appropriated by the Government of New York for the Defence of their Frontiers; But in Case you should find any Delays which may be prejudicial to the intended Expedition, You are then to draw for such Sums upon his Majesty's Treasury, which shall be inform'd. of the necessity of honouring your Draughts.

"You shall find out some proper Person to act as Engineer to whom you shall make an allowance of ten Shillings p<sup>r</sup> Day Ster<sup>l</sup>. and charge to your contingent Account such Expences as shall arise from the Payment of Gunners, Matrosses and all others employed about the Train taking Care at the same Time to lessen the Expence that as many of them as may be are inlisted Soldiers.

"In Case you should succeed in your attack upon the Forts at the Streights of Niagara, You are immediately to put it in good Repair and to make such Additions as to render it defensible against any Attempts.

"You are to detach employ or leave such Garrisons of the Troops under your Command as shall be judg'd by you most proper for his Majesty's Service.

"You are to take all Opportunities and use your utmost Endeavours to inform me from Time to time of your Situation and all remarkable Occurrences that in Case the French should have thrown such Reinforcem<sup>t</sup>. into their Forts at Niagara as to frustrate your Attempts that I may by these Intercourses settle a Junction with you as soon as the affairs of the Ohio are determin'd.

"You are empower'd. to draw upon his Majesty's Treasury for all such Monies as shall be wanting to carry on the Service having Regard at the same Time to all proper Oeconomy.

"And if anything to the forwarding the Charge you are entrusted with shou<sup>d</sup>. not be mentioned in these Instructions you are to use your best judgment therein.

"E. BRADDOCK.

"Camp at Alexandria [Va.], April 16<sup>th</sup> 1755."

The foregoing letter of General Braddock, written three months before his defeat and death,<sup>1</sup> refers to the military movements un-

<sup>1</sup> Governor Shirley's son William, military secretary to Gen. Braddock in this expedition, was also killed.

dertaken by the British government in the year 1755 against the French out-posts in North America. Major-general Edward Braddock was appointed to command, and brought over a considerable body of regular troops. The plan of operations decided upon by him in consultation with the provincial governors<sup>1</sup> contemplated three expeditions. The first, against Fort Du Quesne, by Braddock and his regulars; the second, against Crown Point, by provincial troops and Indians; and the third, against Niagara, by American regulars, consisting of Pepperrell's and Shirley's regiments, and a body of Indians. The first and third of these expeditions were failures; the second was attended with success; but with that exception, the military operations of this year reflected little credit upon the wisdom of the administration at home, or upon the men chosen to conduct them in the field.

The student of this period of American history is familiar with the stories of jealousy of provincial officers and of contempt for provincial troops, often injudiciously manifested by British officers. The jealousy and plotting unfriendliness of Governor Shirley toward Sir William Pepperrell are equally familiar facts. This feeling, to which Pepperrell was always and everywhere superior, also showed itself in the campaign of 1755.<sup>2</sup> Pepperrell, however, had already proved his capacity for military service, and could point to assured results. Shirley, on the contrary, had neither military capacity nor experience; and it is fairly presumable that, had Pepperrell conducted the expedition to Niagara, the issue would have been satisfactory. The selection of Shirley is inexplicable save on political grounds; for the evidence is conclusive that, at the war-office in London, his military abilities were held in light esteem.

The four "Pepperrell Papers" in this article were probably selected indiscriminately from the mass of Sir William's public correspondence, and preserved by their late owner for no other reason, apparently, than that they at one time belonged to a man who filled a large space in the affairs of North America a century and a quarter ago. It so happens, however, that they are the only four Pepperrell Papers now known to be extant, which, taken collectively, group the names of so many eminent men of his time.

These venerable relics bring before the mind's eye a long procession of men and events. Some of these events and a few of these men have already received their proper place in history; but their names and deeds are overshadowed by the more recent and, to us, more important epoch of the American Revolution. Upon the

<sup>1</sup> The convention was held at Alexandria, Va., April 14; and was attended by Edward Braddock, general and commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in North America; William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts; Robert Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of Virginia; James De Lancey, lieutenant-governor of New-York; Horatio Sharpe, lieutenant-governor of Maryland; and Robert Hunter Morris, lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> Parson's Life of Pepperrell; Hutchinson's History, iii.

history of that epoch and of the colonial period, our historians seem to have mainly concentrated their studies; while the provincial period yet waits for that detailed and ample discourse it demands.

The years which are covered by these papers, were crowded by interesting and important events, in which great men, as estimated by their contemporaries, took the lead.

Such were some of the men who were either personally engaged in or remotely connected with the capture of Louisburg,—the first step toward the overthrow of French power in America. Many of them came together on American soil, but after a short time they separated, and were never again united in any military enterprise. It is noteworthy that not many years after their separation the larger number were dead, and that few if any of them are now represented by descendants bearing their names.

Pepperrell died in Kittery, Maine, July 9, 1759; Waldo, on the Penobscot, May 23, 1759; Shirley, in Roxbury, Massachusetts, March 24, 1771; Warren, in Ireland, July 29, 1752; Kilby, in the parish of Dorking, co. Surrey, Eng., in October, 1771; Knowles, in London, November 30, 1777; Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle, November 17, 1768; Abererombie, at Glasgow, Banffshire, Scotland, April 23, 1781; General St. Clair, in Scotland, near the close of 1762.

The names of several of these men are perpetuated in the names of towns in the United States. That of Kilby is happily still borne by a street in Boston. Colonel John Tufton Mason, the heir-at-law of the vast estates in New-Hampshire that at one time rightfully belonged to his ancestor, Captain John Mason, was an officer in Pepperrell's royal American regiment, and participated in the capture of Louisburg and in other American expeditions. In honor of this officer, a street in Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, his place of residence, was called Mason. The street now bears another name. A memorial of his valor, consecrated to sacred uses, is still preserved in St. John's Church, Portsmouth. It is a font,<sup>1</sup> which was taken at the capture of Senegal from the French, in 1758, by a British force commanded by Col. Mason, and presented in 1761 to the church by his daughters. On the top is a brazen cover placed there by Wyseman Clagett,<sup>2</sup> afterward the king's attorney-general for New-Hampshire, and Samuel Livermore, who subsequently

<sup>1</sup> Brewster thus describes this font: "It is of porphyritic marble of a brownish yellow color, veined, and undoubtedly African. The height from the ground is three feet three inches, the base being twenty inches in length, eleven in width, and five in thickness. The pedestal with mouldings, which support the bowl, is twenty-three inches high, the whole is an oval; the bowl sufficiently large for the immersion of an infant, being thirty-eight and a half inches in length, thirty inches in breadth, and about twelve inches deep. Over the top is a flat brazen cover, which opens from either end to the centre."—*Rambles about Portsmouth*, 1st Series.

<sup>2</sup> Coll. of New-Hampshire Hist. Soc. iii. (Art. Clagett). The version of this inscription there given by Mr. Atherton differs from Adams's version (*Annals of Portsmouth*). Neither is correct.

held that office, and the chief-justiceship of the state. This cover bears the following inscription, composed by Wyseman Clagett :

SARA, CATHERINA, et ANNA, ELIZABETHA,  
 Johannis Tufton Mason Cohortis Structoris  
 Filiae ornatissimae Hoc Baptistorium ex Gallicis Manubiis  
 apud Singalliam, sub Auspiciis predicti Johannis acquisitum,  
 Ecclesiae Anglicanae apud Portsmouth in Provincia vulgo vo-  
 -cata New Hampshire liberaliter contulerunt Anno Domini  
 1761, et vicesimo sexto Praedicationis ARTHURI BROWNE :  
 Wiseman Clagett et Samuel Livermore Ecclesiae  
 Procuratoribus.

ar historians  
 the provin-  
 discourse it

crowded by  
 as estimated

ully engaged  
 ishburg,—the  
 n America.  
 after a short  
 n any mili-  
 years after  
 that few if  
 hearing their

Waldo, on  
 Massachusetts,  
 2; Kilby, in  
 ober, 1771;  
 lham Holles,  
 loic, at Glas-  
 St. Clair, in

n the names  
 ly still borne  
 he heir-at-law  
 me rightfully  
 an officer in  
 in the cap-  
 s. In honor  
 his place of  
 mother name.  
 still preserved  
 h was taken  
 by a British  
 1761 to the  
 cover placed  
 orney-general  
 subsequently

brownish yellow  
 s three feet three  
 n thickness. The  
 lgh, the whole is  
 thirty-eight and  
 a deep. Over the  
 —Rambles about

of this inscription  
 of Portsmouth).



