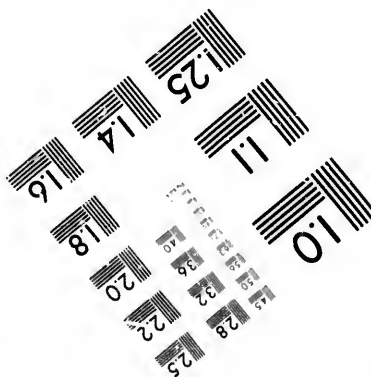
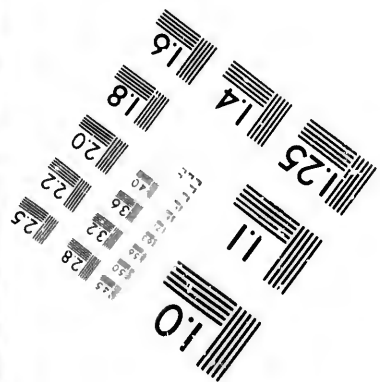
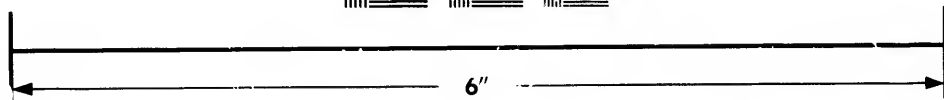
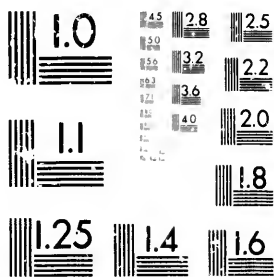


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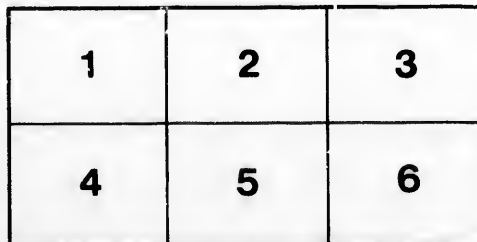
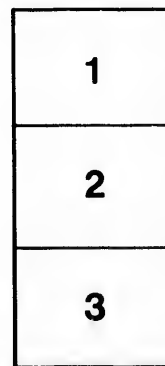
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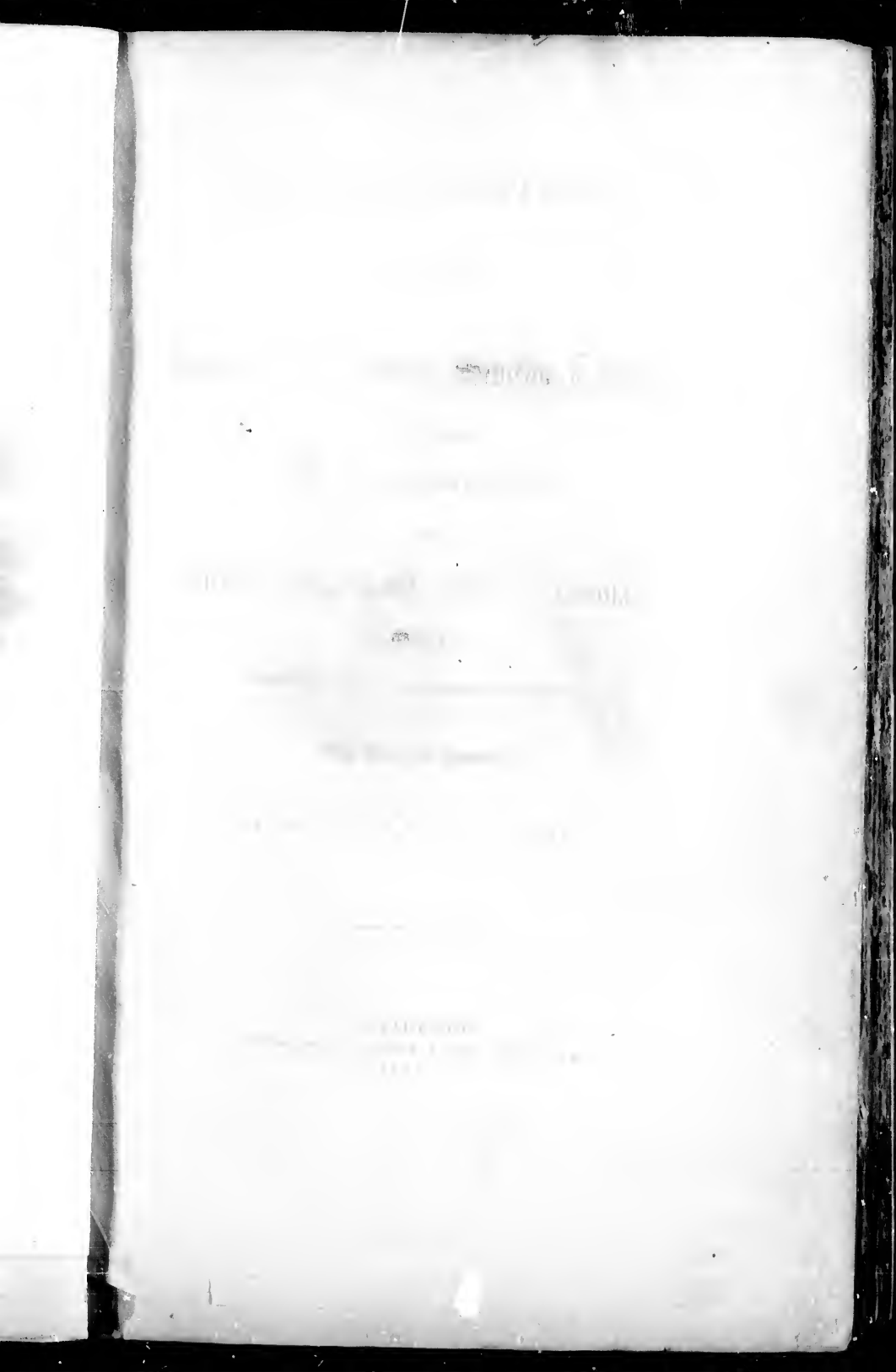
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THE INVASION OF CANADA IN 1775:

INCLUDING THE

*Journal of Captain Simeon Chayer,*

DESCRIBING THE

PERILS AND SUFFERINGS

OF THE

ARMY UNDER COLONEL BENEDICT ARNOLD,

IN ITS MARCH

THROUGH THE WILDERNESS TO QUEBEC:

With Notes and Appendix.

BY EDWIN MARTIN STONE.

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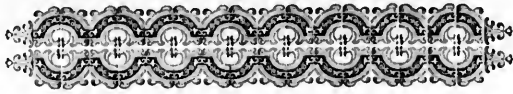
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## PREFACE.

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THE JOURNAL of Captain SIMEON TRAYER makes no pretension to literary merit. It was written, doubtless, to keep fresh in the memory of the author the facts of his personal experience during his march through the wilderness to Quebec, as well as of his confinement while prisoner of war, without expectation of its ever appearing in print. It is here reproduced as it stands in the original, without any change of capital letters or of orthography, and with only such added punctuation as was thought necessary to render clear the meaning of the text. For this reason a number of words will be found incorrectly spelled. The Introduction, Notes and Appendix, are the results of extensive research. The first is prefixed, and the latter are added, to give completeness to the story of one of the most daring and important military enterprises of the Revolutionary War. A Bibliography of the Journals published on the subject, so far as is known, and also a list of works which treat more or less fully upon the Invasion of Canada, is herewith annexed—the first that has ever been attempted—for the convenience of students of this portion of American history. Possibly some Journals of “Arnold’s Expedition” have been published that have escaped attention, and it is by no means certain that the list of reference works is complete. Additions under either of these heads are earnestly solicited, and will be gratefully acknowledged. For facts and documents communicated to the editor of the Journal, special thanks are tendered to Samuel G. Drake, Esq., of Boston; Rev. Richard Eddy, Librarian Pennsylvania Historical Society; Hon. M. H. Taggart, State Treasurer, Pennsylvania; Henry T. Drowne, Esq., New York; George H. Moore, Esq., Librarian New York Historical Society; Richard R. Ward, Esq., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Charles J. Hoadly, Esq., Secretary Connecticut Historical Society; John G. Metcalf, M. D., Mendon, Mass.; Simon Henry Greene, Esq., River Point, R. I.; David King, M. D., Newport, R. I.; William W. Burr, Stephen T. Olney, and Crawford Allen, Esqs., Providence, R. I.

E. M. S.

Providence, R. I., January 19, 1867.



## WORKS RELATING TO THE INVASION OF CANADA.

**ARNOLD'S JOURNAL.** Colonel Benedict Arnold kept a Journal of his expedition. It was left by him at West Point, when he fled on hearing of the capture of Andre, and was found among his papers by Judge Pierpont Edwards, of Connecticut, who was appointed to administer upon the goods and estate of Arnold, his treason making him dead in law. The Manuscript was in existence in 1835, though in rather a dilapidated state. The writing was in the middle style between copy and running hand. Extracts from this Journal were published in the appendix to the Life of Burr, by Samuel L. Knapp, 1835, beginning Sept. 27, and ending Oct. 30, 1775. They confirm the accuracy of the statements in Capt. Thayer's Journal, but throw no additional light upon the history of the expedition.

**MCCOY'S JOURNAL.** Judge Henry states that Sergeant William McCoy, of Captain Hendricks' company, while in confinement in Quebec, gave to Major Murphy, of the British Garrison, a correct copy of a Journal kept by himself through the wilderness. Whether it was carried to England, is not known. It probably was never published. Possibly it may be in existence.

**FRENCH JOURNALS.** John G. Shea, Esq., of New York, brought from Canada two Journals in Manuscript, written respectively by French Notaries; one at Quebec, and the other at Three Rivers, "about *the Invasion of the Bostonnais*." The word *Bostonnais* was a designation intended to apply to nearly all New England. The word was found by George Gibbs in the Chinook Jargon in Oregon, and he could not account for it. The titles of the two French Journals, however, explain it. In Indian, *Hastouronon*: W being substituted for the B amongst the Indians.

**AN ACCURATE AND INTERESTING ACCOUNT** of the hardships and sufferings of that Band of Heroes, who traversed the Wilderness in the Campaign against Quebec, in 1775. By John Joseph Henry, Esq. Late President of the Second Judicial District of Pennsylvania. Lancaster: Printed by William Greer, 1812. pp. 225, small 12mo.

**THE SAME—LIBRARY EDITION.** Campaign against Quebec, [being] an accurate and interesting account [of the] Hardships and Sufferings [of that] BAND OF HEROES [who traversed the Wilderness] by the route of the Kennebec and Chaudiere Rivers [to Quebec, in the year 1775.] By John Joseph Henry, Esq. [Late President of the second Judicial District in Pennsylvania.] Revised edition, with corrections and alterations. [Watertown, N. Y.] Printed and Published by Knowlton & Rice, [1844.] pp. 212, 16mo. [Sketch of the Life of Arnold copied mainly from Sparks' Biography, at the end of the second edition in place of notes in the first edition.]

**HETH'S JOURNAL.** Lieutenant [afterwards Colonel] William Heth, 2d, kept a Journal of Arnold's Expedition, which is referred to in Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. I., pp. 53, 57, second edition. It is thought to have been published in Virginia.

**A JOURNAL** of the hardships and privations endured by the troops in this expedition was kept by Caleb Haskell, of Newburyport, Mass., a private in Capt. Ward's company, but was never published.

**LETTERS** of Colonel, generally known as Major Henry Caldwell, written on board the Hunter, British armed vessel, relate particularly to the attack on Quebec.

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**A JOURNAL OF THE EXPEDITION TO QUEBEC**, in the year 1775, under the command of Colonel Benedict Arnold. By James Melvin, a private in Captain Dearborn's company. New York: 1857. With Introductory Remarks and Notes by W. J. D. Large 8vo, tinted paper: pp. 30. 100 copies only printed.

This Journal commences at Cambridge, Sept. 13, 1775, and terminates at Quebec, Aug. 5, 1776. It was edited by William J. Davis, Esq., late private Secretary of Hon. George Bancroft. Of the author nothing is known beyond the statement made in the title page. W. J. D. says, "The style of the composition, and exceedingly neat penmanship of the Journal, is strong evidence, however, that he possessed, for the times, considerable education." The Journal, as a contribution to the history of Arnold's Expedition, is of great value.

**THE SAME**, with Introduction and copious Notes, printed for the Franklin Club, Philadelphia, 1864. 100 copies 8vo.; 20 quarto.

**JOURNAL OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC**, under command of Colonel Benedict Arnold, in the year 1775, by Major Return J. Meigs, with Introduction and Notes by Charles J. Bushnell. New York: Privately printed, 1864. 8vo. fine tinted paper, with portrait of Colonel Christopher Greene. pp. 57.

This Journal begins Sept. 9, at Roxbury, and closes at Quebec, January 1, 1776. The Notes are full and valuable. The Journal was printed in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, Second Series, Vol. II.

**MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF CANADA**. Published under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. Quebec: Printed by Middleton and Davis, Shaw's Building, 1865.

**THE JOURNAL OF ISAAC SENTER**, Physician and Surgeon to the troops detached from the American Army encamped at Cambridge, Mass., on a Secret Expedition against Quebec, under the command of Colonel Benedict Arnold, in September, 1775. Philadelphia: Published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1846. To this edition is prefixed a brief notice of the Manuscript of the Journal and a biographical preface. A few notes of reference are added.

This Journal was carried to Philadelphia, where it was lost sight of for many years, and finally came into the hands of Dr. Lewis Roper, of that city, whose perception of its importance induced him to communicate it to the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It commences at Cambridge, September 13th, 1775, and closes at Quebec, January 6, 1776. The position of Dr. Senter in the Expedition imparts to it a special value.

**JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN SIMEON THAYER**, describing the perils and sufferings endured by Arnold's detachment in their march through the Wilderness of Maine and Canada to Quebec in 1775. Now first printed.

**CAPTAIN JOHN TOPHAM'S JOURNAL** of the Expedition to Quebec, through the Wilderness of Maine, in September, October and November, 1775. Not published.

The first part of this Journal has been unfortunately lost by being worn off by use and careless handling. It commences sometime before the 20th September, but in its present dilapidated state, the legible part begins October 6, 1775. The last part is gone, and the manuscript ends at a time while Captain Topham was still a prisoner at Quebec. The Journal is in the possession of David King, M. D., of Newport, R. I.

**A JOURNAL OF A MARCH FROM CAMBRIDGE** on an Expedition against Quebec, in Col. Benedict Arnold's Detachment, Sept. 13, 1775. Kept by Joseph Ware, of Needham, Mass. Published in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. VI., 1852, with Notes by Justin Winsor, of Boston.

The author was a private in Captain Samuel Ward's company. The Journal is one of the most valuable that have been printed.

Arnold's History of Rhode Island, Vol. II.

Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

Annual Register, London, 1776.

Arnwell's History.

American Archives, 5th Series.

Bosworth's History of Montreal.

- Bancroft's History of the United States, Vol. VIII.  
 Botta's American Revolution  
 Bloodgood's Sexagenary, or Reminiscences of the Revolution, 1866.  
 Colonial Records of Rhode Island.  
 Correspondence of the American Revolution, Vol. I.  
 Connecticut State Papers—War.  
 Danlop's History of New York Vol. II.  
 Davis's Memoirs of Aaron Burr, Vol. I.  
 Gordon's American Revolution, Vols. I and II.  
 Hawkins' Picture of Quebec.  
 Holt's Paper, New York.  
 Historical and Genealogical Register, Boston.  
 Knapp's Life of Aaron Burr.  
 Life of Ethan Allen, or "Allen's Narrative."  
 Life of Richard Montgomery.  
 Life of Benedict Arnold.  
 Life of General Daniel Morgan.  
 Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed.  
 Life and Times of Gen. John Lamb, by Isaac Q. Leake.  
 Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, Vol. I  
 Maine Historical Society's Collections, Vol. I.  
 Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, 2d Series.  
 Madame De Reldesel's Journal.  
 Marshall's Life of Washington.  
 Parton's Life of Aaron Burr.  
 Peterson's History of Rhode Island.  
 Providence Gazette and Country Journal, 1776.  
 Palmer's History of Lake Champlain.  
 Remembrancer.  
 Rogers' Biographical Dictionary.  
 Stillman's tour between Hartford and Quebec, 1819.  
 Trumbull's Reminiscences of his own Times.  
 Thatcher's Military Journal.  
 Writings of Washington, Vol. III.  
 Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. I.  
 Warren's History of the American Revolution.



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## ADDENDA TO WORKS ON THE INVASION OF CANADA.

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**DEARBORN'S JOURNAL.** It is understood that Captain Henry Dearborn kept a Journal of his march through the wilderness, and of his experiences while a prisoner at Quebec but it is not known to have been printed.

**HISTORY OF CANADA,** by Andrew Bell, 2 vols.

**HOLLISTER'S History of Connecticut.**

**IRVING'S Life of Washington** contains several chapters relating to the Invasion of Canada, and some references.

**JOURNALS OF CONGRESS.** The Journals of the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, in 1776, contain interesting facts relating to the Invasion of Canada. The volumes for 1775 and 1776 should not be overlooked by the historical student.

**JOURNAL of Madame De Heidesel,** translated by William L. Stone. This new translation gives the portions of the Journal hitherto suppressed, touching American Slavery.

**JOURNAL, (MS.)** kept at Three Rivers in 1775-6, by M. Badenx, a Royalist Notary.

**JOURNAL** kept during the siege of Fort St. John, by one of its defenders, (M. Antoine Foucher.)

**JOURNAL, (MS.)** of Sanguinet, a Montreal Barrister.

Two of the above Journals have already been referred to p. iv, under the head of "French Journals."

**MEMOIRS DE SANGUINET. (MS.)**

**MORGAN'S Sketches of celebrated Canadians.**

**PRICE'S JOURNAL.** Of this Journal and its author, Charles Congdon, Esq., Treasurer of the Bradford Club,\* in New York, has kindly communicated the following particulars: It is a closely written manuscript, containing the daily occurrences from September 8th, 1775, to January 16th, 1776. The first leaf, and several leaves at the end, are unfortunately wanting. The author, John Peirce, was of Worcester, Mass. He belonged to the contingent, and as Engineer and Surveyor was attached to one of the parties mentioned by Meigs and Henry, as being sent forward from Fort Western to establish the bearings of the route through the wilderness. This Journal, it is believed, has not hitherto been known to any of our historians.

**SEDGWICK'S History of Sharon.**

**STATEMENT OF THE EXPEDITION TO CANADA, &c.** By Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne. Six maps. Quarto, untrimmed, boards, 1780. Octavo, bound, second edition, 1780.

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**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.** In the acknowledgments of courtesies, the names of A. W. Green, Esq., Librarian of the New York Mercantile Library Association, and of Francis Lawton, Esq., Newport, R. I., should have been included.

**ERRATA.** Preface. The residence of Richard R. Ward, Esq., is New York. The middle initial in Mr. Bushnell's name should be I.

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\*The publications of the BRADFORD CLUB have reached six in number, the first being "Hatfield and Deerfield," and all in the highest style of art. One hundred copies only of Melvin's Journal were printed for the Club.

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## INTRODUCTION.

### INVASION OF CANADA.



WHEN, early in 1775, a breach with the Mother Country seemed inevitable, and far-sighted men like the Adamses, Samuel Ward and Patrick Henry, perceived in the events of the hour the embryo of an Independent Nation, the leaders of popular rights cast about for help to strengthen their plans when they should be developed in positive action. They naturally looked to Canada as an important northern barrier. The interests of the French population were thought to be identical with those of the Colonies, and there was reason for the belief that in a general uprising their support would readily be given. Should Canada be invaded by a provincial army, and St. John's, Montreal and Quebec secured by conquest,

nothing would be in the way of the people there throwing off the British yoke.

With some, however, the invasion of Canada was not a favorite scheme. They had not gone so far yet as to decide affirmatively upon the question of National Independence, and when the first Congress met, many were decided on a further attempt to reconcile the existing difficulties, by a petition to the King.

Whatever might have been the contingent purpose of Congress in reference to Canada, a disclaimer of an intended invasion was deemed, under the circumstances, expedient; and accordingly on the 1st of June, such a disclaimer was made. But a violent proclamation issued by the British Governor, denouncing the border inhabitants of the Colonies as traitors, and inciting the Indians against New York and New England, changed the current of opinion in the Congress, and led to the avowal of an aggressive purpose. In July, preliminary to a movement of this character, Major John Brown, accompanied by four men, visited Canada for the purpose of obtaining intelligence in regard to the military preparations making there by the King's troops, the situation of St. John's, Chambly, Montreal and Quebec, and also to ascertain the feelings of the Canadians towards the Colonial cause. They found them favorably affected, were kindly received by the French, were often protected when exposed to danger, and were assured it was their wish to see a Continental army in Canada; engaging, if it came, to supply it with everything in their power. The Indians also expressed a determination to act with the Canadians. At this time there were but about seven hundred of the King's troops in Canada, of which near three hundred were at St. John's and only about fifty at Quebec. The residue were at Montreal, Chambly, and at the upper posts. Everything seemed favorable for the contemplated invasion. Major Brown and his party

remained in Canada but three days, and after several hal-breadth escapes reached Crown Point August 10th, in safety.

Events had now ripened for action. Colonel Ethan Allen had taken possession of Ticonderoga, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Crown Point had surrendered to the Provincial forces, two British vessels had been taken, which gave to the Americans the control of Lake Champlain, and thus "the gates of Canada were thrown open," inviting an unresisting entrance. Nothing now remained but to improve the opportunity by pushing forward. For this work of invasion, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery were designated, who at once began an advance from Ticonderoga. On reaching Isle-aux-Noix, Colonel Allen was sent forward with Major Brown, accompanied by interpreters, into Canada, with letters to the Canadians, to let them know that the design of the army was only against the English garrisons, and not the country, their liberties, or their religion. This undertaking, though attended with much danger, was successfully accomplished. But before the army was ready to leave the Isle-aux-Noix, General Schuyler was taken sick and returned to Albany, leaving the command with General Montgomery. He subsequently returned, with the hope of being able to move with the army, but his disorder (a bilious fever) reappearing with increased violence, he was obliged, reluctantly, to withdraw from personal participation in the enterprise. General Schuyler had entered heartily into the scheme of getting possession of Canada, and seeing it to the cause of National Freedom, and felt deeply chagrined in not being able to lead his troops forward. Writing to Washington on the subject, he says:

"The vexation of spirit under which I labor, that a barbarous complication of disorders should prevent me from reaping those laurels for which I have unweariedly wrought, since I was honored with this command; the anxiety I have suffered since my arrival here, lest the army should starve, occasioned by a scandalous want of subordination and inattention to my orders, in some of the officers I left to command at the different posts; the vast variety of disagreeable and vexatious incidents, that almost every hour arise in some department or other,—not only retard my cure, but have put me considerably back for some days past. If Job had been a General in my situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience. But the glorious end we have in view, and which I have confident hope will be attained, will atone for all."\*

The army at Isle-aux-Noix, on the 10th of September, consisted of 1304 rank and file. These were reinforced by Colonel Livingston's company of New Yorkers, 170 Green Mountain Boys under Colonel Seth Warner, Captain Allen's company of the same corps raised in Connecticut, about 100 men of Colonel Bedel's from New Hampshire, and a company of artillery under Captain Lamb; the whole probably not exceeding 1800 men. Up to September 20th, 726 men were found to be unfit for further service during this campaign, and were discharged.

On the 5th of September, the army embarked at the Isle-aux-Noix for St. John's, which was at once besieged, and on the 3d of November was taken possession of by the victorious Continentals. On the 13th of the same month Montreal surrendered. Quebec was the next object of possession, for without that the subjugation

\*Gen. Schuyler's letter to Washington.

†Quebec was founded on the 3d of July, 1608, by Captain Samuel de Champlain, Geographer to the French King. His commencement was on Cape Diamond, on the site of an Indian village called Stadacone. Champlain died in Quebec, and according to tradition was buried in the upper town. This, it appears, was a mistake. Recently, the original grave was discovered in the lower town, there having been one or two removals. About ten years ago the bones were placed in a box, but where deposited is not at this time (Dec. 1866,) known.

or deliverance of Canada was impossible. To aid the invading army under Montgomery in the attempt upon that city, a coöperative expedition by the way of the Kennebec river through the wildernesses of Maine and Canada, to form a junction before Quebec, was devised, and the command given to Colonel Benedict Arnold. He was well adapted to such an undertaking. He was a brave, skillful and energetic officer; was inured to the hardships of military life; was sufficiently ambitious to insure vigorous activity to all his movements, and having previous to the war, visited Quebec as a trader, he had formed an acquaintance with many of its citizens, and acquired a knowledge of its localities that could be turned to advantage in his military operations.

The following were officers in this expedition :

*Colonel.* BENEDICT ARNOLD,\* Norwich, Conn.

*Lieut. Colonels.* CHRISTOPHER GREENE, Warwick, R. I.; ROGER ENOS, Conn.

*Majors.* RETURN J. MEIGS, Middletown, Conn.; TIMOTHY BIGELOW, Worcester, Mass.

*Lieutenant and Adjutant.* CHRISTIAN FENIGR, Copenhagen, Denmark. *Quartermaster.* — HYDE, Mass. *Chaplain.* REV. SAMUEL SPRING, Newburyport, Mass. *Surgeon.* ISAAC SENTER, Newport, R. I. *Surgeon's Mate.* — GREENE.

*Captains.* SIMÉON THAYER, Providence, R. I.; SAMUEL WARD, Westerly, R. I.; JOHN TOPHAM, Newport, R. I.; WILLIAM GOODRICH, Great Barrington, Mass.; JONAS HUBBARD, Worcester, Mass.; — WILLIAMS, Mass.; — SCOTT, Mass.; OLIVER HANCHET, Suffield, Conn.; ELEAZER OSWALD, New Haven, Conn.; WILLIAM HENDRICKS, Penn.; MATTHEW SMITH, Lancaster, Penn.; HENRY DEARNOHN, East Nottingham, N. H.; DANIEL MORGAN, Frederick Co., Va.; — MCCOHN, Georgetown. *Brigade Major.* MATTHIAS OGDEN, and AARON BURR, volunteer, N. J.

*Lieutenants.* ARCHIBALD STEELE, (Adjutant) Lancaster, Penn.; MICHAEL [George?] SIMPSON, Penn.; FRANCIS NICHOLS, Cumberland Co., Penn.; ANDREW GOODY; JOHN HUMPHREYS, Va.; WILLIAM HETH, 2d, Frederick Co., Va.; JOHN O'BRIEN BRUEN, Frederick Co., Va.; SAMUEL COOPER, Conn.; ABIAH SAVAGE, (Quartermaster) Middletown, Conn.; JOSEPH WEBB, Newport, R. I.; EDWARD SLOCUM, Tiverton, R. I.; WILLIAM HUMPHREY, Providence, R. I.; LEMUEL BAILEY, Providence, R. I.; SYLVANUS SHAW, Newport, R. I.; JOHN COMPTON, Saco, (Dist. Maine) Mass.; JOHN CLARK, Hadley, Mass.; SAMUEL BROWN, Acton, Mass.; JAMES TRYDALE, Medfield, Mass.; — CUMSTOCK, Mass.; AMMI [Amos?] ANDREWS, Hillsborough, N. H.; NATHANIEL HUTCHINS, Dunbarton, N. H., afterwards Captain; JOSEPH THOMAS, Deerfield, N. H., fell in the action at Quebec; — MCCLELAND, Penn., died in the wilderness; — CHURCH; BENJAMIN CATLIN, (Quartermaster) Weathersfield, Conn.†

It will be seen by the foregoing list that Rhode Island was ably represented in this Expedition. Lieutenant Colonel Greene proved, both in the wilderness and before Quebec, that the judgment which selected him for that trying and perilous service had not been mistaken. He subsequently served with distinction as a Colonel in the Continental line, and at Red Bank crowned his name with imperishable

\*Colonel BENEDICT ARNOLD was born in Norwich, Conn., January 3d, 1741, and consequently was thirty-four years of age when he entered upon this command. He was an able and intrepid officer, but unfortunately the victim of a low moral sense. His career as a General in the Continental army is too familiar to require particular notice. A life brilliant in promise, closed in ignominy. He died in London, June 14th, 1801, aged 60 years. See Life of Arnold in Spark's Biography.

†This list has been collected from various authentic sources. It is probably incomplete.



honor. Captain Topham was esteemed a valuable officer, and succeeded Colonel Barton in the command of a Rhode Island regiment. Captain Warl showed great energy of character and undoubted patriotism. He was promoted to be Major, and at Rod Bank, and afterwards to the close of the war, met promptly and satisfactorily, the demands made upon his military abilities. Captain Thayer, who was honored after his release from imprisonment, with the rank of Major, is identified with one of the most brilliant battles of the Revolutionary war. Dr. Senter, who served so usefully in this Expedition, took position after leaving the army, as a leading physician and surgeon in the State. The under officers and privates composing Arnold's command were for the most part taken from among the yeomanry, and were men who comprehended the nature of the conflict to which they were committed. To them, the freedom of their country was dear, and to secure it they were ready to lay upon the altar their cherished personal comforts, and to abide the results of battle. Such men were likely to make good soldiers, and by their correct deportment to gain the commendation of general officers under whom they might be called to serve. And thus it proved with them. The eye of General Montgomery was quick to recognize their soldierly qualities. "I find," he said, "Colonel Arnold's corps an exceedingly fine one, inured to fatigue, and well accustomed to cannon shot (at Cambridge). There is a style of discipline among them much superior to what I have been used to see this campaign. He himself is active, intelligent and enterprising."

General Washington had carefully studied the plan for acquiring possession of Canada and inducing the native population to join their fortunes with the Americans, in rising to the dignity of a Nationality. He had a keen perception of the importance of this movement, and was solicitous that nothing should occur to mar its success. He foresaw the possibility of the invading army indulging in pillage on their march, or of committing other acts when established in the country that might convert friends into foes. To guard against this, he drew up a series of instructions, clear and explicit in their details, which were communicated to Colonel Arnold for the government of himself and his men. He was to exercise the utmost vigilance in guarding against surprisals. On arriving in Canada, he was to ascertain by every means in his power, the real sentiments of the inhabitants towards the American cause, and to maintain the strictest discipline and good order among his own troops. He was to conciliate the affections both of the Canadians and of the Indians, and convince them that his army came among them as friends and "not as robbers." He was to pay the full value for all provisions and accommodations received, and abstain from pressing the people or any of their cattle into his service, while he was "amply to compensate" those who voluntarily assisted him. Only the "King's stores" were to be appropriated to the Continental use. In case of a union with General Schuyler, who it was then expected would lead the Invasion by way of St. John's and Montreal, Arnold was to serve under him, and not to consider himself "as upon a separate and independent command." He was to keep Washington acquainted with his progress and prospects, and to send the intelligence of any important occurrence by express. He was to protect and support the free exercise of the religion of the country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters. If Lord Chatham's son should be in Canada, and in any way should fall into his power, he was to treat him with all possible deference and respect. "You cannot err," said the instructions, "in paying too much honor to the son of so illustrious a character, and so true a friend to America. Any other persons who may fall into your hands, you will treat with as much humanity and kindness as may be consistent with your own safety and the public interest."

The plan of reaching Quebec by the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers is said to

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have been original with Arnold, and to have been suggested to him by the perusal of a Journal of an exploring expedition from Quebec into the interior of Maine, about the year 1700, written by Colonel Montrose, an officer of Engineers in the British service.

The troops to accompany Colonel Arnold assembled at Cambridge, and on the 13th of September commenced their march to Newburyport. Previous to leaving, General Washington, with increasing solicitude for the prosperity of the Expedition, addressed a letter to Colonel Arnold, again charging him, his officers and soldiers, to respect the persons, private property and religion of the people whose country they were soon to occupy, and to refrain from every act that might militate against personal honor or the success of the enterprise. An address to the inhabitants of Canada was also printed and forwarded to Arnold at Fort Western, to be distributed among the people on his arrival at Quebec, explaining the object of the invasion, assuring them of protection, inviting them to furnish supplies for the Provincial army, and urging them to make common cause in the overthrow of tyranny by joining "the standard of general liberty."

Arnold's force consisted of thirteen companies, comprising 1100 men. These were divided into two battalions, the first commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Greene, and the second by Lieutenant Colonel Roger Enos. On the 19th of September they sailed in ten transports from Newburyport, the fleet being under the command of Captain Clarkson, and reached the Kennebec river the next day. On the 23d they arrived at Fort Western, where they remained a day or two, and then proceeded to Fort Halifax. From thence they advanced to Norridgewock, at which place they halted until the morning of October 9th, when a general movement commenced.

The army set off in high spirits. A month, however, sufficed to cool the ardor of the less sanguine. Unthought of obstacles impeded their progress. The streams were rapid and hard to navigate; boats were dashed in pieces, and the hardy voyagers barely escaped watery graves; the autumn storms were cold and piercing; encampments were flooded by overflowing rivers; swamps and morasses spread in the track of the advancing columns; little confidence was felt in the intelligence of guides who were leading them daily deeper into an almost unknown wilderness; provisions had become exhausted; roots, dog-meat, soup made of raw-hide moccasins, and entrails broiled on the coals, became luxuries; and death by starvation stared them in the face. It required nerves of steel to survey the prospect before them with calmness, much more with hope, and the question of return was often discussed. In the then crude state of military authority, the control held by officers over their men was more the result of personal regard than of deference to position. Every man had an opinion, and was free to express it. Among a portion of the troops the views of both officers and men coincided. Disaffection had extended to three companies, and it became advisable to hold a council of war for decisive measures. This took place October 25th, on reaching Dead River.

Arnold, who was ignorant of the design afterwards put in execution, had gone on with the advance. At the council, Lieutenants Colonel Greene and Enos, Major Bigelow, Captains Topham, Thayer, Ward, Williams, McCobb, Scott, Adjutant Hyde and Lieutenant Peters were present. Major Meigs, Captains Morgan, Smith, Hanchet, Hubbard, Goodrich, Hendricks and Dearborn were absent on duty. It was now a moment of anxious interest. The decision of the hour would strengthen a patriotic resolve, or fill the country with painful disappointment. In accordance with military custom the opinions of the younger officers were first elicited. Captain Ward, a youth of only eighteen years, was now called upon for his opinion. He expressed it frankly and decidedly. The idea of giving up the expedition was totally repugnant to his brave nature, and with a patriotism for which he was ever

after distinguished, he gave his voice for advancing. There was power in that decision, and one can readily imagine with what a look of approval it was recognized by the gallant Greene. Captains Thayer and Topham took the same side with no less promptness, as did Lieutenants Colonel Greene and Enos, and Major Bigelow. Captains Williams, McCobb and Scott, Adjutant Hyde and Lieutenant Peters, took an opposite view. They considered the success of the Expedition hopeless, and gave their voices for returning. The decision to advance was carried by a single vote; but the minority, immediately after the dissolution of the council, conferred together, and unanimously resolved to go back with their men. As the three disaffected companies belonged to Lieutenant Colonel Enos' battalion, he decided, though as he said, reluctantly, and for reasons that he considered a justification of the step, to go back with them. This he accordingly did.\*

The withdrawal of so many men was a serious loss to Arnold, but did not in the least shake his determination to see Quebec. To facilitate the advance of the army, he had sent forward a party consisting of Lieutenant Archibald Steele, Jesse Wheeler, John Joseph Henry, George Merchant, James Clifton, Robert Cunningham, Thomas Boyd, John Tidd, John McKonkey, Jeremiah Getchel and John Horie, the two latter being guides, for the purpose of finding and marking the paths used by the Indians at the numerous carrying places in the wilderness, and also to ascertain the course of the Chaudiere river. Provided with two birch bark canoes, they set out in high spirits, and travelled until October 8th, blazing trees and "snagging bushes" with their tomahawks, when they reached the height of land which divides the waters of New England from those of Canada. Another day brought them to the Chaudiere river, when they commenced their return. They continued their course until October 17th, when, to their great joy, they fell in with a party of pioneers building a causeway for the passage of the army, having suffered excessively from hunger and exhaustion.

Sickness, the concomitant of exposure, soon made its appearance among the troops. On the seventh day after leaving Norridgewock, fatigue, diarrhoea and rheumatism had so multiplied the sick, as to render the erection of a building for their reception necessary. Accordingly a block house was built and named "Arnold's Hospital," which was immediately filled. Among the patients was a young gentleman by the name of Irvine, an Ensign in Captain Morgan's company. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and had been educated for the medical profession. Early in the march from Cambridge, he was seized with dysentery, for which he could not be prevailed upon to take medicine. Wading in the water by day, and sleeping on the ground at night, brought on a violent rheumatism, which swelled the joints of his extremities to an enormous size, and rendered them inflexible. He was left at the hospital to be sent back with others.

Weakened as the little army was by the defection of three companies, the courage and spirit of the remaining ten still held good. Scouting the idea of abandoning the Expedition, they continued their advance to the Chaudiere river, and thence to Sartigan, a Canadian settlement, where they arrived November 3d. Here, the next day, Colonel Arnold was waited upon by a body of savages accompanied by an interpreter, to inquire his reason for coming among them in a hostile manner. They addressed him in great pomp, and one of their chiefs delivered an oration with all the air and gesture of an accomplished orator. After this being explained or translated, the Colonel returned the following answer:

"FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:—I feel myself very happy in meeting with so many of my brethren from the different quarters of the great country, and more so as I find we meet as friends, and that we are equally concerned in this expedition. Brethren, we are the chil-

\*See Journal, pp. 10, 11.

dren of those people who have now taken up the hatchet against us. More than one hundred years ago, we were all as one family. We then differed in our religion, and came over to this great country by consent of the King. Our fathers bought land of the savages, and have grown a great people. Even as the stars in the sky. We have planted the ground, and by our labor grow rich. Now a new King and his wicked great men want to take our lands and money without our consent. This we think unjust, and all our great men from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, met together at Philadelphia, where they all talked together, and sent a prayer to the King, that they would be brothers and fight for him, but would not give up their lands and money. The King would not hear our prayer, but sent a great army to Boston, and endeavored to set our brethren against us in Canada. The King's army at Boston came out into the fields and houses, killed a great many women and children, while they were peaceably at work. The Bostonians sent to their brethren in the country, and they came in unto their relief, and in six days raised an army of fifty thousand men, and drove the King's troops on board their ships, killed and wounded fifteen hundred of their men. Since that they durst not come out of Boston. Now we hear the French and Indians in Canada have sent to us, that the King's troops oppress them and make them pay a great price for their rum, &c.; press them to take up arms against the Bostonians, their brethren, who have done them no hurt. By the desire of the French and Indians, our brothers, we have come to their assistance, with an intent to drive out the King's soldiers; when drove off we will return to our country, and leave this to the peaceable enjoyment of its proper inhabitants. Now if the Indians, our brethren, will join us, we will be very much obliged to them, and will give them one Portuguese per month, two dollars bounty, and find them their provisions, and they liberty to choose their own officers.\*

This declaration had the desired effect. About fifty of them embodied according to agreement, took their canoes and proceeded.\*

Soon after the battle of Bunker Hill, Aaron Burr, accompanied by his friend Matthias Ogden, set out from Elizabethtown, N. J., for Cambridge, to offer his services to the Colonial cause. Burr had now entered his twentieth year, and with an enthusiastic and adventurous nature, he gladly improved the opportunity to join Arnold, as a volunteer, in this expedition. The step was contrary to the wishes of his friends, one of whom followed him to Newburyport to induce him to return. Entreaties proving unavailing, he was furnished with a small sum of gold to meet necessary incidental expenses. He continued with Arnold, sharing in the privations of his companions until the army reached Claudiere Pond, when he was despatched with a verbal message to General Montgomery. Disguised as a young Catholic Priest, he proceeded on his journey, which was successfully accomplished. Pleased with the appearance of Burr, General Montgomery at once gave him a place in his military family. Upon the duties of his new position he entered with characteristic vigor, and in the assault upon Quebec led a forlorn hope of forty men. He stood near Montgomery when he fell, but escaped being taken prisoner.† And

\* From our last lodgings [Sartigan] hired a peasant, and proceeded down the river in a canoe five miles to a victualing house, or other place of rendezvous. This village, St. Josephs, made a further agreement, and continued down the river about four miles further, as we found nothing agreeable since our arrival, except one quart of New England rum, (if that was to be allowed so,) for which I paid one hard dollar. We were making enquiry at every likely stage; for this purpose visited an old peasant's house, where was a merry old woman at her loom, and two or three fine young girls. They were exceedingly rejoiced with our company. Bought some eggs, rum, sugar, sweetmeats, &c., where we made ourselves very happy. Upon the old woman being acquainted from whence we came, [she] immediately fell slinging and dancing "Yankee Doodle" with the greatest air of good humour. After making the old woman satisfied for her kicksaws, saluted her for her civilities, &c., marched. The distance computed from the Chaudiere Lake to the inhabitants, one hundred miles. From thence to Quebec, ninety.'—*Senter's Journal*.

† Colonel Trumbull, in his great national painting, represents General Montgomery as falling into Burr's arms.

thus was opened to an ambitious young man, resembling, in some qualities of character, his commander Arnold, a career of high promise, destined however, as the sequel proved, to an unhappy blight. Having achieved a distinguished military reputation, and after filling the position of Vice-President of the United States, he closed an eventful life with a cloud resting upon his name.†

Pressing forward in defiance of all untoward circumstances, Arnold and his devoted band, now reduced to about 550 effective men, reached Point Levi on the 8th November, crossed the St. Lawrence with the aid of thirty-five canoes on the 13th, and advancing to the Plains of Abraham, sat down in defiant attitude before Quebec. On the 14th, Arnold sent a flag with a letter to Lieut. Governor Cramahé, demanding the surrender of the city. The officer bearing the flag, on approaching the walls was fired upon, and narrowly escaped being killed. The officer retired from his perilous position. A second flag was sent, with a similar result. This method of refusing to receive a flag, so contrary to military usage, called forth an indignant letter from Arnold, in which he threatened the British commander with retaliation. On the 18th he inspected the condition of the arms and ammunition of his little army, and found that a great part of the cartridges were unfit for service, leaving not more than five rounds for each man, while one hundred muskets, or about one-fifth of the whole, proved to be worthless for present use. In the mean time, he had ascertained that the garrison of the enemy had been augmented to about seven hundred men—and soon swelled to about nineteen hundred—a force too large to justify an immediate attempt to storm the city. It was deemed therefore prudent to fall back to Point-aux-Trembles, and await the arrival of General Montgomery. This, after trying in vain to draw the enemy into the open field, was done, Nov. 19th.

The work undertaken by General Montgomery was environed with no ordinary difficulties. He had not only to contend with the rigors of a Canadian winter,—with the small pox and other forms of disease which ravaged his camp and threatened more destruction than was to be apprehended from the enemy, but also to compose the dissensions that had sprung up among his officers, and to allay the spirit of disaffection they had spread among the men, which presaged ruin to the campaign. But he showed himself equal to the emergency, and under all these unpromising circumstances continued his advance from Montreal. On the 3d December he formed a junction with Arnold at Point-aux-Trembles and the next day the united forces appeared before Quebec. On the 6th General Montgomery sent a flag of truce to Governor Carleton, summoning a surrender. The flag he refused to receive, declaring that he would hold no parley with rebels. Batteries were established within striking distance of the walls, protected by breastworks of snow, converted into solid ice by pouring water upon it. But it was soon found that the metal thrown by the artillery was too light to breach the walls or do any essential damage inside.\* Here the dissensions before mentioned again broke out, which necessitated a change in the original plan of attack. December 51st had been fixed upon for making an assault. Early in the morning of that day the army, now only eight hundred strong, began to move in two columns upon the Lower Town. The first, led by Montgomery, was to make an attack at Cape Diamond, while the second, under Arnold, was to attack through St. Roque. The assaults were made with great vigor, but with disaster to the American cause. General Montgomery

†To the Lives of Burr written by Davis, Knapp and Parton, the reader is referred for details of an extraordinary man.

\*"I never expected any other advantage from our artillery than to amuse the enemy and blind them to my real intention."—*Montgomery to General Wooster.*

early fell mortally wounded, while aiding in removing the pickets at Cape Diamond, for the ingress of his men. Arnold's command carried a two-gun battery, which the enemy bravely defended for an hour. In this attack he was shot through the leg, and was compelled to retire from the field,\* while his men pushed on to a second barrier, which they took, but not without severe loss. The enemy had the advantage of the ground in front, a vast superiority of numbers, and dry and better arms, which gave them an irresistible power in so narrow a space. Humphreys, upon a mound, which was speedily erected, attended by many brave men, attempted to scale the barrier, but was compelled to retreat by the formidable phalanx of bayonets within, and the weight of fire from the platform and the adjacent buildings. Morgan, brave to ferocity, stormed and raged. Hendricks, Steele, Nichols and Humphrey, equally brave, were calm, though under a tremendous fire. Hendricks, when aiming his rifle, received a ball through his heart, and instantly expired. Humphrey, of Virginia, in like manner received a death wound. Lieut. Cooper, of Connecticut, was killed. Captain Lamb had a portion of his face carried away by a grape or canister shot. Lieut. Steele lost three of his fingers as he was presenting his gun to fire. Captain Hubbard and Lieut. Tisdale were also among the wounded.† The battle raged fiercely for the space of four and a half hours, when a sudden sally of the enemy from the Palace gate upon their rear, forced the surrender of such of Arnold's men as could not effect an escape. Thus, in one brief half day, vanished the brilliant anticipations of the preceding three months.

The number of killed, wounded, and taken prisoners in this battle has been variously stated, and may not as yet be definitely certain. Immediately after the fight, General Carleton reported the American loss in killed and wounded to be one hundred. Major Melg's estimated the loss at the same number. A school history fixes the killed at 160, and the prisoners at 426. Ware gives a list of names, and sums up results as follows: Killed, 48; wounded, 34; taken prisoners, 372; total, 454. This is more reliable than any statement that has previously been made. Yet this list may not include all of either class. Of the company with which Captain Thayer started from Cambridge, 22 were sent back from the wilderness sick, 11 were killed at Quebec, 27 including himself were taken prisoners, 3 deserted, 8 enlisted in the King's service, 3 entered on board a man-of-war, and 2 on board fishermen, leaving 8 as escaped, or to be otherwise accounted for. Of Captain Morgan's company, less than twenty-five regained their native homes. "Our loss and repulse," says Arnold, in a letter to Washington, "struck an amazing panic into both officers and men, and had the enemy improved their advantage, our affairs here must have been

\* "Daylight had scarce made its appearance, ere Colonel ARNOLD was brought in supported by two soldiers, wounded in the leg with a piece of a musket ball. The ball had probably come in contact with a cannon, rock, stone or the like, ere it entered the leg which had cleft off nigh a third. The other two-thirds entered the outer side of the leg, about midway, and in an oblique course passed between the tibia and fibula, lodged in the gastrocnemius muscle at the rise of the tendon achilles, where upon examination I easily discovered and extracted it. Before the Colonel was done with, Major OGDEN came in wounded through the left shoulder, which proved only a flesh wound.

† "We were momentarily expecting them [the enemy] out upon us, as we concluded Arnold's division, then under the command of Lieut. Col. Greene, were all killed, captured, &c. Under these circumstances, we entreated Colonel Arnold for his own safety to be carried back into the country where they would not readily find him when out, but to no purpose. He would neither be removed nor suffer a man from the Hospital to retreat. He ordered his pistols loaded, with a sword on his bed, &c., adding that he was determined to kill as many as possible if they came into the room. We were now all soldiers, even to the wounded in their beds were ordered a gun by their side."—*Dr. Senter's Journal.*

† Henry, pp. 117-119.

entirely ruined. It was not in my power to prevail on the officers to attempt saving our mortars, which had been placed in St. Roque's. Of course they fell into the hands of the enemy. Upwards of one hundred officers and soldiers instantly set off for Montreal, and it was with the greatest difficulty I could persuade "the rest to make a stand."

"During the night of the attack on Quebec, there was a tempestuous snow-storm. The bodies of the persons slain under the cliff of Cape Diamond, were not discovered till morning, when they were found nearly enveloped in snow. They were taken into the city on a sled. Three of them were known to the officers, and from the initials R. M. written in a fur cap, picked up at the place of the bloody catastrophe, it was conjectured to have belonged to General Montgomery. His features were disfigured by a wound, which he had received in the lower part of the head and neck. At length a woman and a boy were brought, who had lately come into the city from the American camp, and who had often seen the principal officers. They identified the bodies of Montgomery, Captain McPherson, Captain Cheeseman, and an Orderly Sergeant.

Mr. Cramahé, an officer in the British army, and for a time Lieutenant Governor of Canada, had served in the late [French] war with Montgomery, and entertained for him a warm personal attachment. He asked permission of General Carleton to bury his friend with marks of honor and respect. This was granted in part, and a coffin lined with black was provided. But the Governor did not consent to the reading of the funeral service, probably not deeming this indulgence conformable to military rules. But when the time of burial approached, Mr. Cramahé invited a clergyman [Rev. Mr. de Montmolin,] to be present, who read the service privately and unmolested."\*

General Montgomery was buried on the evening of January 4th, near the ramparts bounding on St. Louis-Gate. There the body rested until June, 1818, when it was exhumed and conveyed to the city of New York, and reinterred with the highest civil and military honors. The General's sword, after he fell, was taken by James Thompson, a citizen of Quebec, who served in the capacity of Assistant Engineer during the siege of the city, by whom it was worn until going one day to the Seminary where the American officers were lodged, they recognized it and were moved to tears. Out of respect to their feelings he laid it aside, and never wore it more. The General's knee buckles were given by Major McKenzie to Major Meigs, as was also a gold brooch that belonged to Capt. McPherson. Both the General's aides, Captains McPherson and Cheeseman, were buried in their clothes without coffins, and in the military manner.

Several circumstances combined to render this attack unsuccessful. In the first place, the Indian Messenger by whom Colonel Arnold, while on his march, forwarded a letter to Mr. Mercier, of Montreal, proved treacherous, and delivered it to the Lieutenant Governor, thereby revealing impending danger, and affording about twenty days' time to put the city of Quebec in a state of defence. Then there was a delay of several days after arriving at Point Levi, opposite Quebec, in getting all the troops across the river, the enemy (apprised of their approach) having destroyed all the canoes upon which Arnold had relied, at that point. This delay enabled the Governor to avail of the services of one hundred men, chiefly carpenters, who arrived in a vessel from Newfoundland November 5th, in repairing the defences, and in making platforms for the cannon. It also afforded time for Colonel Maclean to reach the city with 170 men of his regiment, with which to man the fortifications. This was a very important fact in its bearings upon the general ope-

\*Spark's Washington, iii, p. 264, note.

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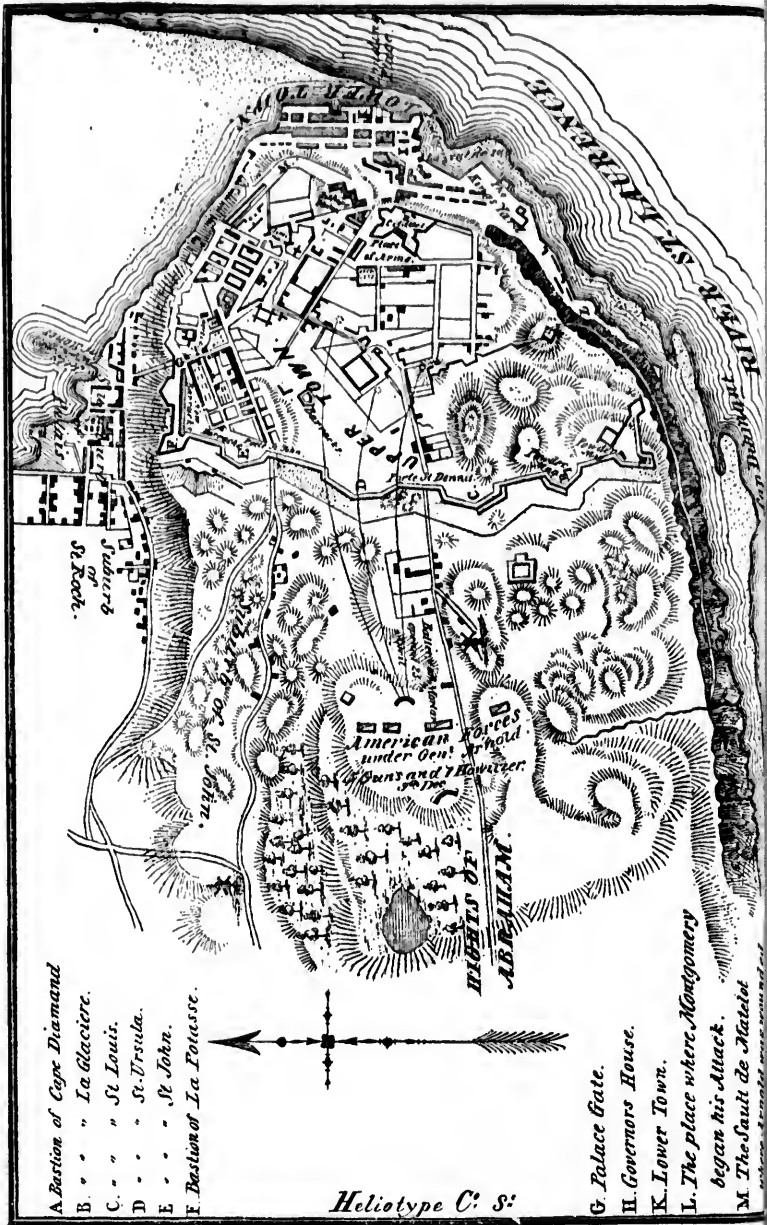
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- A. Bastion of Cape Diamond
- B. " " La Glaciere.
- C. " " St Louis.
- D. " " St Ursula.
- E. " " St John.
- F. Bastion of La Potasse.

- G. Palace Gate.
- H. Governors House.
- K. Lower Town.
- L. The place where Montgomery began his Attack.
- M. The South de Matabele

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rations; for up to Nov. 5th, when Arnold's forces were at St. Mary's, thirty miles from Quebec, there was not a soldier in the city, and had he pushed on and reached there on the 10th, with even half his force, the gates of the city would have been opened to him. Then, finally, the death of General Montgomery and his own wounded condition changed the situation of affairs at a critical moment, and that portion of the troops led by General Montgomery having retreated after his fall, gave the enemy an opportunity to turn their whole force and attention upon those who remained still fighting. To contend longer with superior numbers was only to sacrifice life without an equivalent; and after a sortie by the enemy, in which they captured an entire company, and retreat appeared impracticable, surrender or annihilation became inevitable. The first of these alternatives was chosen, and after maintaining their ground from 5½ o'clock until 10 o'clock, A. M., the gallant band gave themselves up prisoners of war.

The death of General Montgomery devolved the command of the assaulting forces upon Colonel Arnold, but he being already wounded was unable to act, and temporarily gave the command to Colonel Campbell. The day following the repulse, Arnold assumed the position that disaster had assigned him, and in the midst of excessive pain from his wound, began to plan for retrieving the fortunes of his little army. On the 10th of January, Congress appointed him Brigadier General, as a reward for his good conduct during the march and before Quebec.

The energy displayed by Arnold, and the fortitude shown by his men, extorted expressions of admiration from an English writer describing the occurrences of that remarkable campaign. "Their perseverance," he says, "was astonishing in their circumstances. They had lost beside their General, (in whom it might be said all their hopes and confidence resided,) the best of their own officers, and the bravest of their fellows, with a part of their small artillery. The hope of assistance was distant, and at best, the arrival of succors must be slow. It was well known that the Canadians, besides being naturally quick and flexible in their resolutions, were peculiarly disposed to be biased by success, so that their assistance now grew extremely precarious. The severity of a Canadian winter was also far beyond anything they were acquainted with, and the snow lay about five feet deep upon a level. In these circumstances, it required no small share of activity, as well as address, to keep them in any manner together. Arnold, who had hitherto displayed uncommon talents in his march into Canada, (which may be compared to the greatest things done in that kind) discovered on this occasion the utmost vigor of a determined mind, and a genius full of resources. Defeated and wounded as he was, he put his troops into such a situation as to keep them formidable."\*

Arnold wrote to Washington from Quebec, on the 27th of February, and seemed in high spirits, though encompassed with innumerable difficulties. His mind was of so elastic a nature, that the more it was pressed, the greater was its power of resistance. "The severity of the climate," he observes, "the troops very ill clad and worse paid, the trouble of reconciling matters among the inhabitants, † and lately

\*Annual Register, 1776, p. 16.

† One difficulty experienced by the American Army grew out of the scarcity of hard money in the Paymaster's Exchequer, and for which Continental paper money was substituted. Of this the inhabitants of Canada were distrustful, and were unwilling to receive it in payment for supplies, especially as army drafts had frequently been dishonored. When this currency was forced upon them as their only alternative, it is not surprising that a feeling akin to indignation should have been excited. An actor in the scenes of the Canadian campaign writes: "Our Continental Money required a good deal of *ges'iculation* to make it go. It was not much relished by our Canadian friends, at its par value. One of my amusements was to play tricks upon an old market woman, who retailed articles out of a dog-cart, still a vehicle of great repute in Canada. Her shrill voice, and exclamations of *vola (volla) mauvay (mauvais) Bostony!* still haunt my memory."—*The Sexagenary*, p. 48.



K. Lower Town.

L. The place where Montgomery began his Attack.

M. The Sault de Matlob

an uneasiness among some of the New York and other officers, who think themselves neglected in the new arrangement, while those who deserted the cause and went home last fall have been promoted; in short, the choice of difficulties I have had to encounter has rendered affairs so perplexing, that I have often been at a loss how to conduct them." He alludes here, and perhaps with some justice, to the case of Colonel Enos, and his officers, who as already mentioned, deserted him in the wilderness on their way to Canada, but were nevertheless retained and promoted in the new establishment.\*

This disastrous repulse did not crush out hope of ultimate success. "Quebec appears to me," writes Arnold to the Continental Congress, "an object of the highest importance to the Colonies, and, if proper methods are adopted, must inevitably fall into their hands before the garrison can be relieved." He adds, "I beg leave to recommend the sending a body of at least five thousand men, with an experienced General, into Canada as early as possible; and in the mean time that every possible preparation of mortars, howitzers, and some heavy cannon should be made, as the season will permit our raising batteries by the middle of March; which may very possibly be attended with success, as we can place our mortars under cover within two hundred yards of the walls, and within one thousand feet of the centre of the town."† In his future, Arnold calculated largely on the good will of the citizens, who were supposed to be friendly to his success. "I am well assured," he says, "more than one-half of the inhabitants of Quebec would gladly open the gates to us, but are prevented by the strict discipline and watch kept over them; the command of the guards being constantly given to officers of the Crown known to be firm in their interest. The garrison consists of about fifteen hundred men, great part of whom Governor Carleton can place no confidence in, or he would not suffer a blockade, and every distress of a siege, by seven hundred men, our force consisting of no more at present, including Colonel Livingston's regiment of two hundred Canadians."

Washington warmly sympathized with the determined persistent spirit of Arnold, and had it been in his power would gladly have given him the reinforcements he desired.‡ "It would give me great pleasure," he said, "if I could be the happy

\* Sparks.

† "The 22d of this month [January] a battery opened from the bank of Charles river, by name of Smith's battery. From this was discharged red hot shot, in hopes of firing the town. They returned the fire exceeding heavy, but no considerable harm from either side. Two of our artillery-men were wounded very much by the cartridges taking fire while ramming them home, but recovered again. The enemy continued their cannonade and bombardment excessive heavy, while we were restricted to a certain number per day, in consequence of very little ammunition. There was very little damage from either cannon or bombs."—*Senter*.

‡ January 27, 1776, Washington wrote to Arnold: "I need not mention to you the great importance of this place, and the consequent possession of all Canada, in the scale of American affairs. You are well apprised of it. To whomsoever it belongs, in their favor, probably, will the balance turn. If it is in ours, success I think will most certainly crown our virtuous struggles. If it is in theirs, the contest at best will be doubtful, hazardous, and bloody. The glorious work must be accomplished in the course of this winter, otherwise it will become difficult, most probably impracticable; for administration, knowing that it will be impossible ever to reduce us to a state of slavery and arbitrary rule without it, will certainly send a large re-enforcement thither in the spring. I am fully convinced that your exertions will be invariably directed to this grand object, and I already view the approaching day, when you and your brave followers will enter this important fortress, with every honor attendant on victory. Then will you have added the only link wanting in the great chain of Continental union, and render the freedom of your country secure." The confident expectations here expressed were declined five months later to be sadly disappointed.

means of relieving our fellow-citizens now in Canada, and prevent the ministerial troops from exulting long, and availing themselves of the advantages arising from this repulse. But it is not in my power. Since the dissolution of the old army, the progress in raising recruits for the new has been so very slow and inconsiderable, that five thousand militia have been called for the defence of our lines. A great part of these have gone home again, and the rest have been induced to stay with the utmost difficulty and persuasion, though their going would render the holding of the lines truly precarious and hazardous, in case of an attack. In short, I have not a man to spare."

But Washington was not idle. He called a council of general officers, who after due consideration of the importance of sustaining Arnold, "determined that the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut should each immediately raise a regiment to continue in service for one year, and to march forthwith to Canada." Without waiting for Congress to carry out a resolution to raise nine battalions for that purpose, passed before the news of the failure of the attack on Quebec had reached them, Washington addressed letters to the General Court of Massachusetts, to the Governor of Connecticut and to the President of the Convention of New Hampshire, requesting them to act at once upon the decision of the war council. Connecticut had already anticipated the call, and sent off troops without delay to Canada, under the command of Colonel Warner. Other troops followed.

After the fall of Montgomery, General Schuyler was expected to repair to Canada, and take the chief command, but continued ill health and other causes induced him to decline going there. In February, 1778, General Leo was designated by Congress for that field, but was soon after transferred to the command of the Continental forces South of the Potomac, much to the gratification of Washington, who had already found him "fickle and violent." For a few months, General Wooster was the highest officer in Canada. On the 1st of April he took command of the army before Quebec, and on the day following, Arnold having received an injury from his horse falling upon him, retired on leave to Montreal for recovery.\* May 1st, General Wooster gave place to General Thomas of Massachusetts. About this time a plot was formed to burn the shipping of the enemy in the harbor. A fire ship was completed in charge of Adjutant Anderson, a very brave officer, but proved abortive by reason of the tide ebbing before he could get up to the shipping. The combustibles took fire before he intended, by which accident he was much burnt. He was, however, got on shore, and no lives were lost.†

When General Thomas arrived at the camp before Quebec, he found his army there to consist of 1900 men. Of these, only 1000 were fit for duty, officers included. The remainder were invalids, chiefly confined with the small pox. Three hundred of the effective were soldiers whose enlistments had expired. Many of these peremptorily refused duty, and all were importunate to return home. In all the magazines there were but one hundred and fifty pounds of powder, and not more

\* February 15th, 1776, Congress appointed Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll Commissioners to repair to Canada, and use all suitable means to induce the Canadians to join the other colonies in the contest with England. They were accompanied by Reverend John Carroll, afterward Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, whose influence with the people it was thought would be useful, on account of his religious principles and character. They arrived at Montreal April 20th, and used every effort in their power to accomplish the object of their mission, without success. Ill health caused Dr. Franklin to return in a few days. His associates remained till after the American forces had retreated to Sorel, and were preparing to evacuate Canada.—*Sparks*.

† Senter.

than six days provisions. The French inhabitants, too, were much disaffected, which rendered it more difficult to obtain supplies in the country.\*

The state of blockade in which Arnold, immediately after the battle of December 31st, had placed Quebec, did not prevent re-enforcements being thrown into that city. Before the arrival of General Thomas the enemy had in their magazine more than 3000 barrels of powder, 10,000 stands of arms, and a large quantity of artillery stores. Two frigates and a number of other vessels were in the harbor, ready to render aid to the British garrison. On the 10th of May five more ships of war were added to the naval force of the enemy. The besieged, under Beaujean, attempted in March to raise the blockade, but failed. In May, however, a sally was made by the garrison upon the Continental forces, who were so dispersed that not more than two hundred men could be collected at head quarters, which compelled a retreat to the mouth of the Sorel. This was made in the utmost precipitation and confusion, with the loss of cannon, batteries, provisions, five hundred stands of small arms, and a battcan load of powder going down with Colonel Allen.† Two of the enemy's frigates proceeded immediately up the river, not only to annoy the retreating troops on their march, but also to seek several vessels of the fleet which General Montgomery brought from Montreal. Wind and tide favoring the enemy's frigates, they were brought within cannon shot of the American vessels before they could get under way. They hauled upon our shipping so rapidly as to oblige the Captains to run them ashore, and set them on fire. They kept in pursuit up the river both by land and by water, increasing the disorder of the retreat.

The detachment stationed at Point Levi,‡ as well as those at Chairebore, were not apprised of a retreat till they saw the Provincials quitting the ground. They were forced to escape through the woods a very great distance before they fell in with the St. Lawrence. Most of the sick fell into the hands of the enemy, with all the hospital stores, &c. The first stand made was at Chambaud, forty-five miles from Quebec, but not being able to collect sufficient provisions, they were obliged to abandon the position and proceed. "The poor inhabitants, seeing the army abandoning their country, were in the utmost consternation, expecting, as many had been aiding us in every way, to be sacrificed to the barbarity of those whose severity they had long felt, though under the specious pretence of civil government, which, in fact, had been in essence nothing but an arrogant military one. No provisions could be obtained but by force of arms. No conveniences for ferrying the troops over the rivers emptying in upon either side of the St. Lawrence, except a canoe or two, and these were rare. The spring flood had submerged many low places, and the army was obliged to travel a great distance around them. In this

\* Letter of General Thomas to Washington, May 8, 1776. On the same day, Arnold writes from Montreal: "We have very little provisions, no cash and less credit."

† The town of Sorel, or (as it is sometimes called) William Henry, stands on the site of a fort, built in the year 1665, by order of Mops. de Tracy. It was intended as a defence against the incursions of the Indians, and received its name of Sorel from a Captain of engineers, who superintended its construction.

‡ The river Sorel is two hundred and fifty yards broad opposite to the town, but it presents a singular example of a river much narrower at its embouchure than at its origin. It is more than four times as wide at St. John's, as at Sorel, and continues to widen all the way up the stream, to the Lake Champlain. From St. John's there is also a ship navigation into the lake; but from the town of Sorel, vessels of one hundred and fifty tons ascend only twelve or fourteen miles.—*Silliman's Tour*.

§ Colonel Clinton, afterwards well known in our Revolution as a gallant general officer, and now not less remembered as the father of the illustrious DeWitt Clinton, commanded a battery at Point Levi. He afterwards commanded at Montreal.—*The Seagary, p. 44*.

perplexed situation, they arrived at Sorel, about forty miles below Montreal, where they made a stand and collected our whole force."\*

At Sorel, General Thomas died of small pox.† On being taken sick, he sent for General Wooster, then at Montreal, to come and take the command, which for a short time he did. But General Sullivan was already on his way to Canada with reinforcements, to join General Thomas, and the death of that officer devolved on him the command. He advanced to Sorel, where he established his head-quarters. His entire force consisted of about 3500 men, and he felt confident of soon being able to reduce Quebec. Writing to Washington in glowing strains, under date of June 5th, he says: "Our affairs here have taken a strange turn since our arrival. The Canadians are flocking by hundreds to take a part with us. I am giving them commissions agreeable to the enclosed form, which I hope will not be thought an unnecessary assumption of power. I really find most of them exceedingly friendly. I have sent out for carts and teams, &c. They have come in with the greatest cheerfulness; and, what gives still greater evidence of their friendship is, that they have voluntarily offered to supply us with what wheat, flour, &c., we want, and nothing in return but certificates. They begin to complain against their priests, wish them to be secured; I shall, however, touch this string with great tenderness, as I know their sacerdotal influence."

General Sullivan was greatly deceived by appearances, or had been grossly imposed upon by false professions. At any rate, two weeks sufficed to cloud these bright skies, and doom him to disappointment. Two days after his arrival at Sorel, he sent General Thompson with three regiments to attack the enemy at Three Rivers, but unfortunately for the enterprise Burgoyne arrived the night before the battle, with a strong party. General Thompson was defeated and with other officers was taken prisoner. The fortunes of war were now against Sullivan. There was a want of almost every necessary for the army, while repeated misfortunes and losses had greatly dispirited the troops. The British land force had not only been heavily strengthened, but they had thirty-six sail of vessels lying in the lake near Sorel, and sixty-six more lying at Three Rivers. The numbers under the command of Sullivan were entirely inadequate to the work he had undertaken, while "small pox, famine and disorder, had rendered them almost lifeless." The warmth of Canadian friendship, which had been so conspicuous when Montgomery crossed the line seven months before, and so suddenly cooled after the disaster at Quebec, which rose again to summer heat on the appearance of Sullivan, now sank to zero. The tickle population changed with every turn of fortune. Success was the price to be paid for their good will. From a doubtful cause they withheld support. Every day the situation of affairs became more precarious, and in view of all circumstances, a council of war decided upon an entire withdrawal from Canada.

\* Dr. Senter.

† June 13, 1776, Arnold wrote from St. John's to General Schuyler as follows: "Near one-half of our army are sick, mostly with the small pox. If the enemy have a force of six or eight, and some say ten thousand men, we shall not be able to oppose them, sick, divided, ragged, undisciplined, and unofficered, as we are. If we are not soon re-enforced, I tremble for the event. A loss of our heavy cannon, which is all ordered to Sorel, must ensue, if not of our army, as our retreat is far from being secured. Not one stroke has been struck to secure our encampment here. I have ordered men out to-morrow morning to inclose our encampment and the two old forts with an *abatis* and breastwork. Dr. Stringer is in a disagreeable situation. Three thousand men are sick here and at Chambly, and no room or convenience for them. I should advise his going to the Isle-aux-Noix, was there any convenience for the sick, or boards to make any."

This was effected about the middle of June in an orderly manner, without loss of men, armament or baggage.\*

On the 17th of June, before this event was known, Congress directed General Washington to send General Gates to Canada to assume the chief command. Gates had then a popular military reputation, and strong hopes were entertained that he would soon be able to give a successful turn to affairs. Receiving his instructions in New York, he proceeded June 3d, by way of Albany to Ticonderoga. But the evacuation of Canada, which had already taken place, put an end to a project that for more than nine months had occupied the attention of Congress, and which had given great anxiety to Washington.

The termination of the invasion of Canada, so differently from universal expectation, was a deep disappointment to the country. Life, treasure and time seemed to have been expended in vain.† Yet this expenditure was not wholly without compensation. The experience gained was calculated to toughen the will, and to make more energetic soldiers of both officers and men. Besides, viewing the result through the medium of subsequent events, it is questionable whether the possession of Canada at that time would have secured to the Continental Confederacy the advantages then anticipated. It has been said, with much plausibility, that had Quebec fallen, while it would have seemed a most important and glorious event, yet it might have been the ruin of America; for in order to defend it, a considerable force would have been requisite, thus dividing our strength, while the British, in despair of recovering so strong a place, might have concentrated their forces at New York, and the capture of Burgoyne would not have electrified the friends of liberty through America.‡

But however this may be, the plan of wresting Canada from Great Britain, and giving the blessings of freedom to its people, was a grand conception, while the record of the manly fortitude displayed by the army under the most trying circumstances, is a noble monument to its patriotism. The simple, unambitious story told in the following Journal, well illustrates the spirit that fired the army of the Revolution, and shows, in vivid light, how much our ancestors were ready to endure to secure for their posterity the boon of human rights. It has been truly said, "The long, difficult and laborious march of Arnold through hardships and dangers

\* "I advised General Sullivan to secure his retreat by retiring to St. John's. He was determined to keep his post at Sorel, if possible, and did not retire until the 14th (June) instant, at which time the enemy were as high up with their ships as the Sorel.

On the 15th at night, when the enemy were at twelve miles distant from me, I quitted Montreal with my little garrison of three hundred men. The whole army with their baggage and cannon (except three heavy pieces left at Chambly,) arrived at St. John's the 17th, and at the Isle-aux-Noix the 18th; previous to which it was determined by a Council of War at St. John's, that in our distressed situation, (one-half of the army sick, and almost the whole destitute of clothing and every necessary of life, except salt pork and flour,) it was not only imprudent but impracticable to keep possession of St. John's. Crown Point was judged the only place of health and safety, to which the army could retire and oppose the enemy. It was found necessary to remain at the Isle-aux-Noix for some few days, until the sick, heavy cannon, &c., could be removed."—*Arnold to General Washington, June 25, 1776.*

† "The loss of Canada," writes Hancock, President of Congress, "is undoubtedly on some accounts to be viewed in the light of a misfortune. The Continent has been put to a great expense in endeavoring to get possession of it. That our army should make so prudent a retreat, as to save their baggage, cannon, ammunition and sick from falling into the hands of the enemy, is a circumstance that will afford a partial consolation, and reflect honor upon the officers who conducted it."

‡ Allen.



that would have appalled the stoutest follower of Xenophon—his subsequent siege and blockade of one of the strongest military posts in the world, in the heart of the enemy's country, in the midst of a northern winter, where nothing was seen but ice and snow, with raw recruits, half clad, half fed, and scarcely half covered from the storms of wind and snow—the expedition to Canada may fairly be placed on a parallel with any of the boasted achievements of ancient Greece or Rome." We turn painfully away from Arnold's display of patriotic devotion in this marvelous march, and before Quebec, as we remember his base and heartless treachery at West Point. How sad, that a life of such glorious promise should have draped itself forever in a robe of infamy!

## NOTES.

## DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY. Page xvi.

"Some American gentlemen who were at Quebec about sixteen years since, saw a man who asserted that he was the person who touched off the cannon, and what was very remarkable he was a New Englander. He related that the barrier was abandoned, and that the party who had been stationed at it were in full flight; but as it occurred to him that there was a loaded cannon, he turned, and discharged it at random, and then ran. This anecdote I had from one of the gentlemen who conversed with this man.

That there was some such occurrence, appears probable, and the following circumstances having a similar bearing, were related to me by the person who showed me this fatal ground. The spot may be known at the present moment, by its being somewhat farther up the river than the naval depot, where great numbers of heavy cannon are now lying. The battery stood on the first gentle declivity, beyond this pile of cannon, and the deaths happened on the level ground, about forty yards still farther on. My informant stated that the people in the block-house, as he called it, loaded their cannon over night, and retired to rest. It so happened, (and it was perfectly accidental,) that a Captain of a vessel in the port, lodged in the block-house that night. He was an intemperate man, half delirious when most sober, and never minded any one or was much listened to by others. Early on the fatal morning, before light, he exclaimed, all of a sudden,—"they are coming, I s—r they are coming." No one regarded him, but he got the iron rods, which they used to touch off the cannon, heated them, and fired the pieces. Immediately sky rockets were seen to fly into the air, which were signals to Arnold's party that all was lost. When light returned, General Montgomery and his aids and many others, in the whole twenty-seven (as he stated,) were found either dead or grievously wounded"—*Silliman's Tour*, 1819.

## WASHINGTON TO ARNOLD ON THE DEATH OF MONTGOMERY.

Cambridge, 27th January, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

On the 17th instant I received the melancholy account of the unfortunate attack on the city of Quebec, attended with the fall of General Montgomery and other brave officers and men, and of your being wounded.

This unhappy affair affects me in a very sensible manner, and I sincerely condole with you upon the occasion; but, in the midst of distress, I am happy to find that suitable honors were paid to the remains of Mr. Montgomery; and that our officers and soldiers, who have fallen into their hands, were treated with kindness and humanity.

## COLONEL ARNOLD'S ACCOUNT OF THE ATTACK ON QUEBEC, IN A LETTER TO GENERAL WOOSTER.

General Hospital, 31 December, 1775.

DEAR SIR:—I make no doubt but General Montgomery acquainted you with his intentions of storming Quebec as soon as a good opportunity offered. As we had several men



deserted from us a few days past, the General was induced to alter his plan, which was to have attacked the Upper and Lower Town at the same time. He thought it most prudent to make two different attacks upon the Lower Town; the one at Cape Diamond, the other through St. Roe. For the last attack, I was ordered with my own detachment and Captain Lamb's company, of artillery. At five o'clock, the hour appointed for the attack, a false attack was ordered to be made upon the Upper Town.

We accordingly began our march. I passed through St. Roe, and approached near a two-gun battery, picketed in, without being discovered, which we attacked. It was bravely defended for about an hour; but with the loss of a number of men, we carried it. In the attack, I was shot through the leg, and was obliged to be carried to the hospital, where I soon heard the disagreeable news that the General was defeated at Cape Diamond; himself, Captain Macpherson, his Aide de Camp, and Captain Cheeseman, killed on the spot, with a number of others not known. After gaining the battery, my detachment pushed on to a second barrier, which they took possession of. At the same time, the enemy sallied out from Palace Gate, and attacked them in the rear. A field-piece, which the roughness of the road would not permit our carrying on, fell into the enemy's hands, with a number of prisoners. The last accounts from my detachment, about ten minutes since, they were pushing for the Lower Town. Their communication with me was cut off. I am exceedingly apprehensive what the event will be; they will either carry the Lower Town, be made prisoners, or cut to pieces.

I thought proper to send an express to let you know the critical situation we are in, and make no doubt you will give us all the assistance in your power. As I am not able to act, I shall give up the command to Colonel Campbell. I beg you will immediately send an express to the Honorable Continental Congress, and His Excellency General Washington. The loss of my detachment before I left it, was about twenty men killed and wounded; among the latter is Major Ogden, who, with Captain Oswald, Captain Burr, and the other volunteers, behaved extremely well. I have only time to add that I am, with the greatest esteem, &c.,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

P. S. It is impossible to say what our future operations will be until we know the fate of my detachment.

PAGE XX.

*January 6, 1776.*—A battery opened from Point Levis upon the city, but being scanty of ammunition, were allowed only a few rounds per day, just to keep the enemy in a continued alarm. About this time an insurrection happened down the river St. Lawrence, about six leagues from Quebec, in consequence of some of the enemy's emissaries, joined to the envious instigations of some of their priests. They collected a number of Canadians, and were marching up in form to take possession of our troops at Point Levis. Of this the General obtained intelligence, and immediately detached Major Dubois, a very brave officer, with a number of men to oppose them. The Major fell in with their party upon surprise, killed some, wounded others, (among the last was a priest) and captured a number more and brought them to Headquarters.—*Sender.*





# JOURNAL.

A Journal of the indefatigable march of Col. Benedict Arnold from Prospect Hill Fort, in order to join the detachment which was going on a secret expedition, consisting of two Battalions, one commanded by Lieut. Col. Greene, and the other by Lieut. Col. Enos, with all circumstances, and particularly the difficulties that I myself have labored under, having the command of a company of Foot under Lieut. Col. Greene, in the years 1775 and 1776.

The first Battalion consisted of

1 Lieut. Colonel, (Greene,)	1 Major,
1 Adjutant,	1 Quartermaster.

The second Battalion consisted of

1 Lieut. Colonel, (Enos,)	1 Major,
1 Adjutant,	1 Quartermaster.
1 Surgeon and Mate for both Battalions.	

Captain Smith's Company,

“ Hendrick’s “  
 “ Ward’s “  
 “ Topham’s “  
 “ McCobb’s “  
 “ Hubbard’s “  
 “ Thayer’s “

Captain Morgan's Company,

“ Williams’ “  
 “ Hanchet’s “  
 “ Goodrich’s “  
 “ Dearborn’s “  
 “ Scott’s “

One Chief Colonel, 1 Chaplain for both Battalions.

## MARCH TO NEWBURYPORT.

*Sept. 11.*—Remained in Cambridge in order to fill up each company to 84 effective men. Got all necessaries and began our march.

*Sept. 13.*—This day our Battalion marched towards Newburyport, reached Beverly and remained there this night.

*Sept. 14.*—Continued our march and reached Malden and lodged there.

*Sept. 15.*—Arrived at Newburyport about sunset, and quartered our men in the Presbyterian Meeting House. [See Appendix A.]

*Sept. 16.*—Capt. Topham's company, together with mine, arrived.

*Sept. 17.*—Being Sunday we paraded our men, and went to meeting under arms,\* after which we had orders to hold ourselves in readiness to embark at a moment's warning, in eleven small vessels purposely engaged to receive us on Board. Agreeable to orders we embarked about sunset, But finding it difficult to keep the men on board, we were obliged to keep a guard over them.

*Sept. 18.*—About 9 o'clock the fleet sailed for Kennebeck River, bearing W. S. W., got over the bar, and stood off until Col. Arnold came on board the Broad Bay schooner where little after the swallow Sloop struck a Rock where she stuck, on board of which was Capt. Scott's company who were distributed among the fleet, and Capt. Hendrick's company of Riflemen, together with mine, which were on board the Broad Bay. At 2 o'clock a signal was made for sailing, and run along shore until midnight, when a signal was given for turning to, off the shore, under our jib and mainsail.

*Sept. 19.*—About Daybreak, discover'd the mouth of the river, for which we stood in and anchor'd, tarried all Day for the fleet.

*Sept. 20.*—They all came up but the Conway and Abigail sloops. The weather, accompanied by a fog and heavy rain,

\* At the Presbyterian Meeting-house, Rev. Jonathan Parsons.

blowed very fresh. Stood up the river, but the above sloops did not come up. [See Appendix B.]

*Sept. 21.*—Came to the head of Sheeps Gut River, out of which we discovered the missing vessels making sail, to our great satisfaction, on board of which were Capt. Topham's and my companys.

*Sept. 22.*—Went on shore with Col. Arnold at Capt. Cope-lins, where there were one hundred men to row the Batteaux to Fort Western.

*Sept. 23.*—Proceeded to Fort Western.\* This place was formerly pretty strong; was built against the French and Indians, but at present of no great consequence. It has two large and two small block houses.

*Sept. 24.*—Occupied in getting our men and Provisions up from Gardner's Town. After Capt. Topham and myself went to bed at a neighbor's house, some dispute arose in the house between some of our soldiers, on which we were requested to get up and appease them. I got out of Bed, and ordered them to lie down and be at rest; and on going to the door, I observed the flash of the priming of a gun, and called to Capt. Topham who arose likewise and went to the door, was fired at, but was miss'd, on which he drew back, and I with Topham went to bed, but the felon who had fully determined murder in his heart, came again to the door and lifted the latch, and fired into the room, and killed a man lying by the fireside. On suspicion, we took up a man, but did not prove to be the murderer.

*Sept. 25.*—The perpetrator of the above facts was taken by a Sergeant, who, thinking he was a deserter, questioned him accordingly, and who came to understand that he crossed the river opposite to the place where he killed the man, and gave himself up to the mercy of the Sergeant, who brought him back and was sentenced to die. This afternoon an advanced guard went forward, consisting of four Batteaux. This day the three companies of Riflemen sat off for Quebec, the place of our destination, and Col. Greene's Battalion received orders to be ready at a minute's warning.

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\* Opposite the present town of Augusta.

*Sept. 26.*—We began our march. The above perpetrator, by name Jn<sup>o</sup> McCormick, was to suffer at 3 o'clock, but was relieved at that time to be sent back to Gen. Washington. The river here is very rapid and difficult. [See Appendix C.]

*Sept. 27.*—Arrived at Fort Halifax about 3 o'clock, P. M., which greatly resembles Fort Western. The river here is both rapid and rocky. Proceeded to the foot of the falls. Here is the first carrying place we come to. We encamped on the west side of the river, and carried over our provisions and Batteaux. The carrying place is about eighty rods wide.

*Sept. 28.*—Proceeded about 3 miles through rapid water. Our men are obliged to wade more than half their time. It begins to be cold and uncomfortable. Here are few scattering inhabitants. [See Appendix D.]

*Sept. 29.*—Proceeded on our march; made large fires and refreshed ourselves. Our People are in good health, But some keep lurking behind and get lost from the party. At 12 o'clock, set out again for Squhegan\* Falls; the stream is very swift, which makes it difficult, and our Batteaux leaky, besides the place being very shallow, which obliges our men to go into the river and haul the Batteaux after them, which generally occupies three or four men, two of whom are at her head and one or two at her stern, which occasioned a slow progress. To-night we encamped within three miles of the falls, the water still continues to run very rapid.

*Sept. 30.*—Proceeded through the falls in rapid water; here is the second carrying place. We found that the course of the river differ'd from the Draught we had seen. We encamped on the main on the west side of the river. The carrying place is across an island. Here is a mill erecting, (the property of Mr. Copelin,) the worst constructed I ever saw. The People call this place Canaan; a Canaan, Indeed! The land is good, the timber large and of various kinds, such as Pine, Oak, Hemlock and Rock Maple. Last night, our clothes being wet, were frozen a pane of glass thick, which proved very disagreeable, being obliged to lie in them. The land is very fine, and am thinking if worked up, would produce any grain

\* Skowhegan.

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whatsoever. The people are courteous and breathe nothing but liberty. Their produce, (they sell at an exorbitant price) which consists of salted Moose and Deer, dried up like fish. They have Salmon in abundance. The cataracts here are neither so high nor so rapid as those at the fort, but narrow, which occasions the water below them to run very swift. The carrying place is very difficult, occasioned by the height of the land, and more so, being obliged to carry our provisions and Batteaux up a steep rocky precipice. Our men are as yet in very good spirits, considering they have to wade half the time, and our boats so villainously constructed, and leaking so much that they are always wet. I would heartily wish the infamous constructors, who, to satisfy their avaricious temper, and fill their purses with the spoils of their country, may be obliged to trust to the mercy of others more treacherous than themselves, that they might judge the fear and undergo the just reward of their villainy. This is the second carrying place.

*Oct. 1.*—Proceeded on our march seven miles. Stopped about an hour, advanced to Norridgewall, and reached the falls about 12 o'clock and encamped on the west side of the river.\*

*Oct. 2.*—This Day we saw an altar constructed by the Indians, and the remains of a Roman Chapel, where they paid their devotions. Their Curate, or Friar, named Francisco was killed about 40 years ago, at the time when the Provincials drove back the Indians. His remains lie buried here with a cross over them, as is customary in France, Spain, Italy and all Roman Catholic countries, when their clergy die. This place was remarkable formerly for being the Indians' Headquarters. There we were busy in repairing our boats and carrying our Provisions over the carrying place, (the 3d) which is about one mile and a quarter long. We had some sleds and oxen to assist us in carrying our Luggage. We are at the Last inhabitants now, and meet no other until we come to Canada. Col. Arnold came up to us and encamped on the west side of the river. This is the fourth carrying place.

*Oct. 3.*—Overhauled our Biscuit and found it to be much

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\* See Appendix E.

damaged by the leaking of the Batteaux; passed the whole day in crossing the River.

*Oct. 4.*—Came to the mouth of the 7 mile streams, and encamp'd on a point of land.

*Oct. 5.*—Came to the falls called Carrytuck, otherwise Devil's Falls. They fall about sixteen feet. The carrying place is about 8 Rods, and very difficult; the water is frozen. This is the 5th carrying place.

*Oct. 6.*—Carried our Batteaux across, and proceeded to the Great carrying place; went about seven miles, and came to Seven Islands on the east side of the river, the mountains appearing ahead, which looked dismal to us, and especially more so, knowing we had them to cross without a conductor.

*Oct. 7.*—Got on our march to the great carrying place; the land is low and rich in grass. In spring time the edge of the River seems to be overflowed, and gradually as we proceed, begins to be less fertile.

*Oct. 8.*—Lieut. Church returned with his party, who went to reconnoitre the Place, and informed us the first carrying place to be within three and one-fourth miles and then a pond. We encamped here, and employed our men in clearing the road for carrying our boats, &c. It rained hard all Day, which hindered us much. Hitherto we had fair weather. At 3 o'clock, the remainder of our Battalion came up, but we remained here. The three companies of Riflemen were helping to clear the roads; they had killed a Moose; the skin appeared to be as large as that of an ox of 600 lbs. This animal is of the same species as the Reindeer, and might be of the same service to the inhabitants as the Reindeer is to the Laplanders and Upper Norwegians. They are so numerous that we can hardly walk 50 yards without meeting their tracks; their meat is good and refreshing. We encamped here.

*Oct. 9.*—Detached two Subalterns and 36 rank and file, to clear the road to the first Pond. The remainder of the men were employed in unbarreling our Pork and stringing it on poles for convenience of carriage, and carrying our Batteaux from the river to the pond. The carrying place is about 4 miles long; the weather is fair, but very fresh. Here came up two com-

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panies of the other Battalion; this pond is full of trout, of which we caught plenty. This is the 6th carrying place.

*Oct. 10.*—Employed getting our men over the pond; this is one-half mile distant from the preceding one, which is the 7th carrying place.

*Oct. 11.*—Came to the 8th carrying place, which is about four and one-quarter Miles, and made the rivulet that runs into the Dead River, (so call'd) but undeservedly, because it runs swiftly, except where the rivulet enters the river.

*Oct. 12.*—Had a beautiful prospect of a high mountain that bears S. S. W. of us, about fifteen miles. This last carrying place is very difficult—sinking half leg deep carrying over our Batteaux and Provisions, the ground being wet and boggy, and to add to our difficulties, we had to wade through the whole bog. At the east side of the mountain is the Creek that runs into the Dead River.

*Oct. 13.*—Proceeded on our march about three miles up Dead River.

*Oct. 14.*—Proceeded about ten miles only, the current being so strong, and the shore so bold that our poles would not reach the bottom, and were oblig'd to pull them by the Bushes that hung over the water.

*Oct. 15.*—Dispatch'd two Indians and a white man to deliver some letters to a gentleman in Quebec, whose return we expected in ten or twelve days; waited some time for a company in the rear to come up; clean'd our arms. The mountain bears W. S. W., and the River runs N. W. by W. Thick weather, and calm, with some rain, but not very cold; the land is good.

*Oct. 16.*—Fell short of Provisions and brought to half an allowance per man—waited until 9 o'clock for the Rifle companies in order to get some supply, but they not appearing, we push'd our journey. Past the ninth carrying place and came to an Indian hut where one Sataness dwell'd, both as roguish and malicious as ever existed. Proceeded about 4 miles and encamped. Col. Arnold came up in the Evening, and understanding our want of supplies, ordered four Batteaux with thirty-two men of Each company to return to the rear



for some. In the morning our company had but 5 or 6 pounds of flour for 60 men.

*Oct. 17.*—Detached 12 Batteaux with 96 men, officers included, on the above Business.

*Oct. 18.*—Employed making cartouches—took an observation of the mountain, which we found to be 6 miles S. E. by E.—the river runs W. N. W., and bears more to the north; the weather is fair. We tarried until Major Meigs' division arrived.

*Oct. 19.*—Heavy rain until 3 o'clock; then Major Meigs and his division marched on; we expect our supply of Provisions, as the officers and men are eager to get forward.

*Oct. 20.*—Rain'd very hard, and our Batteaux not appearing, we pack'd up our cartouches in casks in order to be ready for an immediate embarkation, having lain by 6 Days waiting for supplies to no purpose.

*Oct. 21.*—A continuance of rain, and a most heavy storm. Col. Enos came up with us about 11 o'clock, in expectation of finding Col. Arnold, but on his disappointment returned, and drove up his rear. In the afternoon Capt. Williams' Sergeant came up with that company. Major Bigelow, who carried the boats, returned with only 2 barrels of flour, and the detachments returned immediately to their respective companies. Now we found ourselves in a distress'd and famish'd situation, without provisions and no hopes of getting any, until we reach'd Sartigan. Having no other view now but to proceed to Canada, (or retreat) we concluded to send back such as were not able to do Duty; the river rose 3 foot, which increased the rapidity of the current. Our encampment grew quite uncomfortable, and especially to those who had no Tents, and not being much used to the inconveniencies that a soldier is obliged to undergo, suffered exceedingly.

*Oct. 22.*—Myself and eight more of the men, missing our way by the freshet of the River and the overflowing of the surface, were cast into the greatest consternation, not being able to make any other way but by wading through the water, in which situation we were obliged to remain without victuals or drink until the next morning about 9 o'clock, exhausted with

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cold and fatigue, reached the detachment as they were beginning their march. The storm abated, the river rose 6 feet perpendicular, and ran exceeding rapid. The sun rose with a little rain, but soon grew fair, and we embark'd on board our Batteaux, and after going about 6 miles against the current, which ran at least 5 miles an hour, came to a carrying place entirely overflowed, that our Batteaux went through the woods, without the trouble of carrying them; advanced about 50 rods and encamped. This is the 10th carrying place.

Oct. 23.—Proceeded a little further and came to a carrying place, which is the eleventh. At six o'clock proceeded against the freshet, being altogether as high as before, which made us repent of our Delays; went about 2 miles and cross'd another carrying place, and half a mile further cross'd again; went about 7 miles and came to another, by which we expect to be within 6 miles of the second great carrying place, and encamp'd. It is to be observed here that by ye freshet overflowing, our salt was wash'd out of the Boats, and had no more to supply our want.\*

Oct. 24.—Had intelligence of its being twenty-five miles to the great carrying place where the height of land is, and in the meantime destitute of provisions, for the two Barrels we brought gave two pounds Each man, and we had only [a] half pint left to deliver out; besides, the continual snow aggravated us more, and left [us] in a situation not to be described.

Oct. 25.—We staid for Col. Greene to consult about our situation, and what to do for provisions; however we trusted in the Almighty, and hoped he would prove propitious towards us; for the present we had no hopes, unless some Glimpses from the part of the French, which at any rate could not be much. We sent back in three Batteaux, forty-eight sick men, and one subaltern; the river is narrow and of

\*Oct. 23. "Encamped this evening at a carrying place, fifteen perches across. Here a council was held, in which it was resolved that a captain with fifty men should march, with all despatch, by land, to Chaudiere pond, and that the sloop of my division and Captain Morgan's should return to Cambridge. At this place the stream is very rapid, in passing which five or six battoes filled and overset, by which we lost several barrels of provisions, a number of guns, some clothes and cash."—*Meigs' Journal*.

course rapid, Besides bad walking by land; the men are much disheartened and Eagerly wish to return—however, I am certain if their Bellies were full, they would be willing eno' to advance. Whether or no, necessity obliges [us] to proceed at present. Col. Arnold has sent with Capt. Hanchet a party of 60 men, to purchase provisions of the French, if possible. In the afternoon, went about three miles and encamped, waiting for our boats. Here Col. Greene, Capt. Topham and myself staid, by desire of Col. Enos, to hold a council of war, in which it was resolved that Col. Enos should not return back. His party, who were 6 in number, and by one inferior to ours, and observed with regret that we voted for proceeding; on which they held a council of war amongst themselves, of which were the Capts. McCobb, Williams and Scott, and unanimously declar'd that they would return, and not rush into such imminent danger; to which we replied, if thus determined to grant us some supply, which they promis'd, if we could get a boat from Mr. Copelin, tho' with ye utmost reluctance.

Mr. Ogden, a volunteer under Colonel Greene, and myself, took the Boat, in which we ran rapidly down with the current, where we expected to receive from the returning party, four barrels of flour and two of Pork, according to promise. But we were utterly deceived, and only received two Barrels of flour, notwithstanding all our entreaties, and that few only through the humanity of Capt. Williams. Col. Enos Declared to us [that] he was willing to go and take his boat in which there was some provisions, and share the same fate with us, But was obliged to tarry thro' the means of his Effeminate officers, who rather pass their time in sippling than turn it to the profit and advantage of their country, who stood in need of their assistance. Capt. Williams stept'd towards me, and wish'd me success, But in the meantime told me he never expected to see me, or any of us, he was so conscious of the imminent Danger we were to go through; in meantime Col. Enos advanced, with tears in his Eyes, wishing me and mine success, and took, as he then suppos'd and absolutely thought, his last farewell of me, demonstrating to me that it was with the utmost reluctance he remain'd behind, tho' being certain he never would

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escape the attempt.\* I took the little flour, bemoaning our sad fate, and cursing the ill-heart'd minds of the timorous party I left behind, and working, together with Mr. Ogden and myself, up against a most rapid stream for a mile and a half, where, after inconceivable difficulties, I reach'd and met some of our boats coming to me and take the flour they suppos'd I had in theirs; but to their great surprise, they found but the little I mention'd just now. However, it is surprising that the party returning, professing christianity, should prove so ill-disposed toward their fellow-brethren and soldiers, in the situation we were in, and especially when we observe our numerous wants, and the same time they overflowing in abundance of all sorts, and far more than what was necessary for their return. But not the least, when again considering the temerity and effeminency of 'em not willing to pursue the eager desires of their Colonel, nor suffer the same fate, nor willingly assist their courageous countrymen in the plausible cause of their common Country. In the meantime, Mr. Ogden† and myself were oblig'd to keep the course towards the river, in sight of our boats, and lay that [night] disagreeably in the snow, without the least to cover or screen us from the inclemency of the Weather, until next morning.

About nine o'clock we overtook our troops, who were just ready to march forward—even had not the satisfaction

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\*" Enos, either through a false construction of the order, or willful disobedience, returned to Cambridge with his whole division. His appearance excited the greatest indignation in the Continental camp, and Enos was looked upon as a traitor for thus deserting his companions and endangering the whole expedition. He was tried by a court-martial, and it being proved that he was short of provisions, and that none could be procured in the wilderness, he was acquitted. He was never restored in public estimation, however, and soon afterward left the army."—*Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. I, p. 192. The statement above made by Capt. Thayer would seem to justify the acquittal of Colonel Enos, and to remove, in part, the opprobrium with which historical writers have clothed his memory.

† This was MATTHIAS OGDEN, who joined the army at Cambridge, and accompanied Arnold through the wilderness. He was wounded at the assault upon Quebec. On his return from this expedition he was appointed to the command of a regiment, which position he held until the termination of the war. On the occurrence of peace, he was honored by Congress with a commission of Brigadier General in the army of the United States. General Ogden was distinguished for his liberality and philanthropy. He died at Elizabethtown, N. J., in the year 1791.

or conveniency to build ourselves, as we usually had done, a Bush hut to pass the tedious night in.

Oct. 26.—Proceeded over three carrying places, two of them small, and the third half a mile, running through a pond one-quarter of a mile, and a carrying place as much more; came to another pond and Encamped.

Oct. 27.—This Day after a cold and frosty night, went over this pond and came to another carrying place. This is the 20th carrying-place, being three-fourths of a mile, and came to another pond and encamp'd.

Oct. 28.—Past the twenty-first carrying place, and came to another small pond, to a carrying place, and then to a pond, to a carrying place, and then to a pond, and then came to a height of land to another carrying place of four miles and a quarter.\* It is to be observed here, with such horror, that the most ferocious and unnatural hearts must shudder at, when knowing the dismal situation of courageous men, solely bent to extirpate the tyranny with which the country was influenced, taking up some raw-hides, that lay for several Days in the bottom of their boats, intended for to make them shoes or moccasins in case of necessity, which they did not then look into so much as they did their own preservation, and chopping them to pieces, singeing first the hair, afterwards boiling them and living on the juice or liquid that they soak'd from it for a considerable time. After such sufferings they came to a small rivulet which leads into the great Arneguntick Lake, otherwise Shadeur Pond, fourteen miles in length and six Broad. Here our division left all the Batteaux But one to carry the sick, if any; at four o'clock,

\*Oct. 28th. "In the morning crossed the heights to Chaudiere river. Made division of our provisions and ammunition, and marched back upon the height and encamped. Here I delivered the following sums of money to the following persons: To Col. Greene, 500 dollars, to Major Bigelow, 501 do., and paid to Mr. Gatchel 44 dollars; paid to Mr. Berry £4, 5s. lawful money."—*Meigs' Journal*. Nehemiah Gatchel and John Home were employed as guides.

†"They washed their moose-skin moccasins in the river, scraping away the dirt and sand with great care. These were brought to the kettle and boiled a considerable time, under the vague but consolatory hope that a mucilage would take place. The poor fellows chewed the leather, but it was leather still. They had not received food for the last forty-eight hours. Discouraged and weary we passed the night."  
—*Henry's Narrative*.

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an Express came from Col. Arnold, with intelligence that the French were ready to receive us, and that they would supply us with Provisions. Glad tidings to People that are brought to one pint of flour to Each man, and no more to depend upon. An Express pass'd us, going to His Excellency Genl. Washington. A pilot was sent to lead us through the woods; two companies of musketry are gone forward, but the three companies of Riflemen staid with us. This is the twenty-fourth carrying place. Here we divided our remaining flour Equally in 10 companies between the officers and soldiers, the quantity amounting to seven Pints Each man, for 7 Days, (expecting to meet the Inhabitants at that time) which we divided thus daily for our support: In the morning a gill for breakfast, half a pint for Dinner, and the remaining Gill for supper, which we mix'd up with clear water, having no salt, and stirring it up together, laid it on the coals to heat a little, after which we nibbled it along our journey, without making any halt;\* walk'd about three miles and then encamp'd.

Oct. 29.—We march'd in the front; the travelling is very bad, so that we sunk half leg deep every step, but our Pilot says it is better ahead. We lost one man belonging to Capt. Topham's company who must have inevitably perish'd, to wit: Samuel Nichols. We find now that the Pilot knows no more the way than the most ignorant of ourselves; we travelled about five miles and encamp'd.† This night we had the good fortune to kill a partridge; of which we made good soup and some supper.

\* \* \* The breakfast and supper were boil'd much like starch; ye dinner was somewhat bak'd on the coals."

† "Early this morning set out for the head of Chandiere river. This day we suffered greatly by our bateaux passing by us, for we had to wade waist high through swamps and rivers and breaking ice before us. Here we wandered round all day, and came at night to the same place we left in the morning, where we found a small dry spot, where we made a fire, and we were obliged to stand up all night in order to dry ourselves and keep from freezing."—Ware's Journal in Gen. Reg. Vol. VI., p. 131.

JOSEPH WARE, author of this journal, was the son of Josiah and Dorothy Dowe Ware, of Wrentham, Mass. He was born October 15, 1753, and married Esther Smith, of Needham: He was a farmer, and followed that occupation till the commencement of the Revolution, when he entered the army; served through the war; was at the battles of Concord and Ticonderoga; acted as orderly sergeant and recruiting officer. He died Nov. 12, 1805.—Gen. Reg. Vol. VI., p. 148.

Oct. 30.—Proceeded through a swamp above 6 miles, which was pane glass thick frozen, besides the mud being half leg deep; got into an alder swamp; steering southerly, reach'd a small River which we forded, the water being so high that a middle sized man would be arm pit deep in it; very cold and about 3 Rods wide, from whence we proceeded to a great eminence and shaped our course N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. towards another River, being obliged to cross it on a narrow log. Many of the men unfortunately fell in. Now, verily, I began to feel concern'd about the abated situation of the men, having no more than a small share of allowance for 4 Days, in the midst of a frightful wilderness, habit'd by ferocious animals of all sorts, without the least sign of human trace. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 4, after a journey of 13 miles and bad traveling, reached a beautiful grove of birch woods, and about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles further, discovered to our great satisfaction the tracks of the foremost party, which rejoiced our men so much, that they shuddered at the thoughts of the long and painful March which they sustained with becoming courage, though famished and under the greatest inconveniences. Here we encamped at the end of the grove.

Oct. 31.—Proceeded 6 miles and came in sight of our Boats that were wrecked—March'd 6 miles further, But did not come up with Col. Arnold as we expected. A man was drowned here by the over-setting of the Boat.†

Nov. 1. Proceeded on our march; The people are very weak and begin to lack in the rear, being so much reduced with hunger and cold. Capt. Topham and myself being behind spurring on the men as well as we could, tho' the orders were

† "Pushed on for Chaudiere with all speed, in hopes of overtaking our bateaux in order to get some flour, for ours was all expended; but, to our great grief, and sorrow, our bateaux were stove and the flour was lost, and the men barely escaped with their lives; now we were in a miserable situation, not a monthful of provisions, and by account 70 miles from inhabitants, and we had a wilderness, barren and destitute of any sustenance to go through, where we expected to suffer hunger, cold and fatigue. Here the captain with the ablest men pushed forward, in order to get provisions to send back for the sick."—*Ware's Journal*. "Henry says of the Chaudiere, "that for 60 or 70 miles it is a continual rapid, without any apparent gap or passage, even for a canoe. Every boat we put in the river was stove in, one part or other of it. Capt. Morgan lost all his boats, and the life of a much valued soldier."—*Note on Ware's Journal, Gen. Reg. VI, p. 142*. This man was named George Innis.—*Melin*.

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for every man to do for himself as well as he could. We observed at a little distance a Sergeant and 10 or 12 men round a fire, towards whom we made up, and saw with astonishment that they were devouring a Dog between them, and eating paunch, Guts and skin, part of which they generously offered us, but did not accept of it, thinking that they were more in the want of it than what we were at that time.\* We pushed on and encamp'd 12 miles further, being at that period in the distressed situation the remainder were in, and after marching 2 Days and two nights without the least nourishment, traveling on the shore side, discover'd about 12 o'clock the 3d Day some men and horses and cattle making towards us, at which sight Capt. Topham and myself shed tears of joy, in our happy delivery from the grasping hand of Death. The Driver was sent towards us by Col. Arnold, in order to kill them for our support. He desir'd us stop in order that he might kill one for us, but we desir'd him proceed and not stop until about nightfall, and gather together all the men he could find, and kill one

\*Nov. 1. "This day I passed a number of soldiers who had no provisions, and some that were sick, and not in my power to help or relieve them, except to encourage them."—*Meigs*.

"This morning started very early and hungry, and little satisfied with our night's rest. Travelled all day very briskly, and at night encamped in a miserable situation. Here we killed a dog, and we made a very great feast without either bread or salt, we having been 4 or 5 days without any provisions, and we went to sleep that night a little better satisfied. Our distress was so great that dollars were offered for bits of bread as big as the palm of one's hand."—*Ware's Journal*.

Judge John Joseph Henry, of Pennsylvania, was a private in Smith's company of riflemen, and in 1812 his account of the hardships and sufferings of the Expedition against Quebec was published. Under date Nov. 2, he says, "Came up with some of Thayer's and Topham's men. Coming to their fire, they gave me a cup of their broth. A table-spoonful was all that was tasted. It had a greenish hue, and was said to be that of a bear. This was instantly known to be untrue, from the taste and smell. It was that of a dog. He was a large, black Newfoundland dog, and very fat."—[Note to *Ware's Journal*.] The aforementioned dog belonged to Captain Dearborn, and though a great favorite, was given up and killed to appease the ravings of hunger. "They ate every part of him, not excepting his entrails; and after finishing their meal, they collected the bones and carried them to be pounded up, and to make broth for another meal. There was but one other dog with the detachment. It was small, and had been privately killed and eaten. Old Moose-hide breeches were boiled, and then broiled on the coals and eaten. A barber's powder bag made a soup in the course of the last three or four days before we reached the first settlements in Canada. Many men died of fatigue and hunger frequently four or five minutes after making their last effort and sitting down."—*Letter from Gen. Dearborn in Allen's Biog. Dic.*



creature for them to feed on. He inform'd us of killing one about 9 miles further for Col. Greene and the men with him, to whom we repli'd we would suffer contentedly thus far as we had done for the 2 foregoing Days, and expect'd to get something from the foregoing party whom we met about 4 o'clock, devouring with avidity a calf that was between 3 and 4 months gone, and that was taken from the cow that was kill'd a little further [on] of which we fortunately got some, and satisfied with eagerness our drooping stomachs;\* after which we sat out and pass'd three pair of Falls, went one mile and Encamp'd. Came to an Indian's hut, and being hungry we call'd for victuals; had none but some few Potatoes, for 8 of which he charged us 2 pistareens.†

Nov. 4. Proceeded and came to a River which we forded, and got over without any accidents, Save only myself, when stepping from the last stone to the land, accidentally slipp'd and fell on the broad of my back, on which occasion I suffer'd exceedingly, having my clothes frozen to my back, and a march of 5 miles before I could get to any house to warm myself, which

\*"Nov. 2d. This morning when we arose many of us were so weak that we could hardly stand, and we staggered about like drunken men. However, we made shift to get our packs on, and marched off, hoping to see some inhabitants this night. A small stick across the road was sufficient to bring the stoutest to the ground. In the evening we came in sight of the cattle coming up the river side, which were sent by Col. Arnold, who got in two days before. It was the joyfulest that I ever beheld, and some could not refrain from crying for joy. We were told by the men who came with the cattle that we were yet twenty miles from the nearest inhabitants. Here we killed a creature, and we had some coarse flour served out, straws in it an inch long. Here we made a noble feast, and some of the men were so hungry, before the creature was dead, the hide and flesh were on the fire broiling."—*Ware's Journal*.

"We proceeded till towards mid day, the pale and meagre looks of my companions, tottering on their feeble limbs, corresponding with my own. Slipshod and tired, I sat down on the end of a log, against which the fire was built, absolutely fainting with hunger and fatigue."—*Henry*.

"Our greatest luxuries now consisted in a little water, stiffened with flour, in imitation of shoemakers' paste, which was christened with the name of Lillip-u. Several had been entirely destitute of either meat or bread for many days."—*Sender's Journal*.

†"At this period several died, and many sickened by excessive indulgence following so suddenly in their previous famine. At this place the army was joined by an Indian named Natanis, and his brother Saballs, and seventeen other Indians, who proceeded with them. Natanis had been represented to Arnold as a spy, and orders

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however happen'd to be below the falls, where we got a little repast and paid very dear for it.\*

Nov. 5.—Proceeded, and reach'd another house, where provisions were procur'd for the troops. We bought fowls [and] refresh'd ourselves. The people were civil, but mighty extravagant with what they have to sell.†

Nov. 6.—Being in great want of spirits, we happen'd on [a] man that lived with the indians whom we ask'd if he could procure us any, to which he answer'd yes, and got 10 of us 1 gallon of very Bad New England Rum, for which we were obliged to pay 10 pistareens.

Nov. 7.—Col. Greene, being one of 10, order'd Capt. Topham and myself to remain there 3 Days, in order to bring up the men in the rear, and push off from thence to St. Mary's; again from thence I was sent back to Sartigan by Col. Arnold, in order to hire Boats to bring up the invalids. We were well treated. The troops were provided for. Even the minister was generous eno' to let us have all he could spare. This place is well settled, and is good land all to the back mountains, which are somewhat poor.

Nov. 8.—Major Meigs met me at St. Marys with the 96 invalids, in order to purchase canoes to help them off, which we perform'd, and bought 20. Then Major Meigs left me, whom I never saw since,‡ and had to carry them 30 miles on

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had been given to take him, dead or alive. They had now reason to consider him a friend. He was wounded in the attack on Quebec, and taken prisoner, but soon released. This is said to be the first employment of the Indians against the English in the Revolution."—*Note on Ware's Journal, Gen. Reg. Vol. VI., p. 143.* [See Appendix F.]

\*Nov. 4. In the morning continued our march. At 11 o'clock arrived at a French house, and was hospitably used. This is the first house I saw for 31 days, having been that time in a rough, barren, uninhabited wilderness, where we never saw human being, except our own men. Immediately after our arrival we were supplied with fresh beef, fowls, butter, pheasants and vegetables. This settlement is called Sertigan. It lies 25 leagues from Quebec."—*Meigs.*

†Nov. 5. "Continued our march down the river. The people very hospitable, provisions plenty but very dear, milk one shilling sterling per quart, and bread a shilling per loaf, weighting no more than 3 pounds. Came this day twelve miles."—*Ware's Journal.*

‡Meaning during the march.

our Backs, 4\* men under each canoe to Point Levi, going 12 miles without meeting an house, then 15 more, and staid at St. Mary's Parish at a house near the Chapel of the same name. There we dined, and set out again for Point Levi, where we arrived about 8 o'clock. There met Col. Arnold and our volunteers all in good spirits.

*Nov. 9.*—This Day the Hunter, Sloop of War, sent her Boat on shore for some oars. We saw them and fir'd on them. They put off in confusion, and Mr. McKenzie, a Midshipman, who was taken and brought to Head Quarters, tried to swim off, but an Indian went in after him and brought him out. He strictly adher'd to the old doctrine of War, viz., not to discover their weakness. He is but a youth of about 15 years of age, a genteel well behaved young lad.

*Nov. 10* —Remain'd, getting some Provisions, &c. We were obliged to purchase some Canoes to cross the St. Lawrence, because the enemy having timely notice of our approaching, order'd them to be destroy'd or taken away, in order to obstruct our proceedings, on which occasion Capt. Topham and Company was order'd, if possible, to secure them from the Enemy and procure some others for convenience. The Enemy had then a Sloop of War in the River, the property of Simeon Pease, of Rhode Island, and of James Frost, of the same place, who commanded her.

*Nov. 11.*—Capt. Hanchet took 6 smiths to make spears, Canoes, and hooks for Ladders. Lieut. Savago with a number of carpenters, went and made Ladders for scaling ye Walls of Quebec.

*Nov. 12.*—Capt. Hanchet returned. The same night a council of war was held, whether we were to attack or not after crossing, being carried in the negative, to the mortification of the opposite party, being informed of they having no cannon mounted, cartridges made, and even the Gates of the City open. Col. Greene, Arnold & the Rhode Island, with some other officers, were for the attack.

*Nov. 13.*—Continued making Ladders; receiv'd some favorable accounts from Gen. Montgomery. In the afternoon a

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council of War was held, wherein it was resolved to cross the River at night, which Cpt. Topham and I done, but could not then bring the whole party over; however We brought the remainder over the second attempt, tho' mighty difficult on account of the Enemy lying await of us in the River.\* The Hunter's Boat rowing down was hail'd by Col. Arnold, myself and 4 more, But on her not coming too, we fir'd at her, and perceived by ye screaming and dismal lamentations of the crew that there were some of them kill'd or wounded.

Nov. 14.—A boat came to Wolfe's Cove with a Carpenter & 4 men who were taken by Lient. Webb. They were unarm'd, and bound up the River for some timber belonging to Government that lay in the Cove. They were carried to Head Quarters. One of them was a Swiss, of whom we got some intelligence; the others were Canadians. The Enemies sallied out and surpris'd one of our sentries, whereon we immediately turn'd out our men and march'd within 80 Rods of the walls, giving 8 Huzzas, and marching in such a manner that they could not discover our numbers. They fir'd some Cannon at us, But to no Effect.

Nov. 15.—This Day busy in getting our men in order and regulating Guards and other Duties. The French seem for the most part in our favor. There are some lurking about our Camp whom we suspect, But don't like to take them for fear of aggravating the minds of the People. Last night the English troops set Fire to some part of St. John's.†

\*Nov. 13. In the evening crossed St. Lawrence at the mill above Point Levi, and landed at Wolfe's Cove. I went back twice to fetch over the people, and staid till day. The town was alarmed by our Colonel firing at a boat in the river. We went to Major CALDWELL'S house, about two miles from the city, where we were quartered; a whole company having only one small room."—*Mevin*. "We began to embark our men on board 35 canoes, and at 4 o'clock in the morning we got over and landed about 500 men, entirely undiscovered, although two men-of-war were stationed to prevent us."—*Meigs*.

† "On the 15th one of Morgan's Lieutenants, with a party, reconnoitered the walls. Henry states that Arnold had only 350 effective men. Lt. Gov. Caldwell's well furnished farm house in the suburbs was occupied by the troops. Arnold formed his line without musket range in front of the walls, and kept them in position, while a thirty-six pounder of the enemy's opened upon them, and which they answered by huzzas. Henry relates that this caused much dissatisfaction in those who thought the conduct of Arnold sprung from a vain desire to parade his power

*Nov. 16.*—We march'd our men in orde: to take some live stock belonging to Government. We post'd near St. John's, But finding none, except a few Yearlings and an old Cow, we left a strong guard to cut off the communication with the City and returned.

*Nov. 17.*—Relieved guards and took two Gentlemen who were Capt's of the Militia in Quebec. They had been out to see what Interest they could make in the country. This Morning an Express arrived from Brig. Gen. Montgomery with some agreeable news.

*Nov. 18.*—This Day being relieving guards at the nunnery, Sergt. Dixon had his leg shot off by a 12 pounder, and after having it cut off, he expired in the agonies he partly went through.\*

*Nov. 19.*—Relieved guards as usual; then, by desire of Col. Arnold, I went and got 4 Boats along the shore, after which I cross'd the river in order to bring Back some invalids that were left behind; in the meantime they holding a council of war, [it] was resolved without my knowledge, as being then on the other side, to decamp, having und [er]stand that the Enemy was inform'd of their situation, which on my return I found them to my

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before those who had formerly contemned him as a "horse jockey,"—for Arnold had in previous years traded with the inhabitants, in horses. This parade gave Henry "a contemptible opinion of Arnold." Gordon, the historian, applauds the manoeuvre. Amwell, the British historian, says their commander killed several. Henry says, all the blood spilt that day flowed from Gov. Caldwell's fattened cattle."—*Note on Ware's Journal, Gen. Reg. Vol. VI., p. 143.*

"*Nov. 15.* The commanding officer this day sent into the town a flag, concluding that the firing on our flag yesterday was through mistake; but he was treated in the same manner as yesterday, on which he returned."—*Meigs.*

\*This was the first blood shed before Quebec. The casualty occurred on the 16th. Sergeant Dixon was from West Hanover, Dauphin Co., Pennsylvania, where he possessed a good estate. He held his warrant in one of the rifle companies, probably Sault's. After receiving the fatal shot, "he was conveyed upon a litter to the house of an English gentleman, about a mile off. An amputation took place—a tetanus followed, which, about nine o'clock of the ensuing day, ended in the dissolution of this honorable citizen and soldier. An anecdote of him is well worthy of record, shewing, as it does, his patriotic character. The lady of the house where he was taken, though not approving of the principles or actions of the Americans, was nevertheless very attentive to Dixon, and presented him with a cup of tea, which he declined, saying, "No, madam, I cannot take it; it is the ruin of my country." Uttering this noble sentiment, he died, sincerely lamented by every one who had the opportunity of knowing his virtues."—*Henry.*

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great surprise marching off. We hear likewise that they were to sally out upon us, with seven field Pieces, at which time there was a Frigate that sail'd up the River, which made us suspect the report to be true. About 3 o'clock in the morning set out for Point-au-Tremble.

Nov. 20.—An express arrived from Genl. Montgomery with ac'ts that Genl. Carleton quitted Montreal to go to Quebec, which he determines to hold out at all events.

Nov. 21.—Sent an Express to Genl. Montgomery; Besides sent a man over the River, to stop the men that were there.— It freezes smartly. Our men are brought to a distress'd situation, deficient of all necessaries, and obliged to hard Duty. Numbers of the men are working at moccasins, but the leather proves to be of a bad quality.

Nov. 22.—The Express we sent to Genl. Montgomery returned with letters from him. We set a guard of two Lieuts. and 40 men over a river and a Bridge between us and Quebec. A man belonging to Capt. Topham's company who was suppos'd to be starv'd to death, return'd and inform'd us that he and one Only Hart kept together for some time, both sick and wading through the rivers. After being 6 days from the height of Land, Hart was seized by the cramp and expired shortly after. Burdeen and 5 Riflemen left him dead, and shortly after met another; then espied a horse that stray'd away from the man that brought us provisions, which they shot, and eat heartily of the flesh for 3 or 4 Days, with 7 or 8 more that came up; by which means they fortunately escaped the dismal pangs of Death, which they partly endur'd for 7 Days before, not having any sort of nourishment but Roots and black birch bark, which they boil'd and Drank. He inform'd us of a man and wife, belonging to the Battalion of Riflemen being Dead, with 12 more. But the woman return'd about 6 weeks afterwards, and left her husband in the last agonies.\* When reflecting on the dismal marches

\* Judge Henry speaks of two women, the wives of soldiers attached to the division of the army to which he belonged. Their names deserve preservation for the admiration of posterity. "One was the wife of Sergeant Grier, a large, virtuous and respectable woman." The other was the wife of a private soldier named Warner. Judge H. says, in reference to their march through the wet country near Megantic Lake, "Entering the ponds, and breaking the ice here and there with the

and the famish'd situation of our troops, it is wonderful how we are able to endure the hardships, with such undaunted courage and steadfastness; and were the Cambridge officers to review our men at present, they certainly would sooner prefer the Hospital for them than the field, tho' recruiting fast, and am willing to think, if once cloth'd and refresh'd a little, would be as eager as ever, tho' many having their constitutions Racked, are in such a condition as never to be capable of enduring half what they have done hitherto. This Place is called Point-au-Tremble. The church is dedicated to St. Nicholas. Two of our Volunteers began this Day their journey homeward.

*Nov. 23.*—Col. Arnold call'd a council of War, to choose a committee to examine into the conduct of Col. Enos and his detachment.

*Nov. 24.*—Had intelligence of 4 arm'd vessels beating up the River from Quebec. A Canoe and a Sergeant with 6 men were dispatch'd to Gen'l Montgomery with intelligence, who was coming to join us with the troops under his command.

*Nov. 25.*—The Hunter Sloop of War, in conjunction with a Brig and a Schooner, hove in sight and came too off Point-au-Tremble.

*Nov. 26.*—This Day the above Vessels stood up the River, in order to obstruct Gen'l Montgomery and his party from coming down. Seven or eight masters of Vessels that came from Quebec brought a proclamation of Gen'l Carleton, the purport of which was as follows: that Every man who would not take up arms and defend the city should be proclaim'd as traitors to their country, and be obliged to depart in 4 Days the district of Quebec, and have their Goods confiscated and their persons liable to the Law. The sailors were oblig'd to [do] soldier's duty on shore.

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butts of our guns and feet, we were soon waist deep in mud and water. As is generally the case with youths, it came to my mind that a better path might be found than that of the more elderly guide. Attempting this, the water in a trice cooling my arm-pits, made me gladly return in the file. Now Mrs. Grier had got before me. My mind was humble'd, yet astonish'd, at the exertions of this good woman. Her clothes more than waist high, she waded on before me to firm ground. No one, so long as she was known to us, dared to intimate a disrespectful idea of her."

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Nov. 27.—Our Detachment was order'd to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. Last [night] Lieut. Brown was detach'd on some Business and return'd this morning with 4 Cows, 4 Calves, 2 Horses, and a Calash belonging to the Enemy.

Nov. 28.—Capt. Goodrich with 2 subalterns, 4 Sergeants and 64 men, were detach'd to meet Gen. Montgomery's advanced guard with necessary stores, &c., and to watch the Vessels; also Capt. Morgan with a like number of men, to go before Quebec to watch their motions. Capt. Callwel Burnt His own house, in order that we might not have the satisfaction to quarter in it, as we had done before, a poor malice tending to his own disadvantage.

Nov. 29.—Snows hard. Major Callwel's clerk was taken Prisoner, and confirms the foremention'd intelligence.

Nov. 30.—Continued snowing. The 3 vessels that went from Quebec came down the River again, much to our satisfaction.

Dec. 1.—Intelligence of Gen. Montgomery's sailing down the River with 5 Vessels, [which] had 15 Barrels of Powder and 2 Boxes of Lead.

Dec. 2.—This Day a Detachment was commanded to go down to Celer's, within a league of Quebec, under command of Capt. Hanchet, to carry down the Cannon, artillery, stores, and some provisions, in three Batteaux, which he abruptly refus'd, alleging the Danger of such an undertaking to be too imminent; upon which Col. Arnold sent for Capt. Topham and myself, enraged at the refusal of the Connecticut officer, swore he would arrest him, and desir'd it as a favor of one of us to perform the said command, which we eagerly accepted, and turning "*head or tail*," it happen'd to fall to my lot, equally to my satisfaction, and vexation of Capt. Topham, who was always ready to Encounter the greatest Dangers.\* I marched down

\*Dec. 2. In the morning I assisted in sending down our field artillery by land. The large cannon are ordered down in battoes, which, when lauded, the battoes are to go to Point Levis for the sealing ladders."—*Meigs*.

"We retraced the route from Quebec. A snow had fallen during the night, and continued falling. To march on this snow was a most fatiguing business. By this time we had generally furnished ourselves with seal-skin moccasins, which are large, and according to the usage of the country, stuffed with hay or leaves, to keep



to the nunnery, went on board the vessel, and lodg'd. This Day Capt. Ogden arrived with stores of all kinds for the soldiers. Genl. Montgomery hove in sight; at 9 o'clock came into Point-au-Tremble. March'd our men to receive him at the shore. He received us politely. He is a genteel appearing man, tall and slender of make, bald on the Top of his head, resolute [word unintelligible] and mild, of an agreeable temper, and a virtuous General.

*Dec. 3.*—Orders were given to distribute Clothes to the soldiers. I went with the Batteaux which we loaded; the tide serving, towards the evening we cut through the ice for  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile, and row'd down 18 miles in the night time, being so cold that we strove with the utmost Eagerness to Row, in order to keep ourselves from being frozen with cold until we reach'd Celer's. Besides, such a prodigious snow-storm rais'd that we separated, and could not come up with each other until I order'd some guns to be fir'd, by the flashing of which with the utmost difficulty we rejoined, and immediately making for the shore. The Batteaux being heavy and quite frozen, got on the Ground amongst Rocks, and the men being very impatient and not willing to remain there long, jump'd into the river, being up to their armpits in the water, and with the utmost difficulty reach'd the shore, from whence they brought some horses in order to enable me and the remainder to reach it with much less difficulty.\*

*Dec. 4.*—This morning we landed our guns, &c., and tarried there 3 Days in a most disagreeable situation, until relieved the 9th Day by the York line, detaining such as pass'd, for fear of bringing intelligence to the Enemy, who were within 3 miles of us at St. Roques. This Day the detachment rec'd orders for

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the feet dry and warm. Every step taken in the dry snow, the moccasins having no raised heel to support the position of the foot, it slipped back, and thus produced great weariness. On this march the use of the snow-shoe was very obvious, but we were destitute of that article. The evening brought up the riflemen at an extensive house in the parish of St. Foix, about three miles from Quebec. It was inhabited by tenants. We took possession of a front parlor on the left, Morgan one on the right, Hendricks a back apartment, and the soldiery in the upper parts of the house, and some warm out buildings."—*Henry*.

\*"*Dec. 3d.* Major Brown arrived from Sorel. The soldiers drawing their clothing."—*Meigs*. [See Appendix G. for biographical sketches of officers.]

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*Dec. 5.*—Fair, though cold weather.

" 6.—Two companies were sent to Beauport to watch the motions of the enemy. Capt's Duggen and Smith took a Vessel and 6 men loaded with Provisions and small stock, besides 382 Dollars belonging to Government.

*Dec. 7 & 8.*—Busied in regulating Guards and Quartering our men. Order'd three Companies to march forward, amongst whom was the Connecticut officer Hanchet, but abruptly refus'd, alleging his usual allegations of being too Dangerous, as being for the matter of half a mile expos'd to the Cannon of the enemy, on which denial Col. Arnold sent for Capts. Topham, Hurlbert and myself, to which we consented, and were expos'd for 3 weeks to the most imminent Danger, instances of which I will let the curious reader know some. Being one morning alarm'd by the continual firing of the Enemy on our quarters, Capt. Topham and myself rising out of Bed had several Balls fir'd through our lodgings; one particularly went through our bed, and pass'd midway between him and myself, without any hurt, and clear'd quite through the other end of our Room, to our astonishment. Brought 2 Field Pieces to Col. Arnold's Head Quarters.

*Dec. 9.*—Prepar'd for erecting a Battery. Drafted 100 men for fatigue, 100 to cover the Mortar, and 20 for an advanced guard.

*Dec. 10.*—This Day as soon as the Enemy perceiv'd our Battery, made a continual firing all day, throwing some shells, But to no Effect.

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\*" General orders for all to decamp, and I hired a Frenchman with his charriott, and proceeded to St. Foys, from thence to St. Charles, and took lodgings at Mr. Burrough's. *Dec. 5th.*—I had now orders to take possession of the General Hospital for the reception of our sick and wounded. This was an elegant building, situate upon St. Charles river, half a mile from St. Roque's gate. A chapel, nunnery, and hospital were all under one roof. This building was every way fit for the purpose, a fine spacious ward, capable of containing fifty patients, with one fire-place, stoves, &c. The number of sick was not very considerable at this time; however, they soon grew more numerous. The Hospital being in an advanced part of the army, I did not think it expedient to assume a residence therein as yet. In consequence of which I was obliged to visit it daily in open view of the enemy's walls, who seldom failed to give me a few shots every time."—*Dr. Senter's Journal.*

*Dec. 12.*—We fir'd a few Shots from our Battery.

“ 13.—Furnish'd our men with 26 Rounds of Cartridges.

“ 14.—Fir'd a Ball through our Breastwork, which kill'd two men and wounded 5.

*Dec. 15.*—We fir'd Briskly on the Town all Day.\*

“ 16.—There was a Brisk Cannonading on both sides, which obliged Col. Arnold to Quit his Quarters; had one man kill'd. A council of war being held, resolv'd to storm the Town.

*Dec. 17.*—A return was made of what Arms our men had.

“ 18.—A General return was made for all the arms and ammunition wanting in our detachment.

*Dec. 19.*—Busied in delivering arms and ammunition to our men.

*Dec. 20.*—On the same Business.

“ 21.—Nothing worth mentioning.†

“ 24.—Busied in making Cartouches.‡

“ 25.—Every Capt. of our Detachment had orders to march his Company to Mr. Desvin's, to be reviewed by Genl. Montgomery.

*Dec. 26.*—Nothing remarkable.

“ 27.—Stormy weather. The men were order'd to hold themselves in readiness to storm the Town at the shortest notice. About 12 at night, the army being divided according to the plan the Gen'l had laid, the Capts. Smith, Topham, Hendrick

\**Dec. 15.* “At the dawn of day our battery opened upon them, in which was mounted five guns, none larger than 12s. The enemy soon followed suit, and the fire and re-fire was almost incessant for several hours. In the afternoon a flag of truce attempted to go in, but was ordered back immediately, or be fired upon.”—*Senter's Journal.*

*Dec. 16.* “Cannonade from both sides, not so severe as yesterday. A brave soldier by the name of Morgan received a grape shot under the lower edge of the left scapula, close to the axilla, and went obliquely through both lobes of the lungs. Walked more than a mile, with the assistance of a mess-mate, into the Hospital. A superfluous dressing was all that could be done, as violent hæmoptoi ensued; concluded his residence was not long.”—*Senter's Journal.*

†“*Dec. 22.* Preparation is making, and things seem ripening fast for the assault upon the works of Quebec. The blessing of heaven attend the enterprise. This evening is celebrated as the anniversary of a happy event or circumstance in my life.”—*Meigs.*

‡“*Dec. 24.* I was on a general Court-martial. Our chaplain, [Rev. Samuel Spring,] preached a sermon in the General Hospital, which is exceedingly elegant inside, and richly decorated with carvings and gilt work.”—*Meigs.*

and myself were to attack the upper town under Gen. Montgomery, whilst the other party would make feint attack on the lower town, under Col. Greene. But the Darkness of the weather not answering to the General's expectations, was detained; but [he] favourably countenanc'd our undaunt'd courage, and said he was exceeding sorry to have stopp'd the career of so Brave men in the expectations they entertain'd in the ensuing occasion; but hop'd a more favorable moment should shortly answer, in which he was willing to sacrifice his Life in adding by any means to the honor of his Brother soldiers and country; But then saw not only the impossibility of his most earnest desires, But likewise the unhappy fate that should succeed the attempt, begging of them in the meantime not to be the least dismay'd or dishearten'd; that the few moments they had to draw back were only a true source to add more lustre and Glory to their undertakings, adding that being then their Gen'l and common leader, if rushing into the imminent and inevitable Danger he foresaw, [he] was not only answerable to his country, but likewise to his merciful Creator, for the lives of his fellow soldiers, in rashly exposing them to ye merciless rage of their common Enemies.

*Dec. 28.*—Some of the soldiers took 4 men that refus'd to turn out, and led them from place to place with Halters round their necks, exposing them to the ridicule of the soldiers, as a punishment Due to their effeminate courage, who, after suffering in their fatigues to a degree of spirit not as yet known to be equal'd, timorously withdrew from the Laurels they were ready to gather.

*Dec. 29.*—A number of shells were thrown into the town. A file of men were sent into one Drummond's Still House to take a man that was suspect'd of giving intelligence to the Enemy, of whom one was wounded in bringing him off. Capt. Duggen took another, who carried on for some time a correspondence with the Enemy.

*Dec. 30.*—The Enemy kept up a smart fire all day on St. Roques, but Done little or no Damage. This Evening rec'd orders that the General determin'd to storm the city this night, ordering our men to get their arms in readiness.† It was very

†The entry here commenced on the 30th, was probably completed the next day, without prefixing the proper date.

dark, and snowed. The plan was as follows: Genl. Montgomery, with the York forces, Was to proceed around Cape Diamond and make his attack there. Col. Livingston, with a party of Canadians, to make a false attack on the same, and on St. John's Gate. An advanced party of 25 men to go to Drummond's wharf. Col. Arnold's detachment to attack the lower town in the following manner: Capt. Morgan's company in the front, with Col. Arnold and Lieut. Col. Greene; then Capt. Lamb's company with one field piece; then Capt. Dearborn's, Capt. Topham's and mine, and Ward's, Bigelow's in the centre, then Capt. Smith's, Hendricks', Goodrich's, Hubbard's, and Major Meigs' in the Rear.\* We were to receive the signal by the firing of three sky-rockets to attack, but not observing them soon eno', Capt. Dearborn's company, on acct. of being Quartered over Charles' river, and the tide being high, did not come up, and march'd on without him, imagining he would soon overtake us. They fir'd briskly upon us as we pass'd the street for the space of half a mile, killing and wounding numbers of our men, of whom was Capt. Hubbard, who died shortly after in the hospital of Quebec.

The front having got lost by a prodigious snow storm, I undertook to pilot them, having measur'd the works before, and knowing the place. But coming to the Barrier, two field pieces played briskly on us that were placed there. But on their drawing them back to re-charge, Capt. Morgan and myself Quickly advanced through the Ports, seized them with 60 men rank and file, which was their main guard, and made Prisoners.†

\*Capt. Lamb's company were York artilleryists. Morgan's were the celebrated Virginia Rangers. Smith's and Hendricks' were from Lancaster and Cumberland counties, Pennsylvania. Henry thus describes their dress: "Each man of the three companies bore a rifle barreled gun, a tomahawk, or small axo, and a long knife, usually called a scalping knife, which served for all purposes in the woods. His under-dress, by no means in a military style, was covered by a deep ash-colored hunting-shirt, leggins, and mocassins, if the latter could be procured. It was a silly fashion of those times for riflemen to ape the manners of savages." "The Canadians who first saw these [men] emerge from the woods, said they were *vêtu en toile*—clothed in linen. The word *toile* was changed to *tôle*, iron plate. By a mistake of a single word the fears of the people were greatly increased, for the news spread that the mysterious army that descended from the wilderness was clad in *sheet iron*."—*Lossing's Field Book I. p. 195.*

†See Appendix II.

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Immediately afterwards, advancing towards a Picket, that lay further up the street, where there was a company of the most responsible citizens of Quebec, found their Capt. Drunk, took them likewise Prisoners, and taking their dry arms for our own use, and laying ours up in order to dry them, being wet, and advancing, by which time our whole party got into the first Barrier. We rallied our men, and strove to scale the second. Notwithstanding their utmost efforts, we got some of our ladders up, but were oblig'd to retreat, our arms being wet, and scarcely one in ten would fire; whereon some did retreat back to the first Barrier we had taken, and when we came there we found we could not retreat without exposing ourselves to the most imminent Dangers.

We had kill'd in our detachment Capt. Hendricks, Lieut. Cooper & Lieut. Humphreys, with a number of Privates, and in Genl. Montgomery's party there was kill'd the Brave and much to be lamented Genl. Montgomery,\* and his aid-de-camp McPherson, Capt. Cheeseman, and some Privates. Col. Campbell then took the command, and order'd a retreat, so that the force of the Garrison came upon us. Capt. Lamb was wounded. There was no possibility of retreating, and they promising us good quarters, we surrender'd. Col. Arnold being wounded in the beginning of the action, was carried to the General Hospital. The number of us that did not retreat, amongst whom Were Col. Greene, Capt. Morgan, and a number of other officers and myself, with a number of Privates, after passing the first Barrier, having been for upwards of 4 hours victorious of the Lower town, in fact, and had about 130 prisoners in our possession, fell unhappily the victims of them that a little while before felt the same dismal fate with ourselves, which thinking were the 'only [ones,] But to our great surprise, on our coming into the upper town as prisoners, we found Capt. Dearborn and company, who miss'd his way and advanced to the palace gate, unfortunately, and to our astonishment, felt the same fate 4 hours before.

\*"A drunken sailor returned to his gun, swearing he would not forsake it while undischarged. This fact is related from the testimony of the guard on the morning of our capture, some of those sailors being our guard. Applying the match, this single discharge deprived us of our excellent commander."—*Henry*.

It is much to be lamented the sad exit of this brave volunteer detachment, who, exposing their lives in the Common Cause of their Country, marching thro' wildernesses, sometimes the Tempest summoning all the forces of the air, and pouring itself from the angry north, now scaling the rolling mountains, Shooting with impetuosity into the yawning gulfs, struggling thro' the forest boughs frightful eno' to terrify the most savage nations. Now the inhabitants of the forest forsake their Dens; a thousand grim forms, a thousand growling monsters pace the Dessert, Death in their jaws, while stung with hunger and a thirst for blood. In this situation, we trembling with cold and famish'd nerves, we reach deserts not less-terrifying than those we past. The more we advance, the fewer we are in number, for the strength of our Limbs was hardly able to support the weakness of our Body. Nay, even in this situation, some of our party who were not willing to expose themselves further, Earnestly wish'd we would return home with them. But no, we despised their temerity and effeminate courage, and proceeded for our destined place, contrary to their expectations, where at length we arrived, promising ourselves shortly the fruits of our Labor; But, alas, fell the victims of merciless misery. Let us consider what doleful recompence; instead of being regaled with the fruits of unwearied labor, we imagine our houses ransack'd, and our Villages plundered. We might behold our cities encompass'd with armies, and our fruitful fields cloth'd with desolation, or have been more frightfully shock'd at the images of slaughter instead of peace, with her imperial scale securing our goods, and the cheering olives sheltering our abodes, persecution brandishing her sword, and slavery clanking her chains. But then we suffer'd, promising ourselves after some time the agreeable hopes of victory, wishing an overthrow of the united forces of intestine treason and foreign invasion, which finally happen'd, and pour joy through the present age, and will transmit its influence to generations yet unborn. Are not all the blessings that can endear society or render life itself desirable, center'd in our present constitution? And were they all not struck at by that impious and horrid blow meditated by our friends and relatives in our Mother country, and seconded by factious spirits at home?

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Who, then, can be sufficiently thankful for the gracious interposition of Providence, which has not only averted the impending ruin, but turn'd it with aggravating confusion on the authors of our troubles.

Liberty, that Dearest of names, and property, the best of Charters, gave an additional desire to extirpate the malignant root of Arbitrary power. But supposing the reverse should have befallen us, how could we expect a mitigation of their severity, or the tender mercies of a self thought injured King to have been less merciful. Besides, where should have been the encouragement to cultivate our little portion, or what pleasure could arise from an improved spot, if both the one and the other lay every moment at the mercy of lawless power. This embittering circumstance would spoil their relish, and, by rendering them a precarious, would render them a joyless acquisition. In vain might the vine spread her purple clusters, in vain be lavish of her generous juices, if tyranny, like a ravenous Harpy, should be always hovering over the bowl, and ready to snatch it from the lip of industry.

*Jan. 1, 1776.*—The officers that were taken with myself at Quebec, viz., Lieut. Col. Greene; Majors Bigelow and Meigs; Capts. Morgan, Goodrich, Lockwood, Oswald, Topham, Thayre, Ward, Dearborn, Lamb, Hanchet & Hubbard, who died of his wounds; Adjutant Steele, Volunteers Duncan, McGuire and Porterfield, Lieuts. Heath, O'Brian, Savage, Compston, Brown, Gisdale,\* Clark, Humphrey, Webb, Slocum, Shaw, Andrews, Hutchins, Thomas & Nichols, Lieut. McDongall; Adjutant Nebegry, & Chattin, Quartermaster, were altogether imprisoned on the first of January, being a bad method to begin the new year. However, there was nothing to be done but strive to content ourselves as well as time and place afforded us.†

\*Written *Tisdale* in the list of officers.

† "*January ye 1st, 1776.* We had a straw bed between two, and a blanket each man served us.—*Melvin.* Our allowance of provisions is one pound of bread, and a half pound of pork, and one gill of rice for a day, and 6 oz. of butter for a week.—*2d.* In prison. This day we had a cask of porter sent us by some gentlemen of the town."—*Ware's Journal.* "Henry says that the merchants obtained General Carlton's leave to make them [the prisoners] a New Year's present. It was a large butt of porter, with a due quantity of bread and cheese. They shared more than a pint a man!"—*Note on Ware's Journal.*



*Jan. 2.*—Major Meigs was allow'd to go out on his parole and get our Baggage, and to return on Friday. We were visited by the officers of the Garrison.

*Jan. 3.*—By consent of the General, Doct. Bullen came and Inoculated 16 of us; 3 had it the natural way, of whom one Died. Again visited by the officers of the Garrison.

*Jan'y 4.*—Major Meigs return'd with the Baggage.

" 5.—We had Liberty to visit the officers that were not inoculated, on acct. of their having it before, which made our situation more agreeable, But could not keep a regular journal any longer, the General having order'd us to be depriv'd of our Pens & ink, &c.\* We were lodg'd in two separate Rooms, But on one Mr. Hutchins saying that there were a number of our men outside, in the hearing of one of the sentries, we were instantly oblig'd to lodge in one Room, which was very disagreeable, as some of us were ill, besides being 36 officers of us, and 3 boys, in a small room about 30 foot square; thus continuing, having Daily a field officer to visit us.† After Capt. Lamb return'd from the Hospital, the Barrier was alter'd further back, and we were allow'd 2 small rooms for 12 of us to sleep in, which prov'd exceeding satisfactory. Continuing in this Lamentable situation for some time, and seeing no hopes of relief, we unanimously resolv'd to make our escape if possible. Accordingly we carried the favor of one of the sentinels, who we found willing to be of our party, having inform'd us of the situation of the Garrison, the strength of our forces, and the General's name. In consequence,‡ amongst the number of officers Capt. Lockwood

\*"Jan 9. Very dark weather and snowed. Some more taken with the small pox, and we expect it will be a general disorder, for we are very thick, nasty and lousy. Our living is salt pork, biscult, rice and butter, and a sufficiency allowed if we were not checked in our weight by one Dewey, who is appointed our quartermaster sergeant, to deal out our provision. We have not above three oz. of pork a day, and not half a pint of rice, and two biscult a day."—Melvin.

† "Feb. 16. One of our men named Parrot, put in irons for calling one of the emigrants a tory. Our army opened a battery."—Melvin.

‡ Under date March "30th to 31st," Ware says, "Most of the prisoners consulted together to break out of prison, to try their best to take the town." Their plan was frustrated by noise made while cutting away ice at the cellar door, and by one of their number turning informer. Their room and packs were searched for arms and ammunition, without discovering any, and the prisoners were then put in

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and myself were pitch'd upon to make our Escape. Accordingly we sounded *Joe*, (who we shall name the above sentinel,) and found him desirous to assist us as much as laid in his power. He furnish'd us with clubs apiece, and answering the countersign, we were to pass out of the chamber window, 4 stories high, by the means of our blankets tied together, expecting the signal from *Joe*, which was to be observed by 3 claps on the breach of his gun, and an Equal number of siffling thro' his fingers, which was partly done for three succeeding nights, but unfortunately hinder'd by the means of the patrols, who were continually watching, or some others not less interesting.\*

Finding, with the utmost regret, that our plan was not seemingly to answer our expectations, we meditated another not less dangerous, which was as follows: By cutting off the planks which were spik'd on the Door, we could pass to the garret thro' a dormant window; from thence by the means of a ladder and a jump of about 14 foot into the yard, where we were to meet *Joe* arm'd with his Gun and sufficient clubs to furnish us with, and make towards the sentinels, who were 4 in number, who we intended passing by the means of the countersign that *Joe* had; but then on the least suspicion were resolved that they should not obstruct us, and push our way to the Sally Port, from whence we were to leap about 30 foot down into the snow, standing then about 6 foot high, and make immediately to our own men, who were not far distant. But to our mortification, all our intended hopes proved only false illusions. When thinking ourselves at liberty we were the farther from it; for on the

"strong irons." To carry out the enterprize of escape, Joseph Ashton, a sergeant in Capt. Lamb's company, was chosen leader, with a full compliment of subordinate officers. Henry says, "they were divided into two detachments, one to attack the guard house, the other the gate, when they were to turn the cannon upon the town. They intended to make the sally by the cellar door, and the officers had planned that the ice should be removed silently with their long knives, on the night of their rising. One of their number escaped to the army without, and gave notice to them to act in concert. By artifices they had procured a small supply of powder from the sentries, for matches, &c." [See Appendix I.] The person who gave the whole secret of the plot was an English deserter, who had joined the camp at Cambridge. His name was John Hall.

\*"March 17. The guard set over us are old Frenchmen and boys, who are very saucy, telling us we shall be hanged; pointing their bayonets at us; threatening to shoot us for opening a window, or any such trifle."—*Melvin*.

26th of April, all things being ready for the Event, I open'd the door and went up to the Garret to make some necessary observations. I perceived that the door open'd With difficulty, and taking my knife to cut some more of the boards, to have it open with less difficulty, Mr. Lockwood standing in the gangway to notify me of any persons coming, observed the officer of the guard advancing towards us, who was Earlier inform'd of the fact, and finding the door open'd and ye planks unspiked, followed me into a separate room, enquiring my motive for acting so, and who were concerned with me; to which I replied that there were none but myself, and that my sole motive was only to go up to the garret to view the town and forces around it, as being a more convenient place than any other I knew of. He said that it was impossible for me to perform such a difficult work without the rest, or at least some of them being privy to it. To which I candidly answered, that I never work'd at it only when they were out of the way; besides, the place being so exceeding dark that they could not notice me, working Daily and leisurely at it for two months. On which confession he lock'd us all up together in one Room, and inform'd Col. McLane, the commanding officer, of it, who after a short interval return'd, accompanied by some officers and a guard; at which my Brother officers and Prisoners were greatly alarm'd, and earnestly show'd & desir'd to undergo the same fate with myself. But I told them that it was better for one to suffer than such a number, & that I was solely bent to undergo whatever was allotted me, & taking my leave of them I was committed to the care of a Capt. of the Main guard for some time, & a little after to the care of a Captain of the Provost, who treated me generously, from whence I was carried the next morning at 9 o'clock by the guard board a schooner, carrying 9 6-pounders & 36 men, & closely kept in the hold, both handcuffed & ironed, lying on a plank in the turnkling of a cable, being  $2\frac{1}{2}$  foot frozen, and no more room to walk in than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  steps, & the deck so low that I was obliged to keep myself always stoop'd, & my irons being so small that my wrists were striped & swell'd; so that after some Days sufferings, and on my continual complaining, the smith at length came, who was obliged to cut them and

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replace them with larger ones.\* On the 30th, to my surprise, Capts. Lockwood & Hanchet were detected in inquiring of Joe some particulars concerning me & where I was, for they were ignorant of my destiny; & on Joe's discovering everything from the very beginning until then, to the officer, he was sent to England on board of a ship, & the Capts. to accompany me, where we remain'd in the most lamentable situation until the 6th of May, in the afternoon, being the Day the fleet arrived from England; from whence we were sent back to our former Prison, where we found our Brother officers in the same Situation as we left them.

*May 6.*—Last night we heard some guns fired down the River, and in the morning saw a frigate coming up to Point Levi, keeping a constant firing, on which the Garrison fir'd into the river, to let them know they were in possession of the place, on which she came up and saluted the Garrison. About 10 o'clock a 50 Gun ship came up, Capt. Douglass commander, & saluted; likewise a 14 Gun sloop with some troops, who, with those already in the fort, sallied out, and our men retreated with such precipitation that they left their cannon, stores, ammunition, and even the General's Coat and Dinner, behind.† In the Evening, a small sloop went down the River with Pilots for the fleet that is expected. A frigate and a sloop of war went up the River to take some Vessels from our People. They took a sloop & a Brig which our people had sentled and left. Lieut. McDougal & three men were taken in a schooner with 13 Barrels of Powder.

*May 7.*—Brigade Major LeMatre was sent by Genl. Carleton to let us know that he intended henceforth to use us with as much humanity as lay in his power, and hop'd we would make Good use of it. We had again the Liberty to walk in the

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\*"April 14.—Major McKenzie came in and took Capt. Morgan's company out of irons."—*Melvin.*

†"This morning 3 ships came in with a re-inforcement of about one thousand men. All the bells in the town rang for joy most of the day. Then all the forces in the town marched out on Abraham's Plains to have a battle with our people, but they retreated as fast as possible, and left a number of sick in the hospital. Likewise some of their cannon and ammunition, with a number of small arms and packs."—*Ware's Journal.*

passage, of which we had been debarred for some time. We were, this afternoon, Visited by Lord Petersham & Major Carleton. He is genteel, polite and humane. Caldwell was expressing himself in his sneering, customary Way, mentioning that he suffered much by our People, on which Maj. Carleton reproved him in these words: "You should not say anything disagreeable to them in their unfortunate situation. You must consider us all as Brothers." He said there were numbers of Hessians and Hanoverians coming to America.

*May 8.*—The remainder of the 29th Regiment and some of the Artillery arrived. We were visited by the officers, who enquired for the Troops that were taken at St. John's, &c.

*May 9.*—Were visited by some officers of the 29th regiment, especially a very polite gentleman, a Lieut. of Grenadiers. A small schooner came up. They have men out Daily to pick up the sick men our people left behind. They have taken a great number of papers, among which was an Orderly book. This Day was taken Lieuts. Randall & Stephen McDougal on board the schooner Mary. By the news he brings we are in hopes things are not so bad as the people of the Garrison reported. However, I think it is bad Enough.

*May 10.*—Two transports came up from Halifax with Provisions and part of the 47th Regiment.\*

*May 11.*—Were visited by Col. McLane and other officers, and were allowed to walk in the garden. Major Carleton visited us, and said that there were 55000 men designed for America this summer. We desir'd him to obtain liberty for our servants to cook for us, which he promised to do.

*May 12.*—This day he brought us an answer that we might walk in the garden. Two transports arrived with troops.

*May 13.*—We are this Day indulged more than common, and allowed to go up stairs as often as we please. A Brig came too off Beaufort.

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\**May 10.* Two riflemen were taken out of jail; we don't know on what terms. Same day two Jersey dumpling eaters were brought in; they were found among the bushes, not having tried to make their escape, being too heavy laden with dumplings and pork, having forty pounds of pork, a knapsack full of dumplings, and a quantity of flour."—*Melin.*

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*May 14.*—About 9 o'clock a broad pendant was hoisted aboard the *Isis* man of war of 50 guns. Was saluted by all the Ships in the Harbor, and returned 15 Guns. On the main top-mast head was hoisted a white pendant, and a pendant on her ensign staff. The Garrison saluted with 15 guns. In the afternoon a frigate went down the River. At night an armed schooner went up the River. Major Meigs went out with Doctor Mahon to get Mr. Monroe to supply us. He has obtained the General's promise of going home on his parole. We have had fair weather, except now and then a shower. The tide has risen here from 19 to 22 feet with an easterly wind, & from 16 to 19 with a westerly. The wind in the spring blows from eastward to northward, with showers of rain. It is very common for it to rain one half hour, and suddenly clear up. They continue to lock us up every night as yet.

*May 15.*—This Day we were once more allowed to use our pens and Ink, having had none but a few pencils undiscovered, by which means we kept our journals. Major Meigs was call'd upon by the General, and promised to go off in a few Days to Halifax on his way home.

*May 16.*—This day the Hunter Sloop of war sail'd for England with dispatches, in which went passengers Capt. Hambleton & Major Caldwell & his family. We had liberty to write letters by Major Meigs, provided we wrote nothing concerning the Garrison.

*May 17.*—Licut. Born carried our letters to Col. McLane to be examined. A small Sloop came up. Major Meigs had liberty to walk the town until 4 o'clock. Mr. Laveris came and informed Capt. Dearborn that he had obtained liberty for him to go home on his parole, & that he must get ready to go on board immediately. In the Evening they took their leave of us, & went on board the schooner Magdalen.

*May 18.*—About ten o'clock they set sail for Halifax.

" 19.—Saw a Sloop of War come down, & the Commodore came down about noon and saluted. There were a number of officers walking in the Garden, one of them not above 15 years of age. The Drummers of the 29th Regiment are Blacks, & the band wear red feathers in their hats, and look very neat.

*May 20.*—Docter Maben visited Mr. Porterfield, a sick volunteer, and told him he would endeavor to get him a parole to go home. We were allowed two small Rooms for part to lodge in, to our great satisfaction.

*May 21.*—General Carleton went up the River with 3 Vessels, in order if possible to drive our Army out of Canada. The ships and Garrison saluted the General at his departure. A Canadian told us that the 8th Regiment, which lay at Detroit, fort Hannicks & Swagocha, with about 500 Indians, were down within 9 miles of Montreal, to a place called Lasheen, where they had an engagement,—kill'd and wounded 150 of our men; to which report we can hardly give any credit.

*May 22.*—We were told by one Capt. McDougal that the Virginians laid down their arms, and that there are more in the Interest of Government than in the Interest of Liberty, which does not seem probable. We hear that Montreal is taken.

*May 27.*—Some ships and transports came up, and were order'd immediately for Montreal.

*May 31.*—Last night after 12 o'clock we heard the sentry hail 3 times & fir'd, on which occasion we looked out and saw the guard searching for the object, which we believed was no more than conceit, or rather a trap laid by some of our Enemies, that we might be more closely kept.

*June .*—4 ships came up, the Intent of which is, as I conceive, to offer terms of reconcillation with the sword at the breast of the Americans. This Army consists of Britains, Irish, Hanoverians, Hessians, &c. Oh! Britain, Britain, how art thou fallen, that thou dost hire Foreigners to cut thine offspring's throats! 19 more ships came up. We were visited by some Hessian officers. 6 more ships came up in the Evening. The ships are to go up the River with the troops to give the Provincials battle.

*June 5.*—We hear that the Indians under the command of Capt. Foster, took a number of the Provincials prisoners, and made them promise never to take up arms against the King again, and that they should [send] back as many of the King's troops as there is of them in the way of exchange. They kept several officers as hostages. They told them, with hatchet

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their heads, that they would suffer immediate Death if they [did] not comply with their promise. They bored their Ears, that they might know them again.

June 6.—We learn that his Excellency proposed to our men to swear allegiance to the king, and that he would send them home. They are almost naked, and very Lousy & full of the scurvy, many of them unable to Walk, being lame in their knees lying so long in an unwholesome place; all salt provisions, the weather very cold and but little or no fire, & 30 in a Room about 12 foot square. But were before much closer confined, being about 6 months inprison'd, without money or friends to assist them, But enemies continually threatening, scoffing and abusing them, calling them Rebels, cut-throats, traitors, robbers, murderers, and deluded fools. This was Major Caldwell's language & some others to them. They have not sworn yet, and what they intend doing is uncertain. By what I can learn, they must either swear or die, if they remain much longer in this Dungeon.\*

\*June 5. This day General Carlton with a number of his officers came to see us, and enquired of us whether we had fared as well as they promised us we should when we were taken. We told him we fared very well. He said he did not take us as enemies, & likewise said if he could rely upon our honors, he would send us to New England, if we would be quiet and peaceable, and not take up arms any more.

"June ye 6th, A. D. 1776. A copy of an answer sent to Gen'l Carlton.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

We, the prisoners in His Majesty's goals, return your Excellency our most happy and unfeigned thanks for your clemency and goodness to us whilst in imprisonment. Being sensible of your humanity, we give your Excellency thanks for your offer made us yesterday, and having a desire to return to our friends and families again, we promise not to take up arms against His Majesty, but remain peaceable and quiet in our respective places of abode, and we further assure your Excellency that you may depend on our fidelity.

So we remain your Excellency's humble servants,  
Signed in behalf of the prisoners.

August 4th. The General sent for all the prisoners to come in who were out in the country at work, that were minded to go home.

5th. This day ninety-five prisoners embarked on board the ship.

7th. This day the men all in good spirits, and embarked on board the ships. Sixty of the prisoners on board the Mermaid.

11th. This morning the signal was given for sailing. Weighed anchor and went down about one mile. At night weighed anchor and went down the river thirteen miles. The weather cold and stormy.

Sept. 6th. We were informed by the shipmen, according to reckoning, that we were in the latitude of Philadelphia, Latitude 39° North."—Ware's Journal.



June 7.—We addressed the General with the following Petition, in order that he might grant us a Parole to go home, But rec'd no answer as yet.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

Impressed with a deep sense of your Excellency's humanity and benevolence, & urged by the peculiarity of our present disagreeable situation, being destitute of both friends & money, we beg leave that your Excellency will condescend to take our case into consideration, & grant us relief by permitting us to return to our respective homes on our Parole, which we shall ever deem sacred, assuring your Excellency that we shall make it a point to surrender ourselves to any of His Majesty's Officers, when and where your Excellency may think proper to direct. Being likewise sensibly touched with the state of our men who remain prisoners at present, we take the liberty to recommend them to your Excellency's consideration, earnestly soliciting that some measures may be taken for their relief; & we should be extremely happy if they could possibly return to their families, many of whom must be reduced to the greatest distress. Your Excellency's compliance will be esteem'd a singular favor, & ever greatly acknowledged by

Your Excellency's Most obedient & very

Humble servants.

[This petition is also contained in a small memorandum book kept by Captain Thayer, and is in his hand writing. Attached to it are the following names: The heading of the list is, "*Officers taken December 31, 1775.*" The names are inserted here, though without positive evidence that they constituted a part of the petition. E. M. S.]

Names.	Col. or Provinces.	Town or County.	Commissions.
Christopher Greene,	Rhode Island,	Warwick,	Lieut. Colonel.
Timothy Bigelow,	Massachusetts,	Worcester,	Major.
Return Jonth'n Meigs,	Connecticut,	Middleton,	Major.
Daniel Morgan,	Virginia,	Frederick Co.,	Captain.
Will'n Goodrich,	Massachusetts,	G't Barrington,	Captain.
Samuel Lockwood,	Connecticut,	Greenwich,	Capt.
Eleazer Oswald,	do.	New Haven,	Capt. Volunteer.
John Topham,	Rhode Island,	Newport,	Capt.

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<i>Names.</i>	<i>Col. or Provinces.</i>	<i>Town or County.</i>	<i>Commissions.</i>
Simeon Thayer,	Rhode Island,	Providence,	Capt.
Samuel Ward,	do.	Westerly,	Capt.
Jonas Hubbard,	Massachusetts,	Worcester,	Capt., dy'd of his
Henry Dearborn,	New Hampshire,	E. Nottingham,	Capt. [wounds.
*John Lamb,	New York,	City,	Capt.
Oliver Hanchet,	Connecticut,	Suffield,	Capt.
Archibald Steele,	Pennsylvania,	Lancaster,	Adjutant & Lieut.
Mathew Duncan,	do.	Philadelphia,	Volunteer.
William Heath, [Beth,]	Virginia,	Frederick Co.,	Lieutenant.
Peter O'Brien Bruen,	do.	do.	Lieutenant.
John M'Guire,	do.	do.	Volunteer.
Charles Porterfield,	do.	do.	Volunteer.
Abijah Savage,	Connecticut,	Middleton,	Lieutenant.
John Compston,	Massachusetts,	Sawco,	Lieut.
Samuel Brown,	do.	Acton,	Lieut.
James Tisdale,	do.	Medfield,	Lieut.
John Clark,	do.	Hadley,	Lieut.
Will'm Humphrey,	Rhode Island,	Providence,	Lieut.
James Webb,	do.	Newport,	Lieut.
Edward Stocum,	do.	Tiverton,	Lieut.
Sylvanus Shaw,	do.	Newport,	Lieut.
Ammi Andrews,	New Hampshire,	Hillsborough,	Lieut.
Nath'l Hutchins,	do.	Dunbarton,	Lieut.
Joseph Thomas,	do.	Deerfield,	Lieut.
Francis Nichols,	Pennsylvania,	Cumberl'nd Co.	Lieut.
Randolph S. M'Dougal,	New York,	City,	Lieut. May 7, 1776.
Christiau Phebege,	Denm'rk kingd'm	City Cop'hagen	Adjutant.
Benjamin Chatlin,	Connecticut,	Wethersfield,	Quartermaster.

The answer to the above petition was, that he could not grant it with propriety. We hear that the Provincials have taken the 8th Regiment, and that there are great divisions in Great Britain concerning American affairs. We wrote a second petition to the General, but what will be the effect of it we cannot tell. We saw some of our men who had taken the oath; they looked very pale. We hear that a considerable number of them lost the use of their limbs. We have received an answer to our last Petition, viz: that we may go home on our parole.

June 9.—We are informed that Ger'l Washington has taken Bunker's Hill, with 1500 prisoners.

June 14.—Nothing remarkable until the 14th, when we heard that the Provincials have kill'd 50 of the Hessians, & sunk three of their ships that attempted to pass our works at Sorell, & that Philadelphia is besieged by the King's troops.

June 16.—We hear of two skirmishes, in which a considerable

number of men has been slain at or near Sorell. Gen'l Thomp-son and his aid-de-camp were taken.

*June 19.*—A shower of Hail, the Stones of which were as large as walnuts. A woman was kill'd by the Lightning.

*June 23.*—The Provincials have Burnt Fort Chambelee, and retreated to St. John's. It is reported they are from 300 to 7000 in number.

*June 24.*—The Hon. Lieut. Governor made us a present of a gall. rum. Two vessels came down the river with the prisoners taken at St. John's, Chambelee, &c.

*June 26.*—We hear that the 12 United Provinces declared themselves independant, & have sent to France for assistance; also that they received a great Quantity of ammunition & 6000 stand of arms from them.

*June 27.*—Two vessels came up & saluted, which was returned by the Commodore; we are prohibited from going to the walls of the garden, for what reasons I don't know.

*July 4.*—Nothing remarkable until the 4th, when we hear that Gen'l Carleton has sent for all the troops that can be spared to pass Lake Champlain. 4 Provincial Officers informed us of their being taken by the Indians, viz: that they and 4 more officers & 3 soldiers went fishing, and that they crossed the river, to go to a house to get some Beer; unfortunately were not armed, thinking themselves secure from Danger; they soon heard the boy halloo, and running out to see the occasion, they were fir'd on by 13 Indians; they tried to get off the Boat, but before they got it off they kill'd one officer and wounded another; they then ran down upon them, when two found means to escape. They took five officers alive, one of which they tomahawk'd, and scalp'd. The 2 officers took off with those that they did not kill. They tied them round the necks with their Belts, and made them run before them about a mile. They stopped and halloed for their comrades, & paraded them to show the great feats they had done; they sat out again, & night coming on, they made them lie on their backs, and tied them down, & lying on the ends of their Belts they went to Sleep. In the morning they set out again. One of the Indians Snapp'd his Gun at Wm. McFarlin, & then drew his own sword upon him;

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they then stripp'd them to their Breeches, and carried them to Montreal.\*

*July 6.*—Last night we were lock'd up in our Rooms, for what reason I don't know. This morning 6 vessels arrived, I believe loaded with provisions.

*July 7.*—Several officers of the Garrison came and looked round in our apartments, but said nothing to us. We were ignorant of the reason until some Sea Captains came into the Garden and told us there was a report in town that we intended to set the Seminary on fire, but they are false reports, & I don't imagine there is not one amongst us that would perform such an action.

*July 8.*—Different reports. Some say that the Provincials took about 5000 British Prisoners. Others say that the British have taken New York, & that the Pennsylvania & Virginia [troops] laid down their arms. But the reports are so numerous and various that we can hardly credit the least; next Evening a Sloop of war sail'd down the river.

*July 12.*—We hear that Major Meigs and Capt. Dearborn are exchanged by Admiral Howe.

*July 17.*—Nothing remarkable until the 17th, when we hear of a Skirmish take place at Point-au-faire, the Provincials seeing them in their boats, which they stove to Pieces, Killed, wounded and took 400; at 4 o'clock a Brig sail'd up the River.

*July 18.*—Locked up close in our rooms all night; the reason we are ignorant of.

*July 19.*—The Lizard Ship sail'd for New York. We understand that as soon as the General comes from Montreal we are to be sent home. He is daily expected. Moderate weather until the 22d, when accompanied with a Thunder Storm†.

*July 22.*—The Bland 32 Gun Ship sail'd this morning for London. A brig & sloop sailed shortly after. Genl. Carleton

\*" *July 5.* The prisoners brought in last night inform us that the Indians scalped many of our soldiers, some of them alive; but that General Carleton, to his great honor, has refused to pay those murdering fiends for any more scalps, but will pay them the same reward for every prisoner."—*Melvin.*

†" *July 19.* The weather is so cold that the Canadians do not expect a good crop of corn. It is so cold as to wear a great coat."—*Melvin.*

arrived in town this afternoon, & was saluted with a volley of 15 Guns from the Garrison, to our great satisfaction, because our fate will be shortly determined. Nothing worth notice until the 26th but some vessels going up and down the River.

*July 26.*—Capt. Foy informed us of the General's countenancing our going home, & was sorry we were detained so long.

*July 28.*—We hear that Gen. Thompson is to go home with us.

" 29.—Genl. Carleton hearing our extreme want of money, was generous Eno' to send us £100, which we are determined to repay to some British officers, Prisoners in America, as a necessary token of gratitude.\*

*July 30.*—Genl. Thompson came to see us, and told us Gen. Carleton desired him to call on us & let us know the terms we were to go home on.

*Aug. 1.*—Genl. Thompson & several other Gentlemen came and brought a copy of the Parole, which we did not like; on which he said it might perhaps be alter'd, if not we must necessarily remain here longer.

*Aug. 2.*—Genl. Carleton sent us word that he would leave out the words we objected to, which were, "that we should never take up arms against His Majesty." This we did not think proper to sign to.

*Aug. 3.*—The town Major & Mr. Murray brought our Parole, which we signed.

*Aug. 4.*—We hear that Genl. Washington refuses to exchange the men taken at the Cedars, & Genl. Carleton keeps 16 men who came over the Lake as a Flag.

\*In his treatment of the American prisoners, General Carleton was humane. The incident here mentioned by Captain Thayer is honorable to his character as a generous enemy. When criticised by his officers for his leniency towards his prisoners, he replied,—“Since we have tried in vain to make them acknowledge us as brothers, let us send them away disposed to regard us as first cousins.” Having been informed that many persons, suffering from wounds and various disorders, were concealed in the woods and obscure places, fearing that if they appeared openly they would be seized as prisoners and severely treated, he issued a proclamation, commanding the militia officers to search for such persons, bring them to the general hospital, and procure for them all necessary relief, at the public charge. He also invited all such persons to come forward voluntarily, and receive the assistance they needed, assuring them “that as soon as their health should be restored, they should have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.” Few names that stand out in the history of the events in which he was concerned are remembered with more respect, even in the country of his foes.—*Sparks.*

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*Aug. 5.*—Had orders to be ready at a minute's warning for embarking.

*Aug. 6.*—Our men were oblig'd to sign a Paper, the contents I know not. We are informed that we are to embark to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

*Aug. 7.*—About 9 o'clock this morning I, with some more officers and 77 of our men, embark'd on board a Ship of near 400 Tons, Joseph Lawton, master, accompanied by three other Ships.

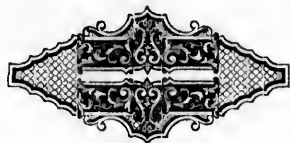
*Aug. 8.*—Capt. Foy wish'd us well, and said when we met again we should be friends, this gentleman & Mr. Murry having come on board to see how we were accommodated.

*Aug. 9.*—Waiting for the remainder of the Prisoners to come down the River; dividing out stores to the men.

*Aug. 10.*—About Eleven o'clock a Brig hove in sight, & the Prisoners were put on board of us.

*Aug. 11.*—About 11 o'clock weigh'd anchor, & went below the town. The [wind] blowing hard at East, we came again to anchor.

*Aug. 12.*—Weigh'd anchor and proceeded on our passage; spoke with the Jno. Rogers. Saw a brig wreck'd on the east end of St. Johns. Arrived Sept. the 12 at Sandy hook, after a tedious voyage, & had the mortification to see N. York in flames, when our people Evacuated it. Landed the 20th Sept. in Elizabethtown, with 9 Rank and file, & 1 Lieutenant, (named Humphrey,) being the remainder of the number we had when I left Cambridge, being 87, officers included; [the residue] perish'd by different casualties, as dying by different diseases, such as in prison, some thro' hunger & fatigue, others running away, others listing with the British, others dying with the small pox, &c; [started from Elizabethtown,] from whence each man steer'd home to his native place; accordingly [did so] myself, where I remained until 1st of July, when I was exchanged, & took up arms again in defence of my country.



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## APPENDIX.

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### NOTE A., Page 2.

Under the head "March to Newburyport," the entries upon the Journal against the dates Sept. 13 and 14, are obviously erroneous. The night of the 13th was probably spent in Malden, on the line of march to Beverly, and the night of the 14th in Beverly, about midway between Malden and Newburyport. Joseph Ware, a member of Captain Samuel Ward's company, whose journal is frequently cited in these pages, says he encamped on the evening of the 14th in Beverly. Captain Thayer may not have commenced his journal until he reached Newburyport, and there made these entries under a lapse of memory. On arriving at Newburyport, the riflemen, under Captain Morgan, encamped in the field, near Rolfe's lane. The other troops occupied two of the rope-walks in town.

### NOTE B., Page 2.

"Sept. 19.—Embarked our whole detachment, consisting of 10 companies of musketeers and 3 companies of riflemen, amounting to 1,100 men, on board 10 transports. I embarked myself on board the sloop *Britannia*. The fleet came to sail at 10 o'clock, A. M., and sailed out of the harbour and lay to till one o'clock, P. M., when we received orders to sail for the river Kennebeck, fifty leagues from Newburyport—received with our sailing orders the following for signals, viz.

1st signal. For speaking with the whole fleet. Eusign at maintop-masthead.

2d signal. For chasing a sail. Ensign at foretop-masthead.

3d signal. For heaving to. Lanthorn at maintop-masthead, and two guns if head on shore, and three if off shore.



4th signal. For making sail in the night. Lanthorn at masthead, and four guns; in the day jack at foretop-masthead.

5th signal. For dispersing and every vessel making the nearest harbor. Ensign at main peak.

6th signal. For boarding any vessel. Jack at maintop-masthead, and the whole fleet drawn up in a line, as near as possible.

The wind being fair and very fresh, I was very sea-sick.

20th. In the morning we made the mouth of Kennebeck, right ahead, which we soon entered. The mouth of the river is narrow. We were hailed from the shore by a number of men under arms, which were stationed there. They were answered, that we were Continental troops, and that we wanted a pilot. They immediately sent one on board. The wind and tide favoring us, we proceeded up the river; 5 miles from the mouth lies an island called *Rousack*. Upon this island is a handsome meeting-house, and very good dwelling houses. The river to this island of very unequal width, from one mile to a quarter of a mile wide, the water deep, great tides, the shore generally rocky; ten miles from the mouth some elegant buildings, at a place called Georgetown;\* twenty miles from the mouth is a very large bay called Merry-meeting Bay; 25 miles from the mouth an island, called Swan Island. Little above this island we came to anchor, opposite to Pownalborough, where is a block-house. I would mention here, that this day makes fourteen only since the orders were first given for building 200 battoes, collecting provisions for and levying 1,100 men, and marching them to this place, viz., Gardner's Town; weather fine.—*Meigs' Jour.*, pp. 8-11.

#### NOTE C., Page 3.

James McCormick, (not Jno., as written by Captain Thayer,) was tried by a court-martial at Fort Western, found guilty, and sentenced to death. The sentence was approved by Colonel Arnold, but the prisoner was respited and sent on board the transport *Broad Bay*, Capt. Clarkson, to Capt. Moses Nowell, of Newburyport, who was ordered to convey him under a proper guard to General Washington at head-quarters in Cambridge, for his final decision upon the case. McCormick denied the crime until he was brought to the place of execution, when he confessed it. He was a resident of North Yarmouth, Mass., and was

\*“ At this place, in Georgetown, opposite Philipsburg, it is believed the late Gov. Sullivan of Massachusetts, then lived, for it was here that he commenced the practice of the law. When once asked by Gen. Knox why he selected such an obscure spot, he replied, that he knew that he must break into the world, and he thought it prudent to make the attempt in a *weak place*.”—*Allen*.

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drafted from Capt. Hill's company, Col. Seaman's Regiment. He was an ignorant and simple person, and bore in the company to which he belonged the character of a peaceful man. In his letter to Washington, Arnold adds to the foregoing statement, "I wish he may be found a proper object of mercy."

Fort Western stands on the east side of the river Kennebec, and consists of 2 block-houses, and a large house, 100 feet long, which were enclosed only with pickets. This house is the property of [James] Howard, Esq., where we were exceedingly well entertained. Captain Morgan with 3 companies of riflemen embarked in battoes, with orders to proceed with all expedition to the great carrying-place, and clear the road while the other divisions came up.—*Meigs' Journal*, pp. 10, 11. One of the block houses, a venerable memorial of Indian wars, is now [1831] standing, near the covered bridge which stretches across the river. Judge Howard, at whose house the officers were entertained, died in May, 1787, aged 86 years. He was the first commandant at this fort. John Gilley, an Irishman, a soldier at the fort under Judge Howard, died at Augusta, Me., July 9th, 1813, aged about 124 years.—*Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.* vol. i, p. 390.

## NOTE D., Page 4.

*Sept. 29th.* At 11 o'clock, A. M. arrived at Fort Halifax, which stands on a point of land between the river Kennebec and the river Sebastecook. This fort consists of two large block-houses, and a large barrack, which is enclosed with a picket fort. I tarried half an hour at the fort, then crossed the river to a carrying place, which is 97 rods carriage—then proceeded up the river, which falls very rapidly over a rocky bottom 5 miles, and encamped. The above falls are Toronock.—*Meigs.* Fort Halifax was built by Mr. Shirley in 1754, to awe the Indians, and cover the frontiers of New England.—*Montresor's Journal.*

## NOTE E., Page 5.

*October 3d.* Proceeded up the river to Norridgewalk. On my way I called at a house, where I saw a child 14 months old. This is the first white child born in Norridgewalk.\* At 7 o'clock in the evening, a little below Norridgewalk, my battoe filled with water, going up the falls. Here I lost my kettle, butter and sugar, a loss not to be replaced here. At Norridgewalk are to be seen the vestiges of an

\*The name of this child was Abel Farrington. He was the son of Capt. Thomas Farrington, formerly of Groton, Mass.

Indian fort and chapel, and a priest's grave.\* There appears to have been some intrenchment, and a covered way through the bank of the river for the convenience of getting water. This must have been a considerable seat of the natives, as there are large Indian fields cleared. *Meig's Journal.*

*October 4th.* Went up to Bumazees Ripples, and came to Norridgewalk. The carriage-place is about a mile in length. We had oxen to haul over our provision. Our battcaux were calked. We were now to take leave of houses and settlements, of which we saw no more, except one Indian wigwam, 'till we came among the French, in Canada. —*Melvin's Journal.*

NOTE F., Page 16—note.

"In August, 1824, an Indian woman from Penobscot presented herself at my house, with baskets to sell, and soliciting charity. She exhibited a certificate signed by Major General Ulmer, stating that she was the daughter of *Sa Bates*, a Penobscot Indian, who piloted Arnold's army to Quebec in 1775. I asked her to pronounce the name of her father, and she gave the sound—*Sah-Bah-tis.*"—*Allen.*

NOTE G., Page 24.

Major TIMOTHY BIGELOW was the son of Daniel Bigelow, and lived in Worcester, Mass. On hearing of the battle of Lexington, he marched at the head of minute men. In all the fatigues, perils and privations of Arnold's expedition, he participated. At Quebec he was taken prisoner. After his release, he, at the head of the fifteenth Mass. regiment, was at Saratoga, Rhode Island, Valley Forge, and West Point. He was an original grantor of Montpelier, and a liberal benefactor of Leicester Academy. With an ardent temperament, his manners were dignified and graceful. He died in Worcester, March 31, 1796, aged 50 years. Major Bigelow was father of Timothy Bigelow, who removed to Medford in 1807, and was distinguished as a learned, eloquent and popular lawyer, and for more than twenty years as a leading member of the Legislature, eleven of which he served as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

\*This was the grave of Father Sebastian Ralle, whom Capt. Thayer, by mistake, calls Francisco. He was a learned man, an effective preacher, and exercised a remarkable influence over the Indians, among whom he dwelt at Norridgewalk, as a Jesuit Missionary, for a period of twenty-six years. He was killed in the surprisal of that place on the 23d August, 1721. A dictionary compiled by him of the Abnaki's language, is preserved among the literary treasures of the library of Harvard College.

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Major JOHN BROWN was born in Sandisfield, Mass., October 19, 1744. He was educated at Yale College, and after graduating studied law with Oliver Arnold, in Providence, R. I. He established himself in practice at Caghnuwaga, now Johnston, N. Y., but at the opening of the revolution took sides with the people against the Mother Country. In 1775 he was a delegate to the Provincial Congress. He was with Arnold at the capture of Ticonderoga, and afterward joined the assaulting forces at Quebec. In 1776 he was commissioned Lieut. Colonel by Congress, and continued in active service until the surrender of Burgoyne. In 1780 he marched up the Mohawk for the relief of Gen. Schuyler, but was led by a traitor into an ambushade at Stone Arabia, in Palatine, and was slain on his birth-day, October 19, 1780, aged 36 years. He was a man of fine personal presence, and energetic in all his undertakings.

Captain HENRY DEARBORN was born in Hampton, N. H., March 1, 1751. He studied medicine with Dr. Hall Jackson, of Portsmouth, N. H., and settled in practice at Nottingham square. When an express announced the battle of Lexington, he marched the same day with sixty volunteers for Cambridge. On his return he was commissioned a Captain in Stark's regiment. He raised a company, and participated in the battle of Breed's [or Bunker's] Hill. He joined Arnold in his wilderness march to Quebec, and was seized with fever on the way. He lay in a cottage on the banks of the Chaudiere, without physician, and for ten days his life was despaired of. A good Catholic woman even sprinkled him with holy water. But he gradually recovered, and hastening forward reached Wolfe's Cove in season to rejoin his company, and participate in the assault on Quebec, where he was taken prisoner. In May, 1776, he was paroled, and in March, 1777, was exchanged. He was commissioned Major, in Seammel's regiment, and fought at Ticonderoga and Monmouth; was with Sullivan in his expedition against the Indians in 1779; in 1780 was with the army in New Jersey; in 1781 was at Yorktown, at the surrender of Cornwallis. On the death of Seammel he succeeded to the command of the regiment. In 1782 he was stationed in garrison at Saratoga. After the peace he settled in Maine, of which District he was appointed Marshal. He was twice elected a member of Congress, and was eight years Secretary of War under Jefferson. In the war of 1812 he was commissioned as senior Major General in the army of the United States. In 1815 he retired to private life, and in 1822 was appointed Minister plenipotentiary to Portugal. He died at the

residence of his son, General Henry A. S. Dearborn, in Roxbury, Mass., June 6, 1829, aged 78 years.

Colonel CHRISTOPHER GREENE was a lineal descendant of John Greene, who emigrated from Wiltshire, England, to Plymouth Colony, from whence he removed to Providence in 1637. He soon afterwards went to that section of Warwick, R. I., which he had purchased of the aboriginal owners. He was one of the twenty-four individuals to whom Charles the Second granted the old Charter of Rhode Island. His posterity often filled the most responsible stations under the Colonial Government. One of them, William Greene, held the reins of the State during the gloom and horror of the American Revolution; another, upon the Judicial Bench, was the inflexible minister of justice; while two others unsheathed their swords in the service of their country.

Christopher, the subject of this notice, was the son of Hon. Philip Greene, a Judge of the Superior Court of the State, and distinguished alike for his virtues as a private citizen and as a public officer. Christopher was born in 1737, in that part of Warwick called Occupassatouxtet, the patrimonial estate of the Judge, his father. His life, previously to entering the army, was principally occupied in agriculture, and in the care of a grist and saw mill, located on a branch of the Pawtuxet river, at what is now called Centreville. His natural endowments were of a superior order. His mental powers, improved and developed by education and refined social intercourse, together with an elevated moral character, were calculated to command the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and at an early age he was elected by them to represent his town in the State Legislature, an office which he honorably filled for several years. At this time, the Mother country began to seize, one after another, the inherent rights of the Colonies. When the question of resistance came to be discussed, young Greene boldly took ground against the King, and his counsels in the Legislature tended to encourage measures for military defence.

A military company was established at East Greenwich, in 1774, with the title of "Kentish Guards," and Greene was chosen Lieutenant. In the month of May, 1775, he was appointed by the Legislature a Major in the army created for the defence of the State, under the command of his near relative and intimate friend, General Nathaniel Greene. But, with characteristic self-denying patriotism, he preferred to accept the office of Captain in the regiment organized by the General Assembly for the Continental service, which opened to him a field for more active usefulness. He marched to Cambridge, and was there

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placed as Lieutenant Colonel in command of the first battalion of Arnold's army, formed for a secret expedition against Quebec. The duties of this new and responsible position were discharged with the utmost faithfulness. Through the entire wilderness march, his constant presence and cheerful voice inspired the courage and hope of his men. In the attack upon Quebec, Lieutenant Colonel Greene took a conspicuous part. At the head of an assaulting column of infantry, he was in the midst of the hottest conflict. But the early death of General Montgomery changed the fortunes of a day auspiciously begun, and after three hours of hard fighting, Greene and his command were compelled to surrender.

Eighteen months of prison life passed heavily with the active spirit of Colonel Greene. His thoughts were with his suffering country, and his uppermost desire was to again draw his sword in her behalf. On one occasion, when contemplating the British flag waving tauntingly above him, and listening to the triumph-strains of British music, his self-possession forsook him, and he exclaimed, with emphatic tone, "*I will never again be taken prisoner alive!*"—a declaration never forgotten by those who heard it, and that became a proverb with the soldiers who had served under him.

The value of the services of Lieutenant Colonel Greene and of his fellow-officers, were fully appreciated by General Washington, and in a letter to Governor Cooke, dated "Head-quarters, Harlem Heights, Oct. 12, 1776, he stated that their behaviour and merits, as well as the severities they had experienced in the Canada Expedition, entitled them to particular notice, and recommended that, in the new levies then about to be raised by the State, vacancies should be reserved for them, to be filled upon their exchange. Colonel Varnum, writing to the Governor from West Chester, October 16, on the same subject, says: "How the Field Officers are recommended for the First Battalion in our State, and who they are, I am ignorant. I hope Colonel Greene will be thought of."

After being exchanged, Lieut. Colonel Greene, in 1777, received a commission of Colonel, and was placed in command of the highly important post of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, on the Delaware river. This position was attacked by a large body of Germans under Colonel Count Donop, who, after a fierce and desperate fight, were driven back defeated, with heavy loss, including their commander.\* Colonel

\* "The late Dr. Turner, of Newport, who was in this battle, used to narrate the following anecdote of Col. Greene's kind attention to a vanquished enemy. He buried the remains of Count Donop with all the honors of war. A Frenchman, the

Jonathan Mifflin, in a letter to General Mifflin, dated "Headquarters, G. Morris's, Oct. 24, 1777, 4 o'clock, P. M.," says: "The day before yesterday, 4 o'clock P. M., Count Donop, with 1200 Hessian Grenadiers, made their appearance before the garrison at Red Bank, and by flag demanded a surrender, which being refused, they made an immediate attack, fired above the abattis, crossed the ditch, and some few had mounted the pickets. They were so warmly received that they returned with great precipitation, leaving behind the Count and the Brigade Major, who are wounded, in the fort." "The killed and wounded, according to this letter, were 500. The same writer continues: "Colonel Greene, who commanded, played upon them a very good deception. When the flag came in, he concealed all his men but 50—saying, "with these brave fellows, this fort shall be my tomb."—He had 5 killed and 45 wounded."

Commodore John Hazlewood writing to Gen. Washington, under date Red Bank, Oct. 24, 1777, says, "This will acquaint your Excellency that early this morning we carried all our galleys into action, and, after a long and heavy firing, we drove the enemy's ships down the river, except a 64 gun ship and a small frigate, which we obliged them to quit, as they got on shore, and by accident the 64 gun ship blew up, and the frigate they set on fire themselves, took the people all out, and quitted them. Our action lasted until 12 o'clock, and our fleet has received but little damage.

"You will be informed of the glorious event of last night, by Col. Greene. We, in our galleys, were of great use in flanking round the fort. Besides the 64 and frigate being burnt, the Roebuck, which lay to cover them, we damaged much and drove off, and had she laid fast, we should have had her in the same situation."

"The success of Col. Greene the day before, it is fair to infer, contributed much to the naval successes of the day following, and finally to the enemy abandoning Philadelphia, thus breaking down, in an eminent degree, their warlike power.

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surgeon of the German Brigade, who was taken prisoner, on witnessing the American troops following the corpse of his beloved commander, and depositing it, with every manifestation of respect, in the grave, was so affected by the unexpected spectacle that, springing up and striking his feet together, he exclaimed, with the vivacity of his countrymen, "Bo Gar, if dey bury me so, I die dis moment."—Rather an odd, but certainly a very striking illustration of his devotedness to Donop, and his gratitude to Greene."—*Note to a sketch of Col. Greene in the Kent County Atlas, Nov. 8 and 15, 1851, by Hon. H. Rousmanière, of which use has been made in this notice.*

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In January, after the battle of Red Bank, a letter was written to Gen. Washington, by Gen. J. M. Varnum, dated "Camp, January 2, 1778," in which he says: "The two Battalions for the State being small, and there being a necessity of the State's furnishing an additional number to make up their proportion in the Continental Army, the Field Officers have represented to me the propriety of making one temporary Battalion from the two, so that one entire corps of officers may repair to Rhode Island, in order to receive and prepare the recruits for the field. It is imagined that a Battalion of negroes may be raised there. . . . The Field Officers who go upon this command, are Col. Greene, Lt. Col. Olney, and Major Ward."

Colonel Greene, after this, was employed in Rhode Island for a period of the war, from 1778 to 1780, and had a spirited fight with the enemy on the Island, in which the negro troops distinguished themselves. He cooperated with the French fleet and army, the former under Count D'Estaing, the latter under the command of General Count Rochambeau. In 1781, he returned to the headquarters of Gen. Washington, and on the night of the 13th of May, was attacked at his quarters near Croton Bridge, Croton River, N. Y., by a party of refugees, overpowered, and barbarously murdered. His left arm was cut off, his right wounded to the bone in two wide gashes, his left shoulder severely mutilated, his stomach pierced by a sword, his right side shockingly lacerated by a bayonet, and his head mangled in several places. In this condition, he was dragged by the ruffians who had overpowered him, to a wood about a mile distant, and there left.

General Washington learned, with the deepest sorrow, the details of the melancholy fate of his honored friend and brother in arms. His corpse was carried to the headquarters of the army on the subsequent day, and buried with every token of military honor, and every semblance of individual grief.\* General Rochambeau took occasion to remark in a letter to Gov. Greene, dated at Newport, 27th May, 1781, "Your Excellency will, I hope, be persuaded how much I lament the loss of your friend and relative, Col. Greene. I had the greatest esteem and regard for an officer of such merit." At the October Session of the General Assembly, 1785, seven years' half pay was allowed to the widow and children of Col. Greene, dating from the day of his death.

\*Both Colonel Greene and Major Flagg, who was murdered at the same time, were buried in the church-yard at Compound, where a tomb stone was erected. Compound was about seven miles from Peekskill.



The gallant defence of Fort Mifflin, at Red Bank, gave to Colonel Greene a prominent military reputation, and Congress was prompt to recognize the brilliant deed by passing a resolution, Nov. 4, 1777, "That an elegant sword be provided by the Board of War, and presented to Col. Greene." The execution of this complimentary resolve was delayed until several years after the death of the Colonel, when the sword was forwarded to Job Greene, Esq., the son and legal representative of the deceased, accompanied with the following letter:

"WAR OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES, }  
New York, June 7, 1786. }

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit to you, the son and legal representative of the late memorable and gallant Col. Greene, the sword directed to be presented to him, by the resolve of Congress of the 4th of November, 1777.

"The repulse and defeat of the Germans at the Fort of Red Bank, on the Delaware, is justly considered as one of the most brilliant actions of the late war. The glory of that event is inseparably attached to the memory of your father and his brave garrison. The manner in which the supreme authority of the United States is pleased to express its high sense of his military merit, and the honorable instrument which they annex in testimony thereof, must be peculiarly precious to a son emulative of his father's virtues. The circumstances of the war prevented obtaining and delivery of the sword previous to your father's being killed at Croton River, in 1780. [1.]

"On that catastrophe, his country mourned the sacrifice of a patriot and a soldier, and mingled its tears with those of his family. That the patriotic and military virtues of your honorable father may influence your conduct in every case in which your country may require your services, is the sincere wish,

Sir,

Of your most obedient  
and very humble servant,

H. KNOX.

Job Greene, Esq."

This sword is now in the possession of one of the grandchildren of Colonel Greene, Simon Henry Greene, Esq., of River Point, R. I. Its sheath is of rattle-snake skin, the blade a polished rapier, and its principle decorations of silver, inlaid with gold. At the time of his death Col. Greene had entered upon his forty-fifth year. In 1758, he married Miss Anne Lippitt, the daughter of Mr. Jeremiah Lippitt, of

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Warwick. He left three sons and four daughters. His portrait, belonging to Simon Henry Greene, Esq., exhibits the appearance of a man who would do effectual service on the battle-field. Under the laborious exercise of the farm and the camp, he ripened into a rare combination of symmetrical figure and solid expression. His height was about five feet ten inches. His round, capacious chest, his upright mien, his active, muscular limbs, indicated the enjoyment of perfect physical vigor. Dark brown hair clustered around his forehead, which bespoke deep thought rather than brilliant fancy. There was a strange lustre in his eyes that would have given the expression of life to a face of clay. The outline of his features was grave and stern, as if it were but a transparent veil over his restless mind; while his entire countenance was lit up with a ruddy, sanguine complexion, through which coursing blood looked out to tell the story of inward health and joyousness. A copy of this portrait was a few years since painted at the expense of the State of Rhode Island, and was made one of a growing gallery of her eminent sons and benefactors now formed in the Hall of Brown University. Col. Greene died at an age when his military

*Corrections.* Page 57, line 16 from top. The portrait of Colonel Greene was presented to the gallery in the Hall of Brown University, by Simon Henry Greene, Esq., and was not painted at the expense of the State, as inadvertently stated.

Page 87, line 2 from bottom, for Louis XIV, read "Louis XV."

#### H. KNOX.

Quebec was planned, he was assigned to a company in the detachment of Arnold. While the troops halted at Fort Western on the Kennebec, he wrote to his wife in terms worthy of a patriot martyr: "I know not if I shall ever see you again. The weather grows severe cold, and the woods, they say, are terrible to pass. But I do not value life or property, if I can secure liberty for my children." Captain Hubbard shared in the extreme sufferings of the march, and probably

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Captain JONAS HUBBARD, the son of an early settler in Worcester, Mass., was born in that town. Previous to the Revolution, he was engaged in the cultivation of his patrimonial estate, and in the management of extensive concerns of business. The first sounds of coming war found him an Ensign in one of the three militia companies of the town. When the volunteer company of minute men was raised, Hubbard was elected Lieutenant, and actively participated in the evening drills after the labors of the day were over, and in the preparations made by the busy industry of the martial spirit of the times, for immediate action.

Soon after this gallant corps marched to Cambridge, Lieutenant Hubbard was appointed Captain, and, when the expedition against Quebec was planned, he was assigned to a company in the detachment of Arnold. While the troops halted at Fort Western on the Kennebec, he wrote to his wife in terms worthy of a patriot martyr: "I know not if I shall ever see you again. The weather grows severe cold, and the woods, they say, are terrible to pass. But I do not value life or property, if I can secure liberty for my children." Captain Hubbard shared in the extreme sufferings of the march, and probably

more than his proportion, as, acting under a commission among those who had no reverence for artificial distinctions, beyond that yielded to the legitimate authority of courage and wisdom.

In the attack on Quebec, Captain Hubbard fell, at the head of his company, severely wounded. Respected for his fearless intrepidity, and loved for his personal worth, his men wished to remove him to a place of shelter from the fast falling snow, and of safety from the volleys of balls poured down from the ramparts. But he peremptorily refused. 'I came here to serve with you, I will stay here to die with you,' were his last words to a comrade who survived. Bleeding and stretched on a bed of ice, exposed to the bitter influence of a winter storm, life soon departed. It was a glorious time and place for the gallant soldier to yield up his breath, beneath the massive walls of the impregnable citadel, with the death shot flying fast, and the thunder of battle swelling round him. The sons of Captain Hubbard, inheriting his adventurous and manly spirit, emigrated to Maine, where the eldest, Gen. Levi Hubbard, became the first settler of Paris. Gen. Hubbard held many offices with honor, and was representative of Oxford District in Congress, from 1813 to 1815.—*Lincoln's History of Worcester.*

JOHN JOSEPH HENRY was the son of William and Ann Wood Henry, of Lancaster, Penn. William, (whose parents emigrated from Coleraine, Ireland,) was a distinguished Whig during the Revolution, and had an extensive manufactory of arms, established previously to the French War. In 1777, he was Deputy Commissary General, and was active in sending supplies to the army at Valley Forge. In 1784, he was elected to Congress, and died Dec. 15, 1786.

JOHN JOSEPH was born in Lancaster, Penn., Nov. 4th, 1758, and early manifested marked mechanical genius. At the age of 14, he became an apprentice to his uncle at the gunsmith business, who subsequently removed to Detroit. Here young Henry remained but a short time, and returned home on foot through the wilderness. His ardent mind panted for military glory, and sympathising warmly with his struggling country, he, at the age of 16 years, clandestinely enlisted in a company raised by Captain Matthew Smith, for the purpose of joining Arnold's Expedition against Quebec. His sufferings on the march through the wilderness were extreme. He was captured in the attack upon Quebec, and lay in prison nine months, where he contracted the scurvy, which made its appearance on his return home, in a malignant form, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered. Mr. Henry spoke the German language, and while in prison was approached

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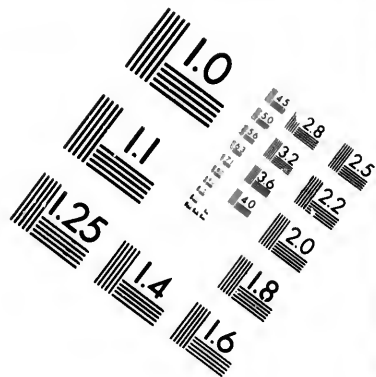
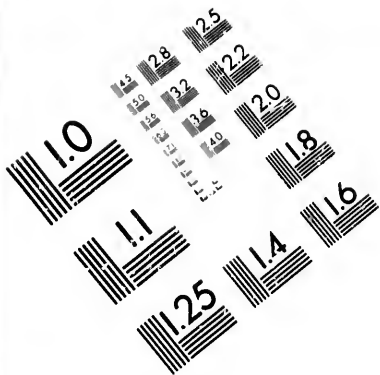
by Captain Prentis, in behalf of Gen. Knyphausen, then at Quebec, with the offer of a place in his military family, as an interpreter. The offer was declined.

He sailed from Quebec Aug. 10, 1776, and after a voyage of four weeks, reached New York. Of his advent into Elizabethtown, a few days after, he gives the following description: "It was ten or eleven at night before we landed. The moon shone beautifully. Morgan stood in the bow of the boat, making a spring not easily surpassed, and falling on the earth, as it were to grasp it,—cried, "Oh, my country." We that were near him, pursued his example. Now a race commenced, which in quickness, could scarcely be exceeded, and soon brought us to Elizabethtown. Here, those of us who were drowsy spent an uneasy night. Being unexpected guests, and the town full of troops, no quarters were provided for us. Joy rendered beds useless. We did not close our eyes till daylight. Singing, dancing, the Indian halloo, in short, every species of vociferousness was adopted by the men, and many of the most respectable sergeants, to express their extreme pleasure. A stranger coming among them, would have pronounced them mad, or at least intoxicated, though since noon neither food nor liquor had passed our lips. Thus the passions may, at times, have an influence on the human frame, as inebriating us wine or any other liquor. The morning brought us plenty, in the form of rations of beef and bread. Hunger allayed, my desire was to proceed homewards."

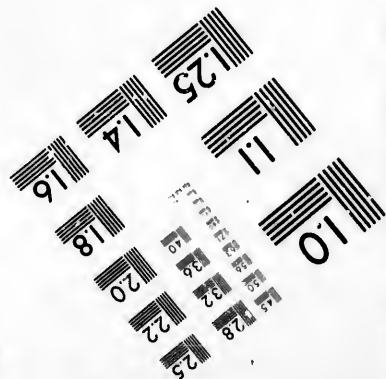
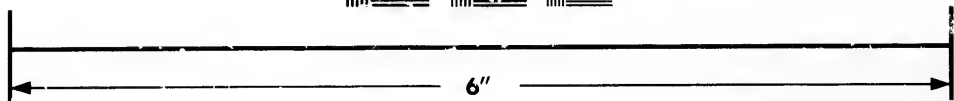
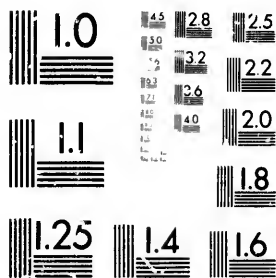
On reaching home, a Lieutenantcy in the Pennsylvania Line was offered Mr. Henry, and also a Captaincy in the Virginia Line. The latter he designed to accept, under Morgan, but the state of his health prevented. Continued lameness precluded all possibility of his again entering the army, and he indentured himself for four years as a clerk in the prothonotary's office of Lancaster County, and made himself master of its duties. He subsequently studied law, under Stephen Chambers, Esq., whose youngest sister he afterwards married. Mr. Henry engaged successfully in the practice of law, from 1785 to the close of 1793, when his well known legal abilities were rewarded with an appointment by Governor Thomas Mifflin, to the office of President of the Second Judicial District of Pennsylvania. This position he held seventeen years, when, from illness and increasing infirmities, he felt it a duty to resign. Four months after, he died. Judge Henry wrote an interesting and valuable narrative of the Campaign against Quebec, which was published in 1812, and which has frequently been referred to in the preceding pages.

Captain WILLIAM HERVEY RICKS, from Pennsylvania, was tall, of a mild





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and beautiful countenance. His soul was animated by a genuine spark of heroism. He was active and energetic in the march through the wilderness, and shared freely in the toils and privations of his men. When it became necessary to transport Lieutenant McClelland, of his company, in a litter across the mountains, he took his turn with the men. "If you had seen," says Henry, "the young yet venerable Captain Hendricks, bearing his share of this loved burthen across the plain to our camp, it would have raised esteem, if not affection, towards him." He was no stickler for rank where the harmony of the service was involved. Morgan had obtained the command of the rifle corps from Arnold, without any advertence to the better claim of Hendricks, who though the youngest man, was, of the three Captains, in point of rank, by the dates of commissions, the superior officer. For the sake of peace in the army, and of good order, he prudently and good naturedly acquiesced in Morgan's assumption of the command. He was conspicuous in the assault upon Quebec, and, as mentioned in the Introduction, was killed by a straggling ball received through the heart.

Captain JOHN LAMB, son of Anthony Lamb, a celebrated optician and mathematical instrument maker, in New York, was born in that city, January 1, 1735. In early life, he followed the profession of his father. About 1760, he commenced the business of a wine merchant, and nearly at the same time, married Catherine Jandine, a lady of Huguenot descent. He improved his opportunities for mental culture, spoke the French and German languages, was a pleasant speaker and forcible writer. In the beginning of the troubles that led on to Revolution, Mr. Lamb sided with the country, and became a prominent member of the New York Sons of Liberty. Early in 1775, he offered his services to Congress, and was commissioned a Captain of Artillery, a position for which his military studies fitted him. For a time, he was stationed, with his company, on the Battery, in New York; but when the invasion of Canada, by Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, was determined upon, he marched and joined the invading army, at the Isle-aux-Noix. When St. John's capitulated, Capt. Lamb and his company, with two hundred other men, were ordered to march into town to receive the surrender of the fort and take possession. In the subsequent movements, he showed himself an intelligent, energetic and reliable officer. He first met Colonel Arnold before Quebec, and was associated with him in the assault upon that city. He fought with great bravery, was severely wounded, and taken prisoner.

A grape shot hit Lamb on the left cheek, near the eye, the sight of which was ultimately lost, and carried away a part of the bone. The

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force of the blow and the concussion of the shot, stunned him, and threw him senseless on the snow. Some of his faithful followers carried him into a cooper's shop near at hand, and laid him upon a pile of shavings insensible.

In searching for the dead and wounded, Capt. Lamb was found where he had been left, still without consciousness, benumbed with cold and loss of blood. A surgeon, after examination, pronounced him yet alive, and made preparations to restore him to animation. A Scottish commissary present, who knew Capt. Lamb, and was familiar with some of his exploits that had made him obnoxious to British ire, suggested that it would be better to let him die, as, if he was recovered, the King's vengeance would certainly be visited upon him. But the suggestion was not accepted. Capt. Lamb was revived and carried to the convent of the nuns of the order of Mercy, then a temporary hospital; not, however, without being plundered of his shoes and buckles, by some of the underlings; and, without shoes, supported by two men, he was assisted over the paved court, covered with snow, and put to bed in that condition, in his wet garments. He recovered slowly, but through life suffered inconvenience from rigidity of the jaw.

Before being released, Capt. Lamb was appointed by Washington to be second Major in the regiment of Artillery commanded by Colonel Henry Knox. He was subsequently made Lieutenant Colonel. He was in command of the Artillery at West Point, when Arnold's treachery and flight was discovered, and was filled with indignation when the disclosure was made. He had been in the most friendly relations with Arnold, but this event caused an instantaneous revulsion of feeling. By one of the numerous flags which passed the lines on the occasion of the capture of André, the officer who brought it was charged to present the regards of Gen. Arnold to Col. Lamb. "Be good enough, sir," was the reply, "to tell Gen. Arnold that the acquaintance between us is forgotten, and that, if he were to be hanged to-morrow, I would go barefooted to witness his execution."

In the battle at Compo Hill, Conn., in 1777, Col. Lamb was struck by a grape shot and severely wounded. After the wound had been dressed, he was taken to the house of Mr. Simpson, temporarily resident of Norwalk, and afterwards to Col. Deming's, at Fairfield. As soon as it was prudent to move, he repaired to New Haven and took command of that place, which had been, in the absence of Gen. Arnold, confided to Lieut. Colonel Oswald. Col. Lamb fought gallantly at Yorktown, but did not secure the reward of promotion that his friends with good reason expected he would. After leaving the army, in which he had

made an honorable record, he was elected a member of the New York General Assembly, and took a prominent and influential part in public affairs. He was also raised to the rank of Brigadier General. He was appointed Collector of the Customs for the Port of New York, the duties of which office he discharged with scrupulous fidelity, but the embezzlement of a clerk in whom he imposed entire confidence, involved him in pecuniary ruin. The reimbursement of the loss absorbed his entire fortune, and he retired from office in poverty and distress but with the warm sympathy of both friends and political opponents. General Lamb was an original member of the Society of Cincinnati, and had been twice Vice-President of that body. He died in New York, May 31st, 1800, aged 65 years, and was buried in Trinity Church Yard, with the military honors which he had so well deserved; and the long array of citizens, as they attended him to the tomb, attested the respect which his virtues, his bravery, and worth had universally commanded.\* A very interesting Life of Gen. Lamb, by Isaac Q. Leake, was published by Joel Munsell, Albany, in 1850. The press of Mr. Munsell has become celebrated for elegant editions of rare works.

General RICHARD MONTGOMERY was a native of the North of Ireland, and was born in the year 1737. Choosing the profession of arms, he entered the British service, and, as Captain of a company in the 17th Regiment of foot, he fought under General Wolfe in the assault upon Quebec, in 1759. He returned to England, and in 1772, retired from the army. Coming again to America, he settled in New York and married a daughter of Judge Livingston. He was an officer of superior military ability, and but for his untimely death, would doubtless have rendered the country invaluable services. Few officers were so universally beloved by his men, or held in warmer regard by all who knew him.

"All enmity to Montgomery expired with his life, and the respect to his private character prevailed over all other considerations. . . . The most powerful speakers in the British Parliament displayed their eloquence in praising his virtues, and lamenting his fate. A great orator, and veteran fellow-soldier of his in the late war, shed abundance of tears whilst he expatiated on their past friendship and participation

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\*Several writers state that Capt. Lamb and his company, formed a part of Arnold's force, in the expedition by the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers. This error originated, perhaps, in the fact that Lamb fought under Arnold's command in the attack on Quebec, and his connection with Montgomery being generally unknown.

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of service in that season of enterprise and glory. Even the minister extolled his virtues."—*Annual Register for 1776*.\*

Major RETURN J. MEIGS was born in Middletown, Ct., in 1740. Soon after the battle of Lexington, he marched a company of infantry to the neighborhood of Boston, and received the commission of Major. He was assigned to Arnold's command, and showed great energy as an officer in the march through the wilderness against Quebec. He fought bravely in the assault upon that place and was taken prisoner. Upon being exchanged, he returned home, and in 1777 was appointed Colonel. For a brilliant expedition to Long Island that year, he received the thanks of Congress and a sword. In 1779, he commanded a regiment under Wayne at the capture of Stony Point. After the war he removed to Ohio, and settled near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers. As early as 1816 he was the agent for Indian affairs. He died at the Cherokee agency. His christian name, *Return*, was given him by his father, in commemoration of the happy termination of an interview with a fair Quakeress who at first rejected his suit; but, on taking his departure, she sweetly called to him, saying, "*return, Jonathan*," and consented to become his bride.

Capt. DANIEL MORGAN was born in New Jersey in 1737, and in 1755 emigrated to Virginia, where he was employed first as a farmer, and afterwards as a wagoner. He shared in the perils of Braddock's expedition against the Indians, and received a wound in his neck and cheek. At the commencement of the Revolutionary war he cast his lot with the sons of freedom, and raised a company of riflemen. In the assault upon Quebec he was in the hottest of the fight. On being exchanged he rejoined the army, and received the command of a regiment. He fought with Gates at Saratoga, and with Greene in the South. He was made brevet Brigadier General. For his bravery at the battle of the Cowpens, Jan. 1, 1781, Congress voted him a gold medal. In the Whiskey Insurrection, Washington called him to command the militia of Virginia. He was afterwards elected a member of Congress. He died at Winchester, Va., after a long and painful sickness, in 1799.

Captain ELEAZER OSWALD was from New Haven, Conn. He served under Arnold at Ticonderoga, and volunteering to accompany him through the wilderness to Quebec, was made secretary to his commander. In the assault upon that place, he led a forlorn hope, and exhibited great courage. He was taken prisoner, and after being

\*See Introduction.

exchanged, received the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Lamb's regiment of Artillery. For a short time he was stationed at New Haven, with such recruits as he had been enabled to collect. From thence he proceeded to Providence, to secure the services of an accomplished musician who he had learned might be obtained there, and also to promote enlistments. On arriving at Providence he found that the fifer had been recently promoted to a Majority in the line of the army, and consequently, as he wrote, "above that business." In a short time he returned to Connecticut, and, during the temporary absence of Col. Lamb, took charge of the affairs of the regiment. He was in the affair at Compo, and afterwards with part of two companies and three field pieces, joined Arnold at Norwalk. He was subsequently with his regiment at Peekskill, where, receiving personal indignity from Gen. Putnam, he determined to resign, but through the influence of friends, was induced to forego his purpose. Lieut. Col. Oswald participated in the battle of Monmouth, and for his gallant services received the commendations of Generals Knox and Lee. In August, 1778, being unjustly outranked, through the enmity of Gen. Gates, who disliked him on account of his devotion to Washington, he resigned his commission. After leaving the army, he entered into the printing and publishing business in Philadelphia, was appointed public printer, and was a resident of that city during the time it was under the command of Arnold. The treason of that officer drew from Oswald several indignant letters. In a letter to Col. Lamb, he said: "Happy for him, and for his friends, it had been, had the ball which pierced his leg at Saratoga, been directed through his heart; he then would have finished his career in glory, but the remainder of his wretched existence, must now be one continued scene of horror, misery and despair. . . . He has convinced the world that he is as base a prostitute as this or any other country ever nurtured to maturity, and as a punishment for the enormity of his crimes, the mark of Cain is branded on him in the most indelible characters."

In the political discussions of the times, Lieut. Col. Oswald took an active part, and, under extraordinary provocation, sent a challenge to Col. Hamilton, which, upon satisfactory explanation, was withdrawn. During the French Revolution he went to England on business, and, guided by his natural enthusiasm for liberty and passion for military renown, crossed the channel and entered the army of Dumourier. He was placed in command of a regiment of artillery, and served with credit in the battle of Mons or Jemappe. He returned to his native land, and in October, 1795, died of small pox, contracted while nursing

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a friend who had been fatally attacked by that pestilence. On the 2d of October he was buried in St. Paul's church yard, in New York.

Rev. SAMUEL SPRING, the chaplain of Arnold's detachment, was born in Northbridge, Mass., February 27, 1746, and was educated at Princeton College, where he graduated in 1771. On his return from Quebec he left the army, and August 6, 1777, received ordination. He was a minister for many years in Newburyport, Mass., and was an attractive preacher. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Missionary Society in 1799, and also of the Andover Theological Seminary, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. His publications were numerous. He died March 4, 1819, aged 73 years. His son, Rev. Gardner Spring, D.D., has long been one of the prominent clergymen of New York.

Captain MATTHEW SMITH commanded a company from Lancaster county, Penn. Henry, who served under him, says, "he was a good looking man, had the air of a soldier, but was illiterate, and outrageously talkative." Previous to the assault upon Quebec, he was present by invitation of General Montgomery, at a council of officers. On one occasion, in the march through the wilderness, he saved a soldier who had violated an order prohibiting the firing of guns, from summary punishment by Morgan. The soldier denied having committed the offence. Morgan, in a momentary passion, seized a billet of wood and threatened to knock him down unless he confessed the fact. Whereupon Smith seized another billet and threatened to serve Morgan in like manner if he struck the man. Morgan knowing the tenure of his rank, receded.

Dr. ISAAC SENTER was born in Londonderry, in the State of New Hampshire, in the year 1753. Of his boyhood life no particulars are preserved. Choosing the Healing Art for a profession, he went to Newport, R. I., and engaged in the study of medicine, under the direction of Dr. Thomas Moffit, a Scotch physician of eminence. The ardor with which he pursued his studies did not render him indifferent to the important events then transpiring. Every fibre of his heart was patriotic, and when the tidings of the battle of Lexington reached Newport, he instantly joined the Rhode Island troops as a volunteer surgeon, and accompanied them to the camp of the American army in Cambridge. He soon after received an appointment of surgeon in the Continental line, and was assigned to the detachment under Arnold for the Canada expedition. Dr. Senter was now twenty-two years of age, and his new position opened to him a wide field for gathering

medical and surgical experience. His life, on the memorable march through the wilderness to Quebec, was replete with adventure, while frequent demands were made on his professional services. Cheerful and hopeful under multiplied discouragements, he pressed on with his companions, at one time wading through swamps, sinking half-leg deep in the mire at every step, and at another feeding on "the jawbone of a swine destitute of any covering, boiled in a quantity of water with a little thickening;" but all the way invulnerable to persuasions to turn back. As a specimen of his experience, the following extracts from his Journal are given:

*Tuesday, Oct. 21th.*—Approaching necessity now obliged us to double our diligence. Three miles only had we proceeded ere we came to a troublesome waterfall in the river, distant half a mile. Not more than the last mentioned distance before we were brought up by another, distance the same. As the number of falls increased, the water became consequently more rapid. The heights of land upon each side of the river, which had hitherto been inconsiderable, now became prodigiously mountainous, closing as it were up the river with an aspect of an immense height. The river was now become very narrow, and such a horrid current as rendered it impossible to proceed in any other method than by hauling the battenaux up by the bushes, printers, &c. Here we met several boats returning loaded with invalids, and lamentable stories of the inaccessibility of the river, and the impracticability of any further progress into the country. Among which was Mr. Jackson, before mentioned, complaining of the gout most severely, joined to all the terrors of approaching famine. I was now exhorted in the most pathetic terms to return, on pain of furnishing upon contrary conduct, and the army were all returning except a few who were many miles forward with Col. Arnold. However, his eloquence did not prevail; I therefore bid him adieu and proceeded. Not far had I proceeded before I discovered several wrecks of battenaux belonging to the front division of riflemen, &c., with an increased velocity of the water. A direful, howling wilderness not describable. With much labour and difficulty, I arrived with the principal part of my baggage (leaving the battenaux made fast) to the encampment. Two miles from thence I met the informants last mentioned, where were Col. Greene's division, &c., waiting for the remainder of the army to come up, that they might get some provisions, ere they advanced any further. Upon inquiry, I found them almost destitute of any eatable whatever, except a few *candles*, which were used for supper, and breakfast the next morning, by boiling them in water gruel, &c.

*Wednesday, 25th.*—Every prospect of distress now came thundering on with a two-fold rapidity. A storm of snow had covered the ground of nigh six inches deep, attended with very severe weather. We now waited in anxious expectation for Col. Enos' division to come up, in order that we might have a recruit of provisions ere we could start off the ground. An express was ordered both up and down the river, the one up the river in quest of Col. Arnold, that he might be informed of the state of the army, many of whom were now entirely destitute of any sustenance. The Col. had left previous orders for the two divisions, viz: Greene's and Enos', to come to an adjustment of the provisions—send back any who were indisposed, either in body or mind, and pursue him with the others immediately. The other express went down the river to desire Col. Enos and officers to attend in consultation. They accordingly came up before noon, when a council of war was ordered. Here sat a number of grimaces—melancholy aspects who had been

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preaching to their men the doctrine of impenetrability and non-perseverance. Col. Enos in the chair. The matter was debated upon the expediency of proceeding on for Quebec. The party against going urging the impossibility, averring the whole provisions, when averaged, would not support the army five days.

The arrangements of men and provisions were made at Fort Western, in such a manner as to proceed with the greater expedition. For this end, it was thought necessary that Capt. Morgan's company, with a few pioneers, should advance in the first division, Col. Greene's in the second, and Enos, with Capt. Colbourn's company of artificers, to bring up the rear. The advantage of the arrangement was very conspicuous, as the rear division would not only have the roads cut, rivers cleared passable for boats, &c., but stages or encampments formed and the bough huts remaining for the rear. The men being thus arranged, the provisions were distributed according to the supposed difficulty, or facility, attending the different dispositions. Many of the first companies took only two or three barrels of flour with several of bread, most in a small proportion. While the companies in the last division had not less than fourteen of flour and ten of bread. The bread, as mentioned before, was condemned in consequence of the leaky casks, therefore the proportion of bread being much greater in the first division, their loss was consequently the greater. These hints being premised, I now proceed to the determination of the council of war. After debating upon the state of the army with respect to provisions, there was found very little in the division then encamped at the falls, (which I shall name *Hydrophobus*.) The other companies not being come up, either through fear that they should be obliged to come to a divider, or to show their disapprobation of proceeding any further. The question being put whether all to return, or only part, the majority were for part only returning. Part only of the officers of those detachments were in this council.

According to Col. Arnold's recommendation, the invalids were allowed to return, as also the timorous. The officers who were for going forward, requested a division of the provisions, and that it was necessary they should have the far greater quantity in proportion to the number of men, as the supposed distance that they had to go ere they arrived into the Inhabitants was greater than that they had come, after leaving the Cenebec Inhabitants. To this the returning party (being pre-determined) would not consent, alledging that they would either go back with what provisions they had, or if they must go forward they'd not impart any. Col. Enos, though [he] voted for proceeding, yet had undoubtedly pre-engaged to the contrary, as every action demonstrated. To compel them to a just division, we were not in a situation, as being the weaker party. Expostulations and entreaties had hitherto been fruitless. Col. Enos, who more immediately commanded the division of *returnees*, was called upon to give positive orders for a small quantity, if no more. He replied that his men were out of his power, and that they had determined to keep their possessed quantity whether they went back or forward. They finally concluded to spare [us] 2½ barrels of flour, if determined to pursue our destination; adding that we never should be able to bring [in] any inhabitants. Thus circumstanced, we were left the alternative of accepting their small pittance, and proceed, or return. The former was adopted, with a determined resolution to go through or die. Received it, put it on board of our boats, quit the few tents we were in possession of, with all other camp equipage, took each man to his duds on his back, bid them adieu, and away—passed the river; passed over falls and encamped.

*Monday, 30th.*—Cooking being very much out of fashion, we had little else to do than march as quick as light permitted; half an hour only brought us to a water which we imagined to be a creek formed by the lake; laid our course more southwardly, endeavoring to go round it, but three miles march evinced our mistake; our creek

proved to be a river of four rods wide. The depth and width of this river rendered it unfordable, nor [was] it possible to form a bridge, as nothing of any bigness grew on its banks. It was now conjectured this river made out of the Allegheny chain of mountains, which we had therefore the marching round it impracticable. We therefore concluded to proceed up it till it was fordable. We had not gone far before we came to a place about four feet deep, which we immediately forded, although much frozen on each side. This *Balneum Frigidum* served to exercise our motion in order to keep from freezing. Our main course was W. N. W., and only varied to escape the bogs, mountains, small ponds, water streams, &c., of which we met with many. This was the third day we had been in search of the Chaudiere, who were only seven computed miles distant the 28th inst. Nor were we possessed of any certainty that our course would bring us either to the lake or river, not knowing the point it lay from where we started. However, we came to a resolution to continue it. In this state of uncertainty, we wandered through hideous swamps and mountainous precipices, with the conjoint addition of cold, wet and hunger, not to mention our fatigue—with the terrible apprehension of famishing in this desert. The pretended pilot was not less frightened than many of the rest; added to that the severe execrations he received, from the front of the army to the rear, made his office not a little disagreeable. Several of the men towards evening were ready to give up any thoughts of ever arriving at the desired haven. Hunger and fatigue had so much the ascendancy over many of the poor fellows, added to their despair of arrival, that some of them were left in the river, nor were heard of afterwards. In turn with Col. Greene, I carried the compass the greater part of this day. In this condition, we proceeded with as little knowledge of where we were, or where we should get to, as if we had been in the unknown interior of Africa, or the deserts of Arabia. Just as the sun was departing, we brought a pond or lake, which finally proved to be Chaudiere, and soon the small foot-path made by the other division of the army, whose choice turned to their account. Our arrival here was succeeded with three huzzas, and then came to our encampment.

*Tuesday, 31st.*—The appearance of daylight roused us as usual, and we had advanced with all possible speed till about 11 o'clock, ere we saw the Chaudiere river, which we last night imagined within a mile. Animated afresh with the sight of a stream, which we very well knew would conduct us into the inhabitants if our strength continued, we proceeded with renewed vigor. The emptying of the Chaudiere is beautiful, and formed a very agreeable ascent, though the stream is somewhat rapid. The land was now much descending, yet very difficult travelling. The spruce, cedar and hemlock were the chief growth of the earth, and these were in tolerable plenty, almost impenetrably so in many places. We now began to discover the wrecked batteaux of those who conducted the ammunition, &c. There were seven in number, who followed the seven mile stream into the Chaudiere lake, river, &c., and soon came to an encampment, where I found Capt. Morgan and most of the boatmen who were wrecked upon a fall in the river, losing everything except their lives, which they all saved by swimming, except one of Morgan's rifle-men. This was the first man drowned in all the dangers we were exposed to, and the third [lost] by casualties, except some lost in the wilderness, the number unknown. At this encampment was Lieut. McClelland, of Morgan's company, almost expiring with a violent *peripneumonia*. Necessaries were distributed as much as possible, with two lads of the company in charge of him. Nor was this poor fellow the only one left sick upon this river. Life depending upon a vigorous push for the inhabitants, and that did not admit of any stay for any person; nor could the two lads have been prevailed upon had not provisions been dealt out sufficient to conduct them to the inhabitants, with the promising to send them relief

as soon as possible from the settlements. In this general wreck, my medicine box suffered the fate of the rest, with a set of capital instruments, &c. Though little was to be feared from either my chyrurgical apparatus or physical potions, I had, however, a few necessaries in that way in my knapsack, &c., with a lancet in my pocket, which enabled me at least to comply with the Sangradoine method.

On the 8th of November, Dr. Senter reached Point Levi, and soon after crossed the river with the army, which advanced to the Plains of Abraham, and on the 18th fell back to Point Aux-Trembles, to await the arrival of General Montgomery. When the army advanced to Quebec, and an assault upon the city had been planned, Dr. Senter solicited Colonel Arnold for permission to lead a company whose Captain was absent, and which, on that account, it was supposed would tarry behind. To this application, the following answer was returned:

"DEAR SIR.—I am much obliged to you for your offer, and glad to see you so spirited, but cannot consent you should take up arms, as you will be wanted in the way of your profession. You will please to prepare dressings, &c., and repair to the main guard house at 2 o'clock in the morning, with an assistant.

I am in haste, yours,

B. ARNOLD, Col.

Dr. Senter,  
27 Dec., 1775."

Though disappointed in his patriotic purpose, the Doctor found ample scope for his services in the hospital, and singularly enough, the first subject of his professional skill was Colonel Arnold himself.

The small pox, which early appeared in the army, still extensively prevailed, and after the army fell back to Sorel, Dr. Senter was ordered by General Thomas to Montreal, to erect a Hospital for the reception of patients. On applying to General Arnold, he obtained a fine capacious house belonging to the East India Company, capable of accommodating about six hundred persons. The only precautionary measure known at that time was inoculation, which had not as yet become popular. Dr. Senter, for personal safety and perhaps as an example to the men, had already had the varioloid matter transferred into his arm, and inoculation became general. An entire regiment at a class went through the operation together, and had the disease so mildly that they were able to do garrison duty during the whole time.

On retiring from the army, in 1779, Dr. Senter established himself as a physician in the town of Cranston, R. I. About this time he was elected a Representative to the General Assembly from that town, and afterwards was appointed Surgeon and Physician General of the State. Subsequently he removed to Newport, where he continued the practice of his profession under the most favorable circumstances, as almost all the old physicians had either died or emigrated during the war. He

became eminent not only as an industrious and successful practitioner, but also as the author of several essays on professional subjects, which appeared in the medical publications of the day, and added greatly to his reputation at home and in Europe. He was elected an honorary member of the Medical and Chirurgical Societies of Edinburg and London, and an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Among his pupils were Dr. Danforth, "the Medical Hercules" of Boston, and Dr. Waterhouse, the accomplished botanist, professor and writer, and who introduced vaccination into America.

Dr. Senter married Eliza Arnold, daughter of Captain Rhodes Arnold, of Pawtuxet, R. I. He had four sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Horace Gates, was a physician of eminence, and was for some time in the Hospitals of London. His second son, Nathaniel Greene, was several years in the East India Service. His third son was Edward Gibson, also a student of medicine. His fourth son, Charles Churchill, died at the age of 17 years. His eldest daughter, Eliza Antoinette, married Rev. Nathan Bourne Crocker, D.D., for more than half a century the honored Rector of St. John's Church, in the City of Providence. His second daughter, Sarah Ann, married Clement S. Hunt, of the U. S. Navy.

For several years Dr. Senter was President of the Society of Cincinnati of Rhode Island. In person he was tall and well proportioned, and possessing great muscular strength. In his manners he was bland, dignified, and social. The late Rev. Dr. William Ellery Channing mentions him as "a physician of extensive practice, who was thought to unite with great experience a rare genius in his profession, and whose commanding figure rises before me at the distance of forty-five years, as a specimen of manly beauty, worthy the chisel of a Grecian sculptor." In the height of his reputation and usefulness, he was attacked with a disorder, caused by the severity of his professional labors, which terminated his life, to the great regret of his fellow-citizens, on the 21st day of December, 1799, at the age of forty-six years. His Journal of the Expedition against Quebec, which has been freely used in the preceding pages, was published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1846, and is one of the most valuable memorials of the scenes it records.

SIMEON THAYER, son of David and Jane Keith Thayer, was born in Mendon, Mass., April 30, 1737. His brothers and sisters were Jean, David, Susanna, George, Faithful, Jemima, Mary and Elizabeth. David Thayer, the father, was the grandson of Ferdinando, the son of

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Thomas, who came early to New England with Margery his wife. Ferdinando married Huldah Hayward, of Braintree, Mass., Jan. 14, 1652. He lived in that town until after his father's decease, when he removed to Mendon with a Colony from Braintree and Weymouth.

Simcon, the subject of this notice, was apprenticed to a Pernke-maker, probably in Providence. His bold and decided nature loved adventure, and it is not surprising that we find him, in 1756, a member of a Rhode Island regiment, serving in the French War. In 1757, he served in the Massachusetts line, under the command of Col. Fry, and was principally in the Rangers, under Rogers. He was personally in three engagements with the Indians, in each of which many of the Rangers were killed. In August of the same year, he was in Fort William Henry, when taken by Montcalm, which surrendered on the morning of the 7th day from the commencement of the siege. After being detained twenty hours he, with the rest of the garrison, was disarmed and stripped of all his clothes, leaving him with only an under waistcoat. As he was passing down the road near Bloody Pond, he was attacked by an Indian, who seized him by the back of his waistcoat collar with the right hand and dragged him towards a swamp on the left, about twelve or fifteen rods. His captor held in his left hand a tomahawk and scalping knife. Thayer's shoulder, as the Indian was forcing him along, struck against a small tree, which stopped him. His waistcoat broke open and slipped off, which, as the Indian was pulling with main strength, precipitated him upon the earth, at some distance. Thayer being thus disengaged, ran into the woods, where he joined the rest of the troops. In passing on, the road being crowded, he with a companion took a path called the plank guard path. They soon perceived an Indian with a tomahawk pursuing them. They both ran, and coming to a tree that had been blown up by the roots, he crept under, while his companion, endeavoring to leap over, was struck by the tomahawk, thrown with unerring skill, and was killed. Thayer made his escape once more, by running round the top of the tree, and in an hour or two reached Fort Edward. The excessive fatigue of running so great a distance in a short time, in intensely hot weather, brought on an inflammation which impaired his health for many years, and prevented his entering the service again during the war.\*

\*Captain JONATHAN CARVER, a native of Connecticut, and who commanded a company of Provincial troops in the "French war," was at Fort William Henry as a volunteer during this siege, and thus describes the scenes that followed the capitulation:

"In consideration of the gallant defence the garrison had made, they were to be permitted to march out with all the honors of war, to be allowed covered waggons

On returning to Providence, young Thayer probably settled down in the business to which he had been bred, as the registry of deeds shows that in 1761, "Simeon Thayer, Periwig-maker," purchased an estate on "Stamper's Hill," of Margaret Smith, weaver, for £2100, "old tenor." The same year he was married. The events that transpired between this date and the first resistance to British tyranny, on the waters of Rhode Island in 1772, were well calculated to raise the blood of Thayer to a fever-heat of patriotism, and prepare him for the step he subsequently took. When the design of Britain made it necessary for the Colonies to arm for their defence, he was an officer in a chartered company of Grenadiers in Providence. His zeal for the public welfare and the reputation he had acquired as a friend to liberty,

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to transport their baggage to Fort Edward, and a guard to protect them from the fury of the savages.

The morning after the capitulation was signed, as soon as day broke, the whole garrison, now consisting of about two thousand men, besides women and children, were drawn up within the lines, and on the point of marching off, when great numbers of the Indians gathered about and began to plunder. We were at first in hopes that this was their only view, and suffered them to proceed without opposition. Indeed it was not in our power to make any, had we been so inclined; for though we were permitted to carry off our arms, yet we were not allowed a single round of ammunition. In these hopes however we were disappointed; for presently some of them began to attack the sick and wounded, when such as were not able to crawl into the ranks, notwithstanding they endeavored to avert the fury of their enemies by their shrieks or groans, were soon dispatched.

Here we were fully in expectation that the disturbance would have concluded, and our little army began to move; but in a short time we saw the front division driven back, and discovered that we were entirely encircled by the savages. We expected every moment that the guard, which the French by the articles of capitulation, had agreed to allow us, would have arrived, and put an end to our apprehensions; but none appeared. The Indians now began to strip every one without exception of their arms and clothes, and those who made the least resistance felt the weight of their tomahawks.

I happened to be in the rear division, but it was not long before I shared the fate of my companions. Three or four of the savages laid hold of me, and whilst some held their weapons over my head, the others soon disrobed me of my coat, waistcoat, hat and buckles, omitting not to take from me what money I had in my pocket. As this was transacted close by the passage that led from the lines on to the plain, near which a French sentinel was posted, I ran to him and claimed his protection; but he only called me an English dog, and thrust me with violence back again into the midst of the Indians.

I now endeavored to join a body of our troops that were crowded together at some distance; but innumerable were the blows that were made at me with different weapons as I passed on; luckily however the savages were so close together that they could not strike at me without endangering each other. Notwithstanding which one of them found means to make a thrust at me with a spear, which grazed my side, and from another I received a wound, with the same kind of weapon, in my ankle. At length I gained the spot where my countrymen stood, and forced

joined him out as a suitable person to be trusted, and in May, 1775, he was accordingly appointed a Captain by the General Assembly. Three days after his appointment, he had completed his company, having enlisted every man himself. On Sunday, the 19th of May, an express arrived from near Boston, stating that the British were marching out to Dorchester, to burn some buildings. In two hours' time, Thayer assembled his company, dealt out their arms, ammunition, blankets, &c., and marched with every man. He was met nine miles from town by an express, and informed that the British had returned in to Boston, and as it was then late, he halted and took up his quarters in Attleborough meeting house for that night. The next day he proceeded on to Roxbury, where he arrived eight days before any other

myself into the midst of them. But before I got thus far out of the hands of the Indians, the collar and wristbands of my shirt were all that remained of it, and my shirt was scratched and torn in many places by their savage grips.

By this time the war whoop was given, and the Indians began to murder those that were nearest to them without distinction. It is not in the power of words to give any tolerable idea of the horrid scene that now ensued; men, women and children were dispatched in the most wanton and cruel manner, and immediately scalped. Many of these savages drank the blood of their victims, as it flowed warm from the fatal wound.

We now perceived, though too late to avail us, that we were to expect no relief from the French; and that, contrary to the agreement they had so lately signed to allow us a sufficient force to protect us from these insults, they tacitly permitted them; for I could plainly perceive the French officers walking about at some distance, discoursing together with apparent unconcern. For the honor of human nature I would hope that this flagrant breach of every sacred law, proceeded rather from the savage disposition of the Indians, which I acknowledge it is sometimes almost impossible to control, and which might now unexpectedly have arrived to a pitch not easily to be restrained, than to any premeditated design in the French commander. An unprejudiced observer would, however, be apt to conclude, that a body of ten thousand troops, mostly christian troops, had it in their power to prevent the massacre from becoming so general. But whatever was the cause from which it arose, the consequences of it were dreadful, and not to be paralleled in modern history.

As the circle in which I stood enclosed by this time was much thinned, and death seemed to be approaching with hasty strides, it was proposed by some of the most resolute to make one vigorous effort, and endeavor to force our way through the savages; the only probable method of preserving our lives that now remained. This, however desperate, was resolved on, and about twenty of us sprung at once into the midst of them.

In a moment we were all separated, and what was the fate of my companions I could not learn till some months after, when I found that only six or seven of them effected their design. Intent only on my own hazardous situation, I endeavored to make my way through my savage enemies in the best manner possible. And I have often been astonished since, when I have recollected with what composure I took, as I did, every necessary step for my preservation. Some I overturned, being at that time young and athletic, and others I passed by, dexterously avoiding their



troops from Rhode Island. On the 20th of September he was chosen to accompany Arnold in his memorable march by the way of the Kennebec river to Quebec, and in the unsuccessful attack on the town was, with many other officers and soldiers, made prisoner. He was kept closely confined for nine months, part of that time in irons, on board a prison ship, before he was admitted to parole. In September, 1776, he returned to Providence.

On the 1st of July, 1777, Captain Thayer was exchanged, and in the same month the General Assembly of Rhode Island ordered a "gentle silver hilted sword" to be presented to him as a testimony of their sense of his services. In anticipation of his exchange, the General Assembly had, in February preceding, appointed him Major in one

weapons; till at last two very stout chiefs, of the most savage tribes, as I could distinguish by their dress, whose strength I could not resist, laid hold of me by each arm, and began to force me through the crowd.

I now resigned myself to my fate, not doubting but that they intended to dispatch me, and then to satiate their vengeance with my blood, as I found they were hurrying me towards a retired swamp that lay at some distance. But before we had got many yards, an English gentleman of some distinction, as I could discover by his breeches, the only covering he had on, which were of fine scarlet velvet, rushed close by us. One of the Indians instantly relinquished his hold, and springing on this new object, endeavored to seize him as his prey; but the gentleman being strong, threw him on the ground, and would probably have got away, had not he who held my other arm, quitted me to assist his brother. I seized the opportunity, and hastened away to join another party of English troops that were yet unbroken, and stood in a body at some distance. But before I had taken many steps, I hastily cast my eye towards the gentleman, and saw the Indian's tomahawk gash into his back and heard him utter his last groan; this added both to my speed and desperation.

I had left this shocking scene but a few yards, when a fine boy about twelve years of age, that had hitherto escaped, came up to me, and begged that I would let him lay hold of me, so that he might stand some chance of getting out of the hands of the savages. I told him that I would give him every assistance in my power, and to this purpose bid him lay hold; but in a few moments he was torn from my side, and by his shrieks I judge was soon demolished. I could not help forgetting my own cares for a minute, to lament the fate of so young a sufferer; but it was utterly impossible for me to take any methods to prevent it.

I now got once more into the midst of friends, but we were unable to afford each other any succor. As this was the division that had advanced the farthest from the fort, I thought there might be a possibility (though but a bare one) of my forcing my way through the outer ranks of the Indians, and getting to a neighboring wood, which I perceived at some distance. I was still encouraged to hope by the almost miraculous preservation I had already experienced.

Nor were my hopes in vain, or the efforts I made ineffectual. Suffice it to say, that I reached the wood; but by the time I had penetrated a little way into it, my breath was so exhausted that I threw myself into a brake, and lay for some minutes apparently at the last gasp. At length I recovered the power of respiration; but my apprehensions returned with all their former force, when I saw several savages

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of the Rhode Island regiments, and as soon as circumstances permitted, he joined the army and marched to Red Bank. Here he was detached with 150 men to join Colonel Samuel Smith, then in command of Fort Mifflin, built on the lower end of Mud Island in the Delaware, to prevent the passage of the enemy's vessels up the river. He continued there three days, until the Hessians appeared as if they intended an attack on Red Bank, when he received an express from Col. Greene, ordering him to return with his troops, which he immediately did, and reached the fort just as the Hessians appeared in sight. Major Thayer commanded according to his rank during the action, and was detached about the dusk of the evening, with a small force to bring in the wounded. As he was employed in this humane service, two Hessian grenadiers approached and told him that their commanding officer, Count Donop, was lying wounded in the edge of the woods, near where their artillery played. Suspecting an attempt to decoy him into an ambuscade, he placed them under guard, telling them if they deceived him, they would immediately be put to death; to this they readily assented, and conducted him to the place where they found the Count lying under a tree mortally wounded. The Count asked the Major if he was an officer, and of what rank, of which being satisfied he surrendered himself a prisoner. Major Thayer caused six men to take him in a blanket and carry him with all possible care to the fort, where he was received by Col. Greene.

Colonel Smith commanded on Mud Island from the latter part of September, with the exception of a few days, until the 11th of November, when, being wounded and worn down with fatigue, his request to retire from the fort was granted. The command then devolved upon

pass by, probably in pursuit of me, at no very great distance. In this situation I knew not whether it was better to proceed, or endeavor to conceal myself where I lay, till night came on; fearing, however, that they would return the same way, I thought it most prudent to get further from the dreadful scene of my distresses. Accordingly, striking into another part of the wood, I hastened on as fast as the briars and the loss of one of my shoes would permit me; and after a slow progress of some hours, gained a hill that overlooked the plain which I had just left, from whence I could discern that the bloody storm still raged with unabated fury.

But not to tire my readers, I shall only add, that after passing three days without subsistence, and enduring the severity of the cold dews for three nights, I at length reached Fort Edward; where with proper care my body soon recovered its wonted strength, and my mind, as far as the recollection of the late melancholy events would permit, its usual composure.

It was computed that fifteen hundred persons were killed or made prisoners by these savages during this fatal day. Many of the latter were carried off by them and never returned. A few, through favorable accidents, found their way back to their native country, after having experienced a long and severe captivity."

Lieutenant Colonel Russell, of the Connecticut line, an amiable, sensible man, and an excellent officer, but being exhausted by fatigue, and broken down in health, he requested to be recalled. The Commander-in-Chief, his Excellency General Washington, had no idea of holding the place through the campaign, but wished to retard the operations of the enemy until the main army should be re-inforced by the Massachusetts brigade, marching from the conquest of Saratoga, when he would be in sufficient force to cover the country, or to meet the enemy's whole force in the field. Upon the 12th of November, he signified his orders to the commanding General, at Woodberry, on the Jersey side, who had the direction of all the forces below Philadelphia to defend the island as long as possible without sacrificing the garrison. To defend it was absolutely impossible, unless the siege could be raised by an attack upon the besiegers from the main army. This was deemed impracticable by a general council of war, and therefore not farther considered as an ultimate object. Nothing could then present itself to a relieving officer, fully informed of all the circumstances, but certain death, or an improbable escape, without the possibility of contending upon equal terms. The love of our country may lead us to the field of battle, ambition may lure us to particular enterprises, but magnanimity alone can soar above every danger! The commanding General could not detach an officer in rotation; his reasons were insuperable. In a moment so critical, when everything dear to his feelings required an immediate decision, happy for him, and more happy for the United States, Major Thayer presented himself as a volunteer. The offer was accepted with inexpressible satisfaction; and from the 12th to the morning of the 16th of November, he defended the Island with the greatest address, against a furious and almost continued cannonade and bombardment from a variety of batteries at small distances. The defences at best were trifling; the place itself was ill chosen, Hog Island and Billingspost instead of Mud Island and Red Bank. But on the morning of the 15th, the whole British force was displayed from their land batteries and their shipping in the river. The small garrison sustained and repelled the shock with astonishing intrepidity, for several hours, assisted from our galleys and batteries on the Jersey shore. By the middle of the day, these defences were leveled with the common mud, and the gallant officers and men philosophically expected each other's fate in the midst of carnage.

The grenadiers and light infantry of the British were paraded on the opposite shore, and the *Vigilant*, an Indiaman, cut down to a battery of twenty twenty-four pounders on one side, lay within twenty yards of

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the troops. The attack was incessant. Two attempts from our galleys were unsuccessfully made to board the *Vigilant*. The commanding General was determined to fight the enemy on the Island if the *Vigilant* could be taken. She could not; and nothing remained but to secure the garrison, whose distance from the enemy on both sides was not half so far as from the body of his troops upon the shore. During this day more than one thousand and thirty discharges of cannon from twelve and thirty-two pounders were made in twenty minutes. Such a day America never saw till then! Early in the evening of the 15th, Major Thayer dispatched all his garrison, less than three hundred in number, to the shore, excepting forty, with whom he remained, braving death itself. At twelve at night, between the 15th and 16th, the barracks were fired, all the military stores having previously been sent away, and the Major and his brave companions, he being the last from the scene of slaughter arrived at Red Bank, to the joy and astonishment of all the army.\*

The first principal battle in 1778 was fought by Washington at Monmouth, N. J., June 28, a day of intense heat, and made memorable by the reprimand of Lee and the gallant conduct of Mary Pitcher, the wife of an American artillery-man, whose place she took when he fell wounded. In this battle Major Thayer participated, being then under Col. Sylla. He was detached with Gen. Scott to watch the motions of the enemy, and on the evening before the action the detachment of Scott was ordered to join the army. In this battle, Major Thayer underwent great fatigue. Sylla's regiment, by particular leave of General Washington, marched to attack the enemy, who appeared on the left of the American army, and drove them through a morass. In this movement, the Major experienced in his head a wind-concussion, by the near passage of a cannon ball, which caused the blood to gush from both his eyes. Rallying from the shock, he tied a handkerchief over his face, and continued at his post all night. The effect of the concussion was to destroy his right eye. The next day he joined his Brigade, and being in excessive pain, he obtained leave to return to Morristown until he should recover.

\*General Knox, writing to Colonel Lamb, says, "The defence of Fort Mifflin was as gallant as is to be found in history. . . . The brave little garrison, then commanded by Major Thayer, of the Rhode Island troops, had but two cannon but what were dismounted. These soon shared the fate of the others. Every body who appeared on the platform was killed or wounded, by the musketry from the tops of the ships, whose yards almost hung over the battery. Long before night there was not a single palisade left. All the embrasures ruined, and the whole parapet levelled. All the block houses had been battered down some days before."

Major Thayer remained at Morristown five weeks before he so far recovered as to be able to attend to duty. In the mean time, his regiment had been ordered to Rhode Island, to support Gen. Sullivan. Thither he followed, hoping to be in season to render service, and arrived three days before the General retreated from the Island.

During the year 1779, Major Thayer was actively engaged in superintending enlistments, and in other ways promoting the interests of the Continental army. In December of that year he went by order of the General Assembly to headquarters in New Jersey, to transact business for the State. For the expenses of this journey £200 were provided, and also a horse for the orderly who accompanied him. In 1780, he was Major in Colonel Angell's regiment in New Jersey. At Springfield the regiment was stationed at the bridge, when the enemy attacked that place. On that occasion he was posted in the centre, with orders to watch the motions of the enemy, and give intelligence to the commander of each wing. This post he sustained under four different attacks, and passed the road in front and escaped four different times during the heavy fire, within pistol shot. When the regiment was forced to quit the ground Major Thayer commanded the rear, was the last to leave the field, and joined Gen. Greene on Rocky Hill. After the enemy retreated, Gen. Stark, who then commanded the brigade to which the Major belonged, requested that he would follow the enemy's rear, and make what discoveries he could of their motions. This request he complied with, and followed alone on horseback, keeping in sight of them until they crossed Elizabethtown bridge, notwithstanding whole platoons fired at him. The results of his observations he reported to Generals Greene and Stark. When the Marquis de Lafayette was in danger of being surprised at Barren Hill Church, Major Thayer was chosen by him with 300 men to cover his retreat, where there was scarcely a possibility of escaping either being killed or taken prisoner. Fortunately, however, the Major succeeded in bringing off the whole of his detachment in the face of the enemy,—the Marquis having moved off the main body some time before.

The brilliant defence of Fort Mifflin by Major Thayer was the theme of universal praise. Congress, not aware that Colonel Smith had retired from the command previous to the battle, and prompt to acknowledge brave conduct, passed a complimentary resolution directing an elegant sword to be presented to the Colonel as a token of their high sense of his merit in that affair. The discovery of the error was too late for it to be corrected, and Colonel Smith accepted the sword as the reward of a battle he did not fight! The unintentional injustice of

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Congress was keenly felt both by Major Thayer and his friends in Rhode Island. General Varnum and Colonel Angell, his military compatriots, and the late venerable John Howland, Esq., a soldier of the Revolution, set the subject right before the public, in communications that were published in the Providence Gazette in 1786, and in the Providence Journal in 1840, and all of which are preserved in Judge Cowell's "Spirit of '76." But while the page of history has been corrected, the official injustice is perpetuated.

By the act of Congress of Oct. 3, 1780, the two Continental regiments of Rhode Island were consolidated, to take effect Jan. 1, 1781. Under this arrangement Major Thayer retired from the service. He was subsequently for three successive years chosen by the General Assembly Brigadier General of the Militia of Providence County.

General Thayer was of medium height, active and energetic in his business habits, and in private intercourse an agreeable companion. He was married three times, viz :

1. To Huldah Jackson, daughter of Stephen Jackson, Esq., of Providence. She was born Nov. —, 1738, and died April 28, 1771.
2. To Mrs. Mary Tourtelott, born Dec. 24, 1742.
3. To Mrs. — Angell, sister to Huldah, his first wife. After the death of General Thayer, she married Darius Daniels. She was born in 1763, and died March 10, 1803, aged 40 years.

The children of General Thayer were

- Nancy, born March 7, 1762; died May 1, 1783.
- William Tourtelott, born May 11, 1767.
- Susan, born April 21, 1768; died same date.
- Stephen Tourtelott, died Feb. 25, 1769.
- Hannah Tourtelott, born Jan. 1, 1769; died March 31, 1769.
- Simeon, born March 24, 1770; died Sept. 5, 1791.
- Polly, born Oct. 25, 1772; died May 28, 1814.
- Richard Montgomery, born Dec. 3, 1775.
- Henry, born April 10, 1785.

After leaving the army Major Thayer purchased, in 1781, of Nathaniel Baleh, hatter, an estate consisting of a house and lot situated on "Stamper's Hill" for "\$1350 Spanish milled dollars," and also a lot in the same vicinity, of Enos Smith, of Killingly, Ct., for "£10, lawful money." He erected a dwelling house on the spot now a small park near the head of Constitution Hill, and in 1784 opened a public house known as the "Montgomery Hotel," which he kept for several years, when he sold out and purchased a farm in Cumberland. There he continued to reside until his decease, which occurred Tuesday, Oct. 14th, 1800, in the 63d year of his age. He died by casualty,

having fallen or been thrown from his horse into a brook, while riding home from Providence, and being killed by the concussion or drowned. On Thursday, Oct. 16th, his remains were interred in the North burial ground, in Providence. The Society of Cincinnati, of which General Thayer died a member, voted to wear the usual badge of mourning on the left arm for twenty-one days, as a testimony of respect.\*

Major General JOHN THOMAS was descended from a respectable family in Plymouth County, Mass., and served with reputation in the war of 1756 against the French and Indians. In April, 1775, he resided in Kingston, Mass., and raised a regiment for the Continental service, and marched to Cambridge. He was soon appointed by Congress a Brigadier General, and during the siege of Boston commanded a division of the provincial troops at Roxbury. In March, 1776, he was appointed Major General, and after the death of Montgomery was entrusted with the command of the army in Canada. As stated in the Introduction to this Journal, he fell back with his forces from before Quebec to Sorel, was there taken sick of small pox and conveyed to Chambly, where he died May 30, 1776. Gen. Thomas was a man of sound judgment and undoubted courage. He was beloved by his soldiers, and in private life endeared to friends by the amiability of his character.

Captain JOHN TOPHAM was a native of Newport, R. I. His early history is unknown. When the first measures were adopted for resisting the oppressive acts of the British government, he was found acting with the friends of freedom. He was appointed Captain-Lieutenant of Major Forrester's company of the regiment of Newport and Bristol, commanded by Colonel Thomas Church, forming a part of the "Army of Observation" raised by the General Assembly of Rhode Island in May, 1775. It is said, that on hearing the news of the battle of Lexington, Captain Topham raised a company and marched to Cambridge.

\*CAPTAIN THAYER'S PAROLE.

I, Simeon Thayer, of Providence,

In the Province of Rhode Island, hereby pledge my Faith and word of Honor to General Carleton, that I shall not do or say any thing contrary to the Interest of His Majesty, or his Government, and that whenever required to do so, I shall repair to whatever Place his Excellency, or any other His Majesty's Commanders-in-Chief in America, shall judge expedient to order me.

Given under my Hand at Quebec,  
this 3d Day of August, 1776.

SIMEON THAYER.

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There he joined the Continental army under Washington, then holding Boston in siege. He was subsequently assigned to Colonel Arnold's detachment for service in Canada. Of the sufferings of himself and of his men in their march through the wilderness, his Journal (though imperfect) still preserved, is an interesting evidence. He was among the officers who, when the prospect of starvation was before them, unhesitatingly voted in a council of war to proceed. In the assault upon Quebec he made a noble record for bravery and efficiency. Here he was taken prisoner and for four months and twelve days was not permitted to set his feet on the ground. But this close confinement only served to enhance the value of the freedom to secure which he had perilled his life, and he panted for an early opportunity to prove his unabated devotion.

While still a prisoner, and in prospect of his early release, Captain Topham was among the officers recommended by Washington (Oct. 12, 1776,) to command a company in one of the two new regiments then about to be raised in Rhode Island. Writing to Governor Cooke on this subject, Washington says, "Too much regard cannot be had to the choosing of men of merit, and such as are not only under the influence of a warm attachment to their country, but who also possess sentiments of principles of the strictest honor." He adds: "In respect to the officers that were in the Canada expedition, their behavior and merit, and the severities they have experienced, entitle them to a particular notice, in my opinion. However, as they are under their paroles, I would recommend that vacancies should be reserved for such as you think fit to promote, not wishing them to accept commissions immediately, or to do the least act that may be interpreted a violation of their engagement."

After being exchanged, the General Assembly of Rhode Island, in February, 1777, chose Captain Topham a Captain in the first Continental battalion, under Major Ward. In June following, he was chosen Lieutenant Colonel in the brigade raised for fifteen months, under Colonel Archibald Crary. In December of the same year, he held the same rank in the second battalion of the regiment of artillery, under Colonel William Barton. In February, 1778, he was chosen Colonel in place of Colonel Barton, who had been transferred to the Continental service, and held the position until the brigade was disbanded. In February, 1779, he was made Colonel of the second battalion of Infantry. In June of the same year the two battalions were consolidated under him; and in 1780 he received the thanks of



the General Assembly for the great fidelity and ability with which he had discharged his military duties. After the war, Colonel Topham engaged in mercantile pursuits. In 1780, he was elected a Deputy to the General Assembly from Newport. He was again elected in 1783, 1784 to 1788, and again in 1791 and 1792. He was a useful member of the Assembly. Colonel Topham died in Newport, September 26th, 1793, in the 55th year of his age. On Sunday afternoon, the 29th, his remains, preceded by the ancient and honorable fraternity of Masons, of which he was a member, and followed by his relatives, friends, and a large concourse of citizens, were committed to the grave.

Captain OLIVER HANCHET, son of John 3d and Mary Sheldon Hanchet, was born in Suffield, Conn., August 7th, 1741. Of his boy life little is known. May 29th, 1766, he married Rachel Gillet. In the commencement of the Revolutionary war, he commanded a company of Provincials and marched to Cambridge, where he was assigned to Arnold's expedition. In his march through the wilderness, Capt. Hanchet was mostly with the advance, engaged in opening the way for the main body of the army, and performing such other services as were essential to its rapid march. After reaching Dead River, he set out with fifty men for Chaudiere lake, to forward provisions from the French inhabitants of Sartigan, for the use of the army. Subsequently, in leaving the army (who took water conveyance on Chaudiere lake) to go on by land, he mistook his course, and with sixty men was led into low ground overflowed by water, through which they waded up to their waists for the distance of two miles, when they were discovered by Col. Arnold, who sent batteaux to relieve them from their uncomfortable situation. The trials and perils of the rest of the march to Point Levi were shared in common with the army. At Quebec Captain Hanchet was taken prisoner, and held with other officers until paroles were granted in August, 1776. He appears not to have entertained a favorable opinion of Arnold, and was numbered among the disaffected towards him. Of his life after being exchanged, no particulars have been obtained. He died May 26th, 1816, aged 75 years. His widow died March 28th, 1821. Both were buried in the West Parish of Suffield.

Lieutenant JAMES WEBB, of Newport, R. I., was among the officers recommended to consideration by Washington, for meritorious conduct, and was chosen first Lieutenant in the Continental battalion, by the General Assembly of Rhode Island, in February, 1777.

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Captain SAMUEL WARD was born at Westerly, Rhode Island, on the 17th of Nov., 1756, and was the son of Samuel Ward, Governor of that State, and Anne Ray, daughter of Simon Ray and Deborah Greene, a relative of General Nathanael Greene.\* His father, and indeed all his family connexions, were ardent supporters of the Revolution, and, from the first collision between Great Britain and her colonies, advocates of the independence of the United States, an event which his father predicted as inevitable, as early as 1766.

Capt. Ward was educated at Brown University in Providence, and was a classmate of Solomon Drowne, subsequently the distinguished Professor of Botany in that institution. Hostilities commencing about the time he left college, he joined the Rhode Island army of observation,

\*SAMUEL WARD, father of Capt. Samuel, was born at Newport, Rhode Island, May 27th, 1725. He was the son of Richard Ward, who was Governor of Rhode Island in 1741 and 1742, and the grandson of Thomas Ward, who came to this country in the times of Charles II, and who died in Rhode Island in 1689, a highly esteemed and respectable citizen.

Samuel was educated at the excellent classical schools in Newport, R. I. He married Anne Ray, of Block Island, and settled in Westerly. He represented that town in the General Assembly of Rhode Island for several years, and was a delegate from the Colony to a convention held at Hartford, during the French war, to consult with Lord London, as to the best course to be pursued in prosecuting the war. Mr. Ward was chosen Governor of Rhode Island in 1762, and again in 1765, and continued in office until 1767. He early took ground against the encroachments of the Mother Country on Colonial rights. He denounced the stamp act and the tax on tea, and was elected delegate to the Continental Congress, in which he acted a conspicuous part. He early foresaw the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain, and in a letter to his son, said: "These Colonies are destined to an early Independence, and you will live to see my words verified"—a prophecy ten years later fulfilled.

While the Congress was in Committee of the whole on the consideration of the state of America, Mr. Ward occupied the chair. He was chairman of a committee which originated a resolution, "that a General be appointed to command all the Continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty." When, under this resolution, Congress proceeded to ballot, Gov. Ward gave his vote for General Washington, to whom, through life, he remained devotedly attached. His feelings throughout the contest are nobly expressed in a letter to his brother, written in 1775: "No man living, perhaps, is more fond of his children than I am, and I am not so old as to be tired of life; and yet, as far as I can now judge, the tenderest connexions and the most important private concerns, are very minute objects. Heaven save my country, I was going to say, is my first, my last, and almost my only prayer."

Governor Ward strongly advocated the Declaration of Independence, but did not live to affix his signature to that immortal instrument. He died in Philadelphia of small pox, March 29th, 1776, in the fifty-first year of his age. His remains were exhumed in 1860, and brought to Rhode Island. The slab erected by the State over his grave bears testimony to his great abilities, his unshaken integrity, his ardor in the cause of freedom, and his fidelity in the offices he filled.

in which he was appointed a Captain on the 8th of May, 1775. The army was raised in the name of His Majesty George III, for the preservation of His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects of the Colony of Rhode Island. His commission, which was given by his uncle, Henry Ward, the Secretary of Rhode Island, (the Governor and Lieut. Governor being Tories,) authorized him 'in case of an invasion or assault of a common enemy, to infest or disturb this or any other of His Majesty's Colonies in America, to alarm and gather together the company under your command,' 'and therewith to the utmost of your skill and ability, you are to resist, expel, kill and destroy them, in order to preserve the interest of His Majesty and his good subjects in these parts.' Like their brethren the covenanters—

'Who swore at first to fight  
For the King's safety and his right,  
And after marched to find him out  
And charged him home with horse and foot,'

the Whigs of the Revolution found no inconsistency in availing themselves of the authority of the King as the constitutional head of the government, to preserve and maintain their constitutional rights. In the month of May, 1775, the father and son both left their home—the one to represent the Colony in the Continental Congress, and the other to defend her liberties in the field. Capt. Ward joined the army besieging Boston—burning with a vehement desire to vindicate the rights of the Colonies. In one of his letters to his family, dated Prospect Hill, July 30, 1775, addressing his younger brothers, he says: "As you grow in stature, pray take pains to be manly: remember that you all may have an opportunity of standing forth to fight the battles of your country. This afternoon we expected to have had an engagement. We may have one to-night. The regulars are now landing in Charlestown from Boston. I thank God we are ready to meet them."

With such an ardent spirit, young Ward, then in the 19th year of his age, was not likely to hesitate in embracing an opportunity of advancing the cause he had espoused; nor was it long before one was presented. In September, 1775, Colonel Benedict Arnold, then one of the most enterprising of America's sons, (but afterwards 'quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore!') was invested with the command of 1100 volunteers, destined to join Montgomery at Quebec, by way of the Kennebec river. The country was then an unexplored wilderness, and they were obliged to transport their provisions and munitions for the whole distance, where they did not follow the river, without the aid of animals. Even when ascending the river, the volunteers were

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compelled to drag the boats over the waterfalls and portages, and after leaving the river, the provisions and munitions, packed in small kegs, were placed on the backs of the soldiers and carried more than 300 miles, through thick and pathless woods, and over lofty mountains and deep morasses. So great were the difficulties, that a part of the detachment actually abandoned the expedition, and returned to Cambridge to avoid starvation. Capt. Ward, the youngest officer in the expedition, together with his company, persevered, and after unheard of privations arrived before Quebec in Nov., 1775. A letter from him on the 26th of that month to his family, dated at Point-aux-Trembles, gives a vivid account of the hardships of the expedition.

"It would take too much time to tell you what we have undergone. However, as a summary of the whole, we have gone up one of the most rapid rivers in the world, where the water was so shoal that, moderately speaking, we have waded 100 miles. We were thirty days in a wilderness that none but savages ever attempted to pass. We marched 100 miles upon short three days' provisions, waded over three rapid rivers, marched through snow and ice *barefoot*, passed over the St. Lawrence, where it was guarded by the enemy's frigates, and are now about twenty-four miles from the city to recruit our worn-out natures. Gen. Montgomery intends to join us immediately, so that we have a winter's campaign before us; but I trust we shall have the glory of taking Quebec!"

That hope, unhappily, was not realized. The attack upon that city failed, and Capt. Ward, with the principal part of his company, having penetrated under the command of Arnold, through the first barrier, was surrounded by a superior force and compelled to surrender. The following letter written by Governor Samuel Ward to his daughter, Miss Nancy Ward, afterwards Mrs. Anne, wife of Ephan Clarke, Esq., in relation to Captain Ward's capture, expresses the anxious interest of a parent, and presents in a favorable light the military conduct of the son:

*Philadelphia, 21st Jan., 1776.*

MY DEAREST:

Blessed be God, your dear brother, of whom I never heard one word, from the time he left Fort Weston until last Monday, is alive and well, and has behaved well. There is a gentleman here who saw him the day before the attack upon Quebec. He had been very ill with the yellow jaundice; but one Captain McLean, formerly of Boston, took him home and cured him.

This gentleman tells me he was happy to have gone upon that service. General Montgomery was killed in the attack, and his troops immediately retired, which left the whole force of the enemy to attack your kinsman, Lieut. Colonel Greene, who, upon Arnold's being wounded and carried off, led the detachment on nobly. They

carried two barriers, attacked the third, and fought gloriously with much superior forces, under cover also. Four hours after, being overpowered by numbers, they were compelled to surrender prisoners of war, and are very kindly treated.

I have written by express to your brother, and shall send him some money. Call upon all who owe us for some. I shall want it much.

Write immediately to Colonel Greene's wife that he is well, and treated with great humanity. He has acquired vast honor in the service, and I doubt not will soon be exchanged. In the mean time, I have written Sammy to let him know his family is well, and that if he needs any money he can draw upon me.

Your affectionate father,

SAMUEL WARD.

P. S. In Colonel Greene's detachment there were 120 killed and wounded—nearly half killed. Troops begin their march from here to-morrow, to reinforce our army in Canada.

While in captivity, Capt. Ward received the following letter from his father, which, from the excellence of its sentiments, and as fully illustrating the principles of the leading patriots of that time, is inserted at length.

*Philadelphia, January 21st, 1776.*

MY DEAR SON:—I most devoutly thank God that you are alive, in good health, and have behaved well. You have now a new scene of action—to behave well as a prisoner. You have been taught from your infancy the love of God, of all mankind, and of your country. In a due discharge of these various duties of life, consist true honor, religion and virtue. I hope no situation or trial, however severe, will tempt you to violate these sound, these immutable laws of God and nature. You will now have time for reflection. Improve it well; examine your own heart. Eradicate, as much as human frailty admits, the seeds of vice and folly. Correct your temper. Expand the benevolent feelings of your soul, and impress and establish the noble principles of private and public virtue so deeply in it, that your whole life may be directed by them. Next to these great and essential duties, improve your mind by the best authors you can borrow. Learn the French language, and be continually acquiring, as far as your situation admits, every useful accomplishment. Shun every species of debauchery and vice, as certain and inevitable ruin, here and hereafter. There is one vice, which, though often to be met with in polite company, I cannot but consider as unworthy of the gentleman as well as the Christian. I mean swearing. Avoid it at all times.

All ranks of people here have the highest sense of the great bravery and merit of Col. Arnold, and all his officers and men. Though prisoners they have acquired immortal honor. Proper attention will be paid to them. In the mean time, behave, my dear son, with great circumspection, prudence and firmness. Enter into no engagements inconsistent with your duty to your country. Such as you may make, keep inviolate with the strictest honor. Besides endeavoring to make yourself as easy and happy as possible in your present situation, you will pay the greatest attention, as far as your little power may admit, to the comfort and welfare of all your fellow-prisoners, and of those lately under your immediate command, especially.

We have a great number of prisoners in our possession, who are treated with the greatest humanity and kindness, and with pleasure I hear that Col. Arnold's detachment is treated in the same humane manner. The mischief of war are sufficiently great under the most civilized regulations. What a savage he must be, who would heighten them by unnecessary severity and rigor. I hope that humanity to the

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unfortunate will be the distinguishing characteristic of the successful on either side of this unhappy contest. Write to me often; and may infinite wisdom and goodness preserve and prosper my dear son.

Your very affectionate father,

SAMUEL WARD.

The son and his excellent guide and adviser never met again in this life—the latter dying of the small pox at Philadelphia, while attending Congress on the 26th of March following, and before the declaration of that independence for which he had so earnestly labored.

Captain Ward was exchanged in 1776 and on the first day of January, 1777, was commissioned as Major in Col. Christopher Greene's regiment of the Rhode Island line—a worthy compeer of his relative Gen. Greene, *Scipiados duo fulmina belli*.

In that capacity, he was present and coöperated in the gallant defence of the fort at Red Bank, when it was unsuccessfully assailed by the Hessians under Count Donop, October 22, 1777. The same year he was aide-de-camp to General Washington. The next year, he was detached for the defence of his native State, under the command of Generals Greene, Lafayette and Sullivan. In the celebrated retreat from Rhode Island, he commanded a regiment, and on the 12th of April, 1779, he was commissioned Lieut. Colonel of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment, to take rank from May 1st, 1778. During that and the following year he was in Washington's army, in New Jersey, and participated in the toil and glory of that service. He was present at the defence of the bridge at Springfield, by a part of the Rhode Island line, against the Hessian General Knyphansen, in June, 1780. He was an original member of the Society of Cincinnati, and through the war as the commander of a regiment was attended by his faithful body servant Cudjo, a full blooded African.

At the termination of the war, Colonel Ward returned to the peaceful pursuits of a citizen with the same alacrity that he had manifested when his country's voice had called him to arms. He now commenced business as a merchant, and manifested as much enterprise in his new profession as he had in his previous career. In the spring of 1783, he made a voyage from Providence to Canton, in the ship George Washington, which was among the first to display 'the republican flag' in the China seas. Upon his return to the United States, he established himself at New York, as a merchant, and by his probity, frugality and industry, became successful in his business. In the course of his mercantile career he visited Europe, and was at Paris when Louis XIV was beheaded. After his return from Europe, Col. Ward established himself on

a farm at East Greenwich, R. I., where he lived to see his children educated to usefulness and establish themselves in the business of active life.

In 1816, with a view of being nearer his children, several of whom had embarked in business at New York, he removed from his native State to Jamaica, on Long Island. Here, and in the city of New York, he resided in the midst of his family and friends, by whom he was admired and beloved for his manifold virtues, until the termination of his long and useful career. His conversation, at all times interesting, was rendered peculiarly attractive to all who enjoyed an intimacy with him, by the discrimination with which he commented upon what he had seen and met with abroad. The politics and military operations of the Revolution shared also among the topics that were most agreeable to his mind; but rarely, if ever, did he allude to the actions in which himself had borne a part. The modesty which was so particularly striking in the military men of the Revolution made an essential part of his character. When death approached, it found him ready. A life nobly spent in the discharge of every public and private duty had prepared him to relinquish his Maker's gift without murmuring, and he descended to the grave,

' Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch  
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.'

Colonel Ward died in New York, August 16, 1832, in the 76th year of his age. In early life he married Phebe, daughter of Governor William Greene, of Rhode Island, thereby connecting himself by a double relationship with the eminent soldiers of that name. Mrs. Ward was born March 11th, 1760, and died October, 1828, in the 69th year of her age.\* The issue of this marriage was

William Greene Ward,	born April 1, 1779;	died August, 1798.
Samuel,	"	1780-1; died at the age of four or five years.
Henry,	"	1782-3; " In Infancy.
Henry,†	" Mar. 17, 1781;	" July 26, 1838.
Samuel,‡	" May 1, 1786;	" Nov. 27, 1839.

\*In the preparation of this biography, a sketch of Colonel Ward published in the American Annual Register for 1833, has been used entire; also a newspaper sketch written by the late Dr. John W. Frauds, of New York. With these, particulars obtained from private and public sources have been incorporated.

†Henry Ward was the eldest surviving son of Captain Samuel Ward, and hence became a member of the Society of Cincinnati, succeeding his father. By the same rule of succession, Henry Hall Ward, Esq., only son of Henry and Eliza Hall Ward, and head of the Banking House of Ward & Company, New York, became a member of the Society of Cincinnati, and is at present its Treasurer. Mr. Ward is also President of the New York Club. He was for many years connected with the military of New York.

‡Samuel Ward was a partner in the old firm of Prime, Ward and Klug, New York.

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Anne Catharine,	born	1788;	died Sept., 1837.
Phebe,	"	1790 or '91;	" April, 1825.
Richard Ray,	"	Nov. 17, 1795.	
John,*	"	Oct. 26, 1797;	" March 31, 1866.
William Greene,	"	Aug. 7, 1802;	" July 22, 1848.

A taste for fine arts, literature and military science appears inherent in the family of Governor Ward. William Greene Ward, a grandson of Colonel Samuel, and son of William G., is Brigadier General of the First Brigade, First Division of the National Guard of the State of New York. He stands unrivalled in his knowledge of military affairs. He was Lieutenant Colonel of the Twelfth regiment National

\*Mr. John Ward never married. Several years of his early life were passed in Rhode Island. He returned to New York, however, in 1818, and was for a time clerk in the office of Messrs. Nevins and Townsend, brokers and bankers. In 1819, he commenced business under the old Globe Insurance Company; and in 1824, established the House of Ward, Ward & Company, which firm was afterwards, in 1847, changed to that of Ward & Company,—his brother, William G. Ward, having been one of the partners.

He continued an active member of the House until the first of March, 1865, when he retired from business with the reputation of a sagacious and successful banker, a man of irreproachable integrity and of great purity of character. Mr. Ward was for many years President of the New York Stock Exchange, and one of the earliest, though not an original member of that board. By a resolution of the board, he was (a short time before his decease) requested to sit for his portrait to A. H. Wanzler, which now graces the walls of the New York Stock Exchange.

Mr. Ward, besides his sterling qualities as a man of business, was highly esteemed for his cheerful and kind hearted disposition, his amiable manners and acts of generosity, which were the uniform expression of his frank and noble nature. He possessed in common with his late brothers (Henry, Samuel, and William G. Ward,) a cultivated and discriminating taste in the fine arts, and like them, not unfrequently proposed suggestive themes for painting or sculpture. The series of paintings entitled "Cole's Voyage of Life," were the result of such suggestions. Mr. Ward was also a sincere friend of Thomas Crawford, the sculptor, who married his niece, and Crawford's admirable bust of Washington, finished with his own hands, graces Mr. Ward's late residence in Bond street. He was a subscription member of the Clinton Hall Association; also a Life Member of the New York Historical Society, having contributed to its building fund, the publication fund, and other objects. He was fondly devoted to his accomplished nieces, (daughters of Samuel Ward) Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the poetess, wife of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, of Boston, Mrs. Louisa Ward (Crawford) Terry, wife of the artist, now in Europe, and Mrs. Anne Ward Mallard, of Bordentown, New Jersey. It is to Mr. Ward and the widow of Mr. Crawford (now Mrs. Terry) that the New York Historical Society is indebted for "the Crawford Marbles," which have been so generously deposited in its Library and Galleries of Art. His brother Samuel was the first President of the Bank of Commerce in New York,\* the largest National banking institution in the United States, the present President being Charles H. Russell, Esq., also a "Son of Rhode Island." Mr. Charles Hall Ward, son of the late William G. Ward, possesses a fine library, and is an able financier in the house of Ward & Co.

The last of the brothers is the venerable Richard Ray Ward, who is not only highly esteemed as a lawyer of the old school, but also truly remarkable for his deep interest in historical studies and antiquarian researches, as well as for his recollections of distinguished contemporaries.

\*The first Cashier was the late George Curtis, father of the graceful orator, poet, and accomplished author, GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

Guard of the State of New York, at Washington in 1861. His was the first regiment to cross Long Bridge to invade Virginia, and had the advance for some time. He commanded the regiment at Harper's Ferry all summer in 1862, where they were finally taken prisoners by "Stonewall" Jackson. In 1863, Colonel Ward and his regiment were in Couch's Corps, Dana's Division, Yate's Brigade, in the Pennsylvania campaign, which ended in the Battle of Gettysburg. During the draft riots in New York, Colonel Greene with his regiment, at the request of Maj. General Charles W. Sanford, rendered efficient service in guarding the City Hall, until the danger was over. John Ward, jr., a younger brother, served as Captain in 1862 and 1863, in the Twelfth regiment, of which he is at present Colonel commanding.

Lieutenant CHRISTIAN FEBIGER, a native of Copenhagen, Denmark, had held a Subaltern's commission in the Danish service. He was Adjutant of Arnold's forces. He was a generous, sympathetic man, and Judge Henry speaks in the warmest terms of his conduct in the wilderness. He was taken prisoner in the attack upon Quebec, and with the other prisoners was kept in close confinement. He returned to Philadelphia in company with Mr. Henry, having sailed from Quebec in the Pearl frigate, Capt. M'Kenzie, August 10th, and reaching New York September 11. Subsequently he received commissions as Major and as Colonel. He led the 11th Virginia regiment at the assault on Stony Point. In 1791, he held the office of Treasurer of the State of Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant SYLVANUS SHAW, of Newport, R. I., was one of the officers recommended by Washington to the favorable consideration of the General Assembly of Rhode Island. After returning from his captivity at Quebec, he was commissioned Captain, and commanded a company under Colonel Christopher Greene, at Red Bank. He was killed in that battle, Oct. 12, 1777.

Lieutenant EDWARD SLOCUM, of Tiverton, R. I., was also among the officers recommended by Washington to the favor of the General Assembly of his native State. He was a Captain in the Rhode Island line from 1777 to 1779.

Lieutenant WILLIAM HUMPHREY, of Providence, R. I., taken prisoner at Quebec, was subsequently a Captain in the Rhode Island line to the close of the war.

Colonel JAMES LIVINGSTON was a native of New York. He had long resided in Canada, and actively sympathized with the Colonies at

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the beginning of the war. He commanded a battalion of Canadians, and in the assault upon Quebec was directed to make a false attack with a show of firing of the gate of St. John. Something occurred to prevent this movement, thereby failing to create a diversion favorable to Arnold's detachment. He commanded at King's Ferry at the time of Arnold's treason. He commanded at Verplanck's Point while the Vulture lay off in the stream, and sent to West Point for ammunition to enable him to annoy the vessel. On the evening of September 25th, (1780) he was called by Washington to his head-quarters at Robinson's House, for the purpose of eliciting such information in regard to Arnold as he might be able to give.

Lieutenant COLONEL ROGER ENOS was from Connecticut. His career in the Expedition through the wilderness has already been related. After retiring from the army, he removed to Vermont, and in 1781 was appointed a General and Commander of the Militia of the State, and became somewhat conspicuous in public affairs.

BENJAMIN DURFEE, a volunteer private in Capt. Topham's Company, was taken prisoner,—escaped in June, 1776, and came home;—was taken again on Rhode Island, which prevented his applying for the pay due to him. The General Assembly, at the June Session, 1782, ordered the payment of his claim of £24, 10s, "silver money," to be allowed.

Captain SAMUEL LOCKWOOD belonged to Greenwich, Conn. He did excellent service in capturing the fleet of Carleton, at Sorel, and was taken prisoner at the storming of Quebec. He was afterwards a Captain in Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery.

EBENEZER ADAMS, of Rhode Island, was a volunteer with Arnold, and afterwards a Captain of Artillery. He was one of the originators of, and a Captain in the expedition under Colonel Barton to capture Prescott in 1777.

General Sir GUY CARLETON, Governor of Quebec, was born at Newry, County of Down, in Ireland, in 1722. He achieved an honorable military reputation, and in 1786 was created Lord Dorchester. He died in 1808, aged 86 years.

CALEB HASKELL, of Newburyport, Mass., was a private in this expedition. He was probably in Capt. Ward's company, as twenty men of a Newburyport company at Cambridge enlisted to serve under

GEORGE MERCHANT was a volunteer in Captain Morgan's company of riflemen, and a man who would at any time, give him fair play, have sold his life dearly. While the army was in position before Quebec, he was one day placed on picket, but in an unfortunate position. Stationed in a thicket, where, though he was out of sight of the enemy's garrison, he could see no one approach, a Sergeant of the British "Seventh," who, from the manner of the thing, must have been clever, accompanied by a few privates, slyly creeping through the streets of the suburbs of St. John, and then under the cover of bushes, sprung upon the devoted Merchant before he had time to cock his rifle. Merchant was a tall and handsome Virginian. In a few days, he, hunting shirt and all, were sent to England, probably as a finished specimen of the *riflemen* of the Colonies. The government there very liberally sent him home in the following year. He was the first prisoner taken at Quebec. He was a brave and determined soldier, fitted for a subordinate station.—*Henry*.

Lieutenant WILLIAM HETH, 2d, of Frederick County, Va., was blind of one eye. He was a brave officer, was taken prisoner at Quebec, and subsequently was made a Colonel. As mentioned elsewhere, he kept a Journal of the Expedition to Canada, which was used by Marshall.

Sergeant THOMAS BOYD was, in 1779, Captain of a company of riflemen in the First Pennsylvania regiment. The same year he accompanied General Sullivan in his expedition against the Indians of the Six Nations, in western New York, was taken prisoner by the savages, tortured and put to death.

Sergeant CHARLES PORTERFIELD was a native of Frederick County, Virginia. He marched as a volunteer with Arnold through the wilderness. He showed great bravery in the attack upon Quebec, and was the first man to scale the walls. With his companions he was taken prisoner. After being exchanged, he raised a company at his own expense, and was commissioned in the Virginia line. In leading a regiment of which he was Lieut. Col. Commanding, he was killed in the battle of Camden.

MICHAEL SIMPSON was from Pennsylvania, and a volunteer with Arnold, in Smith's company. At the time of the assault upon Quebec, he was, by order of Arnold, in command as Lieutenant at the Isle of Orleans. Henry says, he was "one of the most spirited and active officers, always alert, always on duty." Many years after the war, he was made a General in the Pennsylvania Militia.

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DR. THOMAS GIBSON was a Sergeant in Captain Hendricks' company. He was taken prisoner at Quebec. Of the part he took in the plan of escape, related by Captain Thayer, page 33, Henry makes the following relation: "Money was obtained from charitable nuns who visited the prison, but obtained in a method remarkable rather for ingenuity than fairness or propriety; but it was thought that all artifices were allowable, especially as life was to be hazarded for liberty. Once a nun was seen approaching; when Doctor Gibson, who had studied physic at Cornish, and who afterwards died at Valley Forge, in the winter of 1788, a young man of ruddy cheeks and with a beautiful head of hair, was hurried into bed, to play the part of a sick man with a high fever. The nun being introduced, crossed herself and whispering an Ave Maria or Pater Noster, poured the contents of her purse, 24 coppers, into the hand of the patient. The money procured powder, and the manner of obtaining it occasioned some merriment to cheer the gloom of a prison."

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, of Smith's company, was a strong, athletic man, about twenty-five years old. He was a wealthy freeholder of Lancaster County, Penn. In this campaign he imbibed the seeds of a disease that hurried him to an early grave.

Sergeant JOSEPH ASHTON, of Captain Lamb's company, was placed in chief command of the organization of the prisoners who had planned an escape. Under his orders were Sergeant Boyd, Henry, McKny and others, to serve as Colonels, Majors, Captains, &c. After being exchanged, he was commissioned Major in Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery.

Captain COLBURN commanded a company of artificers in the march through the wilderness.

Lieutenant ISAIAH WOOL remained in command of Capt. Lamb's company after his capture. He was afterwards commissioned Captain of Artillery.

Sergeant HENRY CRONE, of Captain Hendricks' company, was descended from a worthy and respectable family of York County, Penn. He was a droll dog, and much inclined to play.—*Henry.*

Captain MATTHEW DUNCAN, from Pennsylvania, a volunteer, was sent to reconnoitre, after the attack on Quebec, and was taken prisoner.

Lieutenant JAMES TISDALE, of Medfield, Mass., was wounded at Quebec, a ball passing through the fleshy part of his shoulder. He served in the Massachusetts line during the war.

NOTE N.  
A List of Men's names in Captain Simson Thayer's Company, being part of the Detachment under the Command of Col. Benedict Arnold on the Expedition for Canada, at Cambridge, Sept'r, 1776. Abstract of Pay due to Capt. Simson Thayer's Company, from Sep'r 1, 1775, to Jan'y 1, 1776.

Officers and Privates' Names.	What Capacity.	Returned Back Sick.	Taken Prisoners at Quebec.	Not taken Prisoners.	Sup'r Cr. The Names of Men 1775, at Cambrg. 1776, in Quebec.	The Officers and Men. Monthly Pay f. m. Sep'r 1, 1775, to Jan'y 1, 1776, is 4 months.
Simson Thayer	Captain		Dec'r 31, 1775.		56 0 0	£130 8. .... £24 0 0
William Humphrey	1 <sup>st</sup> Lieutenant		do. do.		4 10 0	£ 30. .... 18 0 0
Thos. Page	2 <sup>d</sup> do.		do. do.		2 8 0 0	£ 48. .... 18 0 0
Thos. Ellis	1 <sup>st</sup> Sergeant		Dec'r 31, 1775		2 8 0 0	£ 48. .... 9 12 0
Moses Bryant	2 <sup>d</sup> do.		do. do.		2 8 0 0	£ 48. .... 9 12 0
Samuel Singleton	3 <sup>d</sup> do.		do. do.		2 8 0 0	£ 48. .... 9 12 0
Samuel Singleton	4 <sup>th</sup> do.		do. do.		2 8 0 0	£ 48. .... 9 12 0
James Hayden	2 <sup>d</sup> Corporal		do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Silas Wheeler	3 <sup>d</sup> do.		do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Thos Low	4 <sup>th</sup> do.		do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Isaac Hawes	Prifer.	Oct'r 26, 1775.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Wm. Clements	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Benoni Patten	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
John Thomson	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
John Latham	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Stephen Mills	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Jonathan Scott	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Rufus Fowler	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Francis Fulhant	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
John Barritt	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Rob't Hill	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
John Turner	do.	Sep'r 26, 1775.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Wm. Willis	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Moses Hemme wey	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Andrew Hinr. an.	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Nath'l Parker	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
James Welch	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Daniel Devizer	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Sam'l Inralis	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Thos. Gary	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Thos. J. M. S. G. C.	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
James J. M. S. G. C.	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Sam'l Williams	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Elliah Jones	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
James Stone	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
George Leach	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0
Messrs Lewis	do.	do. do.	do. do.		2 4 0 0	£ 44. .... 8 16 0

Entered Man-of-war, June 22, 76  
 Private. Paid the three deserters one month Pay and Clothing  
 1776. } at Cam-bridge



## NOTE II. Page 28.

The following list of the killed, wounded and taken prisoners of the American troops at Quebec, on the 31st December, 1775, is copied from *Ware's Journal*, several times before quoted. The asterisks are suffixed in the original, though no signification is given.\*

*Officers taken prisoners.*—Lt. Col. Greene, Major Melgs, Major Bigelow, Adj't Febezer,† Captain Matthew Duncan.

*York forces killed.*—General Montgomery, Capt. Jacob Cheeseman, Aide-de-camp McPherson. 1st. Battallon, 8 killed and one wounded; 3d Battallon, 2 killed.

*Capt. JOHN LAMB'S COMPANY.* *Killed.*—Solomon Russell, Marlin Clark.

*Wounded.*—Capt. Lamb, Bartho. Fisher, Thos. Oliver, Ely Gladhill, Harus Burns. *Prisoners.*—Lt. Andrew Moody, Capt. Lockhart, vol.;‡ Joseph Ashton, Sergt.; Robt. Baird, Robt. Barwick, James Arvin, John Ashfield, Gasper Steyman, Moses Brackitt, George Carpenter, Thomas Winter, Jacob Benoit, Joseph Spencer, Thomas Thorp, John Conet, Joseph Dean, Benj. Vandervert, John Martin, John Fisher.

*Listed in the King's service.*—James Patten, John Poalk, John Wilson, Thomas Deys, William Whitwell, Thos. Morrison, David Stone, John Kelley, John Johnston, John Luceox, Wm. McLlen, John Bitters, Peter Fenton, Shelby Holland, Peter Nestle [Matross,] David Torrey.

*Capt. DANIEL MORGAN'S COMPANY.* *Killed.*—Lt. Humphrey, Wm. Ruitledge, Cornelius Norris, David Wilson, Peter Wolf, John Moore, Matthew Harblison, Rich'd Colbert.

*Wounded.*—Benj. Cackley, Solomon Fitzpatrick, Daniel Anderson, Spencer George,\* Daniel Durst, Hezekiah Phillips, Adam Hitzkill, John McGuire, Jesse Wheeler.\*

*Prisoners.*—Capt. Morgan; Lt. Wm. Heath, 2d, [Heth]; Lt. Bruin, 3d, [slightly wounded]; Wm. Fickhis, Sergt.; Charles Porterfield, Sergt.; John Donaldson, Sergt.; John Rogers, Corp.; Benj. Grabb, Corp.; John Burns, John Conner, Solomon Veal, Jacob Sperry, Adam Kurts, John Shoults, Charles Grim, Peter Locke, John Stephens, David Griffith, John Pearce, Benj. Roderick, Thomas Williams, Gasper de Hart,\* Benj. McIntire, Jeremiah Gordon, Rowland Jacobs, Daniel Davis, Jehu Brown, John Oram, John Maul, John Harbinson, Jedediah Phillips, Jacob Ware, Absalom Brown, Thomas Chapman, Charles Secrests, Jeremiah Riddle,\* William Flood, William Greeaway, Rob't Mitchell.

*Listed in the King's service.*—John Cockeran, Curtis Bramlingham, Timothy Feely, Edw. Seedes, Patrick Dooland, Christopher Dolton, Rob't Churchill.

*Capt. WILLIAM HENDRICK'S COMPANY.* *Killed.*—Capt. Hendrick, Dennis Kelley, John Campbell.

*Wounded.*—John Henderson, John Chesney, Abraham Swaggerty, Phillip Baker.

*Prisoners.*—Lt. Francis Nichols, Thomas Gibson (Sergt.), Wm. M'Coy (Sergt.), John Chambers, Robt. Steele, John Bialr, Rich'd M'Cluer, James Reed, John

\* On the 4th January, 1776, Colonel ALLAN MACLEAN, of the 84th Regiment of "Royal Emigrants," visited the prisoners and took their names and places of nativity. Those of British birth were required to enlist in this regiment, under the threat of otherwise being sent to England and tried as traitors. Under this threat many enlisted, and some doing so improved favorable opportunities to desert. This list of killed, wounded and taken prisoners is evidently incomplete.

† This name is written Febiger, Nebegry, Frebezer, Fobeger, and Thebeger. The correct orthography is Febigr.

‡ Probably Capt. Samuel Lockwood, Greenwich, Conn. A sea-captain.

McLin,  
Graham,  
Gammel,  
Listed  
McGuire,  
Burns, T  
Edw'd M  
Ireland, I  
James Ho  
John Cov  
Carswell,  
Capt. S  
Mortwort  
Wounded  
Prisoner  
Newhouse  
(drummer  
rick Camp  
Listed in  
Henry Me  
Randolph,  
Thomas W  
Capt. H  
Wm. Good  
Wounded  
Prisoner  
Peletiah D  
Roswell R  
Samuel B  
Isaac Geor  
Daniel Rice  
Noah Whip  
Listed in  
Capt. T  
Blackburn.  
1 Written  
2 Enlisted  
Expedition,  
3 Enlisted  
Capt. Husch  
4 Son of D  
5 Was a mi  
6 John Bar  
The follow  
necicut Sla  
Samuel Be  
Elielima B  
Joseph Le  
Aaron Bu  
Jas. Morri  
Daniel Ju  
New Haven.  
James Kn

McLin, Henry McGown, Edward Roddin, Daniel North, Matthew Taylor, Daniel Graham, Tho. Anderson, George Morrison, John Ray, Wm. Kirkpatrick, Wm. Gammel, Henry Crouse [Sergt.], Jacob Mason.

*Listed in the King's service.*—Henry Turpentine, Joseph Greer, Sergt., Barnabas McGuire, Matthew Cuning, Daniel Carlisle, Richard Lynch, Philip Maxwell, Peter Burns, Thomas Witherup, Thomas Murdock, Francis Furlow, Wm. Shannon, Edw'd Morton, Roger Casey, Wm Snell, George Morrow, Daniel McClelland, James Ireland, Daniel O'Hara, Michael Young, John Hardy, James Greer, Peter Frauner, James Hoggel, William Burns, Wm. O'Hara, Alexander Burns, Joseph Caskey, John Cove, Arch'd McFarlin, Thomas Greer, William Smith, Joseph Wright, John Carswell, John Gardner, Thomas Lisle.

**Capt. SMITH'S COMPANY.** *Killed.*—Alexander Elliot, Henry Miller, Ingrahart Mortworth, James Angles.

*Wounded.*—Lt. Rich'd Steele, John Miller, Thomas Silborne, Peter Carbough.

*Prisoners.*—Robt. Cunningham, Thomas Boyd, Sergt., Sam'l Carbough, Philip Newhouse, Conrad Meyers, Conrad Sheyers, Valentine Willey, John Shaeffer [drummer], Michael Shoaf, Anthony Lehant, John Henry, vol., Edw. Egnew, Patrick Campbell, Joseph Dockerty, Nicholas Nogle, Thomas Gunn.

*Listed in King's service.*—Joseph Snodgrass, Sergt.; Henry Herrigan, Corp.; Henry McAnally, Michael Fitzpatrick, Edward Cavener, Timothy Conner, William Randolph, Rob't Richmond, Alexander McCarter, John Anderson, Hugh Boyd, Thomas Walker, Joseph Higgins, Daniel Crane, Henry Taylor, Thomas Pugh.

**Capt. HANDCHITT'S COMPANY.** *Killed.*—Lt. Sam'l Cooper, Nath'l Goodrich, Wm. Goodrich, Peter Heady, Spencer Merwick, John Morris, Theophilus Hilde.

*Wounded.*—David Sage, [Sergt.]

*Prisoners.*—Capt. Oliver Handchitt; Lt. Ahl'jah Savage; 1 Benj. Catlin, Quart.; Peletiah Dewey, Sergt.; Gabriel Hodgkiss, 1st Sergt.; Gershom Wilcox, Sergt.; Roswell Ransom, Corp.; Jedediah Dewey, Corp.;\* John Riden, Samuel Biggs, Samuel Bliss, Rich'd Brewer, Sam'l Burroughs, Nath'l Coleman, Stephen Fosbury,\* Isaac George, 2 Isaac Knapp, Edw'd Lawrence, Joel Loveman,\* 3 Elijah Marshall, Daniel Rice, 4 David Sheldon, Ichabod Swaddle, Jonathan Taylor, Solomon Way,\* Nosh Whipple, Abner Stocking, Moses White, 5 Simon Winter.

*Listed in the King's service.*—6 John Basset, Drummer; Patrick Newgent.

**Capt. TOPHAM'S COMPANY.** *Killed.*—Charles King, Caleb Hacker, Hugh Blackburn.

1 Written *Chattin* by Thayer.

2 Enlisted out of Capt. Caleb Trowbridge's Co. into Capt. Hanchet's Co., for the Canada Expedition, Sept. 5, 1775.

3 Enlisted out of Major Roger Enos' Co., about the beginning of September, 1775, into Capt. Hanchet's Co., Col. Wyllys' Regt., Col. Arnold's detachment.

4 Son of David Sheldon.

5 Was a minor, and an apprentice of Joseph Forward. Was dead January 31, 1777.

6 John Bazzle, Drum Major, Conn. State Papers, III, p. 649.

The following names belonging to Capt. Hanchet's Company are added from the Connecticut State Papers, Rev. War, III, pp. 649-666:

Samuel Bemiss.

Elishma Brandegee.

Joseph Lewis; was a soldier in Capt. Hanchet's Co., and was not taken prisoner.

Aaron Bull; was sifer of Capt. Hanchet's Co. at Quebec.

Jas. Morris; was of Capt. Hanchet's Co. at Quebec, not taken prisoner.

Daniel Judd; a soldier in Capt. Hanchet's Co., went out in Capt. Trowbridge's Co. from New Haven.

James Knowles; was the Ensign in Capt. Hanchet's Co.



*Wounded*.—Joseph Kenyon, Haker Garlin.

*Prisoners*.—Capt. John Topham, Lt. Joseph Webb, Lt. Edw. Stonkum, Matthew Cogshall, Sergt.; John Finch, Sergt.; Reuben Johnson, Sergt.; Stephen Tift, Philip Rollins, John Darling, Oliver Dunnel, Wm. Underwood, Wm. Thomas, Isaac Bentley, Charles Sherman, Benj. Irvin, Benj. Durfee, Wm. Pitman, Wm. Clark, John Bentley, Jeremiah Child,\* Thomas Price, Samuel Geers, Anthony Sallahury.

*Listed in the King's service*.—Daniel Booth, Sergt.; Michael Clausey, John Liden, James Green, Patrick Kelley, Tobias Burke.

*Capt. THAYER'S COMPANY. Killed*.—Daniel Davidson, Patrick Tracy.

*Wounded*.—John Rankins, David Williams,\* Peter Field.

*Prisoners*.—Capt. Simon Thayer, Lt. Humphreys, Silas Wheeler, Thomas Law [Low], James Hayden, James Stone, Silas Hooker,\* Jonathan Jacobs, Stephen Mills, Daniel Lawrence, Elijah Fowler, Bannister Waterman, Jonathan Scott,\* Cornelius Hagerty, Benj. West, Jesse Turrell, Samuel Ingolds, Andrew Henman.\*

*Listed in King's service*.—Thomas Page, Sergt.; Moses Hemlugway, John Robinson, William Dixon, Wm. Clements, Edw. Connor, Patrick Hanington.

*Capt. GOODRICH'S COMPANY. Killed*.—Amos Bridge.

*Wounded*.—Noah Cluff, Nath'l Lord.

*Prisoners*.—Capt. Wm. Goodrich, Lt. John Cumpston, Ashley Goodrich, Sergt.; Augustus Drake, Sergt.; Festus Drake, Daniel Doyle, Jabez Chalker, Benj. Buckman, Samuel Buckman, Paul Doran, John Parrot, John Lee, David Pettes, Caleb Northrup, Roswell Ballard,\* Roswell Foot, Oliver Avery, Elijah Alden, Benj. Penree, Abner Day, John Taylor, Josiah Root, Rich'd Shackley.

*Capt. WARD'S COMPANY. Killed*.—Bishop Standley, Thomas Shepherd, John Stephen.

*Wounded*.—Eng'r James Tisdell, Nath'l Brown, Corp.; Jabez Brooks.

*Prisoners*.—Capt. Samuel Ward, Lt. John Clark, Lt. Sylvanus Shaw, Amos Boynton, Sergt.; John Sleeper, Corp.; Samuel Halbrooks,\* John Goodhue, John Shackford, Moses Merrill, Nath'l Babson, Enoch Foote, Jacob True, Josiah George, Ebenezer Tolman, Thomas Gay, John Stickney, Elijah Do'e, Elijah Hayden,\* Jeremiah Greenman, Enos Chillis, Gilbert Caswell, John Gridley, Wm. Dorr, James Rust, Joseph Pool, Israel Barritt, Bartholomew Foster,\* Joseph Ware, Thomas Fisher, Joseph Osburn.\*

*Listed in King's service*.—Charles Harkins.

[John Hekey was a member of Captain Ward's company.]

*Capt. HUBBARD'S COMPANY. Killed*.—Capt. Hubbard, Sergt. Weston.

*Prisoners*.—Lt. Sam'l Brown, Jonathan Ball, Sergt.; Mlnath Farmer, Sergt. Luther Fairbanks, Sergt.; Thomas Nichols, Oliver Smith, Simon Fobes, David Patch,\* Thomas McIntire,\* Benj. Phillips,\* Timothy Rice\* [mortally wounded and died in the hospital], Joseph White, Aaron Heath, Wm. Chamberlain, Anthony Jones, Russel Clark, Paul Ciap, Joseph Parsons, Samuel Bates, Luke Nobles,\* Joseph Burr, Oliver Edwards, George Mills.

*Listed in King's service*.—Charles McGuire, Morris Hayward, John Hall.

[Twelve men of Captain Hubbard's company were from Worcester, Mass.]

*Capt. DEARBORN'S COMPANY. Prisoners*.—Capt. Henry Dearborn, Lt. Nath'l Hutchins, Lt. Amos Andrews, Lt. Joseph Thomas, John Flanders, Jona. Perkins, Caleb Edes, Jona. Fogge, Wm. Taylor, Wm. Preston, Eben'r Tuttle, Moses Kimball, Joseph Smith, James Melvin, James Beverley, Jonathan Smith, Samuel Sias, Thomas Holmes, Moses Folsby, Charles Hillton, John Morgan, Enos Reynolds, Ellphas Reed, Robert Heath, Elkanor Danforth, Nath'l Martin, Jonathan Norris, John Dobbin, John McCalm, Charles Budget, Samuel Hewes, Aaron Serjant.

Total Killed, 35; Wounded, 33; Prisoners, 372; Total, 440.

*York forces*.—Killed, 13; Wounded, 1.

Total Killed, Wounded and Taken, 454.

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## MEMORANDA.

Captain — AYRES led a body of pioneers through the wilderness to blaze trees and "snag" bushes, "so that he might proceed in perfect security."—*Henry*.

Lieutenant ANDREW MOODY, of Capt. Lamb's company, after being exchanged, received the commission of Captain.

Lieutenant WILLIAM CROSS "was a handsome little Irishman, always neatly dressed, and commanded [on the Isle of Orleans] a detachment of about twenty men." He was not in the attack on Quebec.—*Henry*.

Sergeant William McCoy, of Hendrick's company, was an excellent clerk, and came into favor with Governor Carleton by giving to Major Murray, of the garrison, a copy of his journal of the route through the wilderness into Canada. He was a sedate and sensible man.—*Henry*.

— Metcalf, was a volunteer from Pennsylvania.

Peter Nestle, of Lamb's artillery, enlisted in the British service to secure an opportunity to escape, which he did, and joined the company at Montreal. He was made a subaltern.

John Tidd was a skillful boatman, and very useful in his vocation during the march through the wilderness.

John M. Taylor, "keen and bold as an Irish grey-hound," a ready penman and excellent accountant, was made by Colonel Arnold purveyor and commissary in the wilderness.—*Henry*.

William Reynolds, or Rannels, of Smith's company, "was miserably sick, and returned in the boats." Oct. 4, Mr. Henry purchased his rifle for twelve dollars. It was short, carried about forty-five balls to the pound, the stock greatly shattered, and worth not over forty shillings. Never did a gun, ill as its appearance was, slout with greater certainty. Previous to this purchase, Henry had lost his knapsack and rifle, in the river by the upsetting of his boat, as it swer, har. rapid.

John Shaeffer was a drummer, and purblind. In the course of the march he would frequently, in crossing ravines on logs, or in the abyss below. This man, blind, staving, and almost of the tollsome (which was unharmed by all its jostlings), snafle. mble, drum and all, into men dled in the wilderness. He was a brew. almost naked, bore his drum zen of Lancaster, Penn. Army life. to Quebec, when many other hale

Jesse W. dealer was an excellent shot, and his rifle was in frequent requisition to procure game in the march. not improve his habits.—*Henry*.

Timothy Connos. through the wilderness.

sylvania after the war. The legislature of that State granted the latter a pension. James De. and Edward Cavanagh were Irishmen. Both settled in Penn. wilderness. gherty was employed as a boatman in the expedition through the

J. V. Gwinn was a volunteer from Virginia.

John Martin, of Capt. Lamb's company, was a hardy, daring, and active young man. He undertook to convey to the American camp intelligence of the purpose of the prisoners to attempt an escape. In this hazardous enterprise he was successful.—*Henry*.

## LIST OF BALANCES DUE TO SUNDRY SOLDIERS IN THE YEAR 1776.

Luther Trowbridge.....	44	4	4	
Thomas Gould.....	3	7	6	
Thomas Botter.....	3	6	6	
John Baldarce.....	15	0	0	
Jabez Brooks.....	3	4	7	
Aaron Cleveland.....	5	9	10	
John Chaplin.....	2	8	10	
Joseph Fisset.....	3	17	4	
Thomas Dougherty.....	2	0	6	
Elijah Hadon.....	2	3	4	
Benjamin M. Kinney.....	3	6	8	
Ebenezer Langley.....	3	12	1	
John Carr Roberts.....	4	6	3	
Enoch Richardson.....	5	3	2	
Bishop Stanley.....	1	8	5	
John Stevens.....	3	14	1	
Thomas Smith.....	3	1	8	
John Clarke.....	1	15	9	
James Williams.....	—	10	8	
		557	16	11

I certify that Lieut. Colonel Samuel Ward, in the final settlement of his account with the United States, accounted for the sum of one hundred and ninety-two dollars and 44-100, as due to the individuals contained on the within List, and that sum was deducted out of his account as valued by the scale of depreciation on the first of January, 1778, a 4 for 1.

JOHN WHITE, Clerk.

Capt. Samuel Ward,

TO BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Sept. 11, 1775. Bill Clothing furnished his Company at Cambridge, by the Qr. Mr. Gen'l, viz:

[Here follow the Items.]

Towards the end money was charged to  
26 Sept'r. Thomas Dougherty, Jabez Brooks, John Lickey, who were doubtless members of Capt. Ward's Company.

## NOTE I. Page 33.

As some matches might be necessary in that event [viz: overcoming the guard at St. John's gate, and turning the cannon upon the city,] and there would be occasion for powder, in was procured in the following ingenious way. Some small gun carriages were made, mounted with paper cannon, a few inches in length. Embasures were cut with a knife in the front board of the berths on opposite sides of the room; and two parties were formed for the pigny contest. The blaze and report, as loud as small pistols, created much excitement. For this sport, many cartridges were obtained, most of which were carefully kept aside for other purposes.—Henry.

## NOTE K.

Sedgwick, in his History of Sharon, (pp. 45, 46,) states that a company from that town marched under Montgomery to Canada, and that four members of that company were with Colonel Ethan Allen in his attempt on Montreal, viz: Adonijah Maxam, David Goff, William Gray, and Samuel Lewis. They, together with Roger Moore, of Salisbury, were among those who were carried to England with Aaron Alexander Spencer, of Sharon, joined Arnold's expedition through the wilderness, but died on the march.

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## NOTE L.

The author of the History of Connecticut states that Morgan took command after Arnold received his wound and was taken to the hospital. This is an error. Arnold's division in the assault was a battalion organization, and his second in command was Lieut. Colonel Greene, and his third, Major Melgs. According to Dr. Senter's Journal, (p. 34.) after Arnold retired from the field, the division was "under the command of Lieut. Colonel Greene." Morgan joined Arnold with a single company of riflemen from Virginia, and was at no time in a position to rank Lieut. Colonel Greene.

## NOTE M.

## LETTERS FROM COLONEL ARNOLD TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

SECOND PORTAGE from Kennebec to the Dead River, }  
Oct. 13, 1776. }

## MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

A person going down the river presents the first opportunity I have had of writing your Excellency since I left Fort Western; since which we have had a very fatiguing time. The men in general not understanding batteaux have been obliged to wade and haul them for more than half way up the river. The last division is just arrived except a few batteaux. Three divisions are over the first carrying place, and as the men are in spirits I make no doubt of reaching the Chaudiere river in eight or ten days; the greatest difficulty being, I hope, already past. We have now with us about twenty-five days' provisions for the whole detachment, consisting of about nine hundred and fifty effective men. I intended making an exact return, but must defer it until I come to Chaudiere. I have ordered the commissary to hire people acquainted with the river and forward on the provisions left behind (about 100 barrels) to the Great Carrying-place, to secure our retreat. The expense will be considerable, but when set in competition with the lives or liberty of so many brave men, I think it trifling, and if we succeed, the provisions will not be lost.

I have had no intelligence from Gen. Schuyler or Canada, and expect none until I reach Chaudiere pond, where I expect a return of my express and to determine my plan of operation; which, as it is to be governed by circumstances, I can say no more than if we are obliged to return, I believe we shall have a sufficiency of provisions to reach this place, where the supply ordered the commissary to send forward, will enable us to return on our way home so far, that your Excellency will be able to relieve us. If we proceed on we shall have sufficient stock to reach the French inhabitants, when we can be supplied, if not Quebec.

I am with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed't, h'ble serv't,

B. ARNOLD.

P. S. Your Excellency may possibly think we have been tardy in our march, as we have gained so little; but when you consider the badness and weight of the batteaux and the large quantity of provisions, &c., we have been obliged to force up against a very rapid stream, where you would have taken the men for amphibious animals, as they were great part of the time under water, add to this the great fatigue in portage, you will think I have pushed the men as fast as could possibly have been. The officers, volunteers and privates, have in general acted with the greatest spirit and industry.

Inclosed is a copy of my journal, which I fancied your Excellency might be glad to see.

CHAUDIERE POND, 27th Oct., 1776.

## MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

My last, of the 13th inst. from Portage to the Dead River, advising your Excellency of our proceedings, I make no doubt you have received. I then expected to have reached this place by the 24th inst., but the excessive heavy rains and bad weather have much retarded our march. I have this minute arrived here with seventy men, and met a person on his return, whom I sent down some time since to the French inhabitants. He informs me they appear very friendly, and by the best information he could get, will very gladly

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WHITE, Clerk.

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Join us. He says they informed him Gen. Schuyler had had a battle with the regular troops at or near St. John's, in which the latter lost in killed and wounded, near 600; (this account appears very imperfect) and that there were few or none of the king's troops at Quebec, and no advice of our coming.

Three days since, I left the principal part of the detachment about three leagues below the Great Carrying-place; and as our provisions were short, by reason of losing a number of loaded batteaux at the falls and rapid waters, I ordered all the sick and feeble to return, and wrote Cols. Enos and Greene to bring on in their divisions no more men than they could furnish with fifteen days' provisions, and to send back the remainder to the commissary. As the roads prove much worse than I expected, and the season may possibly be severe in a few days, I am determined to set out immediately with five batteaux and about fifteen men for Sartigan which I expect to reach in three or four days, in order to procure a supply of provisions and forward back to the detachment; the whole of which I don't expect will reach them in less than eight or ten days. If I find the enemy are not apprised of our coming, and there is any prospect of surprising the city, I shall attempt it as soon as I have a proper number of men up. If I should be disappointed in my prospect that way, I shall await the arrival of the whole and endeavor to cut off their communication with Gov. Carleton, who, I am told, is at Montreal.

Our march has been attended with an amazing deal of fatigue, which the officers and men have borne with cheerfulness. I have been much deceived in every account of our route, which is longer and has been attended with a thousand difficulties I never apprehended; but if crowned with success and conducive to the public good, I shall think it but trifling.

I am with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed't h'ble serv't,

B. ARNOLD.

P. S. As soon as I can get time, shall send your Excellency a continuation of my Journal.

B. A.

POINT LEVI, Nov. 8, 1775.

MA Y I PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

My last letter was of the 27th of October, from Chaudiere pond, advising your Excellency that as the detachment were short of provisions (by reason of losing many of our batteaux) I had ordered Col. Enos to send back the sick and feeble, and those of his division who could not be supplied with fifteen days' provisions, and that I intended proceeding the next day with fifteen men to Sartigan, to send back provisions to the detachment. I accordingly set out the 28th, early in the morning, descended the river, amazingly rapid and rocky, for about twenty miles, when we had the misfortune to stove three of the batteaux and lose their provisions, &c., but happily, no lives. I then divided the little provisions left, and proceeded on with the two remaining batteaux and six men, and very fortunately reached the French inhabitants the 30th at night, who received us in the most hospitable manner, and sent off early the next morning a supply of fresh provisions, flour, &c., to the detachment, who are all happily arrived (except one man drowned and one or two sick—and Col. Enos's division, who, I am surprised to hear, are all gone back,) and are here and within two or three days' march. I have this moment received a letter from Brig. Gen. Montgomery, advising of the reduction of Chaudiere. I have had about forty savages join me and intend as soon as possible crossing the St. Lawrence.

I am just informed by a friend from Quebec that a frigate of 26 guns and two transports with 150 recruits, arrived there last Sunday, which with another small frigate and four other small armed vessels at the river, is all the force they have, except the inhabitants, very few of whom have taken up arms, and those by compulsion, who declare (except a few English) that they will lay them down when attacked. The town is very short of provisions, but well fortified. I shall endeavor to cut off their communication with the country, which I hope to be able to effect and bring them to terms, or at least keep them in close quarters until the arrival of Gen. Montgomery, which I wait with impatience. I hope, at any rate, to effect a junction with him at Montreal.

I am with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed. serv't,

B. ARNOLD.

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Lemuel Bay  
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Morris Cook  
James Hayd  
Silas Wheel  
Thomas Lov  
Isaac Hawe  
William Cle  
Benoni Pat  
Eleazar Tha  
John Thomp  
John Letha  
Stephen Mill  
Jonathau Se  
Elijah Fowl  
Richard Con  
Francis Fille  
John Barret  
Robert Hill,  
John Turner  
William Wil  
James Barus  
John Bridg  
Moses Hen  
Andrew Hin  
Nathaniel P  
James Vele  
Joseph Lewi  
Charles Nutt  
Peter Field,  
James Monk  
Silas Hooker  
Benjamin Di  
Patrick Trac  
Thomas Wh  
William G  
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Jeremiah M  
Davis Willie  
Caleb Gorden

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APPENDIX.

NOTE O. Page 73.

A List of men's names in Capt. SIMEON THAYER's Company, being part of the detachment under the command of Colonel BENEDICT ARNOLD, in the expedition for Canada. Cambridge, September 10, 1775.\*

Men's Names.	What Capacity.	Whose Company.	Whose Regiment.	Casualties.
Simeon Thayer,	Captain.	.....	Hitchcock.	
Lennel Bayley,	1st. Lieut.	Tew.	Church.	
William Humphrey,	2d. do.	Aldrich.	Hitchcock.	
Thomas Page,	1st. Serg't.	Thayer.	do.	
Thomas Ellis,	2d. do.	do.	do.	
Moses Bryant,	3d. do.	Field.	do.	
Samuel Singleton,	4th. do.	Kimball,	do.	
Morris Cockran,	1st. Corp'l.	do.	do.	
James Hayden,	2d. do.	Thayer.	do.	
Silas Wheeler,	3d. do.	Field.	do.	
Thomas Low,	4th. do.	Thayer.	do.	
Isaac Hawes,	Fifer.	Gridley.	Gridley.	
William Clements,	Private.	Fletcher.	Little.	
Benoni Patten,	do.	Gray.	Brewer.	
Ekeazar Thayer,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	
John Thompson	"	do.	do.	
John Latham,	"	Field.	do.	
Stephen Mills,	"	Stebbins.	Brewer.	
Jonathau Scott,	"	do.	do.	
Elijah Fowler,	"	Tew.	Church.	
Richard Conden,	"	Bradish.	Finney.	
Francis Fillebnti,	"	Butler.	Nixon.	
John Barrett,	"	do.	do.	
Robert Hill,	"	Fletcher.	Little.	
John Turner,	"	Stebbins.	Brewer.	
William Willis,	"	Powell.	Woodbridge	
James Barns,	"	Gray.	Brewer.	
John Bridges,	"	C. Olney.	Hitchcock.	Dismissed.
Moses Hemenway,	"	Thayer.	do.	
Andrew Hinman,	"	Sloan.	Patterson.	
Nathaniel Parker,	"	do.	do.	
James Welch,	"	Field.	Hitchcock.	
Joseph Lewis,	"	Harris.	Bond.	Deserted Sept. 13th.
Charles Nutting,	"	do.	do.	
Peter Field,	"	Gleason.	Nixon.	
James Monk,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	
Silas Hooker,	"	do.	do.	
Benjamin Diman,	"	Cranston.	Whitcomb.	
Patrick Tracey,	"	Parkins.	Little.	
Thomas Whittemore,	"	Williams.	Graton.	
William Gouge,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	
Joseph Jewell,	"	Ballard.	Fry.	
Patrick Harrington,	"	Perkins.	Little.	
Jeremiah Mosher,	"	Williams.	Heath.	
Davis Williams,	"	do.	do.	
Caleb Gordon,	"	Ballard.	Fry.	

\* After the printing of the Appendix and Index had been completed, the above list of Captain Thayer's company was placed in the hands of the writer, and is here inserted unpagged. The names are the same as found on pages 94 and 95, but with the addition of the names of the Captains and Colonels, from whose companies and regiments they were enlisted.

APPENDIX.

Men's Names.	What Capacity.	Whose Company.	Whose Regiment.	Casualties.
Jabez Dow,	Private.	Ballard.	Fry.	
Benjamin West,	do.	Williams.	Heath.	
Jacob Flander,	"	Ballard.	Fry.	
Stephen Bartlett,	"	do.	do.	
Samuel Bissdell,	"	do.	do.	
John Blackford,	"	Hall.	Bond.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
Abijah Adams,	"	Dexter.	Woodbridge	Do. do.
Jacob Good,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	
John Robinson,	"	do.	do.	
Cornellus Higgarty,	"	Fleld.	do.	
Matthew Phillip,	"	Hill.	Shermond.	
Isaac Fillebrown,	"	Lock.	Bond.	
Abraham Jones,	"	Kimball.	Hitchcock.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
Jonathan Jacobs,	"	Wildor.	Little.	
Pasco Austin,	"	J. Olney.	Hitchcock.	
Joseph Bosworth,	"	do.	do.	
Manie O'Daniel,	"	Fleld.	do.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
John Smith,	"	Powell.	Whitcome.	
Daniel Devizor,	"	Thayer.	do.	
Abel Ford,	"	Kimball.	do.	
Samuel Ingalls,	"	Hall.	Bond.	
Thomas Geary,	"	do.	do.	
Alexander Spencer,	"	Sloan.	Patterson.	
Jesse Jewell,	"	do.	do.	
Samuel Williams,	"	Brown.	Bond.	
Elijah Jones,	"	J. Olney.	Hitchcock.	
James Stone,	"	do.	do.	
George Leach,	"	Cranston.	Whitcome.	Deserted.
Nathanel Peas,	"	do.	do.	Deserted.
John Salsbury,	"	Brown.	Bond.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
Edward Mulligan,	"	Gleason.	Nixon.	
Eden Conner,	"	Butler.	do.	
John Holley,	"	Talbot.	Hitchcock.	
George Durant,	"	Whit'ng.	Brewer.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
Banister Waterman,	"	Curtis.	Larned.	
Joseph Plastow,	"	Hill.	Shermond.	
William Dixon,	"	Brown.	Bond.	
Moses Eady,	"	do.	do.	
John Collins,	"	McInster.	Patterson.	
John Rankin,	"	Elliot.	Putnum.	
John Ryand,	"	Gleason.	Nixon.	
John Canell,	"	Butler.	do.	
Samuel Griffith,	"	Dexter.	Woodbridge	
John Cambridge,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	In room of Mssie O'Daniel.
David Lawrance,	"	C. Olney.	do.	In room of George Durant.

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Will  
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John  
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John  
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Nat  
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John  
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APPENDIX.

NOTE P. Page 78.

RETURN OF THE SECOND BATTALION IN THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, COMMANDED BY COL. ISRAEL ANGELL.\*

NEWPORT—31.

Arthur Smith,  
John Exeung,  
John Chadwick,  
William Parker,  
Francis Gold,  
John Gibbons,  
Abner Russell,  
John Bentley,  
Benjamin Fowler,  
Uriah Wilbour,  
Nathan West,  
Edmond Pinegar,  
Joseph Brown,  
Joseph Paine,  
Nicholas Wilson,  
Richard Shield,  
Elisha Austin,  
John Horswell,  
Daniel Phillips,  
Elias Bryer,  
Jeremiah Crinman,  
Weston Clark,  
Daniel Barney,  
James Mitchell,  
Richard Pritchard,  
Southcoat Langworthy,  
Benjamin Jackson,  
Dennis Hogan,  
Michael Morigan,  
Asher Pollock,  
Prince Jackson.

PROVIDENCE—33.

Daniel Hudson,  
Philip Justice,  
Darius Thurber,  
Nathan Gale,  
William Bennet,  
Stephen Johnston,  
William White,  
Noah Chafey,  
Edward Everson,  
Patrick Capron,  
John Ragen,  
John Amon,  
Daniel Lawrence,  
Durfey Springer,  
Church Winslow,  
Ebenezer Whitaker,  
James Hopkins,  
Abijah Ford,  
Christopher Moore,  
Dennis Bagley,  
William Foster,

James Hale,  
William Middleton,  
John Walters,  
Daniel Booth,  
John Coats,  
Hann Ovander,  
John S. Robinson,  
Michael Anthony,  
Joseph Difad,  
Thomas Graves,  
Thomas Switchers,  
William Brown.

SOUTH KINGSTOWN—6.

Ephraim Dalley,  
John Billington,  
Joseph Billington,  
Cuff Peckham,  
Jos. Nokake.

NORTH KINGSTOWN—8.

Jeremiah Wilkey,  
Robert Alsborough,  
John Davis,  
Robert Dixon,  
Christopher I. Shearman,  
Franklin Tennant.

SMITHFIELD—15.

Abel Bomp,  
Benoni Bishop,  
Uriah Jones,  
Solomon Shippey,  
Zephaniah Woodward,  
Charles Crosby,  
Enoch Young,  
Abiathar Pollard,  
John Rogers,  
Elias Bishop,  
John Smith,  
B. Shrieve,  
Benjamin Smith,  
Thomas Harrington,  
Gideon Dexter.

CRAWSTON—5.

Jonathan Briggs,  
Daniel Fenner,  
Eleazer Westcoat,  
Peleg Johnson,  
William Russell.

\* The list of the men composing Major Tayer's battalion was not obtained until after the preceding pages had been printed, and is inserted here without paging.



APPENDIX.

GLOUCESTER—7.

Renben Williams,  
Amos Wood,  
Nathaniel Stoddard,  
Elisha Inman,  
Joseph Turner,  
Stukly Inman,  
Ephraim Andrews.

NEW SHOREHAM—6.

John York,  
Job Franklin,  
Edward Paine,  
John Dornb,  
Edward Dodge,  
Richard Pomp.

CUMBERLAND—4.

John Strange,  
David Collar,  
Daniel Bragg,  
Esek Dexter.

SCITUATE—6

Benjamin King,  
Jonathan Harrington,  
Paine Hinds,  
Richard Hinds,  
William Edwards,  
Stephen Phillips.

JOHNSTON—2.

Asa Johnston,  
Charles Westcoat.

TIVERTON—2.

Job Palmer,  
Abraham Springer.

EAST GREENWICH—1.

William Thomas.

CHARLESTOWN—11.

Joseph Kenyon,  
Reuben Johnson,  
Henry Perry,  
Samuel Wampy,  
Amos Mevas,  
William Capen,  
James Treddel,  
John Charles,  
Gideon Harvy,  
Edward Harvy,  
Thomas Bliss.

RICHMOND TOWN—2.

George Niles,  
John Dourse.

NORTH PROVIDENCE—2.

Abraham Hopkins,  
Richard Thorp.

LITTLE COMPTON—3.

Anthony Sallsbury,  
John Taber,  
James Tompkins,

Total—141.

Examined from their several lists of Returns.

SIMEON THAYER, Major.



A P P E N D I X .

NOTE.—Page 85.

It is stated that Captain Ward's certificate of commission in the United States Army, was the first signed by General Washington. Captain Ward applied for it at the request of Governor Ward, and dined with Washington at the time he received it. In October, 1775, Mr. Secretary Henry Ward went to Cambridge with Governor Cooke, where they met Dr. Franklin and several other gentlemen, and acted as commissioners to talk over and arrange matters requisite for the benefit of the army. The following letter to Captain Ward, was written from that place by his uncle, the Secretary. It came to light after the preceding pages had passed through the press, and is an exact copy of the original

CAMBRIDGE, October 15th, 1775.

DEAR NEPHEW:

I last Night rec'd Letters from your Father who is well I left Providence on Thursday & there saw Mr. Davids who was at your Father's House on Tuesday last. The Family with your Aunts (who have moved into your Father's House) were all well. Your Father informs me that the Congress have received such authentic Intelligence from G. Britain as convinces them that the Ministry are determined to make a vigorous Push for the Conquest of the Colonies, and the Congress are consequently determined upon the most resolute Measures.

The Army here is in high Health and Spirits. And nothing is wanted to enable them to drive the Enemy out of Boston but a sufficient Quantity of Powder. By the last accounts I can collect, 3000 Men may be expected at Boston very soon; which is all the Force that will probably come this Fall. Should it please God to crown the Expedition you are upon with success, I need not press you to use your Endeavors that the Army may behave with such Prudence as to conciliate the Affections of the Canadians. This is all the Paper I have which I will use in praying God to bless you, and assuring you that I am,  
your affec'o Uncle,

HENRY WARD.

Capt. Ward.

The superscription of the above letter is as follows :

To  
Capt. SAMUEL WARD,  
In Col. Arnold's Army,  
QUEBEC.

Favoured by Mr. Price.

Adams, F  
Arnold, C  
7, 8, 10,  
a count  
23; his  
Gen. W  
Amnegu  
Allen, Co  
Allen, C  
Ansell, C  
Andrews,  
Ashton, J  
33, 43.

Batouax  
Balch, Ne  
Beverly, S  
Berry, M  
Bedel, Co  
Bigelow, J  
prisoner  
Born, Lie  
Boyd, Th  
Brown, M  
Brown, L  
Bullen, D  
Burr, Aar

Canada, I  
Carleton, C  
43; imm  
Carleton, S  
Campbell  
Caldwell, J  
Canann, 4  
Carver, Ca  
Chandlere  
Chatham's  
Champlain  
Cheesema  
Chatlin, G  
oner, 31  
Church, C  
Church, -  
Clarkson,  
Clifton, J  
Clark, Lie  
Clinton, C  
Colbourn,  
Copelln, C  
Commissi  
Compo H  
Compston  
Council of  
Croto, So  
Cunningh

Dearborn  
prisoner  
51.  
Dewey, Q  
Dead Riv  
Devil's Fi  
Deming, C

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Эгопортретъ Арнольда

MAJ GEN BENEDICT ARNOLD

*B. Arnold Major Genl*

W. & A. G. LEITCHAM & Co.

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PRIN

REVOLUTIONARY CORRESPONDENCE

FROM

1775 to 1782.

COMPRISING LETTERS WRITTEN BY

GOVERNORS NICHOLAS COOKE, WILLIAM GREENE, JOHN COLLINS, JONATHAN TRUMBULL, GENERALS WASHINGTON, GREENE, SULLIVAN, SPENCER AND CORNELL, COLONEL WILLIAM RICHMOND, ADMIRAL PIGOT, HON. JABEZ BOWEN, COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN, HON. METCALF BOWLER, HON. HENRY MARCHANT, JOSEPH STANTON, Jr., WILLIAM ALLEN AND AMBROSE PAGE, Esqs., AND OTHERS.

PRINTED FROM THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## ADDENDA TO WORKS ON THE INVASION OF CANADA.

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**DEARBORN'S JOURNAL.** It is understood that Captain Henry Dearborn kept a Journal of his march through the wilderness, and of his experiences while a prisoner at Quebec but it is not known to have been printed.

**HISTORY OF CANADA,** by Andrew Bell, 2 vols.

**HOLLISTER'S History of Connecticut.**

**IRVING'S Life of Washington** contains several chapters relating to the Invasion of Canada, and some references.

**JOURNAL OF CONGRESS.** The Journals of the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, in 1776, contain interesting facts relating to the Invasion of Canada. The volumes for 1775 and 1776 should not be overlooked by the historical student.

**JOURNAL of Madama De Reidesel,** translated by William L. Stone. This new translation gives the portions of the Journal hitherto suppressed, touching American Slavery.

**JOURNAL, (MS.)** kept at Three Rivers in 1775-6, by M. Badeux, a Royalist Notary.

**JOURNAL** kept during the siege of Fort St. John, by one of its defenders, (M. Antoine Foucher.)

**JOURNAL, (MS.)** of Sanguinet, a Montreal Barrister.

Two of the above Journals have already been referred to p. iv, under the head of "French Journals."

**MEMOIRS DE SANGUINET. (MS.)**

**MORGAN'S Sketches of celebrated Canadians.**

**PEIRCE'S JOURNAL.** Of this Journal and its author, Charles Congdon, Esq., Treasurer of the Bradford Club,\* in New York, has kindly communicated the following particulars: It is a closely written manuscript, containing the daily occurrences from September 25th, 1775, to January 16th, 1776. The first leaf, and several leaves at the end, are unfortunately wanting. The author, John Peirce, was of Worcester, Mass. He belonged to the contingent, and as Engineer and Surveyor was attached to one of the parties mentioned by Meigs and Henry, as being sent forward from Fort Western to establish the bearings of the route through the wilderness. This Journal, it is believed, has not hitherto been known to any of our historians.

**SEDGWICK'S History of Sharon.**

**STATEMENT OF THE EXPEDITION TO CANADA, &c.** By Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne. Six maps. Quarto, untrimmed, boards, 1780. Octavo, bound, second edition, 1780.

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**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.** In the acknowledgments of courtesies, the names of A. W. Green, Esq., Librarian of the New York Mercantile Library Association, and of Francis Lawton, Esq., Newport, R. I., should have been included.

**ERRATA.** Preface. The residence of Richard R. Ward, Esq., is New York. The middle initial in Mr. Bushnell's name should be I.

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\*The publications of the BRADFORD CLUB have reached six in number, the first being "Hatfield and Deerfield," and all in the highest style of art. One hundred copies only of Melvin's Journal were printed for the Club.



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## INTRODUCTION.

### INVASION OF CANADA.



WHEN, early in 1775, a breach with the Mother Country seemed inevitable, and far-sighted men like the Adamses, Samuel Ward and Patrick Henry, perceived in the events of the hour the embryo of an Independent Nation, the leaders of popular rights cast about for help to strengthen their plans when they should be developed in positive action. They naturally looked to Canada as an important northern barrier. The interests of the French population were thought to be identical with those of the Colonies, and there was reason for the belief that in a general uprising their support would readily be given. Should Canada be invaded by a provincial army, and St. John's, Montreal and Quebec secured by conquest,

nothing would be in the way of the people there throwing off the British yoke.

With some, however, the invasion of Canada was not a favorite scheme. They had not gone so far yet to decide affirmatively upon the question of National Independence, and when the first Congress met, many were decided on a further attempt to reconcile the existing difficulties, by a petition to the King.

Whatever might have been the contingent purpose of Congress in reference to Canada, a disclaimer of an intended invasion was deemed, under the circumstances, expedient; and accordingly on the 1st of June such a disclaimer was made. But a violent proclamation issued by the British Governor, denouncing the border inhabitants of the Colonies as traitors, and inciting the Indians against New York and New England, changed the current of opinion in the Congress, and led to the avowal of an aggressive purpose. In July, preliminary to a movement of this character, Major John Brown, accompanied by four men, visited Canada for the purpose of obtaining intelligence in regard to the military preparations making there by the King's troops, the situation of St. John's, Chambly, Montreal and Quebec, and also to ascertain the feelings of the Canadians towards the Colonial cause. They found them favorably affected, were kindly received by the French, were often protected when exposed to danger, and were assured it was their wish to see a Continental army in Canada; engaging, if it came, to supply it with everything in their power. The Indians also expressed a determination to act with the Canadians. At this time there were but about seven hundred of the King's troops in Canada, of which near three hundred were at St. John's and only about fifty at Quebec. The residue were at Montreal, Chambly, and at the upper posts. Every thing seemed favorable for the contemplated invasion. Major Brown and his party

remained in Canada but three days, and after several hair-breadth escapes reached Crown Point August 10th, in safety.

Events had now ripened for action. Colonel Ethan Allen had taken possession of Ticonderoga, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Crown Point had surrendered to the Provincial forces, two British vessels had been taken, which gave to the Americans the control of Lake Champlain, and thus "the gates of Canada were thrown open," inviting an unresisting entrance. Nothing now remained but to improve the opportunity by pushing forward. For this work of invasion, Generals Schuyler and Montgomery were designated, who at once began an advance from Ticonderoga. On reaching Isle-aux-Noix, Colonel Allen was sent forward with Major Brown, accompanied by interpreters, into Canada, with letters to the Canadians, to let them know that the design of the army was only against the English garrisons, and not the country, their liberties, or their religion. This undertaking, though attended with much danger, was successfully accomplished. But before the army was ready to leave the Isle-aux-Noix, General Schuyler was taken sick and returned to Albany, leaving the command with General Montgomery. He subsequently returned, with the hope of being able to move with the army, but his disorder (a bilious fever) reappearing with increased violence, he was obliged, reluctantly, to withdraw from personal participation in the enterprise. General Schuyler had entered heartily into the scheme of getting possession of Canada, and securing it to the cause of National Freedom, and felt deeply chagrined in not being able to lead his troops forward. Writing to Washington on the subject, he says:

"The vexation of spirit under which I labor, that a barbarous complication of disorders should prevent me from reaping those laurels for which I have unweariedly wrought, since I was honored with this command; the anxiety I have suffered since my arrival here, lest the army should starve, occasioned by a scandalous want of subordination and inattention to my orders, in some of the officers I left to command at the different posts; the vast variety of disagreeable and vexatious incidents, that almost every hour arise in some department or other,—not only retard my cure, but have put me considerably back for some days past. If Job had been a General in my situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience. But the glorious end we have in view, and which I have confident hope will be attained, will atone for all."\*

The army at Isle-aux-Noix, on the 10th of September, consisted of 1394 rank and file. These were reinforced by Colonel Livingston's company of New Yorkers, 170 Green Mountain Boys under Colonel Seth Warner, Captain Allen's company of the same corps raised in Connecticut, about 100 men of Colonel Bedel's from New Hampshire, and a company of artillery under Captain Lamb; the whole probably not exceeding 1800 men. Up to September 26th, 726 men were found to be unfit for further service during this campaign, and were discharged.

On the 5th of September, the army embarked at the Isle-aux-Noix for St. John's, which was at once besieged, and on the 3d of November was taken possession of by the victorious Continentals. On the 13th of the same month Montreal surrendered. Quebec was the next object of possession, for without that the subjugation

\*Gen. Schuyler's letter to Washington.

†Quebec was founded on the 3d of July, 1608, by Captain Samuel de Champlain, Geographer to the French King. His commencement was on Cape Diamond, on the site of an Indian village called Stadacone. Champlain died in Quebec, and according to tradition was buried in the upper town. This, it appears, was a mistake. Recently the original grave was discovered in the lower town, there having been one or two removals. About ten years ago the bones were placed in a box, but where deposited is not at this time (Dec. 1866,) known.

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or perseverance of Canada was impossible. To aid the invading army under Montgomery in the attempt upon that city, a coöperative expedition by the way of the Kennebec river through the wilderness of Maine and Canada, to form a junction before Quebec, was devised, and the command given to Colonel Benedict Arnold. He was well adapted to such an undertaking. He was a brave, skillful and energetic officer; was inured to the hardships of military life; was sufficiently ambitious to insure vigorous activity to all his movements, and having previous to the war, visited Quebec as a trader, he had formed an acquaintance with many of its citizens, and acquired a knowledge of its localities that could be turned to advantage in his military operations.

The following were officers in this expedition:

*Colonel.* BENEDICT ARNOLD,\* Norwich, Conn.

*Lieut. Colonels.* CHRISTOPHER GREENE, Warwick, R. I.; ROGER ENOS, Conn.

*Majors.* RETURN J. MEIGS, Middletown, Conn.; TIMOTHY BIGELOW, Worcester, Mass.

*Lieutenant and Adjutant.* CHRISTIAN FERGIE, Copenhagen, Denmark. *Quartermaster.* — HYDE, Mass. *Chaplain.* Rev. SAMUEL SPRING, Newburyport, Mass. *Surgeon.* ISAAC SENTER, Newport, R. I. *Surgeon's Mate.* — GREENE.

*Captains.* SIMON THAYER, Providence, R. I.; SAMUEL WARD, Westerly, R. I.; JOHN TOPHAM, Newport, R. I.; WILLIAM GOODRICH, Great Barrington, Mass.; JONAS HUBBARD, Worcester, Mass.; — WILLIAMS, Mass.; — SCOTT, Mass.; OLIVER HANCHET, Suffield, Conn.; ELEAZER OSWALD, New Haven, Conn.; WILLIAM HENDRICKS, Penn.; MATTHEW SMITH, Lancaster, Penn.; HENRY DEARBORN, East Nottingham, N. H.; DANIEL MORGAN, Frederick Co., Va.; — MCCOBB, Georgetown. *Brigade Major.* MATTHIAS OGDEN, and AARON BURR, volunteer, N. J.

*Lieutenants.* ARCHIBALD STEELE, (Adjutant) Lancaster, Penn.; MICHAEL [George?] SIMPSON, Penn.; FRANCIS NICHOLS, Cumberland Co., Penn.; ANDREW MOODY; JOHN HUMPHREYS, Va.; WILLIAM HETH, 2d, Frederick Co. Va.; PETER O'BRIEN BRUEN, Frederick Co., Va.; SAMUEL COOPER, Conn.; ABIJAH SAVAGE, (Quartermaster) Middletown, Conn.; JOSEPH WENN, Newport, R. I.; EDWARD SLOCUM, Tiverton, R. I.; WILLIAM HUMPHREY, Providence, R. I.; LEMUEL BAILY, Providence, R. I.; SYLVANUS SHAW, Newport, R. I.; JOHN COMPTON, Saco, (Dist. Maine) Mass.; JOHN CLARK, Hadley, Mass.; SAMUEL BROWN, Acton, Mass.; JAMES TISDALE, Medfield, Mass.; — CUMSTOCK, Mass.; AMMI [Amos?] ANDREWS, Hillsborough, N. H.; NATHANIEL HUTCHINS, Dunbarton, N. H., afterwards Captain; JOSEPH THOMAS, Deerfield, N. H., fell in the action at Quebec; — McCLELAND, Penn., died in the wilderness; — CHURCH; BENJAMIN CATLIN, (Quartermaster) Weathersfield, Conn.

It will be seen by the foregoing list that Rhode Island was ably represented in this Expedition. Lieutenant Colonel Greene proved, both in the wilderness and before Quebec, that the judgment which selected him for that trying and perilous service had not been mistaken. He subsequently served with distinction as a Colonel in the Continental line, and at Red Bank crowned his name with imperishable

\*Colonel BENEDICT ARNOLD was born in Norwich, Conn., January 3d, 1741, and consequently was thirty-four years of age when he entered upon this command. He was an able and intrepid officer, but unfortunately the victim of a low moral sense. His career as a General in the Continental army is too familiar to require particular notice. A life brilliant in promise, closed in ignominy. He died in London, June 14th, 1801, aged 60 years. See Life of Arnold in Spark's Biography.

†This list has been collected from various authentic sources. It is probably incomplete.

honor. Captain Topham was esteemed a valuable officer, and succeeded Colonel Barton in the command of a Rhode Island regiment. Captain Ward showed great energy of character and undoubted patriotism. He was promoted to be Major, and at Red Bank, and afterwards to the close of the war, met promptly and satisfactorily, the demands made upon his military abilities. Captain Thayer, who was honored after his release from imprisonment, with the rank of Major, is identified with one of the most brilliant battles of the Revolutionary war. Dr. Senter, who served usefully in this Expedition, took position after leaving the army, as a leading physician and surgeon in the State. The under officers and privates composing Arnold's command were for the most part taken from among the yeomanry, and were men who comprehended the nature of the conflict to which they were committed. To them, the freedom of their country was dear, and to secure it they were ready to lay upon the altar their cherished personal comforts, and to abide the results of battle. Such men were likely to make good soldiers, and by their correct deportment to gain the commendation of general officers under whom they might be called to serve. And thus it proved with them. The eye of General Montgomery was quick to recognize their soldierly qualities. "I find," he said, "Colonel Arnold's corps an exceedingly fine one, inured to fatigue, and well accustomed to cannon shot (at Cambridge). There is a style of discipline among them much superior to what I have been used to see this campaign. He himself is active, intelligent and enterprising."

General Washington had carefully studied the plan for acquiring possession of Canada and inducing the native population to join their fortunes with the Americans, in rising to the dignity of a Nationality. He had a keen perception of the importance of this movement, and was solicitous that nothing should occur to mar its success. He foresaw the possibility of the invading army indulging in pillage on their march, or of committing other acts when established in the country that might convert friends into foes. To guard against this, he drew up a series of instructions, clear and explicit in their details, which were communicated to Colonel Arnold for the government of himself and his men. He was to exercise the utmost vigilance in guarding against surprisals. On arriving in Canada, he was to ascertain by every means in his power, the real sentiments of the inhabitants towards the American cause, and to maintain the strictest discipline and good order among his own troops. He was to conciliate the affections both of the Canadians and of the Indians, and convince them that his army came among them as friends and "not as robbers." He was to pay the full value for all provisions and accommodations received, and abstain from pressing the people or any of their cattle into his service, while he was "amply to compensate" those who voluntarily assisted him. Only the "King's stores" were to be appropriated to the Continental use. In case of a union with General Schuyler, who it was then expected would lead the Invasion by way of St. John's and Montreal, Arnold was to serve under him, and not to consider himself "as upon a separate and independent command." He was to keep Washington acquainted with his progress and prospects, and to send the intelligence of any important occurrence by express. He was to protect and support the free exercise of the religion of the country, and the undisturbed enjoyment of the rights of conscience in religious matters. If Lord Chatham's son should be in Canada, and in any way should fall into his power, he was to treat him with all possible deference and respect. "You cannot err," said the instructions, "in paying too much honor to the son of so illustrious a character, and so true a friend to America. Any other persons who may fall into your hands, you will treat with as much humanity and kindness as may be consistent with your own safety and the public interest."

The plan of reaching Quebec by the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers is said to

have been of a Journal of the year 1760 service.

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have been original with Arnold, and to have been suggested to him by the perusal of a Journal of an exploring expedition from Quebec into the interior of Maine, about the year 1760, written by Colonel Montrosser, an officer of Engineers in the British service.

The troops to accompany Colonel Arnold assembled at Cambridge, and on the 13th of September commenced their march to Newburyport. Previous to leaving, General Washington, with increasing solicitude for the prosperity of the Expedition, addressed a letter to Colonel Arnold, again charging him, his officers and soldiers, to respect the persons, private property and religion of the people whose country they were soon to occupy, and to refrain from every act that might militate against personal honor or the success of the enterprise. An address to the inhabitants of Canada was also printed and forwarded to Arnold at Fort Western, to be distributed among the people on his arrival at Quebec, explaining the object of the invasion, assuring them of protection, inviting them to furnish supplies for the Provincial army, and urging them to make common cause in the overthrow of tyranny by joining "the standard of general liberty."

Arnold's force consisted of thirteen companies, comprising 1100 men. These were divided into two battalions, the first commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Christopher Greene, and the second by Lieutenant Colonel Roger Enos. On the 19th of September they sailed in ten transports from Newburyport, the fleet being under the command of Captain Clarkson, and reached the Kennebec river the next day. On the 23d they arrived at Fort Western, where they remained a day or two, and then proceeded to Fort Halifax. From thence they advanced to Norridgewock, at which place they halted until the morning of October 9th, when a general movement commenced.

The army set off in high spirits. A month, however, sufficed to cool the ardor of the less sanguine. Unthought of obstacles impeded their progress. The streams were rapid and hard to navigate; boats were dashed in pieces, and the hardy voyagers barely escaped watery graves; the autumn storms were cold and piercing; encampments were flooded by overflowing rivers; swamps and morasses spread in the track of the advancing columns; little confidence was felt in the intelligence of guides who were leading them daily deeper into an almost unknown wilderness; provisions had become exhausted; roots, dog-meat, soup made of raw-bide moccasins, and entrails broiled on the coals, became luxuries; and death by starvation stared them in the face. It required nerves of steel to survey the prospect before them with calmness, much more with hope, and the question of return was often discussed. In the then crude state of military authority, the control held by officers over their men was more the result of personal regard than of deference to position. Every man had an opinion, and was free to express it. Among a portion of the troops the views of both officers and men coincided. Disaffection had extended to three companies, and it became advisable to hold a council of war for decisive measures. This took place October 25th, on reaching Dead River.

Arnold, who was ignorant of the design afterwards put in execution, had gone on with the advance. At the council, Lieutenants Colonel Greene and Enos, Major Bigelow, Captains Topham, Thayer, Ward, Williams, McCobb, Scott, Adjutant Hyde and Lieutenant Peters were present. Major Meigs, Captains Morgan, Smith, Hsuehet, Hubbard, Goodrich, Hendricks and Dearborn were absent on duty. It was now a moment of anxious interest. The decision of the hour would strengthen a patriotic resolve, or fill the country with painful disappointment. In accordance with military custom the opinions of the younger officers were first elicited. Captain Ward, a youth of only eighteen years, was now called upon for his opinion. He expressed it frankly and decidedly. The idea of giving up the expedition was totally repugnant to his brave nature, and with a patriotism for which he was ever



after distinguished, he gave his voice for advancing. There was power in that decision, and one can readily imagine with what a look of approval it was recognized by the gallant Greene. Captains Thayer and Topham took the same side with no less promptness, as did Lieutenants Colonel Greene and Enos, and Major Bigelow. Captains Williams, McCobb and Scott, Adjutant Hyde and Lieutenant Peters, took an opposite view. They considered the success of the Expedition hopeless, and gave their voices for returning. The decision to advance was carried by a single vote; but the minority, immediately after the dissolution of the council, conferred together, and unanimously resolved to go back with their men. As the three disaffected companies belonged to Lieutenant Colonel Enos' battalion, he decided, though as he said, reluctantly, and for reasons that he considered a justification of the step, to go back with them. This he accordingly did.\*

The withdrawal of so many men was a serious loss to Arnold, but did not in the least shake his determination to see Quebec. To facilitate the advance of the army, he had sent forward a party consisting of Lieutenant Archibald Steele, Jesse Wheeler, John Joseph Henry, George Merchant, James Clifton, Robert Cunningham, Thomas Hoyd, John Tidd, John McKonkey, Jeremiah Getchol and John Horne, the two latter being guides, for the purpose of finding and marking the paths used by the Indians at the numerous carrying places in the wilderness, and also to ascertain the course of the Chaudière river. Provided with two birch bark canoes, they set out in high spirits, and travelled until October 8th, blazing trees and "snagging bushes" with their tomahawks, when they reached the height of land which divides the waters of New England from those of Canada. Another day brought them to the Chaudière river, when they commenced their return. They continued their course until October 17th, when, to their great joy, they fell in with a party of pioneers building a cau-eway for the passage of the army, having suffered excessively from hunger and exhaustion.

Sickness, the concomitant of exposure, soon made its appearance among the troops. On the seventh day after leaving Norridgewock, fatigue, diarrhoea and rheumatism had so multiplied the sick, as to render the erection of a building for their reception necessary. Accordingly a block house was built and named "Arnold's Hospital," which was immediately filled. Among the patients was a young gentleman by the name of Irvin, an Ensign in Captain Morgan's company. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and had been educated for the medical profession. Early in the march from Cambridge, he was seized with dysentery, for which he could not be prevailed upon to take medicine. Wading in the water by day, and sleeping on the ground at night, brought on a violent rheumatism, which swelled the joints of his extremities to an enormous size, and rendered them inflexible. He was left at the hospital to be sent back with others.

Weakened as the little army was by the defection of three companies, the courage and spirit of the remaining ten still held good. Scouting the idea of abandoning the Expedition, they continued their advance to the Chaudière river, and thence to Sartigan, a Canadian settlement, where they arrived November 3d. Here, the next day, Colonel Arnold was waited upon by a body of savages accompanied by an interpreter, to inquire his reason for coming among them in a hostile manner. They addressed him in great pomp, and one of their chiefs delivered an oration with all the air and gesture of an accomplished orator. After this being explained or translated, the Colonel returned the following answer:

"FRIENDS AND BRETHREN:—I feel myself very happy in meeting with so many of my brethren from the different quarters of the great country, and more so as I find we meet as friends, and that we are equally concerned in this expedition. Brethren, we are the chil-

\*See Journal, pp. 10, 11.

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children of those people who have now taken up the hatchet against us. More than one hundred years ago, we were all as one family. We then differed in our religion, and came over to this great country by consent of the King. Our fathers bought land of the savages, and have grown a great people. Even as the stars in the sky. We have planted the ground, and by our labor grow rich. Now a new King and his wicked great men want to take our lands and money without our consent. This we think unjust, and all our great men from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, met together at Philadelphia, where they all talked together, and sent a prayer to the King, that they would be brothers and fight for him, but would not give up their lands and money. The King would not hear our prayer, but sent a great army to Boston, and endeavored to set our brethren against us in Canada. The King's army at Boston came out into the fields and houses, killed a great many women and children, while they were peaceably at work. The Bostonians sent to their brethren in the country, and they came in unto their relief, and in six days raised an army of fifty thousand men, and drove the King's troops on board their ships, killed and wounded fifteen hundred of their men. Since that they durst not come out of Boston. Now we hear the French and Indians in Canada have sent to us, that the King's troops oppress them and make them pay a great price for their rum, &c.; press them to take up arms against the Bostonians, their brethren, who have done them no hurt. By the desire of the French and Indians, our brothers, we have come to their assistance, with an intent to drive out the King's soldiers; when drove off we will return to our country, and leave this to the peaceable enjoyment of its proper inhabitants. Now if the Indians, our brethren, will join us, we will be very much obliged to them, and will give them one Portuguese per month, two dollars bounty, and find them their provisions, and they liberty to choose their own officers.'

This declaration had the desired effect. About fifty of them embodied according to agreement, took their canoes and proceeded.\*

Soon after the battle of Bunker Hill, Aaron Burr, accompanied by his friend Matthias Ogden, set out from Elizabethtown, N. J., for Cambridge, to offer his services to the Colonial cause. Burr had now entered his twentieth year, and with an enthusiastic and adventurous nature, he gladly improved the opportunity to join Arnold, as a volunteer, in this expedition. The step was contrary to the wishes of his friends, one of whom followed him to Newburyport to induce him to return. Eutreaties proving unavailing, he was furnished with a small sum of gold to meet necessary incidental expenses. He continued with Arnold, sharing in the privations of his companions until the army reached Chaudiere Pond, when he was despatched with a verbal message to General Montgomery. Disguised as a young Catholic Priest, he proceeded on his journey, which was successfully accomplished. Pleased with the appearance of Burr, General Montgomery at once gave him a place in his military family. Upon the duties of his new position he entered with characteristic vigor, and in the assault upon Quebec led a forlorn hope of forty men. He stood near Montgomery when he fell, but escaped being taken prisoner.† And

\* From our last lodgings [Sartigan] hired a peasant, and proceeded down the river in a canoe five miles to a victualling house, or other place of rendezvous. This village, St. Josephs, made a further agreement, and continued down the river about four miles further, as we found nothing agreeable since our arrival, except one quart of New England rum, (if that was to be allowed so,) for which I paid one hard dollar. We were making enquiry at every likely stage; for this purpose visited an old peasant's house, where was a merry old woman at her loom, and two or three fine young girls. They were exceedingly rejoiced with our company. Bought some eggs, rum, sugar, sweetmeats, &c., where we made ourselves very happy. Upon the old woman being acquainted from whence we came, [she] immediately fell singing and dancing "Yankee Doodle" with the greatest air of good humour. After making the old woman satisfied for her kickshaws, saluted her for her civilities, &c., marched. The distance computed from the Chaudiere Lake to the inhabitants, one hundred miles. From thence to Quebec, ninety."—*Senter's Journal*.

† Colonel Trumbull, in his great national painting, represents General Montgomery as falling into Burr's arms.

thus was opened to an ambitious young man, resembling, in some qualities of character, his commander Arnold, a career of high promise, destined however, as the sequel proved, to an unhappy blight. Having achieved a distinguished military reputation, and after filling the position of Vice-President of the United States, he closed an eventful life with a cloud resting upon his name.†

Pressing forward in defiance of all untoward circumstances, Arnold and his detached band, now reduced to about 550 effective men, reached Point Lévis on the 8th November, crossed the St. Lawrence with the aid of thirty-five canoes on the 13th, and advancing to the Plains of Abraham, sat down in defiant attitude before Quebec. On the 14th, Arnold sent a flag with a letter to Lieut. Governor Cramahé, demanding the surrender of the city. The officer bearing the flag, on approaching the walls was fired upon, and narrowly escaped being killed. The officer retired from his perilous position. A second flag was sent, with a similar result. This method of refusing to receive a flag, so contrary to military usage, called forth an indignant letter from Arnold, in which he threatened the British commander with retaliation. On the 18th he inspected the condition of the arms and ammunition of his little army, and found that a great part of the cartridges were unfit for service, leaving not more than five rounds for each man, while one hundred muskets, or about one-fifth of the whole, proved to be worthless for present use. In the mean time, he had ascertained that the garrison of the enemy had been augmented to about seven hundred men—and soon swelled to about nineteen hundred—a force too large to justify an immediate attempt to storm the city. It was deemed therefore prudent to fall back to Point-aux-Trembles, and await the arrival of General Montgomery. This, after trying in vain to draw the enemy into the open field, was done, Nov. 19th.

The work undertaken by General Montgomery was environed with no ordinary difficulties. He had not only to contend with the rigors of a Canadian winter,—with the small pox and other forms of disease which ravaged his camp and threatened more destruction than was to be apprehended from the enemy, but also to compose the dissensions that had sprung up among his officers, and to allay the spirit of disaffection they had spread among the men, which presaged ruin to the campaign. But he showed himself equal to the emergency, and under all these unpromising circumstances continued his advance from Montreal. On the 31 December he formed a junction with Arnold at Point-aux-Trembles and the next day the united forces appeared before Quebec. On the 6th General Montgomery sent a flag of truce to Governor Carleton, summoning a surrender. The flag he refused to receive, declaring that he would hold no parley with rebels. Batteries were established within striking distance of the walls, protected by breastworks of snow, converted into solid ice by pouring water upon it. But it was soon found that the metal thrown by the artillery was too light to breach the walls or do any essential damage inside.\* Here the dissensions before mentioned again broke out, which necessitated a change in the original plan of attack. December 31st had been fixed upon for making an assault. Early in the morning of that day the army, now only eight hundred strong, began to move in two columns upon the Lower Town. The first, led by Montgomery, was to make an attack at Cape Diamond, while the second, under Arnold, was to attack through St. Roque. The assaults were made with great vigor, but with disaster to the American cause. General Montgomery

†To the Lives of Burr written by Davis, Knapp and Parton, the reader is referred for details of an extraordinary man.

\*“I never expected any other advantage from our artillery than to amuse the enemy and blind them to my real intention.”—*Montgomery to General Wooster.*

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early fell mortally wounded, while aiding in removing the pickets at Cape Diamond, for the ingress of his men. Arnold's command carried a two-gun battery, which the enemy bravely defended for an hour. In this attack he was shot through the leg, and was compelled to retire from the field,\* while his men pushed on to a second barrier, which they took, but not without severe loss. The enemy had the advantage of the ground in front, a vast superiority of numbers, and dry and better arms, which gave them an irresistible power in so narrow a space. Humphreys, upon a mound, which was speedily erected, attended by many brave men, attempted to scale the barrier, but was compelled to retreat by the formidable phalanx of bayonets witho, and the weight of fire from the platform and the adjacent buildings. Morgan, brave to temerity, stormed and raged. Hendricks, Steele, Nichols and Humphrey, equally brave, were calm, though under a tremendous fire. Hendricks, when aiming his rifle, received a ball through his heart, and instantly expired. Humphrey, of Virginia, in like manner received a death wound. Lient. Cooper, of Connecticut, was killed. Captain Lamb had a portion of his face carried away by a grape or canister shot. Lient. Steele lost three of his fingers as he was presenting his gun to fire. Captain Hubbard and Lient. Tisdale were also among the wounded † The battle raged fiercely for the space of four and a half hours, when a sudden sally of the enemy from the Palace gate upon their rear, forced the surrender of such of Arnold's men as could not effect an escape. Thus, in one brief half day, vanished the brilliant anticipations of the preceding three months.

The number of killed, wounded, and taken prisoners in this battle has been variously stated, and may not as yet be definitely certain. Immediately after the fight, General Carleton reported the American loss in killed and wounded to be one hundred. Major Melis estimated the loss at the same number. A school history fixes the killed at 160, and the prisoners at 426. Ware gives a list of names, and sums up results as follows: Killed, 48; wounded, 31; taken prisoners, 372; total, 451. This is more reliable than any statement that has previously been made. Yet this list may not include all of either class. Of the company with which Captain Thayer started from Cambridge, 22 were sent back from the wilderness sick, 11 were killed at Quebec, 27 including himself were taken prisoners, 3 deserted, 8 enlisted in the King's service, 3 entered on board a man-of-war, and 2 on board fishermen, leaving 8 as escaped, or to be otherwise accounted for. Of Captain Morgan's company, less than twenty-five regained their native homes. "Our loss and repulse," says Arnold, in a letter to Washington, "struck an amazing panic into both officers and men, and had the enemy improved their advantage, our affairs here must have been

\* "Daylight had scarce made its appearance, ere Colonel ARNOLD was brought in supported by two soldiers, wounded in the leg with a piece of a musket ball. The ball had probably come in contact with a cannon, rock, stone or the like, ere it entered the leg which had cleft off nigh a third. The other two-thirds entered the outer side of the leg, about midway, and in an oblique course passed between the tibia and fibula, lodged in the gastrocnemius muscle at the rise of the tendon achilles, where upon examination I easily discovered and extracted it. Before the Colonel was done with, Major GGDEN came in wounded through the left shoulder, which proved only a flesh wound.

"We were momentarily expecting them [the enemy] out upon us, as we concluded Arnold's division, then under the command of Lient. Col. Greene, were all killed, captured, &c. Under these circumstances, we entreated Colonel Arnold for his own safety to be carried back into the country where they would not readily find him when out, but to no purpose. He would neither be removed nor suffer a man from the Hospital to retreat. He ordered his pistols loaded, with a sword on his bed, &c., adding that he was determined to kill as many as possible if they came into the room. We were now all soldiers, even to the wounded in their beds were ordered a gun by their side."—*Dr. Senter's Journal*.

† Henry, pp. 117-119.

entirely ruined. It was not in my power to prevail on the officers to attempt saving our mortars, which had been placed in St. Roque's. Of course they fell into the hands of the enemy. Upwards of one hundred officers and soldiers instantly set off for Montreal, and it was with the greatest difficulty I could persuade the rest to make a stand."

"During the night of the attack on Quebec, there was a tempestuous snow-storm. The bodies of the persons slain under the cliff of Cape Diamond, were not discovered till morning, when they were found nearly enveloped in snow. They were taken into the city on a sled. Three of them were known to the officers, and from the initials R. M. written in a fur cap, picked up at the place of the bloody catastrophe, it was conjectured to have belonged to General Montgomery. His features were disfigured by a wound, which he had received in the lower part of the head and neck. At length a woman and a boy were brought, who had lately come into the city from the American camp, and who had often seen the principal officers. They identified the bodies of Montgomery, Captain McPherson, Captain Cheeseman, and an Orderly Sergeant.

Mr. Cramahé, an officer in the British army, and for a time Lieutenant Governor of Canada, had served in the late [French] war with Montgomery, and entertained for him a warm personal attachment. He asked permission of General Carleton to bury his friend with marks of honor and respect. This was granted in part, and a coffin lined with black was provided. But the Governor did not consent to the reading of the funeral service, probably not deeming this indulgence conformable to military rules. But when the time of burial approached, Mr. Cramahé invited a clergyman [Rev. Mr. de Montmollo,] to be present, who read the service privately and unmolested.\*

General Montgomery was buried on the evening of January 4th, near the ramparts bounding on St. Louis-Gate. There the body rested until June, 1818, when it was exhumed and conveyed to the city of New York, and reinterred with the highest civil and military honors. The General's sword, after he fell, was taken by James Thompson, a citizen of Quebec, who served in the capacity of Assistant Engineer during the siege of the city, by whom it was worn until going one day to the Seminary where the American officers were lodged, they recognized it and were moved to tears. Out of respect to their feelings he laid it aside, and never wore it more. The General's knee buckles were given by Major McKenzie to Major Meigs, as was also a gold brooch that belonged to Capt. McPherson. Both the General's aides, Captains McPherson and Cheeseman, were buried in their clothes without coffins, and in the military manner.

Several circumstances combined to render this attack unsuccessful. In the first place, the Indian Messenger by whom Colonel Arnold, while on his march, forwarded a letter to Mr. Morelet, of Montreal, proved treacherous, and delivered it to the Lieutenant Governor, thereby revealing impending danger, and affording about twenty days' time to put the city of Quebec in a state of defence. Then there was a delay of several days after arriving at Point Lévi, opposite Quebec, in getting all the troops across the river, the enemy (apprised of their approach) having destroyed all the canoes upon which Arnold had relied, at that point. This delay enabled the Governor to avail of the services of one hundred men, chiefly carpenters, who arrived in a vessel from Newfoundland November 5th, in repairing the defences, and in making platforms for the cannon. It also afforded time for Colonel Maclellan to reach the city with 170 men of his regiment, with which to man the fortifications. This was a very important fact in its bearings upon the general ope-

\*Spark's Washington, iii, p. 254, note.

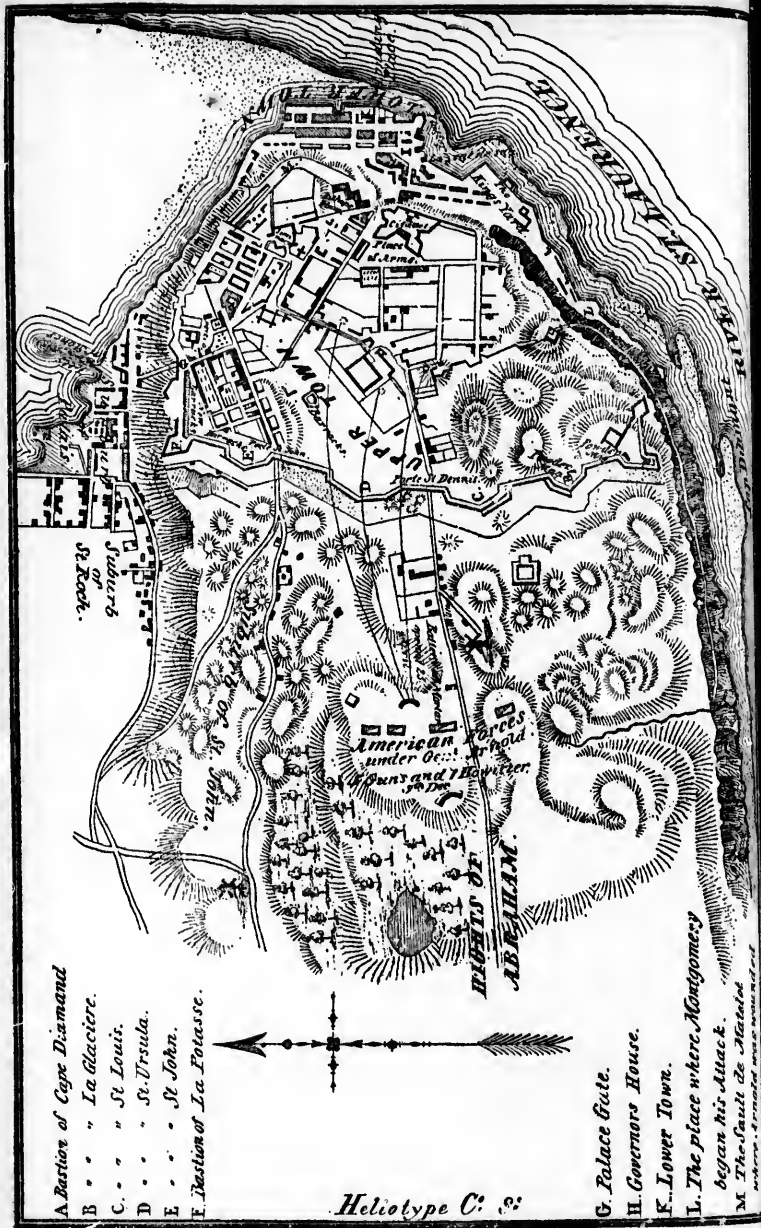
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- A. Position of Cape Diamond
- B. " " La Glaciere.
- C. " " St. Louis.
- D. " " St. Ursula.
- E. " " St. John.
- F. Position of La Fosse.



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- G. Palace Gate.
- H. Governors House.
- K. Lower Town.
- L. The place where Montgomery began his Attack.

M. The Point de Montcalm

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positions; for up to Nov. 5th, when Arnold's forces were at St. Mary's, thirty miles from Quebec, there was not a soldier in the city, and had he pushed on and reached there on the 19th, with even half his force, the gates of the city would have been opened to him. Then, finally, the death of General Montgomery and his own wounded condition changed the situation of affairs at a critical moment, and that portion of the troops led by General Montgomery having retreated after his fall, gave the enemy an opportunity to turn their whole force and attention upon those who remained still fighting. To contend longer with superior numbers was only to sacrifice life without an equivalent; and after a sortie by the enemy, in which they captured an entire company, and retreat appeared impracticable, surrender or annihilation became inevitable. The first of these alternatives was chosen, and after maintaining their ground from 5½ o'clock until 10 o'clock, A. M., the gallant band gave themselves up prisoners of war.

The death of General Montgomery devolved the command of the assaulting forces upon Colonel Arnold, but he being already wounded was unable to act, and temporarily gave the command to Colonel Campbell. The day following the repulse, Arnold assumed the position that disaster had assigned him, and in the midst of excessive pain from his wound, began to plan for retrieving the fortunes of his little army. On the 10th of January, Congress appointed him Brigadier General, as a reward for his good conduct during the march and before Quebec.

The energy displayed by Arnold, and the fortitude shown by his men, extorted expressions of admiration from an English writer describing the occurrences of that remarkable campaign. "Their perseverance," he says, "was astonishing in their circumstances. They had lost beside their General, (in whom it might be said all their hopes and confidence resided,) the best of their own officers, and the bravest of their fellows, with a part of their small artillery. The hope of assistance was distant, and at best, the arrival of succors must be slow. It was well known that the Canadians, besides being naturally quick and sly in their resolutions, were peculiarly disposed to be biased by success, so that their assistance now grew extremely precarious. The severity of a Canadian winter was also far beyond anything they were acquainted with, and the snow lay about five feet deep upon a level. In these circumstances, it required no small share of activity, as well as address, to keep them in any manner together. Arnold, who had hitherto displayed uncommon talents in his march into Canada, (which may be compared to the greatest things done in that kind) discovered on this occasion the utmost vigor of a determined mind, and a genius full of resources. Defeated and wounded as he was, he put his troops into such a situation as to keep them formidable."\*

Arnold wrote to Washington from Quebec, on the 27th of February, and seemed in high spirits, though encompassed with innumerable difficulties. His mind was of so elastic a nature, that the more it was pressed, the greater was its power of resistance. "The severity of the climate," he observes, "the troops very ill clad and worse paid, the trouble of reconciling matters among the inhabitants, and lately

\*Annual Register, 1776, p. 16.

†One difficulty experienced by the American Army grew out of the scarcity of hard money in the Paymaster's Exchequer, and for which Continental paper money was substituted. Of this the inhabitants of Canada were distrustful, and were unwilling to receive it in payment for supplies, especially as army drafts had frequently been dishonored. When this currency was forced upon them as their only alternative, it is not surprising that a feeling akin to indignation should have been excited. An actor in the scenes of the Canadian campaign writes: "Our Continental Money required a good deal of gesticulation to make it go. It was not much relished by our Canadian friends, at its par value. One of my amusements was to play tricks upon an old market woman, who retailed articles out of a dog-cart, still a vehicle of great repute in Canada. Her shrill voice, and exclamations of *voilà (voilà) mauvais* (mauvais) Boston! still haunt my memory."—*The Sexagenary*, p. 46.

MS. MONTGOMERY  
 I. The place where Montgomery began his Attack.  
 M. The Vault de St. Louis

an uneasiness among some of the New York and other officers, who think themselves neglected in the new arrangement, while those who deserted the cause and went home last fall have been promoted; in short, the choice of difficulties I have had to encounter has rendered affairs so perplexing, that I have often been at a loss how to conduct them." He alludes here, and perhaps with some justice, to the case of Colonel Enos, and his officers, who as already mentioned, deserted him in the wilderness on their way to Canada, but were nevertheless retained and promoted in the new establishment.\*

This disastrous repulse did not crush out hope of ultimate success. "Quebec appears to me," writes Arnold to the Continental Congress, "an object of the highest importance to the Colonies, and, if proper methods are adopted, must inevitably fall into their hands before the garrison can be relieved." He adds, "I beg leave to recommend the sending a body of at least five thousand men, with an experienced General, into Canada as early as possible; and in the mean time that every possible preparation of mortars, howitzers, and some heavy cannon should be made, as the season will permit our raising batteries by the middle of March; which may very possibly be attended with success, as we can place our mortars under cover within two hundred yards of the walls, and within one thousand feet of the centre of the town."† In his future, Arnold calculated largely on the good will of the citizens, who were supposed to be friendly to his success. "I am well assured," he says, "more than one-half of the inhabitants of Quebec would gladly open the gates to us, but are prevented by the strict discipline and watch kept over them; the command of the guards being constantly given to officers of the Crown known to be firm in their interest. The garrison consists of about fifteen hundred men, great part of whom Governor Carleton can place no confidence in, or he would not suffer a blockade, and every distress of a siege, by seven hundred men, our force consisting of no more at present, including Colonel Livingston's regiment of two hundred Canadians."

Washington warmly sympathized with the determined persistent spirit of Arnold, and had it been in his power would gladly have given him the reinforcements he desired.‡ "It would give me great pleasure," he said, "if I could be the happy

\* Sparks.

† "The 22d of this month [January] a battery opened from the bank of Charles river, by name of Smith's battery. From this was discharged red hot shot, in hopes of firing the town. They returned the fire exceeding heavy, but no considerable harm from either side. Two of our artillery-men were wounded very much by the cartridges taking fire while ramming them home, but recovered again. The enemy continued their cannonade and bombardment excessive heavy; while we were restricted to a certain number per day, in consequence of very little ammunition. There was very little damage from either cannon or bombs."—*Senter*.

‡ January 27, 1776, Washington wrote to Arnold: "I need not mention to you the great importance of this place, and the consequent possession of all Canada, in the scale of American affairs. You are well apprised of it. To whomsoever it belongs, in their favor, probably, will the balance turn. If it is in ours, success I think will most certainly crown our virtuous struggles. If it is in theirs, the contest at best will be doubtful, hazardous, and bloody. The glorious work must be accomplished in the course of this winter, otherwise it will become difficult, most probably impracticable; for administration, knowing that it will be impossible ever to reduce us to a state of slavery and arbitrary rule without it, will certainly send a large re-enforcement thither in the spring. I am fully convinced that your exertions will be invariably directed to this grand object, and I already view the approaching day, when you and your brave followers will enter this important fortress, with every honor attendant on victory. Then will you have added the only link wanting in the great chain of Continental union, and render the freedom of your country secure." The confident expectations here expressed were destined five months later to be sadly disappointed.

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means of relieving our fellow-citizens now in Canada, and prevent the ministerial troops from exulting long, and availing themselves of the advantages arising from this repulse. But it is not in my power. Since the dissolution of the old army, the progress in raising recruits for the new has been so very slow and inconsiderable, that five thousand militia have been called for the defence of our lines. A great part of these have gone home again, and the rest have been induced to stay with the utmost difficulty and persuasion, though their going would render the holding of the lines truly precarious and hazardous, in case of an attack. In short, I have not a man to spare."

But Washington was not idle. He called a council of general officers, who after due consideration of the importance of sustaining Arnold, "determined that the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut should each immediately raise a regiment to continue in service for one year, and to march forthwith to Canada." Without waiting for Congress to carry out a resolution to raise nine battalions for that purpose, passed before the failure of the attack on Quebec had reached them, Washington addressed letters to the General Court of Massachusetts, to the Governor of Connecticut and to the President of the Convention of New Hampshire, requesting them to act at once upon the decision of the war council. Connecticut had already anticipated the call, and sent off troops without delay to Canada, under the command of Colonel Warner. Other troops followed.

After the fall of Montgomery, General Schuyler was expected to repair to Canada, and take the chief command, but continued ill health and other causes induced him to decline going there. In February, 1776, General Lee was designated by Congress for that field, but was soon after transferred to the command of the Continental forces South of the Potomac, much to the gratification of Washington, who had already found him "fickle and violent." For a few months, General Wooster was the highest officer in Canada. On the 1st of April he took command of the army before Quebec, and on the day following, Arnold having received an injury from his horse falling upon him, retired on leave to Montreal for recovery.\* May 1st, General Wooster gave place to General Thomas, of Massachusetts. About this time a plot was formed to burn the shipping of the enemy in the harbor. A fire ship was completed in charge of Adjutant Anderson, a very brave officer, but proved abortive by reason of the tide ebbing before he could get up to the shipping. The combustibles took fire before he intended, by which accident he was much burnt. He was, however, got on shore, and no lives were lost.†

When General Thomas arrived at the camp before Quebec, he found his army there to consist of 1900 men. Of these, only 1000 were fit for duty, officers included. The remainder were invalids, chiefly confined with the small pox. Three hundred of the effective were soldiers whose enlistments had expired. Many of these peremptorily refused duty, and all were importunate to return home. In all the magazines there were but one hundred and fifty pounds of powder, and not more

\*February 15th, 1776, Congress appointed Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll Commissioners to repair to Canada, and use all suitable means to induce the Canadians to join the other colonies in the contest with England. They were accompanied by Reverend John Carroll, afterwards Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, whose influence with the people it was thought would be useful, on account of his religious principles and character. They arrived at Montreal April 29th, and used every effort in their power to accomplish the object of their mission, without success. Ill health caused Dr. Franklin to return in a few days. His associates remained till after the American forces had retreated to Sorel, and were preparing to evacuate Canada.—*Sparks*.

† Senter

than six days provisions. The French inhabitants, too, were much disaffected, which rendered it more difficult to obtain supplies in the country.\*

The state of blockade in which Arnold, immediately after the battle of December 31st, had placed Quebec, did not prevent re-enforcements being thrown into that city. Before the arrival of General Thomas the enemy had in their magazine more than 3000 barrels of powder, 10,000 stands of arms, and a large quantity of artillery stores. Two frigates and a number of other vessels were in the harbor, ready to render aid to the British garrison. On the 10th of May five more ships of war were added to the naval force of the enemy. The besieged, under Beaujeu, attempted in March to raise the blockade, but failed. In May, however, a sally was made by the garrison upon the Continental forces, who were so dispersed that not more than two hundred men could be collected at head quarters, which compelled a retreat to the mouth of the Sorel. This was made in the utmost precipitation and confusion, with the loss of cannon, batteries, provisions, five hundred stands of small arms, and a bateau load of powder going down with Colonel Allen.† Two of the enemy's frigates proceeded immediately up the river, not only to annoy the retreating troops on their march, but also to seek several vessels of the fleet which General Montgometry brought from Montreal. Wind and tide favoring the enemy's frigates, they were brought within cannon shot of the American vessels before they could get under way. They hauled upon our shipping so rapidly as to oblige the Captains to run them ashore, and set them on fire. They kept in pursuit up the river both by land and by water, increasing the disorder of the retreat.

The detachment stationed at Point Levi,‡ as well as those at Chairlebois, were not apprised of a retreat till they saw the Provincials quitting the ground. They were forced to escape through the woods a very great distance before they fell in with the St. Lawrence. Most of the sick fell into the hands of the enemy, with all the hospital stores, &c. The first stand made was at Chambaud, forty-five miles from Quebec, but not being able to collect sufficient provisions, they were obliged to abandon the position and proceed. "The poor inhabitants, seeing the army abandoning their country, were in the utmost consternation, expecting, as many had been aiding us in every way, to be sacrificed to the barbarity of those whose severity they had long felt, though under the specious pretence of civil government, which, in fact, had been in essence nothing but an arrogant military one. No provisions could be obtained but by force of arms. No conveniences for ferrying the troops over the rivers emptying in upon either side of the St. Lawrence, except a canoe or two, and these were rare. The spring flood had submerged many low places, and the army was obliged to travel a great distance around them. In this

\* Letter of General Thomas to Washington, May 8, 1776. On the same day, Arnold writes from Montreal: "We have very little provisions, no cash and less credit."

† The town of Sorel, or (as it is sometimes called) William Henry, stands on the site of a fort, built in the year 1665, by order of Mons. de Tracy. It was intended as a defence against the incursions of the Indians, and received its name of Sorel from a Captain of engineers, who superintended its construction.

‡ The river Sorel is two hundred and fifty yards broad opposite to the town, but it presents a singular example of a river much narrower at its embouchure than at its origin. It is more than four times as wide at St. John's, as at Sorel, and continues to widen all the way up the stream, to the Lake Champlain. From St. John's there is also a ship navigation into the lake; but from the town of Sorel, vessels of one hundred and fifty tons ascend only twelve or fourteen miles.—*Silliman's Tour*.

§ Colonel Clinton, afterwards well known in our Revolution as a gallant general officer, and now not less remembered as the father of the illustrious DeWitt Clinton, commanded a battery at Point Levi. He afterwards commanded at Montreal.—*The Seagoer*, p. 44.

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At Sorel, General Thomas died of small pox.† On being taken sick, he sent for General Wooster, then at Montreal, to come and take the command, which for a short time he did. But General Sullivan was already on his way to Canada with re-enforcements, to join General Thomas, and the death of that officer devolved on him the command. He advanced to Sorel, where he established his head-quarters. His entire force consisted of about 3500 men, and he felt confident of soon being able to reduce Quebec. Writing to Washington in glowing strains, under date of June 5th, he says: "Our affairs here have taken a strange turn since our arrival.

[The following should precede the death of General Thomas, mentioned at the top of page xxi.]

Colonel Bédé, with 350 continental troops, held a post at the Cedars, about forty three miles above Montreal. Learning on the 15th May that a party of the enemy consisting of about 600 regulars and Indians were marching to attack him, he set out for Montreal to obtain re-enforcements, leaving Major Butterfield in command. On the 17th, during his absence, the post was invested, and on the 19th contrary to the remonstrances of the officers, the fort and garrison were surrendered. On the 20th Major Shurburne with 100 men, landed at Quinze Chênes, about nine miles from the Cedars, where he was attacked by about 500 of the enemy, and after maintaining his ground for nearly an hour was constrained to retreat, but being intercepted on his route was, with his men, taken prisoner. The prisoners after the surrender, were treated with savage barbarity. One was shot and while yet alive, roasted, and others, worn down by famine and cruelty, were left exposed on an island to perish with cold and hunger. General Arnold advanced from Montreal to attack Quinze Chênes. Captain Foster, the English commander, sent a flag to meet him with a proposition to exchange prisoners, stating that if not complied with those in his possession would be exposed to merciless treatment from his savage allies, and to save them General Arnold reluctantly entered into a cartel, and the attack was not made. A Congressional Committee of Inquiry subsequently investigated the whole subject, and reported that "the shameful surrender of the post at the Cedars was chargeable on the commanding officer." Congress also condemned in severe terms the cruelties practiced upon the American prisoners, and other violations of the comity of war.\*

\* Proceedings of Congress, 1770.

one-half of our army are sick, mostly with the small pox. If the enemy have a force of six or eight, and some say ten thousand men, we shall not be able to oppose them, sick, divided, ragged, undisciplined, and unofficered, as we are. If we are not soon re-enforced, I tremble for the event. A loss of our heavy cannon, which is all ordered to Sorel, must ensue, if not of our army, as our retreat is far from being secured. Not one stroke has been struck to secure our encampment here. I have ordered men out to-morrow morning to inclose our encampment and the two old forts with an *abatis* and breastwork. Dr. Stringer is in a disagreeable situation. Three thousand men are sick here and at Chambly, and no room or convenience for them. I should advise his going to the Isle-aux-Noix, was there any convenience for the sick, or boards to make any."

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Either General Sullivan was greatly deceived by appearances, or had been grossly imposed upon by false professions. At any rate, two weeks sufficed to cloud these bright skies, and doom him to disappointment. Two days after his arrival at Sorel, he sent General Thompson with three regiments to attack the enemy at Three Rivers, but unfortunately for the enterprise Burgoyne arrived the night before the battle, with a strong party. General Thompson was defeated and with other officers was taken prisoner. The fortunes of war were now against Sullivan. There was a want of almost every necessary for the army, while repeated misfortunes and losses had greatly dispirited the troops. The British land force had not only been heavily strengthened, but they had thirty-six sail of vessels lying in the lake near Sorel, and sixty-six more lying at Three Rivers. The numbers under the command of Sullivan were entirely inadequate to the work he had undertaken, while "small pox, famine and disorder, had rendered them almost lifeless." The warmth of Canadian friendship, which had been so conspicuous when Montgomery crossed the line seven months before, and so suddenly cooled after the disaster at Quebec, which rose again to summer heat on the appearance of Sullivan, now sank to zero. The tickle population changed with every turn of fortune. Success was the price to be paid for their good will. From a doubtful cause they withheld support. Every day the situation of affairs became more precarious, and in view of all circumstances, a council of war decided upon an entire withdrawal from Canada.

\* Dr. Senter.

† June 13, 1776, Arnold wrote from St. John's to General Schuyler as follows: "Near one-half of our army are sick, mostly with the small pox. If the enemy have a force of six or eight, and some say ten thousand men, we shall not be able to oppose them, sick, divided, ragged, undisciplined, and unofficered, as we are. If we are not soon re-enforced, I tremble for the event. A loss of our heavy cannon, which is all ordered to Sorel, must ensue, if not of our army, as our retreat is far from being secured. Not one stroke has been struck to secure our encampment here. I have ordered men out to-morrow morning to inclose our encampment and the two old forts with an *abatis* and breastwork. Dr. Stringer is in a disagreeable situation. Three thousand men are sick here and at Chambly, and no room or convenience for them. I should advise his going to the Isle-aux-Noix, was there any convenience for the sick, or boards to make any."

This was effected about the middle of June in an orderly manner, without loss of men, armament or baggage.\*

On the 17th of June, before this event was known, Congress directed General Washington to send General Gates to Canada to assume the chief command. Gates had then a popular military reputation, and strong hopes were entertained that he would soon be able to give a successful turn to affairs. Receiving his instructions in New York, he proceeded June 3d, by way of Albany to Ticonderoga. But the evacuation of Canada, which had already taken place, put an end to a project that for more than nine months had occupied the attention of Congress, and which had given great anxiety to Washington.

The termination of the invasion of Canada, so differently from universal expectation, was a deep disappointment to the country. Life, treasure and time seemed to have been expended in vain.† Yet this expenditure was not wholly without compensation. The experience gained was calculated to toughen the will, and to make more energetic soldiers of both officers and men. Besides, viewing the result through the medium of subsequent events, it is questionable whether the possession of Canada at that time would have secured to the Continental Confederacy the advantages then anticipated. It has been said, with much plausibility, that had Quebec fallen, while it would have seemed a most important and glorious event, yet it might have been the ruin of America; for in order to defend it, a considerable force would have been requisite, thus dividing our strength, while the British, in despair of recovering so strong a place, might have concentrated their forces at New York, and the capture of Burgoyne would not have electrified the friends of liberty through America.‡

But however this may be, the plan of wresting Canada from Great Britain, and giving the blessings of freedom to its people, was a grand conception, while the record of the manly fortitude displayed by the army under the most trying circumstances, is a noble monument to its patriotism. The simple, unambitious story told in the following Journal, well illustrates the spirit that fired the army of the Revolution, and shows, in vivid light, how much our ancestors were ready to endure to secure for their posterity the boon of human rights. It has been truly said, "The long, difficult and laborious march of Arnold through hardships and dangers

\* "I advised General Sullivan to secure his retreat by retiring to St. John's. He was determined to keep his post at Sorel, if possible, and did not retire until the 14th [June] instant, at which time the enemy were as high up with their ships as the Sorel.

† On the 15th at night, when the enemy were at twelve miles distant from me, I quitted Montreal with my little garrison of three hundred men. The whole army with their baggage and cannon (except three heavy pieces left at Chambly,) arrived at St. John's the 17th, and at the Isle-aux-Noix the 18th; previous to which it was determined by a Council of War at St. John's, that in our distressed situation, (one-half of the army sick, and almost the whole destitute of clothing and every necessary of life, except salt pork and flour,) it was not only imprudent but impracticable to keep possession of St. John's. Crown Point was judged the only place of health and safety, to which the army could retire and oppose the enemy. It was found necessary to remain at the Isle-aux-Noix for some few days, until the sick, heavy cannon, &c., could be removed."—*Arnold to General Washington, June 25, 1776.*

‡ "The loss of Canada," writes Hancock, President of Congress, "is undoubtedly on some accounts to be viewed in the light of a misfortune. The Continent has been put to a great expense in endeavoring to get possession of it. That our army should make so prudent a retreat, as to save their baggage, cannon, ammunition and sick from falling into the hands of the enemy, is a circumstance that will afford a partial consolation, and reflect honor upon the officers who conducted it."

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that would have appalled the stoutest follower of Xenophon—his subsequent siege and blockade of one of the strongest military posts in the world, in the heart of the enemy's country, in the midst of a northern winter, where nothing was seen but ice and snow, with raw recruits, half clad, half fed, and scarcely half covered from the storms of wind and snow—the expedition to Canada may fairly be placed on a parallel with any of the boasted achievements of ancient Greece or Rome." We turn painfully away from Arnold's display of patriotic devotion in this marvelous march, and before Quebec, as we remember his base and heartless treachery at West Point. How sad, that a life of such glorious promise should have draped itself forever in a robe of infamy!

## NOTES.

## DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY. Page xvi.

"Some American gentlemen who were at Quebec about sixteen years since, saw a man who asserted that he was the person who touched off the cannon, and what was very remarkable he was a New Englander. He related that the barrier was abandoned, and that the party who had been stationed at it were in full flight; but as it occurred to him that there was a loaded cannon, he turned, and discharged it at random, and then ran. This anecdote I had from one of the gentlemen who conversed with this man.

That there was some such occurrence, appears probable, and the following circumstances having a similar bearing, were related to me by the person who showed me this fatal ground. The spot may be known at the present moment, by its being somewhat farther up the river than the naval depot, where great numbers of heavy cannon are now lying. The battery stood on the first gentle declivity, beyond this pile of cannon, and the deaths happened on the level ground, about forty yards still farther on. My informant stated that the people in the block-house, as he called it, loaded their cannon over night, and retired to rest. It so happened, (and it was perfectly accidental,) that a Captain of a vessel in the port, lodged in the block-house that night. He was an intemperate man, half delirious when most sober, and never minded any one or was much listened to by others. Early on the fatal morning, before light, he exclaimed, all of a sudden,—“they are coming, they are coming.” No one regarded him, but he got the iron rods, which they used to touch off the cannon, heated them, and fired the pieces. Immediately sky rockets were seen to fly into the air, which were signals to Arnold's party that all was lost. When light returned, General Montgomery and his aids and many others, in the whole twenty-seven (as he stated,) were found either dead or grievously wounded.”—*Silliman's Tour*, 1819.

## WASHINGTON TO ARNOLD ON THE DEATH OF MONTGOMERY.

Cambridge, 27th January, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

On the 17th instant I received the melancholy account of the unfortunate attack on the city of Quebec, attended with the fall of General Montgomery and other brave officers and men, and of your being wounded.

This unhappy affair affects me in a very sensible manner, and I sincerely condole with you upon the occasion; but, in the midst of distress, I am happy to find that suitable honors were paid to the remains of Mr. Montgomery; and that our officers and soldiers, who have fallen into their hands, were treated with kindness and humanity.

## COLONEL ARNOLD'S ACCOUNT OF THE ATTACK ON QUEBEC, IN A LETTER TO GENERAL WOOSTER.

General Hospital, 31 December, 1775.

DEAR SIR:—I make no doubt but General Montgomery acquainted you with his intentions of storming Quebec as soon as a good opportunity offered. As we had several men

deserted from us a few days past, the General was induced to alter his plan, which was to have attacked the Upper and Lower Town at the same time. He thought it most prudent to make two different attacks upon the Lower Town; the one at Cape Diamond, the other through St. Roe. For the last attack, I was ordered with my own detachment and Captain Lamb's company of artillery. At five o'clock, the hour appointed for the attack, a false attack was ordered to be made upon the Upper Town.

We accordingly began our march. I passed through St. Roe, and approached near a two-gun battery, picketed in, without being discovered, which we attacked. It was bravely defended for about an hour; but with the loss of a number of men, we carried it. In the attack, I was shot through the leg, and was obliged to be carried to the hospital where I soon heard the disagreeable news that the General was defeated at Cape Diamond; himself, Captain Macpherson, his Aide de Camp, and Captain Cheeseman, killed on the spot, with a number of others not known. After gaining the battery, my detachment pushed on to a second barrier, which they took possession of. At the same time, the enemy sallied out from the Palace Gate, and attacked them in the rear. A field-piece, which the roughness of the road would not permit our carrying on, fell into the enemy's hands, with a number of prisoners. The last accounts from my detachment, about ten minutes since, they were pushing for the Lower Town. Their communication with me was cut off. I am exceedingly apprehensive what the event will be; they will either carry the Lower Town, be made prisoners, or cut to pieces.

I thought proper to send an express to let you know the critical situation we are in, and make no doubt you will give us all the assistance in your power. As I am not able to act, I shall give up the command to Colonel Campbell. I beg you will immediately send an express to the Honorable Continental Congress, and His Excellency General Washington. The loss of my detachment before I left it, was about twenty men killed and wounded; among the latter is Major Ogden, who, with Captain Oswald, Captain Burr, and the other volunteers, behaved extremely well. I have only time to add that I am, with the greatest esteem, &c.,

HENRICK ARNOLD.

P. S. It is impossible to say what our future operations will be until we know the fate of my detachment.

PAGE XX.

January 6, 1776.—A battery opened from Point Levis upon the city, but being scanty of ammunition, were allowed only a few rounds per day, just to keep the enemy in a continued alarm. About this time an insurrection happened down the river St. Lawrence, about six leagues from Quebec, in consequence of some of the enemy's emissaries joined to the envious instigations of some of their priests. They collected a number of Canadians, and were marching up in form to take possession of our troops at Point Levis. Of this the General obtained intelligence, and immediately detached Major Dubois, a very brave officer, with a number of men to oppose them. The Major fell in with their party upon surprise, killed some, wounded others, (among the last was a priest) and captured a number more and brought them to Headquarters.—*Senter.*



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## JOURNAL.

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A Journal of the indefatigable march of Col. Benedict Arnold from Prospect Hill Fort, in order to join the detachment which was going on a secret expedition, consisting of two Battalions, one commanded by Lieut. Col. Greene, and the other by Lieut. Col. Enos, with all circumstances, and particularly the difficulties that I myself have labored under, having the command of a company of Foot under Lieut. Col. Greene, in the years 1775 and 1776.

The first Battalion consisted of

1 Lieut. Colonel, (Greene,)	1 Major,
1 Adjutant,	1 Quartermaster.

The second Battalion consisted of

1 Lieut. Colonel, (Enos,)	1 Major,
1 Adjutant,	1 Quartermaster.
1 Surgeon and Mate for both Battalions.	

Captain Smith's Company,

" Hendrick's "
" Ward's "
" Topham's "
" McCobb's "
" Hubbard's "
" Thayer's "

Captain Morgan's Company,

" Williams' "
" Hanchet's "
" Goodrich's "
" Dearborn's "
" Scott's "

One Chief Colonel, 1 Chaplain for both Battalions.

## MARCH TO NEWBURYPORT.

*Sept. 11.*—Remained in Cambridge in order to fill up each company to 84 effective men. Got all necessaries and began our march.

*Sept. 13.*—This day our Battalion marched towards Newburyport, reached Beverly and remained there this night.

*Sept. 14.*—Continued our march and reached Malden and lodged there.

*Sept. 15.*—Arrived at Newburyport about sunset, and quartered our men in the Presbyterian Meeting House. [See Appendix A.]

*Sept. 16.*—Capt. Topham's company, together with mine, arrived.

*Sept. 17.*—Being Sunday we paraded our men, and went to meeting under arms,\* after which we had orders to hold ourselves in readiness to embark at a moment's warning, in eleven small vessels purposely engaged to receive us on Board. Agreeable to orders we embarked about sunset, But finding it difficult to keep the men on board, we were obliged to keep a guard over them.

*Sept. 18.*—About 9 o'clock the fleet sailed for Kennebeck River, bearing W. S. W., got over the bar, and stood off until Col. Arnold came on board the Broad Bay schooner where little after the swallow Sloop struck a Rock where she stuck, on board of which was Capt. Scott's company who were distributed among the fleet, and Capt. Hendrick's company of Riflemen, together with mine, which were on board the Broad Bay. At 2 o'clock a signal was made for sailing, and run along shore until midnight, when a signal was given for heaving to, off the shore, under our jib and mainsail.

*Sept. 19.*—About Daybreak, discover'd the mouth of the river, for which we stood in and anchor'd, tarried all Day for the fleet.

*Sept. 20.*—They all came up but the Conway and Abigail sloops. The weather, accompanied by a fog and heavy rain,

\* At the Presbyterian Meeting-house, Rev. Jonathan Parsons.

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blowed very fresh. Stood up the river, but the above sloops did not come up. [See Appendix B.]

*Sept. 21.*—Came to the head of Sheeps Gut River, out of which we discovered the missing vessels making sail, to our great satisfaction, on board of which were Capt. Topham's and my companys.

*Sept. 22.*—Went on shore with Col. Arnold at Capt. Cope-  
lius, where there were one hundred men to row the Batteaux  
to Fort Western.

*Sept. 23.*—Proceeded to Fort Western.\* This place was formerly pretty strong; was built against the French and Indians, but at present of no great consequence. It has two large and two small block houses.

*Sept. 24.*—Occupied in getting our men and Provisions up from Gardner's Town. After Capt. Topham and myself went to bed at a neighbor's house, some dispute arose in the house between some of our soldiers, on which we were requested to get up and appease them. I got out of Bed, and ordered them to lie down and be at rest; and on going to the door, I observed the flash of the priming of a gun, and called to Capt. Topham who arose likewise and went to the door, was fired at, but was miss'd, on which he drew back, and I with Topham went to bed, but the felon who had fully determined murder in his heart, came again to the door and lifted the latch, and fired into the room, and killed a man lying by the fireside. On suspicion, we took up a man, but did not prove to be the murderer.

*Sept. 25.*—The perpetrator of the above facts was taken by a Sergeant, who, thinking he was a deserter, questioned him accordingly, and who came to understand that he crossed the river opposite to the place where he killed the man, and gave himself up to the mercy of the Sergeant, who brought him back and was sentenced to die. This afternoon an advanced guard went forward, consisting of four Batteaux. This day the three companies of Riflemen sat off for Quebec, the place of our destination, and Col. Greene's Battalion received orders to be ready at a minnte's warning.

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\* Opposite the present town of Augusta.

*Sept. 26.*—We began our march. The above perpetrator, by name Jn<sup>o</sup> McCormick, was to suffer at 3 o'clock, but was relieved at that time to be sent back to Gen. Washington. The river here is very rapid and difficult. [See Appendix C.]

*Sept. 27.*—Arrived at Fort Halifax about 3 o'clock, P. M., which greatly resembles Fort Western. The river here is both rapid and rocky. Proceeded to the foot of the falls. Here is the first carrying place we come to. We encamped on the west side of the river, and carried over our provisions and Batteaux. The carrying place is about eighty rods wide.

*Sept. 28.*—Proceeded about 3 miles through rapid water. Our men are obliged to wade more than half their time. It begins to be cold and uncomfortable. Here are few scattering inhabitants. [See Appendix D.]

*Sept. 29.*—Proceeded on our march; made large fires and refreshed ourselves. Our People are in good health, But some keep lurking behind and get lost from the party. At 12 o'clock, set out again for Squhegan\* Falls; the stream is very swift, which makes it difficult, and our Batteaux leaky, besides the place being very shallow, which obliges our men to go into the river and haul the Batteaux after them, which generally occupies three or four men, two of whom are at her head and one or two at her stern, which occasioned a slow progress. To-night we encamped within three miles of the falls, the water still continues to run very rapid.

*Sept. 30.*—Proceeded through the falls in rapid water; here is the second carrying place. We found that the course of the river differ'd from the Draught we had seen. We encamped on the main on the west side of the river. The carrying place is across an island. Here is a mill erecting, (the property of Mr. Copelin,) the worst constructed I ever saw. The People call this place Canaan; a Canaan, Indeed! The land is good, the timber large and of various kinds, such as Pine, Oak, Hemlock and Rock Maple. Last night, our clothes being wet, were frozen a pane of glass thick, which proved very disagreeable, being obliged to lie in them. The land is very fine, and am thinking if worked up, would produce any grain

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whatsoever. The people are courteous and breathe nothing but liberty. Their produce, (they sell at an exorbitant price) which consists of salted Moose and Deer, dried up like fish. They have Salmon in abundance. The cataracts here are neither so high nor so rapid as those at the fort, but narrow, which occasions the water below them to run very swift. The carrying place is very difficult, occasioned by the height of the land, and more so, being obliged to carry our provisions and Batteaux up a steep rocky precipice. Our men are as yet in very good spirits, considering they have to wade half the time, and our boats so villainously constructed, and leaking so much that they are always wet. I would heartily wish the infamous constructors, who, to satisfy their avaricious temper, and fill their purses with the spoils of their country, may be obliged to trust to the mercy of others more treacherous than themselves, that they might judge the fear and undergo the just reward of their villainy. This is the second carrying place.

Oct. 1.—Proceeded on our march seven miles. Stopped about an hour, advanced to Norridgewalk, and reached the falls about 12 o'clock and encamped on the west side of the river.\*

Oct. 2.—This Day we saw an altar constructed by the Indians, and the remains of a Roman Chapel, where they paid their devotions. Their Curate, or Friar, named Francisco was killed about 40 years ago, at the time when the Provincials drove back the Indians. His remains lie buried here with a cross over them, as is customary in France, Spain, Italy and all Roman Catholic countries, when their clergy Die. This place was remarkable formerly for being the Indians' Headquarters. There we were busy in repairing our boats and carrying our Provisions over the carrying place, (the 3d) which is about one mile and a quarter long. We had some sleds and oxen to assist us in carrying our Luggage. We are at the Last inhabitants now, and meet no other until we come to Canada. Col. Arnold came up to us and encamped on the west side of the river. This is the fourth carrying place.

Oct. 3.—Overhauled our Biscuit and found it to be much

\* See Appendix E.

damaged by the leaking of the Batteaux; passed the whole day in crossing the River.

*Oct. 4.*—Came to the mouth of the 7 mile streams, and encamp'd on a point of land.

*Oct. 5.*—Came to the falls called Carrytuck, otherwise Devil's Falls. They fall about sixteen feet. The carrying place is about 8 Rods, and very difficult; the water is frozen. This is the 5th carrying place.

*Oct. 6.*—Carried our Batteaux across, and proceeded to the Great carrying place; went about seven miles, and came to Seven Islands on the east side of the river, the mountains appearing ahead, which looked dismal to us, and especially more so, knowing we had them to cross without a conductor.

*Oct. 7.*—Got on our march to the great carrying place; the land is low and rich in grass. In spring time the edge of the River seems to be overflowed, and gradually as we proceed, begins to be less fertile.

*Oct. 8.*—Lieut. Church returned with his party, who went to reconnoitre the Place, and informed us the first carrying place to be within three and one-fourth miles and then a pond. We encamped here, and employed our men in clearing the road for carrying our boats, &c. It rained hard all Day, which hindered us much. Hitherto we had fair weather. At 5 o'clock, the remainder of our Battalion came up, but we remained here. The three companies of Riflemen were helping to clear the roads; they had killed a Moose; the skin appeared to be as large as that of an ox of 600 lbs. This animal is of the same species as the Reindeer, and might be of the same service to the inhabitants as the Reindeer is to the Laplanders and Upper Norwegians. They are so numerous that we can hardly walk 50 yards without meeting their tracks; their meat is good and refreshing. We encamped here.

*Oct. 9.*—Detached two Subalterns and 36 rank and file, to clear the road to the first Pond. The remainder of the men were employed in unbarreling our Pork and stringing it on poles for convenience of carriage, and carrying our Batteaux from the river to the pond. The carrying place is about 4 miles long; the weather is fair, but very fresh. Here came up two com-

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panies of the other Battalion; this pond is full of trout, of which we caught plenty. This is the 6th carrying place.

*Oct. 10.*—Employed getting our men over the pond; this is one-half mile distant from the preceding one, which is the 7th carrying place.

*Oct. 11.*—Came to the 8th carrying place, which is about four and one-quarter Miles, and made the rivulet that runs into the Dead River, (so call'd) but undeservedly, because it runs swiftly, except where the rivulet enters the river.

*Oct. 12.*—Had a beautiful prospect of a high mountain that bears S. S. W. of us, about fifteen miles. This last carrying place is very difficult—sinking half leg deep carrying over our Battaux and Provisions, the ground being wet and boggy, and to add to our difficulties, we had to wade through the whole bog. At the east side of the mountain is the Creek that runs into the Dead River.

*Oct. 13.*—Proceeded on our march about three miles up Dead River.

*Oct. 14.*—Proceeded about ten miles only, the current being so strong, and the shore so bold that our poles would not reach the bottom, and were oblig'd to pull them by the Bushes that hung over the water.

*Oct. 15.*—Dispatch'd two Indians and a white man to deliver some letters to a gentleman in Quebec, whose return we expected in ten or twelve days; waited some time for a company in the rear to come up; clean'd our arms. The mountain bears W. S. W., and the River runs N. W. by W. Thick weather, and calm, with some rain, but not very cold; the land is good.

*Oct. 16.*—Fell short of Provisions, and brought to half an allowance per man—waited until 9 o'clock for the Rifle companies in order to get some supply, but they not appearing, we push'd our journey. Past the ninth carrying place and came to an Indian hut where one Sataness dwell'd, both as rogneish and malicious as ever existed. Proceeded about 4 miles and encamped. Col. Arnold came up in the Evening, and understanding our want of supplies, ordered four Battaux with thirty-two men of Each company to return to the rear



for some. In the morning our company had but 5 or 6 pounds of flour for 60 men.

Oct. 17.—Detached 12 Batteaux with 96 men, officers included, on the above Business.

Oct. 18.—Employed making cartouches—took an observation of the mountain, which we found to be 6 miles S. E. by E.—the river runs W. N. W., and bears more to the north; the weather is fair. We tarried until Major Meigs' division arrived.

Oct. 19.—Heavy rain until 3 o'clock; then Major Meigs and his division marched on; we expect our supply of Provisions, as the officers and men are eager to get forward.

Oct. 20.—Rain'd very hard, and our Batteaux not appearing, we pack'd up our cartouches in casks in order to be ready for an immediate embarkation, having lain by 6 Days waiting for ~~nothing~~ to no purpose.

Oct. 21.—A continuance of rain, and a most heavy storm. Col. Enos came up with us about 11 o'clock, in expectation of finding Col. Arnold, but on his disappointment returned, and drove up his rear. In the afternoon Capt. Williams' Sergeant came up with that company. Major Bigelow, who carried the boats, returned with only 2 barrels of flour, and the detachments returned immediately to their respective companies. Now we found ourselves in a distress'd and famish'd situation, without provisions and no hopes of getting any, until we reach'd Sartigan. Having no other view now but to proceed to Canada, (or retreat) we concluded to send back such as were not able to do Duty; the river rose 3 foot, which increased the rapidity of the current. Our encampment grew quite uncomfortable, and especially to those who had no Tents, and not being much used to the inconveniencies that a soldier is obliged to undergo, suffered exceedingly.

Oct. 22.—Myself and eight more of the men, missing our way by the freshet of the River and the overflowing of the surface, were cast into the greatest consternation, not being able to make any other way but by wading through the water, in which situation we were obliged to remain without victuals or drink until the next morning about 9 o'clock, exhausted with

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cold and fatigue, reached the detachment as they were beginning their march. The storm abated, the river rose 6 feet perpendicular, and ran exceeding rapid. The sun rose with a little rain, but soon grew fair, and we embark'd on board our Batteaux, and after going about 6 miles against the current, which ran at least 5 miles an hour, came to a carrying place entirely overflowed, that our Batteaux went through the woods, without the trouble of carrying them; advanced about 50 rods and encamped. This is the 10th carrying place.

Oct. 23.—Proceeded a little further and came to a carrying place, which is the eleventh. At six o'clock proceeded against the freshet, being altogether as high as before, which made us repent of our Delays; went about 2 miles and cross'd another carrying place, and half a mile further cross'd again; went about 7 miles and came to another, by which we expect to be within 6 miles of the second great carrying place, and encamp'd. It is to be observed here that by ye freshet overflowing, our salt was wash'd out of the Boats, and had no more to supply our want.\*

Oct. 24.—Had intelligence of its being twenty-five miles to the great carrying place where the height of land is, and in the meantime destitute of provisions, for the two Barrels we brought gave two pounds Each man, and we had only [a] half pint left to deliver out; besides, the continual snow aggravated us more, and left [us] in a situation not to be described.

Oct. 25.—We staid for Col. Greene to consult about our situation, and what to do for provisions; however we trusted in the Almighty, and hoped he would prove propitious towards us; for the present we had no hopes, unless some Glimpes from the part of the French, which at any rate could not be much. We sent back in three Batteaux, forty-eight sick men, and one subaltern; the river is narrow and of

\*Oct. 23. "Encamped this evening at a carrying place, fifteen perches across. Here a council was held, in which it was resolved that a captain with fifty men should march, with all despatch, by land, to Chaudiere pond, and that the sick of my division and Captain Morgan's should return to Cambridge. At this place the stream is very rapid, in passing which five or six battoes filled and overset, by which we lost several barrels of provisions, a number of guns, some clothes and cash."—*Meigs' Journal.*

course rapid, Besides bad walking by land; the men are much disheartened and Eagerly wish to return—however, I am certain if their Bellies were full, they would be willing eno' to advance. Whether or no, necessity obliges [us] to proceed at present. Col. Arnold has sent with Capt. Hanchet a party of 60 men, to purchase provisions of the French, if possible. In the afternoon, went about three miles and encamped, waiting for our boats. Here Col. Greene, Capt. Topham and myself, aid, by desire of Col. Enos, to hold a council of war, in which it was resolved that Col. Enos should not return back. His party, who were 6 in number, and by one inferior to ours, and observed with regret that we voted for proceeding; on which they held a council of war amongst themselves, of which were the Capts. McCobb, Williams and Scott, and unanimously declar'd that they would return, and not rush into such imminent danger; to which we replied, if thus determined to grant us some supply, which they promis'd, if we could get a boat from Mr. Copelin, tho' with ye utmost reluctance.

Mr. Ogden, a volunteer under Colonel Greene, and myself, took the Boat, in which we ran rapidly down with the current, where we expected to receive from the returning party, four barrels of flour and two of Pork, according to promise. But we were utterly deceived, and only received two Barrels of flour, notwithstanding all our entreaties, and that few only through the humanity of Capt. Williams. Col. Enos Declared to us [that] he was willing to go and take his boat in which there was some provisions, and share the same fate with us, But was obliged to tarry thro' the means of his Effeminate officers, who rather pass their time in sippling than turn it to the profit and advantage of their country, who stood in need of their assistance. Capt. Williams stept'd towards me, and wish'd me success, But in the meantime told me he never expected to see me, or any of us, he was so conscious of the imminent Danger we were to go through; in meantime Col. Enos advanced, with tears in his Eyes, wishing me and mine success, and took, as he then suppos'd and absolutely thought, his last farewell of me, demonstrating to me that it was with the utmost reluctance he remain'd behind, tho' being certain he never would

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escape the attempt.\* I took the little flour, bemoaning our sad fate, and cursing the ill-heart'd minds of the timorous party I left behind, and working, together with Mr. Ogden and myself, up against a most rapid stream for a mile and a half, where, after inconceivable difficulties, I reach'd and met some of our boats coming to me and take the flour they suppos'd I had in theirs; but to their great surprise, they found but the little I mention'd just now. However, it is surprising that the party returning, professing christianity, should prove so ill-disposed toward their fellow-brothers and soldiers, in the situation we were in, and especially when we observe our numerous wants, and the same time they overflowing in abundance of all sorts, and far more than what was necessary for their return. But not the least, when again considering the temerity and effeminency of 'em not willing to pursue the eager desires of their Colonel, nor suffer the same fate, nor willingly assist their courageous countrymen in the plausible cause of their common Country. In the meantime, Mr. Ogden† and myself were oblig'd to keep the course towards the river, in sight of our boats, and lay that [night] disagreeably in the snow, without the least to cover or screen us from the inclemency of the Weather, until next morning.

About nine o'clock we overtook our troops, who were just ready to march forward—even had not the satisfaction

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\* ENOS, either through a false construction of the order, or wilful disobedience, returned to Cambridge with his whole division. His appearance excited the greatest indignation in the Continental camp, and Enos was looked upon as a traitor for thus deserting his companions and endangering the whole expedition. He was tried by a court-martial, and it being proved that he was short of provisions, and that none could be procured in the wilderness, he was acquitted. He was never restored in public estimation, however, and soon afterward left the army."—*Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. I, p. 192. The statement above made by Capt. Thayer would seem to justify the acquittal of Colonel Enos, and to remove, in part, the opprobrium with which historical writers have clothed his memory.

† This was MATTHIAS OGDEN, who joined the army at Cambridge, and accompanied Arnold through the wilderness. He was wounded at the assault upon Quebec. On his return from this expedition he was appointed to the command of a regiment, which position he held until the termination of the war. On the occurrence of peace, he was honored by Congress with a commission of Brigadier General in the army of the United States. General Ogden was distinguished for his liberality and philanthropy. He died at Elizabethtown, N. J., in the year 1791.

or conveniency to build ourselves, as we usually had done, a Bush hut to pass the tedious night in.

Oct. 26.—Proceeded over three carrying places, two of them small, and the third half a mile, running through a pond one-quarter of a mile, and a carrying place as much more; came to another pond and Encamped.

Oct. 27.—This Day after a cold and frosty night, went over this pond and came to another carrying place. This is the 20th carrying-place, being three-fourths of a mile, and came to another pond and encamp'd.

Oct. 28.—Past the twenty-first carrying place, and came to another small pond, to a carrying place, and then to a pond, to a carrying place, and then to a pond, and then came to a height of land to another carrying place of four miles and a quarter.\* It is to be observed here, with such horror, that the most ferocious and unnatural hearts must shudder at, when knowing the dismal situation of courageous men, solely bent to extirpate the tyranny with which the country was influenced, taking up some raw-hides, that lay for several Days in the bottom of their boats, intended for to make them shoes or moccasins of in case of necessity, which they did not then look into so much as they did their own preservation, and chopping them to pieces, singeing first the hair, afterwards boiling them and living on the juice or liquid that they soak'd from it for a considerable time.† After such sufferings they came to a small rivulet which leads into the great Anneguntick Lake, otherwise Shadeur Pond, fourteen miles in length and six Broad. Here our division left all the Batteaux But one to carry the sick, if any; at four o'clock,

\*Oct. 28th. "In the morning crossed the heights to Chaudiere river. Made division of our provisions and ammunition, and marched back upon the height and encamped. Here I delivered the following sums of money to the following persons: To Col. Greene, 500 dollars, to Major Bigelow, 501 do., and paid to Mr. Gatchet 44 dollars; paid to Mr. Berry £4, 5s. lawful money."—*Meigs' Journal*. Nehemiah Gatchet and John Horne were employed as guides.

†"They washed their moose-skin moccasins in the river, scraping away the dirt and sand with great care. These were brought to the kettle and boiled a considerable time, under the vague but consolatory hope that a mullage would take place. The poor fellows chewed the leather, but it was leather still. They had not received food for the last forty-eight hours. Disconsolate and weary we passed the night."—*Henry's Narrative*.

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an Express came from Col. Arnold, with intelligence that the French were ready to receive us, and that they would supply us with Provisions. Glad tidings to People that are brought to one pint of flour to Each man, and no more to depend upon. An Express pass'd us, going to His Excellency Genl. Washington. A pilot was sent to lead us through the woods; two companies of musketry are gone forward, but the three companies of Riflemen staid with us. This is the twenty-fourth carrying place. Here we divided our remaining flour Equally in 10 companies between the officers and soldiers, the quantity amounting to seven Pints Each man, for 7 Days, (expecting to meet the Inhabitants at that time) which we divided thus daily for our support: In the morning a gill for breakfast, half a pint for Dinner, and the remaining Gill for supper, which we mix'd up with clear water, having no salt, and stirring it up together, laid it on the coals to heat a little, after which we nibbled it along our journey, without making any halt;\* walk'd about three miles and then encamp'd.

Oct. 29.—We march'd in the front; the travelling is very bad, so that we sunk half leg deep every step, but our Pilot says it is better ahead. We lost one man belonging to Capt. Topham's company who must have inevitably perish'd, to wit: Samuel Nichols. We find now that the Pilot knows no more the way than the most ignorant of ourselves; we travelled about five miles and encamp'd.† This night we had the good fortune to kill a partridge, of which we made good soup and some supper.

\*" The breakfast and supper were boil'd much like starch; ye dinner was somewhat bak'd on the coals."

†" Early this morning set out for the head of Chaudiere river. This day we suffered greatly by our bateaux passing by us, for we had to wade waist high through swamps and rivers and breaking ice before us. Here we wandered round all day, and came at night to the same place we left in the morning, where we found a small dry spot, where we made a fire, and we were obliged to stand up all night in order to dry ourselves and keep from freezing."—*Ware's Journal in Gen. Reg. Vol. VI., p. 131.*

JOSEPH WARE, author of this journal, was the son of Josiah and Dorothy Dewen Ware, of Wrentham, Mass. He was born October 15, 1753, and married Esther Smith, of Needham. He was a farmer, and followed that occupation till the commencement of the Revolution, when he entered the army; served through the war; was at the battles of Concord and Ticonderoga; acted as orderly sergeant and recruiting officer. He died Nov. 12, 1805.—*Gen. Reg. Vol. VI., p. 148.*

Oct. 30.—Proceeded through a swamp above 6 miles, which was pane glass thick frozen, besides the mud being half leg deep; got into an alder swamp; steering southerly, reach'd a small River which we forded, the water being so high that a middle sized man would be arm pit deep in it; very cold and about 3 Rods wide, from whence we proceeded to a great eminence and shaped our course N.  $\frac{1}{2}$  W. towards another River, being obliged to cross it on a narrow log. Many of the men unfortunately fell in. Now, verily, I began to feel concern'd about the abated situation of the men, having no more than a small share of allowance for 4 Days, in the midst of a frightful wilderness, habit'd by ferocious animals of all sorts, without the least sign of human trace. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 4, after a journey of 13 miles and bad traveling, reached a beautiful grove of birch woods, and about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles further, discovered to our great satisfaction the tracks of the foremost party, which rejoiced our men so much, that they shuddered at the thoughts of the long and painful March which they sustained with becoming courage, though famished and under the greatest inconveniences. Here we encamped at the end of the grove.

Oct. 31.—Proceeded 6 miles and came in sight of our Boats that were wrecked—March'd 6 miles further, But did not come up with Col. Arnold as we expected.  $\Delta$  man was drowned here by the over-setting of the Boat.†

Nov. 1. Proceeded on our march; The people are very weak and begin to lack in the rear, being so much reduced with hunger and cold. Capt. Topham and myself being behind spurring on the men as well as we could, tho' the orders were

†“Pushed on for Chaudiere with all speed, in hopes of overtaking our bateaux in order to get some flour, for ours was all expended; but, to our great grief and sorrow, our bateaux were stove and the flour was lost, and the men barely escaped with their lives; now we were in a miserable situation, not a mouthful of provisions, and by account 70 miles from inhabitants, and we had a wilderness, barren and destitute of any sustenance to go through, where we expected to suffer hunger, cold and fatigue. Here the captain with the ablest men pushed forward, in order to get provisions to send back for the sick.”—*Ware's Journal*. “Henry says of the Chaudiere, “that for 60 or 70 miles it is a continual rapid, without any apparent gap or passage, even for a canoe. Every bont we put in the river was stove in, one part or other of it. Capt. Morgan lost all his boats, and the life of a much valued soldier.”—*Note on Ware's Journal, Gen. Reg. VI, p. 142*. This man was named George Innis.—*Melvin*.

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for every man to do for himself as well as he could. We observed at a little distance a Sergeant and 10 or 12 men round a fire, towards whom we made up, and saw with astonishment that they were devouring a Dog between them, and eating paunch, Guts and skin, part of which they generously offered us, but did not accept of it, thinking that they were more in the want of it than what we were at that time.\* We pushed on and encamp'd 12 miles further, being at that period in the distressed situation the remainder were in, and after marching 2 Days and two nights without the least nourishment, traveling on the shore side, discover'd about 12 o'clock the 3d Day some men and horses and cattle making towards us, at which sight Capt. Topham and myself shed tears of joy, in our happy delivery from the grasping hand of Death. The Driver was sent towards us by Col. Arnold, in order to kill them for our support. He desir'd us stop in order that he might kill one for us, but we desir'd him proceed and not stop until about nightfall, and gather together all the men he could find, and kill one

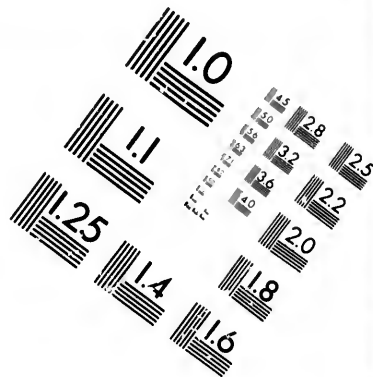
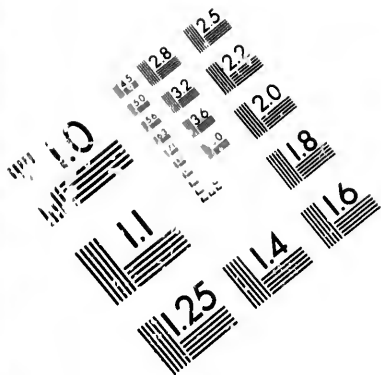
\*Nov. 1. "This day I passed a number of soldiers who had no provisions, and some that were sick, and not in my power to help or relieve them, except to encourage them."—*Meigs*.

"This morning started very early and hungry, and little satisfied with our night's rest. Travelled all day very briskly, and at night encamped in a miserable situation. Here we killed a dog, and we made a very great feast without either bread or salt, we having been 4 or 5 days without any provisions, and we went to sleep that night a little better satisfied. Our distress was so great that dollars were offered for bits of bread as big as the palm of one's hand."—*Ware's Journal*.

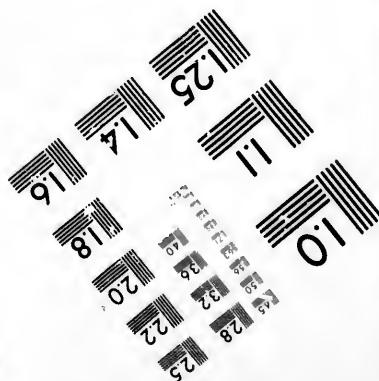
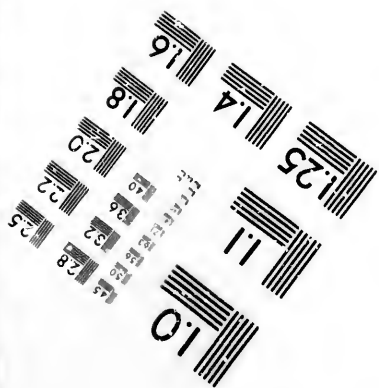
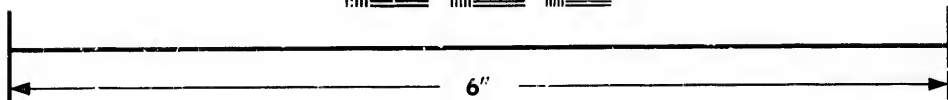
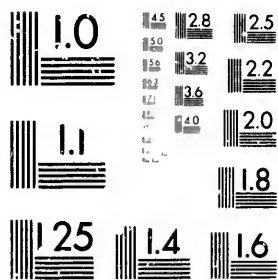
Judge John Joseph Henry, of Pennsylvania, was a private in Smith's company of riflemen, and in 1812 his account of the hardships and sufferings of the Expedition against Quebec was published. Under date Nov. 2, he says, "Came up with some of Thayer's and Topham's men. Coming to their fire, they gave me a cup of their broth. A table-spoonful was all that was tasted. It had a greenish hue, and was said to be that of a bear. This was instantly known to be untrue, from the taste and smell. It was that of a dog. He was a large, black Newfoundland dog, and very fat."—[Note to *Ware's Journal*.] The aforementioned dog belonged to Captain Dearborn, and though a great favorite, was given up and killed to appease the cravings of hunger. "They ate every part of him, not excepting his entrails; and after finishing their meal, they collected the bones and carried them to be pounded up, and to make broth for another meal. There was but one other dog with the detachment. It was small, and had been privately killed and eaten. Old Moose-hide broths were boiled, and then broiled on the coals and eaten. A barber's powder bag made a soup in the course of the last three or four days before we reached the first settlements in Canada. Many men died of fatigue and hunger frequently four or five minutes after making their last effort and sitting down."—*Letter from Gen. Dearborn in Allen's Biog. Dic.*







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creature for them to feed on. He inform'd us of killing one about 9 miles further for Col. Greene and the men with him, to whom we repli'd we would suffer contentedly thus far as we had done for the 2 foregoing Days, and expect'd to get something from the foregoing party whom we met about 4 o'clock, devouring with avidity a calf that was between 3 and 4 months gone, and that was taken from the cow that was kill'd a little further [on] of which we fortunately got some, and satisfied with eagerness our drooping stomachs;\* after which we sat out and pass'd three pair of Falls, went one mile and Encamp'd. Came to an Indian's hut, and being hungry we call'd for victuals; had none but some few Potatoes, for 8 of which he charged us 2 pistareens.†

Nov. 4. Proceeded and came to a River which we forded, and got over without any accidents, Save only myself, when stepping from the last stone to the land, accidentally slipp'd and fell on the broad of my back, on which occasion I suffer'd exceedingly, having my clothes frozen to my back, and a march of 5 miles before I could get to any house to warm myself, which

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\**Nov. 2d.* This morning when we arose many of us were so weak that we could hardly stand, and we staggered about like drunken men. However, we made shift to get our packs on, and marched off, hoping to see some inhabitants this night. A small stick across the road was sufficient to bring the stoutest to the ground. In the evening we came in sight of the cattle coming up the river side, which were sent by Col. Arnold, who got in two days before. It was the joyfulest that I ever beheld, and some could not refrain from crying for joy. We were told by the men who came with the cattle that we were yet twenty miles from the nearest inhabitants. Here we killed a creature, and we had some coarse flour scruv'd out, straws in it an inch long. Here we made a noble feast, and some of the men were so hungry, before the creature was dead, the hide and flesh were on the fire broiling."—*Ware's Journal.*

"We proceeded till towards mid day, the pale and meagre looks of my companions, tottering on their feeble limbs, corresponding with my own. Slips'd and tired, I sat down on the end of a log, against which the fire was built, absolutely fainting with hunger and fatigue."—*Henry.*

"Our greatest luxuries now consisted in a little water, stiffened with flour, in imitation of shoemakers' paste, which was christened with the name of Lillip'u. Several had been entirely destitute of either meat or bread for many days."—*Senter's Journal.*

†*At this period several died, and many sickened by excessive indulgence following so suddenly in their previous famine. At this place the army was joined by an Indian named Natanis, and his brother Sabatis, and seventeen other Indians, who proceeded with them. Natanis had been represented to Arnold as a spy, and orders*

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however happen'd to be below the falls, where we got a little repast and paid very dear for it.\*

Nov. 5.—Proceeded, and reach'd another house, where provisions were procured for the troops. We bought fowls [and] refresh'd ourselves. The people were civill, but mighty extravagant with what they have to sell.†

Nov. 6.—Being in great want of spirits, we happen'd on [a] man that lived with the indians whom we ask'd if he could procure us any, to which he answer'd yes, and got 10 of us 1 gallon of very Bad New England Rum, for which we were obliged to pay 10 pistareens.

Nov. 7.—Col. Greene, being one of 10, order'd Capt. Topham and myself to remain there 3 Days, in order to bring up the men in the rear, and push off from thence to St. Mary's; again from thence I was sent back to Sartigan by Col. Arnold, in order to hire Boats to bring up the invalids. We were well treated. The troops were provided for. Even the minister was generous eno' to let us have all he could spare. This place is well settled, and is good land all to the back mountains, which are somewhat poor.

Nov. 8.—Major Meigs met me at St. Marys with the 96 invalids, in order to purchase canoes to help them off, which we perform'd, and bought 20. Then Major Meigs left me, whom I never saw since.‡ and had to carry them 30 miles on

had been given to take him, dead or alive. They had no reason to consider him a friend. He was wounded in the attack on Quebec, and taken prisoner, but soon released. This is said to be the first employment of the Indians against the English in the Revolution."—*Note on Ware's Journal, Gen. Reg. Vol. VI, p. 143.* [See Appendix F.]

\*Nov. 4. In the morning continued our march. At 11 o'clock arrived at a French house, and was hospitably used. This is the first house I saw for 31 days, having been that time in a rough, barren, uninhabited wilderness, where we never saw human being, except our own men. Immediately after our arrival we were supplied with fresh beef, fowls, butter, pheasants and vegetables. This settlement is called Sartigan. It lies 25 leagues from Quebec."—*Meigs.*

†Nov. 5. "Continued our march down the river. The people very hospitable, provisions plenty but very dear, milk one shilling sterling per quart, and bread a shilling per loaf, weighing no more than 3 pounds. Came this day twelve miles."—*Ware's Journal.*

‡Meaning during the march.

our Backs, 4\* men under each canoe to Point Levi, going 12 miles without meeting an house, then 15 more, and staid at St. Mary's Parish at a house near the Chapel of the same name. There we dined, and set out again for Point Levi, where we arrived about 8 o'clock. There met Col. Arnold and our volunteers all in good spirits.

*Nov. 9.*—This Day the Hunter, Sloop of War, sent her Boat on shore for some oars. We saw them and fir'd on them. They put off in confusion, and Mr. McKenzie, a Midshipman, who was taken and brought to Head Quarters, tried to swim off, but an Indian went in after him and brought him out. He strictly adher'd to the old doctrine of War, viz., not to discover their weakness. He is but a youth of about 15 years of age, a genteel well behaved young lad.

*Nov. 10.*—Remain'd, getting some Provisions, &c. We were obliged to purchase some Canoes to cross the St. Lawrence, because the enemy having timely notice of our approaching, order'd them to be destroy'd or taken away, in order to obstruct our proceedings, on which occasion Capt. Topham and Company was order'd, if possible, to secure them from the Enemy and procure some others for convenience. The Enemy had then a Sloop of War in the River, the property of Simeon Pease, of Rhode Island, and of James Frost, of the same place, who commanded her.

*Nov. 11.*—Capt. Hanchet took 6 smiths to make spears, Canoes, and hooks for Ladders. Lieut. Savage with a number of carpenters, went and made Ladders for scaling ye Walls of Quebec.

*Nov. 12.*—Capt. Hanchet returned. The same night a council of war was held, whether we were to attack or not after crossing, being carried in the negative, to the mortification of the opposite party, being informed of they having no caunon mounted, cartridges made, and even the Gates of the City open. Col. Greene, Arnold & the Rhode Island, with some other officers, were for the attack.

*Nov. 13.*—Continued making Ladders; receiv'd some favorable accounts from Gen. Montgomery. In the afternoon a

\*16 remaining men not able to do duty.

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council of War was held, wherein it was resolved to cross the River at night, which Capt. Topham and I done, but could not then bring the whole party over; however We brought the remainder over the second attempt, tho' mighty difficult on account of the Enemy lying await of us in the River.\* The Hunter's Boat rowing down was hail'd by Col. Arnold, myself and 4 more, But on her not coming too, we fir'd at her, and perceived by ye screaming and dismal lamentations of the crew that there were some of them kill'd or wounded.

Nov. 14.—A boat came to Wolfe's Cove with a Carpenter & 4 men who were taken by Lieut. Wood. They were unarm'd, and bound up the River for some timber belonging to Government that lay in the Cove. They were carried to Head Quarters. One of them was a Swiss, of whom we got some intelligence; the others were Canadians. The Enemies sallied out and surpris'd one of our sentries, whereon we immediately turn'd out our men and march'd within 80 Rods of the walls, giving 3 Huzzas, and marching in such a manner that they could not discover our numbers. They fir'd some Cannon at us, But to no Effect.

Nov. 15.—This Day busy in getting our men in order and regulatng Guards and other Duties. The French seem for the most part in our favor. There are some lurking about our Camp whom we suspect, But don't like to take them for fear of aggravating the minds of the People. Last night the English troops set Fire to some part of St. John's.†

\*Nov. 13. In the evening crossed St. Lawrence at the mill above Point Levi, and landed at Wolfe's Cove. I went back twice to fetch over the people, and staid till day. The town was alarmed by our Colonel firing at a boat in the river. We went to Major CALDWELL'S house, about two miles from the city, where we were quartered; a whole company having only one small room.—*Melvin*. "We began to embark our men on board 35 canoes, and at 4 o'clock in the morning we got over and landed about 500 men, entirely undiscovered, although two men-of-war were stationed to prevent us."—*Meigs*.

† "On the 15th one of Morgan's lieutenants, with a party, reconnoitered the walls. Henry states that Arnold had only 350 effective men. Lt. Gov. Caldwell's well furnished farm house in the suburbs was occupied by the troops. Arnold formed his line without musket range in front of the walls, and kept them in position, while a thirty-six pounder of the enemy's opened upon them, and which they answered by huzzas. Henry relates that this caused much dissatisfaction in those who thought the conduct of Arnold sprung from a vain desire to parade his power

*Nov. 16.*—We march'd our men in order to take some live stock belonging to Government. We post'd near St. John's, But finding none, except a few Yearlings and an old Cow, we left a strong guard to cut off the communication with the City and returned.

*Nov. 17.*—Relieved guards and took two Gentlemen who were Capt's of the Militia in Quebec. They had been out to see what Interest they could make in the country. This Morning an Express arrived from Brig. Gen. Montgomery with some agreeable news.

*Nov. 18.*—This Day being relieving guards at the nunnery, Sergt. Dixon had his leg shot off by a 12 pounder, and after having it cut off, he expired in the agonies he partly went through.\*

*Nov. 19.*—Relieved guards as usual; then, by desire of Col. Arnold, I went and got 4 Boats along the shore, after which I cross'd the river in order to bring Back some invalids that were left behind; in the meantime they holding a council of war, [it] was resolved without my knowledge, as being then on the other side, to decamp, having understood that the Enemy was inform'd of their situation, which on my return I found them to my

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before those who had formerly contemned him as a "horse Jockey,"—for Arnold had in previous years traded with the inhabitants, in horses. This parade gave Henry "a contemptible opinion of Arnold." Gordon, the historian, applauds the manœuvre. Amwell, the British historian, says their commander killed several. Henry says, all the blood spilt that day flowed from Gov. Caldwell's fattened cattle."—*Note on Ware's Journal, Gen. Reg. Vol. VI, p. 143.*

\**Nov. 15.* The commanding officer this day sent into the town a flag, concluding that the firing o our flag yesterday was through mistake; but he was treated in the same manner as yesterday, on which he returned."—*Meigs.*

\*This was the first blood shed before Quebec. The casualty occurred on the 15th. Sergeant Dixon was from West Hanover, Dauphin Co., Pennsylvania, where he possessed a good estate. He held his warrant in one of the rifle companies, probably Smith's. After receiving the fatal shot, "he was conveyed upon a litter in the house of an English gentleman, about a mile off. An amputation took place—a tetanus followed, which, about nine o'clock of the ensuing day, ended in the dissolution of this honorable citizen and soldier. An anecdote of him is well worthy of record, showing, as it does, his patriotic character. The lady of the house where he was taken, though not approving of the principles or actions of the Americans, was nevertheless very attentive to Dixon, and presented him with a cup of tea, which he declined, saying, "No, madam, I cannot take it; it is the ruin of my country." Uttering this noble sentiment, he died, sincerely lamented by every one who had the opportunity of knowing his virtues."—*Henry.*

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great surprise marching off. We hear likewise that they were to sally out upon us, with seven field Pieces, at which time there was a Frigate that sail'd up the River, which made us suspect the report to be true. About 3 o'clock in the morning set out for Point-au-Tremble.

Nov. 20.—An express arrived from Genl. Montgomery with ac'ts that Genl. Carleton quitted Montreal to go to Quebec, which he determines to hold out at all events.

Nov. 21.—Sent an Express to Genl. Montgomery; Besides sent a man over the River, to stop the men that were there.— It freezes smartly. Our men are brought to a distress'd situation, deficient of all necessaries, and obliged to hard Duty. Numbers of the men are working at moccasins, but the leather proves to be of a bad quality.

Nov. 22.—The Express we sent to Genl. Montgomery returned with letters from him. We set a guard of two Lieuts. and 40 men over a river and a Bridge between us and Quebec. A man belonging to Capt. Topham's company who was suppos'd to be starv'd to death, return'd and inform'd us that he and one Onley Hart kept together for some time, both sick and wading through the rivers. After being 6 days from the height of Land, Hart was seized by the cramp and expired shortly after. Burdeen and 5 Riflemen left him dead, and shortly after met another; then espied a horse that stray'd away from the man that brought us provisions, which they shot, and eat heartily of the flesh for 3 or 4 Days, with 7 or 8 more that came up; by which means they fortunately escaped the dismal pangs of Death, which they partly endur'd for 7 Days before, not having any sort of nourishment but Roots and black birch bark, which they boil'd and Drank. He inform'd us of a man and wife, belonging to the Battalion of Riflemen being Dead, with 12 more. But the woman return'd about 6 weeks afterwards, and left her husband in the last agonies.\* When reflecting on the dismal marches

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\* Judge Henry speaks of two women, the wives of soldiers attached to the division of the army to which he belonged. Their names deserve preservation for the admiration of posterity. "One was the wife of Sergeant Grier, a large, virtuous and respectable woman." The other was the wife of a private soldier named Warner. Judge H. says, in reference to their march through the wet country near Megantic Lake, "Entering the ponds, and breaking the ice here and there with the



and the famish'd situation of our troops, it is wonderful how we are able to endure the hardships, with such undaunted courage and steadfastness; and were the Cambridge officers to review our men at present, they certainly would sooner prefer the Hospital for them than the field, tho' recruiting fast, and am willing to think, if once cloth'd and refresh'd a little, would be as eager as ever, tho' many having their constitutions Racked, are in such a condition as never to be capable of enduring half what they have done hitherto. This Place is called Point-au-Tremble. The church is dedicated to St. Nicholas. Two of our Volunteers began this Day their journey homeward.

*Nov. 23.*—Col. Arnold call'd a council of War, to choose a committee to examine into the conduct of Col. Enos and his detachment.

*Nov. 24.*—Had intelligence of 4 arm'd vessels beating up the River from Quebec. A Canoe and a Sergeant with 6 men were dispatch'd to Gen'l Montgomery with intelligence, who was coming to join us with the troops under his command.

*Nov. 25.*—The Hunter Sloop of War, in conjunction with a Brig and a Schooner, hove in sight and came too off Point-au-Tremble.

*Nov. 26.*—This Day the above Vessels stood up the River, in order to obstruct Gen'l Montgomery and his party from coming down. Seven or eight masters of Vessels that came from Quebec brought a proclamation of Gen'l Carleton, the purport of which was as follows: that Every man who would not take up arms and defend the city should be proclaim'd as traitors to their country, and be obliged to depart in 4 Days the district of Quebec, and have their Goods confiscated and their persons liable to the Law. The sailors were oblig'd to [do] soldier's duty on shore.

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butts of our guns and feet, we were soon walst deep in mud and water. As is generally the ease with youths, it came to my mind that a better path might be found than that of the more elderly guide. Attempting this, the water in a trice cooling my arms, made me gladly return in the file. Now Mrs. Grier had got before me. My mind was humbled, yet astonished, at the exertions of this good woman. Her clothes more than waist high, she waded on before me to firm ground. No one, so long as she was known to us, dared to intimate a disrespectful idea of her."

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Nov. 27.—Our Detachment was order'd to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning. Last [night] Lieut. Brown was detach'd on some Business and return'd this morning with 4 Cows, 4 Calves, 2 Horses, and a Calash belonging to the Enemy.

Nov. 28.—Capt. Goodrich with 2 subalterns, 4 Sergeants and 64 men, were detach'd to meet Gen. Montgomery's advanced guard with necessary stores, &c., and to watch the Vessels; also Capt. Morgan with a like number of men, to go before Quebec to watch their motions. Capt. Callwel burnt His own house, in order that we might not have the satisfaction to quarter in it, as we had done before, a poor malice tending to his own disadvantage.

Nov. 29.—Snows hard. Major Callwel's clerk was taken Prisoner, and confirms the foremention'd intelligence.

Nov. 30.—Continued snowing. The 3 vessels that went from Quebec came down the River again, much to our satisfaction.

Dec. 1.—Intelligence of Gen. Montgomery's sailing down the River with 5 Vessels, [which] had 15 Barrels of Powder and 2 Boxes of Lead.

Dec. 2.—This Day a Detachment was commanded to go down to Celer's, within a league of Quebec, under command of Capt. Hanchet, to carry down the Cannon, artillery, stores, and some provisions, in three Batteaux, which he abruptly refus'd, alleging the Danger of such an undertaking to be too imminent; upon which Col. Arnold sent for Capt. Topham and myself, enraged at the refusal of the Connecticut officer, swore he would arrest him, and desir'd it as a favor of one of us to perform the said command, which we eagerly accepted, and turning "*head or tail*," it happen'd to fall to my lot, equally to my satisfaction, and vexation of Capt. Topham, who was always ready to Encounter the greatest Dangers.\* I marched down

\*"Dec. 2. In the morning I assisted in sending down our field artillery by land. The large cannon are ordered down in battoes, which, when landed, the battoes are to go to Point Levi for the scaling ladders."—*Meigs*.

"We retraced the route from Quebec. A snow had fallen during the night, and continued falling. To march on this snow was a most fatiguing business. By this time we had generally furnished ourselves with seal-skin moccasins, which are large, and according to the usage of the country, stuffed with hay or leaves, to keep

to the nunnery, went on board the vessel, and lodg'd. This Day Capt. Ogden arrived with stores of all kinds for the soldiers. Genl. Montgomery hove in sight; at 9 o'clock came into Point-au-Tremble. March'd our men to receive him at the shore. He received us politely. He is a genteel appearing man, tall and slender of make, bald on the Top of his head, resolute [word unintelligible] and mild, of an agreeable temper, and a virtuous General.

*Dec. 3.*—Orders were given to distribute Clothes to the soldiers. I went with the Batteaux which we loaded; the tide serving, towards the evening we cut through the ice for  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile, and row'd down 18 miles in the night time, being so cold that we strove with the utmost Eagerness to Row, in order to keep ourselves from being frozen with cold until we reach'd Celer's. Besides, such a prodigious snow-storm rais'd that we separated, and could not come up with each other until I order'd some guns to be fir'd, by the flashing of which with the utmost difficulty we rejoined, and immediately making for the shore. The Batteaux being heavy and quite frozen, got on the Ground amongst Rocks, and the men being very impatient and not willing to remain there long, jump'd into the river, being up to their armpits in the water, and with the utmost difficulty reach'd the shore, from whence they brought some horses in order to enable me and the remainder to reach it with much less difficulty.\*

*Dec. 4.*—This morning we landed our guns, &c., and tarried there 3 Days in a most disagreeable situation, until relieved the 9th Day by the York line, detaining such as pass'd, for fear of bringing intelligence to the Enemy, who were within 3 miles of us at St. Roques. This Day the detachment rec'd orders for

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the feet dry and warm. Every step taken in the dry snow, the moccasin having no raised heel to support the position of the foot, it slipped back, and thus produced great weariness. On this march the use of the snow-shoe was very obvious, but we were destitute of that article. The evening brought up the riflemen at an extensive house in the parish of St. Foix, about three miles from Quebec. It was inhabited by tenans. We took possession of a front parlor on the left, Morgan one on the right, Hendricks a back apartment, and the soldiery in the upper parts of the house, and some warm out buildings."—*Henry*.

\*"*Dec. 3d.* Major Brown arrived from Sorel. The soldiers drawing their clothing."—*Meigs*. [See Appendix G. for biographical sketches of officers.]

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*Dec. 5.*—Fair, though cold weather.

“ 6.—Two companies were sent to Beauport to watch the motions of the enemy. Capt's Duggen and Smith took a Vessel and 6 men loaded with Provisions and small stock, besides 382 Dollars belonging to Government.

*Dec. 7 & 8.*—Busied in regulating Guards and Quartering our men. Order'd three Companies to march forward, amongst whom was the Connecticut officer Hanchet, but abruptly refus'd, alleging his usual allegations of being too Dangerous, as being on the matter of half a mile expos'd to the Cannon of the enemy, on which denial Col. Arnold sent for Capts. Topham, Hurlbert and myself, to which we consented, and were expos'd for 3 weeks to the most imminent Danger, instances of which I will let the curious reader know some. Being one morning alarm'd by the continual firing of the Enemy on our quarters, Capt. Topham and myself rising out of Bed had several Balls fir'd through our lodgings; one particularly went through our bed, and pass'd midway between him and myself, without any hurt, and clear'd quite through the other end of our Room, to our astonishment. Brought 2 Field Pieces to Col. Arnold's Head Quarters.

*Dec. 9.*—Prepar'd for erecting a Battery. Drafted 100 men for fatigue, 100 to cover the Mortars, and 20 for an advanced guard.

*Dec. 10.*—This Day as soon as the Enemy perceiv'd our Battery, made a continual firing all day, throwing some shells, But to no Effect.

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\*“ General orders for all to decamp, and I hired a Frenchman with his charrioll, and proceeded to St. Foys, from thence to St. Charles, and took lodgings at Mr. Burrough's. *Dec. 5th.*—I had now orders to take possession of the General Hospital for the reception of our sick and wounded. This was an elegant building, situate upon St. Charles river, half a mile from St. Roque's gate. A chapel, nunnery, and hospital were all under one roof. This building was every way fit for the purpose, a fine spacious ward, capable of containing fifty patients, with one fire-place, stoves, &c. The number of sick was not very considerable at this time; however, they soon grew more numerous. The Hospital being in an advanced part of the army, I did not think it expedient to assume a residence therein as yet. In consequence of which I was obliged to visit it daily in open view of the enemy's walls, who seldom failed to give me a few shots every time.”—*Dr. Senter's Journal.*

*Dec. 12.*—We fir'd a few Shots from our Battery.

“ 13.—Furnish'd our men with 26 Rounds of Cartridges.

“ 14.—Fir'd a Ball through our Breastwork, which kill'd two men and wounded 5.

*Dec. 15.*—We fir'd Briskly on the Town all Day.\*

“ 16.—There was a Brisk Cannonading on both sides, which obliged Col. Arnold to Quit his Quarters; had one man kill'd. A council of war being held, resolv'd to storm the Town.

*Dec. 17.*—A return was made of what Arms our men had.

“ 18.—A General return was made for all the arms and ammunition wanting in our detachment.

*Dec. 19.*—Busied in delivering arms and ammunition to our men.

*Dec. 20.*—On the same Business.

“ 21.—Nothing worth mentioning.†

“ 24.—Busied in making Cartouches.‡

“ 25.—Every Capt. of our Detachment had orders to march his Company to Mr. Desvins, to be reviewed by Genl. Montgomery.

*Dec. 26.*—Nothing remarkable.

“ 27.—Stormy weather. The men were order'd to hold themselves in readiness to storm the Town at the shortest notice. About 12 at night, the army being divided according to the plan the Gen'l had laid, the Capts. Smith, Topham, Hendrick

\**Dec. 15.* “ At the dawn of day our battery opened upon them, in which was mounted five guns, none larger than 12s. The enemy soon followed suit, and the fire and re-fire was almost incessant for several hours. In the afternoon a flag of truce attempted to go in, but was ordered back immediately, or be fired upon.”—*Senter's Journal.*

*Dec. 16.* “ Cannonade from both sides, not so severe as yesterday. A brave soldier by the name of Morgan received a grape shot under the lower edge of the left scapula, close to the axilla, and went obliquely through both lobes of the lungs. Walked more than a mile, with the assistance of a mess-mate, into the Hospital. A superficial dressing was all that could be done, as violent hæmoptoe ensued; concluded his residence was not long.”—*Senter's Journal.*

†“ *Dec. 22.* Preparation is making, and things seem ripening fast for the assault upon the works of Quebec. The blessing of heaven attend the enterprise. This evening is celebrated as the anniversary of a happy event or circumstance in my life.”—*Meigs.*

‡“ *Dec. 24.* I was on a general Court-martial. Our chaplain, [Rev. Samuel Spring,] preached a sermon in the General Hospital, which is exceedingly elegant inside, and richly decorated with carvings and gilt work.”—*Meigs.*

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and myself were to attack the upper town under Gen. Montgomery, whilst the other party would make feint attack on the lower town, under Col. Greene. But the Darkness of the weather not answering to the General's expectations, was detained; but [he] favourably countenanc'd our undaunt'd courage, and said he was exceeding sorry to have stopp'd the career of so Brave men in the expectations they entertain'd in the ensuing occasion; but hop'd a more favorable moment should shortly answer, in which he was willing to sacrifice his Life in adding by any means to the honor of his Brother soldiers and country; But then saw not only the impossibility of his most earnest desires, But likewise the unhappy fate that should succeed the attempt, begging of them in the meantime not to be the least dismay'd or dishearten'd; that the few moments they had to draw back were only a true source to add more lustre and Glory to their undertakings; adding that, being then their Gen'l and common leader, if rushing into the imminent and inevitable Danger he foresaw, [he] was not only answerable to his country, but likewise to his merciful Creator, for the lives of his fellow soldiers, in rashly exposing them to ye merciless rage of their common Enemies.

*Dec. 28.*—Some of the soldiers took 4 men that refus'd to turn out, and led them from place to place with Halters round their necks, exposing them to the ridicule of the soldiers, as a punishment Due to their effeminate courage, who, after suffering in their fatigues to a degree of spirit not as yet known to be equal'd, timorously withdrew from the Laurels they were ready to gather.

*Dec. 29.*—A number of shells were thrown into the town. A file of men were sent into one Drummond's Still House to take a man that was suspect'd of giving intelligence to the Enemy, of whom one was wounded in bringing him off. Capt. Duggen took another, who carried on for some time a correspondence with the Enemy.

*Dec. 30.*—The Enemy kept up a smart fire all day on St. Roques, but Done little or no Damage. This Evening rec'd orders that the General determin'd to storm the city this night, ordering our men to get their arms in readiness.\* It was very

\*The entry here commenced on the 30th, was probably completed the next day, without prefixing the proper date.

dark, and snowed. The plan was as follows: Genl. Montgomery, with the York forces, Was to proceed around Cape Diamond and make his attack there. Col. Livingston, with a party of Canadians, to make a false attack on the same, and on St. John's Gate. An advanced party of 25 men to go to Drummond's wharf. Col. Arnold's detachment to attack the lower town in the following manner: Capt. Morgan's company in the front, with Col. Arnold and Lient. Col. Greene; then Capt. Lamb's company with one field piece; then Capt. Dearborn's, Capt. Topham's and mine, and Ward's, Bigelow's in the centre, then Capt. Smith's, Hendricks', Goodrich's, Hubbard's, and Major Meigs' in the Rear.\* We were to receive the signal by the firing of three sky-rockets to attack, but not observing them soon eno', Capt. Dearborn's company, on acct. of being Quartered over Charles' river, and the tide being high, did not come up, and march'd on without him, inagining he would soon overtake us. They fir'd briskly upon us as we pass'd the street for the space of half a mile, killing and wounding numbers of our men, of whom was Capt. Hubbard, who died shortly after in the hospital of Quebec.

The front having got lost by a prodigious snow storm, I undertook to pilot them, having measur'd the works before, and knowing the place. But coming to the Barrier, two field pieces played briskly on us that were placed there. But on their drawing them back to re-charge, Capt. Morgan and myself Quickly advanced through the Ports, seized them with 60 men rank and file, which was their main guard, and made Prisoners.†

\*Capt. Lamb's company were York artilleryists. Morgan's were the celebrated Virginia Rangers. Smith's and Hendricks' were from Lancaster and Cumberland counties, Pennsylvania. Henry thus describes their dress: "Each man of the three companies bore a rifle barreled gun, a tomahawk, or small axe, and a long knife, usually called a scalping knife, which served for all purposes in the woods. His under-dress, by no means in a military style, was covered by a deep ash-colored hunting-shirt, leggins, and moccasins, if the latter could be procured. It was a silly fashion of those times for riflemen to ape the manners of savages." "The Canadians who first saw these [men] emerge from the woods, said they were *vêtu en toile*—clothed in linen. The word *toile* was changed to *tole*, Iron plate. By a mistake of a single word the fears of the people were greatly increased, for the news spread that the mysterious army that descended from the wilderness was clad in *sheet iron*."—*Lossing's Field Book I. p. 195.*

†See Appendix H.

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Immediately afterwards, advancing towards a Picket, that lay further up the street, where there was a company of the most responsible citizens of Quebec, found their Capt. Drunk, took them likewise Prisoners, and taking their dry arms for our own use, and laying ours up in order to dry them, being wet, and advancing, by which time our whole party got into the first Barrier. We rallied our men, and strove to scale the second. Notwithstanding their utmost efforts, we got some of our ladders up, but were oblig'd to retreat, our arms being wet, and scarcely one in ten would fire; whereon some did retreat back to the first Barrier we had taken, and when we came there we found we could not retreat without exposing ourselves to the most imminent Dangers.

We had kill'd in our detachment Capt. Hendricks, Lieut. Cooper & Lieut. Humphreys, with a number of Privates, and in Genl. Montgomery's party there was kill'd the Bravo and much to be lamented Genl. Montgomery,\* and his aid-de-camp McPherson, Capt. Cheeseman, and some Privates. Col. Campbell then took the command, and order'd a retreat, so that the force of the Garrison came upon us. Capt. Lamb was wounded. There was no possibility of retreating, and they promising us good quarters, we surrender'd. Col. Arnold being wounded in the beginning of the action, was carried to the General Hospital. The number of us that did not retreat, amongst whom Were Col. Greene, Capt. Morgan, and a number of other officers and myself, with a number of Privates, after passing the first Barrier, having been for upwards of 4 hours victorious of the Lower town, in fact, and had about 130 prisoners in our possession, fell unhappily the victims of them that a little while before felt the same dismal fate with ourselves, which thinking were the only [ones,] But to our great surprise, on our coming into the upper town as prisoners, we found Capt. Dearborn and company, who miss'd his way and advanced to the palace gate, unfortunately, and to our astonishment, felt the same fate 4 hours before.

\*"A drunken sailor returned to his gun, swearing he would not forsake it while undischarged. This fact is related from the testimony of the guard on the morning of our capture, some of those sailors being our guard. Applying the match, this single discharge deprived us of our excellent commander."—*Henry*.



It is much to be lamented the sad exit of this brave volunteer detachment, who, exposing their lives in the Common Cause of their Country, marching thro' wildernesses, sometimes the Tempest summoning all the forces of the air, and pouring itself from the angry north, now scaling the rolling mountains, Shooting with impetuosity into the yawning gulfs, struggling thro' the forest boughs frightful eno' to terrify the most savage nations. Now the inhabitants of the forest forsake their Dens; a thousand grim forms, a thousand growling monsters pace the Dessert, Death in their jaws, while stung with hunger and a thirst for blood. In this situation, we trembling with cold and famish'd nerves, we reach deserts not less terrifying than those we past. The more we advance, the fewer we are in number, for the strength of our Limbs was hardly able to support the weakness of our Body. Nay, even in this situation, some of our party who were not willing to expose themselves further, Earnestly wish'd we would return home with them. But no, we despised their temerity and effeminate courage, and proceeded for our destined place, contrary to their expectations, where at length we arrived, promising ourselves shortly the fruits of our Labor; But, alas, fell the victims of merciless misery. Let us consider what doleful recompence; instead of being regaled with the fruits of unwearied labor, we imagine our houses ransack'd, and our Villages plundered. We might behold our cities encompass'd with armies, and our fruitful fields cloth'd with desolation, or have been more frightfully shock'd at the images of slaughter instead of peace, with her imperial scale securing our goods, and the cheering olives sheltering our abodes, persecution brandishing her sword, and slavery clanking her chains. But then we suffer'd, promising ourselves after some time the agreeable hopes of victory, wishing an overthrow of the united forces of intestine treason and foreign invasion, which finally happen'd, and pours joy through the present age, and will transmit its influence to generations yet unborn. Are not all the blessings that can endear society or render life itself desirable, center'd in our present constitution? And were they all not struck at by that impious and horrid blow meditated by our friends and relatives in our Mother country, and seconded by factious spirits at home?

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Who, then, can be sufficiently thankful for the gracious interposition of Providence, which has not only averted the impending ruin, but turn'd it with aggravating confusion on the authors of our troubles.

Liberty, that Dearest of names, and property, the best of Charters, gave an additional desire to extirpate the malignant root of Arbitrary power. But supposing the reverse should have befallen us, how could we expect a mitigation of their severity, or the tender mercies of a self thought injured King to have been less merciful. Besides, where should have been the encouragement to cultivate our little portion, or what pleasure could arise from an improved spot, if both the one and the other lay every moment at the mercy of lawless power. This embittering circumstance would spoil their relish, and, by rendering them a precarious, would render them a joyless acquisition. In vain might the vine spread her purple clusters, in vain be lavish of her generous juices, if tyranny, like a ravenous Harpy, should be always hovering over the bowl, and ready to snatch it from the lip of industry.

Jan. 1, 1776.--The officers that were taken with myself at Quebec, viz., Lieut. Col. Greene; Majors Bigelow and Meigs; Capts. Morgan, Goodrich, Lockwood, Oswald, Topham, Thayre, Ward, Dearborn, Lamb, Hanchet & Hubbard, who died of his wounds; Adjutant Steele, Volunteers Duncan, McGuire and Porterfield, Lieuts. Heatl., O'Brian, Savage, Compston, Brown, Gisdale,\* Clark, Humphrey, Webb, Slocum, Shaw, Andrews, Hutchins, Thomas & Nichols, Lieut. McDougall; Adjutant Nebegry, & Chattin, Quartermaster, were altogether imprisoned on the first of January, being a bad method to begin the new year. However, there was nothing to be done but strive to content ourselves as well as time and place afforded us.†

\*Written *Tisdale* in the list of officers.

†“*January ye 1st, 1776.* We had a straw bed between two, and a blanket each man served us.—*Melvin.* Our allowance of provisions is one pound of bread, and a half pound of pork, and one gill of rice for a day, and 6 oz. of butter for a week.—*2d.* In prison. This day we had a cask of porter sent us by some gentlemen of the town.”—*Ware's Journal.* “Henry says that the merchants obtained General Carleton's leave to make them [the prisoners] a New Year's present. It was a large butt of porter, with a due quantity of bread and cheese. They shared more than a pint a man!”—*Note on Ware's Journal.*

*Jan. 2.*—Major Meigs was allow'd to go out on his parole and get our *Baggage*, and to return on Friday. We were visited by the officers of the Garrison.

*Jan. 3.*—By consent of the General, Doct. Bullen came and *Innoculated* 16 of us; 3 had it the natural way, of whom one *Died*. Again visited by the officers of the garrison.

*Jan'y 4.*—Major Meigs return'd with the *Baggage*.

" 5.—We had *Liberty* to visit the officers that were not *innoculated*, on acct. of their having it before, which made our situation more agreeable, But could not keep a regular journal any longer, the General having order'd us to be *depriv'd* of our Pens & ink, &c.\* We were lodg'd in two separate Rooms. But on one Mr. Hutchins saying that there were a number of our men outside, in the hearing of one of the sentries, we were instantly oblig'd to lodge in one Room, which was very disagreeable, as some of us were ill, besides being 36 officers of us, and 3 boys, in a small room about 30 foot square; thus continuing, having Daily a field officer to visit us.† After Capt. Lamb return'd from the Hospital, the Barrier was alter'd further back, and we were allow'd 2 small rooms for 12 of us to sleep in, which prov'd exceeding satisfactory. Continuing in this Lamentable situation for some time, and seeing no hopes of relief, we unanimously resolv'd to make our escape if possible. Accordingly we curried the favor of one of the sentinels, who we found willing to be of our party, having inform'd us of the situation of the Garrison, the strength of our forces, and the General's name. In consequence,‡ amongst the number of officers Capt. Lockwood

\*" *Jan. 9.* Very dark weather and snowed. Some more taken with the small pox, and we expect it will be a general disorder, for we are very thick, nasty and lousy. Our living is salt pork, biscuit, rice and butter, and a sufficiency allowed if we were not checked in our weight by one Dewey, who is appointed our quartermaster sergeant, to deal out our provision. We have not above three oz. of pork a day, and not half a pint of rice, and two biscuit a day."—Melvin.

† " *Feb. 16.* One of our men named Parrot, put in irons for calling one of the emigrants a tory. Our army opened a battery."—Melvin.

‡ Under date March "30th to 31st," Ware says, "Most of the prisoners consulted together to break out of prison, to try their best to take the town." Their plan was frustrated by noise made while cutting away ice at the cellar door, and by one of their number turning informer. Their room and packs were searched for arms and ammunition, without discovering any, and the prisoners were then put in

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and myself were pitch'd upon to make our Escape. Accordingly we sounded *Joe*, (who we shall name the above sentinel,) and found him desirous to assist us as much as laid in his power. He furnish'd us with clubs apiece, and answering the countersign, we were to pass out of the chamber window, 4 stories high, by the means of our blankets tied together, expecting the signal from *Joe*, which was to be observed by 3 claps on the breach of his gun, and an Equal number of siffing thro' his fingers, which was partly done for three succeeding nights, but unfortunately hinder'd by the means of the patrols, who were continually watching, or some others not less interesting.\*

Finding, with the utmost regret, that our plan was not seemingly to answer our expectations, we meditated another not less dangerous, which was as follows: By cutting off the planks which were spik'd on the Door, we could pass to the garret thro' a dormant window; from thence by the means of a ladder and a jump of about 14 foot into the yard, where we were to meet *Joe* arm'd with his Gun and sufficient clubs to furnish us with, and make towards the sentinels, who were 4 in number, who we intended passing by the means of the countersign that *Joe* had; but then on the least suspicion were resolved that they should not obstruct us, and pursue our way to the Sally Port, from whence we were to leap about 30 foot down into the snow, standing then about 6 foot high, and make immediately to our own men, who were not far distant. But to our mortification, all our intended hopes proved only false illusions. When thinking ourselves at liberty we were the farther from it; for on the

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"strong irons." To carry out the enterprise of escape, Joseph Ashton, a sergeant in Capt. Lamb's company, was chosen leader, with a full compliment of subordinate officers. Henry says, "they were divided into two detachments, one to attack the guard house, the other the gate, when they were to turn the cannon upon the town. They intended to make the sally by the cellar door, and the officers had planned that the ice should be removed silently with their long knives, on the night of their rising. One of their number escaped to the army without, and gave notice to them to act in concert. By artifices they had procured a small supply of powder from the sentries, for matches, &c." [See Appendix I.] The person who gave the whole secret of the plot was an English deserter, who had joined the camp at Cambridge. His name was John Hall.

\*"March 17. The guard set over us are old Frenchmen and boys, who are very saucy, telling us we shall be hanged; pointing their bayonets at us; threatening to shoot us for opening a window, or any such trifle."—*Melvin*.

26th of April, all things being ready for the Event, I open'd the door and went up to the Garret to make some necessary observations. I perceived that the door open'd With difficulty, and taking my knife to cut some more of the boards, to have it open with less difficulty, Mr. Lockwood standing in the gangway to notify me of any persons coming, observed the officer of the guard advancing towards us, who was Earlier inform'd of the fact, and finding the door open'd and ye planks unspiked, followed me into a separate room, enquiring my motive for acting so, and who were concerned with me; to which I replied that there were none but myself, and that my sole motive was only to go up to the garret to view the town and forces around it, as being a more convenient place than any other I knew of. He said that it was impossible for me to perform such a difficult work without the rest, or at least some of them being privy to it. To which I candidly answered, that I never work'd at it only when they were out of the way; besides, the place being so exceeding dark that they could not notice me, working Daily and leisurely at it for two months. On which confession he lock'd us all up together in one Room, and inform'd Col. McLane, the commanding officer, of it, who after a short interval return'd, accompanied by some officers and a guard; at which my Brother officers and Prisoners were greatly alarm'd, and earnestly show'd & desir'd to undergo the same fate with myself. But I told them that it was better for one to suffer than such a number, & that I was solely bent to undergo whatever was allotted me, & taking my leave of them I was committed to the care of a Capt. of the Main-guard for some time, & a little after to the care of a Captain of the Provost, who treated me generously, from whence I was carried the next morning at 9 o'clock by the guard board a schooner, carrying 9 6-pounders & 36 men, & closely kept in the hold, both handcuffed & ironed, lying on a plank in the turnkling of a cable, being 2½ foot frozen, and no more room to walk in than 2½ steps, & the deck so low that I was obliged to keep myself always stoop'd, & my irons being so small that my wrists were striped & swell'd; so that after some Days sufferings, and on my continual complaining, the smith at length came, who was obliged to cut them and

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replace them with larger ones.\* On the 30th, to my surprise, Capts. Lockwood & Hanchet were detected in inquiring of Joe some particulars concerning me & where I was, for they were ignorant of my destiny; & on Joe's discovering everything from the very beginning until then, to the officer, he was sent to England on board of a ship, & the Capts. to accompany me, where we remain'd in the most lamentable situation until the 6th of May, in the afternoon, being the Day the fleet arrived from England; from whence we were sent back to our former Prison, where we found our Brother officers in the same Situation as we left them.

*May 6.*—Last night we heard some guns fired down the River, and in the morning saw a frigate coming up to Point Levi, keeping a constant firing, on which the Garrison fir'd into the river, to let them know they were in possession of the place, on which she came up and saluted the Garrison. About 10 o'clock a 50 Gun ship came up, Capt. Douglass commander, & saluted; likewise a 14 Gun sloop with some troops, who, with those already in the fort, sallied out, and our men retreated with such precipitation that they left their cannon, stores, ammunition, and even the General's Coat and Dinner, behind.† In the Evening, a small sloop went down the River with Pilots for the fleet that is expected. A frigate and a sloop of war went up the River to take some Vessels from our People. They took a sloop & a Brig which our people had scuttled and left. Lieut. McDougal & three men were taken in a schooner with 13 Barrels of Powder.

*May 7.*—Brigade Major LeMatre was sent by Genl. Carleton to let us know that he intended henceforth to use us with as much humanity as lay in his power, and hop'd we would make Good use of it. We had again the Liberty to walk in the

\*"April 14.—Major McKenzie came in and took Capt. Morgan's company out of irons."—*Melvin*.

†"This morning 3 ships came in with a re-inforcement of about one thousand men. All the bells in the town rang for joy most of the day. Then all the forces in the town marched out on Abraham's Plains to have a battle with our people, but they retreated as fast as possible, and left a number of sick in the hospital. Likewise some of their cannon and ammunition, with a number of small arms and packs."—*Ware's Journal*.

passage, of which we had been debarred for some time. We were, this afternoon, Visited by Lord Petersham & Major Carleton. He is genteel, polite and humane. Caldwell was expressing himself in his sneering, customary Way, mentioning that he suffered much by our People, on which Maj. Carleton reproved him in these words: "You should not say anything disagreeable to them in their unfortunate situation. You must consider us all as Brothers." He said there were numbers of Hessians and Hanoverians coming to America.

*May 8.*—The remainder of the 29th Regiment and some of the Artillery arrived. We were visited by the officers, who enquired for the Troops that were taken at St. John's, &c.

*May 9.*—Were visited by some officers of the 29th regiment, especially a very polite gentleman, a Lieut. of Grenadiers. A small schooner came up. They have men out Daily to pick up the sick men our people left behind. They have taken a great number of papers, among which was an Orderly book. This Day was taken Lieuts. Randall & Stephen McDougal on board the schooner Mary. By the news he brings we are in hopes things are not so bad as the people of the Garrison reported. However, I think it is bad Enough.

*May 10.*—Two transports came up from Halifax with Provisions and part of the 47th Regiment.\*

*May 11.*—Were visited by Col. McLane and other officers, and were allowed to walk in the garden. Major Carleton visited us, and said that there were 55000 men design'd for America this summer. We desir'd him to obtain liberty for our servants to cook for us, which he promised to do.

*May 12.*—This day he brought us an answer that we might walk in the garden. Two transports arrived with troops.

*May 13.*—We are this Day indulged more than common, and allowed to go up stairs as often as we please. A Brig came too off Beauport.

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\*"May 10. Two riflemen were taken out of jail; we don't know on what terms. Same day two Jersey dumpling eaters were brought in; they were found among the bushes, not having tried to make their escape, being too heavy laden with dumplings and pork, having forty pounds of pork, a knapsack full of dumplings, and a quantity of flour."—Melvin.

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*May 14.*—About 9 o'clock a broad pendant was hoisted aboard the *Isis* man of war of 50 guns. Was saluted by all the Ships in the Harbor, and returned 15 Guns. On the main top-mast head was hoisted a white pendant, and a pendant on her ensign staff. The Garrison saluted with 15 guns. In the afternoon a frigate went down the River. At night an armed schooner went up the River. Major Meigs went out with Doctor Mahon to get Mr. Monroe to supply us. He has obtained the General's promise of going home on his parole. We have had fair weather, except now and then a shower. The tide has risen here from 19 to 22 feet with an easterly wind, & from 16 to 19 with a westerly. The wind in the spring blows from eastward to northward, with showers of rain. It is very common for it to rain one half hour, and suddenly clear up. They continue to lock us up every night as yet.

*May 15.*—This Day we were once more allowed to use our pens and Ink, having had none but a few pencils undiscovered, by which means we kept our journals. Major Meigs was call'd upon by the General, and promised to go off in a few Days to Halifax on his way home.

*May 16.*—This day the Hunter Sloop of war sail'd for England with dispatches, in which went passengers Capt. Hambleton & Major Caldwell & his family. We had liberty to write letters by Major Meigs, provided we wrote nothing concerning the Garrison.

*May 17.*—Lieut. Born carried our letters to Col. McLane to be examined. A small Sloop came up. Major Meigs had liberty to walk the town until 4 o'clock. Mr. Laveris came and informed Capt. Dearborn that he had obtained liberty for him to go home on his parole, & that he must get ready to go on board immediately. In the Evening they took their leave of us, & went on board the schooner *Magdalen*.

*May 18.*—About ten o'clock they set sail for Halifax.

" 19.—Saw a Sloop of War come down, & the Commodore came down about noon and saluted. There were a number of officers walking in the Garden, one of them not above 15 years of age. The Drummers of the 29th Regiment are Blacks, & the band wear red feathers in their hats, and look very neat.



*May 20.*—Doctor Maben visited Mr. Porterfield, a sick volunteer, and told him he would endeavor to get him a parole to go home. We were allowed two small Rooms for part to lodge in, to our great satisfaction.

*May 21.*—General Carleton went up the River with 3 Vessels, in order if possible to drive our Army out of Canada. The ships and Garrison saluted the General at his departure. A Canadian told us that the 8th Regiment, which lay at Detroit, fort Hannicks & Swagocha, with about 500 Indians, were down within 9 miles of Montreal, to a place called Lasheen, where they had an engagement,—kill'd and wounded 150 of our men; to which report we can hardly give any credit.

*May 22.*—We were told by one Capt. McDougal that the Virginians laid down their arms, and that there are more in the Interest of Government than in the Interest of Liberty, which does not seem probable. We hear that Montreal is taken.

*May 27.*—Some ships and transports came up, and were order'd immediately for Montreal.

*May 31.*—Last night after 12 o'clock we heard the sentry hail 3 times & fir'd, on which occasion we looked out and saw the guard searching for the object, which we believed was no more than conceit, or rather a trap laid by some of our Enemies, that we might be more closely kept.

*June .—*4 ships came up, the Intent of which is, as I conceive, to offer terms of reconciliation with the sword at the breast of the Americans. This Army consists of Britains, Irish, Hanoverians, Hessians, &c. Oh! Britain, Britain, how art thou fallen, that thou dost hire Foreigners to cut thine offspring's throats! 19 more ships came up. We were visited by some Hessian officers. 6 more ships came up in the Evening. The ships are to go up the River with the troops to give the Provincials battle.

*June 5.*—We hear that the Indians under the command of Capt. Foster, took a number of the Provincials prisoners, and made them promise never to take up arms against the King again, and that they should [send] back as many of the King's troops as there is of them in the way of exchange. They kept several officers as hostages. They told them, with hatchet at

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their heads, that they would suffer immediate Death if they [did] not comply with their promise. They bored their Ears, that they might know them again.

*June 6.*—We learn that his Excellency proposed to our men to swear allegiance to the king, and that he would send them home. They are almost naked, and very Lousy & full of the scurvy, many of them unable to Walk, being lame in their knees lying so long in an unwholesome place; all salt provisions, the weather very cold and but little or no fire, & 30 in a Room about 12 foot square. But were before much closer confined, being about 6 months imprison'd, without money or friends to assist them, But enemies continually threatening, scoffing and abusing them, calling them Rebels, cut-throats, traitors, robbers, murderers, and deluded fools. This was Major Caldwell's language & some others to them. They have not sworn yet, and what they intend doing is uncertain. By what I can learn, they must either swear or die, if they remain much longer in this Dungeon.\*

\**June 5.* This day General Carlton with a number of his officers came to see us, and enquired of us whether we had fared as well as they promised us we should when we were taken. We told him we fared very well. He said he did not take us as enemies, & likewise said if he could rely upon our honors, he would send us to New England, if we would be quiet and peaceable, and not take up arms any more.

*June ye 6th, A. D. 1776.* A copy of an answer sent to Gen'l Carlton.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

We, the prisoners in His Majesty's goals, return your Excellency our most happy and unfeigned thanks for your clemency and goodness to us whilst in Imprisonment. Being sensible of your humanity, we give your Excellency thanks for your offer made us yesterday, and having a desire to return to our friends and families again, we promise not to take up arms against His Majesty, but remain peaceable and quiet in our respective places of abode, and we further assure your Excellency that you may depend on our fidelity.

So we remain your Excellency's humble servants,  
Signed in behalf of the prisoners.

*August 4th.* The General sent for all the prisoners to come in who were out in the country at work, that were minded to go home.

*5th.* This day ninety-five prisoners embarked on board the ship.

*7th.* This day the men all in good spirits, and embarked on board the ships. Sixty of the prisoners on board the Mermaid.

*11th.* This morning the signal was given for sailing. Weighed anchor and went down about one mile. At night weighed anchor and went down the river thirteen miles. The weather cold and stormy.

*Sept. 6th.* We were informed by the shipmen, according to reckoning, that we were in the latitude of Philadelphia, Latitude 39° North."—*Ware's Journal.*

June 7.—We addressed the General with the following Petition, in order that he might grant us a Parole to go home, But rec'd no answer as yet.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

Impressed with a deep sense of your Excellency's humanity and benevolence, & urged by the peculiarity of our present disagreeable situation, being destitute of both friends & money, we beg leave that your Excellency will condescend to take our case into consideration, & grant us relief by permitting us to return to our respective homes on our Parole, which we shall ever deem sacred, assuring your Excellency that we shall make it a point to surrender ourselves to any of His Majesty's Officers, when and where your Excellency may think proper to direct. Being likewise sensibly touched with the state of our men who remain prisoners at present, we take the liberty to recommend them to your Excellency's consideration, earnestly soliciting that some measures may be taken for their relief; & we should be extremely happy if they could possibly return to their families, many of whom must be reduced to the greatest distress. Your Excellency's compliance will be esteem'd a singular favor, & ever greatly acknowledged by

Your Excellency's Most obedient & very

Humble servants.

[This petition is also contained in a small memorandum book kept by Captain Thayer, and is in his hand writing. Attached to it are the following names: The heading of the list is, "Officers taken December 31, 1775." The names are inserted here, though without positive evidence that they constituted a part of the petition. E. M. S.]

Names.	Col. or Provinces.	Town or County.	Commissions.
Christopher Greene,	Rhode Island,	Warwick,	Lient. Colonel.
Timothy Blgelow,	Massachusetts,	Worcester,	Major.
Return Jonth'n Melgs,	Connecticut,	Middleton,	Major.
Daniel Morgan,	Virginia,	Frederick Co.,	Captain.
Will'm Goodrich,	Massachusetts,	G't Barrington,	Captain.
Samuel Lockwood,	Connecticut,	Greenwich,	Capt.
Elenzer Oswald,	do.	New Haven,	Capt. Volunteer.
John Topham,	Rhode Island,	Newport,	Capt.

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Oliver Hau  
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John M'Gu  
Charles Po  
Abijah Sav  
John Comp  
Samuel Bro  
James Tisd  
John Clark  
Will'm Hun  
James Web  
Edward Slo  
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<i>Names.</i>	<i>Col. or Provinces.</i>	<i>Town or County.</i>	<i>Commissions.</i>
Simcon Thayer,	Rhode Island,	Providence,	Capt.
Samuel Ward,	do.	Westerly,	Capt.
Jonas Hubbard,	Massachusetts,	Worcester,	Capt., dy'd of his
Henry Dearborn,	New Hampshire,	E. Nottingham,	Capt. [wounds.
*John Lamb,	New York,	City,	Capt.
Olyver Hanchet,	Connecticut,	Suffield,	Capt.
Archibald Steele,	Pennsylvania,	Lancaster,	Adjutant & Lieut.
Matthew Duncan,	do.	Philadelphia,	Volunteer.
William Heath, [Heth,]	Virginia,	Frederick Co.,	Lieutenant.
Peter O'Hrien Bruen,	do.	do.	Lieutenant.
John M'Guire,	do.	do.	Volunteer.
Charles Porterfield,	do.	do.	Volunteer.
Abijah Savage,	Connecticut,	Middleton,	Lieutenant.
John Compton,	Massachusetts,	Sawco,	Lieut.
Samuel Brown,	do.	Acton,	Lieut.
James Tisdale,	do.	Medfield,	Lieut.
John Clark,	do.	Hadley,	Lieut.
Will'm Humphrey,	Rhode Island,	Providence,	Lieut.
James Webb,	do.	Newport,	Lieut.
Edward Slocum,	do.	Tiverton,	Lieut.
Sylvanus Shaw,	do.	Newport,	Lieut.
Ammi Andrews,	New Hampshire,	Hillsborough,	Lieut.
Nath'l Hutchins,	do.	Dunbarton,	Lieut.
Joseph Thomas,	do.	Deerfield,	Lieut.
Francis Nichols,	Pennsylvania,	Cumberl'nd Co.	Lieut.
Randolph S. M'Dougal,	New York,	City,	Lieut. May 7, 1776.
Christian Pheteger,	Denn'rk Kingd'm	City Cop'hagen	Adjutant.
Benjamin Chatlin,	Connecticut,	Wethersfield,	Quartermaster.

The answer to the above petition was, that he could not grant it with propriety. We hear that the Provincials have taken the 8th Regiment, and that there are great divisions in Great Britain concerning American affairs. We wrote a second petition to the General, but what will be the effect of it we cannot tell. We saw some of our men who had taken the oath; they looked very pale. We hear that a considerable number of them lost the use of their limbs. We have received an answer to our last Petition, viz: that we may go home on our parole.

*June 9.*—We are informed that Gen'l Washington has taken Bunker's Hill, with 1500 prisoners.

*June 14.*—Nothing remarkable until the 14th, when we heard that the Provincials have kill'd 50 of the Hessians, & sunk three of their ships that attempted to pass our works at Sorell, & that Philadelphia is besieged by the King's troops.

*June 16.*—We hear of two skirmishes, in which a considerable

number of men has been slain at or near Sorell. Gen'l Thompson and his aid-de-camp were taken.

*June 19.*—A shower of Hail, the Stones of which were as large as walnuts. A woman was kill'd by the Lightning.

*June 23.*—The Provincials have Burnt Fort Chambelee, and retreated to St. John's. It is reported they are from 300 to 7000 in number.

*June 24.*—The Hon. Lieut. Governor made us a present of a gall. rum. Two vessels came down the river with the prisoners taken at St. John's, Chambelee, &c.

*June 26.*—We hear that the 12 United Provinces declared themselves independant, & have sent to France for assistance; also that they received a great Quantity of ammunition & 6000 stand of arms from them.

*June 27.*—Two vessels came up & saluted, which was returned by the Commodore; we are prohibited from going to the walls of the garden, for what reasons I don't know.

*July 4.*—Nothing remarkable until the 4th, when we hear that Gen'l Carleton has sent for all the troops that can be spared to pass Lake Champlain. 4 Provincial Officers informed us of their being taken by the Indians, viz: that they and 4 more officers & 3 soldiers went fishing, and that they crossed the river, to go to a house to get some Beer; unfortunately were not armed, thinking themselves secur'd from Danger; they soon heard the boy halloo, and running out to see the occasion, they were fir'd on by 13 Indians; they tried to get off the Boat, but before they got it off they kill'd one officer and wounded another; they then ran down upon them, when two found means to escape. They took five officers alive, one of which they tomahawk'd, and scalp'd. The 2 officers took off with those that they did not kill. They tied them round the necks with their Belts, and made them run before them about a mile. They stopped and halloed for their comrades, & paraded them to show the great feats they had done; they sat out again, & night coming on, they made them lie on their backs, and tied them down, & lying on the ends of their Belts they went to Sleep. In the morning they set out again. One of the Indians Snapp'd his Gun at Wm. McFarlin, & then drew his own sword upon him;

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they then stripp'd them to their Breeches, and carried them to Montreal.\*

*July 6.*—Last night we were lock'd up in our Rooms, for what reason I don't know. This morning 6 vessels arrived, I believe loaded with provisions.

*July 7.*—Several officers of the Garrison came and looked round in our apartments, but said nothing to us. We were ignorant of the reason until some Sea Captains came into the Garden and told us there was a report in town that we intended to set the Seminary on fire, but they are false reports, & I don't imagine there is not one amongst us that would perform such an action.

*July 8.*—Different reports. Some say that the Provincials took about 5000 British Prisoners. Others say that the British have taken New York, & that the Pennsylvania & Virginia [troops] laid down their arms. But the reports are so numerous and various that we can hardly credit the least; next Evening a Sloop of war sail'd down the river.

*July 12.*—We hear that Major Meigs and Capt. Dearborn are exchanged by Admiral Howe.

*July 17.*—Nothing remarkable until the 17th, when we hear of a Skirmish take place at Point-au-faire, the Provincials seeing them in their boats, which they stove to Pieces, Killed, wounded and took 400; at 4 o'clock a Brig sail'd up the River.

*July 18.*—Locked up close in our rooms all night; the reason we are ignorant of.

*July 19.*—The Lizard Ship sail'd for New York. We understand that as soon as the General comes from Montreal we are to be sent home. He is daily expected. Moderate weather until the 22d, when accompanied with a Thunder Storm.

*July 22.*—The Bland 32 Gun Ship sail'd this morning for London. A brig & sloop sailed shortly after. Genl. Carleton

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\*" *July 5.* The prisoners brought in last night inform us that the Indians scalped many of our soldiers, some of them alive; but that General Carleton, to his great honor, has refused to pay those murdering fiends for any more scalps, but will pay them the same reward for every prisoner."—*Melvin.*

†" *July 19.* The weather is so cold that the Canadians do not expect a good crop of corn. It is so cold as to wear a great coat."—*Melvin.*

arrived in town this afternoon, & was saluted with a volley of 15 Guns from the Garrison, to our great satisfaction, because our fate will be shortly determined. Nothing worth notice until the 26th but some vessels going up and down the River.

*July 26.*—Capt. Foy informed us of the General's countenancing our going home, & was sorry we were detained so long.

*July 28.*—We hear that Gen. Thompson is to go home with us.

" 29.—Genl. Carleton hearing our extreme want of money, was generous Eno' to send us £100, which we are determined to repay to some British officers, Prisoners in America, as a necessary token of gratitude.\*

*July 30.*—Genl. Thompson came to see us, and told us Gen. Carleton desired him to call on us & let us know the terms we were to go home on.

*Aug. 1.*—Genl. Thompson & several other Gentlemen came and brought a copy of the Parole, which we did not like; on which he said it might perhaps be alter'd, if not we must necessarily remain here longer.

*Aug. 2.*—Genl. Carleton sent us word that he would leave out the words we objected to, which were, "that we should never take up arms against His Majesty." This we did not think proper to sign to.

*Aug. 3.*—The town Major & Mr. Murray brought our Parole, which we signed.

*Aug. 4.*—We hear that Genl. Washington refuses to exchange the men taken at the Cedars, & Genl. Carleton keeps 16 men who came over the Lake as a Flag.

\*In his treatment of the American prisoners, General Carleton was humane. The incident here mentioned by Captain Thayer is honorable to his character as a generous enemy. When criticised by his officers for his leniency towards his prisoners, he replied,—“Since we have tried in vain to make them acknowledge us as brothers, let us send them away disposed to regard us as first cousins.” Having been informed that many persons, suffering from wounds and various disorders, were concealed in the woods and obscure places, fearing that if they appeared openly they would be seized as prisoners and severely treated, he issued a proclamation, commanding the militia officers to search for such persons, bring them to the general hospital, and procure for them all necessary relief, at the public charge. He also invited all such persons to come forward voluntarily, and receive the assistance they needed, assuring them “that as soon as their health should be restored, they should have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.” Few names that stand out in the history of the events in which he was concerned are remembered with more respect, even in the country of his foes.—*Sparks.*

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*Aug. 5.*—Had orders to be ready at a minute's warning for embarking.

*Aug. 6.*—Our men were oblig'd to sign a Paper, the contents I know not. We are informed that we are to embark to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

*Aug. 7.*—About 9 o'clock this morning I, with some more officers and 77 of our men, embark'd on board a Ship of near 400 Tons, Joseph Lawton, master, accompanied by three other Ships.

*Aug. 8.*—Capt. Foy wish'd us well, and said when we met again we should be friends, this gentleman & Mr. Marry having come on board to see how we were accommodated.

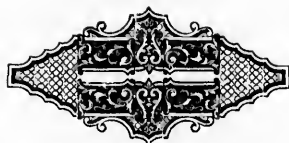
*Aug. 9.*—Waiting for the remainder of the Prisoners to come down the River; dividing out stores to the men.

*Aug. 10.*—About Eleven o'clock a Brig hove in sight, & the Prisoners were put on board of us.

*Aug. 11.*—About 11 o'clock weigh'd anchor, & went below the town. The [wind] blowing hard at East, we came again to anchor.

*Aug. 12.*—Weigh'd anchor and proceeded on our passage; spoke with the Jno. Rogers. Saw a brig wreck'd on the east end of St. Johns. Arrived Sept. the 12 at Sandy hook, after a tedious voyage, & had the mortification to see N. York in flames, when our people Evacuated it. Landed the 20th Sept. in Elizabethtown, with 9 Rank and file, & 1 Lieutenant, (named Humphrey,) being the remainder of the number we had when I left Cambridge, being 87, officers included; [the residue] perish'd by different casualties, as dying by different diseases, such as in prison, some thro' hunger & fatigue, others running away, others listing with the British, others dying with the small pox, &c; [started from Elizabethtown,] from whence each man steer'd home to his native place; accordingly [did so] myself, where I remained until 1st of July, when I was exchanged, & took up arms again in defence of my country.





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## APPENDIX.

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### NOTE A., Page 2.

Under the head "March to Newburyport," the entries upon the Journal against the dates Sept. 13 and 14, are obviously erroneous. The night of the 13th was probably spent in Malden, on the line of march to Beverly, and the night of the 14th in Beverly, about midway between Malden and Newburyport. Joseph Ware, a member of Captain Samuel Ward's company, whose journal is frequently cited in these pages, says he encamped on the evening of the 14th in Beverly. Captain Thayer may not have commenced his journal until he reached Newburyport, and there made these entries under a lapse of memory. On arriving at Newburyport, the riflemen, under Captain Morgan, encamped in the field, near Rolfe's lane. The other troops occupied two of the rope-walks in town.

### NOTE B., Page 2.

"Sept. 19.—Embarked our whole detachment, consisting of 10 companies of musketmen and 3 companies of riflemen, amounting to 1,100 men, on board 10 transports. I embarked myself on board the sloop Britannia. The fleet came to sail at 10 o'clock, A. M., and sailed out of the harbour and lay to till one o'clock, P. M., when we received orders to sail for the river Kennebeck, fifty leagues from Newburyport—received with our sailing orders the following for signals, viz.

1st signal. For speaking with the whole fleet. Ensign at maintop-masthead.

2d signal. For chasing a sail. Ensign at fore-top-masthead.

3d signal. For heaving to. Lanthorn at maintop-masthead, and two guns if head on shore, and three if off shore.

4th signal. For making sail in the night. Lanthorn at masthead, and four guns; in the day jack in foretop-masthead.

5th signal. For dispersing and every vessel making the nearest harbor. Ensign at main peak.

6th signal. For boarding any vessel. Jack at maintop-masthead, and the whole fleet drawn up in a line, as near as possible.

The wind being fair and very fresh, I was very sea-sick.

20th. In the morning we made the mouth of Kennebeck, right ahead, which we soon entered. The mouth of the river is narrow. We were hailed from the shore by a number of men under arms, which were stationed there. They were answered, that we were Continental troops, and that we wanted a pilot. They immediately sent one on board. The wind and tide favoring us, we proceeded up the river; 5 miles from the mouth lies an island called *Rousack*. Upon this island is a handsome meeting-house, and very good dwelling houses. The river to this island of very unequal width, from one mile to a quarter of a mile wide, the water deep, great tides, the shore generally rocky; ten miles from the mouth some elegant buildings, at a place called Georgetown; \* twenty miles from the mouth is a very large bay called Merry-meeting Bay; 25 miles from the mouth an island, called Swan Island. Little above this island we came to anchor, opposite to Pownalborough, where is a block-house. I would mention here, that this day makes fourteen only since the orders were first given for building 200 battoes, collecting provisions for and levying 1,100 men, and marching them to this place, viz., Gardner's Tawn; weather fine.—*Meigs' Jour.*, pp. 8-11.

NOTE C., Page 3.

James McCormick, (not Jno., as written by Captain Thayer,) was tried by a court-martial at Fort Western, found guilty, and sentenced to death. The sentence was approved by Colonel Arnold, but the prisoner was respited and sent on board the transport Broad Bay, Capt. Clarkson, to Capt. Moses Nowell, of Newburyport, who was ordered to convey him under a proper guard to General Washington at head-quarters in Cambridge, for his final decision upon the case. McCormick denied the crime until he was brought to the place of execution, when he confessed it. He was a resident of North Yarmouth, Mass., and was

\*“ At this place, in Georgetown, opposite Phippsburg, it is believed the late Gov. Sullivan of Massachusetts, then lived, for it was here that he commenced the practice of the law. When once asked by Gen. Knox why he selected such an obscure spot, he replied, that he knew that he must break into the world, and he thought it prudent to make the attempt in a *weak place*.”—*Allen*.

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drafted from Capt. Hill's company, Col. Seaman's Regiment. He was an ignorant and simple person, and bore in the company to which he belonged the character of a peaceful man. In his letter to Washington, Arnold adds to the foregoing statement, "I wish he may be found a proper object of mercy."

Fort Western stands on the east side of the river Kennebec, and consists of 2 block-houses, and a large house, 100 feet long, which were enclosed only with pickets. This house is the property of [James] Howard, Esq., where we were exceedingly well entertained. Captain Morgan with 3 companies of riflemen embarked in battoes, with orders to proceed with all expedition to the great carrying-place, and clear the road while the other divisions came up.—*Meigs' Journal*, pp. 10, 11. One of the block houses, a venerable memorial of Indian wars, is now [1831] standing, near the covered bridge which stretches across the river. Judge Howard, at whose house the officers were entertained, died in May, 1787, aged 86 years. He was the first commandant at this fort. John Gilley, an Irishman, a soldier at the fort under Judge Howard, died at Augusta, Me., July 9th, 1813, aged about 12½ years.—*Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.* vol. i, p. 390.

## NOTE D., Page 4.

*Sept. 29th.* At 11 o'clock, A. M. arrived at Fort Halifax, which stands on a point of land between the river Kennebec and the river Sebastecook. This fort consists of two large block-houses, and a large barrack, which is enclosed with a picket fort. I tarried half an hour at the fort, then crossed the river to a carrying place, which is 97 rods carriage—then proceeded up the river, which falls very rapidly over a rocky bottom 5 miles, and encamped. The above falls are Toronock.—*Meigs.* Fort Halifax was built by Mr. Shirley in 1754, to awe the Indians, and cover the frontiers of New England.—*Montresor's Journal.*

## NOTE E., Page 5.

*October 3d.* Proceeded up the river to Norridgewalk. On my way I called at a house, where I saw a child 14 months old. This is the first white child born in Norridgewalk.\* At 7 o'clock in the evening, a little below Norridgewalk, my battoe filled with water, going up the falls. Here I lost my kettle, butter and sugar, a loss not to be replaced here. At Norridgewalk are to be seen the vestiges of an

\*The name of this child was Abel Farrington. He was the son of Capt. Thomas Farrington, formerly of Groton, Mass.

Indian fort and chapel, and a priest's grave.\* There appears to have been some intrenchment, and a covered way through the bank of the river for the convenience of getting water. This must have been a considerable seat of the natives, as there are large Indian fields cleared. *Meig's Journal.*

*October 4th.* Went up to Bumazees Ripples, and came to Norridgewalk. The carriage-place is about a mile in length. We had oxen to haul over our provision. Our batteaux were calked. We were now to take leave of houses and settlements, of which we saw no more, except one Indian wigwam, 'till we came among the French, in Canada. —*Melvin's Journal.*

NOTE F., Page 16—note.

"In August, 1824, an Indian woman from Penobscot presented herself at my house, with baskets to sell, and soliciting charity. She exhibited a certificate signed by Major General Ulmer, stating that she was the daughter of *Sa Bates*, a Penobscot Indian, who piloted Arnold's army to Quebec in 1775. I asked her to pronounce the name of her father, and she gave the sound—*Sah-Bah-tis.*"—*Allen.*

NOTE G., Page 24.

Major TIMOTHY BIGELOW was the son of Daniel Bigelow, and lived in Worcester, Mass. On hearing of the battle of Lexington, he marched at the head of minute men. In all the fatigues, perils and privations of Arnold's expedition, he participated. At Quebec he was taken prisoner. After his release, he, at the head of the fifteenth Mass. regiment, was at Saratoga, Rhode Island, Valley Forge, and West Point. He was an original grantor of Montpelier, and a liberal benefactor of Leicester Academy. With an ardent temperament, his manners were dignified and graceful. He died in Worcester, March 31, 1790, aged 50 years. Major Bigelow was father of Timothy Bigelow, who removed to Medford in 1807, and was distinguished as a learned, eloquent and popular lawyer, and for more than twenty years as a leading member of the Legislature, eleven of which he served as Speaker of the House of Representatives.

\*This was the grave of Father Sebastian Ralle, whom Capt. Thayer, by mistake, calls Francisco. He was a learned man, an effective preacher, and exercised a remarkable influence over the Indians, among whom he dwelt at Norridgewalk, as a Jesuit Missionary, for a period of twenty-six years. He was killed in the surprisal of that place on the 23d August, 1724. A dictionary compiled by him of the Abnaki's language, is preserved among the literary treasures of the library of Harvard College.

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Major JOHN BROWN was born in Sand'sfield, Mass., October 19, 1744. He was educated at Yale College, and after graduating studied law with Oliver Arnold, in Providence, R. I. He established himself in practice at Caghnawaga, now Johnston, N. Y., but at the opening of the revolution took sides with the people against the Mother Country. In 1775 he was a delegate to the Provincial Congress. He was with Arnold at the capture of Ticonderoga, and afterward joined the assaulting forces at Quebec. In 1776 he was commissioned Lieut. Colonel by Congress, and continued in active service until the surrender of Burgoyne. In 1780 he marched up the Mohawk for the relief of Gen. Schuyler, but was led by a traitor into an ambuscade at Stone Arabia, in Palatine, and was slain on his birth-day, October 19, 1780, aged 36 years. He was a man of fine personal presence, and energetic in all his undertakings.

Captain HENRY DEARBORN was born in Hampton, N. H., March 1, 1751. He studied medicine with Dr. Hall Jackson, of Portsmouth, N. H., and settled in practice at Nottingham square. When an express announced the battle of Lexington, he marched the same day with sixty volunteers for Cambridge. On his return he was commissioned a Captain in Stark's regiment. He raised a company, and participated in the battle of Breed's [or Bunker's] Hill. He joined Arnold in his wilderness march to Quebec, and was seized with fever on the way. He lay in a cottage on the banks of the Chaudiere, without physician, and for ten days his life was despaired of. A good Catholic woman even sprinkled him with holy water. But he gradually recovered, and hastening forward reached Wolfe's Cove in season to rejoin his company, and participate in the assault on Quebec, where he was taken prisoner. In May, 1776, he was paroled, and in March, 1777, was exchanged. He was commissioned Major, in Scammel's regiment, and fought at Ticonderoga and Monmouth; was with Sullivan in his expedition against the Indians in 1779; in 1780 was with the army in New Jersey; in 1781 was at Yorktown, at the surrender of Cornwallis. On the death of Scammel he succeeded to the command of the regiment. In 1782 he was stationed in garrison at Saratoga. After the peace he settled in Maine, of which District he was appointed Marshal. He was twice elected a member of Congress, and was eight years Secretary of War under Jefferson. In the war of 1812 he was commissioned as senior Major General in the army of the United States. In 1815 he retired to private life, and in 1822 was appointed Minister plenipotentiary to Portugal. He died at the

residence of his son, General Henry A. S. Dearborn, in Roxbury, Mass., June 6, 1829, aged 78 years.

Colonel CHRISTOPHER GREENE was a lineal descendant of John Greene, who emigrated from Wiltshire, England, to Plymouth Colony, from whence he removed to Providence in 1637. He soon afterwards went to that section of Warwick, R. I., which he had purchased of the aboriginal owners. He was one of the twenty-four individuals to whom Charles the Second granted the old Charter of Rhode Island. His posterity often filled the most responsible stations under the Colonial Government. One of them, William Greene, held the reins of the State during the gloom and horror of the American Revolution; another, upon the Judicial Bench, was the inflexible minister of justice; while two others unsheathed their swords in the service of their country.

Christopher, the subject of this notice, was the son of Hon. Philip Greene, a Judge of the Superior Court of the State, and distinguished alike for his virtues as a private citizen and as a public officer. Christopher was born in 1737, in that part of Warwick called Occupassitouxet, the patrimonial estate of the Judge, his father. His life previously to entering the army, was principally occupied in agriculture, and in the care of a grist and saw mill, located on a branch of the Pawtuxet river, at what is now called Centreville. His natural endowments were of a superior order. His mental powers, improved and developed by education and refined social intercourse, together with an elevated moral character, were calculated to command the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and at an early age he was elected by them to represent his town in the State Legislature, an office which he honorably filled for several years. At this time, the Mother country began to seize, one after another, the inherent rights of the Colonies. When the question of resistance came to be discussed, young Greene boldly took ground against the King, and his counsels in the Legislature tended to encourage measures for military defence.

A military company was established at East Greenwich, in 1774, with the title of "Kentish Guards," and Greene was chosen Lieutenant. In the month of May, 1775, he was appointed by the Legislature a Major in the army created for the defence of the State, under the command of his near relative and intimate friend, General Nathaniel Greene. But, with characteristic self-denying patriotism, he preferred to accept the office of Captain in the regiment organized by the General Assembly for the Continental service, which opened to him a field for more active usefulness. He marched to Cambridge, and was there

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placed as Lieutenant Colonel in command of the first battalion of Arnold's army, formed for a secret expedition against Quebec. The duties of this new and responsible position were discharged with the utmost faithfulness. Through the entire wilderness march, his constant presence and cheerful voice inspired the courage and hope of his men. In the attack upon Quebec, Lieutenant Colonel Greene took a conspicuous part. At the head of an assaulting column of infantry, he was in the midst of the hottest conflict. But the early death of General Montgomery changed the fortunes of a day auspiciously begun, and after three hours of hard fighting, Greene and his command were compelled to surrender.

Eighteen months of prison life passed heavily with the active spirit of Colonel Greene. His thoughts were with his suffering country, and his uppermost desire was to again draw his sword in her behalf. On one occasion, when contemplating the British flag waving tauntingly above him, and listening to the triumph-strains of British music, his self-possession forsook him, and he exclaimed, with emphatic tone, "*I will never again be taken prisoner alive!*"—a declaration never forgotten by those who heard it, and that became a proverb with the soldiers who had served under him.

The value of the services of Lieutenant Colonel Greene and of his fellow-officers, were fully appreciated by General Washington, and in a letter to Governor Cooke, dated "Head-quarters, Harlem Heights, Oct. 12, 1776, he stated that their behaviour and merits, as well as the severities they had experienced in the Canada Expedition, entitled them to particular notice, and recommended that, in the new levies then about to be raised by the State, vacancies should be reserved for them, to be filled upon their exchange. Colonel Varnum, writing to the Governor from West Chester, October 16, on the same subject, says: "How the Field Officers are recommended for the First Battalion in our State, and who they are, I am ignorant. I hope Colonel Greene will be thought of."

After being exchanged, Lieut. Colonel Greene, in 1777, received a commission of Colonel, and was placed in command of the highly important post of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, on the Delaware river. This position was attacked by a large body of Germans under Colonel Count Donop, who, after a fierce and desperate fight, were driven back defeated, with heavy loss, including their commander.\* Colonel

\* "The late Dr. Turner, of Newport, who was in this battle, used to narrate the following anecdote of Col. Greene's kind attention to a vanquished enemy. He buried the remains of Count Donop with all the honors of war. A Freuchman, the



Jonathan Mifflin, in a letter to General Mifflin, dated "Headquarters, G. Morris's, Oct. 24, 1777, 5 o'clock, P. M.," says: "The day before yesterday, 4 o'clock P. M., Count Donop, with 1200 Hessian Grenadiers, made their appearance before the garrison at Red Bank, and by flag demanded a surrender, which being refused, they made an immediate attack, fired above the battis, crossed the ditch, and some few had mounted the pickets. They were so warmly received that they returned with great precipitation, leaving behind the Count and the Brigade Major, who are wounded, in the fort." The killed and wounded, according to this letter, were 500. The same writer continues: "Colonel Greene, who commanded, played upon them a very good deception. When the flag came in, he concealed all his men but 50—saying, *'with these brave fellows, this fort shall be my tomb.'*"—He had 5 killed and 45 wounded."

Commodore John Hazlewood writing to Gen. Washington, under date Red Bank, Oct. 24, 1777, says, "This will acquaint your Excellency that early this morning we carried all our gullies into action, and, after a long and heavy firing, we drove the enemy's ships down the river, except a 64 gun ship and a small frigate, which we obliged them to quit, as they got on shore, and by accident the 64 gun ship blew up, and the frigate they set on fire themselves, took the people all out, and quitted them. Our action lasted until 12 o'clock, and our fleet has received but little damage.

"You will be informed of the glorious event of last night, by Col. Greene. We, in our gullies, were of great use in flanking round the fort. Besides the 64 and frigate being burnt, the Roebuck, which lay to cover them, we damaged much and drove off, and had she laid fast, we should have had her in the same situation."

"The success of Col. Greene the day before, it is fair to infer, contributed much to the naval successes of the day following, and finally to the enemy abandoning Philadelphia, thus breaking down, in an eminent degree, their warlike power.

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surgeon of the German Brigade, who was taken prisoner, on witnessing the American troops following the corpse of his beloved commander, and depositing it, with every manifestation of respect, in the grave, was so affected by the unexpected spectacle that, springing up and striking his feet together, he exclaimed, with the vivacity of his countrymen, "Bo Gar, if dey bury me so, I die dis moment."—Rather an odd, but certainly a very striking illustration of his devotedness to Donop, and his gratitude to Greene."—*Note to a sketch of Col. Greene in the Kent County Atlas, Nov. 8 and 15, 1851, by Hon. H. Rousmaniere, of which use has been mad. in this notice.*

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In January, after the battle of Red Bank, a letter was written to Gen. Washington, by Gen. J. M. Varnum, dated "Camp, January 2, 1778," in which he says: "The two Battalions for the State being small, and there being a necessity of the State's furnishing an additional number to make up their proportion in the Continental Army, the Field Officers have represented to me the propriety of making one temporary Battalion from the two, so that one entire corps of officers may repair to Rhode Island, in order to receive and prepare the recruits for the field. It is imagined that a Battalion of negroes may be raised there. . . . The Field Officers who go upon this command, are Col. Greene, Lt. Col. Olney, and Major Ward."

Colonel Greene, after this, was employed in Rhode Island for a period of the war, from 1778 to 1780, and had a spirited fight with the enemy on the Island, in which the negro troops distinguished themselves. He coöperated with the French fleet and army, the former under Count D'Estaing, the latter under the command of General Count Rochambeau. In 1781, he returned to the headquarters of Gen. Washington, and on the night of the 13th of May, was attacked at his quarters near Croton Bridge, Croton River, N. Y., by a party of refugees, overpowered, and barbarously murdered. His left arm was cut off, his right wounded to the bone in two wide gashes, his left shoulder severely mutilated, his stomach pierced by a sword, his right side shockingly lacerated by a bayonet, and his head mangled in several places. In this condition, he was dragged by the ruffians who had overpowered him, to a wood about a mile distant, and there left.

General Washington learned, with the deepest sorrow, the details of the melancholy fate of his honored friend and brother in arms. His corpse was carried to the headquarters of the army on the subsequent day, and buried with every token of military honor, and every semblance of individual grief.\* General Rochambeau took occasion to remark in a letter to Gov. Greene, dated at Newport, 27th May, 1781, "Your Excellency will, I hope, be persuaded how much I lament the loss of your friend and relative, Col. Greene. I had the greatest esteem and regard for an officer of such merit." At the October Session of the General Assembly, 1785, seven years' half pay was allowed to the widow and children of Col. Greene, dating from the day of his death.

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\*Both Colonel Greene and Major Flagg, who was murdered at the same time, were buried in the church-yard at Compond, where a tomb stone was erected. Compond was about seven miles from Peekskill.

The gallant defence of Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, gave to Colonel Greene a prominent military reputation and Congress was prompt to recognize the brilliant deed by passing a resolution, Nov. 4, 1777, "That an elegant sword be provided by the Board of War, and presented to Col. Greene." The execution of this complimentary resolve was delayed until several years after the death of the Colonel, when the sword was forwarded to Job Greene, Esq., the son and legal representative of the deceased, accompanied with the following letter:

"WAR OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES, }  
New York, June 7, 1786. }

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit to you, the son and legal representative of the late memorable and gallant Col. Greene, the sword directed to be presented to him, by the resolve of Congress of the 4th of November, 1777.

"The repulse and defeat of the Germans at the Fort of Red Bank, on the Delaware, is justly considered as one of the most brilliant actions of the late war. The glory of that event is inseparably attached to the memory of your father and his brave garrison. The manner in which the supreme authority of the United States is pleased to express its high sense of his military merit, and the honorable instrument which they annex in testimony thereof, must be peculiarly precious to a son emulative of his father's virtues. The circumstances of the war prevented obtaining and delivery of the sword previous to your father's being killed at Croton River, in 1780. [1.]

"On that catastrophe, his country mourned the sacrifice of a patriot and a soldier, and mingled its tears with those of his family. That the patriotic and military virtues of your honorable father may influence your conduct in every case in which your country may require your services, is the sincere wish,

Sir,

Of your most obedient  
and very humble servant,

H. KNOX.

Job Greene, Esq."

This sword is now in the possession of one of the grandchildren of Colonel Greene, Simon Henry Greene, Esq., of River Point, R. I. Its sheath is of rattle-snake skin, the blade a polished rapier, and its principle decorations of silver, inlaid with gold. At the time of his death Col. Greene had entered upon his forty-fifth year. In 1758, he married Miss Anne Lippitt, the daughter of Mr. Jeremiah Lippitt, of

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Warwick. He left three sons and four daughters. His portrait, belonging to Simon Henry Greene, Esq., exhibits the appearance of a man who would do effectual service on the battle-field. Under the laborious exercise of the farm and the camp, he ripened into a rare combination of symmetrical figure and solid expression. His height was about five feet ten inches. His round, capacious chest, his upright mien, his active, muscular limbs, indicated the enjoyment of perfect physical vigor. Dark brown hair clustered around his forehead, which bespoke deep thought rather than brilliant fancy. There was a strange lustre in his eyes that would have given the expression of life to a face of clay. The outline of his features was grave and stern, as if it were but a transparent veil over his restless mind; while his entire countenance was lit up with a ruddy, sanguine complexion, through which coursing blood looked out to tell the story of inward health and joyousness. A copy of this portrait was a few years since painted at the expense of the State of Rhode Island, and was made one of a growing gallery of her eminent sons and benefactors now formed in the Hall of Brown University. Col. Greene died at an age when his military

*Corrections.* Page 57, line 16 from top. The portrait of Colonel Greene was presented to the gallery in the Hall of Brown University, by Simon Henry Greene, Esq., and was not painted at the expense of the State, as inadvertently stated.

Page 87, line 2 from bottom, for Louis XIV, read "Louis XVI."

KNOW. quebec was planned, he was assigned to a company in the detachment of Arnold. While the troops halted at Fort Western on the Kennebec, he wrote to his wife in terms worthy of a patriot martyr: "I know not if I shall ever see you again. The weather grows severe cold, and the woods, they say, are terrible to pass. But I do not value life or property, if I can secure liberty for my children." Captain Hubbard shared in the extreme sufferings of the march, and probably

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Captain JONAS HUBBARD, the son of an early settler in Worcester, Mass., was born in that town. Previous to the Revolution, he was engaged in the cultivation of his patrimonial estate, and in the management of extensive concerns of business. The first sounds of coming war found him an Ensign in one of the three militia companies of the town. When the volunteer company of minute men was raised, Hubbard was elected Lieutenant, and actively participated in the evening drills after the labors of the day were over, and in the preparations made by the busy industry of the martial spirit of the times, for immediate action.

When this gallant corps marched to Cambridge, Lieutenant Hubbard was appointed Captain, and, when the expedition against Quebec was planned, he was assigned to a company in the detachment of Arnold. While the troops halted at Fort Western on the Kennebec, he wrote to his wife in terms worthy of a patriot martyr: "I know not if I shall ever see you again. The weather grows severe cold, and the woods, they say, are terrible to pass. But I do not value life or property, if I can secure liberty for my children." Captain Hubbard shared in the extreme sufferings of the march, and probably

more than his proportion, as, acting under a commission among those who had no reverence for artificial distinctions, beyond that yielded to the legitimate authority of courage and wisdom.

In the attack on Quebec, Captain Hubbard fell, at the head of his company, severely wounded. Respected for his fearless intrepidity, and loved for his personal worth, his men wished to remove him to a place of shelter from the fast falling snow, and of safety from the volleys of balls poured down from the ramparts. But he peremptorily refused. 'I came here to serve with you, I will stay here to die with you,' were his last words to a comrade who survived. Bleeding and stretched on a bed of ice, exposed to the bitter influence of a winter storm, life soon departed. It was a glorious time and place for the valiant soldier to yield up his breath, beneath the massive walls of the invulnerable citadel, with the death shot flying fast, and the thunder of cannon welling round him. The sons of Captain Hubbard, inheriting his adventurous and manly spirit, emigrated to Maine, where the eldest, Gen. Levi Hubbard, became the first settler of Paris. Gen. Hubbard held many offices with honor, and was representative of Oxford District in Congress, from 1813 to 1815.—*Lincoln's History of Worcester.*

JOHN JOSEPH HENRY was the son of William and Ann Wood Henry, of Lancaster, Penn. William, (whose parents emigrated from Coleraine, Ireland,) was a distinguished Whig during the Revolution, and had an extensive manufactory of arms, established previously to the French War. In 1777, he was Deputy Commissary General, and was active in sending supplies to the army at Valley Forge. In 1784, he was elected to Congress, and died Dec. 15, 1786.

JOHN JOSEPH was born in Lancaster, Penn., Nov. 4th, 1758, and early manifested marked mechanical genius. At the age of 14, he became an apprentice to his uncle at the gunsmith business, who subsequently removed to Detroit. Here young Henry remained but a short time, and returned home on foot through the wilderness. His ardent mind panted for military glory, and sympathising warmly with his struggling country, he, at the age of 16 years, clandestinely enlisted in a company raised by Captain Matthew Smith, for the purpose of joining Arnold's Expedition against Quebec. His sufferings on the march through the wilderness were extreme. He was captured in the attack upon Quebec, and lay in prison nine months, where he contracted the scurvy, which made its appearance on his return home, in a malignant form, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered. Mr. Henry spoke the German language, and while in prison was approached

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by Captain Prentis, in behalf of Gen. Knyphausen, then at Quebec, with the offer of a place in his military family, as an interpreter. The offer was declined.

He sailed from Quebec Aug. 10, 1776, and after a voyage of four weeks, reached New York. Of his advent into Elizabethtown, a few days after, he gives the following description: "It was ten or eleven at night before we landed. The moon shone beautifully. Morgan stood in the bow of the boat, making a spring not easily surpassed, and falling on the earth, as it were to grasp it,—cried, "Oh, my country." We that were near him, pursued his example. Now a race commenced, which in quickness, could scarcely be exceeded, and soon brought us to Elizabethtown. Here, those of us who were drowsy spent an uneasy night. Being unexpected guests, and the town full of troops, no quarters were provided for us. Joy rendered beds useless. We did not close our eyes till daylight. Singing, dancing, the Indian halloo, in short, every species of vociferousness was adopted by the men, and many of the most respectable sergeants, to express their extreme pleasure. A stranger coming among them, would have pronounced them mad, or at least intoxicated, though since noon neither food nor liquor had passed our lips. Thus the passions may, at times, have an influence on the human frame, as inebriating as wine or any other liquor. The morning brought us plenty, in the form of rations of beef and bread. Hunger allayed, my desire was to proceed homewards."

On reaching home, a Lieutenantancy in the Pennsylvania Line was offered Mr. Henry, and also a Captaincy in the Virginia Line. The latter he designed to accept, under Morgan, but the state of his health prevented. Continued lameness precluded all possibility of his again entering the army, and he indentured himself for four years as a clerk in the prothonotary's office of Lancaster County, and made himself master of its duties. He subsequently studied law, under Stephen Chambers, Esq., whose youngest sister he afterwards married. Mr. Henry engaged successfully in the practice of law, from 1785 to the close of 1793, when his well known legal abilities were rewarded with an appointment by Governor Thomas Mifflin, to the office of President of the Second Judicial District of Pennsylvania. This position he held seventeen years, when, from illness and increasing infirmities, he felt it a duty to resign. Four months after, he died. Judge Henry wrote an interesting and valuable narrative of the Campaign against Quebec, which was published in 1812, and which has frequently been referred to in the preceding pages.

Captain WILLIAM HENDRICKS, from Pennsylvania, was tall, of a mild



and beautiful countenance. His soul was animated by a genuine spark of heroism. He was active and energetic in the march through the wilderness, and shared freely in the toils and privations of his men. When it became necessary to transport Lieutenant McClelland, of his company, in a litter across the mountains, he took his turn with the men. "If you had seen," says Henry, "the young yet venerable Captain Hendricks, bearing his share of this loved burthen across the plain to our camp, it would have raised esteem, if not affection, towards him." He was no stickler for rank where the harmony of the service was involved. Morgan had obtained the command of the rifle corps from Arnold, without any advertence to the better claim of Hendricks, who, though the youngest man, was, of the three Captains, in point of rank, by the dates of commissions, the superior officer. For the sake of peace in the army, and of good order, he prudently and good naturedly acquiesced in Morgan's assumption of the command. He was conspicuous in the assault upon Quebec, and, as mentioned in the Introduction, was killed by a straggling ball received through the heart.

Captain JOHN LAMB, son of Anthony Lamb, a celebrated optician and mathematical instrument maker, in New York, was born in that city, January 1, 1735. In early life, he followed the profession of his father. About 1760, he commenced the business of a wine merchant, and nearly at the same time, married Catherine Jandine, a lady of Huguenot descent. He improved his opportunities for mental culture, spoke the French and German languages, was a pleasant speaker and forcible writer. In the beginning of the troubles that led on to Revolution, Mr. Lamb sided with the country, and became a prominent member of the New York Sons of Liberty. Early in 1775, he offered his services to Congress, and was commissioned a Captain of Artillery, a position for which his military studies fitted him. For a time, he was stationed, with his company, on the Battery, in New York; but when the invasion of Canada, by Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, was determined upon, he marched and joined the invading army, at the Isle-aux-Noix. When St. John's capitulated, Capt. Lamb and his company, with two hundred other men, were ordered to march into town to receive the surrender of the fort and take possession. In the subsequent movements, he showed himself an intelligent, energetic and reliable officer. He first met Colonel Arnold before Quebec, and was associated with him in the assault upon that city. He fought with great bravery, was severely wounded, and taken prisoner.

A grape shot hit Lamb on the left cheek, near the eye, the sight of which was ultimately lost, and carried away a part of the bone. The

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force of the blow and the concussion of the shot, stunned him, and threw him senseless on the snow. Some of his faithful followers carried him into a cooper's shop near at hand, and laid him upon a pile of shavings insensible.

In searching for the dead and wounded, Capt. Lamb was found where he had been left, still without consciousness, benumbed with cold and loss of blood. A surgeon, after examination, pronounced him yet alive, and made preparations to restore him to animation. A Scottish commissary present, who knew Capt. Lamb, and was familiar with some of his exploits that had made him obnoxious to British ire, suggested that it would be better to let him die, as, if he was recovered, the King's vengeance would certainly be visited upon him. But the suggestion was not accepted. Capt. Lamb was revived and carried to the convent of the nuns of the order of Mercy, then a temporary hospital; not, however, without being plundered of his shoes and buckles, by some of the underlings; and, without shoes, supported by two men, he was assisted over the paved court, covered with snow, and put to bed in that condition, in his wet garments. He recovered slowly, but through life suffered inconvenience from rigidity of the jaw.

Before being released, Capt. Lamb was appointed by Washington to be second Major in the regiment of Artillery commanded by Colonel Henry Knox. He was subsequently made Lieutenant Colonel. He was in command of the Artillery at West Point, when Arnold's treachery and flight was discovered, and was filled with indignation when the disclosure was made. He had been in the most friendly relations with Arnold, but this event caused an instantaneous revulsion of feeling. By one of the numerous flags which passed the lines on the occasion of the capture of André, the officer who brought it was charged to present the regards of Gen. Arnold to Col. Lamb. "Be good enough, sir," was the reply, "to tell Gen. Arnold that the acquaintance between us is forgotten, and that, if he were to be hanged to-morrow, I would go barefooted to witness his execution."

In the battle at Compo Hill, Conn., in 1777, Col. Lamb was struck by a grape shot and severely wounded. After the wound had been dressed, he was taken to the house of Mr. Simpson, temporarily resident of Norwalk, and afterwards to Col. Deming's, at Fairfield. As soon as it was prudent to move, he repaired to New Haven and took command of that place, which had been, in the absence of Gen. Arnold, confided to Lieut. Colonel Oswald. Col. Lamb fought gallantly at Yorktown, but did not secure the reward of promotion that his friends with good reason expected he would. After leaving the army, in which he had

made an honorable record, he was elected a member of the New York General Assembly, and took a prominent and influential part in public affairs. He was also raised to the rank of Brigadier General. He was appointed Collector of the Customs for the Port of New York, the duties of which office he discharged with scrupulous fidelity, but the embezzlement of a clerk in whom he imposed entire confidence, involved him in pecuniary ruin. The reimbursement of the loss absorbed his entire fortune, and he retired from office in poverty and distress but with the warm sympathy of both friends and political opponents. General Lamb was an original member of the Society of Cincinnati, and had been twice Vice-President of that body. He died in New York, May 31st, 1800, aged 65 years, and was buried in Trinity Church Yard, with the military honors which he had so well deserved; and the long array of citizens, as they attended him to the tomb, attested the respect which his virtues, his bravery, and worth had universally commanded.\* A very interesting Life of Gen. Lamb, by Isaac Q. Leake, was published by Joel Munsell, Albany, in 1850. The press of Mr. Munsell has become celebrated for elegant editions of rare works.

General RICHARD MONTGOMERY was a native of the North of Ireland, and was born in the year 1737. Choosing the profession of arms, he entered the British service, and, as Captain of a company in the 17th Regiment of foot, he fought under General Wolfe in the assault upon Quebec, in 1759. He returned to England, and in 1772, retired from the army. Coming again to America, he settled in New York and married a daughter of Judge Livingston. He was an officer of superior military ability, and but for his untimely death, would doubtless have rendered the country invaluable services. Few officers were so universally beloved by his men, or held in warmer regard by all who knew him.

"All enmity to Montgomery expired with his life, and the respect to his private character prevailed over all other considerations. . . . The most powerful speakers in the British Parliament displayed their eloquence in praising his virtues, and lamenting his fate. A great orator, and veteran fellow-soldier of his in the late war, shed abundance of tears whilst he expatiated on their past friendship and participation

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\*Several writers state that Capt. Lamb and his company, formed a part of Arnold's force, in the expedition by the Kennebec and Chaudlers rivers. This error originated, perhaps, in the fact that Lamb fought under Arnold's command in the attack on Quebec, and his connection with Montgomery being generally unknown.

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of service in that season of enterprise and glory. Even the minister extolled his virtues."—*Annual Register for 1776.*\*

Major RETURN J. MEIGS was born in Middletown, Ct., in 1740. Soon after the battle of Lexington, he marched a company of infantry to the neighborhood of Boston, and received the commission of Major. He was assigned to Arnold's command, and showed great energy as an officer in the march through the wilderness against Quebec. He fought bravely in the assault upon that place and was taken prisoner. Upon being exchanged, he returned home, and in 1777 was appointed Colonel. For a brilliant expedition to Long Island that year, he received the thanks of Congress and a sword. In 1779, he commanded a regiment under Wayne at the capture of Stony Point. After the war he removed to Ohio, and settled near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers. As early as 1816 he was the agent for Indian affairs. He died at the Cherokee agency. His christian name, *Return*, was given him by his father, in commemoration of the happy termination of an interview with a fair Quakeress who at first rejected his suit; but, on taking his departure, she sweetly called to him, saying, "*return, Jonathan,*" and consented to become his bride.

Capt. DANIEL MORGAN was born in New Jersey in 1737, and in 1755 emigrated to Virginia, where he was employed first as a farmer, and afterwards as a wagoner. He shared in the perils of Braddock's expedition against the Indians, and received a wound in his neck and cheek. At the commencement of the Revolutionary war he cast his lot with the sons of freedom, and raised a company of riflemen. In the assault upon Quebec he was in the hottest of the fight. On being exchanged he rejoined the army, and received the command of a regiment. He fought with Gates at Saratoga, and with Greene in the South. He was made brevet Brigadier General. For his bravery at the battle of the Cowpens, Jan. 1, 1781, Congress voted him a gold medal. In the Whiskey Insurrection, Washington called him to command the militia of Virginia. He was afterwards elected a member of Congress. He died at Winchester, Va., after a long and painful sickness, in 1799.

Captain ELEAZER OSWALD was from New Haven, Conn. He served under Arnold at Ticonderoga, and volunteering to accompany him through the wilderness to Quebec, was made secretary to his commander. In the assault upon that place, he led a forlorn hope, and exhibited great courage. He was taken prisoner, and after being

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\*See Introduction.

exchanged, received the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Lamb's regiment of Artillery. For a short time he was stationed at New Haven, with such recruits as he had been enabled to collect. From thence he proceeded to Providence, to secure the services of an accomplished musician who he had learned might be obtained there, and also to promote enlistments. On arriving at Providence he found that the fifer had been recently promoted to a Majority in the line of the army, and consequently, as he wrote, "above that business." In a short time he returned to Connecticut, and, during the temporary absence of Col. Lamb, took charge of the affairs of the regiment. He was in the affair at Compo, and afterwards with part of two companies and three field pieces, joined Arnold at Norwalk. He was subsequently with his regiment at Peekskill, where, receiving personal indignity from Gen. Putnam, he determined to resign, but through the influence of friends, was induced to forego his purpose. Lieut. Col. Oswald participated in the battle of Monmouth, and for his gallant services received the commendations of Generals Knox and Lee. In August, 1778, being unjustly outranked, through the enmity of Gen. Gates, who disliked him on account of his devotion to Washington, he resigned his commission. After leaving the army, he entered into the printing and publishing business in Philadelphia, was appointed public printer, and was a resident of that city during the time it was under the command of Arnold. The treason of that officer drew from Oswald several indignant letters. In a letter to Col. Lamb, he said: "Happy for him, and for his friends, it had been, had the ball which pierced his leg at Saratoga, been directed through his heart; he then would have finished his career in glory, but the remainder of his wretched existence, must now be one continued scene of horror, misery and despair. . . . He has convinced the world that he is as base a prostitute as this or any other country ever nurtured to maturity, and as a punishment for the enormity of his crimes, the mark of Cain is branded on him in the most indelible characters."

In the political discussions of the times, Lieut. Col. Oswald took an active part, and, under extraordinary provocation, sent a challenge to Col. Hamilton, which, upon satisfactory explanation, was withdrawn. During the French Revolution he went to England on business, and, guided by his natural enthusiasm for liberty and passion for military renown, crossed the channel and entered the army of Dumourier. He was placed in command of a regiment of artillery, and served with credit in the battle of Mons or Jemappe. He returned to his native land, and in October, 1795, died of small pox, contracted while nursing

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a friend who had been fatally attacked by that pestilence. On the 2d of October he was buried in St. Paul's church yard, in New York.

Rev. SAMUEL SPRING, the chaplain of Arnold's detachment, was born in Northbridge, Mass., February 27, 1746, and was educated at Princeton College, where he graduated in 1771. On his return from Quebec he left the army, and August 6, 1777, received ordination. He was a minister for many years in Newburyport, Mass., and was an attractive preacher. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Missionary Society in 1799, and also of the Andover Theological Seminary, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. His publications were numerous. He died March 4, 1819, aged 73 years. His son, Rev. Gardner Spring, D.D., has long been one of the prominent clergymen of New York.

Captain MATTHEW SMITH commanded a company from Lancaster county, Penn. Henry, who served under him, says, "he was a good looking man, had the air of a soldier, but was illiterate, and outrageously talkative." Previous to the assault upon Quebec, he was present by invitation of General Montgomery, at a council of officers. On one occasion, in the march through the wilderness, he saved a soldier who had violated an order prohibiting the firing of guns, from summary punishment by Morgan. The soldier denied having committed the offence. Morgan, in a momentary passion, seized a billet of wood and threatened to knock him down unless he confessed the fact. Whereupon Smith seized another billet and threatened to serve Morgan in like manner if he struck the man. Morgan knowing the tenure of his rank, receded.

Dr. ISAAC SENTER was born in Londonderry, in the State of New Hampshire, in the year 1753. Of his boyhood life no particulars are preserved. Choosing the Healing Art for a profession, he went to Newport, R. I., and engaged in the study of medicine, under the direction of Dr. Thomas Moffat, a Scotch physician of eminence. The ardor with which he pursued his studies did not render him indifferent to the important events then transpiring. Every fibre of his heart was patriotic, and when the tidings of the battle of Lexington reached Newport, he instantly joined the Rhode Island troops as a volunteer surgeon, and accompanied them to the camp of the American army in Cambridge. He soon after received an appointment of surgeon in the Continental line, and was assigned to the detachment under Arnold for the Canada expedition. Dr. Senter was now twenty-two years of age, and his new position opened to him a wide field for gathering

medical and surgical experience. His life, on the memorable march through the wilderness to Quebec, was replete with adventure, while frequent demands were made on his professional services. Cheerful and hopeful under multiplied discouragements, he pressed on with his companions, at one time wading through swamps, sinking half-leg deep in the mire at every step, and at another feeding on "the jawbone of a swine destitute of any covering, boiled in a quantity of water with a little thickening;" but all the way invulnerable to persuasions to turn back. As a specimen of his experience, the following extracts from his Journal are given:

*Tuesday, Oct. 24th.*—Approaching necessity now obliged us to double our diligence. Three miles only had we proceeded ere we came to a troublesome waterfall in the river, distant half a mile. Not more than the last mentioned distance before we were brought up by another, distance the same. As the number of falls increased, the water became consequently more rapid. The heights of land upon each side of the river, which had hitherto been inconsiderable, now became prodigiously mountainous, closing as it were up the river with an aspect of an immense height. The river was now become very narrow, and such a horrid current as rendered it impossible to proceed in any other method than by hauling the batteaux up by the bushes, painters, &c. Here we met several boats returning loaded with invalids, and lamentable stories of the inaccessibility of the river, and the impracticability of any further progress into the country. Among which was Mr. Jackson, before mentioned, complaining of the gout most severely, joined to all the horrors of approaching famine. I was now exhorted in the most pathetic terms, on pain of famishing upon contrary conduct, and the army were all returned at a few who were many miles forward with Col. Arnold. However, he did not prevail; I therefore bid him adieu and proceeded. Not far had I proceeded before I discovered several wrecks of batteaux belonging to the front division of riflemen, &c., with an increased velocity of the water. A dreadful, howling wilderness not describable. With much labour and difficulty, I arrived with the principal part of my baggage (leaving the batteaux made fast) to the encampment. Two miles from thence I met the informants last mentioned, where were Col. Greene's division, &c., waiting for the remainder of the army to come up, that they might get some provisions, ere they advanced any further. Upon inquiry, I found them almost destitute of any eatable whatever, except a few *candles*, which were used for supper, and breakfast the next morning, by boiling them in water gruel, &c.

*Wednesday, 25th.*—Every prospect of distress now came thundering on with a two-fold rapidity. A storm of snow had covered the ground of nigh six inches deep, attended with very severe weather. We now waited in anxious expectation for Col. Enos' division to come up, in order that we might have a recruit of provisions ere we could start off the ground. An express was ordered both up and down the river, the one up the river in quest of Col. Arnold, that he might be informed of the state of the army, many of whom were now entirely destitute of any sustenance. The Col. had left previous orders for the two divisions, viz: Greene's and Enos', to come to an adjustment of the provisions—send back any who were indisposed, either in body or mind, and pursue him with the others immediately. The other express went down the river to desire Col. Enos and officers to attend in consultation. They accordingly came up before noon, when a council of war was ordered. Here sat a number of grimacers—melancholy aspects who had been

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preaching to their men the doctrine of impenetrability and non-perseverance. Col. Enos in the chair. The matter was debated upon the expediency of proceeding on for Quebec. The party against going urging the impossibility, averring the whole provisions, when averaged, would not support the army five days.

The arrangements of men and provisions were made at Fort Western, in such a manner as to proceed with the greater expedition. For this end, it was thought necessary that Capt. Morgan's company, with a few pioneers, should advance in the first division, Col. Greene's in the second, and Enos, with Capt. Colbourn's company of artificers, to bring up the rear. The advantage of the arrangement was very conspicuous, as the rear division would not only have the roads cut, rivers cleared passable for boats, &c., but stages or encampments formed and the bough huts remaining for the rear. The men being thus arranged, the provisions were distributed according to the supposed difficulty, or facility, attending the different dispositions. Many of the first companies took only two or three barrels of flour with several of bread, most in a small proportion. While the companies in the last division had not less than fourteen of flour and ten of bread. The bread, as mentioned before, was condemned in consequence of the leaky casks, therefore the proportion of bread being much greater in the first division, their loss was consequently the greater. These hints being premised, I now proceed to the determination of the council of war. After debating upon the state of the army with respect to provisions, there was found very little in the division then encamped at the falls, (which I shall name *Hypophobus*) The other companies not being come up, either through fear that they should be obliged to come to a divider, or to show their disapprobation of proceeding any further. The question being put whether all to return, or only part, the majority were for part only returning. Part only of the officers of those detachments were in this council.

According to Col. Arnold's recommendation, the invalids were allowed to return, as also the timorous. The officers who were for going forward, requested a division of the provisions, and that it was necessary they should have the far greater quantity in proportion to the number of men, as the supposed distance that they had to go ere they arrived into the Inhabitants was greater than what they had come, after leaving the Cenebec Inhabitants. To this the returning party (being pre-determined) would not consent, alledging that they would either go back with what provisions they had, or if they must go forward they'd not impart any. Col. Enos, though [he] voted for proceeding, yet had undoubtedly preengaged to the contrary, as every action demonstrated. To compel them to a just division, we were not in a situation, as being the weaker party. Expostulations and entreaties had hitherto been fruitless. Col. Enos, who more immediately commanded the division of *returners*, was called upon to give positive orders for a small quantity, if no more. He replied that his men were out of his power, and that they had determined to keep their possessed quantity whether they went back or forward. They finally concluded to spare [us] 2½ barrels of flour, if determined to pursue our destination; adding that we never should be able to bring [in] any Inhabitants. Thus circumstanced, we were left the alternative of accepting their small pittance, and proceed, or return. The former was adopted, with a determined resolution to go through or die. Received it, put it on board of our boats, quit the few tents we were in possession of, with all other camp equipage, took each man to his duds on his back, bid them adieu, and away—passed the river; passed over falls and encamped.

*Monday, 30th.*—Cooking being very much out of fashion, we had little else to do than march as quick as light permitted; half an hour only brought us to a water which we imagined to be a creek formed by the lake; laid our course more southwardly, endeavoring to go round it, but three miles march evinced our mistake; our creek

proved to be a river of four rods wide. The depth and width of this river rendered it unfordable, nor [was] it possible to form a bridge, as nothing of any bigness grew on its banks. It was now conjectured this river made out of the Allegheny chain of mountains, which we had therefore the marching round it impracticable. We therefore concluded to proceed up it till it was fordable. We had not gone far before we came to a place about four feet deep, which we immediately forded, although much frozen on each side. This *Baieum Frigidum* served to exercise our motion in order to keep from freezing. Our main course was W. N. W., and only varied to escape the bogs, mountains, small ponds, water streams, &c., of which we met with many. This was the third day we had been in search of the Chaudiere, who were only seven computed miles distant the 28th inst. Nor were we possessed of any certainty that our course would bring us either to the lake or river, not knowing the point it lay from where we started. However, we came to a resolution to continue it. In this state of uncertainty, we wandered through hideous swamps and mountainous precipices, with the conjoint addition of cold, wet and hunger, not to mention our fatigue—with the terrible apprehension of famishing in this desert. The pretended pilot was not less frightened than many of the rest; added to that the severe excretations he received, from the front of the army to the rear, made his office not a little disagreeable. Several of the men towards evening were ready to give up any thoughts of ever arriving at the desired haven. Hunger and fatigue had so much the ascendancy over many of the poor fellows, added to their despair of arrival, that some of them were left in the river, nor were heard of afterwards. In turn with Col. Greene, I carried the compass the greater part of this day. In this condition, we proceeded with as little knowledge of where we were, or where we should get to, as if we had been in the unknown interior of Africa, or the deserts of Arabia. Just as the sun was departing, we brought a pond or lake, which finally proved to be Chaudiere, and soon the small foot-path made by the other division of the army, whose choice turned to their account. Our arrival here was succeeded with three huzzas, and then came to our encampment.

*Tuesday, 31st.* — The appearance of daylight roused us as usual, and we had advanced with all possible speed till about 11 o'clock, when we saw the Chaudiere river, which we last night imagined within a mile. Animated afresh with the sight of a stream, which we very well knew would conduct us into the inhabitant's if our strength continued, we proceeded with renewed vigor. The emptying of the Chaudiere is beautiful, and formed a very agreeable ascent, though the stream is somewhat rapid. The land was now much descending, yet very difficult travelling. The spruce, cedar and hemlock were the chief growth of the earth, and these were in tolerable plenty, almost impenetrably so in many places. We now began to discover the wrecked batteaux of those who conducted the ammunition, &c. These were seven in number, who followed the seven mile stream into the Chaudiere lake, river, &c., and soon came to an encampment, where I found Capt. Morgan and most of the boatmen who were wrecked upon a fall in the river, losing everything except their lives, which they all saved by swimming, except one of Morgan's riflemen. This was the first man drowned in all the dangers we were exposed to, and the third [lost] by casualties, except some lost in the wilderness, the number unknown. At this encampment was Lieut. McClelland, of Morgan's company, almost expiring with a violent *peripneumonia*. Necessaries were distributed as much as possible, with two lads of the company in charge of him. Nor was this poor fellow the only one left sick upon this river. Life depending upon a vigorous push for the inhabitants, and that did not admit of any stay for any person; nor could the two lads have been prevailed upon had not provisions been dealt out sufficient to conduct them to the inhabitants, with the promising to send them relief

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as soon as possible from the settlements. In this general wreck, my medicine box suffered the fate of the rest, with a set of capital instruments, &c. Though little was to be feared from either my chirurgical apparatus or physical potions, I had, however, a few necessaries in that way in my knapsack, &c., with a lancet in my pocket, which enabled me at least to comply with the Sangradoine method.

On the 8th of November, Dr. Senter reached Point Levi, and soon after crossed the river with the army, which advanced to the Plains of Abraham, and on the 18th fell back to Point Aux-Trembles, to await the arrival of General Montgomery. When the army advanced to Quebec, and an assault upon the city had been planned, Dr. Senter solicited Colonel Arnold for permission to lead a company whose Captain was absent, and which, on that account, it was supposed would tarry behind. To this application, the following answer was returned:

"DEAR SIR.—I am much obliged to you for your offer, and glad to see you so spirited, but cannot consent you should take up arms, as you will be wanted in the way of your profession. You will please to prepare dressings, &c., and repair to the main guard house at 2 o'clock in the morning, with an assistant.

I am in haste, yours,

B. ARNOLD, Col.

Dr. Senter,  
27 Dec., 1775."

Though disappointed in his patriotic purpose, the Doctor found ample scope for his services in the hospital, and singularly enough, the first subject of his professional skill was Colonel Arnold himself.

The small pox, which early appeared in the army, still extensively prevailed, and after the army fell back to Sorel, Dr. Senter was ordered by General Thomas to Montreal, to erect a Hospital for the reception of patients. On applying to General Arnold, he obtained a fine capacious house belonging to the East India Company, capable of accommodating about six hundred persons. The only precautionary measure known at that time was inoculation, which had not as yet become popular. Dr. Senter, for personal safety and perhaps as an example to the men, had already had the varioloid matter transferred into his arm, and inoculation became general. An entire regiment at a class went through the operation together, and had the disease so mildly that they were able to do garrison duty during the whole time.

On retiring from the army, in 1779, Dr. Senter established himself as a physician in the town of Cranston, R. I. About this time he was elected a Representative to the General Assembly from that town, and afterwards was appointed Surgeon and Physician General of the State. Subsequently he removed to Newport, where he continued the practice of his profession under the most favorable circumstances, as almost all the old physicians had either died or emigrated during the war. He

became eminent not only as an industrious and successful practitioner, but also as the author of several essays on professional subjects, which appeared in the medical publications of the day, and added greatly to his reputation at home and in Europe. He was elected an honorary member of the Medical and Chirurgical Societies of Edinburg and London, and an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. Among his pupils were Dr. Danforth, "the Medical Hercules" of Boston, and Dr. Waterhouse, the accomplished botanist, professor and writer, and who introduced vaccination into America.

Dr. Senter married Eliza Arnold, daughter of Captain Rhodes Arnold, of Pawtuxet, R. I. He had four sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Horace Gates, was a physician of eminence, and was for some time in the Hospitals of London. His second son, Nathaniel Greene, was several years in the East India Service. His third son was Edward Gibson, also a student of medicine. His fourth son, Charles Churchill, died at the age of 17 years. His eldest daughter, Eliza Antoinette, married Rev. Nathan Bourne Crocker, D.D., for more than half a century the honored Rector of St. John's Church, in the City of Providence. His second daughter, Sarah Ann, married Clement S. Hunt, of the U. S. Navy.

For several years Dr. Senter was President of the Society of Cincinnati of Rhode Island. In person he was tall and well proportioned, and possessing great muscular strength. In his manners he was bland, dignified, and social. The late Rev. Dr. William Ellery Channing mentions him as "a physician of extensive practice, who was thought to unite with great experience a rare genius in his profession, and whose commanding figure rises before me at the distance of forty-five years, as a specimen of manly beauty, worthy the chisel of a Grecian sculptor." In the height of his reputation and usefulness, he was attacked with a disorder, caused by the severity of his professional labors, which terminated his life, to the great regret of his fellow-citizens, on the 21st day of December, 1799, at the age of forty-six years. His Journal of the Expedition against Quebec, which has been freely used in the preceding pages, was published by the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1846, and is one of the most valuable memorials of the scenes it records.

SIMEON THAYER, son of David and Jane Keith Thayer, was born in Mendon, Mass., April 30, 1737. His brothers and sisters were Jean, David, Susanna, George, Faithful, Jemima, Mary and Elizabeth. David Thayer, the father, was the grandson of Ferdinando, the son of

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Thomas, who came early to New England with Margery his wife. Ferdinando married Huldah Hayward, of Braintree, Mass., Jan. 14, 1652. He lived in that town until after his father's decease, when he removed to Meadon with a Colony from Braintree and Weymouth.

Simeon, the subject of this notice, was apprenticed to a Peruke-maker, probably in Providence. His bold and decided nature loved adventure, and it is not surprising that we find him, in 1756, a member of a Rhode Island regiment, serving in the French War. In 1757, he served in the Massachusetts line, under the command of Col. Fry, and was principally in the Rangers, under Rogers. He was personally in three engagements with the Indians, in each of which many of the Rangers were killed. In August of the same year, he was in Fort William Henry, when taken by Montcalm, which surrendered on the morning of the 7th day from the commencement of the siege. After being detained twenty hours he, with the rest of the garrison, was disarmed and stripped of all his clothes, leaving him with only an under waistcoat. As he was passing down the road near Bloody Pond, he was attacked by an Indian, who seized him by the back of his waistcoat collar with the right hand and dragged him towards a swamp on the left, about twelve or fifteen rods. His captor held in his left hand a tomahawk and scalping knife. Thayer's shoulder, as the Indian was forcing him along, struck against a small tree, which stopped him. His waistcoat broke open and slipped off, which, as the Indian was pulling with main strength, precipitated him upon the earth, at some distance. Thayer being thus disengaged, ran into the woods, where he joined the rest of the troops. In passing on, the road being crowded, he with a companion took a path called the plank guard path. They soon perceived an Indian with a tomahawk pursuing them. They both ran, and coming to a tree that had been blown up by the roots, he crept under, while his companion, endeavoring to leap over, was struck by the tomahawk, thrown with unerring skill, and was killed. Thayer made his escape once more, by running round the top of the tree, and in an hour or two reached Fort Edward. The excessive fatigue of running so great a distance in a short time, in intensely hot weather, brought on an inflammation which impaired his health for many years, and prevented his entering the service again during the war.\*

\*Captain JONATHAN CARVER, a native of Connecticut, and who commanded a company of Provincial troops in the "French war," was at Fort William Henry as a volunteer during this siege, and thus describes the scenes that followed the capitulation:

"In consideration of the gallant defence the garrison had made, they were to be permitted to march out with all the honors of war, to be allowed covered waggons

On returning to Providence, young Thayer probably settled down in the business to which he had been bred, as the registry of deeds shows that in 1761, "Simeon Thayer, Periwig-maker," purchased an estate on "Stamper's Hill," of Margaret Smith, weaver, for £2100, "old tenor." The same year he was married. The events that transpired between this date and the first resistance to British tyranny, on the waters of Rhode Island in 1772, were well calculated to raise the blood of Thayer to a fever-heat of patriotism, and prepare him for the step he subsequently took. When the design of Britain made it necessary for the Colonies to arm for their defence, he was an officer in a chartered company of Grenadiers in Providence. His zeal for the public welfare and the reputation he had acquired as a friend to liberty,

to transport their baggage to Fort Edward, and a guard to protect them from the fury of the savages.

The morning after the capitulation was signed, as soon as day broke, the whole garrison, now consisting of about two thousand men, besides women and children, were drawn up within the lines, and on the point of marching off, when great numbers of the Indians gathered about, and began to plunder. We were at first in hopes that this was their only view, and suffered them to proceed without opposition. Indeed it was not in our power to make any, had we been so inclined; for though we were permitted to carry off our arms, yet we were not allowed a single round of ammunition. In these hopes however we were disappointed; for presently some of them began to attack the sick and wounded, when such as were not able to crawl into the ranks, notwithstanding they endeavored to avert the fury of their enemies by their shrieks or groans, were soon dispatched.

Here we were fully in expectation that the disturbance would have concluded, and our little army began to move; but in a short time we saw the front division driven back, and discovered that we were entirely encircled by the savages. We expected every moment that the guard, which the French by the articles of capitulation, had agreed to allow us, would have arrived, and put an end to our apprehensions; but none appeared. The Indians now began to strip every one without exception of their arms and clothes, and those who made the least resistance felt the weight of their tomahawks.

I happened to be in the rear division, but it was not long before I shared the fate of my companions. Three or four of the savages laid hold of me, and whilst some held their weapons over my head, the others soon darobed me of my coat, waistcoat, hat and buckles, omitting not to take from me what money I had in my pocket. As this was transacted close by the passage that led from the lines on to the plain, near which a French sentinel was posted, I ran to him and claimed his protection; but he only called me an English dog, and thrust me with violence back again into the midst of the Indians.

I now endeavored to join a body of our troops that were crowded together at some distance; but innumerable were the blows that were made at me with different weapons as I passed on; luckily however the savages were so close together that they could not strike at me without endangering each other. Notwithstanding which one of them found means to make a thrust at me with a spear, which grazed my side, and from another I received a wound, with the same kind of weapon, in my ankle. At length I gained the spot where my countrymen stood, and forced

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pointed him out as a suitable person to be trusted, and in May, 1775, he was accordingly appointed a Captain by the General Assembly. Three days after his appointment, he had completed his company, having enlisted every man himself. On Sunday, the 19th of May, an express arrived from near Boston, stating that the British were marching out to Dorchester, to burn some buildings. In two hours' time, Thayer assembled his company, dealt out their arms, ammunition blankets, &c., and marched with every man. He was met nine miles from town by an express, and informed that the British had returned into Boston, and as it was then late, he halted and took up his quarters in Attleborough meeting house for that night. The next day he proceeded on to Roxbury, where he arrived eight days before any other

myself into the midst of them. But before I got thus far out of the hands of the Indians, the collar and wristbands of my shirt were all that remained of it, and my flesh was scratched and torn in many places by their savage grips.

By this time the war whoop was given, and the Indians began to murder those that were nearest to them without distinction. It is not in the power of words to give any tolerable idea of the horrid scene that now ensued; men, women and children were dispatched in the most wanton and cruel manner, and immediately scalped. Many of these savages drank the blood of their victims, and it flowed warm from the fatal wound.

We now perceived, though too late to avail us, that we were to expect no relief from the French; and that, contrary to the agreement they had so lately signed to allow us a sufficient force to protect us from these insults, they tacitly permitted them; for I could plainly perceive the French officers walking about at some distance, discoursing together with apparent unconcern. For the honor of human nature I would hope that this flagrant breach of every sacred law proceeded rather from the savage disposition of the Indians, which I acknowledge it is sometimes almost impossible to control, and which might now unexpectedly have arrived to a pitch not easily to be restrained, than to any premeditated design in the French commander. An unprejudiced observer would, however, be apt to conclude, that a body of ten thousand troops, mostly christian troops, had it in their power to prevent the massacre from becoming so general. But whatever was the cause from which it arose, the consequences of it were dreadful, and not to be paralleled in modern history.

As the circle in which I stood enclosed by this time was much thinned, and death seemed to be approaching with hasty strides, it was proposed by some of the most resolute to make one vigorous effort, and endeavor to force our way through the savages, the only probable method of preserving our lives that now remained. This, however desperate, was resolved on, and about twenty of us sprung at once into the midst of them.

In a moment we were all separated, and what was the fate of my companions I could not learn till some months after, when I found that only six or seven of them effected their design. Intent only on my own hazardous situation, I endeavored to make my way through my savage enemies in the best manner possible. And I have often been astonished since, when I have recollected with what composure I took, as I did, every necessary step for my preservation. Some I overturned, being at that time young and athletic, and others I passed by, dexterously avoiding their



troops from Rhode Island. On the 20th of September he was chosen to accompany Arnold in his memorable march by the way of the Kennebec river to Quebec, and in the unsuccessful attack on the town was, with many other officers and soldiers, made prisoner. He was kept closely confined for nine months, part of that time in irons, on board a prison ship, before he was admitted to parole. In September, 1776, he returned to Providence.

On the 1st of July, 1777, Captain Thayer was exchanged, and in the same month the General Assembly of Rhode Island ordered a "genteel silver hilted sword" to be presented to him as a testimony of their sense of his services. In anticipation of his exchange, the General Assembly had, in February preceding, appointed him Major in one

weapons; till at last two very stout chiefs, of the most savage tribes, as I could distinguish by their dress, whose strength I could not resist, laid hold of me by each arm, and began to force me through the crowd.

I now resigned myself to my fate, not doubting but that they intended to dispatch me, and then to satiate their vengeance with my blood, as I found they were hurrying me towards a retired swamp that lay at some distance. But before we had got many yards, an English gentleman of some distinction, as I could discover by his breeches, the only covering he had on, which were of fine scarlet velvet, rushed close by us. One of the Indians instantly relinquished his hold, and springing on this new object, endeavored to seize him as his prey; but the gentleman being strong, threw him on the ground, and would probably have got away, had not he who held my other arm, quitted me to assist his brother. I seized the opportunity, and hastened away to join another party of English troops that were yet unbroken, and stood in a body at some distance. But before I had taken many steps, I hastily cast my eye towards the gentleman, and saw the Indian's tomahawk gash into his back and heard him utter his last groan; this added both to my speed and desperation.

I had left this shocking scene but a few yards, when a fine boy about twelve years of age, that had hitherto escaped, came up to me, and begged that I would let him lay hold of me, so that he might stand some chance of getting out of the hands of the savages. I told him that I would give him every assistance in my power, and to this purpose bid him lay hold; but in a few moments he was torn from my side, and by his shrieks I judge was soon demolished. I could not help forgetting my own cares for a minute, to lament the fate of so young a sufferer; but it was utterly impossible for me to take any methods to prevent it.

I now got once more into the midst of friends, but we were unable to afford each other any succor. As this was the division that had advanced the farthest from the fort, I thought there might be a possibility (though but a bare one) of my forcing my way through the outer ranks of the Indians, and getting to a neighboring wood, which I perceived at some distance. I was still encouraged to hope by the almost miraculous preservation I had already experienced.

Nor were my hopes vain, or the efforts I made ineffectual. Suffice it to say, that I reached the wood; but by the time I had penetrated a little way into it, my breath was so exhausted that I threw myself into a brake, and lay for some minutes apparently at the last gasp. At length I recovered the power of respiration; but my apprehensions returned with all their former force, when I saw several savages

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of the Rhode Island regiments, and as soon as circumstances permitted, he joined the army and marched to Red Bank. Here he was detached with 150 men to join Colonel Samuel Smith, then in command of Fort Mifflin, built on the lower end of Mud Island in the Delaware, to prevent the passage of the enemy's vessels up the river. He continued there three days, until the Hessians appeared as if they intended an attack on Red Bank, when he received an express from Col. Greene, ordering him to return with his troops, which he immediately did, and reached the fort just as the Hessians appeared in sight. Major Thayer commanded according to his rank during the action, and was detached about the dusk of the evening, with a small force to bring in the wounded. As he was employed in this humane service, two Hessian grenadiers approached and told him that their commanding officer, Count Donop, was lying wounded in the edge of the woods, near where their artillery played. Suspecting an attempt to decoy him into an ambuscade, he placed them under guard, telling them if they deceived him, they would immediately be put to death; to this they readily assented, and conducted him to the place where they found the Count lying under a tree mortally wounded. The Count asked the Major if he was an officer, and of what rank, of which being satisfied he surrendered himself a prisoner. Major Thayer caused six men to take him in a blanket and carry him with all possible care to the fort, where he was received by Col. Greene.

Colonel Smith commanded on Mud Island from the latter part of September, with the exception of a few days, until the 11th of November, when, being wounded and worn down with fatigue, his request to retire from the fort was granted. The command then devolved upon

pass by, probably in pursuit of me, at no very great distance. In this situation I knew not whether it was better to proceed, or endeavor to conceal myself where I lay, till night came on; fearing, however, that they would return the same way, I thought it most prudent to get further from the dreadful scene of my distresses. Accordingly, striking into another part of the wood, I hastened on as fast as the briars and the loss of one of my shoes would permit me; and after a slow progress of some hours, gained a hill that overlooked the plain which I had just left, from whence I could discern that the bloody storm still raged with unabated fury.

But not to tire my readers, I shall only add, that after passing three days without subsistence, and enduring the severity of the cold dews for three nights, I at length reached Fort Edward; where with proper care my body soon recovered its wonted strength, and my mind, as far as the recollection of the late melancholy events would permit, its usual composure.

It was computed that fifteen hundred persons were killed or made prisoners by these savages during this fatal day. Many of the latter were carried off by them and never returned. A few, through favorable accidents, found their way back to their native country, after having experienced a long and severe captivity."

Lieutenant Colonel Russell, of the Connecticut line, an amiable, sensible man, and an excellent officer, but being exhausted by fatigue, and broken down in health, he requested to be recalled. The Commander-in-Chief, his Excellency General Washington, had no idea of holding the place through the campaign, but wished to retard the operations of the enemy until the main army should be re-inforced by the Massachusetts brigade, marching from the conquest of Saratoga, when he would be in sufficient force to cover the country, or to meet the enemy's whole force in the field. Upon the 12th of November, he signified his orders to the commanding General, at Woodberry, on the Jersey side, who had the direction of all the forces below Philadelphia, to defend the island as long as possible without sacrificing the garrison. To defend it was absolutely impossible, unless the siege could be raised by an attack upon the besiegers from the main army. This was deemed impracticable by a general council of war, and therefore not farther considered as an ultimate object. Nothing could then present itself to a relieving officer, fully informed of all the circumstances, but certain death, or an improbable escape, without the possibility of contending upon equal terms. The love of our country may lead us to the field of battle, ambition may lure us to particular enterprises, but magnanimity alone can soar above every danger! The commanding General could not detach an officer in rotation; his reasons were insuperable. In a moment so critical, when everything dear to his feelings required an immediate decision, happy for him, and more happy for the United States, Major Thayer presented himself as a volunteer! The offer was accepted with inexpressible satisfaction; and from the 12th to the morning of the 16th of November, he defended the Island with the greatest address, against a furious and almost continued cannonade and bombardment from a variety of batteries at small distances. The defences at best were trifling; the place itself was ill chosen. Hog Island and Billingspost instead of Mud Island and Red Bank. But on the morning of the 15th, the whole British force was displayed from their land batteries and their shipping in the river. The small garrison sustained and repelled the shock with astonishing intrepidity, for several hours, assisted from our gunleys and batteries on the Jersey shore. By the middle of the day, these defences were leveled with the common mud, and the gallant officers and men philosophically expected each other's fate in the midst of carnage.

The grenadiers and light infantry of the British were paraded on the opposite shore, and the Vigilant, an Indiaman, cut down to a battery of twenty twenty-four pounders on one side, lay within twenty yards of

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the troops. The attack was incessant. Two attempts from our galleys were unsuccessfully made to board the *Vigilant*. The commanding General was determined to fight the enemy on the Island if the *Vigilant* could be taken. She could not; and nothing remained but to secure the garrison, whose distance from the enemy on both sides was not half so far as from the body of his troops upon the shore. During this day more than one thousand and thirty discharges of cannon from twelve and thirty-two pounders were made in twenty minutes. Such a day America never saw till then! Early in the evening of the 15th, Major Thayer dispatched all his garrison, less than three hundred in number, to the shore, excepting forty, with whom he remained, braving death itself. At twelve at night, between the 15th and 16th, the barracks were fired, all the military stores having previously been sent away, and the Major and his brave companions, he being the last from the scene of slaughter, arrived at Red Bank, to the joy and astonishment of all the army.\*

The first principal battle in 1778 was fought by Washington at Monmouth, N. J., June 28, a day of intense heat, and made memorable by the reprimand of Lee and the gallant conduct of Mary Pitcher, the wife of an American artillery-man, whose place she took when he fell wounded. In this battle Major Thayer participated, being then under Col. Sylla. He was detached with Gen. Scott to watch the motions of the enemy, and on the evening before the action the detachment of Scott was ordered to join the army. In this battle, Major Thayer underwent great fatigue. Sylla's regiment, by particular leave of General Washington, marched to attack the enemy, who appeared on the left of the American army, and drove them through a morass. In this movement, the Major experienced in his head a wind-concussion, by the near passage of a cannon ball, which caused the blood to gush from both his eyes. Rallying from the shock, he tied a handkerchief over his face, and continued at his post all night. The effect of the concussion was to destroy his right eye. The next day he joined his Brigade, and being in excessive pain, he obtained leave to return to Morristown until he should recover.

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\*General Knox, writing to Colonel Lamb, says, "The defence of Fort Mifflin was as gallant as is to be found in history. . . . The brave little garrison, then commended by Major Thayer, of the Rhode Island troops, had but two cannon but what were dismounted. These soon shared the fate of the others. Every body who appeared on the platform was killed or wounded, by the musketry from the tops of the ships, whose yards almost hung over the battery. Long before night there was not a single palisade left. All the embrasures ruined, and the whole parapet levelled. All the block houses had been battered down some days before."

Major Thayer remained at Morristown five weeks before he so far recovered as to be able to attend to duty. In the mean time, his regiment had been ordered to Rhode Island, to support Gen. Sullivan. Thither he followed, hoping to be in season to render service, and arrived three days before the General retreated from the Island.

During the year 1779, Major Thayer was actively engaged in superintending enlistments, and in other ways promoting the interests of the Continental army. In December of that year he went by order of the General Assembly to headquarters in New Jersey, to transact business for the State. For the expenses of this journey £200 were provided, and also a horse for the orderly who accompanied him. In 1780, he was Major in Colonel Angell's regiment in New Jersey. At Springfield the regiment was stationed at the bridge, when the enemy attacked that place. On that occasion he was posted in the centre, with orders to watch the motions of the enemy, and give intelligence to the commander of each wing. This post he sustained under four different attacks, and passed the road in front and escaped four different times during the heavy fire, within pistol shot. When the regiment was forced to quit the ground Major Thayer commanded the rear, was the last to leave the field, and joined Gen. Greene on Rocky Hill. After the enemy retreated, Gen. Stark, who then commanded the brigade to which the Major belonged, requested that he would follow the enemy's rear, and make what discoveries he could of their motions. This request he complied with, and followed alone on horseback, keeping in sight of them until they crossed Elizabethtown bridge, notwithstanding whole platoons fired at him. The results of his observations he reported to Generals Greene and Stark. When the Marquis de Lafayette was in danger of being surprised at Barren Hill Church, Major Thayer was chosen by him with 300 men to cover his retreat, where there was scarcely a possibility of escaping either being killed or taken prisoner. Fortunately, however, the Major succeeded in bringing off the whole of his detachment in the face of the enemy,—the Marquis having moved off the main body some time before.

The brilliant defence of Fort Mifflin by Major Thayer was the theme of universal praise. Congress, not aware that Colonel Smith had retired from the command previous to the battle, and prompt to acknowledge brave conduct, passed a complimentary resolution directing an elegant sword to be presented to the Colonel as a token of their high sense of his merit in that affair. The discovery of the error was too late for it to be corrected, and Colonel Smith accepted the sword as the reward of a battle he did not fight! The unintentional injustice of

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Congress was keenly felt both by Major Thayer and his friends in Rhode Island. General Varnum and Colonel Angell, his military compatriots, and the late venerable John Howland, Esq., a soldier of the Revolution, set the subject right before the public, in communications that were published in the Providence Gazette in 1786, and in the Providence Journal in 1840, and all of which are preserved in Judge Cowell's "Spirit of '76." But while the page of history has been corrected, the official injustice is perpetuated.

By the act of Congress of Oct. 3, 1780, the two Continental regiments of Rhode Island were consolidated, to take effect Jan. 1, 1781. Under this arrangement Major Thayer retired from the service. He was subsequently for three successive years chosen by the General Assembly Brigadier General of the Militia of Providence County.

General Thayer was of medium height, active and energetic in his business habits, and in private intercourse an agreeable companion. He was married three times, viz:

1. To Huldah Jackson, daughter of Stephen Jackson, Esq., of Providence. She was born Nov. —, 1738, and died April 28, 1771.
2. To Mrs. Mary Tourtelott, born Dec. 24, 1742.
3. To Mrs. — Angell, sister to Huldah, his first wife. After the death of General Thayer, she married Darius Daniels. She was born in 1763, and died March 10, 1803, aged 40 years.

The children of General Thayer were

- Nancy, born March 7, 1762; died May 1, 1783.  
 William Tourtelott, born May 11, 1767.  
 Susan, born April 24, 1768; died same date.  
 Stephen Tourtelott, died Feb. 25, 1769.  
 Hannah Tourtelott, born Jan. 1, 1769; died March 31, 1769.  
 Simeon, born March 24, 1770; died Sept. 9, 1791.  
 Polly, born Oct. 25, 1772; died May 28, 1814.  
 Richard Montgomery, born Dec. 3, 1775.  
 Henry, born April 10, 1785.

After leaving the army Major Thayer purchased, in 1781, of Nathaniel Balch, hatter, an estate consisting of a house and lot situated on "Stamper's Hill" for "\$1350 Spanish milled dollars," and also a lot in the same vicinity, of Enos Smith, of Killingly, Ct., for "£10, lawful money." He erected a dwelling house on the spot now a small park near the head of Constitution Hill, and in 1784 opened a public house known as the "Montgomery Hotel," which he kept for several years, when he sold out and purchased a farm in Cumberland. There he continued to reside until his decease, which occurred Tuesday, Oct. 14th, 1800, in the 63d year of his age. He died by casualty,

having fallen or been thrown from his horse into a brook, while riding home from Providence, and being killed by the concussion or drowned. On Thursday, Oct. 16th, his remains were interred in the North burial ground, in Providence. The Society of Cincinnati, of which General Thayer died a member, voted to wear the usual badge of mourning on the left arm for twenty-one days, as a testimony of respect.\*

Major General JOHN THOMAS was descended from a respectable family in Plymouth County, Mass., and served with reputation in the war of 1756 against the French and Indians. In April, 1775, he resided in Kingston, Mass., and raised a regiment for the Continental service, and marched to Cambridge. He was soon appointed by Congress a Brigadier General, and during the siege of Boston commanded a division of the provincial troops at Roxbury. In March, 1776, he was appointed Major General, and after the death of Montgomery was entrusted with the command of the army in Canada. As stated in the Introduction to this Journal, he fell back with his forces from before Quebec to Sorel, was there taken sick of small pox and conveyed to Chambly, where he died May 30, 1776. Gen. Thomas was a man of sound judgment and undoubted courage. He was beloved by his soldiers, and in private life endeared to friends by the amiability of his character.

Captain JOHN TOPHAM was a native of Newport, R. I. His early history is unknown. When the first measures were adopted for resisting the oppressive acts of the British government, he was found acting with the friends of freedom. He was appointed Captain-Lieutenant of Major Forrester's company of the regiment of Newport and Bristol, commanded by Colonel Thomas Church, forming a part of the "Army of Observation" raised by the General Assembly of Rhode Island in May, 1775. It is said, that on hearing the news of the battle of Lexington, Captain Topham raised a company and marched to Cambridge.

\*CAPTAIN THAYER'S PAROLE.

I, Simeon Thayer, of Providence,

In the Province of Rhode Island, hereby pledge my Faith and word of Honor to General Carleton, that I shall not do or say any thing contrary to the Interest of His Majesty, or his Government, and that whenever required to do so, I shall repair to whatever Place his Excellency, or any other His Majesty's Commanders-in-Chief in America, shall judge expedient to order me.

Given under my Hand at Quebec,  
this 3d Day of August, 1776.

SIMEON THAYER.

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There he joined the Continental army under Washington, then holding Boston in siege. He was subsequently assigned to Colonel Arnold's detachment for service in Canada. Of the sufferings of himself and of his men in their march through the wilderness, his Journal (though imperfect) still preserved, is an interesting evidence. He was among the officers who, when the prospect of starvation was before them, unhesitatingly voted in a council of war to proceed. In the assault upon Quebec he made a noble record for bravery and efficiency. Here he was taken prisoner, and for four months and twelve days was not permitted to set his feet on the ground. But this close confinement only served to enhance the value of the freedom to secure which he had perilled his life, and he panted for an early opportunity to prove his unabated devotion.

While still a prisoner, and in prospect of his early release, Captain Topham was among the officers recommended by Washington (Oct. 12, 1776,) to command a company in one of the two new regiments then about to be raised in Rhode Island. Writing to Governor Cooke on this subject, Washington says, "Too much regard cannot be had to the choosing of men of merit, and such as are not only under the influence of a warm attachment to their country, but who also possess sentiments of principles of the strictest honor." He adds: "In respect to the officers that were in the Canada expedition, their behavior and merit, and the severities they have experienced, entitle them to a particular notice, in my opinion. However, as they are under their paroles, I would recommend that vacancies should be reserved for such as you think fit to promote, not wishing them to accept commissions immediately, or to do the least act that may be interpreted a violation of their engagement."

After being exchanged, the General Assembly of Rhode Island, in February, 1777, chose Captain Topham a Captain in the first Continental battalion, under Major Ward. In June following, he was chosen Lieutenant Colonel in the brigade raised for fifteen months, under Colonel Archibald Crary. In December of the same year, he held the same rank in the second battalion of the regiment of artillery, under Colonel William Barton. In February, 1778, he was chosen Colonel in place of Colonel Barton, who had been transferred to the Continental service, and held the position until the brigade was disbanded. In February, 1779, he was made Colonel of the second battalion of Infantry. In June of the same year the two battalions were consolidated under him; and in 1780 he received the thanks of

the General Assembly for the great fidelity and ability with which he had discharged his military duties. After the war, Colonel Topham engaged in mercantile pursuits. In 1780, he was elected a Deputy to the General Assembly from Newport. He was again elected in 1783, 1784 to 1788, and again in 1791 and 1792. He was a useful member of the Assembly. Colonel Topham died in Newport, September 26th, 1793, in the 55th year of his age. On Sunday afternoon, the 29th, his remains, preceded by the ancient and honorable fraternity of Masons, of which he was a member, and followed by his relatives, friends, and a large concourse of citizens, were committed to the grave.

Captain OLIVER HANCHET, son of John 3d and Mary Sheldon Hanchet, was born in Suffield, Conn., August 7th, 1741. Of his boy life little is known. May 29th, 1767 he married Rachel Gillet. In the commencement of the Revolutionary war, he commanded a company of Provincials and marched to Cambridge, where he was assigned to Arnold's expedition. In his march through the wilderness, Capt. Hanchet was mostly with the advance, engaged in opening the way for the main body of the army, and performing such other services as were essential to its rapid march. After reaching Dead River, he set out with fifty men for Chaudiere lake, to forward provisions from the French inhabitants of Sartigan, for the use of the army. Subsequently, in leaving the army (who took water conveyance on Chaudiere lake) to go on by land, he mistook his course, and with sixty men was led into low ground overflowed by water, through which they waded up to their waists for the distance of two miles, when they were discovered by Col. Arnold, who sent batteaux to relieve them from their uncomfortable situation. The trials and perils of the rest of the march to Point Levi were shared in common with the army. At Quebec Captain Hanchet was taken prisoner, and held with other officers until paroles were granted in August, 1776. He appears not to have entertained a favorable opinion of Arnold, and was numbered among the disaffected towards him. Of his life after being exchanged, no particulars have been obtained. He died May 26th, 1816, aged 75 years. His widow died March 28th, 1821. Both were buried in the West Parish of Suffield.

Lieutenant JAMES WEBB, of Newport, R. I., was among the officers recommended to consideration by Washington, for meritorious conduct, and was chosen first Lieutenant in the Continental battalion, by the General Assembly of Rhode Island, in February, 1777.

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Captain SAMUEL WARD was born at Westerly, Rhode Island, on the 17th of Nov., 1756, and was the son of Sampel Ward, Governor of that State, and Anne Ray, daughter of Simen Ray and Deborah Greene, a relative of General Nathaniel Greene.\* His father, and indeed all his family connexions, were ardent supporters of the Revolution, and, from the first collision between Great Britain and her colonies, advocates of the independence of the United States, an event which his father predicted as inevitable, as early as 1766.

Capt. Ward was educated at Brown University in Providence, and was a classmate of Solomon Drowne, subsequently the distinguished Professor of Botany in that institution. Hostilities commencing about the time he left college, he joined the Rhode Island army of observation,

\*SAMUEL WARD, father of Capt. Samuel, was born at Newport, Rhode Island, May 27th, 1725. He was the son of Richard Ward, who was Governor of Rhode Island in 1741 and 1742, and the grandson of Thomas Ward, who came to this country in the times of Charles II, and who died in Rhode Island in 1689, a highly esteemed and respectable citizen.

Samuel was educated at the excellent classical schools in Newport, R. I. He married Anne Ray, of Block Island, and settled in Westerly. He represented that town in the General Assembly of Rhode Island for several years, and was a delegate from the Colony to a convention held at Hartford, during the French war, to consult with Lord Loudon, as to the best course to be pursued in prosecuting the war. Mr. Ward was chosen Governor of Rhode Island in 1762, and again in 1765, and continued in office until 1767. He early took ground against the encroachments of the Mother Country on Colonial rights. He denounced the stamp act and the tax on tea, and was elected delegate to the Continental Congress, in which he acted a conspicuous part. He early foresaw the separation of the Colonies from Great Britain, and in a letter to his son, said: "These Colonies are destined to an early independence, and you will live to see my words verified"—a prophecy ten years later fulfilled.

While the Congress was in Committee of the whole on the consideration of the state of America, Mr. Ward occupied the chair. He was chairman of a committee which originated a resolution, "that a General be appointed to command all the Continental forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty." When, under this resolution, Congress proceeded to ballot, Gov. Ward gave his vote for General Washington, to whom, through life, he remained devotedly attached. His feelings throughout the contest are nobly expressed in a letter to his brother, written in 1775: "No man living, perhaps, is more fond of his children than I am, and I am not so old as to be tired of life; and yet, as far as I can now judge, the tenderest connexions and the most important private concerns, are very minute objects. Heaven save my country, I was going to say, is my first, my last, and almost my only prayer."

Governor Ward strongly advocated the Declaration of Independence, but did not live to affix his signature to that immortal instrument. He died in Philadelphia of small pox, March 26th, 1776, in the fifty-first year of his age. His remains were exhumed in 1860, and brought to Rhode Island. The slab erected by the State over his grave bears testimony to his great abilities, his unshaken integrity, his ardor in the cause of freedom, and his fidelity in the offices he filled.

in which he was appointed a Captain on the 8th of May, 1775. The army was raised in the name of His Majesty George III, for the preservation of His Majesty's loyal and faithful subjects of the Colony of Rhode Island. His commission, which was given by his uncle, Henry Ward, the Secretary of Rhode Island, (the Governor and Lieut. Governor being Tories,) authorized him 'in case of an invasion or assault of a common enemy, to infest or disturb this or any other of His Majesty's Colonies in America, to alarm and gather together the company under your command,' 'and therewith to the utmost of your skill and ability, you are to resist, expel, kill and destroy them, in order to preserve the interest of His Majesty and his good subjects in these parts.' Like their brethren the covenanters—

'Who swore at first to fight  
For the King's safety and his right,  
And after marched to find him out  
And charged him home with horse and foot,'

the Whigs of the Revolution found no inconsistency in availing themselves of the authority of the King as the constitutional head of the government, to preserve and maintain their constitutional rights. In the month of May, 1775, the father and son both left their home—the one to represent the Colony in the Continental Congress, and the other to defend her liberties in the field. Capt. Ward joined the army besieging Boston—burning with a vehement desire to vindicate the rights of the Colonies. In one of his letters to his family, dated Prospect Hill, July 30, 1775, addressing his younger brothers, he says: "As you grow in stature, pray take pains to be manly: remember that you all may have an opportunity of standing forth to fight the battles of your country. This afternoon we expected to have had an engagement. We may have one to-night. The regulars are now landing in Charlestown from Boston. I thank God we are ready to meet them."

With such an ardent spirit, young Ward, then in the 19th year of his age, was not likely to hesitate in embracing an opportunity of advancing the cause he had espoused; nor was it long before one was presented. In September, 1775, Colonel Benedict Arnold, then one of the most enterprising of America's sons, (but afterwards 'quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore!') was invested with the command of 1100 volunteers, destined to join Montgomery at Quebec, by way of the Kennebec river. The country was then an unexplored wilderness, and they were obliged to transport their provisions and munitions for the whole distance, where they did not follow the river, without the aid of animals. Even when ascending the river, the volunteers were

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compelled to drag the boats over the waterfalls and portages, and after leaving the river, the provisions and munitions, packed in small kegs, were placed on the backs of the soldiers and carried more than 300 miles, through thick and pathless woods, and over lofty mountains and deep morasses. So great were the difficulties, that a part of the detachment actually abandoned the expedition, and returned to Cambridge to avoid starvation. Capt. Ward, the youngest officer in the expedition, together with his company, persevered, and after unheard of privations arrived before Quebec in Nov., 1775. A letter from him on the 26th of that month to his family, dated at Point-aux-Trembles, gives a vivid account of the hardships of the expedition.

"It would take too much time to tell you what we have undergone. However, as a summary of the whole, we have gone up one of the most rapid rivers in the world, where the water was so shoal that, moderately speaking, we have waded 100 miles. We were thirty days in a wilderness that none but savages ever attempted to pass. We marched 100 miles upon short three days' provisions, waded over three rapid rivers, marched through snow and ice *barefoot*, passed over the St. Lawrence, where it was guarded by the enemy's frigates, and are now about twenty-four miles from the city to recruit our worn-out natures. Gen. Montgomery intends to join us immediately, so that we have a winter's campaign before us; but I trust we shall have the glory of taking Quebec!"

That hope, unhappily, was not realized. The attack upon that city failed, and Capt. Ward, with the principal part of his company, having penetrated under the command of Arnold, through the first barrier, was surrounded by a superior force and compelled to surrender. The following letter written by Governor Samuel Ward to his daughter, Miss Naney Ward, afterwards Mrs. Anne, wife of Ephan Clarke, Esq., in relation to Captain Ward's capture, expresses the anxious interest of a parent, and presents in a favorable light the military conduct of the son:

*Philadelphia, 21st Jan., 1776.*

**MY DEAREST:**

Blessed be God, your dear brother, of whom I never heard one word, from the time he left Fort Weston until last Monday, is alive and well, and has behaved well. There is a gentleman here who saw him the day before the attack upon Quebec. He had been very ill with the yellow jaundice; but one Captain McLean, formerly of Boston, took him home and cured him.

This gentleman tells me he was happy to have gone upon that service. General Montgomery was killed in the attack, and his troops immediately retired, which left the whole force of the enemy to attack your kinsman, Lieut. Colonel Greene, who, upon Arnold's being wounded and carried off, led the detachment on nobly. They

carried two barriers, attacked the third, and fought gloriously with much superior forces, under cover also. Four hours after, being overpowered by numbers, they were compelled to surrender prisoners of war, and are very kindly treated.

I have written by express to your brother, and shall send him some money. Call upon all who owe us for some. I shall want it much.

Write immediately to Colonel Greene's wife that he is well, and treated with great humanity. He has acquired vast honor in the service, and I doubt not will soon be exchanged. In the mean time, I have written Sammy to let him know his family is well, and that if he needs any money he can draw upon me.

Your affectionate father,

SAMUEL WARD.

P. S. In Colonel Greene's detachment there were 120 killed and wounded—nearly half killed. Troops begin their march from here to-morrow, to reinforce our army in Canada.

While in captivity, Capt. Ward received the following letter from his father, which, from the excellence of its sentiments, and as fully illustrating the principles of the leading patriots of that time, is inserted at length.

*Philadelphia, January 21st, 1776.*

MY DEAR SON:—I most devoutly thank God that you are alive, in good health, and have behaved well. You have now a new scene of action—to behave well as a prisoner. You have been taught from your infancy the love of God, of all mankind, and of your country. In a due discharge of these various duties of life, consist true honor, religion and virtue. I hope no situation or trial, however severe, will tempt you to violate these sound, these immutable laws of God and nature. You will now have time for reflection. Improve it well; examine your own heart. Eradicate, as much as human frailty admits, the seeds of vice and folly. Correct your temper. Expand the benevolent feelings of your soul, and impress and establish the noble principles of private and public virtue so deeply in it, that your whole life may be directed by them. Next to these great and essential duties, improve your mind by the best authors you can borrow. Learn the French language, and be continually acquiring, as far as your situation admits, every useful accomplishment. Shun every species of debauchery and vice, as certain and inevitable ruin, here and hereafter. There is one vice, which, though often to be met with in polite company, I cannot but consider as unworthy of the gentleman as well as the Christian. I mean swearing. Avoid it at all times.

All ranks of people here have the highest sense of the great bravery and merit of Col. Arnold, and all his officers and men. Though prisoners they have acquired immortal honor. Proper attention will be paid to them. In the mean time, behave, my dear son, with great circumspection, prudence and firmness. Enter into no engagements inconsistent with your duty to your country. Such as you may make, keep inviolate with the strictest honor. Besides endeavoring to make yourself as easy and happy as possible in your present situation, you will pay the greatest attention, as far as your little power may admit, to the comfort and welfare of all your fellow-prisoners, and of those lately under your immediate command, especially.

We have a great number of prisoners in our possession, who are treated with the greatest humanity and kindness, and with pleasure I hear that Col. Arnold's detachment is treated in the same humane manner. The mischiefs of war are sufficiently great under the most civilized regulations. What a savage he must be, who would heighten them by unnecessary severity and rigor. I hope that humanity to the

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unfortunate will be the distinguishing characteristic of the successful on either side of this unhappy contest. Write to me often; and may infinite wisdom and goodness preserve and prosper my dear son.

Your very affectionate father,

SAMUEL WARD.

The son and his excellent guide and adviser never met again in this life—the latter dying of the small pox at Philadelphia, while attending Congress on the 26th of March following, and before the declaration of that independence for which he had so earnestly labored.

Captain Ward was exchanged in 1776, and on the first day of January, 1777, was commissioned as Major in Col. Christopher Greene's regiment of the Rhode Island line—a worthy compeer of his relative Gen. Greene, *Scipiados duo fulmina belli*.

In that capacity, he was present and coöperated in the gallant defence of the fort at Red Bank, when it was unsuccessfully assailed by the Hessians under Count Donop, October 22, 1777. The same year he was aide-de-camp to General Washington. The next year, he was detached for the defence of his native State, under the command of Generals Greene, Lafayette and Sullivan. In the celebrated retreat from Rhode Island, he commanded a regiment, and on the 12th of April, 1779, he was commissioned Lieut. Colonel of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment, to take rank from May 1st, 1778. During that and the following year he was in Washington's army, in New Jersey, and participated in the toil and glory of that service. He was present at the defence of the bridge at Springfield, by a part of the Rhode Island line, against the Hessian General Knyphausen, in June, 1780. He was an original member of the Society of Cincinnati, and through the war as the commander of a regiment was attended by his faithful body servant Cudjo, a full blooded African.

At the termination of the war, Colonel Ward returned to the peaceful pursuits of a citizen with the same alacrity that he had manifested when his country's voice had called him to arms. He now commenced business as a merchant, and manifested as much enterprise in his new profession as he had in his previous career. In the spring of 1783, he made a voyage from Providence to Canton, in the ship *George Washington*, which was among the first to display 'the republican flag' in the China seas. Upon his return to the United States, he established himself at New York, as a merchant, and by his probity, frugality and industry, became successful in his business. In the course of his mercantile career he visited Europe, and was at Paris when Louis XIV was beheaded. After his return from Europe, Col. Ward established himself on



a farm at East Greenwich, R. I., where he lived to see his children educated to usefulness and establish themselves in the business of active life.

In 1816, with a view of being nearer his children, several of whom had embarked in business at New York, he removed from his native State to Jamaica, on Long Island. Here, and in the city of New York, he resided in the midst of his family and friends, by whom he was admired and beloved for his manifold virtues, until the termination of his long and useful career. His conversation, at all times interesting, was rendered peculiarly attractive to all who enjoyed an intimacy with him, by the discrimination with which he commented upon what he had seen and met with abroad. The politics and military operations of the Revolution shared also among the topics that were most agreeable to his mind; but rarely, if ever, did he allude to the actions in which himself had borne a part. The modesty which was so particularly striking in the military men of the Revolution made an essential part of his character. When death approached, it found him ready. A life nobly spent in the discharge of every public and private duty had prepared him to relinquish his Maker's gift without murmuring, and he descended to the grave,

'Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch  
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams.'

Colonel Ward died in New York, August 16, 1832, in the 76th year of his age. In early life he married Phebe, daughter of Governor William Greene, of Rhode Island, thereby connecting himself by a double relationship with the eminent soldiers of that name. Mrs. Ward was born March 11th, 1760, and died October, 1828, in the 69th year of her age.\* The issue of this marriage was

William Greene Ward, born April 1, 1779; died August, 1798.

Samuel, " 1780-1; died at the age of four or five years.

Henry, " 1782-3; " in Infancy.

Henry, † " Mar. 17, 1781; " July 26, 1838.

Samuel, ‡ " May 1, 1786; " Nov. 27, 1839.

\*In the preparation of this biography, a sketch of Colonel Ward published in the American Annual Register for 1833, has been used entire; also a newspaper sketch written by the late Dr. John W. Francis, of New York. With these, particulars obtained from private and public sources have been incorporated.

†Henry Ward was the eldest surviving son of Captain Samuel Ward, and hence became a member of the Society of Cincinnati, succeeding his father. By the same rule of succession, Henry Hall Ward, Esq., only son of Henry and Eliza Hall Ward, and head of the Banking House of Ward & Company, New York, became a member of the Society of Cincinnati, and is at present its Treasurer. Mr. Ward is also President of the New York Club. He was for many years connected with the military of New York.

‡Samuel Ward was a partner in the old firm of Prime, Ward and King, New York.

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Anne Catharine,	born	1788;	died Sept., 1837.
Phebe,	"	1790 or, 91;	" April, 1825.
Richard Ray,	"	Nov. 17, 1795.	
John,*	"	Oct. 26, 1797;	" March 31, 1836.
William Greene,	"	Aug. 7, 1802;	" July 22, 1848.

A taste for fine arts, literature and military science appears inherent in the family of Governor Ward. William Greene Ward, a grandson of Colonel Samuel, and son of William G., is Brigadier General of the First Brigade, First Division of the National Guard of the State of New York. He stands unrivalled in his knowledge of military affairs. He was Lieutenant Colonel of the Twelfth regiment National

\*Mr. John Ward never married. Several years of his early life were passed in Rhode Island. He returned to New York, however, in 1818, and was for a time clerk in the office of Messrs. Nevins and Townsend, brokers and bankers. In 1819, he commenced business under the old Globe Insurance Company; and in 1824, established the House of John Ward & Company, which firm was afterwards, in 1847, changed to that of Ward & Company,—his brother, William G. Ward, having been one of the partners.

He continued an active member of the House until the first of March, 1865, when he retired from business with the reputation of a sagacious and successful banker, a man of irreproachable integrity and of great purity of character. Mr. Ward was for many years President of the New York Stock Exchange, and one of the earliest, though not an original member of that board. By a resolution of the board, he was (a short time before his decease) requested to sit for his portrait to A. H. Wanzler, which now graces the walls of the New York Stock Exchange.

Mr. Ward, besides his sterling qualities as a man of business, was highly esteemed for his cheerful and kind hearted disposition, his amiable manners and acts of generosity, which were the uniform expression of his frank and noble nature. He possessed in common with his late brothers (Henry, Samuel, and William G. Ward,) a cultivated and discriminating taste in the fine arts, and like them, not unfrequently proposed suggestive themes for painting or sculpture. The series of paintings entitled "Cole's Voyage of Life," were the result of such suggestions. Mr. Ward was also a sincere friend of Thomas Crawford, the sculptor, who married his niece, and Crawford's admirable bust of Washington, finished with his own hands, graces Mr. Ward's late residence in Bond street. He was a subscription member of the Clinton Hall Association; also a Life Member of the New York Historical Society, having contributed to its building fund, the publication fund, and other objects. He was fondly devoted to his accomplished nieces, (daughters of Samuel Ward) Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, the poetess, wife of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, of Boston, Mrs. Louisa Ward (Crawford) Terry, wife of the artist, now in Europe, and Mrs. Anne Ward Mallard, of Bordentown, New Jersey. It is to Mr. Ward and the widow of Mr. Crawford (now Mrs. Terry) that the New York Historical Society is indebted for "the Crawford Marbles," which have been so generously deposited in its Library and Galleries of Art. His brother Samuel was the first President of the Bank of Commerce in New York,\* the largest National banking institution in the United States, the present President being Charles H. Russell, Esq., also a "Son of Rhode Island." Mr. Charles Hall Ward, son of the late William G. Ward, possesses a fine library, and is an able financier in the house of Ward & Co.

The last of the brothers is the venerable Richard Ray Ward, who is not only highly esteemed as a lawyer of the old school, but also truly remarkable for his deep interest in historical studies and antiquarian researches, as well as for his recollections of distinguished contemporaries.

\*The first Cashier was the late George Curtis, father of the graceful orator, poet, and accomplished author, GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

Guard of the State of New York, at Washington in 1861. His was the first regiment to cross Long Bridge to invade Virginia, and had the advance for some time. He commanded the regiment at Harper's Ferry all summer in 1862, where they were finally taken prisoners by "Stonewall" Jackson. In 1863, Colonel Ward and his regiment were in Couch's Corps, Dana's Division, Yate's Brigade, in the Pennsylvania campaign, which ended in the Battle of Gettysburg. During the draft riots in New York, Colonel Greene with his regiment, at the request of Maj. General Charles W. Sanford, rendered efficient service in guarding the City Hall, until the danger was over. John Ward, jr., a younger brother, served as Captain in 1862 and 1863, in the Twelfth regiment, of which he is at present Colonel commanding.

Lieutenant CHRISTIAN FEBIGER, a native of Copenhagen, Denmark, had held a Subaltern's commission in the Danish service. He was Adjutant of Arnold's forces. He was a generous, sympathetic man, and Judge Henry speaks in the warmest terms of his conduct in the wilderness. He was taken prisoner in the attack upon Quebec, and with the other prisoners was kept in close confinement. He returned to Philadelphia in company with Mr. Henry, having sailed from Quebec in the Pearl frigate, Capt. M'Kenzie, August 10th, and reaching New York September 11. Subsequently he received commissions as Major and as Colonel. He led the 11th Virginia regiment at the assault on Stony Point. In 1791, he held the office of Treasurer of the State of Pennsylvania.

Lieutenant SYLVANUS SHAW, of Newport, R. I., was one of the officers recommended by Washington to the favorable consideration of the General Assembly of Rhode Island. After returning from his captivity at Quebec, he was commissioned Captain, and commanded a company under Colonel Christopher Greene, at Red Bank. He was killed in that battle, Oct. 12, 1777.

Lieutenant EDWARD SLOCUM, of Tiverton, R. I., was also among the officers recommended by Washington to the favor of the General Assembly of his native State. He was a Captain in the Rhode Island line from 1777 to 1779.

Lieutenant WILLIAM HUMPHREY, of Providence, R. I., taken prisoner at Quebec, was subsequently a Captain in the Rhode Island line to the close of the war.

Colonel JAMES LIVINGSTON was a native of New York. He had long resided in Canada, and actively sympathized with the Colonies at

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the beginning of the war. He commanded a battalion of Canadians, and in the assault upon Quebec was directed to make a false attack with a show of firing of the gate of St. John. Something occurred to prevent this movement, thereby failing to create a diversion favorable to Arnold's detachment. He commanded at King's Ferry at the time of Arnold's treason. He commanded at Verplanck's Point while the Vulture lay off in the stream, and sent to West Point for ammunition to enable him to annoy the vessel. On the evening of September 25th, (1780) he was called by Washington to his head-quarters at Robinson's House, for the purpose of eliciting such information in regard to Arnold as he might be able to give.

Lieutenant COLONEL ROGER ENOS was from Connecticut. His career in the Expedition through the wilderness has already been related. After retiring from the army, he removed to Vermont, and in 1781 was appointed a General and Commander of the Militia of the State, and became somewhat conspicuous in public affairs.

BENJAMIN DURFEE, a volunteer private in Capt. Topham's Company, was taken prisoner,—escaped in June, 1776, and came home;—was taken again on Rhode Island, which prevented his applying for the pay due to him. The General Assembly, at the June Session, 1782, ordered the payment of his claim of £24, 10s, "silver money," to be allowed.

Captain SAMUEL LOCKWOOD belonged to Greenwich, Conn. He did excellent service in capturing the fleet of Carleton, at Sorel, and was taken prisoner at the storming of Quebec. He was afterwards a Captain in Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery.

EBENEZER ADAMS, of Rhode Island, was a volunteer with Arnold, and afterwards a Captain of Artillery. He was one of the originators of, and a Captain in the expedition under Colonel Barton to capture Prescott in 1777.

General Sir GUY CARLETON, Governor of Quebec, was born at Newry, County of Down, in Ireland, in 1722. He achieved an honorable military reputation, and in 1786 was created Lord Dorchester. He died in 1808, aged 86 years.

CALEB HASKELL, of Newburyport, Mass., was a private in this expedition. He was probably in Capt. Ward's company, as twenty men of a Newburyport company at Cambridge enlisted to serve under him.

GEORGE MERCHANT was a volunteer in Captain Morgan's company of riflemen, and a man who would at any time, give him fair play, have sold his life dearly. While the army was in position before Quebec, he was one day placed on picket, but in an unfortunate position. Stationed in a thicket, where, though he was out of sight of the enemy's garrison, he could see no one approach, a Sergeant of the British "Seventh," who, from the manner of the thing, must have been clever, accompanied by a few privates, slyly creeping through the streets of the suburbs of St. John, and then under the cover of bushes, sprung upon the devoted Merchant before he had time to cock his rifle. Merchant was a tall and handsome Virginian. In a few days, he, hunting shirt and all, were sent to England, probably as a finished specimen of the *riflemen* of the Colonies. The government there very liberally sent him home in the following year. He was the first prisoner taken at Quebec. He was a brave and determined soldier, fitted for a subordinate station.—*Henry*.

Lieutenant WILLIAM HETH, 2d, of Frederick County, Va., was blind of one eye. He was a brave officer, was taken prisoner at Quebec, and subsequently was made Colonel. As mentioned elsewhere, he kept a Journal of the Expedition to Canada, which was used by Marshall.

Sergeant THOMAS BOYD was, in 1779, Captain of a company of riflemen in the First Pennsylvania regiment. The same year he accompanied General Sullivan in his expedition against the Indians of the Six Nations, in western New York, was taken prisoner by the savages, tortured and put to death.

Sergeant CHARLES PORTERFIELD was a native of Frederick County, Virginia. He marched as a volunteer with Arnold through the wilderness. He showed great bravery in the attack upon Quebec, and was the first man to scale the walls. With his companions he was taken prisoner. After being exchanged, he raised a company at his own expense, and was commissioned in the Virginia line. In leading a regiment of which he was Lieut. Col. Commanding, he was killed in the battle of Camden.

MICHAEL SIMPSON was from Pennsylvania, and a volunteer with Arnold, in Smith's company. At the time of the assault upon Quebec, he was, by order of Arnold, in command as Lieutenant at the Isle of Orleans. Henry says, he was "one of the most spirited and active officers, always alert, always on duty." Many years after the war, he was made a General in the Pennsylvania Militia.

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DR. THOMAS GIBSON was a Sergeant in Captain Hendricks' company. He was taken prisoner at Quebec. Of the part he took in the plan of escape, related by Captain Thayer, page 33, Henry makes the following relation: "Money was obtained from charitable nuns who visited the prison, but obtained in a method remarkable rather for ingenuity than fairness or propriety; but it was thought that all artifices were allowable, especially as life was to be hazarded for liberty. Once a nun was seen approaching; when Doctor Gibson, who had studied physic at Cornish, and who afterwards died at Valley Forge, in the winter of 1788, a young man of ruddy cheeks and with a beautiful head of hair, was hurried into bed, to play the part of a sick man with a high fever. The nun being introduced, crossed herself and whispering an Ave Maria or Pater Noster, poured the contents of her purse, 24 coppers, into the hand of the patient. The money procured powder, and the manner of obtaining it occasioned some merriment to cheer the gloom of a prison."

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, of Smith's company, was a strong, athletic man, about twenty-five years old. He was a wealthy freeholder of Lancaster County, Penn. In this campaign he imbibed the seeds of a disease that hurried him to an early grave.

Sergeant JOSEPH ASHTON, of Captain Lamb's company, was placed in chief command of the organization of the prisoners who had planned an escape. Under his orders were Sergeant Boyd, Henry, McKny and others, to serve as Colonels, Majors, Captains, &c. After being exchanged, he was commissioned Major in Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery.

Captain COLBOURN commanded a company of artificers in the march through the wilderness.

Lieutenant ISAIAH WOOL remained in command of Capt. Lamb's company after his capture. He was afterwards commissioned Captain of Artillery.

Sergeant HENRY CRONE, of Captain Hendricks' company, was descended from a worthy and respectable family of York County, Penn. He was a droll dog, and much inclined to play.—*Henry.*

Captain MATTHEW DUNCAN, from Pennsylvania, a volunteer, was sent to reconnoitre, after the attack on Quebec, and was taken prisoner.

Lieutenant JAMES TISDALE, of Medfield, Mass., was wounded at Quebec, a ball passing through the fleshy part of his shoulder. He served in the Massachusetts line during the war.

**NOTE N.**  
A List of Men's names in Captain Simeon Thayer's Company, being Part of the Detachment under the Command of Col. Benedict Arnold on the Expedition for Canada, at Cambridge, Sept'r, 1775. Abstract of Pay due to Capt. Simeon Thayer's Company, from Sep'r 1, 1775 to Jan'y 1, 1776.

Officers and Privates' Names.	What Capacity.	Returned Back Sick.	Taken Prisoners at Quebec, Dec'r 31, 1775.	Not taken Prisoners.	Sup'r Cr. The Names of Men in both Sep'r pay Listed Jan'y 6, 1776, at Cambridge, 1776, in Quebec.	The Officers and Men. Monthly Pay from Sep'r 1, 1775, to Jan'y 1, 1776, is 3 months.
Simeon Thayer	Captain.....	do.	Dec'r 31, 1775.	4 6 0 0	.....	424 0 0
William Humphrey	1st Lieutenant	do.	do.	4 10 0 0	.....	420 0 0
Thos. Page	1st Sergeant.....	do.	do.	8 0 0 0	Jan'y 6, 1776.	480 0 0
Thos. Ellis	do.	do.	do.	8 0 0 0	.....	480 0 0
Moses Bryant	do.	do.	Dec'r 31, 1775.	8 0 0 0	.....	480 0 0
Samuel Singleton	do.	do.	do.	8 0 0 0	.....	480 0 0
James Hayden	do.	do.	do.	8 0 0 0	.....	480 0 0
James Wheeler	1st Corporal	do.	do.	4 0 0 0	.....	440 0 0
Thos Low	do.	do.	do.	4 0 0 0	.....	440 0 0
Isaac Hayes	4th do.	do.	do.	4 0 0 0	.....	440 0 0
Wm. Clements	Fifer.	Oct'r 26, 1775.	do.	4 0 0 0	do.	440 0 0
Elihu Thayer	Private.....	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Elihu Thayer	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
John Thomson	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
John Latham	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Stephen Mills	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
William Scott	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Richard Congdon	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Francis Filthut	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
John Berritt	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Rob't Hill	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
John Wheeler	do.	Sep'r 25, 1775.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
John Wheeler	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
James Barnes	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Moses Hemenway	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Andrew Hinman	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Nath'l Parker	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
James Welch	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Abel Ford	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Abel Ford	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Sam'l Ingalls	do.	do.	Killed in Battle.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Thos. Garey	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Thos. Garey	do.	do.	Dec'r 31, 1775.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
James J. Sewell	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0

Sam'l Williams	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
Elijah Jones	do.	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
James Stone	Entered Man-of-war, June 27, 76	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0
George Leach	Private	do.	do.	2 0 0 0	do.	400 0 0





## NOTE II. Page 25.

The following list of the killed, wounded and taken prisoners of the American troops at Quebec, on the 31st December, 1775, is copied from *Ware's Journal*, several times before quoted. The asterisks are suffixed in the original, though no signification is given.\*

*Officers taken prisoners.*—Lt. Col. Greene, Major Meigs, Major Bigelow, Adj't Febzer,† Captain Matthew Duncan.

*York forces killed.*—General Montgomery, Capt. Jacob Cheeseman, Aide-de-camp McPherson. 1st Battalion, 8 killed and one wounded; 3d Battalion, 2 killed.

*Capt. JOHN LAMB'S COMPANY.* Killed.—Solomon Russell, Martin Clark.

*Wounded.*—Capt. Lamb, Bartho. Fisher, Thos. Oliver, Ely Gladhill, Barns Burns.

*Prisoners.*—Lt. Andrew Moody, Capt. Lockhart, vcl.;‡ Joseph Ashton, Sergt.; Robt. Baird, Robt. Barwick, James Arvin, John Ashfield, Gasper Steyman, Moses Brackit, George Carpenter, Thomas Winter, Jacob Bennit, Joseph Spencer, Thomas Thorp, John Conet, Joseph Deao, Benj. Vandervert, John Martin, John Fisher.

*Listed in the King's service.*—James Patten, John Poalk, John Wilson, Thomas Deys, William Whitwell, Thos. Morrison, David Stone, John Kelley, John Johnston, John Luceox, Wm. McLien, John Ritters, Peter Feoton, Shetby Holland, Peter Nestle [Matross,] David, Torrey.

*Capt. DANIEL MORGAN'S COMPANY.* Killed.—Lt. Humphrey, Wm. Rutledge, Cornelius Norris, David Wilson, Peter Wolf, John Moore, Matthew Harbluson, Rich'd Colbert.

*Wounded.*—Benj. Cackley, Solomon Fitzpatrick, Daniel Anderson, Spencer George,\* Daniel Darst, Hezekiah Phillips, Adam Hizkill, John McGuire, Jesse Wheeler.\*

*Prisoners.*—Capt. Morgan; Lt. Wm. Heath, 2d, [Heth]; Lt. Bruin, 3d, [slightly wounded]; Wm. Fiekhis, Sergt.; Charles Porterfield, Sergt.; John Donaldson, Sergt.; John Rogers, Corp.; Benj. Grath, Corp.; John Burns, John Conner, Solomon Veal, Jacob Spet'y, Adam Kurts, John Shoults, Charles Grim, Peter Locke, John Stephens, David Griffith, John Pearce, Benj. Roderick, Thomas Williams, Gasper de Hart,\* Benj. McFaire, Jeremiah Cordon, Rowland Jacobs, Daniel Davis, John Brown, John Oram, John Maid, John Harbinson, Jedediah Phillips, Jacob Ware, Absalom Brown, Thomas Chapman, Charles Seerests, Jeremiah Riddle,\* William Flood, William Greaway, Rob't Mitchell.

*Listed in the King's service.*—John Cockran, Curtis Bramingham, Timothy Feely, Edw. Seedes, Patriek Dooland, Christopher Dolton, Rob't Churchill.

*Capt. WILLIAM HENDRICK'S COMPANY.* Killed.—Capt. Hendrick, Dennis Kelley, John Campbell.

*Wounded.*—John Henderson, John Chesney, Abraham Swaggerty, Philip Baker.

*Prisoners.*—Lt. Francis Nichols, Thomas Gibson (Sergt.), Wm. M'Coy (Sergt.), John Chambers, Robt. Steele, John Blair, Rich'd M'Cluer, James Reed, John

\* On the 4th January, 1776, Colonel ALLAN MACLEAN, of the 84th Regiment of "Royal Emigrants," visited the prisoners and took their names and places of nativity. Those of British birth were required to enlist in this regiment, under the threat of otherwise being sent to England and tried as traitors. Under this threat many enlisted, and some doing so improved favorable opportunities to desert. This list of killed, wounded and taken prisoners is evidently incomplete.

† This name is written Febiger, Nebegry, Frebezer, Fobeger, and F'ebeger. The correct orthography is Febigr.

‡ Probably Capt. Samuel Lockwood, Greenwich, Conn. A sea-captain.

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Henry  
Randol  
Thomas  
Capt.  
Wm. G  
Woun  
Priso  
Peletia  
Roswo  
Samuel  
Isaac G  
Daniel R  
Noah W  
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Ellesham  
Joseph  
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Jas. Mo  
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McLin, Henry McGown, Edward Roddin, Daniel North, Matthew Taylor, Daniel Graham, Tho. Anderson, George Morrison, John Ray, Wm. Kirkpatrick, Wm. Gammel, Henry Crone [Sergt.], Jacob Mason.

*Listed in the King's service.*—Henry Turpentine, Joseph Greer, Sergt., Barnabas McGuire, Matthew Cuning, Daniel Carlisle, Richard Lynch, Philip Maxwell, Peter Burns, Thomas Witherup, Thomas Murdock, Francis Furlow, Wm. Shannon, Edw'd Morton, Roger Casey, Wm Snell, George Morrow, Daniel M'Cliland, James Ireland, Daniel O'Hara, Michael Young, John Hardy, James Greer, Peter Fraimer, James Hozge, William Burns, Wm. O'Hara, Alexander Burns, Joseph Caskey, John Cove, Arch'd McFarlin, Thomas Greer, William Smith, Joseph Wright, John Carswell, John Gardner, Thomas Lishe.

Capt. SMITH'S COMPANY. *Killed.*—Alexander Elliot, Henry Miller, Sagrabart Mortworth, James Angles.

*Wounded.*—Lt. Rich'd Steele, John Miller, Thomas Silborne, Peter Carborough.

*Prisoners.*—Robt. Cunningham, Thomas Boyd, Sergt., Sam'l Carborough, Philip Newhouse, Conrad Meyers, Conrad Sheyers, Valentine Willey, John Shueffer [drummer], Michael Shoaf, Anthony Lebaat, John Henry, vol., Edw. Egnew, Patrick Campbell, Joseph Doekery, Nicholas Nogle, Thomas Gunn.

*Listed in King's service.*—Joseph Snodgrass, Sergt.; Henry Herrigan, Corp.; Henry McAnally, Michael Fitzpatrick, Edward Cavener, Timothy Conner, William Randolph, Rob't Richmond, Alexander McCarter, John Anderson, Hugh Boyd, Thomas Walker, Joseph Higgins, Daniel Crane, Henry Taylor, Thomas Pugh.

Capt. HANCOCK'S COMPANY. *Killed.*—Lt. Sam'l Cooper, Nath'l Goodrich, Wm. Goodrich, Peter Heady, Spencer Merwick, John Morris, Theophilus Hyde.

*Wounded.*—David Sage, [Sergt.]

*Prisoners.*—Capt. Oliver Handchitt; Lt. Abijah Savage; 1 Benj. Catlin, Quart.; Peletiah Dewey, Sergt.; Gabriel Hodgkiss, 1st Sergt.; Gershom Wilcox, Sergt.; Roswell Ransom, Corp.; Jedediah Dewey, Corp.; \* John Risten, Samuel Biggs, Samuel Bliss, Rich'd Brewer, Sam'l Burroughs, Nath'l Coleman, Stephen Foshury, \* Isaac George, 2 Isaac Knapp, Edw'd Lawrence, Joel Loveman, \* 3 Elijah Marshall, Daniel Rice, 4 David Sheldon, Ichabod Swadille, Jonathan Taylor, Solomon Way, \* Noah Whipple, Abner Stocking, Moses White, 5 Simon Winter.

*Listed in the King's service.*—6 John Basset, Drummer; Patrick Newgent.

Capt. TOPHAM'S COMPANY. *Killed.*—Charles King, Caleb Hacker, Hugh Blackburn.

1 Written *Chattin* by Thayer.

2 Enlisted out of Capt. Caleb Trowbridge's Co. into Capt. Hanchet's Co., for the Canada Expedition, Sept. 5, 1775.

3 Enlisted out of Major Roger Enos' Co., about the beginning of September, 1775, into Capt. Hanchet's Co., Col. Wyllys' Regt., Col. Arnold's detachment.

4 Son of David Sheldon.

5 Was a minor, and an apprentice of Joseph Forward. Was dead January 31, 1777.

6 John Buzzele, Drum Major, Conn. State Papers, III, p. 649.

The following names belonging to Capt. Hanchet's Company are added from the Connecticut State Papers, Rev. War, II<sup>d</sup>, pp. 649-666:

Samuel Douriss.

Elishma Brandekee.

Joseph Lewis; was a soldier in Capt. Hanchet's Co., and was not taken prisoner.

Aaron Bull; was 1st of Capt. Hanchet's Co. at Quebec.

Jas. Morris; was of Capt. Hanchet's Co. at Quebec, not taken prisoner.

Daniel Judd; a soldier in Capt. Hanchet's Co., went out in Capt. Trowbridge's Co. from New Haven.

James Knowles; was the 1st in Capt. Hanchet's Co.

*Wounded*.—Joseph Kenyon, Baker Garlin.

*Prisoners*.—Capt. John Topham, Lt. Joseph Webb, Lt. Edw. Sloanum, Matthew Cogshall, Sergt.; John Finch, Sergt.; Reuben Johnson, Sergt.; Stephen Titt, Philip Rollins, John Darling, Oliver Dummel, Wm. Underwood, Wm. Thomas, Isaac Beatey, Charles Sherman, Benj. Irvin, Benj. Durfee, Wm. Pitman, Wm. Clark, John Bentley, Jeremiah Child,\* Thomas Price, Samuel Geers, Anthony Salisbury.

*Listed in King's service*.—Daniel Booth, Sergt.; Michael Clausey, John Linden, James Green, Patrick Kelley, Tobias Burke.

*Capt. THAYER'S COMPANY. Killed*.—Daniel Davidson, Patrick Tracy.

*Wounded*.—John Rankins, David Williams,\* Peter Field.

*Prisoners*.—Capt. Simeon Thayer, Lt. Humphreys, Silas Wheeler, Thomas Law [Low], James Hayden, James Stone, Silas Hooker,\* Jonathan Jacobs, Stephen Mills, Daniel Lawrence, Elijah Fowler, Bannister Waterman, Jonathan Seatt,\* Cornelius Haggerty, Benj. West, Jesse Turrell, Samuel Ingolds, Andrew Henman.\*

*Listed in King's service*.—Thomas Page, Sergt.; Moses Hemingway, John Robinson, William Dixon, Wm. Clements, Edw. Connor, Patrick Hanington.

*Capt. GOODRICH'S COMPANY. Killed*.—Ames Bridge.

*Wounded*.—Nath'l Cliff, Nath'l Lord.

*Prisoners*.—Capt. Wm. Goodrich, Lt. John Crompton, Ashley Goodrich, Sergt.; Augustus Drake, Sergt.; Festus Drake, Daniel Doyle, Jabez Chalke, Benj. Buckman, Samuel Buckman, Paul Dorna, John Parrot, John Lee, David Pettes, Caleb Northrup, Roswell Ballard,\* Roswell Foot, Oliver Avery, Elijah Alden, Benj. Pearce, Abner Day, John Taylor, Josiah Root, Rich'd Shackley.

*Capt. WARD'S COMPANY. Killed*.—Bishop Sundlee, Thomas Shepherd, John Stephen.

*Wounded*.—Eng'r James Tisdell, Nath'l Brown, Corp.; Jabez Brooks.

*Prisoners*.—Capt. Samuel Ward, Lt. John Clark, Lt. Sylvanus Shaw, Amos Boynton, Sergt.; John Steeper, Corp.; Samuel Hallbrooks,\* John Goodhue, John Shackford, Moses Merrill, Nath'l Babson, Enoch Fozce, Jacob True, Josiah George, Ebenezer Tolmac, Thomas Gay, John Stickney, Elijah De'e, Elijah Hayden,\* Jeremiah Greenman, Enos Childs, Gilbert Caswell, John Gridley, Wm. Dorr, James Rust, Joseph Pool, Israel Barrit, Bartholomew Foster,\* Joseph Ware, Thomas Fisher, Joseph Osburn.\*

*Listed in King's service*.—Charles Harkins.

[John Hickey was a member of Captain Ward's company.]

*Capt. HUBBARD'S COMPANY. Killed*.—Capt. Hubbard, Sergt. Weston.

*Prisoners*.—Lt. Sam'l Brown, Jonathan Ball, Sergt.; Minath Farmer, Sergt,\* Luther Felbanks, Sergt.; Thomas Nichols, Oliver Smith, Simon Fobes, David Patch,\* Thomas McIntire,\* Benj. Phillips,\* Timothy Rice\* [unofficially wounded and died in the hospital], Joseph White, Aaron Henth, Wm. Chamberlain, Anthony Jones, Russel Clark, Paul Clep, Joseph Parsons, Samuel Bates, Luke Nobles,\* Joseph Burr, Oliver Edwards, George Mills.

*Listed in King's service*.—Charles McGuire, Morris Hayward, John Hall.

[Twelve men of Captain Hubbard's company were from Worcester, Mass.]

*Capt. DEARBORN'S COMPANY. Prisoners*.—Capt. Henry Dearborn, Lt. Nath'l Hutchins, Lt. Amos Andrews, Lt. Joseph Thomas, John Flanders, Jona. Perkins, Caleb Edes, Jona. Foggie, Wm. Taylor, Wm. Preston, Eben'r Tuttle, Moses Kimball, Joseph Smith, James Melvin, James Beverley, Jonathan Smith, Samuel Sias, Thomas Holmes, Moses Folsby, Charles Hilton, John Morgan, Amos Reynolds, Elphas Reed, Robert Heath, Elkanor Denforth, Nath'l Martin, Jonathan Norris, John Doubin, John McCalm, Charles Budget, Samuel Hewes, Aaron Serjant.

Total Killed, 5; Wounded, 27; Prisoners, 372; Total, 410.

*York forces*.—Killed, 13; Wounded, 1.

Total Killed, Wounded and Taken, 451.

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## MEMORANDA.

Captain — AYRES led a body of pioneers through the wilderness to blaze trails and "smug" bushes, "so that he might proceed in perfect security."—*Henry*.

Lieutenant ANDREW MOODY, of Capt. Lamb's company, after being exchanged, received the commission of Captain.

Lieutenant WILLIAM CROSS "was a handsome little Irishman, always neatly dressed, and commanded [on the Isle of Orleans] a detachment of about twenty men." He was not in the attack on Quebec.—*Henry*.

Sergeant William McCoy, of Hendrick's company, was an excellent clerk, and came into favor with Governor Carleton by giving to Major Murray, of the garrison, a copy of his journal of the route through the wilderness into Canada. He was a sedate and sensible man.—*Henry*.

— Metcalf, was a volunteer from Pennsylvania.

Peter Nestle, of Lamb's artillery, enlisted in the British service to secure an opportunity to escape, which he did, and joined the company at Montreal. He was made a subaltern.

John TILD was a skillful boatman, and very useful in his vocation during the march through the wilderness.

John M. Taylor, "keen and bold as an Irish grey-hound," a ready penman and excellent accountant, was made by Colonel Arnold purveyor and commissary in the wilderness.—*Henry*.

William Reynolds, of Rannels, of Smith's company, "was miserably sick, and returned in the boats." Oct. 4, Mr. Henry purchased his rifle for twelve dollars. It was short, carried about forty-five balls to the pound, the stock greatly shattered, and worth not over forty shillings. Never did a gun, ill as its appearance was, shoot with greater certainty. Previous to this purchase, Henry had lost his hat, knapsack and rifle, in the river by the upsetting of his boat, as it swept down a rapid.

John Shaeffer was a drummer, and parolled. In the course of the toilsome march he would frequently, in crossing ravines on logs, tumble, drum and all, into the abyss below. This man, blind, starving, and almost naked, bore his drum (which was unharmed by all its jostlings) safely to Quebec, when many other hale men died in the wilderness. He was a brother of Jacob Shaeffer, a respectable citizen of Lancaster, Penn. Army life did not improve his habits.—*Henry*.

Jesse Wheeler was an excellent shoemaker, and his rifle was in frequent requisition to procure game in the march through the wilderness.

Timothy Connor and Edward Cavanagh were Irishmen. Both settled in Pennsylvania after the war. The legislature of that State granted the latter a pension.

James Dougherty was employed as a boatman in the expedition through the wilderness.

J. M. Gwinn was a volunteer from Virginia.

John Marth, of Capt. Lamb's company, was a hardy, daring, and active young man. He undertook to convey to the American camp intelligence of the purpose of the prisoners to attempt an escape. In this hazardous enterprise he was successful.—*Henry*.

## LIST OF BALANCES DUE TO SUNDRY SOLDIERS IN THE YEAR 1776.

Luther Trowbridge.....	£4	4	4
Thomas Gould.....	8	7	7
Thomas Botter.....	3	6	6
John Baldareo.....	15	0	0
Jabez Brooks.....	3	4	7
Aaron Cleveland.....	5	9	10
John Chaplin.....	2	8	10
Joseph Fasset.....	3	17	4
Thomas Dougherty.....	2	0	5
Elijah Heaton.....	2	3	4
Benjamin M. Kinney.....	3	6	8
Ebenzer Langley.....	3	12	1
John Carr Roberts.....	4	6	8
Enoch Richardson.....	5	3	2
Bishop Stanley.....	1	8	5
John Stevens.....	3	14	1
Thomas Smith.....	3	1	8
John Clarke.....	1	15	9
James Williams.....	19	8	
	£67	15	11

I certify that *Lieut.* Colonel Samuel Ward, in the final settlement of his account with the United States, accounted for the sum of one hundred and ninety-two dollars and 44-100, as due to the individuals contained on the within List, and that sum was deducted out of his account as valued by the scale of depreciation on the first of January, 1778, a 4 for 1.

JOHN WHITE, Clerk.

Capt. Samuel Ward,

To BENEDICT ARNOLD.

Sept. 11, 1775. Bill Clothing furnished his *Company at Cambridge*, by the *tr.* Mr. Gen'l, viz:

[Here follow the items.]

Towards the end money was charged by

23 Sept'r. Thomas Dougherty, Jabez Brooks, John Hekey, who were doubtless members of Capt. Ward's Company.

## NOTE I. Page 33.

As some matches might be necessary in that event [viz: overcoming the guard at St. John's gate, and turning the cannon upon the city,] and there would be occasion for powder, it was procured in the following ingenious way. Some small gun carriages were made, mounted with paper cannon, a few inches in length. Embasures were cut with a knife in the front board of the berths on opposite sides of the room; and two parties were formed for the pigny contest. The blaze and report, as loud as small pistols, created much merriment. For this sport, many cartridges were obtained, most of which were carefully laid aside for other purposes.—Henry.

## NOTE K.

Sedgwick, in his History of Sharon, (pp. 45, 46,) states that a company from that town marched under Montgomery to Canada, and that four members of that company were with Colonel Ethan Allen in his attempt on Montreal, viz: "Adonijah Maxam, David Goff, William Gray, and Samuel Lewis. They, together with Roger Moore, of Salisbury, were among those who were carried to England with Allen. Alexander Spencer, of Sharon, joined Arnold's expedition through the wilderness, but died on the march.

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## NOTE L.

The author of the History of Connecticut states that Morgan took command after Arnold received his wound and was taken to the hospital. This is an error. Arnold's division in the assault was a battalion organization, and his second in command was Lieut. Colonel Greene, and his third, Major Meigs. According to Dr. Senter's Journal, (p. 34,) after Arnold retired from the field, the division was "under the command of Lieut. Colonel Greene." Morgan joined Arnold with a single company of riflemen from Virginia, and was at no time in a position to rank Lieut. Colonel Greene.

## NOTE M.

## LETTERS FROM COLONEL ARNOLD TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

SECOND PORTAGE from Keenebec to the Dead River,  
Oct. 13, 1775.

## MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

A person going down the river presents the first opportunity I have had of writing your Excellency since I left Fort Western; since which we have had a very fatiguing time. The men in general not understanding batteaux have been obliged to wade and haul them for more than half way up the river. The last division is just arrived except a few batteaux. Three divisions are over the first carrying place, and as the men are in spirits I make no doubt of reaching the Chaudiere river in eight or ten days; the greatest difficulty being, I hope, already past. We have now with us about twenty-five days' provisions for the whole detachment, consisting of about nine hundred and fifty effective men. I intended making an exact return but must defer it until I come to Chaudiere. I have ordered the commissary to hire people acquainted with the river and forward on the provisions left behind (about 100 barrels) to the Great Carrying-place, to secure our retreat. The expense will be considerable, but when set in competition with the lives or liberty of so many brave men, I think it trifling, and if we succeed, the provisions will not be lost.

I have had no intelligence from the Colony or Canada, and expect none to reach Chaudiere pond, where I expect a return of my express and to determine my mode of operation; which, as it is to be governed by circumstances, I can say no more than if we are obliged to return, I believe we shall have a sufficiency of provisions to reach this place, where the supply ordered the commissary to send forward, will enable us to return on our way home so far, that your Excellency will be able to relieve us. If we proceed on we shall have sufficient stock to reach the French inhabitants, when we can be supplied, if not Quebec.

I am with the greatest respect,

Your Excellency's most obed<sup>t</sup>, h<sup>ble</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>,

B. ARNOLD.

P. S. Your Excellency may possibly think we have been tardy in our march, as we have gained so little; but when you consider the badness and weight of the batteaux and the large quantity of provisions, &c. we have been obliged to force up against a very rapid stream, where you would have taken the men for amphibious animals, as they were great part of the time under water; add to this the great fatigue in portage, you will think I have pushed the men as fast as could possibly have been. The officers, volunteers and privates, have in general acted with the greatest spirit and industry.

Inclosed is a copy of my journal, which I flatter your Excellency might be glad to see.

CHAUDIERE POND, 27th Oct., 1775.

## MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

My last, of the 13th inst. from Portage to the Dead River, advising your Excellency of our proceedings, I make no doubt you have received. I then expected to have reached this place by the 24th inst., but the excessive heavy rains and bad weather have much retarded our march. I have this minute arrived here with seventy men, and met a person on his return, whom I sent down some time since to the French inhabitants. He informs me they appear very friendly, and by the best information he could get, will very gladly



John us. He says they informed him Gen. Schuyler had had a battle with the regular troops at or near St. John's, in which the latter lost in killed and wounded, near 500; (this account appears very imperfect) and that there were few or none of the king's troops at Quebec, and no advice of our coming.

Three days since, I left the principal part of the detachment about three leagues below the Great Carrying-place; and as our provisions were short, by reason of losing a number of loaded batteaux at the falls and rapid waters, I ordered all the sick and feeble to return, and wrote Cols. Enos and Greene to bring on in their divisions no more men than they could furnish with fifteen days' provisions, and to send back the remainder to the commissary. As the roads prove much worse than I expected, and the season may possibly be severe in a few days, I am determined to set out immediately with five batteaux and about fifteen men for Sartigan which I expect to reach in three or four days, in order to procure a supply of provisions and forward back to the detachment; the whole of which I don't expect will reach them in less than eight or ten days. If I find the enemy are not apprised of our coming, and there is any prospect of surprising the city, I shall attempt it as soon as I have a proper number of men up. If I should be disappointed in my prospect that way, I shall await the arrival of the whole and endeavor to cut off their communication with Gov. Carleton, who, I am told, is at Montreal.

Our march has been attended with an amazing deal of fatigue, which the officers and men have borne with cheerfulness. I have been much deceived in every account of our route, which is longer and has been attended with a thousand difficulties I never apprehended; but if crowned with success and conducive to the public good, I shall think it but trifling.

I am with the greatest respect,  
Your Excellency's most obed't h'ble serv't,

B. ARNOLD.

P. S. As soon as I can get time, shall send your Excellency a continuation of my Journal.

B. A.

POINT LEVI, NOV. 8, 1775.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY;

My last letter was of the 27th of October, from Chandlere pond, advising your Excellency that as the detachment were short of provisions (by reason of losing many of our batteaux) I had ordered Col. Enos to send back the sick and feeble, and those of his division who could not be supplied with fifteen days' provisions, and that I intended proceeding the next day with fifteen men to Sartigan, to send back provisions to the detachment. I accordingly set out the 28th, early in the morning, descended the river, amazingly rapid and rocky, for about twenty miles, when we had the misfortune to stove three of the batteaux and lose their provisions, &c., but happily, no lives. I then divided the little provisions left, and proceeded on with the two remaining batteaux and six men, and very fortunately reached the French inhabitants the 30th at night, who received us in the most hospitable manner and sent off early the next morning a supply of fresh provisions, flour, &c., to the detachment, who are all happily arrived (except one man drowned and one or two sick—and Col. Enos's division, who, I am surprised to hear, are all gone back.) and are here and within two or three days' march. I have this minute received a letter from Brig. Gen. Montgomery, advising of the reduction of Chambly, &c. I have had about forty savages join me and intend as soon as possible crossing the St. Lawrence.

I am just informed by a friend from Quebec that a frigate of 26 guns and two transports with 150 recruits, arrived there last Sunday, which with another small frigate and four other small armed vessels at the river, is all the force they have, except the inhabitants, very few of whom have taken up arms, and those by compulsion, who declare (except a few English) that they will lay them down when attacked. The town is very short of provisions, but well fortified. I shall endeavor to cut off their communication with the country, which I hope to be able to effect and bring them to terms, or at least keep them in close quarters until the arrival of Gen. Montgomery, which I wait with impatience. I hope, at any rate, to effect a junction with him at Montreal.

I am with the greatest respect,  
Your Excellency's most obl. serv't.,

B. ARNOLD.

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Francis F  
John Bar  
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APPENDIX.

NOTE O. Page 73.

A List of men's names in Capt. SIMEON THAYER's Company, being part of the detachment under the command of Colonel BENEDICT ARNOLD, in the expedition for Canada. Cambridge, September 10, 1775.\*

Men's Names.	What Capacity.	Whose Company.	Whose Regiment.	Casualties.
Simeon Thayer,	Captain.	.....	Hitchcock.	
Lemuel Bayley,	1st. Lieut.	Tew.	Church.	
William Humphrey,	2d. do.	Aldrich.	Hitchcock.	
Thomas Page,	1st. Serg't.	Thayer.	do.	
Thomas Ellis,	2d. do.	do.	do.	
Moses Bryant,	3d. do.	Field.	do.	
Samuel Singleton,	4th. do.	Kimball.	do.	
Morris Cockran,	1st. Corp'l.	do.	do.	
James Hayden,	2d. do.	Thayer.	do.	
Silas Wheeler,	3d. do.	Field.	do.	
Thomas Low,	4th. do.	Thayer.	do.	
Isaac Hawes,	Fifer.	Gridley.	Gridley.	
William Clements,	Private.	Fletcher.	Little.	
Benoni Patten,	do.	Gray.	Brewer.	
Eleazar Thayer,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	
John Thompson	"	do.	do.	
John Latham,	"	Field.	do.	
Stephen Mills,	"	Stebbins.	Brewer.	
Jonathan Scott,	"	do.	do.	
Elijah Fowler,	"	Tew.	Church.	
Richard Conden,	"	Bradish.	Finney.	
Francis Fillebuit,	"	Butler.	Nixon.	
John Barrett,	"	do.	do.	
Robert Hill,	"	Fletcher.	Little.	
John Turner,	"	Stebbins.	Brewer.	
William Willis,	"	Powell.	Woodbridge	
James Barns,	"	Gray.	Brewer.	
John Bridges,	"	C. Olney.	Hitchcock.	Dismissed.
Moses Hemenway,	"	Thayer.	do.	
Andrew Hinman,	"	Sioan.	Patterson.	
Nathaniel Parker,	"	do.	do.	
James Welch,	"	Field.	Hitchcock.	
Joseph Lewis,	"	Harris.	Bond.	Deserted Sept. 13th.
Charles Nutting,	"	do.	do.	
Peter Field,	"	Gleason.	Nixon.	
James Monk,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	
Silas Hooker,	"	do.	do.	
Benjamin Diman,	"	Cranston.	Whiteome.	
Patrick Tracey,	"	Perkins.	Little.	
Thomas Whittemore,	"	Williams.	Graton.	
William Gouge,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	
Joseph Jewell,	"	Ballard.	Fry.	
Patrick Harrington,	"	Perkins.	Little.	
Jeremiah Mosher,	"	Williams.	Heath.	
Davis Williams,	"	do.	do.	
Caleb Gordon,	"	Ballard.	Fry.	

\* After the printing of the Appendix and Index had been completed, the above list of Captain Thayer's company was placed in the hands of the writer, and is here inserted unpagcd. The names are the same as found on pages 94 and 95, but with the addition of the names of the Captains and Colonels, from whose companies and regiments they were enlisted.

APPENDIX.

Men's Names.	What Capacity.	Whose Company.	Whose Regiment.	Casualties.
Jabez Dow,	Private.	Ballard.	Fry.	
Benjamin West,	do.	Williams.	Heath.	
Jacob Flander,	"	Ballard.	Fry.	
Stephen Bartlett,	"	do.	do.	
Samuel Blasdell,	"	do.	do.	
John Blackford,	"	Hall.	Bond.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
Abijah Adams,	"	Dexter.	Woodbridge	Do. do.
Jacob Good,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	
John Robinson,	"	do.	do.	
Cornellus Higgarty,	"	Field.	do.	
Matthew Philip,	"	Hill.	Shermond.	
Isaac Fillebrown,	"	Lock.	Bond.	
Abraham Jones,	"	Kimball.	Hitchcock.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
Jonathan Jacobs,	"	Wilder.	Little.	
Pasco Austln,	"	J. Olney.	Hitchcock.	
Joseph Bosworth,	"	do.	do.	
Manie O'Daniel,	"	Field.	do.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
John Smilh,	"	Powell.	Whitcome.	
Daniel Devizor,	"	Thayer.	do.	
Abel Ford,	"	Kimball.	do.	
Samuel Ingalls,	"	Hall.	Bond.	
Thomas Geary,	"	do.	do.	
Alexander Spencer,	"	Sloan.	Patterson.	
Jesse Jewell,	"	do.	do.	
Samuel Williams,	"	Brown.	Bond.	
Elijah Jones,	"	J. Olney.	Hitchcock.	
James Stone,	"	do.	do.	
George Leach,	"	Cranston.	Whitcome.	Deserted.
Nathaniel Peas,	"	do.	do.	Deserted.
John Salisbury,	"	Brown.	Bond.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
Edward Mulligan,	"	Gleason.	Nixon.	
Eden Conner,	"	Butler.	do.	
John Holley,	"	Talbot.	Hitchcock.	
George Durant,	"	Whiting.	Brewer.	Dis'd in Cambridge.
Banister Waterman,	"	Curtis.	Larned.	
Joseph Plalstow,	"	Hill.	Shermond.	
William Dixon,	"	Brown.	Bond.	
Moses Kady,	"	do.	do.	
John Collins,	"	McInster.	Patterson.	
John Raukin,	"	Elliot.	Putnum.	
John Ryand,	"	Gleason.	Nixon.	
John Canell,	"	Butler.	do.	
Samuel Griffith,	"	Dexter.	Woodbridge	
John Cambridge,	"	Thayer.	Hitchcock.	In room of Manie O'Daniel.
David Lawrence,	"	C. Olney.	do.	In room of George Durant.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE P. Page 78.

RETURN OF THE SECOND BATTALION IN THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, COMMANDED BY COL. ISRAEL ANGELL.\*

NEWPORT—31.

Arthur Smith,  
John Exeung,  
John Chadwick,  
William Parker,  
Francis Gold,  
John Gibbons,  
Abner Russell,  
John Bentley,  
Benjamin Fowler,  
Uriah Wilbour,  
Nathan West,  
Edmond Pnegar,  
Joseph Brown,  
Joseph Paine,  
Nicholas Wilson,  
Richard Shield,  
Elisha Anstin,  
John Horswell,  
Daniel Phillips,  
Elias Bryer,  
Jeremiah Grinman,  
Weston Clark,  
Daniel Barney,  
James Mitchel,  
Richard Pritchard,  
Southcoat Langworthy,  
Benjamin Jackson,  
Dennis Hogan,  
Michael Morgan,  
Asher Pollock,  
Prince Jackson.

PROVIDENCE—33.

Daniel Hudson,  
Phillip Justice,  
Darius Thurber,  
Nathan Gale,  
William Bennet,  
Stephen Johnston,  
William White,  
Noah Chafey,  
Edward Everson,  
Patrick Capron,  
John Ragen,  
John Amon,  
Daniel Lawrence,  
Durfey Springer,  
Church Winslow,  
Ebenezer Whitaker,  
James Hopkins,  
Abijah Ford,  
Christopher Moore,  
Dennis Bagley,  
William Foster,

James Hale,  
William Middleton,  
John Walters,  
Daniel Booth,  
John Coats,  
Ilanu Ovander,  
John S. Robinson,  
Michael Anthony,  
Joseph Difad,  
Thomas Graves,  
Thomas Switchers,  
William Brown.

SOUTH KINGSTOWN—5.

Ephraim Dalley,  
John Billington,  
Joseph Billington,  
Cuff Peckham,  
Jos. Nokake.

NORTH KINGSTOWN—6.

Jeremiah Wilkey,  
Robert Alshoroug,  
John Davis,  
Robert Dixon,  
Christopher I. Shearman,  
Franklin Tonnaut.

SMITHFIELD—15.

Abel Bomp,  
Benoni Bishop,  
Uriah Jones,  
Solomon Shippey,  
Zephaniah Woodward,  
Charles Crosby,  
Enoch Young,  
Abiathor Poliard,  
John Rogers,  
Elias Bishop,  
John Smith,  
B. Shrieve,  
Benjamin Smith,  
Thomas Harrington,  
Gideon Dexter.

CRANSTON—5.

Jonathan Briggs,  
Daniel Fenner,  
Elaezer Westcoat,  
Peleg Johnson,  
William Russel.

\* The list of the men composing Major Thayer's battalion was not obtained until after the preceding pages had been printed, and is inserted here without paging.

APPENDIX.

GLOUCESTER—7.

Reuben Williams,  
Amos Wood,  
Nathaniel Stoddard,  
Elisha Inman,  
Joseph Turner,  
Stukly Inman,  
Ephraim Andrews.

NEW SUOREHAM—6.

John York,  
Job Franklin,  
Edward Paine,  
John Derub,  
Edward Dodge,  
Richard Pomp.

CUMBERLAND—4.

John Strange,  
David Collar,  
Daniel Bragg,  
Esek Dexter.

-SCITUATE—6

Benjamin King,  
Jonathan Harrington,  
Palne Hinds,  
Richard Hinds,  
William Edwards,  
Stephen Phillips.

JOHNSTON—2.

Asa Johnston,  
Charles Westcoat.

TIVERTON—2.

Job Palmer,  
Abraham Springer.

EAST GREENWICH—1.

William Thomas.

CHARLESTOWN—11.

Joseph Kenyon,  
Reuben Johnson,  
Henry Perry,  
Samuel Wampy,  
Amos Mevas,  
William Capen,  
James Treddel,  
John Charles,  
Gideon Harvy,  
Edward Harvy,  
Thomas Bills.

RICHMOND TOWN—2.

George Niles,  
John Dourse.

NORTH PROVIDENCE—2.

Abraham Hopkins,  
Richard Thorp.

LITTLE COMPTON—3.

Anthony Salisbury,  
John Taber,  
James Tompkins,

Total—141.

Examined from their several lists of Returns.

SIMEON THAYER, Major.

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APPENDIX.

FORT WILLIAM HENRY. Note Q, Page 71.\*

The perilous situation of Fort William Henry was known in Rhode Island some days before its fall, and intense interest was everywhere excited. The day following that event, the General Assembly met at Newport and ordered that one-sixth part of the whole militia of the Colony be forthwith raised and sent to Albany to operate under the commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces near Lake George for the preservation of the country from the ravages of the enemy. On the 11th of August, Capt. G. Christie, A. D. Q. M. G., wrote from Albany to Gov. Greene, announcing the capture of the Fort, and mentioning the barbarities that had been practised by the savage allies of the French upon the retiring and defenceless garrison. The feeling awakened in Providence by these tidings, found a strong and patriotic expression in the following paper, drawn up and signed by many prominent citizens, and now for the first time made public:

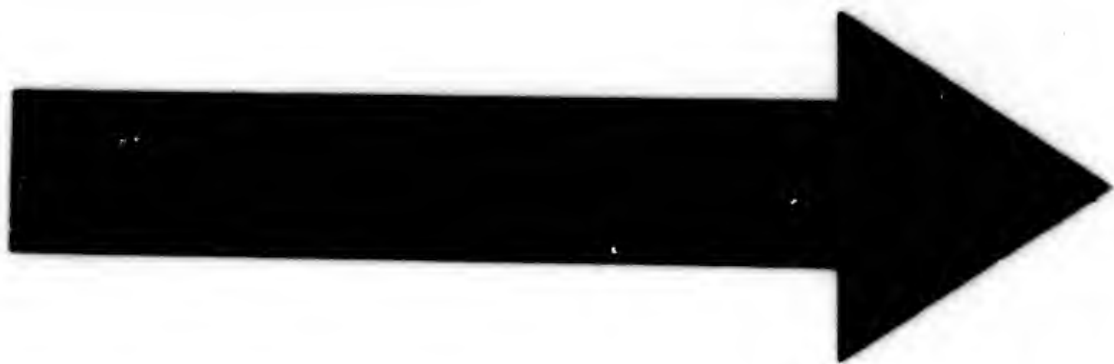
Whereas the British Colonies in America are invaded by a large Army of French and Indian Enemies, who, have already possessed themselves of Fort William Henry, and are now on their march to penetrate further into this Country; and from whom we have nothing to expect, should they succeed in their enterprise, but Death and Devastation: And, as his Majesties principal Officers in the parts Invaded, have in the most pressing and moving manner, called on all his Majesties faithfull Subjects for Assistance to defend the Country: Therefore, we whose Names are Underwritten, thinking it our Duty to do every thing in our power for the Defence of our Liberties, Families, and Propertys, are Willing and agree to enter Voluntarily into the Service of our Country, and go in a Warlike manner against the Common Enemy, and hereby call upon and invite all our Neighbours who have Families, and Propertys to Defend, to Join with us in this Undertaking, Promising to March as Soon as we are Two Hundred and Fifty in Number, recommending our Selves and our Cause to the Favourable Protection of Almighty God.

Providence, August 15th, 1757.

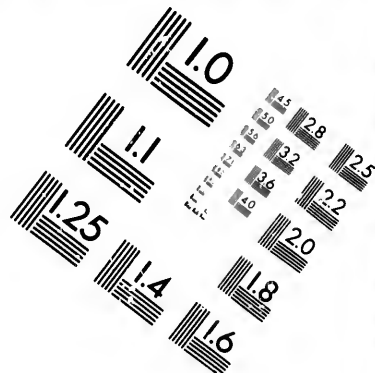
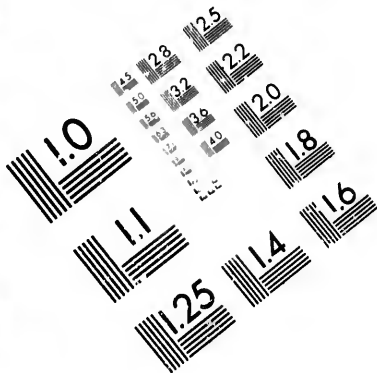
STEPHEN HOPKINS  
OBADIAH BROWN  
NICHOLAS COOK  
BARZILLAI RICHMOND  
JOSEPH BUCKLIN  
JOHN RANDALL  
JOHN COLE  
GIDEON MANCHESTER  
EPHRAIM BOWEN, Surgeon  
JOHN WATERMAN  
JOSEPH ARNOLD  
JOHN BASS, Chaplain  
JOHN THOMAS, Junr.  
ALLEN BROWN  
BENONI PEARCE  
BARNARD EDDY  
BENJAMIN DOUBLEDAY

NICHOLAS BROWN  
JOSEPH BROWN  
WILLIAM WHEATON  
WILLIAM SMITH  
JONATHAN CLARK  
JONATHAN BALLOU  
JAMES THURBER  
AMOS KINNICUTT  
NATHL. OLNEY  
JOSEPH LAWRENCE  
THEOPHILUS WILLIAMS  
JOHN POWER  
BENJAMIN OLNEY  
GEORGE HOPKINS  
EDWARD SMITH  
JOSEPH WINSOR  
JOSEPH COLE

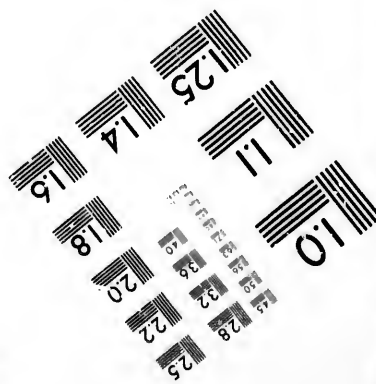
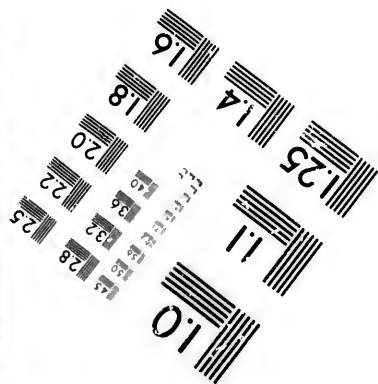
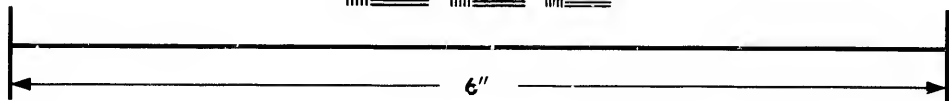
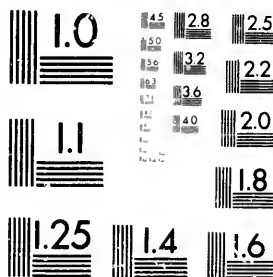
\* For the reasons assigned in notes O and P, this and succeeding pages of the Appendix are printed without folios.







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



**Photographic  
Sciences  
Corporation**

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APPENDIX.

CAPTAIN SIMEON THAYER. NOTE R, Page 71.

In the escape from Fort William Henry, Capt. Thayer, then a private, became *broken-winded*. The heat created by running, and the sudden check of perspiration, caused by swimming across a stream, developed a virulent humor, which troubled him many years. It disappeared soon after he reached Quebec with Arnold's Expedition, and never afterwards returned. To the older men this expedition was a fearful adventure, and it subsequently told fearfully upon their constitutions. Those who had the spring of youth could recover their former elasticity and recuperate, whereas the chances were adverse to the seniors.

Captain [General] Thayer was with others associated in the ownership of the township of Lyndon, Vt., a grant in which Hon. Jonathan Arnold, a leading physician of Providence, and a representative in Congress from Rhode Island, was largely interested. March 31, 1781, Capt. T. sold all his right in the said township to Dr. Arnold for "nine hundred and seventy continental dollars." The following is the inscription upon his grave stone:

"Here rests the Body of Simeon Thayer, who died Oct. 21, 1800, in the 63d year of his age; Warmly attached to his Country, he early engaged in the war, which led to her independence; a Prisoner on the Plains of Abraham; wounded in the battle of Monmouth, he suffered with cheerfulness for the cause he had embraced; nor did his Patriotism transcend his intrepidity. In the defence of Mud Island, he became illustrious by the prudence of his measures and the coolness of his courage, which could only be the offspring of a head unclouded, when the shades of death were gathering around him and a heart unappalled by the vision of his terrors to consummate his military fame. He was distinguished by the approbation of Washington, who knew that Major Thayer was a soldier indeed in whom there was no fear, and as a proof of the esteem of his fellow citizens he was chosen General of the Militia as a testimony of filial reverence."

NOTE S, Page 21.

The fate of JAMES WARNER, among others, was lamentable. He was young, handsome in appearance, and not more than twenty-five years of age. He was athletic, and seemed to surpass in bodily strength. His wife was beautiful, though unpolished in manners. Nothing was heard of the couple after entering a swamp on the march, November 1st, until December, when Mrs. Jemima Warner appeared in the camp before Quebec bearing her husband's rifle, powder-horn and pouch. It appeared from her story that Warner, unable to proceed, sat down at the foot of a tree, determining to die there. His wife remained with him several days, urging him, in vain, to proceed. The provisions divided to him at the head of the Chaudiere were nearly consumed, and having exhausted her powers of persuasion to advance, without effect, she left with him what bread remained and a canteen of water, and as necessary to preserve her own life, pushed on for the American camp. Warner probably did not long survive. Thus perished an unfortunate man, at an age when the bodily powers are generally in their full perfection. On reaching the habitations of the Canadians, Mrs. Warner was kindly entertained, and appeared in camp fresh and rosy as ever. This incident is but one of many that occurred that illustrates the dangers and sufferings of the wilderness march.—*Henry.*

APPENDIX.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL WARD. NOTE T, Page 85.

Captain Ward's commission was issued by the Colonial Congress, and was signed by John Hancock, President. The following is a literal copy of the original still preserved among family papers :

IN CONGRESS.

THE DELEGATES of the United Colonies of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania*, the Counties of *Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex* on *Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina*, to Samuel Ward, Junior, Esquire.

WE reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valour, conduct and fidelity, DO by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Captain of a Company, in the 12th Regiment, commanded by Col. Varnum, in the Army of the United Colonies, raised for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Captain by doing and performing all manner of things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, as Captain. And you are to observe, and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress, for that purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the time being of the Army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you.

This Commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

July 1st, 1775.

*By Order of the Congress.*

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attest, CHAS. THOMSON, Secy.

The Superscription.

SAMUEL WARD, Jr., Copt.

At Cambridge, Capt. Ward received marked attention from General Washington. It is said he was the first officer of his grade there invited to dine with the Commander in-Chief. In a letter from the General to Governor Samuel Ward, dated at Cambridge, August, 1775, he says : " I did not know till yesterday that you had a son in the army ; to-day I had the pleasure of his company at dinner together with General Greene ; Colonels Varnum and Hitchcock had already done me that favor. I think if occasion should offer, I shall be able to give you a good account of your son, as he seems a sensible well informed young man."

In October, 1775, Governor Cooke, accompanied by Hon. Henry Ward, Secretary of State of Rhode Island, went to Cambridge to meet a Committee of Congress, to talk over and arrange matters requisite for the benefit of the army. This committee, consisting of Dr. Franklin, Colonel Harris and Mr. Lynch, arrived Oct. 15. Concerning these gentlemen General Nathaniel Greene writes as follows : " I had the honor to be introduced to that very great man, Dr. Franklin, whom I viewed with silent admiration during the whole evening. 'Attention watched his lips, and conviction closed his periods.' Colonel Harris is a very facetious, good humored, sensible, spirited gentleman; he appears to be calculated for military employment. Mr. Lynch was much fatigued, and said but little, but appeared sensible in his inquiries and observations."\*

\* Johnson's Life of Gen. Greene, 1822, quarto, vol. 1, p. 39.

APPENDIX.

The following letter to Captain Ward, was written from Cambridge by his uncle, the Secretary. It came to light after the preceding pages had passed through the press, and is an exact copy of the original.

CAMBRIDGE, October 15th, 1775.

DEAR NEPHEW,

I last Night rec'd Letters from your Father who is well. I left Providence on Thursday & there saw Mr. Davids who was at your Father's House on Tuesday last. The Family with your Aunts (who have moved into your Father's House) were all well. Your Father informs me that the Congress have received such authentic Intelligence from G. Britain as convinces them that the Ministry are determined to make a vigorous Push for the Conquest of the Colonies, and the Congress are consequently determined upon the most resolute Measures.

The Army here is in high Health and Spirits. And nothing is wanted to enable them to drive the Enemy out of Boston but a sufficient Quantity of Powder. By the best Accounts I can collect, 3000 Men may be expected at Boston very soon; which is all the Force that will probably come this Fall. Should it please God to crown the Expedition you are upon with Success, I need not press you to use your Endeavours that the Army may behave with such Prudence as to conciliate the Affections of the Canadians. This is all the Paper I have which I will use in praying God to bless you, and assuring you that I am,  
your affec'te Uncle,

HENRY WARD.

Capt. Ward.

The superscription to the above letter is as follows:

To

Capt. SAMUEL WARD,

In Col. Arnold's Army,

QUEBEC.

Favoured by Mr. Price.

The day subsequent to the date of the above letter, (Oct. 16) General Greene wrote from Prospect Hill, to Governor Ward: "I had the pleasure to hear from your son Samuel, the 26th of September. He was at Fort Weston, just going to set off on his journey. All in health and good spirits. I had the same apprehensions with regard to Samuel's health and strength to endure the fatigues of such a campaign as you had. I advised him to decline it; but the heat of youth and the thirst of glory surmounted every obstacle, and rendered reasoning vain and persuasion fruitless. Colonel Christopher Greene is gone with him. His going made me the more readily consent to your son's going. I gave the Colonel a particular charge to lend him a helping hand in every case of difficulty, and he promised that his aid should never be wanting. By several letters from Quebec, things wear a promising appearance there. If the expedition succeeds, and we get possession of Canada, we shall effectually shut the back door against them, and I make no doubt of keeping them from entering at the front. You may depend upon my influence to obtain Charles a commission in the new establishment."\*

\* Johnson's Life of Gen. Greene, 1822, quarto, vol. 1, p. 39.

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APPENDIX.

THE WARD FAMILY.—NOTE U.

The name of WARD or WARDE, is of Norman origin, and found on the ancient Roll of Battle Abbey, England, as given by Duchesne, Hollinshed and Leland. ARMS, as borne by the Family in America, and originally brought over from England.\* Azure, a cross patonce or. CREST. A Wolf's head erased, proper, langued and dentated gales. *Motto.* Sub cruce salus.

JOHN WARD, (1) who had been an officer in one of Cromwell's cavalry regiments, came to America, from Gloucester, England, after the accession of King Charles the II. He settled at Newport, R. I., where he d. in April, 1698, aged 79. His son THOMAS, (2) who preceded his father to America, married 1. Mary —?, by whom he had daughters, Mary, who m. Sion Arnold, son of Gov. Benedict Arnold, of Newport, R. I., and Margaret, who m. Capt. Robert Writington; m. 2. Amy Smith, (grand-daughter of Roger Williams,) and died September 25th, 1689, aged 48. He settled at Newport, about 1660, and Backus (History Baptists I, 516,) says 'that he was a Baptist before he came out of Cromwell's army, and a very useful man in the Colony of Rhode Island.' His widow (Amy) afterwards married Arnold Collins, and their son Henry Collins, (called by the late Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, "the Lorenzo de Mediceis of Rhode Island,") born March 25, 1699, died at Newport, R. I., about 1770. His eldest son Thomas, died December 22, 1695, in his 13th year. His second son

(Hon.) RICHARD, (3) born April 15th, 1689, married Mary, (daughter of John Tillinghast, November 2, 1709; was many years Secretary, and afterwards Governor of the State in 1741-3, was present at the siege of Louisburg, 1758, and died August 21, 1763; his wife Mary, died October 19, 1767, in her 78th year. *Children:* Amy, born September 4th, and died Oct. 22, 1710; Thomas, b. October 21th, 1711, was for many years Secretary of the State, which office he held at the time of his death December 21, 1760, (for issue see Coll. R. I. Hist. Soc. iii, 310); Mary, b. December 10, 1713, m. Ebenezer Flagg, d. May 21, 1781; Elizabeth, b. Feb. 19, 1715, d. Aug. 27, 1717; Amy, b. July 21st, 1717, m. Samuel Vernon, of Newport, R. I. and d. January 17, 1792; Isabel, b. Sept. 19, 1719, m. Huxford Marchant, and d. February 5, 1808; Hannah, b. Sept. 24, 1721, d. Dec. 27, 1783, unmarried; John, b. Aug. 4, 1723, d. August 15, 1724; SAMUEL, (4) b. May 27, 1725; Mercy, b. June 3, 1727, d. Oct. 25, 1730; Margaret, b. April 14, 1729, m. Col. Samuel Freebody, of Newport, R. I., January, 1765, d. June 27, 1765; Richard, b. Jan. 22, 1730, d. Aug. 7, 1732; Henry, b. Dec. 27, 1732, m. Esther, (dan. Thomas Freebody, of Newport, succeeded his brother Thomas as Secretary of State, which office he held, by successive annual re-elections until his death, November 25, 1797, at Providence, R. I., leaving one daughter Elizabeth, who m. Dr. Pardon Bowen, of that city; Elizabeth b. June 6, 1735, m. Rev. William Bliss, of Newport, and d. in 1815, without issue.

(Gov.) SAMUEL, (4) m. Anne (daughter of Simon Roy, of Block Island, also a lineal descendant of Roger Williams, December 20, 1745. He died of small pox at Philadelphia, Penn., March 26, 1776. His tombstone at Newport, was erected by the State of Rhode Island. (For other particulars see note, p. 83.) His wife d. at Westerly, R. I., December 3, 1770, in the 43d year of her age. *Children:* Charles, b. 1747, was an officer in the Revolutionary Army, d. unmarried; Hannah, b. 1749, d. unmarried 1774; Anna, b. 1750, m. Ethan Clarke, and d. 1790; Catherine, b. October 2, 1752, m. Christopher Greene, (brother of Gen. Nathaniel Greene) and left two daughters, and d. 1781; Mary, b. December 5, 1754, d.

\*The Arms and Crest are still to be seen engraved on the monument of Gov. Richard Ward in Newport, R. I.

APPENDIX.

1832, unmarried; SAMUEL, (5) born November 17, 1756; Simon Ray, born October 4, 1760, was Lieutenant in Revolutionary Navy, m. Sarah Gardner, and died of yellow fever in West Indies, about 1790, leaving two daughters; Deborah, b. October 12, 1758, became the second wife of Christopher Greene, who had married her sister Catherine, and d. in 1835, at Potowomut, R. I.; John, born July 26, 1762, m. Elizabeth (daughter of Dr. Ephraim) Bowen, of Providence, and died at Brooklyn, N. Y., September, 1823, without issue; Richard, b. 1764, m. Eliza (daughter of Joseph) Brown, of Providence, where he died October, 1808, without issue; Elizabeth, born 1766, died at Warwick, R. I., 1783, unmarried.

(Col.) SAMUEL, (5) married March 20, 1778, to Phebe, daughter of Governor William and Catherine Ray Greene, of Rhode Island, the latter a daughter of Simon Ray, and noted as the witty correspondent of Benjamin Franklin. For full account of Col. Samuel, see *ante* pp. 83-90, &c. He died in New York City August 16, 1832.† His wife born March 20, 1760, at Warwick, R. I., died October 11, 1828. *Children:*

William Greene, born April 1, 1779, at Warwick, R. I., died August 17, 1798, in New York, of yellow fever; Samuel, born January 23, 1781, died November 13, 1785; Henry, born September, 1782, died December 3, 1783; HENRY, (6) born March 17, 1781; SAMUEL, (7) born May 1, 1783; Anne Catherine, born August 19, 1788, died Sept. 14, 1837, unmarried; Phebe, born July 17, 1791, at Providence, R. I., died at Jamaica, L. I., April 22, 1825; RICHARD RAY, (8) born in New York, Nov. 17, 1795; John, born October 26, 1797, died March 31, 1836, in New York City. See biographical notice page 53; WILLIAM GREENE, (9) born August 7, 1802.

HENRY, (6) m. September 2, 1818, to Eliza Hall, daughter of Dr. Jonathan Hall, of Pomfret, Conn., and Bathsheba Mumford, of Newport, R. I., and grand-daughter of David Hall, D. D., of Sutton, Mass., and Elizabeth Prescott, of Concord, Mass., the latter a great grand-daughter of Rev. Peter Bulkeley, famous in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*. Mr. Henry Ward had a great talent for music. He was a member of the Society of Cincinnati in New York. See Note p. 88. He died in New York City, July 26, 1838. *Only Son:* HENRY HALL, born in the City of New York, senior partner of Messrs. Ward & Company, Bankers, at 51, Wall Street, New York; President of the New York Club; Treasurer of the New York State Society of Cincinnati; and senior Director of the National Fire Insurance Company of New York.

SAMUEL, (7) m. Julia Rush, daughter of Benjamin Cutler, of Jamaica Plains, Mass. (sister of the late Rev. Dr. Benjamin C. Cutler, of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., and relative of Gen. Faneels Marion, of Revolutionary fame,) in October, 1812. He had a fine gallery of Paintings in his residence corner of Bond street and Broadway, New York, (see *ante* pages 88 and 89; also *Memoir* of Samuel Ward, by the late Charles King, in Rev. Dr. Griswold's *Biographical Annual* of 1811,) and died November 27, 1839. His wife died November 11, 1824. *Children:* \*Samuel, formerly a banker, lately a diplomatist and poet; Henry, jr. d. in New York, 1810, aged 23; Julia, died in infancy; Julia (wife of Dr. Samuel G.) Howe, now of Boston, Mass., and the talented authoress of "Passion Flowers," "Battle Hymn of the Republic," etc.; Francis Marion, a merchant, died in New Orleans, Sept. 1817, aged 27; Louisa W., m. 1. Thomas Crawford, the celebrated Sculptor; m. 2. Luther Terry, artist, of Rome, Italy; Anne W., (wife of Adolph) Mailliard, of Hordentown, N. J.

RICHARD RAY, (8) m. November 3, 1835, Gertrude Eliza (dau. of Edward) Dougherty, of New York. She died May 21, 1850. He is a lawyer in New York. (See page 89.) *Children:* Gertrude Ray and Annie Catrena.

†In Col. Trumbull's painting of the Death of Montgomery at Quebec, the middle soldier of the three grouped in the left foreground, was Capt. Ward. The artist painted the picture in Europe, without having a portrait of Capt. W., the latter being at the time in America.



APPENDIX.

WILLIAM GREENE, (9) m. Abby Maria (dau. of Dr. Jonathan) Hall, of Pomfret, Conn., (and sister of the eminent lawyers David P. Hall, and the late Jonathan Prescott Hall), November 17, 1830. He died in New York, July 22, 1848. (See page 89.) He was possessed of unusual business capacity, and noted for his excellent judgment of men and affairs. His energy was indomitable. Mrs. Abby Maria Ward, above named, was also sister of the late Miss Anna Hall, the artist, several of whose Miniatures rival those of Malbone and Isabey. *Children:*

\* William Greene, banker, and Brig. Genl. First Br.gade, First Division National Guard of State, N. Y. (See *ante* pages 89 and 90.)

\* Charles Henry, banker and amateur artist.

Anne Catherine, died in her 5th year, April 1810.

John, died in infancy, January, 1838.

John, graduated Doctor of Medicine at Union Medical College, is a lawyer, and Colonel of 12th Regt. National Guard, State N. Y.

\* Prescott Hall, lawyer, resides at present (October, 1837,) in Europe.

THE DEFENCE OF MUD ISLAND. NOTE V, Page 78.

"My design by this address is to rescue from seeming inattention, the brilliant conduct of Colonel, the late Major, Thayer, in the defence of Mud Island, in the river Delaware, from the 12th of November until the 16th of the same month, in the year 1777. To a person unacquainted with that transaction, all the glory would be ascribed to Col. Smith, of the Maryland line. He is a gentleman of superior talents, of fine sentiments, virtuous and brave! He commanded the garrison on Mud Island from the latter part of September, excepting a few days, till the 11th of November, when the command devolved upon Lieut. Col. Russell, of the Connecticut line. The fatigues and dangers of that command were extreme. Col. Smith supported them with uncommon patience and fortitude, but yielded to hard necessity. Lieut. Col. Russell, an amiable, sensible man, and an excellent officer, exhausted by fatigue, and totally destitute of health, requested to be recalled.

\* \* \* Major Thayer presented himself as a volunteer. The offer was accepted with inexpressible satisfaction. \* \* \* The subscriber was personally knowing to all the facts before related. \* \* \* Should any of these facts be disputed, he will publish an attested narrative, which will silence envy itself."—*Letter of Gen. James M. Varnum to Bennet Wheeler, Aug. 2. 1785.*

"On the 11th [November] in the afternoon, Col. Smith received a wound in the arm, and left the fort. Lieut. Col. Russell, of Gen. Varnum's brigade succeeded him in the command. On the 13th, Major Thayer went over and relieved Col. Russell, and the remainder of Col. Smith's men, part having been relieved before, with a detachment from Colonels Durkey and Chandler's regiments of Gen. Varnum's brigade."—*Letter of Col. Israel Angell, Feb. 17th, 1778.*

"Congress not having learned that the commander of Mud Island had been changed, voted that an elegant sword be presented to Col. Greene, of the Red Bank Fort, and another to Col. Samuel Smith, the commander of the Island, for their brave conduct in the defence of their several posts. The swords were to be made in France, and a year or two elapsed before their arrival and presentation, when Col. Smith had the modesty to receive the one which was justly due to Major Thayer, and but for the mistake made by Congress in the name of the officer who earned it, he would have received it."—*Letter of John Howland, late President of the Rhode Island Historical Society.*

\* Married.

APPENDIX.

NOTE W—Page xviii. Introduction.

On the 22d of November, 1775, in view of impending danger, Sir Guy Carlton issued a proclamation at Quebec, ordering persons refusing to enroll their names in the militia lists, or to take up arms for the preservation of the city, to leave the place within four days, together with their wives and children, but forbidding their carrying away any provisions and stores belonging to them. This proclamation was soon after travestied in verse as follows:

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Whereas I'm *chas'd* from place to place,  
 Ily rebels void of sense and grace;  
 Crown Point, Montreal, Chambles,  
 By Arnold and Montgomery,  
 From GEORGE and PETER; are set free,  
 In spite of *Indians, D—l* and me!  
 In arms, before our walls, they reckon  
 With bombs and shells to fall Quebec on,  
 To burn our *Saints* \* and hang our *Bishop*,  
 And spoil all business done at *his* shop:  
 Whereas also (e—so on such Catho-  
 Lics as those, they stir my wrath so)  
 Some went, and some who did enlist,  
 And carry arms of late desist;  
 Of which vile *miscreants* † this city  
 Ridded must be, let who will pity,  
 Within *four days*, or by *St. Louis!*  
 They'll find that what I now say true is;  
 Before they've counted o'er their *beads*,  
 Or paid the *Priest*, or said their *creeds*,  
 As *spies* or *rebels* up I'll string 'em  
 Till to their senses I can bring 'em;  
 Each one who wont swear he's a tory,  
 I *sw—r* shall go to *Purga-tory*,  
 There to reform in *limbo patrum*,  
 And those who blame me may go a'ter 'em.  
 Let those who go take wives and children,  
 And haste forthwith into the wildern-  
 Ess 'most *savages*, God knows,  
 They'll find for *chcer* frost, ice and snows;  
 Leaving behind all their *provision*,  
 Which I long since have had my wish on;  
 And (*George Alsop*, my Comulssary  
 Shall take thereof true inventory.  
 Given at St. Louis Castle, in  
 Quebec, the year of GEORGE sixteen,  
 Of Britain, France and Ireland King,  
 (Of *Rome*) the faith's defender being,  
 And so forth—by me GUY CARLTON,  
 Kennell'd ‡ and toothless yet I snarl on.

Witness *Harry T. Crahame*,

My catholic liege Secretary.

Thus ends our BULL, and ten to one on't  
 Some *Yankee* 'll get it, and make fun on't.

‡ The Pope. \* Images. † Unsound in faith. ‡ Alluding to Guy, the common name of a dog and his being driven, with his blood hounds, into the wall'd city of Quebec.

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## REVOLUTIONARY CORRESPONDENCE

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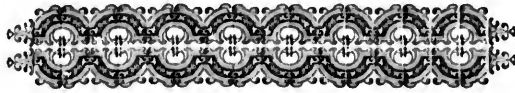
1775 to 1782.

COMPRISING LETTERS WRITTEN BY

GOVERNORS NICHOLAS COOKE, WILLIAM GREENE, JOHN COLLINS, JONATHAN TRUMFULL, GENERALS WASHINGTON, GREENE, SULLIVAN, SPENCER AND CORNELL, COLONEL WILLIAM RICHMOND, ADMIRAL PIGOT, HON. JABEZ BOWEN, COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN, HON. METCALF BOWLER, HON. HENRY MARCHANT, JOSEPH STANTON, JR., WILLIAM ALLEN AND AMBROSE PAGE, Esqs., AND OTHERS.

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## REVOLUTIONARY CORRESPONDENCE.

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TO HON. JAMES WARREN.

PROVIDENCE, June 26th, 1775.

SIR,—Immediately upon the receipt of your letter, I issued warrants to call the General Assembly of this Colony together. They will meet here to do business on Thursday morning next, when I shall lay your letter before them. If our General Assembly vote an additional number of troops, you are sensible it will take time to raise and equip them. We shall also meet with difficulties in supplying them with arms, as the Colony hath already supplied as many as can be spared. Besides the forces in the field, we are fitting out two armed vessels for the protection of our trade. These exertions in our present distressed state, have nearly exhausted the Colony; but as every thing important to men is now at stake, you may be assured that our General Assembly will strain every nerve in the common defence——— As we have authentic intelligence that the troops destined for New York are ordered to Boston, as quick as they arrive, I should think it best that the fine body of men, under the command of Gen. Wooster, should immediately march for Boston. Assistance, also, may be called for from the Jerseys. And in the mean time I would advise that the Minute Men in your Colony, or such part of them as it may be thought sufficient, be immediately embodied and join the army. And although the Colony of the Massachusetts should exceed their proportion you can have no doubt of a reimbursement from the other Colonies. I would just hint to



you, whether it would not be advisable to get down from Ticonderoga, as soon as possible, part of the musket balls there, as there is a great scarcity of lead in this country.

I am with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. James Warren, Esq.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL, CONNECTICUT.

PROVIDENCE, July 1st, 1775.

SIR,—I am favoured with yours' of the 20th and 27th instant, which I communicated to the General Assembly, whom I convened at this place on Wednesday last, in consequence of an application from the Provincial Congress of the Massachusetts Bay for a reinforcement to the army stationed near Boston.

The General Assembly voted six additional companies, of sixty men each, to the three regiments in the pay of this Colony, and have issued orders for their immediate enlistment. They have also ordered one fourth part of the Militia of the Colony to be enlisted as Minute Men, who are to exercise half a day in every fortnight, and to receive the following pay and allowance, to wit: For every time they meet and exercise, the Captains 2s. 6, the Lieuts. and Ensigns 2s., and the Privates 1s.; and when called to march for the defence of the Colony, or to march out of the Colony, the Capt's 6s. Lieuts. 5s. Ens.'s 4s. and Privates 3s. per day, and to be billeted. They have also passed an Act putting the Rhode Island forces, during the operations of the present campaign, under the command of the Commander in Chief of the combined American Army. By the return of the Rhode Island army it amounts to 1390 effective men, stationed at Jamaica Plains and Roxbury, besides which, and the six companies above mentioned, we are equipping two armed vessels, to carry one hundred and ten men exclusive of officers. We are also taking other important measures for the common

defence.—— In pursuance of a request of the General Assembly I have addressed a letter or speech to the Oneida Indians, which I desire you to put into the proper channel of conveyance. In it I have mentioned the sending of a belt, relying upon your goodness to procure and send one suitable to the occasion, which I beg the favour of you to do, as we here are entirely ignorant of what is proper and agreeable to custom. You will make a draft on me for the expense, which shall be punctually paid. The intelligence respecting the Caghawag-Indians, gives me uneasiness, as it may be attended with very disagreeable consequences to our frontier settlements. But I trust that, by the blessing of God upon our strenuous efforts, all danger from that quarter may be soon prevented. Brigadier General Greene writes to me, the 28th instant, that he "had heard a letter read, dated the sixth of May, from Holland, in which it is said the Dutch are affronted with the English, and had ordered the English frigates away from the Texel. That the French refuse to prohibit the exportation of ammunition to America in any other way than that of laying a small fine, and that the King of Spain refuseth to lay any restraints upon his merchants." He adds, "the truth of the account is not to be doubted."

Please to accept of the inclosed pamphlet lately received from Great Britain, and believe me to be with great truth and sincerity,

Sir, your most obedient,  
humble servant,  
NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. Gov'r. Trumbull.

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ADDRESS TO THE ONEIDA TRIBE OF INDIANS.  
COLONY OF  
RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, }  
IN NEW ENGLAND, July 1, 1775.

BROTHERS—

The Speech of the Sachems, Warriors and Female Goverlesses of the Oneida Tribe of Indians to the four New

England Provinces, dated the 19th. day of June, 1775, was communicated to me by Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut.

I spread it before the great men of my Government, who were met together in Assembly. They desired me, as their Governor, to send you an answer in their behalf.

You inform us that some of your younger brothers of the New England Indians among you are coming hither upon a visit to their friends, and to remove some parts of their families who were left behind. *By this Belt* (which Governor Trumbull will send) we enlarge the road that you have opened, clear it of every obstruction, make it smooth and easy, and lift your and our friends by the arms, that they may return in peace.

BROTHERS—

You express to us your wonder and the trouble of your minds, at the unhappy differences and great contention between us and Old England. We ourselves are sorry, and lament that there should be an unnatural quarrel between brothers of one blood. We consider it as the worst of calamities. Our forefathers were settled here above one hundred and fifty years ago, and we have constantly lived in peace with Old England until the late dispute. The whole world knows that we have always been as true and faithful subjects of the great King of England as any in his whole dominions, and were ready at all times to sacrifice our lives and estates for his glory and the good of his people. But certain wicked men, who stood before the King, wanting great power and money, gave him evil advice, and deceived him, so that he hath caused laws to be made to take away from us what we had obtained by the sweat of our faces, the profits of our labour, and all the privileges which we used to enjoy. That Old England might enjoy our wealth, the work of our hands, and make slaves of us, they have sent great war ships, and a great army of men, to make us submit to a cruel Government. When our ancestors came into this country they made a strong covenant with the King, whereby they were to enjoy their own Government, Liberties and Estates, but by the persuasion of wicked and deceitful men this covenant hath been broken. Our trade is stopped, and

we are not suffered to catch fish in the sea, because we are not willing to give up all, to be disposed of as may be ordered by some bad men. We were born under the covenant, and it brings tears into our eyes when we think that our children must be slaves unless we fight against those who ought to be brothers.

We cannot give up this good country, our money, and just rights, without wrestling. Blood hath been already spilled on both sides, but we did not begin; and we are determined to defend ourselves against these unnatural outrages against us, hoping and praying that God who is King over all the world, will put a speedy end to our afflictions and contest, and shine bright upon our righteous cause.

BROTHERS—

You signify to us that you, our Indian brethren, cannot intermeddle in this dispute, are unwilling to join on either side, that if the King of England or the Colonies should apply for your aid, you would refuse it, that you declare for peace, and leave it to the white people to settle their own disputes, and that you wish to live in peace with one another and with us. This declaration is greatly pleasing to us, as we therein see your national justice and impartiality. Our minds are now quieted respecting you, for it hath been told us that the King's wicked counsellors intended to apply to our Indian brethren to fall upon us. Your peaceable temper hath endeared you to us, and your present resolutions have brightened the Chain of Friendship and Love. We shall not make application to any of your Indian brethren in New England for assistance, contenting ourselves with living in love and peace with the the virtuous tribes of Indians and natives of this land, and rendering to them, as brethren, every assistance and kind office in our power.

BROTHERS—

We thank you for the Talk you sent to us, and altho' you decline taking any part in the controversy, we hope, from your amicable disposition, we shall have your prayers to Almighty God that he would be pleased to remove our dis-

tresses and disperse the dark clouds. We send our love to the Chief, Warriors, and female Governesses of Oncida.

To the Sachems, Warriors, and female Governesses  
of Oncida.

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TO THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY.

PROVIDENCE, July 7th, 1775.

SIR,—Representations having been made to me, that some of the provisions supplied the Rhode Island army, encamped at Jamaica Plains, have fallen extremely short in weight, and other parts have been greatly damaged, by which means the Colony not only suffers loss, but discontent and uneasiness prevails among the soldiery, which may be productive of very bad consequences. I therefore think it necessary, and do require you, that you re-pack and weigh all kinds of salt provisions, by you purchased for the use of the said army, that you mark the weight of each cask, and the two initial letters of your name upon each barrel; and that you are very careful with respect to the flour and bread, and all other provisions purchased for the use of the said army.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,  
NICH'S COOKE.

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TO BRIGADIER GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, July 8th, 1775.

SIR,—Yours' of the 28th of June, covering the return of our men, came duly to hand; but as I had nothing material to write I have not answered it before. I observed the caution you gave in respect to the choice of officers, and think it was a very good one. I am not a little sensible of the difficulties arising in the camp, from the ungovernable disposition of some

of the officers as well as the privates, and spoke of it publicly in the Assembly when upon the choice of officers. I am in hopes now General Washington is arrived, and the troops of all the provinces seem to be full more immediately under him, that matter will be in some measure remedied. I also remarked what you observed respecting the Dutch, and French, and Spaniards, respecting their trade with us in regard to powder. I am in hopes, by the blessing of God, that some way will be opened to provide a sufficiency of that article for this season. I am in hopes, from the intelligence I received from Brigadier Sullivan, of New Hampshire, one of the continental Congress, that in one year more we shall have the means within ourselves to supply that article for the future. He informed me that Doctor Franklin and Doctor Rush, of Philadelphia, had set up a saltpetre manufactory, in which they had made a small experiment, which turned out far beyond their expectation, and it was expected that if their works turned out as well as it seemed to promise at present, they would be able to make a sufficiency of saltpetre, in one year, to make a sufficient stock of powder to last all America in a war of seven years duration. I have also received yours' of the 4th of July, informing of the arrivals of the Generals Washington and Lee, and am very glad to hear that they were received with such a general satisfaction throughout the whole camp, and pray God that there may be a spirit of harmony and unanimity prevail throughout the camp, which I look upon, under God, will be a great means of disappointing our enemies in their wicked schemes to enslave us. I am very sorry to hear that you have so much reason to complain of the provisions sent to the camp, and am also very sensible that if bad provisions are sent to the camp, it will make a general uneasiness immediately; and for that reason I went immediately, upon the information Mr. Phillips gave me when he was here to the Committee of Safety in this town, and charged them to be very careful of what provisions they sent to camp, and not to send any but what they were certain would bear examining. I have also now sent a letter to each committee man throughout the Colony, upon the subject, a copy of which I have inclosed you, and am in hopes we shall have no

occasion of any further complaints of that nature for the future. We have nothing new to write to you from this quarter, except the Men of War seem determined to break up the trade as much as possible, especially of this town. There are three Men of War and a tender, now in our bay, taking and plundering everything they can light of, except some vessels that belong to Newport, whom they suffer to pass without molestation. And I am sorry I have so much reason to tell you that there is such a strong party at Newport that countenances and joins with them, and gives them all the intelligence and supplies in their power. In short, I think there is great reason to fear they will soon be the strongest party in that town, if some method is not taken to prevent it.

I am, Sir, with great truth,  
Your most humble Servant,  
NICO'S COOKE.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

RHODE ISLAND CAMP, JAMAICA PLAINS, }  
July 17, 1775. }

HONORED SIR,—I received your favor the 8th of this instant, from which I learn that the Tory party gains ground in Newport. May God defeat their wicked councils and scatter their collected force. It is very surprising that the once highly respected town of Newport for liberty, spirit and freedom, should be willing to bow down their necks with base submission to the galling yoke of tyranny. They have stood as high on the list of fame as any people on the continent, but how great must be their fall from universal respect to universal contempt. With shame and confusion they will soon be obliged to crawl into the secret corners of the earth to hide themselves from the face of the sons of freedom, whose hearts must burn and faces glow with just indignation at such base miscreants, that dare attempt the subjugation of the common rights of mankind. Yesterday, a manifesto from the Continental Congress



was published at Cambridge, setting forth the accumulated grievances of all the Continent in general, the Massachusetts Bay in particular, and pronouncing this to be a just and necessary war. It was read with great solemnity, and followed by three cheers that made the heavens and earth ring with the approbation of the camp. The following is an account taken from one John Roulstone, a man esteemed for integrity, that came out of Boston last Thursday. 1500 men killed and wounded and missing, at the engagement on Bunker's Hill; and he further adds, that there were so many that were mortally wounded, he got it from their hospital returns. There are 5550 inhabitants now in Boston. This account was taken some few days past by General Gage. Beef is sold for 1s. 4 per lb., and other fresh meat in proportion. A calf was sold there last week for 20 dollars. James Leod, Master Leech and one Hunt, the Crier, are prisoners in Boston. A press gang impressed one hundred of the inhabitants into the town of Boston last week, but the greater part of them were soon released. The refugees, &c., are taken but little notice of by either party, that will not enter into actual service. A party has entered, their number unknown; they do duty nights to conceal their number; by that they are small. They have considerable stores of salt provisions, consisting principally of pork. Eight ships arrived last week in Boston. They had about 1600 troops on board. Roulstone thinks they have about 9000 troops in Boston now. They keep about half at Bunker Hill and half in town. From information given them from our lines on the Cambridge side, by persons in women's clothes, they have altered the plan of their lines at Bunker Hill. By this, you [see] there are some traitors amongst us. But the troops in Boston are greatly intimidated. The inhabitants are tolerably civilly treated if they say nothing to the soldiers. They are exceedingly abusive and insulting. By a gentleman from New York I learnt last evening that there had three parcels of powder arrived there, the quantity unknown. There is, also, fifty quarter casks of powder arrived at Cape Cod. This gentleman says that great pains are taking to raise a body of Canadians, to bring into the field against us.

I hope your honor will pardon me for not writing you so often as is my duty. The hurry and confusion that I am constantly kept in, leaves me but little time. I shall endeavor to double my diligence for the future. I must trust to your generosity to excuse all incorrectness, as I have not time to write fair copies or amend clerical errors. I wish your honor constant health that you may be able to go through the fatigue of your employment with spirit and resolution. I am with great esteem your honor's most obedient humble servant,

NATH. GREENE.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, July 26th, 1775.

SIR,—Yesterday I had an account that three men-of-war and nine transports had sailed out of Boston; and in the evening I received a note, the copy whereof is inclosed. The great distress they are in at Boston, for fresh provisions, makes it extremely probable they may make some depredations along the coast. I have, therefore, thought it proper to give you the earliest notice that the owners of those islands, and the inhabitants along the coasts may take the necessary precautions for the security of their property. At the same time I must add that the conduct of this Graves in getting into Boston again immediately, renders his intelligence very suspicious as to their destination. But their sailing may be depended on. You will please to make use of this intelligence, under all its circumstances, as you shall judge most conducive to the public good. And, believe me to be

With great truth and regard,

Sir, Your most obedient

Very humble servant,

GO. WASHINGTON.

The Hon. Nicholas Cooke, Esq.,

D. Governor of Rhode Island.

A true Copy.

Witness: HENRY WARD, Sec'ry.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

PROSPECT HILL, August 9th, 1775.

SIR,—I have been so deeply engaged since I removed to this place that I have not had opportunity to write. I must beg your pardon for my long silence, altho' it has resulted from necessity. I have nothing special to communicate from the army. Things continue much in the same situation they have been for a fortnight back, saving a few skirmishes, that are daily kept up between our rifle-men and the regulars. This partisan war cannot amount to any considerable effect. By a letter from Belcher Noyes, out of Boston, we learn that the regular army has it in contemplation to plunder the town of Boston and go off, for he says that money is scarce, provisions bad, and fuel scarce, and that there [is] no harmony among the troops. The inhabitants are now permitted to come out of town by giving in their names to the Town Major, who procures them certificates and passes. Many of the people that come out are real objects of pity; their suffering has been exceeding severe, especially among the poorer sort. Great violence is done to the cause of humanity in that town. It has been very sickly there among the inhabitants, and troops too. Thirty a week are buried, among the troops. They have lost, since the 19th of April, 2500 killed in action, and what have died with sickness. Our troops are now very sickly with the dysentery. There was about a week of exceeding hot weather, and it is thought brought on this distemper, but they are now getting better, and from the change of air and the healthy situation we [are] posted in, I hope we shall recover a perfect state of health very soon. His Excellency General Washington complains bitterly about the supernumerary officers that draw pay. There is most certainly a large number in this province, that have commissions and very few men. I perceive that this practice in this Government has given rise to some disagreeable sentiments with regard to the virtue and justice of their proceedings. His Excellency thinks that where a Government has created more officers than are necessary for the government of

the troops they send, that the supernumerary officers must be paid by the Colonies that appoint them. To remove any unfavorable impressions that might arise among the Southern Colonies, and to retrench every unnecessary expense as well as to render the regiments more perfect and complete, I would propose to the General Assembly to recall all those officers that the Field Officers of each regiment shall not recommend to be continued in service, for I am very confident, from my own observation, and it is daily confirmed by all the Field Officers of the different regiments, that if such a measure was to take place, the troops would be better governed, better provided for, and the battalion rendered infinitely more complete. There are a number of vacancies that the supernumerary officers will fill up to form eight companies to each regiment. This measure, perhaps, may militate with some particular interests, but as we are engaged in an expensive war, the event of which is uncertain, every principle of good policy calls for frugality and good economy. Therefore, as this measure will promote so many desirable purposes, I wish it may take place. I proposed this plan to General Washington, and it met his highest approbation, and he expressed a hearty desire for its success, for the honor of the Colony and the good of the service. He has expressed a great deal of satisfaction on the conduct of Government and their troops, and I wish, for the benefit of the Colony, that there may nothing take place, either in the Cabinet or field, that may injure the just claims of our Colony for their equal proportions of whatever the Continental Congress thinks proper, from an estimate of the whole expense, to refund us. I make no doubt but that there will be a strict examination into the different claims of each Colony, and every charge that is not well founded will be rejected. This ought to make us careful how we involve the Colony in any unnecessary expense.

I am well in health, and in great haste, conclude with great esteem your most obedient humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, August 30th, 1775.

SIR,—Your Excellency's letter of the 14th instant is now before me, the contents of which I have duly considered. When it came to hand our small sloop-of-war was out upon the cruise, which I mentioned to your Excellency in a former letter. She hath since returned. The sending her on the enterprize you proposed could not be done, without some new and further powers from the General Assembly, which sat here last week; and the nature of the business was such that I did not think proper to lay it before so large a body. I therefore procured a committee to be appointed to transact all business necessary for the common safety during the recess of the Assembly, particularly with power to employ the two vessels of war in such service as they should think necessary. The committee is summoned to meet this day, before whom I shall lay your letter. At present the undertaking appears to me to be extremely difficult. The most suitable man we have for the purpose is confined to his bed by sickness. We have accounts that a number of vessels have sailed lately from Boston, which, we apprehend, are designed to plunder the stock along the coast. The General Assembly have ordered it all to be removed from all the islands in this Colony excepting Rhode Island. We have now about three hundred men employed in that business. I am requested, by the General Assembly, to apply to you to give directions to the Commissary General that all the stock taken from these islands, that are fit to kill, be taken for the use of the army in preference to any stock which is secure in the country. The drought hath been so severe along the sea coast this summer that there is no possibility of providing for this stock in any other way.

The scarcity of coarse linens hath caused such a demand for tow cloth, for family use, that upon inquiry I find there is scarcely any of that article to be had in the Government at any rate.

The vessel our small sloop was cruising for, arrived on the

28th inst., at Norwich. She hath brought powder, lead, flints and small arms. What quantity of each I am not certain. They are now on their way by land.

This letter waits upon your Excellency by Capt. Joseph Brown, who is an eminent merchant here, a true friend to the liberties of his country, extremely well respected amongst us, and noted for his superior mechanical genius. If he hath anything to propose for the service of the common cause, I have no doubt of your paying attention to it, and giving it the weight it shall appear to you to deserve.

I am, with very great esteem and regard,

Sir, Your Excellency's

Most obedient and most humble serv't,

NICH'S COOKE.

General Washington.

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TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF INSPECTION.

NEWPORT, August 31st, 1775.

SIR,—Sensible of the necessity of mutual efforts, in support of the important and common cause, in which we are indiscriminately embarked; sensible of the studious machinations of our enemies, to defeat us in the noble pursuit; sensible of the real general interest derived from the preserving of the Continental association inviolate; and impressed with a sense of your benevolent intentions, to the common good from your information to us of Mr. Hadwen's misconduct: We, as breathing the same spirit, walking by the same rule, and minding the same thing, as indispensably necessary for the preservation of our political existence, have sent for Mr. Hadwen, and taken the matter under consideration—and upon examination Mr. Hedwen informed us that the pins were imported into Salem before the tenth of December last, and were to have been disposed of in Boston, but from the difficulties of the times they were sent to Nantucket, from whence they were brought into this Colony, and as the pins were bought at a higher advance

than customary, he had sold them at a higher price; that he had therein violated the Association, and proposed to this committee that the pins be returned to this committee and the money shall be refunded—and that he will sell the pins under the direction of this committee at the usual advance, and in future strictly adhere to the association of Honorable Continental Congress: Whereupon it is thought best (if your committee have no objection) that the pins be returned, and sold as proposed, and the money refunded to Mr. Comstock; by which justice will be done the parties, the association repaid, and the duty of each committee reciprocally dispensed.

We expect your answer by the earliest opportunity, and depend on the most seasonable information from us, of every matter that may concern the general interest, as the breast of this committee burns with unremitting ardor in the pursuit of every measure that shall be necessary to facilitate the common success.

We are, Dear Sir, with great esteem,  
yours and the Committee's

friends and humble servants,

By order of the Committee of Inspection,

JOHN COLLINS, Chairman.

To the Chairman and Committee  
of Inspection for Providence.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

S. KINGSTOWN, Sept. 1st, 1775.

SIR,—Yours' of yesterday's date came safe to hand per Ezekiel Burr. In answer, I have no intelligence of more than one man-of-war and four tenders, being near and between here and Block Island. By the best information there is about two hundred of our people got on Block Island. Agreeable to your request, I shall, without any loss of time, forward your orders and advice to the inhabitants of Block Island. And in great hopes the express for Block Island will arrive there this



evening, and am ready and willing to do everything else in my power for our common safety, and am,

Sir, your humble Servant,

JOHN POTTER.

P. S. Must refer you to Mr. Burr for particulars.

The Hon. Nicholas Cooke, Esq.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

CHARLESTOWN, 1st Sept., 1775.

SIR,—I have been obliged to take ye Town's Stocks of powder and ball from Westerly, Charlestown and Hopkintown, to equip ye troops for ye Block Island expedition, and to press 50 fire-arms. Of consequence, we are left in a most defenceless and wretched situation. These are, therefore, to beg your Honor would immediately order that the above towns may be supplied, as numbers of ye inhabitants are much displeas'd with me for taking their powder, ball and arms, at a time when our most inveterate enemies are on every side insulting of us. Capt. Wallace, with three tenders, gave chase in pursuit of two of our transports, with 75 men, who were on their passage to Block Island. The night coming on when they were in ye middle of ye Sound, and about a league distance from ye Rose and tender, gave our troops an opportunity to make their escape. The transports landed their men, and returned to ye harbour ye same night. In ye morning ye ship Rose and her tenders came into ye above harbour, [and] began a heavy fire on ye town, which continued most of the day. The women and children abandoned ye town, in the midst of a severe ruin storm. It is surprising that we had only one man wounded. The tenders stretch'd off and on within 60 yards of ye wharves, and received ye fire of our musketry, from behind ye wharves, stores and rocks. We have reason to believe we kill'd numbers of ye enemy. 300 of Col. Webb's regiment, who were station'd at New London, arriv'd in ye evening with great numbers of ye inhabitants, who behaved with great intrepidity,

and even the women were rather mad than surprised. Ye houses received some damage from ye Rose, but none from ye tenders. Col. Rhodes is on ye Island with 180 troops. Ye remainder will embark in small boats, as we think it most safe, immediately. We have not a sufficient supply of powder for ye Island expedition. Should be glad of a few casks.

Your Humble Serv't,

JOS. STANTON, Jun.

To Hon. Nicholas Cooke, Esq.

P. S. Three vessels of war are now cruising round ye Island. J. S.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, September 2d, 1775.

SIR,—I am favoured with your Excellency's letter of the 31st instant, by Capt. Baylor, who hath purchased the warlike stores imported by Messrs. Clarke & Nightingale. The prices appear to be very high; but, considering the cost, expenses and risk, I believe they are as low as can be reasonably expected.

In the letter I did myself the honor to write you by Mr. Brown, I mentioned the extreme scarcity of tow cloth in the Colony. There is, indeed, none to be purchased. The committee appointed to act during the recess of the General Assembly have given your proposal, for taking the powder from Bermuda, a full consideration, and have come to a resolution to make the attempt. Capt. Abraham Whipple, the Commodore of the two armed vessels in the service of this Colony, who hath been very ill, but is now upon the recovery, hath been consulted, and will undertake the enterprize as soon as his health will permit. He is deemed the most suitable person to conduct it that we have. He requests your Excellency to give him a line under your hand assuring the people of Bermuda that, in case of their assistance, you will recommend it to the Continental Congress, to permit them to fetch provisions for the use of the Island. He does not purpose to make any use of it,

unless he shall find it utterly impracticable to obtain the powder without their assistance.

I am, with much esteem and respect,  
Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

General Washington.

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TO JAMES RHODES, Esq.

PROVIDENCE, Septem'r 8th, 1775.

SIR,—Yours' of the 5th and 6th instant, by Capt. Sprague, are come to hand. In answer I must refer you to the letter I wrote you yesterday, by Capt. Sheffield, by the advice of the committee whom I assembled upon the occasion; and must desire you to conform to the directions therein contained with the utmost expedition. I would add to that letter that many of the people from this County have much business upon their hands, and will suffer greatly by being detained, and therefore recommend it to you to discharge all such upon their requesting it. With regard to the draft you mention, I can only inform you that the General Assembly have given no orders for the payment of any money out of the General Treasury for the expedition you are engaged in, more than the sum you have already received, so that it is not in my power to send you any money. But the further expenses must be left until the meeting of the Assembly, against which I must desire you to collect all the bills, and prepare an account of the whole charges of the expedition.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

James Rhodes, Esq.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

PROSPECT HILL, Sept. 23d, 1775.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favor the 16th of this instant, relative to Mr. Northup's conduct, which, in my opinion was something unaccountable unless we allow he made a sacrifice of the public interest for his own private advantage. Mr. Mowrey has acquainted you before this, of the sale of the cattle and sheep. It was low, but it was the best disposition that could be made. Had they not been hurried down here in the manner they were they might have been sold at a higher rate. I take it extremely hard of Mr. Bowler that his suspicions of my integrity towards his son still lurks about him. I have always taken as much pains to serve Mr. Bowler as any person. He has always commanded my interest and influence, as far as my honor and conscience approved. If he is still dissatisfied, let him come to camp and enquire as critically as he pleases. I have no objection; I am conscious of having discharged my duty to his son. I am sorry to hear of the divisions in the house of Assembly. I am informed it was proposed to recall the troops. Should such a measure as that take place, we are an undone people. I hope the little paltry consideration of private interest obtained through the different channels of committee business will not freeze up the spirit of patriotism in their once warm bosoms. I hear the committee of safety are greatly disgusted at the mode of supplying and paying the Continental army. I love my own government and am strongly attached to its interest, honor, peace and happiness. But, in the present situation of things, we ought [to] divest ourselves of private motives in our public conduct, where they militate with the public good. We have to consider whether the modes established are calculated to promote the general interest better than the former; if they are, than they are warrantable, because it is the whole and not a part that the Congress have to consider. The Southern gentlemen have infinitely more reason to complain than we. They must pay a considerable part of the expense, and are scarcely connected with the army, and from their situation entirely deprived of any emolument from

it. I hope the little Colony of Rhode Island, so highly favored with the blessings of freedom, so nobly distinguished for their patriotism, wont be the first to oppose the measures of the Continental Congress, the united counsel and strength of America. We are but as a drop of a bucket, and unless we adhere to the rest of the Colonies, we shall be swallowed up by the tyrants now gaping with their mouths open ready to devour us. God preserve unity amongst you, and bless your counsels with wisdom and prudence to direct the ship through the rocks and shoals into the Port of Freedom, and bless us with peace and plenty once more, is the prayer of him who is your sincere friend and humble servant.

NATH. GREENE.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, September 29th, 1775.

SIR,—I am to inform you that there are part of two companies of the Rhode Island brigade, consisting of about 74 men, now upon Block Island, who were sent there to secure the stock until it could be removed. If you think proper that these men should be ordered to the camp please to let me know it, and I shall immediately give directions for their marching.

The packet sent out to countermand Capt. Whipple's voyage to Bermuda, cruised until the twenty-seventh, and then returned without being able to see him. I think it probable that Capt Whipple had gained intelligence of the arrival of the packet at New York, and pursued his voyage before the time limited for the expiration of his cruise.

We are informed that six transports with some ships of war are now in the Vineyard Sound, designed, without doubt, to procure another supply of fresh stock.

I am, with great esteem,

Sir, your most obedient and  
Most humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

General Washington.

TO HON. JOHN HANCOCK.

PROVIDENCE, October 6th, 1775.

SIR,—Your favour of the 30th ult., came to hand last evening. The forming of an army to be kept in constant service, is a measure so absolutely necessary that without it we are an undone people. The season is now so far advanced that it appears to me impracticable to raise one any other way than out of the troops posted around Boston. I shall punctually attend upon this important service at Cambridge, at the time appointed; and you may be assured of everything in my power to bring it to an happy issue.

I have the honor to be,

With great esteem and respect,

Sir, your most obedient and

Most humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

P. S. Some transports from Boston have lately arrived at Newport, where they have obtained a small quantity of stock, of two persons who have always been deemed inimical to the country. Such measures have been taken as effectually to prevent their obtaining any more in this Colony.

Honorable John Hancock, Esq.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

SOUTH KINGSTOWN, October 8th, 1775.

SIR,—The Committee of Correspondence of this town received yours of the 5th instant, for which they return you many thanks. This Committee beg leave further to inform you that they have received information, that a vessel, which has been on a whaling voyage, on her returning home anchored near New Shoreham. That soon after she anchored, a man-of-war and two of her tenders appeared in sight of the whaleman, upon which a small boat went from the island to the whaleman and told them they would soon be taken by the man-of-war and her

tenders, if they did not suddenly get out of their way, and advised them to run on a sandy beach on the island, where they thought the whaling vessel might be protected from the man-of-war: That the vessel accordingly run on shore: That the man-of-war and tenders were soon within shot of her, and fired several shots at her: That soon after, a barge, with a number of men on board, went to the vessel on shore and took out of her a number of casks, 'till she was so lightened that the men who went in the barge carried her off: That during the time the enemy was lightening the vessel, the soldiers on the island earnestly desired leave to fire on the enemy and beat them off: That one of their commanders ordered them not to fire, so that no resistance was made. And it is suggested that the enemy might have been easily drove back, and the vessel and a valuable cargo saved. That before and after the whaling vessel was taken, a boat and a number of the inhabitants of the island went on board the man-of-war. It's also suggested, that the soldiers put on the island, are very much alarmed at these proceedings, and afraid they shall fall into the hands of the enemy, if they are not very soon brought from the island, or otherwise relieved. If the report is true, we cant help lamenting their very critical situation. We therefore humbly request, that an immediate enquiry be made relative to the premises, in such manner as you, in your wisdom, may think most conducive for the public safety.

I am, Sir, in behalf of the Committee, with  
Truth and regard,

Your most humble servant,

J. B. PECKHAM, Clerk Committee.

Nich's Cooke, Esq.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

WARWICK, October 10th, 1775. }  
6 o'clock, Evening. }

HONORED SIR,—This moment returned from Prudence Island, and intended to have come myself, but finding myself



much indisposed through fatigue, have sent Lieut. Wickes. By this I inform your honour that, early this morning the inhabitants of said island, with field officers and other gentlemen from Greenwich, held a consultation concerning taking off the stock, and finally concluded that the corn and hay was of as much consequence to them as stock, and desire that it may be all guarded; but your honour must determine that. The troops that was on, this evening, amount to 220, or thereabouts. Those of the militia being chiefly farmers, are exceedingly uneasy, as in their absence their business suffers at home. I pray your honour to take this into your consideration. If forces are to be kept there, let them be minute men, or some that can leave home. I applied to C. Slocum, on Patience, that he would send his cheese off to Providence. He answered that if I would make good all damages and be accountable therefor, I might take it, and stock also. Please to send word concerning that. I shall be desirous of a little spirit and some cider sent on from Providence, if it be agreeable. The piratical fleet lay around Hope Island this day, and I expect have cleared it of everything. I purpose to go on early in the morning, and am, with due obedience, your honour's very humble servant,

JOHN WATERMAN, Coll.

Nicholas Cooke, Esq.

TO GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

PROVIDENCE, Oct. 10th, 1775.

SIR,—I enclose you a letter I have just received by express. It is not in my power to co-operate in the attempt of intercepting the two vessels mentioned in it; our large sloop being now upon a voyage to Bermuda, and the small one unfit for the service. I think it my duty to give you this information, that nothing from me may be expected. I suppose you have letters to the same purport. If not, I would strongly recommend your employing one or both of your vessels upon this impor-

tant expedition, as the Congress are entirely disappointed in their expectations from this Colony.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,  
NICH'S COOKE.

Honorable Jona. Trumbull.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

PROVIDENCE, October 19th, 1775.

SIR,—Here, nothing material has happened since your departure. But it seems there is a party in Newport endeavoring to get the troops re-called off the island, for reasons, in my opinion, not sufficient only for the flattering promises of Capt. Wallace. He promising to let the wood and ferry-boats pass as vessels, and not to rob them of any stock on that island, and that he will not fire on the town without provocation, unless he is hereafter ordered, and then not without fore warning. In consideration of the above promises, he is to have the privilege of fresh meat and beer, &c., for his ships as usual. But his faith and promises have been of so little value to us, in this government, I hope they will not have much weight. It seems to be strongly reported that the majority of that town are against the troops being re-called, and if that be the ease they must be under the necessity of going out also. The Tory party, and Wallace's fleet, will have the entire government of that town, and doubtless take that opportunity to rob all the islands in the bay. They don't pretend to say he promises for only the island of Newport. It seems to be the opinion of the principal inhabitants of this town, that a regiment at least ought to be stationed there, not only for the protection of the stock, but the friends of liberty also, which they hitherto scarcely dare show their sentiments.

Wallace is much nettled at what force is there at present. His connections are supposed to be the movers of the Town Council, and those concerned in this application, as we are in-

formed. We see, Sir, no reasons that this government is so much more involved in expense than any other government on the Continent in proportion to its value. This government, without dispute, is more exposed than any other, and why should we be obliged to furnish our full proportion of men, with the other Colonies, and then be obliged to keep a strong guard to defend our coast and ports also, which is more than the other Colonies are obliged to, all on account of the grand cause in preventing the navy and army from supplies, &c. This time, Sir, seems to be a good opportunity to urge the necessity of a part of our proportion of troops, to be stationed on Rhode Island. As the army is now under consideration to be regulated for the winter season, we doubt not your influence with General Washington, and the other gentlemen members of the Congress, with the reasons, will be a sufficient conviction of the justness thereof. On that establishment, our regiments will easily be filled up, especially to be stationed on the island.

I remain, Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

AMBROSE PAGE.

P. S. Your message to Capt. Manual G. Hopkins has been urged agreeable to your request, but Hopkins declines to go to Philadelphia. So matters rest until your honour returns.

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TO ESEK HOPKINS, Esq.

CAMBRIDGE, October 21st, 1775.

SIR,—Messrs. S. Dyre, J. Jepson, and J. Malbone, have waited upon me with a Memorial from the Town Council of Newport, setting forth the deep distresses of that town, and pressing in the strongest terms for the removal of the troops. I laid the application before the Committee of the Continental Congress, now sitting here, who unanimously gave their advice that the inhabitants should supply Wallace with beer and fresh provisions for the use of the ships, as usual, upon his complying with the terms offered on his part; and that the troops should be kept out of the town of Newport. They were, also,

unanimously of opinion that the troops should remain on the island. I accordingly recommend to you to keep the troops out of the town so long as Wallace shall keep his promise, and make no attempt upon it. As the inhabitants are under the greatest anxiety, I submit it to your judgment whether or not it will be consistent with the service and prudent to remove the troops to a further distance from the town. If it can be done with safety, I recommend it in order to quiet the minds of the people.

An express came to General Washington, yesterday, from Portsmouth, with advice that a naval force from Boston had appeared off Falmouth, Casco Bay, and demanded of the inhabitants the surrender of their arms and hostages for their future good behaviour. He offered, upon their delivering up part of their arms the same evening, to allow them to the next day to consider of the demands. They accordingly delivered him eight muskets. The next day a very heavy firing was heard upon Falmouth. The commander of the fleet showed his orders to the committee, which were to destroy the town, and Portsmouth, in case they should refuse to comply with the demand. To me it appears highly probable that Newport and the other sea-port towns, may soon expect a similar treatment.

A gentleman from Philadelphia came here yesterday. I have not yet got the particulars of the news he brings. In general, I am informed that they have news at Philadelphia to the 25th of August; that the petition of the Continental Congress had been presented to the King, and rejected with contempt; and that the six regiments at Gibraltar were coming to America immediately, and were to be replaced by Hanoverians.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(No SIG.)

To Esek Hopkins, Esq.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, October 25th, 1775.

SIR,—Capt. Whipple returned here from his voyage to Bermuda, on Friday last. He had received authentic intelligence

of the arrival of the packet at New York before the first time limited for his cruise was expired, and immediately sailed for Bermuda. He had light flattering winds for several days, and when near the island met with a violent gale, which drove him three or four degrees to the southward, which occasioned his having a long passage. He put in at the west end of the island where the inhabitants, taking him to be an armed vessel belonging to the King, were thrown into the utmost confusion, and the women and children fled into the country. But upon showing them his commission and instructions, were satisfied and treated him with great cordiality and friendship. They informed him that upon the powder being removed, the Governor had given General Gage an account of the part they had taken in the transaction, who had dispatched a sloop-of-war and a transport of 600 tons, to take all the provisions sent to the Island. They then lay at Georgetown, and treated the islanders as rebels. Capt. Whipple had five of the King's Council on board his sloop, who all assured him that the inhabitants were friends to the American cause, and heartily disposed to serve it. As the assistance they gave in the removal of the powder hath made them obnoxious to the enemy, and reduced them to a disagreeable situation, I think they ought to be treated with every mark of friendship. I submit to your Excellency the propriety of your representing their case to the Continental Congress, and recommending them to favour.— We are fitting out Capt Whipple for a cruise to the eastward with all possible expedition, which I hope will prove more fortunate than his last. I am, with acknowledgement for the polite treatment I received from you at Cambridge, and with great respect,

Sir, Your humble and

Most obedient servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

General Washington.

P. S. I enclose your address to the inhabitants of Bermuda.

TO CAPT. ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 12th, 1775.

SIR,—At the request of the committee, appointed to act during the recess of the General Assembly, I give you the following orders and instructions: You are, with the sloop *Katy*, and the officers and men to her belonging under your command, to embrace the first suitable time, and proceed with said sloop on a cruise against the enemies of the United Colonies. You are to cruise with the said sloop between Nantucket Shoals and Halifax for so long a time as you shall think proper, not exceeding six weeks. You are to take all vessels with soldiers, arms, ammunition, provisions, naval or warlike or other stores for the supply of the Ministerial army and navy now acting in America against the United Colonies. And for your encouragement and that of your officers and men, the Honorable the Continental Congress have ordered that one half of the prizes you shall take shall be divided among you according to the value thereof, over and above your wages. You are also to retake all such vessels as shall have been taken by the enemy, and in their possession. And such prizes as you shall take, you will send into this or the first safe port, in doing which you will use your utmost judgment and prudence. I wish you a successful cruise, and am,

Sir, your humble servant,

NICHOLAS COOKE, Governor.

To Capt. Abraham Whipple, Commander  
of the sloop *Katy*, in the service of the  
Colony of Rhode Island.

PAWTUCKET HARBOR, Nov. 12th, 1775.

I acknowledge the above to be a true copy of the orders I have received from the Hon. Nicholas Cooke, Esq., Governor of the Colony of Rhode Island, and which I oblige myself to follow.

P. S. There are several sloops and schooners cruising upon

the same service. Should you meet with any vessels and being desirous of knowing whether they are upon the same service, the signal agreed upon is, you are to hoist your Ensign upon the topping-lift.

NICH'S COOKE.

I acknowledge the above postscript to be a part of my orders.

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ORDER TO COMMANDER ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.

By the Honorable Nicholas Cooke, Esq., Governor, Captain General and Commander-in-Chief of and over the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England, in America, To Abraham Whipple, Commander of the sloop Katy, in the service of the Colony aforesaid, Greeting :

At the request of the committee appointed to act during the recess of the General Assembly, you are hereby directed to take on board the said sloop Katy the seamen engaged by Brigadier General Hopkins, in the Continental service, and with them and the officers and men to the sloop belonging, you are to proceed immediately to Philadelphia. If the Honorable Continental Congress are equipping a naval force to act against the enemy upon the coast of New England, that will sail soon, you are to remain there in order to sail with and assist such fleet in their operations upon the said coast; and in that case you are to obey the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the said fleet during his expedition upon the said coast. But if the fleet of the United Colonies is destined for any other part of America, you are to apply yourself to the Honorable Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward, Esqs., Nathaniel Mumford, Thomas Greene and Gideon Mumford, Esqs., all of this Colony, whom you will find at Philadelphia, who will furnish you with a cargo of flour upon account of the Colony, which you are to lade on board the said sloop, and return therewith immediately to this place; and for your so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Given under my hand and seal at Providence, this twenty-

2th, 1775.

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first day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five.

NICH'S COOKE.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 21st, 1775.

I acknowledge the above and afore written to be a true copy of my orders from his Honor the Governor, which I promise to observe and follow.

ABRAHAM WHIPPLE.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

HEAD QUARTERS, MIDDLETOWN, }  
November 22d, 1775. }

SIR,—I this day sent a billet to the several Captains and their officers, that were appointed by the General Assembly within my district, to enlist men into the Colony's service, that I was ready to pay the men, that they had already enlisted, their month's advance wages, &c. The officers met me, and insisted on my delivering them the cash to enlist and pay their men themselves. You are, Sir, sensible, as the present vote of the Assembly stands, the Committee of Safety in their several districts, are appointed as Muster Masters, and to pay the officers and soldiers, and as I have been obliged to give bond with surety for the faithful discharge of my trust, could not, in safety to myself, or in compliance with the act of Assembly, pay out the money to the officers to pay their men without further discretionary orders. If you should think it expedient and for the good of the Colony I should deliver out the money to the officers to pay their men themselves, upon receiving your commands so to do, shall instantly obey them. I would observe there seems to arise a great uneasiness with the officers that they may not be entrusted with a sufficient sum to pay their men's month's advance, likewise great complaint they, (nor indeed myself), are not furnished with a copy of the Act for raising the men, nor the vote of the Assembly limiting the

time each officer is allowed to raise his quota of men in, as also the vote for supplying and paying the troops now raising for the defence of the Colony. I have not had one well day since I left Providence, or should have done myself the pleasure of waiting on you before now. I observe the Grand Committee is advertised to meet at the Court House, in Providence, on Tuesday next. If you think it absolutely necessary I should give my attendance at that time, I will endeavor so to do if health will permit. If I could be excused without detriment to the public safety, should be glad, as I am much indisposed in health. My compliments to your worthy family, and remain,

With great esteem and regard,  
 Your Honor's most obedient humble servant,  
 METCALF BOWLER.

To the Hon. Nicholas Cooke, Esq.

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TO HON. WILLIAM BRADFORD.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 26th, 1775.

SIR,—I have just received yours of this day, and observe the contents. I think the intelligence of the destination of a number of troops for Rhode Island is not sufficiently to be depended upon to cause us to send a body of men upon the island which will be attended with very great expense. However, I recommend to you to give notice of the intelligence to the Colonels of the regiments of militia in the Counties of Newport and Bristol, and to the Captain of the Minute Men in the latter, that they, with their officers and soldiers, may be in the greatest readiness to go upon the island immediately when called. If you should receive further information I desire you to let me know it as soon as possible, and am, with great esteem and regard,

Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,  
 NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. Wm. Bradford, Esq.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 2d, 1775.

SIR,—We wrote you a few days since, and acquainted you that we were to wait on the Committee of Claims the next morning. We did so, and on opening the accounts there immediately arose a doubt whether any allowance should be made us for the arms which were charged, and also for the bourty, and whether any allowance be made for removing the stock from the islands, all which they concluded must be laid before Congress, which is not yet done. We have attended every day. Gov. Ward, to whom we applied about this matter, tells us it cannot be brought on till Monday next, so that we have spent one whole week here and done nothing. As Capt. Whipple is not yet arrived, we can say nothing respecting his being taken into Continental service. General Heppner this morning, desired us to acquaint you that 'tis yet a matter of doubt whether he engages in the service here or not. He seems to think the encouragement given to the seamen so small that a sufficient number cannot be raised in time to do anything to purpose this season, and that if he does not engage in this service, he will set out for home as soon as his son and young Mr. Jenckes are well of the small pox. They were inoculated last Wednesday, and are still about the streets. We wish we could acquaint your honor of the time when we shall set out, but that period we fear is yet at some distance. We shall, however, do all in our power to expedite the business we came upon.

We are your Honor's

Most obedient, humble servant

NATH'L MUMFORD.

THO. GREEN.

GIDEON MUMFORD.

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 TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 11th, 1775.

SIR,—I do myself the honor to address this letter to you by Mr. Prenet and another French gentleman, who arrived here

last night in Capt. Rhodes's [vessel] from Cape Francois, who was dispatched some time since, from this place, for powder. Mr. Prenet comes extremely well recommended to our Committee for providing powder, from a merchant of character at the Cape. He hath proposals to make for supplying the United Colonies with arms and warlike stores. I am informed that the other gentleman is a person of some consequence. I beg leave to introduce them to your Excellency, and to assure you that I am, with great respect,

Sir, Your most obedient, humble servant,

[NICHOLAS COOKE.]

Generals Washington.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

CAMBRIDGE, Dec. 14th, 1775.

SIR,—Your favor of the 11th inst. was handed me by the two French gentlemen, Messrs. Prenet and Pliance, for which I am exceedingly obliged to you. I have heard their proposals and plans for supplying the continent with arms and ammunition, which appear plausible, and to promise success. But not thinking myself authorised to enter into any contract respecting the same, and being not fully acquainted with the measures Congress have adopted for procuring these articles, I have prevailed upon them to go to Philadelphia, and recommended them, and a consideration of their plan, to that body, when the matter will be finally agreed upon, or rejected. I must request the favor of you to furnish every necessary for accommodating them, and carriages, with all expedition, as far as Governor Trumbull's. They are to travel at the Continental expense; and whatever charge you may be at on their account, you will be pleased to transmit to me, and it shall be immediately reimbursed.

Yours, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

To Governor Cooke, Rhode Island.

TO THE SHERIFF OF HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 13th, 1775.

SIR—I send you, by the advice of His Excellency General Washington, Mr. Stanhope, late a Lieutenant on board the Glasgow, and Mr. Robinson, late a Midshipman on board the Asia, who are not to leave North Hampton until they are properly discharged. They go under the care of Capt. Dunn, and of my son Nicholas Cooke, jun. I enclose you a promise signed by each of them. Mr. Stanhope is a gentleman of rank, being nephew to Lord Stanhope, and to the Duke of Chandois. The other, I am informed, is a person of a pretty good family in England.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

To the Sheriff of the County of Hampshire,  
or to the proper officers having the care of  
the prisoners in North Hampton,

## MEMORANDA.

CHELSEA, Dec. 16th, 1775.

Last evening eight men came in a boat, from Boston, to our guard, at the ferry. They say that one regiment of foot and three companies of light horse were to sail for Halifax this day, and that the troops were putting water on board the transports.

DORCHESTER, Dec. 16th, 1775.

This morning, eight large and two small vessels, taken for tenders, sailed out of Boston harbour; by their firing they appeared to be going a voyage at sea. Mr. Joshua Pico came out of Boston last night, and informs that a regiment of foot and some companies of light horse were preparing to embark for Halifax.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

HONORED SIR,—I would just give you a brief account of our present situation as to our troops, their numbers, how disposed, and what deficiencies there are with regard to their being furnished. Capt. Gardiner, yesterday, made his return of 41 men; 24 of which were only equipped for service; the deficiency was blankets. Capt. Wanton only 36 men equipped, the rest not provided with blankets, both of which companies have been sent on Conanicut under the command of the Lieut. Colonel. There being but one commissioned officer (viz. Rogers) out of both companies prepared to go with them, Capt. Gardiner and his officers not having had their commissions, did not think proper to send them on, but let them have a chance to complete their company. Capt. Wanton, as I understand, is about to resign his commission; his Lieutenant sick. Capt. Troope has returned 33 men. The rest are on Conanicut, whom I have ordered off, together with all the troops there belonging to the regiment, on the arrival of the Lieut. Colonel. Capt. Peirce, on Prudence, with between 40 and 50 men, but no exact return. As to Capt. Wells, I have heard nothin about. His Lieutenant, I understand, is on Conanicut, with about 20 men. Capt. Manchester is here with his full compliment of men, well equipped. Capt. Barton has 52 men equipped with arms, but very deficient in blankets (about 30 wanting). Capt. Wescot, with 23 men, the most of which are destitute of blankets; his Lieutenant, with about 20 men, is on Conanicut, but no proper return of them. As to the Artillery company, they have made a return of 53 men, 18 of which (those from Providence) are at Howland's Ferry; the rest (from Newport), refuse to take their station at head quarters, for the want of blankets and other camp equippage. Thus your Honour may see in what a situation we are in, a very great deficiency of blankets, the weather extremely cold, and what adds to our distress, destitute of wood. We began our intended fortification last Tuesday, and persevered until driven off by the inclemency of the weather. However, we hope soon to resume our work, and

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would again remind you of the shovels and spades, mentioned in a former memorandum. Without doubt, you have heard that the ship *Swan*, the bomb brig and several tenders, have been up to Gould Island a wooding; having got their supply have fell down into the harbor.

As there are likely to be several vacant offices in the regiment, I would recommend Edmund Arro Smith, of Providence, as a man well qualified for an Ensign or a Lieutenant, he having taken much pains to qualify himself for service.—Would again remind your Honour of the whale boats, which may be of great consequence.

Have nothing further to add,  
only that I have the happiness to be  
at your Honour's command,

WILLIAM RICHMOND.

Head Quarters, 22d Dec., 1775.

The Hon. Nicholas Cooke, Esq.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

ST. PIERRE, Jan. 30th, 1776.

*Hon. Nicholas Cooke, Esq.,*

*Governor of the Colony of Rhode Island:*

SIR,—I have had the pleasure to see your son-in-law, Mr. Paul Allen, and to purchase some articles of his cargo, and to procure him many articles that he wanted before his departure. I [torn] him to advise you of the prospect we have for warlike provisions next month. I inform you that we are expecting to have, in February next, 60,000 lbs. of gun powder, a few arms, and a little salt petre. Likewise, that we sent letters to Old France, advising the Europeans that war will continue in America, and that this year requires a great deal of ammunition, so I expect that in the months of May and June they will be very plenty here; likewise of the receptions your vessels may have in our ports. I have given to several Captains that was bound from this to Old France, [the] memorial left me by

Mr. Paul Allen, concerning the most desirous goods for America, which were as follows, viz. : woolen cloths, coarse linen, iron works, drugs, locks for muskets, gun powder, salt petre, sulphur, fire-arms. I have informed them of the goods the Continent may send here to retail, which were, viz. : beaver, Virginia tobacco, pot ashes, Carolina indigo. These articles are furnished at home by Old England. We must acknowledge that these articles are brought here by New England vessels, and from hence to Old France by French vessels. If it is possible that we can obtain these things that we are striving to obtain for ye, it is certain that ye will have a sum in them, which I hope will hold ye for a considerable time. It is very easy to come into the ports of Martinico. 14 English men-of-war could not hinder us to receive provisions last war. 20 English vessels cruising about [torn] cannot hinder New England vessels to come in. All your Continental vessels will [obliterated] protection here. There is a sloop arrived here this day, commanded by Capt. Conway Collins, from Alexandria, in Virginia, laden with flour, for which I have wrote a petition, mentioning he was pursued so closely by an English man-of-war that he was obliged to make in here, depending upon our generosity and kindness, and begged leave to come to anchor under our protection, which was granted, though his cargo was a great obstacle against it. So, I am in hopes that every other New England vessel that comes here and says the same, will be permitted on that account only.

Being informed by your son-in-law of the necessities of America, I discoursed with our Intendant for a considerable time this day, which was, if it was possible, to receive articles usually exported from America to Old England, that we could provide America with a large quantity of goods manufactured in Old France, upon which he seemed to be very agreeable and greatly disposed to do all that lies in his power, to have that trade to Martinico. He asked me for a memorial of the goods wanting in America ; likewise of the goods they could exchange with us. I'll tell him and give him my advice relating to the establishment of trade here, which I think may be very beneficial to the Continental and French vessels. The lack of trade



has prevented, until this time, to export the tobacco which is the best [torn] to Old France. The reason of that is, because the tobacco trade belongs to General Farmers. They found an easier method in Old France, to prevent contrabanding upon it, by having it by the way of Old England, rather than by French vessels. But now, if the General Farmers cannot be provided in Old France with Virginia tobacco, they will be obliged to find some way to have it. By the best computation, they consume in France 4,000,000 lbs. of Virginia tobacco throughout the year, so if they do not get this article by the way of Old England, they will certainly subscribe to have it by the way of Martinico, where this article may be transported by Continental vessels. I insisted very much upon that article, because it is an article whereby ye may have all goods wanting manufactured in Old France, and very good remittances usually. I do not know well what quantity of pot ashes they'll want in Old France, but if this article is generally wanting in Old France I am sure that you will obtain as good a price for it in Old France as in Old England. They are in great want of beaver in Old France for their hats, for we generally consume a great quantity of it throughout the year. I am certain that if ye would send it to a French market ye would obtain more for it than in an English market. The want of indigo, made so much in Carolina and [obliterated] I am certain ye'll gain as much by it in Old France as Old England is able to afford, and that with a great welcome. The above goods are the principal goods by which ye may [obliterated] wanting to ye, viz.; flour, spermaceti candles, oil, pork, beef, staves, boards and shingles, which are the chiefest articles we consume here. [obliterated] as this island can never produce a large sum of money, if ye put all hopes in these articles, they will be so plenty here that their produce will be but very little, as for example we have been supplied with so much spermaceti candles, [torn] more than we can make use of this year. So it is very necessary that ye may [torn] confidence in some other valuable goods besides these, for too much of one [torn] nothing. In this very moment we are receiving, by two vessels, corn [torn] 10,000 lbs. of gun-powder, which will depart directly

for a Continental army [torn] by hand for a vessel departing to-morrow.

You may assure your countrymen that they will find good protection in all the ports of Martinico, that they will come in by saying that they were pursued by an English [torn]. Give [torn] friends letters for me and I promise you to introduce them, and procure them what they will [torn].

If you have any secrets to be let known to our Government address them to me, and be certain of your [torn]. I think it proper to let you know that the French General of Hispaniola, Le Conte Dumry, is a great friend to the Americans. He is a man of great credit in the Court of France. You may address him all you mind. I hope you'll obtain, by this way, better than any other, that your Continental produce be received in Hispaniola, and shipped home by French vessels.

I hope to send you by the next opportunity a copy of the memorial, that I'll address the French Minister, along with the warlike provisions that [obliterated] providing.

Be so good as to communicate my letter to my good friend, Abraham Whipple, and tell him that nobody served the Americans yet with so much zeal and affection as I.

I hope to be always the friend and defender of Liberty, and he may be certain that this will be exactly fulfilled.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,  
and devoted friend of America,

PETER BEGORRAT.

10th of February.

SIR,—I take this opportunity to acquaint you, Capt. Samuel Soule is arrived. His vessel anchored safe in our harbour. I have purchased his tobacco, his flour, his staves and shaken hogsheads. The other articles will be sent away from here for neutral States, because they are prohibited, but I am in hopes every article will be sold before his departure from hence.

We expect now a vessel departed from France on the last day of Xber, with 20 thousand pounds of gun-powder, and many other articles you are in demand. May be certain, gen-

lemen, that all articles you want will be send to you by Capt. Soule.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

P. BEGORRAT.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

PROVIDENCE, January 30th, 1776.

SIR,—I am favoured with yours of the 5th instant. Last Saturday the powder from Bedford arrived here. It is stored, and waits for your further orders.

I shall be obliged to you for communicating to me any intelligence you may receive from Capada. We have not as yet had any of the particulars of the unfortunate attack ; nor do we know whether Col. Greene, with the brave men under him, were made prisoners or not. I shall also be extremely glad to know what reinforcements are sent forward.

I am with great truth and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(No. SIG.)

Hon. Governor Trumbull.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

PROVIDENCE, February 23d, 1776.

SIR,—This letter waits upon you by Mr. Christopher Greene, one of the company of Nathaniel Greene and Company, who have permission from the Honorable Continental Congress, to export the produce of the Colonies in order to purchase powder and other warlike stores.

As this Colony cannot furnish the necessary cargoes they purpose to fit out their vessels from the Colony of Connecticut, and as the object they have in view is very important, I beg

the favour of your Honor to give them all proper encouragement and assistance, which will also oblige,

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(No Sig.)

P. S. I am informed by Mr. Greene that he was about contracting for some beef and pork in Connecticut, which are articles exceedingly wanted in this Colony, and which I desire you to permit him to import.

Honorable Governor Trumbull.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, March 18th, 1776.

SIR,—I am favoured with yours of the 8th and 14th instant, to which I have paid the greatest attention. The several regiments of militia are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march, in case the enemy should land in this Colony, and the General Assembly is called to meet this day. As a part of the army in Boston supposing them to be destined to the southward, might with but little loss of time land upon and destroy Rhode Island, and cut off the troops there, without some effectual measures are taken to oppose them, I thought these steps which were all it was in my power to take, necessary. I also beg leave to suggest to your Excellency the propriety of ordering a part of the forces designed for New York to march through this Colony. The route will not be much further, and they will be at hand to repel any attack of the enemy.

I shall give your Excellency the earliest intelligence of every motion of the enemy that shall come to my knowledge.

I am, with great truth and esteem,

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

[NICHOLAS COOKE.]

His Excellency General Washington.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

PROVIDENCE, 19th of the 3d month, 1776.

MAY IT PLEASE THE GOVERNOR :

On coming to town, this morning, I was unexpectedly informed thou declined a cask of nails should go to Nantucket. I have only to inform thee, that I spoke for these nails to be made last fall or fore part of winter for a friend of mine in Nantucket, for his own use, who then could have got English nails, but as a friend was setting up the nailing business, and it would be an encouragement to him, he chose our own manufactory. I advanced a sum in iron to the same person, which these nails are to pay in part for. The iron, after carrying to Milton, (the man having two journeys) was taken for the Continental use which we could not complain of. Since then, other iron has been split in Norton, of which these nails are made. Now what I have to say in the matter further is, that I think, if these are stopt for our use here, the money ought to be paid for them. They cost me to fifty dollars; but as it will be a disappointment to those they were for, and nails such as these, I believe, are to be got here, viz., 10d. and 20d, I hope that devoted island may be no longer singled out, and especially by the Governor who hath hitherto appeared to act the just part by them as well as others. If these nails are wanted for any publick use, and money is paid for them, I shall then have some reason to assign my friend. A few lines by way of permit will be kindly received by me.

I am, with respect,

thy assured friend,

MOSES BROWN.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

NEWPORT, March 29th, 1776.

SIR,—Mr. George Irish informed me yesterday morning that Col. Babcock, notwithstanding the act of the General Assembly,

had quartered part of two companies at his house, and desired my advice and assistance about the removal of them. I told him that it would be best to use soft methods first, and that if they would not avail, then to take the course which the law prescribes in case of forcible entry and detainer. That I would wait upon Col. Richmond and Lieut. Col. Lippitt, and know whether they had advised to his placing any troops at Mr. Irish's house, and then would talk with Col. Babcock on the matter. Accordingly I first [saw] Lt. Col. Lippitt, and talked with him. He told me that he had not advised him to that step; but on the contrary had told him, when he was about to put one of the companies in Irish's house, that he understood that there was an act of government which would render his placing troops in that house unjustifiable; and that he did this without Col. Babcock's consulting him about it. I told him that I should be glad if he would talk with Col. Babcock, and endeavour to procure a removal of the troops. He told me that he would. I waited upon Col. Richmond, and desired to know of him, and Major Olney who was present, whether they or either of them had been consulted upon and advised to the quartering of the troops, above mentioned, at Irish's house. They said no, and Col. Richmond added, that upon Mr. Irish's sending him a copy of the act that he had removed the company from thence which had been placed there by Col. Babcock. Col. Lippitt was also at Col. Richmond's room, and upon reading the copy of the act, he and all the other gentlemen agreed that Col. Babcock had gone contrary to the act of government, and that no troops ought to be quartered at Mr. Irish's, especially without their being first consulted and giving their advice thereto. I went then to Mr. Irish's and found that the troops had taken possession of all the lower part of his house, excepting a little bed-room, and that they had also taken possession of one of the chambers. That the Captain of one of the companies had entered the house with great violence, had forced the entry door, and burst the lock off the parlour door. That, previous to his forcing the house and afterwards, Mr. Irish demanded of him whether he had any written orders for entering his house and from whom. He said he had no written

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orders but verbal orders from Col. Babcock, and behaved with great rudeness.

When I saw the situation of Mr. Irish's family, his wife very infirm with a sick child at her breast, several others of the children sick, heard the insults and abuses she had received, and found a large family cooped up against law in a narrow bed-room, I could not wonder that Mr. Irish complained of such violent illegal treatment, and determined, if it were in my power, to procure a removal of the troops. In the evening I went with Mr. Irish to Col. Babcock's room, where was Col. Lippitt, and endeavored by telling Col. Babcock of the illegality and cruelty of the measure to induce him to remove them. But all would not avail. He said that he was not obliged to take notice of any acts of government unless they came to him thro' a proper channel, at the same time acknowledging that he knew the act, and that he should apply to the Assembly to empower justices of the peace to quarter troops, agreeable to the practice in England, and that was all I could get from him. Lt. Col. Lippitt backed me, but it was in vain. Col. Babcock, as I am informed, returned [torn] quarters last Monday evening, and Tuesday only intervened before he [torn] one of the companies into Irish's house, and Col. Richmond observed in [torn] that there was sufficient room for them where they were quartered [torn] their removal. I gave myself the trouble of waiting upon Col. Bab[cock and] the other gentlemen officers whose names I have mentioned, hoping that [in making] any further application I should be able to answer my purpose, but finding that measure ineffectual, and considering that applying to two Justices of the Peace in Middletown, having a jury of 24 men empannelled upon this occasion, and the Sheriff with a posse of the County, and perhaps the military, if their aid should be wanted and given, entering the house and expelling those military intruders might excite great clamour and disturbance, I told Mr. Irish that I thought it advisable first to write to your Honour, and that I would undertake the task, not doubting but that your Honour would write immediately to Col. Babcock and order him to remove the troops from Mr. Irish's, which he hath placed there without consulting the field

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officer of the brigade, and against law. The sooner those troops are removed the sooner the cause of Mr. Irish's unhappiness will be removed. As I have no other view in this application but the peace and happiness of individuals, and of the army, your Honour, I am sure will pardon my giving you this trouble.

I am, with great respect,

Your Honour's most obedient

humble servant,

WILLIAM ELLERY.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

LEBANON, 3d April, 1776.

SIR,—Last evening I received your esteemed favour of the 2d instant. We are, it seems, as uncertain as ever where the ministerial troops will take post or attack next. Am obliged by your care to give me information as appearances turn up.

The British arms are tarnished by the shameful and ignominious retreat of our enemies from Boston—by the damages done there—by profaning the houses dedicated to divine worship and service—by the cruel treatment of the persons who have unhappily fallen into their hands—they have lost their honour—indeed, none could be maintained or gained in so wicked and scandalous a cause. General Washington's success will give Europe a just idea of our martial abilities, and resolution to defend our rights and liberties. It will confirm our Indian allies in their peaceable disposition, and establish such as are wavering.

I have paid Mr. Carlike the billet of expense for the storage, &c., of powder.

I am, with truth and sincerity, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Hon. Governor Cooke.



TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, April 4th, 1776.

SIR,—General Greene having informed me that your Excellency proposed to set out for Providence this day, I do myself the honour to acquaint that a house is prepared for you and your lady, for Mr. Custis and his lady, for General Gates and your whole suite.

Were it possible to have made it so agreeable to your Excellency, it would have given me the highest pleasure to have entertained you at my house.

The several companies of Cadets, of Grenadiers, and Light Infantry, will escort your Excellency into the town. They propose to meet you about a mile from the Court House.

If an indisposition which hath confined me several days, will permit me, I shall wait upon and conduct you to your quarters.

I am, Sir,  
Your Excellency's, &c.

General Washington.

## COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND, &amp;c.

To John Grimes, Commodore of the two Row Gallies in the service of the Colony of Rhode Island :

You are hereby directed to proceed with the said row-gallies to the harbour of Newport, and to make that your station, if it can be done with safety. You are to get up the anchors and cables left by two of the enemy's ships, and in case you cannot be immediately serviceable there, you are to bring them up here. You are also directed to exert the whole force of the vessels under your command to annoy, take and destroy the enemy's ships, and protect and secure the property of the inhabitants of the United Colonies. And upon the appearance of an opportunity of attacking the enemy to advantage, you are to apply to the commanding officer of the Colony [for] troops on Rhode Island to assist you with men and so forth.

Given under my hand at Providence, }  
this ninth day of April, A. D., 1776. }

NICH'S COOKE, Governor.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

HEAD QUARTERS, 11th April, 1776.

HONORED SIR,—Although this comes by an Express sent by the town of Newport, we would inform you that it is our real desire to continue the fortifying of said town, Provided we could have it carried on in a steady manner, as there never has been such a prospect for the saving the town as there is at present, would beg your Honor to forward all the warlike stores as soon as an opportunity offers.

We are your Honor's

very humble servants,

WILLIAM RICHMOND, Col.

CALEB GARDNER, Major.

To the Hon. N. Cooke, Esq.

TO GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

SIR,—The particular situation of this State renders it extremely difficult to raise the two Continental battalions ordered as our proportion. We are not at liberty to enlist men from the neighboring States. Embargoes upon privateering have been laid in order to facilitate the recruiting service. Nevertheless, many of the inhabitants of this State have lately gone to yours to enter on board armed vessels, either private property or belonging to the State.

The General Assembly, therefore, do most earnestly entreat your Honor to take effectual measures to prevent the officers of such vessels in your State from receiving on board any such inhabitants until the battalion aforesaid be completed, and that those already entered be immediately ordered back.

I am, Sir, &c.

(No Sig.)

Governor Trumbull.

April 20<sup>th</sup> 1776.

*To the House of Magistrates.*

RESOLVED, That his Honor the Governor be requested im-

mediately to send a letter to the Governor of Connecticut similar to the above.

Voted and passed.

Per order,

J. LYNDON, Clerk.

April 20th, 1776.

In the Upper House. Read and concurred.

By order,

R. J. HELME, D. Sec'y.

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TO GOVERNOR HOPKINS.

PROVIDENCE, April 23d, 1776.

SIR,—When General Washington passed through this town, he gave me great encouragement that he would use his influence with Congress to take our brigade into Pay. He and General Gates seemed to have one objection almost insuperable, that was Col. Babcock's continuing to command the troops, who would from his having sustained a Colonel's commission in 1758, take rank of every Colonel in the army.

This objection is removed, as Col. Babcock's conduct hath put his insanity beyond a doubt. He is now under an arrest, and will most certainly, in case he does not resign, be dismissed. I have this day written to General Washington, and urged him to recommend the measure to Congress, which I am confident he will do. I therefore desire you to present our Memorial and to press it with your whole force. The necessity of it is incontestible, for we have already incurred a debt of near an hundred thousand pounds, and are at the monthly expense of near six thousand pounds, both exclusive of our quota of the Continental expense. So that, unless the brigade be put upon

the Continental establishment, it must be disbanded, and the defence of the Colony given up.

You will find in my letter, of Jan. 21st., the memorial copies of the act forming the brigade, &c.

I am, with very great esteem and regard,

Sir, your most humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. Governor Hopkins.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

PORTSMOUTH, N. C., May 6th, 1776.

SIR,—By Capt. Jephthern, who arrived here from St. Lucia, whom I sent among others on this Colony account for warlike stores, you are advised of the arrival of your sloop Diamond, Capt. Samuel Soule, and that he had on board, and that he would sail soon after Capt. Jephthern (not exceeding one week) about 8,000 lbs. gun-powder, 200 pieces of canvass, 2 hhd. of twine, 100,000 gun-flints, with some other articles. By which account I suppose you may look for him by the time you receive this. Capt. Jephthern brings nothing material, only that he fell in with a fleet of ships about the lat. of 29 north, and long. of 66 west, steering about northwest. He supposes they were bound to Virginia, I suppose, Corawallis, who I make no doubt will meet a warm reception there.

By Capt. Jno. Ley (a son of the late Col. Ley, of Marblehead), who arrived a few days since from Bilboa, in 29 days, we learn that 12,000 Hessians were on their passage, bound for Boston, and that General Burgoyne had sailed with 4,000 Hanoverians, for Quebec. The Hessians were under the command of Lord Howe. In the same fleet were 27 Commissioners to treat with us at the point of the bayonet. God grant they may fall with the weapons, which they are bringing, in their right hand. We are summoned to meet in Committee of Safety, being now our recess of the General Court, to consult

on something that may be necessary to be done. I think Boston is not sufficiently provided against an attack.

The West Indians are much against us, but they would soon find out their mistake, could supplies be prevented from being exported, which I know lays only with The Honorable Congress.

In this Colony, we are erecting a powder mill, which will make a sufficient quantity of powder for our own consumption, barring accidents, and there is no want of salt-petre, as we manufacture enough. I have likewise the pleasure of informing you that yesterday a vessel arrived here, with brimstone, which I believe will make between 30 and 40 tons of powder. The hand of Providence seems to smile on our cause, and by a steady perseverance in the measures already taken in hand, looking up to the great Author of our being, we may with infinite satisfaction hand down to our posterity peace sealed with our liberty, which is beyond compare, better than riches and honors. If you have any particular news, more especially from Canada, which I am in great anxiety about, should be obliged to you to transmit it.

In the interim, I am, with much respect,  
 Sir, your most humble servant,  
 PIERSE LONG.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

HARTFORD, May 14th, 1776.

SIR,—Have to acknowledge your favour of the 7th instant with the transmits therein enclosed, the contents of which have duly noted, and would congratulate you upon the union and firmness of your Assembly upon those objects, which appear more and more essential, important and necessary, for the security and safety of the Colonies.

Would acquaint your Honor that upon application being lately made to the Honorable Continental Congress, to have the cannon and such other of the stores which Commodore Hop-

kins brought from New Providence, except what was necessary for the fleet, to be left at New London for the defence of that port; the Congress considering the importance of having that place well fortified, passed a resolve directing said cannon and stores to be left at New London, for the purpose aforesaid, as will appear by a copy of said resolve which I herewith transmit you. But I was much surprised and disappointed to find that the Commodore had sailed from that port without complying with said resolve. Have wrote him upon the subject, and have to request the influence, aid and assistance of your Honor, that the cannon, stores, &c., may be sent back to that port, as soon as possible, agreeable to the expectation and resolve of Congress, as before mentioned.

I am, Sir, with respect and esteem,

Your most humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

Honorable Governor Cooke.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

PROVIDENCE, June 24th, 1776.

SIR,—I have been favoured with yours of the 29th of April and the 14th of May, both of which I beg your excuse for not answering before; which was owing to my going into the country in a few days after receiving the last mentioned letter. I thank you for the permit to bring the pork and beef, in the hands of Mr. Mumford, for the use of our troops here. The prisoners I have been obliged to dispose of within the Colony as well as I could.

Your letter of the 14th of May respecting the cannon, came to hand on the 17th. On the 18th Messrs. Levi Hollingsworth and Thomas Richardson came to this town with an order of Congress, for 20 of them to be transported to Philadelphia; and on the 20th I set out on my journey; and when I returned I found here a resolution of Congress that six only should be

taken from this Colony, which have accordingly been delivered on board the Fly.

I beg you to believe that I shall take the greatest satisfaction, on every occasion, to show you that I am,

With great respect and esteem,

Sir, your obedient, humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. Governor Trumbull.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

NEWPORT, July 22d, 1776.

SIR—Yesterday, Lieut. Calcott, of the Merlin, came in here with a flag, and brought a letter from Lord Howe; I suppose of exactly the same tenor with that I have the honor to enclose you, which, with two others directed to the Colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, were delivered me by the Lieutenant with a request that I would forward them.

I enclose you a copy of my letter to Lord Howe, and beg leave to assure you that I am,

With great esteem and regard, Sir,

Your Honor's most obedient humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. Governor Trumbull.

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THE DIRECTION OF THE FOLLOWING LETTER NOT GIVEN.

PROVIDENCE, July 24th, 1776.

SIR,—I received yours of the 22d, and at the same time I was heartily mortified at the misconduct of the people on board the Washington. The zeal and spirit you manifested upon the occasion gave me great pleasure, and shall be properly represented to the General Assembly.

I shall cause enquiry to be made into the conduct of Capt.

Hyers, his officers and men, and make no doubt they will be treated according to their deserts.

I wish you success and honor in your enterprises, and am,  
 With great truth and regard, Sir,  
 Your most obedient, humble servant,  
 NICH'S COOKE.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

ANDREW DORIA, July 26th, 1776.

SIR,—A gentleman in Philadelphia desires me to make enquiry concerning a certain Capt. Golly, who was taken in a vessel from Philadelphia, and carried to Halifax, from which place he made his escape, and on his way home was stopped, and confined in Providence gaol. As his wife and friends have not heard any reason assigned for his confinement, they are very uneasy on his account. I am not acquainted with Capt. Golly, but the gentleman who writes to me in favour of him is a warm friend to the cause of liberty.

The subject I write on, will, I hope, apologize for my troubling you, and the mentioning the matter induce an enquiry into the cause of his confinement, which, if it is (as is apprehended) only on suspicion of being inimical to the cause, may be the means of procuring him his liberty.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,  
 Your most humble servant,  
 NICHOLAS BIDDLE.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

HEAD QUARTERS, New York, }  
 August 8th, 1776. }

DEAR SIR,—General Schuyler has wrote pressingly for duck for the vessels on Lake Champlain. We have taken all possi-



ble pains to procure and forward it from this, but find it in vain, and as it is of the greatest moment we should have our naval armament immediately fitted for use, I must beg you will supply Capt. Bacon out of that in your care which Congress empowered me to draw for. This letter is following Capt. Bacon, who is gone into Connecticut. Should it not meet with him, I think it advisable for you to forward it on with all convenient dispatch to Albany.

I am, Sir, with sentiments of esteem,  
Your most humble servant,

P. S. Gen. Schuyler's order is for 50 bolts thick sail-cloth, and 20 do. light. For cloth or oznaburg.  
Governor Cooke.

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TO HONORABLE STEPHEN HOPKINS AND WILLIAM ELLERY.

PROVIDENCE, August 13th, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—Your favor of the 27th July is now before me, and in answer thereto would observe, that I have not as yet been able to procure a list of the vacancies, &c., in the brigade, but will endeavor to send it to you by the next post. The field officers for the first regiment, are William Richmond, Colonel, Joseph Hoxie, Lieut. Colonel, and Caleb Gardner, Major. For the second regiment, Christopher Lippitt, Colonel, Adam Comstock, Lieut. Colonel, the office of Major vacant, Christopher Olney being appointed, but declined serving. I make no doubt but that you will endeavor, as soon as possible, to procure the appointment of a Brigadier General, as also a resolve of Congress in favor of inoculation of the soldiers in the brigade.

I enclose you the act of the General Assembly regulating inoculation throughout the Colony; a Hospital for that purpose is established in this town under the direction of Doct. Barnard, of the Jerseys, the first class consisting of about one hundred persons entered yesterday.

Since my last, two very valuable prize ships have arrived here, taken by the sloop Diamond, Capt. William Chace, laden with sugar, coffee, cotton, &c., as also a bark, laden with rum and sugar, taken by the sloop Montgomery. Capt Daniel Bucklin, Capt. Harris, arrived at Newport, informs that last Thursday, he saw 103 sail of ships, S. E. by S. from Nantucket Shoals, 15 leagues distant, standing W. N. W., seventeen of which appeared to be men-of-war, supposed to be the fleet with the foreign troops, bound to New York.

I am, with great respect, gentlemen,  
Your most obedient, humble servant,  
NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. S. Hopkins, and  
William Ellery, Esqs.

M ELLERY.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

13th, 1776.

PROVIDENCE, August 17th, 1776.

SIR,—I am favored with yours of the 14th instant, and am much obliged for the intelligence you have been pleased to give me. Everything wears the appearance of an action, big with importance to the United States. But I trust that with the blessing of that Providence which hath so remarkably smiled upon our just cause, we shall be able to repel the attack. Should the intelligence, given by the Canadian Captains prove true, it will make a material alteration in our affairs in that quarter. A present relief it would certainly prove, and I think the French would as certainly prove very troublesome neighbours in the end.

It gives me pleasure to hear that the State of Connecticut upon the present emergency, as well as upon every other occasion in this great contest, hath exerted its force with such distinguished spirit. The account you give me of our naval armament upon the Lakes affords me the highest satisfaction, as I have great hopes it will be able to frustrate every attempt

of the enemy to pass, at least for this season. We have had within a few days past four valuable prizes, from the West Indies, sent into this harbour by our privateers, which makes nine in the whole now here. This week, two large prizes have arrived at Bedford, taken by two privateers, belonging to the Massachusetts. And by a gentleman who came up from Boston, last evening, we are informed that the Hancock, privateer, hath sent a large sugar ship into Newbury, and a three-decker with two hundred and fifty Hessians on board, into Marblehead. Had the same spirit which now prevails for cruising against the enemy, prevailed two months ago, we should have had near half the West India fleet in our ports by this time; a blow which would not only have greatly distressed the enemy in other respects, but would considerably have affected the revenue of Great Britain. We have now several privateers fitting out from this State, who will sail very soon if they can procure salted provisions, of which we are exhausted. I have no doubt but your Honour will, if possible, consent to their being supplied from Connecticut; especially as this is the very moment in which we may effectually give a wound to the commerce of Britain.

Last Monday, Capt. Savage, in a Continental brig, fitted from New York, arrived at Newport with about 2000 bushels of salt, £1500 sterling in medicines, a quantity of pepper, nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, mace, wine and fruit. He hath brought London papers to the 28th of May, which I have not had an opportunity of seeing; but I am informed the Empress of Russia is dead.

The Captain says that the King of Portugal lay dangerously ill, having been confined several months; and that the Spaniards had marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of Portugal.

I am, with great respect and esteem,

Sir, your Honor's

Most obedient, humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. Governor Trumbull.

TO HONORABLE STEPHEN HOPKINS AND WILLIAM ELLERY.

PROVIDENCE, August 27th, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—Some difficulties respecting the brigade have prevented the General Assembly from recommending suitable persons for field officers to Congress, and appointing the other officers, until the last session. They recommend the following gentlemen: For the first regiment William Richmond, Colonel, Caleb Gardner, Lieut. Colonel, Benjamin Tallman, Major. For the second regiment, Christopher Lippitt, Colonel, Adam Comstock, Lieut. Colonel, James Tew, Major.

The Assembly have ordered the brigade to be paid to the first of September, and requested me to write to you to use your endeavour to procure as soon as may be the appointment of a paymaster to the brigade, which you will accordingly do.

By the next post, I shall transmit an account of the officers of the brigade, together with a list of the prisoners in this State. In the mean time I am with great esteem,

Gentlemen, your most obedient,  
humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. S. Hopkins, and  
W. Ellery, Esqs.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

SAG HARBOR, August 30th, 1776.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,—I have just received an account of our cruel and unnatural enemy, the English, having possessed themselves of so much of Long Island as to destroy the communication between this end of it and the City of New York. I am honoured by General Washington with the command of a detachment of 200 men for the protection of the inhabitants, stock, &c. This detachment I think is in danger, also insufficient for the purposes mentioned. But am

resolved, notwithstanding, to keep our reputation clear and unsullied, and with our feeble force to endeavour to distress our enemies all in our power. I have prevailed upon the Rev. Mr. Buel to transcribe the account he received from the express relative to the communication being cut off, and to direct it to your Excellency, that if you should think it advisable, you might order a number of men to cross the Sound at night, which I conceive they might do without danger from the shipping stationed there. I have endeavoured to transmit his Excellency General Washington, an account of my having wrote to your Honour concerning this matter, and sent him my returns, a duplicate of which I transmit to your Honor, that if mine should miscarry this [would] not. I am, with all imaginable respect, your Excellency's

Most obedient, humble servant,

HENRY B. LIVINGSTON.

Lieut. Col. and Com'g Officer.

To his Excellency Governor Trumbull.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

SAG HARBOR, August 30th, 1776.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

SIR,—I have, this hour, direct intelligence from the west end of this island per a post, that the ministerial army (supposed to be about sixteen thousand) are on this side our army upon the island, [and] have lined across the island from the Sound to the south side, so that we on the east end can have no access to our army. Upon Tuesday last General Washington came over from New York upon this island with 6000 men; 4 or 5000 'tis supposed have fallen, inclusive of both armies. The armies are within half a mile of each other. A constant fire is kept up. 'Tis supposed the grand battle will be upon the morrow or next day. We have lost, killed and taken, as the post says, about 300 riflemen. The enemy have 200 horse;

their riders were to dine, the day before yesterday, at Hempstead. They have command of the west end of the island entirely. The post relates that upon Tuesday about 5000 regulars attempted to land a little below York Ferry. Our people met them, and the post says killed about 2000 and drove the residue back. We learn by the post, the Hessians fight terribly. I am now, Sir, present with Col. Livingston, who advises to write in conjunction with himself, to your Honour, as proposing and submitting of it to your Honour's wisdom to determine whether it will not be conducive to the general good and for the preservation of this end of the island, to throw a number of troops over to our assistance at the present time. Confiding in your Excellency's patriotic spirit and superior wisdom, in all possible haste,

I am, with great esteem,  
 Your Excellency's most humble,  
 Most obedient friend and servant,  
 SAMUEL BUELL.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

SUFFOLK COUNTY, SOUTHOLD, }  
 August 31st, 1776. }

HONORABLE SIR,—We are sorry to acquaint you that we have received several expresses from the middle of this Island, acquainting us of the regular troops having surrounded our lines at the west end, and stopped our communications to the army and Provincial Congress. Their scouting party consists of about 300 light horse, and 400 foot, together with a number of Tory recruits, and, to all appearance, are about penetrating into this County, as they have already marched as far as the western part of Hempstead Plains, where they took prisoner Brigadier General Nathaniel Woodhull, Commander-in-Chief of the Militia of this island. We must beg the favour of you to aid and assist us, with men and ammunition, as our men are chiefly drawn off, and are now in the army, so that we are not

able to raise more than 750 men in the whole County, that are capable to bear arms. If you think proper to send us men, which we think we really need, we must beg you would send what provisions you think they will want, all but fresh, which we can make out to supply them with. By the best accounts we can learn of the strength of the regulars' army now landed on this island, they consist of about 15 or 20,000 men.

At a Committee Meeting. }  
Signed per order, ROBERT HEMPSTEAD. } Chairman.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

NEW YORK, Sept. 1st, 1776.

HONORED SIR,—Since I wrote you last, I have received none of yours. The post that was to have been in last evening, was stopped at King's bridge, as the Post Office is now there, and to-morrow removes to Dobb's Ferry, about 25 miles above this city, that if there was any for me they are not yet come to hand.

We have been obliged to retreat from Long Island and Governor's Island, from both which we got off without loss of men. We have left great part of our heavy artillery behind. The field train is off. We are in hourly expectation that the town will be bombarded and cannonaded—and the enemy are drawing their men to the eastward on Long Island, as if they intended to throw a strong party over on this island, near Hell Gate, so as to get on the back of the city. We are preparing to meet them. Matters appear to be drawing near to a decisive engagement.

Gen. Sullivan is allowed to come on shore, upon his parole, and go to Congress, on the subject of exchange of himself, Lord Sterling, and a large number who are prisoners; by the best accounts we yet have, we have lost, in last week's defeat, about 800 men killed and missing; how many of each, is not yet known. I rather expect that they will push in a body of troops between the town and our posts at and near King's

bridge. If they do, we shall have them between two fires, and must push them to the last extremity, or be killed or taken prisoners. The event is in the hand of the Almighty Disposer of all events. He cant do wrong. We must submit to his determination. With proper respect to all friends,

I am, honored Sir,

Your dutiful son,

JOS. TRUMBULL.

TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

PROVIDENCE, September 3d, 1776.

SIR,—In addition to what I wrote your Honor of yesterday, I now inform you that there is at present no armed vessel belonging to the Continent in this State besides the Alfred, who hath not more than forty men, inclusive of officers. She, with the two Row Gallies, make the whole of the naval force in this State. I have communicated your letter to Commodore Hopkins, and find him perfectly disposed to co-operate with the Assembly in every measure in his power.

A sloop is now lading here with Continental pork, for New London. She will carry about one hundred barrels, and it is expected will sail to-morrow morning. I give you this information that you may, if necessary, make use of it for the forces on Long Island.

I am, with every sentiment of respect, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. Governor Trumbull.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

LEBANON, Thursday, Sept. 5th, 1776.

SIR,—At 7 o'clock this morning received your letter per Mr. Payne. The Governor and Council of Safety, last Lords-day,



ordered the regiments, stationed at New London, and 25 artillery men, to embark forthwith for Long Island, to take with them six field pieces, with stores of provisions, &c. Eight other militia regiments to be in readiness to march on the shortest warning to fill the places of the regiment removed and elsewhere as needed.

Monday, 2 o'clock, P. M., came the first intelligence of our army's evacuating Long Island and Governor's Island,—not by letter, but by credible verbal account. This occasioned sending immediate orders to Col. Wolcot, at New London, to wait further orders. The other regiments to go on to fix and furnish for the shortest notice. Tuesday, it was concluded best for six, all of my Council present, to go to New London, examine the state of our troops at New London, and of the Sound, and how far it was safe to send troops and vessels to bring off the people and stock from the island. Expecting soon to have further intelligence, as we had yet no letter from any one at New York. My Council are to return this day, at noon, and report their doings. I received several verbal accounts yesterday, but no letter till last evening.

A letter from the Commissary General came to hand. Copy is enclosed. Further than is mentioned in this letter, I fear the enemy will endeavour to throw themselves between our army and the country, on this side, to cut off communication this way. Our situation is extremely critical. Will it not be necessary to send troops directly toward New York by land, to meet the enemy at Horse Neck or Rye.

May wisdom and counsel from on high be given you and your Honorable Assembly. Yours per Mr. Gilston was received in due time. When the determinations are made here this day or to-morrow, I will give you information thereof with all the further intelligence I may receive.

I am with great truth and esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(No Sig.)

Hon. Governor Cooke.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

LEBANON, Sept. 5th, 1776.

SIR,—Since my letter of this date, forwarded by your Honor's express, my Council of Safety have attended. I have with their advice come to a resolution to issue orders for the immediate march of the troops of horse in this State residing on the east side of Connecticut river, as also those regiments of militia who have not already received orders—for the defence of these States; the horse to repair to Westchester, and the foot to New Haven, there to take further orders, and to be improved to re-enforce the Continental army at New York, or defend the eastern part of Long Island, as occasion shall require. We have also determined to equip what naval force we have with all possible dispatch. I have certain intelligence that our forces are withdrawn from Long Island and Governor's Island, and that the two Continental companies, stationed on the east end of Long Island, are come over to the main, and that the militia on Long Island are dispersed. We are extremely desirous to co-operate with your State in every proper measure for our mutual defence, as there seems to be a threatening appearance that the enemy will endeavour to land on the eastward of New York, in order to cut off the communication and prevent supplies to our army. You will undoubtedly judge it expedient to send the regiment you have already raised, with such other force as you shall judge proper, to unite with us in this important measure, as also to augment and send your naval force for that important purpose, and to clear the Sound if possible. The matter undoubtedly demands the utmost attention and dispatch, as all seems to lie at stake. Don't doubt of your most vigorous exertions. I have advised General Washington and the Provincial Congress of the Massachusetts, of the measures we have taken. Would recommend it to you to consult Commodore Hopkins upon the expediency of attempting to dislodge the enemy's ships from the Sound, how far it is probable it might be done; also, whether the ships with you cannot be manned out of the forces you may raise, or is it not

probable for the present emergency it may be done from the army. You will please to return an early answer to these matters.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,  
Your Honor's obedient humble servant,  
JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

The Hon. Governor Cooke.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 10th, 1776.

SIR,—Your letter to Gov. Cooke, by express, came to hand this evening. His Honor being in the hospital, makes it necessary for me to inform you that a Council will be held at Newport, on Thursday morning, 10 o'clock, to take necessary steps to forward one or both regiments with all possible dispatch. The Council will acquaint you by express of the measures taken. In the mean time, I beg leave to refer you to Gov. Cooke's letter for a state of the naval force in this State, and am, with great respect,

Sir, your Honour's  
Most obedient, humble servant,  
(No Sig.)

Honorable Governor Trumbull.

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TO HON. JOHN HANCOCK.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, &c., }  
Bristol, Sept. 14th, 1776. }

SIR,—Governor Cooke having entered the Hospital, for inoculation, makes it necessary for me to inform your Honor that immediately upon the receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, with the enclosed resolves of Congress, I called the committee

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appointed to act in cases of emergency during the recess of the General Assembly, and who have taken every necessary measure to facilitate the march of the Continental battalion ordered by Congress to New York; part of which sets out this day, and the remainder to-morrow.

The committee have the highest sense of the regard expressed by Congress for the security and defence of this State, in recommending to the Massachusetts Bay to supply a regiment of their militia to replace the battalion going to New York. To make application for which, they have appointed one of their members to wait upon the General Court of that State.

The committee, also, in the exhausted state of this government, still more weakened by the great number of privateers fitted from it, and not having it in their power to afford so speedy an aid in any other way, have requested Col. Richmond, who commands the other Continental battalion stationed here, to hold it in readiness to march at a moment's warning. And he accordingly will march for New York as soon as he shall receive intelligence of the regiment from the Massachusetts entering this State. To replace it the committee have ordered a battalion of militia, of seven hundred men, to be immediately raised and embodied.\*

I have the honor to be,

with great esteem and respect, Sir,

Your Honor's most obedient,

and most humble servant,

(No. Sig.)

Honorable John Hancock, Esq.

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TO CAPTAIN JOHN GRIMES.

PROVIDENCE, October 5th, 1776.

SIR,—By virtue of a resolution of the Committee appointed to act in the recess of the General Assembly, you are hereby

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\* A similar letter was sent to General Washington.

directed to take on board the two Row Gallies under your command, such part of Col. Richmond's regiment and its baggage as you can safely and conveniently carry, and with them proceed to New London, in the State of Connecticut, and when there you are to receive and follow such further instructions and orders as shall be given you by Commodore Esek Hopkins. And for your so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

I wish you success in your undertaking, and am, with great esteem and regard,

Sir, your most humble servant,  
NICH'S COOKE.

Capt. John Grimes.

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TO COLONEL RICHMOND.

PROVIDENCE, October 5th, 1776.

SIR,—The committee appointed to act in the recess of the General Assembly having thought proper upon the information and advice of Mr. Hopkins, the delegate, to revoke the resolution of the committee at Newport recommending it to you to march with your battalion to join the Continental army near New York, and to recommend to you to permit such men belonging to your battalion as should incline to enlist into the Continental vessels fitting from this State. I am now to inform you that Mr. Burr, a gentleman of character, arrived here last evening from Governor Trumbull, and communicated a plan of an expedition to Long Island: Upon consideration whereof the committee came to the resolution of which I enclose you a copy. As the nature of the plan requires secrecy, you will make no further communications than are absolutely necessary.

I have informed General Washington and Governor Trumbull of the resolution of the committee, and have no doubt of your carrying it into execution with all possible zeal and dispatch.

I have received from Congress the enclosed resolve for raising 88 battalions to serve during the war, and I desire you

to make a return to me of the names of the officers in your battalion who will engage for that time.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Col. Richmond.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

PROVIDENCE, October 5th, 1776.

SIR,—I am to acknowledge the favour of your Honor's letter of the 1st. instant, and to inform you that I laid it before the committee appointed to act in the recess of the General Assembly, who also conferred with Commodore Hopkins and Mr. Burr upon your plan of an expedition to Long Island.

The committee upon the information and advice of Mr. Hopkins, a member of the General Congress, had countermanded their order for the marching of Col. Richmond's regiment to New York, and had given permission to the men to enlist on board the Continental vessels fitting from this State. But anxious to do everything in their power to serve the general cause have, in consequence of the conference above mentioned, issued new orders to Col. Richmond to march with such of his regiment as shall not engage in the Continental vessels to proceed to New London on Friday next, and there to follow such orders as he shall receive from a general officer to be appointed by General Washington. They have also directed Mr. Bowler to send forward the whaleboats from the Massachusetts by that regiment, together with such as he can collect in this State, which will be between twenty and thirty. They have also ordered the two Row Gallies of this State to New London to strengthen the naval force as much as possible. The Row Gallies are to be under the direction of Commodore Hopkins, who will write you by this express, and to whom I beg leave to refer you for an account of the forwardness of the Continental vessels in this State. This letter will be delivered you by Mr. Jona-

than Hazard, a member of the General Assembly, whom I beg leave to recommend to your Honor's attention.

I am, with great esteem and respect,  
Sir, your most humble Servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Hon. Governor Trumbull.

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TO MR DERBY.

PROVIDENCE, October 7th, 1776.

SIR,—Your favour of the 24th ult., came to hand when I was in the inoculating Hospital. As the two ships, built here, were nearly ready for the sea, and there was a prospect of their being soon manned, none of their guns could be spared. I, however, delayed returning you an answer as it was proposed by some gentlemen to lend ten of the guns belonging to the forts in this State. But, the committee appointed to act in the recess of the General Assembly which sat here on the 5th instant, did not think it proper to take such a measure. And I am sorry to inform you that it is not in our power to afford you any cannon from this State.

I am, with great regard, Sir,  
Your most obedient servant,  
NICH'S COOKE.

P. S. The water is so low that the furnace is stopped.  
Mr. Derby.

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TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

PROVIDENCE, October 10th, 1776.

SIR,—I am favoured with a letter from General Washington of the 29th ult., informing me that he is endeavouring to effect an exchange of prisoners, and that he thinks the prisoners in this State had better join those in Connecticut and proceed to-

gether. Upon this subject he recommends it to me to take your opinion. I accordingly desire you to let me know, and where your prisoners will be assembled for that purpose.

I have the honor to be, with great regard,

Sir, your most humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Governor Trumbull.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PROVIDENCE, November 6th, 1776.

SIR,—The General Assembly of this State have ordered two battalions to be immediately raised agreeable to the requisition of the Honorable Continental Congress signified to them in a letter from the President of that august body.

Congress recommended that a committee should be appointed and repair to the army, and then appoint the officers, but as your Excellency was pleased to enclose in your favour of the 12th ultimo a list of such gentlemen as would be agreeable to you to receive commissions, the General Assembly strictly adhered to your nominations, although Lieutenant Pendleton and Lieutenant Crandell belong to the State of Connecticut, and Ensign Hunwell to Massachusetts Bay. Col. Varnum is complimented with a commission by this State, but as General Greene, in his letter, has signified that Col. Varnum will decline the appointment, the vacancy can be filled with Col. Greene, who was in the Canada expedition.

The General Assembly have not appointed any of those gentlemen who are now upon their parole, but leave that trouble for your Excellency and General Greene to do, as soon as they may, consistent with honor, receive commissions.

Your Excellency was pleased to mention the advantages that would result to the army by a judicious choice of men of strict honor and reputation to officer the battalion. The General Assembly are very sensible of the great benefit that will arise by having such men only appointed, and as the officers in the two



old battalions have been immediately under your Excellency's command, and the two battalions heretofore raised by this State have now joined the army, the General Assembly could devise no better means of effecting that salutary measure, than referring the filling up of all vacancies in the two battalions now raising to your Excellency and General Greene, which they have done and desire that the officers nominated may belong to this State, as we suppose this to be the meaning of Congress, and request your Excellency that those appointed may immediately enlist every man possible belonging to the four Rhode Island battalions, in order to complete this State's quota, and that you would be pleased to give every necessary indulgence to the enlisting officers that can be consistently done to effect the same.

The Assembly requests that your Excellency would immediately dispatch as many recruiting officers to this State as can well be spared from duty in order to effect the completing of the battalions if they cannot be re-inlisted out of the Rhode Island forces now in the army. Attention will be paid to the officers sent upon this occasion, that they be such as are most likely to succeed in the business. The General Assembly being extremely anxious that the two battalions should be forthwith raised have, as a further encouragement for the soldiers to enlist, granted a bounty of twenty dollars, to be paid by this State, to each and every non-commissioned officer and private soldier who shall so enlist, over and above the provision made for them by Congress.

Messrs. Hazard & Holden, the bearers, will deliver to your Excellency blank commissions for the officers which you will please to cause to be immediately filled and delivered to the gentlemen you approbate.

Your Excellency will be pleased to excuse the trouble that the General Assembly have laid on you from the necessity, they not knowing who will accept of commissions. Messrs. Hazard & Holden are appointed paymasters to the battalions ordered to be raised by this State, and are furnished with money to pay the extra bounty allowed by this State, and are to assist in enlisting the men. At the request and in behalf of the General

Assembly I have the honor to subscribe myself with great esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient,  
 humble servant,  
 (No Sig.)

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THE PASS OF ADJUTANT STEELE.

PROVIDENCE, November 12th, 1776.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, }  
 PROVIDENCE, November 12th, 1776. }

Mr. Adjutant Steele, of one of the battalions in the service of the United States of America, who is bearer hereof, is sent by me in pursuance of an Act of the General Assembly of the State aforesaid, to Block Island in the sloop [Diamond, Thomas Lawton,] Master, to manage an exchange of prisoners with Capt. Furneaux, of his Britannic Majesty's ship Syren, and therefore is to pass and repass in the said sloop to and from the said island in the prosecution of that business without hindrance or molestation, of which all persons are desired to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Providence in the State aforesaid this Eleventh Day of November, A. D. 1776.

NICH'S COOKE.

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TO ADJUTANT STEELE.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, }  
 PROVIDENCE, November 12th, 1776. }

SIR,—In consequence of a proposal from Capt. Furneaux of His Britannic Majesty's ship Syren, the General Assembly have requested me to send to New Shoreham two masters of vessels, five mates, and twenty-four seamen, who have been captured and brought into this State, to be exchanged for an equal number of prisoners of the same rank belonging to the United

States. I have therefore caused two Masters, five mates, twenty seamen and one corporal, to be put on board the sloop Diamond, Thomas Lawton, Master, and appointed you to proceed with them in the said sloop to manage the said exchange, and do direct you to proceed in said sloop with said prisoners, with all possible expedition to the said Island. If you find Capt. Furneaux there, you will immediately deliver him my letter and the said prisoners, and make the exchange in the following manner: You are to receive one master, three mates, and twenty seamen, belonging to the United States, who are now prisoners on board his ship. Capt. James Smith who with James Hill and Thomas Simpson his two mates, was taken in the ship Irwin which was retaken by the people and carried to New York, having given me his parole to endeavor to procure in exchange for him and his two mates the releasement of Levi Rounds, William Walker, John Wilbur, Thomas Longmore and John Lyon, common seamen, who were put on board the Irwin when she was taken, and a permit for them to return home; and accordingly the said James Smith, James Hill and Thomas Simpson are to be considered as exchanged for the said Levi Rounds, William Walker, John Wilbur, Thomas Longmore and John Lyon. I have also written to Capt. Furneaux that, if he should think proper to send me the remainder of the prisoners in his possession I will faithfully, as soon as it is in my power, send an equal number of British prisoners of the same rank to Block Island, in return for them. You will therefore endeavour to effect their releasement upon that condition. In case of Capt. Furneaux's absence you are to deliver my letter, and the said prisoners, to the Captain of the first British ship of war which shall arrive there, taking his receipt for them and writing to Capt. Furneaux an account of your proceedings, and return and make report to me; I not doubting but Capt. Furneaux will immediately upon his arrival return an equal number of prisoners agreeable to his proposals.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Mr. Adjutant Steele.

TO CAPTAIN FURNEAUX.

PROVIDENCE, November 12th, 1776.

SIR,—A greable to the proposal in your favour of the 11th of October, and to my answer thereto, I now send Mr. Adjutant Stelle, of one of the Battalions in the service of the United States of America, with a flag, to deliver to you two Captains of merchant vessels, five mates, a corporal of the 53d regiment in the service of his Britannic Majesty, and twenty seamen, who were all captured in British ships, and brought into this State. These are all the prisoners here who are willing to be sent on board a ship of war.

You will please to send in exchange one master, three mates, and twenty seamen. Capt. James Smith who with James Hill and Thomas Simpson, his two mates, was taken in the ship Irwin, which was re-taken by the people and carried into New York, hath given me his parole to endeavor to procure an exchange for him and his two Mates, the releasement of five common seamen who were put on board his ship by the privateer that took him.

Should you think proper to send me the remainder of our prisoners in your possession, you may be assured that, as soon as it is in my power, I will send an equal number of British subjects prisoners with us, of the same rank, to Block Island, in return for them.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,  
NICH'S COOKE.

TO COLONEL RICHMOND.

PROVIDENCE, November 19th, 1776.

SIR,—I have received certain advice from the Generals Lee and Greene, informing me that a large body of his Britannic Majesty's forces, have lately embarked at New York, and as

their destination is unknown, it is imagined they are going to make an attack upon Newport. You will take every proper and prudent method to put the town of Newport in the best posture of defence possible, and that you endeavour to cultivate a harmony among the officers and soldiers. I have called the General Assembly to meet on Thursday next, at East Greenwich, in order to take the proper steps for supporting and sustaining you in case of need.

I am, &c.,

NICH'S COOKE.

Col. Richmond.

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ADDRESS TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

NEWPORT, Nov. 20th, 1776.

To the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, to be convened at East Greenwich, in the County of Kent, and State aforesaid, on the 20th of this November, instant.

MAY IT PLEASE THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY:

As all immunities and privileges which are conferred by a body politic on members of the civil community demand the most grateful acknowledgments, we beg leave to return our warmest thanks to this Honorable House for the readiness with which they were pleased to grant a certain petition relative to our drawing Continental pay as officers commissioned by the Grand Congress of AMERICA.

It affords us peculiar pleasure that so great an attention is paid to the rights of individuals whilst the common interest is no ways neglected, and permit us to assure the free representatives of an independent State, that we shall always glory in supporting the rights of our country against the base designs of foreign tyranny or domestic torism.

'Tis a great satisfaction to enjoy the noblest of blessings the love of our fellow citizens and countrymen, which we flatter

ourselves at present is the case from this new mark of their esteem and fresh instance of regard expressed in characters so truly animating.

As the Honorable the Speaker and several other very worthy members have exerted their abilities in favour of this petition, we think ourselves in duty bound to acknowledge their kindness and have the pleasing hopes that we shall not disappoint their expectations in that important day when called to the generous struggle we shall hazard life and sacrifice every other consideration to prove ourselves not unworthy the most glorious title of AMERICAN FREEMEN.

Signed in behalf and by order of the Captains and other officers in Col. W. Richmond's regiment Rhode Island Continental forces, by

GEO. RICHARDS, Agent for them.

To Hon. Metcalfe Bowler, Esq., Speaker of the House of Assembly, State of Rhode Island.

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TO THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 26th, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,—I think it my duty to transmit to you by express the enclosed copy of a letter I have this evening received from General Lee. The case with which the enemy may transport troops to any of the United States ought to excite us to the most vigorous efforts to make the necessary preparations to repel them wherever they may attempt a descent.

This State hath ordered a regiment to be immediately raised to consist of six men in every hundred upon the alarm list, which will make about six hundred and eighty men, and are endeavouring to render the militia more useful than it hath yet proved. But from the inability of the State, especially in its present exhausted circumstances, our principal dependence under God must be upon the neighbouring States. It gives

me great satisfaction that in case of such an event, we have the most perfect reliance upon the State of Massachusetts Bay.

I am, with great esteem and respect,  
Your Honor's most obedient and  
most humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

Honorable General Court of the Massachusetts Bay.

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TO COLONEL COOKE.

SIR,—I am informed by Capt. Topham and others that the troops stationed at Howland's ferry are under no kind of regulations or command. Owing to your taking post farther southward since the departure of other commanders there, and as the circumstances of the troops stationed here are so critical at this juncture owing to their time being almost expired will not admit of my coming there, [I] therefore, beg you'll exert yourself on this occasion, and give such orders and directions as you shall think proper, that there may be proper guard kept, and sentinels placed wherever required for the safety of the whole. In the mean time, remain with due respect.

WM. WEST, B. General.

CAMP BRISTOL, Jan. ye 1st., 1777.

To Col. Cooke.

A true Copy.

JOHN HATHAWAY.

P. S. I am informed that Capt. Briggs has brought from Rhode Island the King's pardon. Should this be the case or not, I would have you secure him unless he give his parole of honour not to return.

WM. WEST.



TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

MORRIS TOWN, February 1st., 1777.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you a few days past respecting the new levies you were raising for the service of the State. The more I think upon the subject, the more I am dissatisfied with the measure. Although it falls not within my province to approve or object to the policy and propriety of the maxims of the State, yet, from the affection I bear it, I cannot help expressing my anxiety when I see them drawn into measures that cannot fail, sooner or later, of reflecting dishonour, and be a means of disgracing the Assembly. I hope, Sir, if my zeal for the honor and interest of the State should transport me into any expressions of disrespect, the goodness of my intentions will atone for the offence. If I have any knowledge of my own heart, I can with sincerity say that I have not a wish different from the interest and happiness of the People, and I shall be happy, at all times, to contribute everything in my power to carry into execution every resolution that may appear to be calculated for that purpose. But whether the measures that have been lately taken, *have* that tendency, is what I am in great doubt of; nay, I cannot help expressing my fears that if the plan is pursued it will answer no other purpose but that of preventing the filling of the Continental regiments, and burthen the State with a great number of useless officers. Every man that has the least acquaintance with the number of fighting men in the State of Rhode Island, must be convinced, on the least reflection, that the whole of the regiments appointed to be raised in that State never can be completed. What will the Congress think? What will the General say? after they had fixed on a systematical plan for establishing an army for the defence of all the States to have their intentions frustrated by a premature measure without their knowledge or consent? How can either the one or the other place any confidence or put any dependence in future on the assistance they are to receive from your State, if they are to be thus trifled with, and disappointed at such an important crisis. If the State had any objections to offer to any

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resolution of Congress that respected them, they ought to [have] been made in the infancy of the resolve; that the Congress and the General might have taken their measures accordingly; but to disappoint them at an hour when they are in distress will be vexatious and alarming, and I am confident they will be disappointed, for it's out of your power to fill all the regiments without leaving the State too bare of men to discharge the common and necessary duties of husbandry, commerce, &c., &c. It is considered that the respective States stand bound to furnish their proportions of the eighty-eight battalions. Have not the Congress a right to expect your proportion, and the General to demand it? What will be their apology? What the enquiry? Were the men to be had? Yes, but instead of raising them for the use of the Continent they were raised for the use of the State. Will not the other States think themselves greatly injured when they have exerted every sinew and nerve to furnish their quota that the operations of the war should be retarded through the negligence and impolitic measures of your State? (for such I must call them). There can be but two reasons given by any State for not furnishing their proportion of men. One is, the want of principle, the other industry. In either case, it reflects disgrace on the State. The policy in appointing a Congress and connecting the States was to form a union of Councils, and of strength. If this great and national plan is to be dispensed with by any particular State, without the consent of the others, nothing but confusion and disorder will be the consequence.

I cannot help thinking this an indirect breach of the union, and have too much reason to believe it will be so considered by the other States. I am told Governor Bradford found much fault with the officers that were recommended for the new regiments. I made application to Col. Varnum, Hitchcock and Lippitt, who recommended some from each of their regiments. Out of the whole of the officers from the four regiments belonging to Rhode Island, I endeavored to fill up the two new regiments, and have not varied in one instance from their recommendation, except in appointing Capt. Talbot, not recommended by Col. Hitchcock, and leaving out Capt. Lewis, recommended

by Col. Varnum. Capt. Talbot behaved so well, and suffered so much in attempting to burn the enemy's ships, that it would have been a piece of injustice not to have taken notice of his merit. And Capt. Ward, being in the same town with Lewis, I thought him much the superior officer, and was in doubt about appointing two officers in the same place, unless there was extraordinary reasons for it. The field officers were not recommended to me. I mentioned such as I thought deserving, and laid them before the General for his approbation. Whether he made any alterations or amendments I know not. I am sure I have not one relation to serve, nor a single wish different in the appointment of the officers from the honor and interest of the State, neither can I apprehend how Governor Bradford could conceive that I had, unless he judged from his own feelings of my intentions, as I did not consider myself an officer of the State of Rhode Island, but of the United States of America.

I forgot to mention in my last, that Col. Lippitt and Lieut. Col. Crary behaved exceeding well, and are deserving notice. The latter has been recommended to His Excellency for a Lieut. Colonel's commission in some of the additional regiments voted to be raised, but is not appointed. Several have put in claims, so many that the General has not been able to gratify them.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most devoted and

Most obedient humble servant,

NATH. GREENE.

Hon. Nicholas Cooke.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

HEAD QUARTERS, PAWTUXET, }  
February 3d, 1777. }

SIR,—We have this moment brought to a vessel that comes as a Flag from Commodore Sir Peter Parker. He has four prisoners on board, and is desirous of seeing your Honor, as he

has a particular message to your Honor. Desire to know whether the officer shall be permitted to come by land, or to come up with his vessel, or whether it would be convenient for you to take a ride down here and receive his dispatches.

I am, your Honor's humble servant,

JABEZ BOWEN.

Hon. Governor Cooke.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

PAWTUCKET, Feb. 6th, at 7 o'clock, A. M.

SIR,—Mr. Clarke arrived off this place about 6 o'clock last evening, and as wind and tide were both against him, I thought it best to permit ten of the prisoners to come on shore under a guard, to sleep by the fire-side, &c., and had determined that they should have re-embarked at day-break. Your detaining the Flag makes it very inconvenient on many accounts, especially as Col. North is yet here with his regiment. He will not go forward till these people are gone. Hope the prisoners will be here at 9 or furtherest 10 o'clock, otherwise I shall give it as my advice to Mr. Clarke to proceed, without you send an express order to the contrary.

I am your Honor's humble servant,

JABEZ BOWEN.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

WARREN, March 11th, 1777.

SIR—I am indebted to the Quarter-Master General in a sum not far from two thousand dollars. I am loth to send the money for fear of accidents. I am more unwilling to retain it in my hands, as there may be suspicions of design. This State having liberty to draw upon the Paymaster-General, I have concluded to advance the money (two thousand dollars) to this State, re-

requesting that you will order the Paymaster-General to settle that amount with the Quarter-Master General, accounting in your receipt for that sum.

I am, Sir, your very obedient servant,

J. M. VARNUM.

Governor Cooke.

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TO THE COUNCIL OF WAR.

PROVIDENCE, March 20th, 1777.

GENTLEMEN,—I have received your favour of the 17th inst., and have carefully noted the contents. I agree fully with your Honors that there was, especially at that time, almost a continual firing kept up in the town; whether it was only for diversion, or whether it was in part firing at marks, or whether it was in contempt of authority, I am at present unable to determine. If I was as ready to determine that this shameful, disorderly, wasteful and dangerous firing was perpetrated by the troops under my command as your Honors were, I should have concluded that it was done in contempt of my authority, as I have made it my steady practice when troops have joined the army, early to teach them the principal orders of the army, and in particular this, that no person, on any pretence whatever should fire his piece without liberty first had of the commanding officer of the corps to which he belonged, unless in the execution of his duty, on his post. My orders are to be published daily to every company; the officers and guards are directed to confine every one guilty of disorderly firing; therefore, I know if those of my command fire without leave they must and do know they do it against the orders of the camp—they transgress with their eyes open. I have, also, at all times, as opportunity presented, inculcated in the army the necessity of particular obedience to every order, and especially that mentioned above; and I do appeal to every officer who has been long in camp, to determine as to the truth of what I have here said, and having done this, why is any disorderly firing in the

army imputable to any neglect of mine, as is most obviously intimated in your letter? It is needless to make any critical remarks thereon in proof of this, the general complexion of the letter is sufficiently evidential thereof. I am so happy myself as to have the approbation of my own mind, and that I have constantly, ever since I have been in this army, done my duty in every way to prevent disorderly firing, and consequently if any part of the army are guilty of that offence, the crime is chargeable to themselves and not to me. I believe that, in general, my orders to suppress the forementioned irregularity has been as successful in this army as could well be expected, considering what kind of an army this has been [the] minus ———? having in it none but militia, many [being] raw and undisciplined, changed every month, [that] in particular at the time when your Honors were so alarmed, there were then no troops that (with propriety) could be said to be under my command but the artillery and about three hundred of Col. Brown's. The last mentioned came here but a few days before, very imperfect (but I think not inclined to be mischievous). However, I was not without fears, when there was so great a prevailing of disorderly firing, that those new troops had at least a share in it; but as I have for two days past sent patrolling parties throughout the town, to confine, without distinction, all whom they should discover to be guilty of disorderly firing, who to my knowledge have not as yet had occasion to take up a single person belonging to my command; but in all parts of the town, the inhabitants are found firing, sundry have been confined and sent to your Honors, and sundry others that I have heard of, have made their escape—two of the navy have also been taken up for the same offence: I am, therefore, at present obliged to be charitable to my own troops, and must conclude that the inhabitants and navy only have been guilty of the shameful waste of powder, &c., that has happened here of late.

As we are fully agreed in the necessity of restraining the army from disorderly firing, permit me to say, that, in order fully to restrain the army from that irregularity, it is absolutely necessary that the inhabitants amongst whom the people of the

army are barracked, should also be fully restrained; and if this is not done by the civil authority, it ought not to be esteemed an unreasonable stretch of military power, if it be insisted on, by the commander of an army.

But to conclude, dear Sirs, give me leave to add, that the chief concern that this your unexpected epistle has given me is, that it is an interruption of that kind, charitable, and cementing conduct which has clothed all your Honors behaviour towards me, ever since my arrival at this place, until the date thereof; which conduct was very pleasing and agreeable to me. I have sincerely endeavoured, at all times, to maintain the same, and in future shall do likewise in all reasonable ways.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect and esteem,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JO. SPENCER.

To the Council of War.

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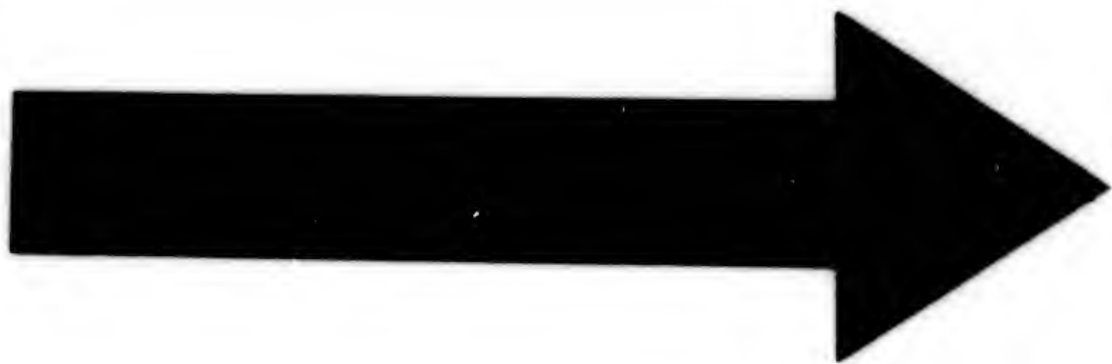
TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

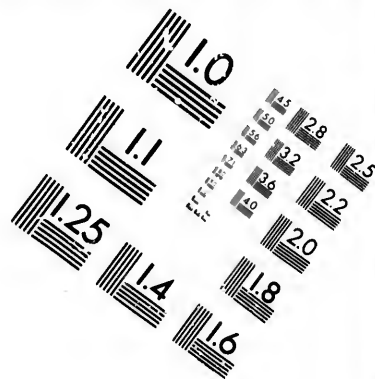
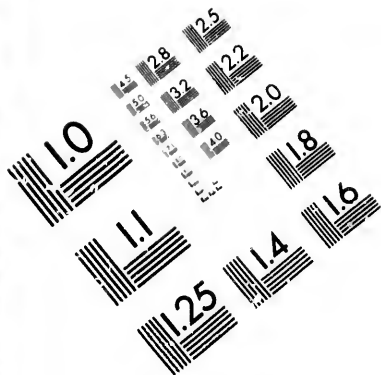
HEAD QUARTERS, 24th March, 1777.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR:

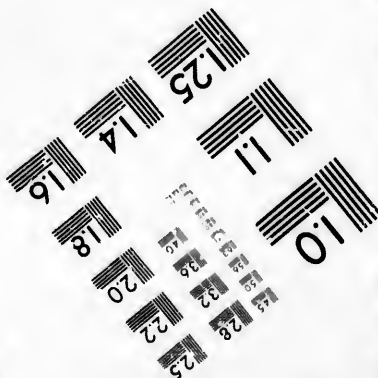
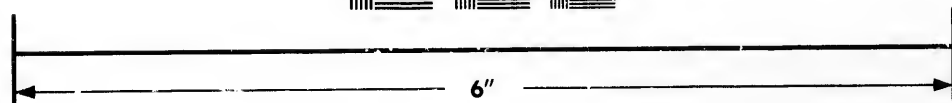
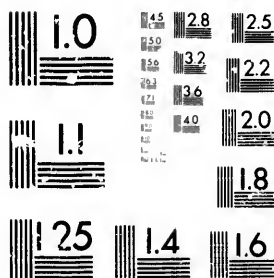
The deep concern I feel for the New England States in general, and this State in particular, furnish me with sufficient matter to address your Honor on this most interesting occasion. The enemy on Rhode Island are indefatigable in fortifying the eminences on the north part of the island, particularly Butts' Hill, by which means they flatter themselves they shall be able to hold the island with a very small number of troops. If so, their situation will be such as to make them very troublesome neighbours, by endeavouring to pillage our frontiers every opportunity.

The enemy will soon be in action. If we do not attack them, they will us. A descent at this time would, in my opinion, ensure them victory, and should it be on our Capitol, our State is ruined. I l ; your Honor would call up to view all the horrors of the enemy's ravages in the Jerseys that we might be





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roused out of this strange supineness into which we are lulled, that precludes the most tremendous consequences. A victory at this time obtained by our enemies would give to tyranny its utmost wish. It would give to humanity, virtue and freedom a most fatal stab. The shores on this station are very naked of troops, and of consequence our duty very hard. Our troops listing from us every day we scarcely know our strength. We have too much at stake to admit of the least delay in making a defence.

Your most obedient and most  
humble servant,  
JOS. STANTON, Jun.

P. S. The chief of the cartridges and powder, collected for the Newport expedition, I have ordered back to a place of greater safety.

J. S.

To Governor Cooke.

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TO THE SPEAKER OF RHODE ISLAND STATE.

SOUTH KINGSTOWN, 20th April, 1777.

SIR,—More than one hundred blankets are immediately wanted to complete the next detachment of troops to march forward to General Washington.— To prevent people from going in private ships of war, an embargo should be laid on men to prevent them from going out of the State. A letter, also, might be wrote to Governor Trumbull, requesting him to order back a number of the inhabitants of this State who have lately entered on board armed vessels in Connecticut, and to put a stop to such practice in future until the Continental battalions be completed.

I am, Sir, &c.,

J. VARNUM.

Speaker of Rhode Island State.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

LEBANON, 29th April, 1777.

SIR,—In my letter to Major Gen. Spencer, of the 27th inst., which I desired him to communicate to your Honor, I expressed our intention to furnish our quota of troops for Providence, unless necessarily diverted another way.

Lest you should place great dependence upon our troops, I think it necessary to acquaint you that the attempt on the magazines at Danbury and the North River, are so important that our whole militia west of the Connecticut river are marched to oppose them.

In this situation, with such a length of sea coast, exposed to be ravaged, while upwards of thirty of the enemy's ships lie in the Sound ready to make a descent in the absence of the militia, it appears wholly unsafe to draw off any part of our remaining militia and leave the greatest part of the State exposed and defenceless.

We flatter ourselves the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, who have nothing at present to fear on the sea coast, will be able to furnish a sufficient force for your defence.

I am, Sir, with great esteem and regard,

Your obedient, humble servant,

JONATHAN TRUMBULL.

To Hon. Governor Cooke.

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FROM GENERAL SPENCER.

PROVIDENCE, 13th May, 1777.

SIR,—It having been represented to General Spencer that the inhabitants of this town were desirous that a fortress should be erected upon the College Hill, for their more secure and effectual defence against the common enemy, and great encourage-

J. VARNUM.

ment of the works being speedily effected by the united aid and services of the inhabitants and the army, the General has been induced to protract and caused to be laid the lines of a fort at that place, which being completed, would doubtless be greatly beneficial to the public. The work being now ready to proceed upon, the General hereby signifies that the services of the good people of the town would be very acceptable. It is to be wished that they would supply themselves with the necessary tools, &c.

W. BISSELL, A. D. Camp.

By the General's order.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

CHATHAM, RHODE ISLAND, 6th June, 1777.

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 5th instant, requesting that the five men mentioned therein may be exchanged for the five seamen belonging to His Majesty's ship, the Greyhound, who are now come in the cartel under the direction of Capt. Samuel Westcot.

I have enquired, and find that the five men you want to have exchanged, were taken in the Yankee Hero, and have been volunteers for many months on board the Renown, therefore, as they cannot be considered as prisoners, I have sent in lieu of the Greyhound's men, five people that were taken in vessels which sailed from Boston.

I have now a number of prisoners belonging to the Massachusetts Bay, but I shall not consent to release any of them, except in exchange for such of His Majesty's faithful subjects who may be sent to you from Boston for that purpose. I shall be glad, at all times, to have it in my power to oblige you.

Having the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

P. PARKER.

Nich's Cooke, Esq.

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 A. D. Camp.

June, 1777.  
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e servant,  
 P. PARKER.

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

CAMP AT MORRISTOWN, July — 1777.

DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with yours of June 16th. Your letter of March was duly answered. The reason of its not coming to hand I cannot imagine, unless the impertinent curiosity of some scoundrel broke the seal to examine the contents, and then the fear of detection made him add a second crime to the first, that of destroying the letter. However, it contained little more than an acknowledgment of the receipt of yours. You are much mistaken if you think me offended, at my letter's being laid before the Assembly. I did not wish it, but I had no conception that it was done with a view of injuring me, and therefore could have but little reason to resent it. It was not then, neither is it now, my opinion that you were under the least obligations to lay any letters before the House of Assembly, that are not official. It is true I was not pleased with the conduct of administration, as it was represented to me, and I wrote you with perfect freedom upon the subject. I don't wish to offend any public body, but I have no favours to ask of any. If I am not useful and necessary for the common good, in public employments, I shall cheerfully retire. The pleasures of domestic life have sufficient charms to compensate for the loss of public favours.

I am still unhappy enough to dislike the policy of your State, and not only yours but that of all the New England States. I cannot see the utility of stating prices, neither can I see the wisdom and policy of prohibitory laws restraining a free commerce amongst the different States. The stating the prices of articles will first produce an artificial scarcity, and then a real one. In the first instance, the people will conceal their goods, and in the second place, adventurers will cease to prosecute trade, when they are not at liberty to dispose of their effects. This policy will bring upon the people the very evils they are calculated to remedy. Every man that has studied the principles of commerce must be fully convinced of the absurdity of any attempts to regulate trade. It is a policy peculiar to itself.

Deprive it of freedom and you destroy its existence. The mutual wants of the buyer and seller must be the governing medium to regulate the exchange in barter, for the prices of articles for sale. Legislators should prohibit monopolizing and the consumption of articles unnecessary for the happiness of the people. If they interpose farther than this, they injure society instead of benefiting it. Those kind of regulating laws are founded in public covetousness, a desire to have the property of a few at a less value, than the demand will warrant to the owners. The prices of things will always be in proportion to the consumption or demand of the thing offered for sale, and the quantity of circulating cash. How far it may be necessary, and how far necessity may sanctify the seizing and stating the value of private property for public purposes, I shall not pretend to say, but the fewer instances the better, as it militates with the first principles of civil government, by destroying that security and confidence in the public faith plighted to every individual, to protect him in the enjoyment of personal liberty, and the free disposal of his property. The prohibitory laws restraining a free commerce amongst the neighboring States, is founded in a little narrow policy, and if adhered to will be productive of the worst of evils. Nothing will sour the inhabitants of the different States against each other so effectually. Has this the appearance of sharing in common the unavoidable evils that attends every war, or does it look like relieving the distresses of places or people that have suffered by the accidental ravages of a merciless enemy? Where is the generous spirit that so liberally relieved the unhappy sufferers at Boston? The sea ports of the State of New York, and the State of New Jersey are now blocked up, and the inhabitants deprived of the opportunity of drawing their supplies through the usual channels. Has it not the appearance of cruelty to multiply their distress by refusing them the little alleviation that may be had by a free commerce with the neighboring States? Nothing will preserve a harmony like a free intercourse among the people. The want of it in these States will soon produce the same evils that existed amongst the Grecian States. They were always at war, one with another, for want of a generous and liberal intercourse.

The New England States will be at war with each other before twelve months is at an end, if those prohibitory laws are continued, and the calamities of the people increase. History shows that human nature is capable of producing such evils, and therefore necessary to be guarded against.

May God in his mercy avert such terrible evils, and preside in the councils of his people, is the prayer of him who is, with great truth and sincerity,

Your most obedient humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

P. S. General Howe has evacuated the Jerseys, and is now on board his ships with all his troops. His destination is unknown. I think Providence not out of danger. General St. Clair has evacuated Ticonderoga. His reasons for it are a mystery. What has become of the garrison we cannot learn. We are on our march to cross the North River, to join the eastern army. I will give you a fuller history hereafter. I something expect to be sent to Albany.

N. G.

Governor Cooke.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

PEERSKILL, July 20th, 1777.

SIR,—Permit me most sincerely to congratulate you upon the captivity of General Prescott. His Excellency General Washington, no sooner had intelligence of the matter than he sent a flag to General Howe, demanding an exchange of General Lee—the event of which I have not heard. The enemy remain quiet. It is impossible to conjecture, with any degree of certainty, what they intend. I have lately wrote to his Excellency, in the most pressing terms, the necessity of affording Rhode Island an adequate support. Whether the strength of the army will at present admit of such a measure, is not for me to determine. We have no further particulars from the Northward that can be fully relied upon. Accept of my

warmest thanks for the care you have taken of the troops, in procuring and forwarding those necessary and valuable supplies by Mr. Holden. I hope their conduct will be such as to compensate, in some measure, your indulgent benevolence. You would much contribute to their comfort, happiness and ease, could you possibly furnish them with hunting shirts and overalls. Those who first took the field, in a particular manner are very ragged, owing principally to a deficiency in the quality of the cloth of which their coats and breeches were made. Many are entirely bare of shoes, which makes them vastly uneasy when travelling on rough and stony ground. I know the disadvantages under which you labor in adequately supplying the troops. War is ever attended with calamities, and our felicity keeps pace with the patience and success with which we surmount them. To combat with small difficulties belongs to the sphere of common life; but to encounter and overcome great obstacles denotes a magnanimity peculiarly characteristic of the brave, the virtuous and the wise.

In all revolutions, political or commercial, there are many who fail not to induce a nominal scarcity with the sordid view of enlarging their own fortunes upon the necessities of others. Raising the prices upon a few articles will have an immediate influence upon many; and nothing but the severities of law exerted with constancy and resolution, will check the growing evil. Where there is a real scarcity of the necessaries of life, the best remedy will be found in economy, frugality and industry.

July 24th, 1777.

General Washington's army hath been in motion this way. Two divisions have been thrown across the North river. But upon intelligence from the enemy, the particulars whereof I know not, his Excellency is upon his march towards Morris-town; the two divisions have received orders to hold themselves in readiness to re-cross. We have several agreeable reports from the northward, of advantages gained by our army over General Burgoyne, but as I am unacquainted with the circumstances, founded on real certainty, cannot ascertain facts. It appears more doubtful whether the enemy intend New England



as their object, than it did some time since. I am told by Lord Sterling he expects, every hour, orders will arrive for my brigade to re-cross the river; from that I am led to conjecture that his Excellency does not conclude the movement of some of the British fleet in the Sound, was designed for anything but a feint. Doubtless the enemy wish to draw the army as far as possible from the place of operation.

Suffer me, Sir, to be with due esteem,  
 Your most obedient and most  
 humble servant,  
 J. M. VARNUM.

To Governor Cooke.

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PART OF A LETTER,

Without signature or date, from Morristown, supposed to be written by General Greene.

We are still lying at Morristown, in a position easy to go to the North River, or to Philadelphia, as future intelligence may turn up. How long we shall remain here is uncertain. By all our intelligence from the enemy below, from prisoners escaping, and deserters, &c., &c., they are a full remove from New York. Their prisoners who came in yesterday, and escaped the night before from New York, say, that the foreign troops are all embarked, and the British are embarking: that the troops are encamped on the same ground they first landed on, and it is remarkable that they returned to that spot the day twelve months from that they first took possession of it, and the ships lie as then; that the transports are mostly large ships; they are fully wooded and watered; the merchants and others in New York are packing up their goods and furniture, and that everything looks like a general remove from that place. Indeed, these facts being true, it looks like a leaving the country. Supposing them embarking the troops only, and in large ships, and wooding and watering, that is against going up the North River, or along shore, except into large and deep harbours.

The size of the ships, and wooding and watering, sea-faring men can hardly be deceived in. They are our own people, and we can't have so great distrust of their fidelity as of foreigners. In the whole, I conceive they are going off to leave us, removing wholly to Boston or Newport, I apprehend the latter, of the two. I can see an object for them there of importance, and which they may carry, probably before our army can get up. That is the fleet at Providence and the town, and they may think it easy to march across the country from thence to Boston. If they had ever done a wise thing, we might expect this movement from them. Then their leaving a garrison at Newport, and being in possession there, they can land their troops on that island at leisure, and securely, and there is room and depth of water enough for their fleet, large as it may be. I hope if they go that way, that New England may not fall short of this and the other States in this way. In their exertions to save their country, they may depend on the greatest dispatch in the army's coming up to their assistance. I think, at any rate, it is best for the people to hasten their haying and harvest, to be in readiness. If they should come, it must take them some time, yet they can't embark and disembark such number, and fit out so large a fleet without expense of time.

I hope, from the size of the ships, they will not venture through the Sound, and that the coast of Connecticut may be free from their ravages. It will, doubtless be best, however, to have a good look-out kept to guard against sudden [

] with small parties. I am sometime apprehensive of their turning their measures from the pursuit of conquest, to a war of plunder, revenge and destruction. Their behavior at quitting here carries strong marks of such a plan being adopted.

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TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

[1777.]

SIR,—I had the pleasure of your favour of the 4th of Nov., by Col. Barton, and take the opportunity by his return to acknowledge it. That brave officer has lately waited upon Con-

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[1777.]

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gress, and I have the pleasure of informing you that they have shown a proper sense of his merit by appointing him a Colonel in the Continental service.

I am very sorry for the late unsuccessful expedition against Rhode Island. The best concerted enterprises often fail through some unforeseen accidents; but from whatever principles that attempt miscarried, I hope the blame may not justly be charged either to the civil or military departments in the State.

I am sensible that many and the greatest blessings will flow from the successes at the northward, and heartily congratulate you and all my friends upon the occasion. A superior force, if well directed, will always ensure success. Though we have been sometimes unfortunate the efforts of this army have been almost unparalleled. They have attempted everything that their strength would permit. Good policy makes it necessary to conceal the misfortunes we have met with. As the success of the ensuing campaign must depend upon the preparations made this winter, the greatest exertions are necessary to raise the levies, and to completely equip the troops, that we may take the field early and in the most advantageous manner. It is not improbable from appearances that a French war may soon take place. Such an event would be attended with agreeable consequences. However, it would be highly impolitic and imprudent to relax our preparations upon so uncertain a principle. We ought to make use of the resources within our own power to call forth our own strength, and then we may expect success, whether France declares war against Great Britain or not. The last campaign opened with unpleasing prospects, but our vigorous measures have closed it with advantage. Similar efforts for the ensuing campaign may close the war.

The badness of the present establishment gives the greatest uneasiness to the officers of the army, and ought to be remedied. The depreciation of money has reduced their pay to almost a cipher, so that far from being able to lend their families any assistance, they can scarcely subsist themselves. Justice demands that their situation be made more agreeable. There are but few men who can serve with alacrity and cheerfulness when their families are in want of the common necessaries of life.

We shall find, if we take a review of past times, that those who have been intrusted with the supreme power have been too often actuated by motives of private interest, or an illiberal attachment to favorites and flatterers. Innumerable are the disadvantages that have resulted from this conduct—not to mention the squandering of the public moneys, their jealousy of great and good characters, the cabals and intrigues to ruin them often deprives a country of the services of the best of men, and greatly endangers the common safety. 'Tis necessary to guard against those evils in these States, for I am fully convinced that we have nothing to fear while we have honest counsellors, and preserve unanimity amongst ourselves.

The army is now posted for the winter near the Valley Forge, on the banks of Schuylkill. They have been busy for some time past in building their huts, which are now nearly complete, and will be very comfortable. In the course of the campaign the army has suffered the greatest hardships with patience, and have encountered the greatest dangers with alacrity and cheerfulness. They have twice fought with superior numbers, and though defeated have always kept the field.

It is very necessary that large supplies of clothing be procured and sent forward for the use of the officers, as well as the soldiers. They suffer very much for the want of clothes. 'Tis particularly hard that, added to all the necessary hardships of a soldier's life, we should suffer so much in this respect. But exclusive of the sufferings of the soldiers, 'tis of great public disservice, for 'tis impossible to make any movement with troops that are barefoot. At this season of the year, the operations are greatly facilitated by having the soldiers well clothed, and the health preserved. If clothing cannot be procured through the common channels, let each town be rated for its proportion. There can be no difficulty in manufacturing a sufficient quantity and supplying the troops without distressing the country.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your most obedient, and very humble servant,

NATH. GREENE.

[This letter is without date, but was evidently written early in the winter of 1777].

TO GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE.

NEW YORK, Oct. 24th, 1777.

HONORED SIR,—The inclosures will show you how solicitous Congress are to have the Continental battalions filled up, and deserters apprehended. The extracts from General Washington's letter discovers his anxiety upon the subject, and that although he has wrote to the States upon the subject, he has received no information but from one or two. I think I have seen that provision has been made by the Legislature of the State of Rhode Island, agreeable to the Resolution of Congress of the 31st. July. I wish the last Resolution, also, of Congress of the 17th of October, may meet with the speedy attention of the General Assembly; and that General Washington may have notice immediately of what has been done, the names of the persons appointed to recruit soldiers and apprehend deserters, and that his Excellency may, from time to time, be made acquainted with, or rather have copies sent him of every such act or resolution of the General Assembly, or Council of War, as affects military operations and regulations. A considerable time before we left Philadelphia I received of the Secretary of Congress twenty volumes of the journals of Congress, and in hopes of meeting with some opportunity of sending them, I had them packed up in a box, but when we came away, I was necessitated to send them over into the Jerseys under the care of a gentleman who removed there. I have now procured twenty other volumes, and those I before received are to be replaced in their stead if no accident happens to them. Mr. President Hancock being upon his return to New England, has been so kind as to take charge of them, and says he expects soon to be in Providence himself, and will carry them with him. If he should not, you'll be pleased to take some opportunity of obtaining them from him. Congress ordered each State a like number.

I enclose your Honor copies of several letters which will show you the agreeable situation affairs are in here. If the

enemy's shipping can be prevented from coming up to the city, it might prove fatal, I apprehend, to Howe's army.

It is with peculiar pleasure that I reflect upon the honor which the Rhode Island battalions have acquired to themselves and their State. Their reputation is high. The fort was defended by them alone, and to their bravery under heaven, and not to the sufficiency of the works, is that victory to be attributed.

The last Sabbath was a week, we had accounts very direct from Albany that General Burgoyne had surrendered himself and his whole army to General Gates; but to this hour Congress has not a word further from that quarter. This raises doubts with us, but before this, if it be true, you are well informed. I am anxious to hear the success of the expedition upon Rhode Island. May heaven bless the attempt, grant us deliverance, and crown us with honor, and what is beyond all, give us grateful hearts to improve his blessings.

I have daily expected to see Mr. Ellery. If any accident happens to prevent his coming, I hope another gentleman will be appointed. Indeed, that was to have been done long since. I informed the House at my first choice, I could by no means be absent more than six months; my affairs at home will not permit it, nor did I prepare myself for a later season, so that I must return next month; by that time, however, I hope we shall have finished the long wished for C———n, which we have at times been upon ever since I came, but lately taken up with more earnestness.

My presence, I presume, will also be necessary when this comes before the General Assembly for their approbation, that they may be more particularly acquainted with the subject, than they will be from a mere view of the articles of it.

I have the honor to be your Honor's

most obedient and very humble servant,

HENRY MARCHANT.

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MERCHANT.

TO GENERAL SULLIVAN.

PROVIDENCE, August 15th, 1778.

SIR,—I wrote you, yesterday morning, that we had half a ton of powder in the mill. Upon sending for it we find it is not sufficiently dry, and cannot be made fit for use under three or four days of good weather. You will see by the letter from General Heath that but a small quantity can be expected from him. I am now about writing to the Council of Massachusetts Bay to purchase as large a quantity as they can, and to forward it immediately. I have no answer as yet from Governor Trumbull, but hope we shall receive some supplies from thence. I should be glad you would let me have, as soon as possible, an estimate of the quantity still necessary for the expedition, specifying the kind, and you may be assured of my utmost exertions to procure it. We have a considerable number of hands employed in making cartridges, and had we powder, could engage many more. As you have ordered the heavy cannon from Pawtuxet, I have thought it best to direct the guard to join you forthwith, and have procured Col. Arnold to take care of the artillery stores which will be left there.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(No Sig.)

Gen. Sullivan.

TO JEREMIAH POWELL, Esq.

PROVIDENCE, August 15th, 1778.

SIR,—Upon receiving a letter from Gen. Sullivan, informing me of the great want of cartridges in the army, I immediately wrote to General Heath to supply the demand; at the same time I acquainting him that we had about half a ton of powder in our powder mill, which, upon examining, we find is not fit for use, nor cannot be made dry enough under three or four days of

good weather. I am favoured with his answer, in which he tells me that he hath sent forward ten barrels of powder and a small quantity of cartridges. That you may judge of the unhappy state of our army in that respect I enclose two extracts from General Sullivan's letter: "The situation of my army is now miserable, beyond description; most of my troops without any kind of covering, and those who have tents but little better guarded against the violent and uncommon storm. My ammunition mostly ruined, and arms rendered useless. I beg you to employ a great number of hands in making musket cartridges of all sizes, and forward them with all possible expedition." We have sent down about 7000 cartridges, and have about 300 lbs. of powder making up, which is the whole this State can supply.

From this representation the Council of Massachusetts Bay will perceive the necessity of an immediate and spirited exertion, which I have no doubt they will make.

I beg the favour of you to inform me, as soon as possible, what supplies you can afford, that I may give immediate information to the General.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(No. SIG.)

Hon. Jeremiah Powell, Esq.

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TO HON. JEREMIAH POWELL.

PROVIDENCE, August 17th, 1778.

SIR,—By reason of the unhappy absence of the French fleet, and the disappointment General Sullivan hath met with from the States of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, his army is unequal to the reducing of the enemy on Rhode Island, and he hath applied to this State for all the assistance we can give. Upon this as upon every other occasion we are determined to exert ourselves to the utmost of our abilities, and have accord-



ingly this day issued orders for calling into the field the whole of the fencible men in the State for twenty days; but as two-thirds of our able-bodied men are now in the service, and from the smallness of the State, the aid we can afford is ineffectual to give success to the expedition, that we have thought it necessary to dispatch Theodore Foster, Esq., a member of our General Assembly, who was one of a committee that conferred with General Sullivan yesterday to represent those matters to your Honorable Council, and to solicit you to exert a sufficient part of the force of your great State to ensure success.

I am, with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(No Sig.)

Hon. Jeremiah Powell, Esq.

State of Massachusetts Bay.

Directed to His Excellency, Gov. Trumbull, State of Connecticut, and the person appointed to go was Mr. Paul Allen.

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TO GENERAL SULLIVAN.

PROVIDENCE, August 17th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with yours of yesterday, which I have laid before the Council, who have also heard the report of Messrs. Allen and Foster of their conference with you. The Council most heartily sympathize with you in the unfortunate events of the Count D'Estaing's putting to sea, of the terrible storm which hath so greatly retarded your operations and injured your army, and of the disappointment you have had in the troops you expected from Massachusetts and Connecticut. We esteem the object of the present expedition as of the last importance to the United States, as in case of success it will afford the most pleasing prospect of crushing the whole British force in America. At the same time we are sensibly mortified at your expressing to our committee your sentiments that this State have not fulfilled their engagements to you. We do not

mean anything like an altercation ; we esteem you too highly otherwise we should not feel the reflection ; and you will excuse a State who hath ever exerted themselves in the most forcible manner, in the common cause, in being jealous of their Honor when called upon by motives so strong to exert itself with vigor. You will please, Sir, to remember that when you conferred with the Council you were told that one half of our fencible men would amount to about 3000. You then said that if we furnished 2000 you would be satisfied. We now assure you that by the best computation we can make, we have not much, if any, less than 3000 men in the various parts of the service, officers included ; add to these our brigade and the troops in the Continental service, and you will confess that it is an amazing proportion of men from a State whose whole number of souls, by an account taken in the summer of 1776, when we had the Island in possession, did not much exceed 50,000. But we will waive the subject, and hope there may be no other contest between us than who shall most exert themselves in the common cause.

In consequence of your representation, we have sent a member of the General Assembly to the Massachusetts Bay and another to Connecticut, to add the most pressing solicitations to yours for effectual assistance. We have also ordered out, for twenty days, the whole of the remaining part of our fencible men to assist in the expedition. A copy of the act we shall transmit you to-morrow. As all the field officers of the first regiment of militia in the County of Providence and of the two regiments in King's County, are now upon Rhode Island, and the Council think it necessary that one of them be present in their respective regiments to carry their resolve into execution, and have directed their warrants accordingly. I must desire you to send off immediately a field officer to each of those districts. This must be done, as in some of the districts there are no commissioned officers to collect and conduct the troops ; and the Council have empowered such field officer to appoint proper persons in such case.

I mentioned to you that I had ordered the guard from Pawtuxet to join you. They refuse it unless you should give orders.

As that post may be kept by invalids should you think proper to command that guard to join you, and to direct me to supply a guard there I will undertake it.

I wish that some means could be devised to break up the little privateer boats who now swarm in the Bay. They contain a considerable number of effective men who are of no use in the expedition, and wait only until the time of an attack to plunder.

I would not have you, Sir, form expectations of any great number of men from the present order of the Council, because we have absolutely in various parts of the service two-thirds of all our able bodied men. I am informed that 219 men of Col. Dyre's regiment and a detachment from some other regiment are now at Updike's New Town. Unless the French fleet arrive they may be ordered to join the army. I have acquainted you that Governor Trumbull had ordered 100 bbls. of musket powder to this place; one wagon with 19 bbls. has arrived and been examined, one bbl. only was pistol powder; the rifle cannon, of which 12 prove good and the remainder bad. The Governor informs me, also, that there are 200 bbls. at Norwich, which may be had. Four wagon loads are just arrived, but I cannot tell the kind or quality.

I am, with great esteem, dear Sir,

Your most humble and

most obedient servant,

(No Sig.)

General Sullivan.

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TO GENERAL SULLIVAN.

PROVIDENCE, 19th August, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I received your favour of yesterday with pleasure to hear you are entirely satisfied with the exertions of this State, but am very sorry to find by you that they are not fully complied with.

I imagine, through the crowd of business, you misconceived

my request in regard to the field officer of the County of Kent, as there are several of them now at their homes, notwithstanding I think it may be best for him to proceed, as I am informed there are a considerable number of men in that County who were drafted in the present tour of duty who have not come forward, notwithstanding, as Colonel Gorton tells me the Deputy Governor issued his order to the Colonel now there to bring them forward immediately.

I received from Governor Trumbull of yesterday mentioning that the State of Connecticut will send forward, with all possible dispatch six companies, exclusive of 40 light horsemen. There is also a letter from him directed to you which I make no doubt contains the same.

I am informed that our foreman who manufactures salt-petre into powder, is now in the service in General Wells' brigade, under your command; should that be the case I really recommend that he may be dismissed, as there is a considerable quantity of the powder brought from Connecticut unfit for use, unless to be manufactured again into powder, and, there also being a considerable quantity of salt-petre now on hand ready to be manufactured into powder; the chief part of the powder from Connecticut has not as yet been examined that I am not able to let you know the quantity of the different sorts, but you may rely upon my utmost exertions in forwarding the cartridges with the utmost despatch.

I am, with great regard, Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

W. GREENE.

General Sullivan.

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TO GENERAL SULLIVAN.

PROVIDENCE, August 24th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I am favoured with yours of yesterday, which I have laid before the Council of War. The distressed situation of this State from the whole of its fencible men being taken into the service, of which you cannot form the least idea, the

doubt whether the troops who have been engaged for twenty days will obey our orders for continuing longer in the field, and in case of a misfortune the danger of the total destruction of the State from the loss of its male inhabitants, together with the uncertainty of such aid being afforded by the neighbouring States as to render our extraordinary exertion effectual, have induced us to send a committee to know of you what probability there is of the army continuing of sufficient force, with our aid, to give a reasonable prospect of success.

To give up the hopes of the present expedition will, to this State, be the most heavy and humbling stroke that can befall it. And of course when we have done so much we will do more if more we can do.

We shall wait your answer, by our committee, who will return this night. We beg it may be as explicit as possible.

P. S. The Deputy Governor informs us that you desire that three or four heavy cannon may be immediately sent forward to Bristol Ferry to place in the fort there. He also writes that there are eight 18-pounders at the furnace, and advises the whole of them to be sent. As it is impossible for us to provide carriages for them we have at present ordered only four cannon carriages, which, we are informed, the Deputy Governor thinks can be supplied there. You will please, Sir, to give further directions in this matter also.

I am, dear Sir, with unfeigned esteem,

Your most obedient, and

most humble servant,

(No. Sig.)

General Sullivan.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

CAMP, January 2d, 1778.

SIR,—The two battalions from the State of Rhode Island being small, and there being a necessity of the State's furnishing an additional number to make up their proportion in the

Continental army, the field officers have represented to me the propriety of making one temporary battalion from the two, so that one entire corps of officers may repair to Rhode Island in order to receive and prepare the recruits for the field. It is imagined that a battalion of negroes can be easily raised there. Should that measure be adopted, or recruits obtained upon any other principle, the service will be advanced. The field officers who go upon this command are: Colonel Greene, Lieut. Colonel Olney and Major Ward, seven Captains, twelve Lieutenants, six Ensigns, one Pay-Master, one Surgeon and Mate, one Adjutant and one Chaplain.

I am, your Excellency's

Most obedient servant,

(Signed)

J. M. VARNUM.

His Excellency General Washington.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 2d January, 1778.

HONORED SIR,—Your favour of the 12th ultimo I received per express, with one hundred and forty thousand dollars. The letters dated 15th the express carried to Boston, which countermanded the order to pay Jacob Greene, Esq., twenty thousand dollars. In the mean time I had paid almost the whole draft. The amount of my account, as far as I have been able to collect through want of cash, is one hundred thousand nine hundred and ninety-three pounds, 8s. 6d. Have not been able to collect several accounts by reason of a severe storm rendering travelling to some parts almost impracticable for some time.

The return of stores shall accompany Mr. Jno. Brown's answer to your letter, which he promises shall be ready in two or three days. Have sent a copy of the sales of seventy horses which I sold, agreeable to your directions, but they netted so little the General advised me to send them on Prudence, which I have done to the number of about 100. It is thought they

will live through the winter very easily. All the wagon horses that were fit for use I sent to Connecticut to winter. Mr. Olney seems inclined to accept your offer, and is writing you on the subject.

[E. BOWEN.]

TO MAJOR GENERAL SPENCER.

PROVIDENCE, January 9th, 1778.

SIR,—General Corneli hath communicated to us the orders this day issued by your Honor to the commanding officer at Warwick, respecting flags of truce. They appear to us to be conceived in such general terms as to include in them cartel vessels and letters under the direction of this State. We hope that this could not be the intention of your Honor, as they are incompatible with the authority and sovereignty of this free and independent State, and desire that for the good of the service your Honor will make an exception in those orders of all flags of truce, letters and papers, which shall come or be sent by the orders of the General Assembly or this Council. It would give us great uneasiness to have a difference between your Honor and this State, which must be attended with ill consequences to the common cause, and shall upon all occasions endeavor to cultivate a harmony and good correspondence which must prove beneficial to the public.

We are, Sir, your Honor's

Most obedient, humble servants,

(No SIG.)

Hon. Major General Spencer.

TO THEODORE FOSTER, Esq.

CAMP VALLEY FORGE, 24th April, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—Capt. Tew and myself arrived safe to port the 22d inst., found the encampment in perfect tranquility, and the enemy peaceable in their quarters. Am sorry to inform you

that yesterday died, of a short illness, that worthy gentleman, Jno. Waterman, Esq., commissary to our brigade.

Please deliver the enclosed to Sally [torn]. Accept the sincere regards for yourself and lady, from your

Most affectionate, most obedient,  
Humble servant,

WM. ALLEN.

N. B. Have returned your bill to Capt. S. Olney, as it would not pass in Pennsylvania.

Theodore Foster, Esq.

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TO GENERAL PIGOT.

PROVIDENCE, May 2d, 1778.

SIR,—I am favoured with yours of the 23d of April. Before you addressed copies of the bills read in the British House of Commons on the 19th of February, to General Sullivan, they were received here; and, that the public might be acquainted with the contents of them, published in the Providence Gazette. As every proposal of accommodations must be made to, and administered by, Congress, I shall not trouble you with any observations upon them, nor the address with which they were accompanied. I am to inform you that Samuel Buffum, upon his arrival here, laid before the Council of War a copy of his parole, who refused to grant him the sergeant of dragoons, but allowed him to send Graham to discharge it. Graham was put on board the cartel vessel, while under the care of our people, in order to be sent, but made his escape. Upon a further application of Buffum, the Council told him plainly that as he could not obtain either the sergeant or Graham he ought to return and deliver himself up, which he promised to do. I am since told that he soon after left this State and went to sea. Several British officers have broken their paroles given to us. We have never thought the commander of the British armies chargeable on that account, nor do I conceive myself in any



degree answerable for Buffum's conduct. The person we sent down was a British soldier, taken in arms, nor did he appear as an idiot, but as a fair subject of exchange; and I cannot help adding that Buffum, when here, gave evident marks of insanity, and that I am well informed he was, a considerable time, disordered in his senses when under confinement in the gaol at Newport. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NICH'S COOKE.

General Pigot.

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TO THEODORE FOSTER, Esq.

CAMP VALLEY FORGE, 3d May, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—Joy sparkles in every eye at the important news we have from France via Boston, and for a demonstration of the same 13 pieces of cannon are to be discharged for each of the United States, and 13 pieces of cannon for each of the European powers who confirm our independence. 'Tis expected to-morrow will be set apart for this public testimony of joy. The whole army is also to be under arms on this important occasion. I am sorry to inform you that, on Friday last, General Lasee, commanding five hundred militia, nigh the Crooked Billet, was attacked by nine hundred foot and cavalry, and was totally routed, and left thirty-four dead on the field. The enemy's loss was not ascertained, as they gained the ground. This will be handed you by Lieut. Curtis, who has obtained His Excellency's leave to resign his commission. You will please to excuse the blunders of this as I knew nothing of this opportunity till this moment, and as Lieut. Curtis is waiting shall only send love to Sally and compliments to your lady. The army in general are very healthy, but our brigade are yet very sickly indeed.

I am, dear Sir, with great esteem,

Your devoted, humble servant,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

Theodore Foster, Esq.

TO GOVERNOR GREENE.

HEAD QUARTERS, May 26th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I am sorry to inform your Excellency and the Council, that notwithstanding my reiterated solicitations to the several States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, and their repeated promises to supply the troops assigned to this post, there has not two hundred men arrived from the three States, and I am much in doubt whether either of them will send their compliment in the course of the campaign. I should not do justice to the inhabitants of this State if I neglected to inform you that I have but little reason to suppose that the State of Connecticut will send a man. I enclose you my letter from the Massachusetts Council by which you will see the prospect of obtaining the soldiers from them. I am very sensible of the exertions of the inhabitants of this State, and am sorry to see them treated with so much neglect by the other States, yet I cannot help observing that their complaint would be much better founded, and strike with greater force, had they completed the quota stipulated by them. It requires no great share of military knowledge to determine that in our present weak situation the enemy may reduce every town upon the shore to the same deplorable situation that they have the towns of Warren and Bristol, and can make them retreat before it will be possible to collect a sufficient number of men from the country to make a successful opposition. Under these circumstances I esteem it my duty to call upon your Excellency and the Council to furnish troops for defence of the country (from the militia). I also beg that the quota of troops, to be raised by this State, be immediately filled up by draft, and that some measures may be adopted to induce the other States to afford that assistance which they have promised.

Sir, I have the honor to be,

with much esteem, your Excellency's

most obedient servant,

JNO. SULLIVAN.

His Excellency Governor Greene.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

PHILADELPHIA, July 14th, 1778.

SIR,—As I shall enclose to your Excellency the newspaper of this day, I have no occasion to add, but that I had the honor of being present the last Sabbath at the most interesting interview that ever took place in America, or perhaps in the world, between Monsieur Gerard, the Plenipotentiary of France, and the President of Congress, on the part of the Sovereign, Independent United States of America.

This interview was most cordial, generous and noble. In my turn, I had the honor of personally congratulating his Excellency upon his safe arrival, and giving him a hearty welcome to the United States of America.

I am in daily expectation of hearing that Rhode Island is evacuated. Most respectfully I am

Your Excellency's most obedient

and humble servant,

H. J. MARCHANT.

His Excellency Governor Greene.

Warwick, State of Rhode Island.

TO MAJOR GENERAL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 20th July, 1778.

SIR,—I received, last evening, per Mr. Martin, who I sent to you for cash, sixty thousand dollars, which came very seasonably, having the day before paid away all the cash I had on hand. The General has directed me to build fifty flat-bottomed boats, which with the wagons, horses, and other necessaries for this department, which are to be procured, will quickly reduce the sum I have received. Shall make it my particular study

to give you the utmost satisfaction in every part of the department. I am, with respect, Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,  
 M[ajor] G[eneral] Greene, E. B[OWEN.]  
 Q. M. G.

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TO HONORABLE JABEZ BOWEN.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, BOSTON, July 24th, 1778.

SIR,—We received your favour dated 22d July instant, wherein you inform of the large increase of force to the enemy on Rhode Island from New York, and expectation of further addition to that force. As we are ever intent on the distresses of our neighbours, either felt or expected, notwithstanding our embarrassments arising from reiterated calls upon the militia of this State, have ordered from the brigades in the vicinity of the State of Rhode Island, one thousand men, as an immediate temporary re-enforcement to the troops already under command of General Sullivan there, and the remainder to be in readiness to march to your assistance on the shortest notice. Should the whole British force arrive there, perhaps our circumstances might not be altered for the worse, as we might then expect some notice from the United States, and aid from the American army.

In the name and behalf of the Council,

I am, Sir, your Honor's  
 most obedient, humble servant,  
 JER. POWELL, President.

Hon. Jabez Bowen, Esq.

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TO GENERAL SULLIVAN.

PROVIDENCE, August 28th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—Being informed that it is your determination to take possession and secure the north part of Rhode Island, I am

requested by the Council of War to inform you that, after the militia now on duty is dismissed, it will be impossible for this State to re-enforce the army on Rhode Island with any considerable body of militia. Some guards are necessary for our extensive shore, having on them a most valuable stock with large quantities of cheese, and the people in danger of being taken out of their beds by small parties. You are not insensible of the burthens and distresses of the unhappy inhabitants of this State. They cannot bear up under them. We write to you thus early that you may timely turn your attention towards keeping up the army from the neighbouring States. At the same time, we assure you that you may rely upon this State for its full proportion of the numbers of which it shall be thought necessary to compose the army upon Rhode Island:

I am, with very great esteem and regard,

Dear Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

W. GREENE.

General Sullivan.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

COVENTRY, Sept. 11th, 1778.

SIR,—The growing extravagance of the people, and the increasing demand for the article of forage for the use of the public, require the immediate interposition of legislative authority to fix some limits to the price of articles taken for the use of the army; for without, it will be impossible to furnish money to answer their demands, or to procure forage sufficient to subsist the cattle of the army. This evil, if it is permitted to rage, will soon become intolerable if the forage is to be furnished by contract, because the people enlarge their prices as our wants grow more pressing. Two evils will result from the present state of things: our funds will be found unequal to the expense, and consequently it will sap the very foundation of all opposition. The people's hopes of greater gain will withhold

their forage until they starve our cattle. It has been proved to be impracticable to regulate trade and commerce in general; and perhaps if it could be effected it might not be found to answer the great purposes of society, so well as that medium which is formed by the mutual wants of the buyers and sellers. But a partial regulation, so far as respects the supplies of the public, I conceive to be absolutely necessary, and at the same time perfectly consistent with private right and the public welfare.

I submit the matter to your Excellency's consideration and that of your council, and should be glad of your advice and direction as to the modes and means of supplying the army with forage.

I am, with the most perfect esteem,  
 Your Excellency's obedient,  
 humble servant,  
 NATHANAEL GREENE,  
 Q. M. G.

His Excellency William Greene, Esq.

N. B. The prices of hay, grain, and carriage hire by the day, was regulated in Pennsylvania, so far as respected the supplying the public, and it had a happy effect. I believe the same policy took place in New Jersey, where hay was regulated at twenty dollars per ton, and grain in proportion.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, October 20th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I have borrowed of General Sullivan one hundred and forty thousand dollars, which he wishes me to return as soon as convenient. If it is possible wish it might be sent forward, and at the same time should be glad to receive some for the department. The wagon with the axes went forward last week, in which went some with swanskin and trimmings for your use; have also sent nine hogshheads containing 200 tents

to the care of Mr. Hubbard, to be forwarded by him. The account of disbursements in particulars is nearly finished, and shall be sent in a few days. I have sent several accounts of damage done to the inhabitants by the troops, in corn, potatoes and fencing, &c., to the General, which he sends back again, declining to direct payment, notwithstanding I have told him it is your direction that I should have his orders before I paid them. Your further directions in this matter will be agreeable, as it seems hard that individuals should suffer in such cases.

I have the pleasure to inform you that Mrs. Greene and family are well.

I am with respect, &c.,

E. B[OWEN].

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TO MAJOR EPHRAIM BOWEN.

CAMP FREDERICKSBURG, Oct. 26th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—On consulting with General Greene relative to the supplies of forage in your department, I proposed that you should direct the purchase of whatever forage was necessary and could be had in your department, and pay for the same, for which purpose I send you as a temporary supply eleven thousand dollars, and desire you will let there be purchases made according to your demands. Mr. Gooch, (who I do not mean to supersede by this), also has my directions to give you and Colonel Chase every assistance in his power by procuring and sending forage in such places as either of you shall direct, and occasional circumstances require. Our intelligence of the enemy's motions is so uncertain that we cannot decide on their intentions. A large body of their troops have embarked and dropped down to the Hook, but we don't hear of their sailing with any certainty. I hope they may not go to the eastward. In case they should, I shall give you the most early notice. Any persons in the forage department in your district you will remove or continue as you may think proper, and direct monthly returns and accounts to be sent to me. On your expenditures,

you will have the same allowance of commission as from the Quarter-Master General.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

CLEMENT BIDDLE,

C. G. F.

This comes by Mr. Whitehead, one of my assistants, with the money.

Major Ephraim Bowen.

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Endorsement on the back of the letter.

Mr. Whitehead being sick, this comes by my assistant, Mr. Thomas Duric.

C. BIDDLE.

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TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

CAMP FREDERICKSBURG, Nov. 12th, 1778.

SIR,—On the receipt of this you will forward me your accounts up to the first of this month; also, a return of all the stores in your district, specifying where deposited, in whose care, and in what condition. These returns are wanted as soon as possible to lay before a committee of Congress.

From this time forward you will make monthly returns of all your disbursements, (to the last of each month), of the stores in your district, and of the number and occupation of people employed in the Quarter-Master General's Department.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

Circular.

Ephraim Bowen, Esq.,

D. Q. M. G.



TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, November 14th, 1778.

DEAR SIR,—I have at length made up my accounts, although not so complete as I could wish, but as I was so soon as the end of the month to make return of the disbursements to that time, I thought I had better forward them as complete as I could at this time. The amount you'll see is seventy-two thousand seven hundred and thirty-two pounds 17s., which, with the sums advanced, as per list of them, makes the whole amount one hundred thousand and thirty-six pounds 6s. 9d., and the amount of the credit as per account, seventy thousand three hundred and one pounds 13s. I have been very careful to get proper vouchers for the payment of all accounts, all of which, I flatter myself, will meet with your approbation. The vouchers for the accounts of the assistants, I permit them to keep, after examining them with their accounts, but on condition to be delivered me if I should have occasion for them. Have paid General Sullivan out of the money you last sent me, sixty-five thousand dollars, which leaves a balance of seventy-five thousand more. I have directed all accounts whatever to be made up to the last of this month, that you may have the true and exact amounts of the disbursements of the department.

I am, with great esteem,  
Your obedient servant,  
E. BOWEN, D. Q. M. G.

TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

TIVERTON, Dec. 23d, 1778.

SIR,—I shall not multiply words nor point out grievances to you in this letter, as that is not the intent of it, but to let you know I wish to see you at this post as soon as you possibly can, as I think the public good absolutely requires your pres-

ence, that I may know your opinion upon and have several matters settled, so that the A. Q. M. and forage master may have some rule to govern themselves by, without which I know not but this part of the army must either freeze or starve. I beg you will not fail of coming, and I wish you may, if possible, come with the power of casting [out] devils.

It is not my intent to impeach any of the officers in your department of wicked practices, but on the contrary, they do all in their power. Notwithstanding you are wanted. I wish you to come between now and Wednesday next, as at that time I shall want to go to Providence.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient and very humble servant,  
EZEKIEL CORNELL.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, Jan. 6th, 1779.

GENERAL GREENE :

SIR,—Enclosed are the returns of stores on hand, and men employed in the department. As the barracks are nearly complete at Tiverton, &c., I shall discharge all that can be spared. General Sullivan absolutely refuses to give any further order for the payment of damages or losses; says it is not customary for the commanding officer of a department to interfere in the least in the Quarter-Master General's department, but that it is a plan of yours to saddle him. He directs me to acquaint you that he shall meddle no further in the matter, and declares that General Washington never gave orders for the payment of anything lost. How true that is, you are able to determine.

You'll please to direct how I shall proceed in this matter, as I have paid all but two or three in the way you formerly pointed out.

The wages of the assistants in the department are inadequate to the service of many of them. If it could be possible to give them sixty dollars per month, I think it would be no

more than reasonable. I have promised those that are deserving as much as fifty, which I beg you'll consent to.

As the supply of wood was uncertain in this town in case the river froze, or the carting bad, I applied to the Council of War to direct sufficient to be brought in weekly, which they ordered to be done, at eighteen dollars per cord. Just at the time a bad storm of snow, which made the roads impassable with teams, prevented the supply for several days, and as the inhabitants were destitute the price raised from eighteen to thirty and even forty dollars.

The Assembly sitting at this time, passed an act that the army should be supplied at the current going price, and that wood, team horses, or anything else, should not be taken from any person without paying him the current price.

I asked General Sullivan if I must give what was asked, (which was the current price), for wood, &c. He declared I should not, and that the troops should take fuel wherever they could find it, with impunity, till the law was repealed. Nothing has been done since. The act will be published in a few days when I will send it to you.

(No Sig.)

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, Feb. 8th, 1779.

HONORED SIR,—Your favours of the 26th and 27th ultimo I received. Am surprised you had not received my returns of stores and the persons employed in the department. As I sent them in four days after my accounts, doubt not but they have arrived before this. The return of stores shall be sent as soon as possible to collect them from the different brigades. Have directed them to be made out immediately also weekly returns afterwards. Am sorry to inform you that I have had no success in procuring vessels to bring rice. There is not a vessel in the State suitable that can be had on any terms, nor are there but two in Bedford which can be had on these terms only viz: the owners to have one-third of the cargo brought and

the public to risk the vessel, which by my instructions I could not promise. Mr. Otis has endeavored to get them in Boston, but cannot without giving one-half, as he informed me a few days since. The reason that flour has been brought from Virginia, &c., for one-third of the cargo, was because an embargo was laid, and if they did not load for the army they must return empty. If one-third can be given to risk the vessel, or half and the owners risk them, I think that two or three may be had by the time I can have your answer. I had put one hundred and fifty or sixty horses on Prudence by Gen. Sullivan's advice, in the fall, supposing they would winter there without cost, which they would have done had not the Tories from Newport taken off what of them were in tolerable case, and killed all the rest but one or two, a few days since.

As Mr. Olney leaves me to-morrow, I have engaged George Benson to take his place. Mr. Olney can give you his character. I gave Mr. Olney eighty dollars per month, and engaged to board him and his wife for that sum, which I did, notwithstanding everything rose 30 per cent. afterwards. Have engaged Mr. Benson at \$100 per month till your pleasure can be known, and if you do not consent to allow it I am to lose it, the over-plus. It is very difficult to get a person to take charge of books and cash that can be entrusted without giving him a price something adequate to the business and the rise of boarding. You'll please to write me, or direct Mr. Olney to, on this subject. Mr. Olney brings my accounts.

I am, with respect, &c.,

E. B[OWEN].

General Greene.

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TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 22d, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—General Greene desires me to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 2d inst. with your accounts. The General hourly expects your return of stores. I hope you will

have the blank form before the next month. A supply of money was sent you. Colonel Pettit wrote you on the occasion. I am sorry Mr. Reynolds has not been able to perform his promise as to the linen. I hope it will soon be in his power, but as it may be some time first, I wish you would transmit me your account that I may settle it. I shall hope for the linen, when the General's is sent. We have certain accounts that the State of Georgia is invaded by Col. Campbell from New York, with 3000 men and a body of troops from St. Augustine. They have the capital towns in their possession. General Lincoln was within 50 miles of them by the last accounts, and we are very anxious for further intelligence. I hope they will not make an attempt to possess Charlestown.

I am in haste, yours sincerely,

ICHABOD BURNET,

A. D. Camp.

N. B. My compliments to Mrs. Bowen and all friends at Providence.

I. B.

TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

MIDDLEBROOK, Feb. 9th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—General Greene desires me to write you and to inform you that no special damages done to the property of any inhabitant is paid for by the Quarter-Master General's department without an order from the commanding officer of the department, as the Quarter-Masters are entirely under the direction of the commanding officer within the department. General Washington always gives orders for the payment of special damages done by the troops under his immediate command, and the Quarter-Master can have no sufficient voucher for the payment of such damages but the order of the officer commanding in the department where the damage is done. General Sullivan, I imagine, will have no objection to give such special orders if you assure him that His Excellency gives his orders for payment in like instances, which General Greene says is the case. General Greene also desires you will take

the necessary measures to procure a sufficient supply of camp equipage for the troops now in Rhode Island for the ensuing campaign, viz., tents, knapsacks, canteens, camp-kettles, &c. You will immediately make this necessary provision without waiting for any further orders from the Quarter-Master General, as he thinks it is high time the measures were taken for supplying that part of the army. As our expresses go through you will have the earliest opportunity to forward the linen to me.

I am yours, sincerely,

I. BURNET,  
A. D. Camp.

Colonel Bowen.

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TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

MIDDLEBROOK, Feb. 10th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—I wrote you some time since from Philadelphia to charter a number of vessels, to freight a quantity of rice from Charleston, South Carolina. Please to inform me what progress you have made in the business. Perhaps you may be able to get a considerable number of vessels in Dartmouth and Bedford.

The express is just going, and I have not time to add.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

N. GREENE, Q. M. G.

Col. Ephraim Bowen.

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TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

MIDDLEBROOK, Feb. 23d, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—Your favour of the 8th, by Mr. George Olney I have received. The returns you mention have never come to hand, neither do I expect they will, as the time in which they

ought to have arrived is long past. The others you are making out, I wish may be sent on as soon as possible.

I am equally sorry with you that your success in chartering vessels for freighting rice from Charleston, has been so unequal to my wishes and the public demands, but as I am persuaded you have done everything in your power to promote the business, I am less anxious upon the subject, as there is no door left open by which the department can be subject to censure for negligence.

You were very unfortunate with the horses put upon Prudence Island. The Tories have played you a fine trick, but upon the whole I suppose the public will still be gainers, as the wintering would have cost much more than the value of the cattle in the spring.

The wages of Mr. Benson are very high, but you had better give a high price for a good man than employ a bad one for nothing at all. Pray don't fail for the future transmitting monthly returns of all your stores, and abstracts of your disbursements. Have you got your tents repaired and washed? Let me know what number you have fit for service for another campaign, and what number of new ones will be wanted for your post. To determine the last matter it may not be amiss to take Gen. Sullivan's advice and directions upon the point.

I am, with the greatest regard,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE,

Q. M. G.

Col. Ephraim Bowen.

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TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

MIDDLEBROOK, Feb. 26th, 1779.

SIR,—Inclosed is an extract of General Washington's order to me, respecting making him monthly returns; he has repeatedly demanded them, but they have not been sent in regularly

by the deputies ; it has been, therefore, out of my power to comply with his orders.

I am now to request you to send me immediately a return of all the Quarter-Master's stores in your possession, and the forage on hand and contracted for. You will make a separate return of any stores manufacturing, by whose order, and how soon they will be complete. I must have monthly returns, in future, to be sent in at the beginning of every month. As His Excellency, the Commander in Chief, the Congress, and the Board of War, all require monthly returns from me, I must insist upon their being regularly furnished monthly, and cannot admit of any excuse.

Blank returns may be had of Mr. Pettit in Philadelphia.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE,

Q. M. G.

Circular.

Ephraim Bowen.

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TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

MIDDLEBROOK, March 2d, 1779.

DEAR COLONEL,—I was happy to hear by Mr. Olney, that you had at length procured me some linen. I am much obliged to you for this instance of your friendship, and shall with pleasure pay the amount of the account to Mr. Olney. I wish you to let me know by the return of the bearer what hats they have charged me with. The black hat was paid for by Major Blodget, and one of the white hats was drawn for Major Gibbs, and was to have been charged to Col. Peck who lost the hat in a bet with Gibbs. At any rate, I wish to know what hats they have charged me with. If my memory is not treacherous I paid for both my hats and the waistcoats, which they have also charged me with.

I send the letters for Coventry to you. I hope you will send them and inform Mr. Greene, the express will return by Coven-



try, as I have ordered him to bring my linen if you have not already forwarded it. If you have, please to let me know by whom.

The minister of France has received dispatches from the Court of Versailles, informing him that the Court of Madrid has acknowledged our independence and determined to support the house of Bourbon.

The King of the two Sicilies has formally opened his ports to our vessels, and sent an ambassador to our Commissioners to inform them of it, and to procure a description of the American flag, that he might pay that respect to it which he wished. The Court of Petersburg have positively refused to supply Great Britain with ships, men or money, to carry on the war against America. The Council and Burgomasters of Amsterdam have opened their ports to American vessels, and remonstrated to the Stadtholders against the conduct of Britain in capturing many of their vessels, and injuring their trade. This will be followed by all the other cities and provinces, I expect. France and Spain are each fitting out fleets for the West Indies. The intelligence I had from a member of Congress, and cannot be doubted.

Yours, sincerely,

I. BURNET.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 4th March, 1779.

SIR,—I herewith send you my accounts up to the 1st of this month, also return of stores on hand. It is very surprising that those returns sent in January should miscarry. I have consulted Gen. Sullivan on the matter of tents, &c. He thinks we have enough for this department; indeed, he thought there was only canteens and tent-poles wanting, but what might be procured occasionally. Have hands now washing and repairing the tents, and shall have everything in order to take the field by the middle of April, or sooner if necessary. We shall have

occasion for a great number of horses this spring, as we are very short in the number that will be necessary.

I am, with respect,

Your obedient servant,

E. BOWEN,

D. Q. M. G.

Hon. Major General Greene.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

April 4th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL,—I now inclose you my accounts and returns for March, which I shall send a person to deliver to your office lest they should miscarry. We are exceedingly badly supplied with cash in the forage department. Twenty-two thousand dollars is all Col. Biddle has sent. The F. M. owes all around the country, and has at last lost his coat by reason of not paying his bills as he engaged. I have written to Colonel Biddle, who promises a supply, but I can't hear that any cash is on the road. Shall thank you to mention this matter to him and order a considerable sum sent on. I have been obliged to lend the F. M. upwards of thirty thousand dollars, which I could illy spare. We shall want a considerable number of horses soon, but am not in cash to purchase till the F. Master repays me.

I wrote to Col. Pettit for blank returns, but none have yet come to hand.

I am, with respect,

Your obedient servant,

E. B[OWEN.]

Hon. General Greene.

TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

TIVERTON, the 17th April, 1779.

SIR,—The carpenters inform me the large sail boat will [be] finished in a fortnight at farthest. I wish to have the sails ready by the time she is finished. I wish you, if possible, to get duck that is suitable for her, as she hath the appearance of being very clever. I purpose she should be rigged in the same manner as a man-of-war's pinnace, with sliding gunter masts. In order the sail-maker may know the bigness of her sails I have given the following dimensions: She is 30 feet straight rabbit, full length 32 feet, 9 feet four inches beam, and 3 feet seven inches in the hold. I wish you also to send such other rigging as is necessary. And when completed to be sent down, and also some person that is capable of giving proper directions for fixing her masts and rigging, as I can find no person at this place that is.

I am, dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend,  
and humble servant,  
EZEK. CORNELL.

Col. Bowen, D. Q. M. G.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, May 6th, 1779.

ESTEEMED GENERAL,—I now inclose you my accounts and returns for the month past, which I hope will be safely delivered by Capt. Pierce, who is bound to head quarters.

The last letter I wrote I intended should have gone by Mr. Hubbard, but as he could not go I was obliged to send Mr. Jenkins, with the *dead* money I had on hand. I have the mortification to inform you that the forage department has received no supplies since my last, nor can we hear that any are on the road. This I can venture to assert, that unless a speedy

supply arrives we shall not be able to procure a single ton of hay. I must beg of you to order a supply, also for my department, if it is not already forwarded, as I hope it is. If Glover's brigade should have orders to march, they must rob the department of the necessary horses, and leave us without a team, unless I purchase at an advanced price, on account of not having the money to pay down. I shall forward 130 tents tomorrow to Hartford, which you ordered from Jacob Greene, Esq. You'll find that the return of tents differs considerably from the last, as we have condemned a number since and returned them as old canvass.

The Governor, Lieut. Governor, Assistants and Members of Congress, stand as they did last year.

I am, with respect, dear General,

Your devoted and obliged  
humble servant,

E. BOWEN, D. Q. M. G.

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TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA, May 28th, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—Inclosed I send you a letter which please to deliver. General Sullivan and his suite is here, with an army of considerable force to march against the savages. It is an expedition of great importance, and must be attended with happy consequences should we succeed.

A party of about 4000 British troops have arrived in Virginia, and have exercised such scenes of barbarity as would shock the humanity of the most cruel wretch in existence. Fort Nelson, at Portsmouth, has fallen into their hands, and the little town of Suffolk, in Nansemond County, is half consumed by fire. Young ladies of delicacy, beauty, characters and fortune, have been ravished and torn from their connections. Great God! can an American read this account and not be fired with the most implacable revenge. It has in me raised such a disgust

to the British nation that I had rather encounter a glorious ruin than submit to the government of England.

Present my respects to your lady and all friends in Providence.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

WM. PIERCE, JR.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

MAY 30th, 1779.

HONORED GENERAL,—I received, last evening, a Resolve of Congress for the Q. M. General's department, which deprives those deputies who transact business on commission from receiving pay or rations. As I have always done the business of this department for less commission than any of your other deputies, and I hope as much to your satisfaction, I must beg you'll do me the justice and favor to allow me the same commission your other deputies have. This department is very extensive as you well know, which makes my expenses great in seeing to the department's posts, which I have never, nor can I charge to the public. General Gates seems displeas'd at having his letters enclosed to me. I hope it will not be done again, as I suppose he thinks it is less his consequence to have his letters enclosed to an inferior officer. There are some axes at Jacob Greene's, Esq., which you engage; as I have but few on hand I shall stand in need of some of them. I think it will be better to use them here than to send them to you, as they are made of French steel. Shall send my account in three or four days by a person who will wait for cash by General Gates's order.

I am, respectfully,

Your obedient, humble servant,

E. B[OWEN].

Hon. General Greene.

TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

CAMP, June 1st, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—I have received your favour of the 22d of May. I am very sorry for your distress on account of cash, but how to remedy the evil, the Lord knows. Mr. Pettit writes me that he is preparing to send you a supply which I am in hopes will arrive in the course of next week. The enemy is out at the White Plains, and we are preparing to put the troops in motion. My best respects to Mrs. Bowen.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

NATH. GREENE.

Q. M. G.

Col. Ephraim Bowen.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, June 3d, 1779.

ESTEEMED GENERAL,—I send you by Capt. William Tew my accounts for the last month, which is very small returns for stores on hand, and men employed for the present month. I have dismissed all that I could possibly spare. The list is yet large, but when you consider our extensive shore I dare say you'll think they are all needed.

Gen. Gates ordered me to send a person to you with orders to wait for cash. I have sent Capt. Tew, who acts as Brigade Quarter-Master to Gen. Stark. If you have not the money by you please to send him to Philadelphia to wait there, as the consequences would be disagreeable if he should return without any, I mean from Gen. Gates.

It is astonishing to see the depreciation of the currency. Never did it fall so fast as at this time. A carpenter cannot be hired for less than 15 to 18 dollars per day, and all other labour in proportion. Carting, from 20s. to 24s. per mile and

ton. In short, I will refer you to Capt. Tew and Capt. Littlefield for particular information. Mr. Olney will return in about ten days from this time.

I have orders from the General to provide for another expedition to Rhode Island. He expects Count D'Estaing here in twenty days. I shall be in a poor condition for an expedition with cash as poor as it is.

I am, with gratitude,  
 dear General, yours, &c.,  
 [EPHRAIM BOWEN].

TO HON. WILLIAM ELLERY, HENRY MARCHANT AND JOHN COLLINS.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, }  
 WARWICK, June 3d, 1779. }

GENTLEMEN,—I received your favours of the 4th and 8th of May last, which I shall be careful to lay before the General Assembly, at their session, and am sincerely desirous the method pointed out by Congress may have the desired effect, but the brigade ordered to be raised by this State fills so slowly, notwithstanding the encouragement given by this State, I must fear the consequence of the resolution of Congress, as the encouragement given by the State has been different.

Enclosed you will receive a resolution of the Council of War, by which you will see I am to urge your immediate attention in order that the account which I have forwarded by Mr. Marchant, in favour of this State against the United States, be laid before Congress as soon as possible after it arrives here; and you are to use every prudent method to have the account properly adjusted that there may be an order of Congress for a warrant to issue to the keeper of the Continental Treasury for the balance, whatever it may be after adding the amount of what the Congress may think proper to allow for the slaves which have been purchased here in behalf of the United States to serve in Col. Christopher Greene's regiment during the war. As Congress has ordered a large number to be raised in the

same way of those I have mentioned, [I] doubt not they will think it reasonable they should all be purchased at the same price. I also enclose you the certificate from one of the committee who was appointed to take an account of the number of said slaves, which, after the price is fixed, to charge in the account accordingly, and whatever balance may be found, if it should be completed before the return of Messrs. Ellery and Collins, it would much oblige this State for them to take the charge of it, otherways if it should not be convenient for them to wait until the matter is properly adjusted, unless there is some other safe conveyance that it may likely come soon, it will be necessary to let me know when it may likely be ready, that some proper person may be forwarded to Philadelphia for that purpose. Considering the exhausted state of the Treasury that there is not £100 of passable money in it, notwithstanding the inhabitants (who do not possess more than two-thirds of the State), have paid into the Treasury, by taxes, within six months (except about £16,000 which is not yet paid in), £92,000 exclusive of £90,000 more ordered by Congress, the greater part of which is likewise paid that there being such an amazing demand for money, owing to the want of the balance of said account due from the United States, and being under the necessity of supplying the purchasing clothier with money to supply the State troops already raised, they being very bare of clothing, and the large sum wanted to recruit the brigade, together with the incident charges of Government, makes our burthen heavier than the inhabitants can bear, and must confess I am at a loss which way we shall be able to carry on the affairs of Government unless said balance is very speedily paid.

I am, Gentlemen, with great esteem,

Your most obedient

and humble servant,

W. GREENE.

Hon. William Ellery,  
Henry Marchant, and  
John Collins, Esqs.



TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

CAMP SMITH COVE, June 13th, 1779.

SIR,—I have your favour of the 8th with the enclosed petition, which shall be forwarded to General Sullivan, but I don't believe he will give any order respecting it, as he refused, while he had the command, and was subject to constant and fresh applications daily, to tease him into a compliance. The propriety and justice of the claim cannot have altered since he left that place, and to give an order now when he had refused it before, will argue such an instability or want of principle to direct his conduct as he will not be willing to expose himself to. However, I shall wait his answer and then inform you. It has been customary with this army to allow the captors all the benefit of such enterprizes as an encouragement for future attempts, and a reward for the fatigues, hardships and dangers, the party were subject to in executing the business. I think the party, in point of justice, is entitled to pay, as they were not of the army, and had the Governor's commission to warrant their conduct.

I am, with esteem and regard,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE,

Q. M. G.

Ephraim Bowen, Esq.

TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

CAMP NEW WINDSOR, June 28th, 1779.

SIR,—I have yours of the 21st. I hope before this Capt. Tew will have arrived, and with money sufficient to satisfy all your wants. Since your letter upon the subject of the Rhode Island expedition I have consulted General Washington upon

the matter, and he says he knows of no such expedition either having been ordered by Congress or by any other body authorized for the purpose. I wish you, therefore, to be very careful and not take a single step without written orders to justify your conduct, as it will be insinuated hereafter that you have precipitately gone into an unnecessary expense to swell your own commissions. Whatever General Gates orders you are warranted to provide, providing it is in the line of your department, but have all of your orders so that they may speak for themselves. This will secure you in case any accident should happen to the General, and secure your family should any accident happen to you.

I am, with esteem,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

NATHANAEL GREENE.

Q. M. G.

Colonel Bowen.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, July 8th, 1779.

GENERAL GREENE, SIR,—I send enclosed by Major Chris. Olney my accounts and returns for the month of June, which would have gone on sooner had not they been retarded by the movement of Glover's brigade, which marched off the ground yesterday morning. We had a large number of horses to provide, which, by the by, they did not wait for, but had everything in readiness complete 24 hours before they moved. The general account of stores received and issued are nearly completed, and will be forwarded in a few days. Your favour mentioning General Sullivan's determination concerning horses, &c., taken off Conanicut, and the expresses, I received, and shall pay particular attention to them. I have paid Mr. Jacob Greene the balance which is due to him, which will stand charged to him, till you can conveniently send the amount. Your carriage wheels I

had disposed of before I received your letter, and given your account credit for them, as I supposed you would have no use for them.

I am, Sir, with respect,

Your obedient servant,

E. BOWEN.

General Greene.

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TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

NEW WINDSOR, 21st. July, 1779.

SIR,—I herewith enclose you an order of the committee of Congress for superintending the Staff department. I wish you to exert yourself as much as possible in forwarding the business. Should you find that your present aid, in the clerical line, is insufficient to accomplish the business speedily, I wish you to employ a person specially for the purpose, as the want of these returns will tend to fix and increase a suspicion already too deeply rooted, that they are kept back with a view of keeping the Congress and the Board of War in darkness and ignorance.

There is so much said upon the subject of returns, and such complaints and murmuring for the want thereof, that I wish you to be very particular in future to have them sent in at the end of every month, both with respect to the stores on hand, and the persons employed in the department.

You will let me hear from you, on this subject, as soon as possible.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

NATH. GREENE,

Q. M. G.

Ephraim Bowen, Esq., D. Q. M. G.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 23d August, 1779.

HONORED SIR,—Your favour of the 16th inst. I have just received. It gives me great pleasure to be assured that the returns are agreeable, except the return of forage issued to horses, &c., not belonging to the army. It shall be altered and sent on with the returns the 1st of next month. The serjeant I mentioned I shall detain, as you permit, until His Excellency's pleasure is known. When General Gates came to this department I gave him a general return of stores on hand, and told him that I would make them monthly if he chose it. He said he did not want them, and if he did he would call for them. I certainly think the number of horses foraged is greater than necessary, and shall lay the matter before the General.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

E. BOWEN, D. Q. M. G.

Hon. General Greene.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 3d Sept., 1779.

SIR,—The accounts for August, and the returns for the present month, I now transmit you. Also return of all horses and teams purchased, with the prices and "return of forage issued to horses not belonging to the army." I called on the forage master for this return in consequence of your saying the last of the kind was imperfect. He says he issues forage to no horses that do not belong to the army, except those retained, and to no baggage horses. The teams that bring provisions and stores to this department are paid by the mile, and find themselves. At the last session of Assembly I was called upon for a return of persons employed in the department, which I presented them with. They have put off the examination of

the Staff to the second Monday in this month, at Greenwich, when they meet there. There appeared no objection to any part of the return except of one Smith employed at Greenwich, a soldier. Mr. President Panc thought him unnecessary. I have enquired into the matter since, I find him needful.

I have an account presented, certified by Colonel Wall, for keeping the horses of the pilots to the French fleet, at Narraganset, and for provisions for the pilots, amounting to about £150. General Gates declines ordering payment for it. Col. Wall desired me to mention it to you, to know how it should be paid, or whether I could pay it without the General's order, as Col. Wall will be obliged to pay it himself, if the public does not. I hope His Excellency's permission is obtained for sergeant Floyd to tarry with me. I am sure I cannot get a person that will be so careful of the public interest as I find him to be. However, if he cannot be permitted to tarry, which I earnestly wish he might, I must send him on to his regiment. In the mean time I shall keep him till I hear, although there is an officer here with orders from his Colonel to join the regiment.

I have the pleasure to enclose you a letter from your lady, who passed through this town a few days ago, on her way to the eastward, accompanied by Jacob Greene, Esq.

I am, with respect,

Your humble servant,

E. B[OWEN].

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TO HON. HENRY MARCHANT AND JOHN COLLINS, Esqs.

WARWICK, STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, &c., }  
 September 3d, 1779. }

GENTLEMEN,—I received your favour of the 10th of last month, by which you discover much anxiety by reason of General Glover's brigade being called from this State, but I can now inform you that Colonel Jackson's is removed from here

also to assist in the late expedition against Penobscot, the particulars of which you will doubtless have heard before this. There are, I believe, upwards of 1000 of the militia from the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire now upon duty within this State.

I enclose you the certificate from one of the committee who valued the slaves that now belong to Colonel Greene's regiment, neither of which are prized at more than \$400, a consideration by no means adequate to the benefit they are to the United States, as they are good soldiers and serve during the war without any other allowance than what is paid them by the Continent, when the others, doing the same duty with them, are allowed what is called subsistence money, the amount of which has been more in one year than either of them were valued at. And as Congress has recommended to the Southern States to raise a number of blacks in the same way, for which the owners of them were to be allowed \$1000, there appears to be the same reason that the owners of those raised by this State should be allowed the same price.

I am very sorry to inform you that I am not yet able to procure the account you wrote for, but hope to have it soon. At a convention held by a very considerable number of the inhabitants of this State, who were appointed by each respective town, to take under consideration the unhappy situation of our currency, and to regulate the price of articles, and after doing of that did also pass a resolve recommending to the General Assembly to take some effectual method for loaning this State's proportion of the twenty millions of dollars agreeable to the recommendation of Congress, since which the Assembly have recommended to the inhabitants to subscribe accordingly, and I hear there are several towns subscribed largely already, and I expect the Assembly, at their next session, which meets the 13th instant, will take some effectual method to procure whatever sum may not be subscribed, as the people appear determined to do everything in their power to prevent further emissions, and I am sincerely desirous that their abilities may admit of it. You mentioned in a former letter that you was in hopes that in some future, perhaps not far distant period, we may be

able to procure the remainder of the balance of this State's account against the Continent, provided it should be agreeable to take an order upon the Receiver General. I imagine there would not be the least difficulty in that respect, as it would doubtless answer towards this State's proportion of the Continental tax. When you consider the exertions of two-thirds of the State the other being in the hands of the enemy, I dare say you will not be wanting on your part to urge the necessity there is of our having the remainder of the balance of our account allowed by Congress immediately.

I am, Gentlemen, with very great esteem,

Your obedient and most humble servant,

W. GREENE.

Hon. Henry Marchant and  
John Collins, Esqs.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 7th, 1779.

SIR,—The delegates for the State of New Jersey, by the direction of their State, have presented the delegates of each of the other States with a printed copy of the acts of the Legislature of the State of New Jersey, beginning the 27th day of October, 1778, intending to continue the same from session to session, and requesting a like communication from us. Such a communication may be useful. Your Excellency will be pleased to lay this before the General Assembly, and to request that the Secretary furnish their delegates with a copy extra of the acts of the General Assembly, to the end we may be enabled to make the communication requested, to the delegates of New Jersey. This may perhaps be introductory of one more general, and which must prove very beneficial.

We enclose your Excellency two of the weekly journals, in course to those heretofore transmitted down to the 7th of August last, and the last week's newspapers. We congratulate your Excellency upon the brave exploit at Paulus's Hook,—

upon the good news from Spain, [and] the further success of General Sullivan against the Indians; and we trust, upon the reduction of Fort Detroit by the celebrated Colonel Clarke, whose exploits at the Illinois, &c., and in the capture of Governor Hamilton, were not long since announced to the public.

The capture of ten of the Jamaica fleet is a most capital stroke. Several have been brought into the southern ports. Colonel Talbot's exploits and good fortune are highly pleasing, and he continues to gain, with lofty steps, much honor to himself and the State.

Upon the application of the town of Providence, we have procured a resolution of Congress for erecting barracks at the expense of the United States, for quartering the troops in the State of Rhode Island in such places as General Gates shall approve of. As this must greatly relieve the distresses of many of our constituents, we flatter ourselves it will not be an unacceptable piece of service. In that confidence, and with full assurance of our unremitted zeal to serve the State we have the honor to represent, we are

Your Excellency's most obedient and  
Very humble servants,  
HENRY MARCHANT,  
JOHN COLLINS.

— — —  
TO JEREMIAH POWELL, Esq.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, }  
PROVIDENCE, October 2d, 1779. }

IN COUNCIL OF WAR :

SIR,—We have received your letter of the 28th of last month informing us of an act of your General Court to prevent the articles therein enumerated being exported from your State to any of the neighboring States. All embargoes between States so intimately connected are impolitic and wrong, unless in cases of the most urgent necessity; they weaken the bonds of union, they excite jealousies and animosities. and it is always to be



feared will produce the most fatal consequences. With respect to this State, we conceive that no such necessity can be pleaded. And when our unfortunate situation is considered, we must be justified in saying it is cruel in the highest degree.

The fresh provisions from the neighbouring towns in Massachusetts Bay were always a principal part of the daily supplies of this place. Several persons here own farms in Rehoboth and other towns, who have raised grain and other articles for their own use, and have some to spare to their neighbours. Both of these sources of supply are now entirely stopped.

There having been no access by sea to any port in this State for almost three years, the few vessels fitted by our merchants are always ordered in your State. The privateers owned here send their prizes into your ports. Continental vessels of war, in which we have a proportional interest, also send their prizes into your ports. Many of the officers and men belong to this State and have families in it. Surely, in all these cases, common reason and common justice loudly cry that our property ought not to be detained by violence in your State.

The retailers of foreign articles in this place have no supplies but from your State. Should they be enabled to furnish the country at the stipulated prices the farmers will not bring in their produce; of course the salutary effect expected from the measures lately adopted by your State and this (of which we have at present great hopes) will be frustrated.

It appears that the principle design of the embargo is to prevent engrossers carrying large quantities of goods into the country. We believe we may affirm that we have not one person belonging to this State who hath endeavored to engross any large quantities of goods in yours, and we have passed an order to prevent any goods being transported through it to Connecticut.

The Resolve of Congress, of the 25th of August last, that it be earnestly recommended to the several States to take off every restriction on the Island trade between the United States, we presume had not come to your hands before the passing of the aforesaid act, otherwise we imagine it would not have taken place.

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Thus we, as a free and sister State, plainly give you our sentiments upon your late embargo. We have now to urge you to repeal the said act so far as it relates to us, or at least to make such exceptions in our favour as will redress the grievances we complain of.

Being anxious to act in concert with our sister States in restoring value to the currency, and in remedying the evils which have arisen from depreciation and the acts of engrossers, we have appointed the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Esq., and Charles Holden, Esq., a committee to meet the committees from the New England States and New York, at Hartford on the 20th instant.

We are, Sir,

Your most humble servants,

Signed in behalf of the Council, by

WM. GREENE, Governor.

Hon. Jeremiah Powell, Esq.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 3d Oct., 1779.

ESTEEMED GENERAL,—By my brother, Oliver Bowen, I transmit you my accounts to the 30th September, and returns of stores and persons employed for October, which I wish may be agreeable. I am taking every step to forward the completion of the barracks as soon as possible, but one grand article wanting is cash, which, if you have not to spare with you, please to give directions to Mr. Pettit to send by my brother, who goes to Philadelphia. Please to inform me what rations are allowed to artificers, as General Gates has cut off part of the common allowance of them, which has always been a ration and a half per day, and half pint of rum, also the pay of those taken from the line, as I think the 2s. per day which I give them to be inadequate.

I have enclosed you two papers. Carter's contains the State

bill and the famous act of our Assembly, directing an enquiry into the Staff department in this State. The committee, after sitting four days, adjourned for a fortnight, finding the Assembly had more business for them than they could possibly go through with in the time limited.

They intend to meet at the end of the fortnight and make some general enquiry, and report to the Assembly. I think they ought to have the credit of being the first Legislature who have acted on the matter. Any services rendered my brother, who is bound to Philadelphia, will be gratefully acknowledged by

Your most obedient servant,

EPHRAIM BOWEN,

D. Q. M. G.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 10th Oct., 1779.

SIR,—Your favour per express of the 3d instant I received on the 7th, and immediately gave directions to have the wagons put in the best order possible. What few common tents I have on hand, will be wanted by the troops in case they should march, as numbers of those they now have will be unfit for so long a march. I have made the strictest search for blankets through the town and cannot find a pair of any kind. I will send to Boston, and if a pair that are good can be had, I will send them immediately. The letters for Coventry I sent immediately on receipt of them, and shall direct the bearer to go that way. I have established a post at Coventry, 20 miles from this town for the expresses, and wrote to Mr. Abbe, at Windham, to place others at Scotland. As that is out of my district I thought best to have it done by Mr. Hubbard. However, if there are none at Scotland it will be but 30 miles to Lebanon from Coventry. I wrote concerning rations of artificers a few days since. If an answer is not already forwarded, I shall take it kind that may be done.

I am, Sir, with respect,

Your obedient servant,

Hon. General Greene.

E. BOWEN.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

NEWPORT, Nov. 6th, 1779.

SIR,—Your favour of the 30th ult. I received, and have, as you wished, laid hold of every piece of duck in the town, which is only eleven of Russia and five of Ravens, which are now making into tents. I had given directions for about half of the forage which the enemy left here to be secured and sent to Providence, but General Gates thinks I had better not send it till I have your orders, as he thinks it may be wanted at headquarters, and it can be sent up the Sound. Shall be glad to receive your directions on this head. I have got a pair of blankets for you, and also for General McDougal, but they are no of the kind I could wish. The best blankets here are striped duffill and 8-4 English. If they will do I will [send] them by return of the express.

All the Continental troops go over to Greenwich this day, on their way to Hartford. We shall then have left, in the department, the State troops and militia of Massachusetts and Hampshire, about 1000 in all. I hope the supply of cash I wrote for by my brother will soon arrive.

I am, Sir, with perfect respect,

Your obedient servant,

E. BOWEN, D. Q. M. G.

Hon. Major General Greene.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 11th November, 1779.

GENERAL GREENE:

SIR,—I herewith enclose you my returns of stores and persons employed for this month. It has been out of my power to have them completed before, or to get off my account of disbursements for the last month, owing to the movement of the army, first on Rhode Island, and then to Hartford. The

General required so constant attendance on him that it has been impossible to attend to the necessary business of returns. I waited on him as far as Voluntown and left him in a very good humor. The troops will be at Hartford by Monday, the whole of them.

I shall go to Newport to-morrow, and send up all the stores that are not immediately wanted.

As a great part of the park of artillery is left behind, I shall put the horses on Prudence to pasture till they are called for, as it will be of less expense to keep them there, and they will thrive faster.

I will give an exact account of the department early next month, and beg you to excuse the deficiency of this.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

General Greene.

E. B[OWEN].

TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, }  
WARWICK, Nov. 3d, 1779. }

SIR,—I most sincerely congratulate your Excellency upon the enemy's having evacuated Rhode Island, but am sorry to be under the necessity of troubling you with a resolution of the Council of War of this State, which I take the liberty to enclose, by which you will please to observe the distressed situation the inhabitants of those towns must labour under for want of their records. I doubt not you will take every necessary measure that may tend to convince General Clinton of his error in continuing to hold them, as they certainly cannot be of any use to the enemy exclusive of the pleasure they enjoy in distressing mankind who are not to be controlled by them.

I am, with every sentiment of respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient,

and most humble servant,

W. GREENE.

His Excellency General Washington.

Head Quarters.

TO HON. WILLIAM ELLERY AND HENRY MARCHANT.

WARWICK, STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, }

19th November, 1779. }

GENTLEMEN,—I wrote to Mr. Marchant two weeks past concerning the vessel captured by Capt. Tyler at Nova Scotia, what I could then recollect, as I did not at that time receive the draft of the letter I wrote to Mr. Ward, Theodore Foster and Welcome Arnold, for, they having the papers concerning the affair, and if Mr. Marchant should be come away, this is to inform you is done by the request of a letter I received from him, and by enquiring of Congress you can no doubt be informed of the circumstances attending this matter, and as it is an affair that much concerns this State I embrace the earliest opportunity, upon the receipt of the draft of those gentlemen's letter, to sign it and transmit the same to you, which you will find to contain the particular circumstances much fuller than that wrote by me above mentioned.

The Council of War ordered me to write to the Board of War concerning the clothing for the Continental troops in this department, that what was purchased here by Mr. Reynolds might be appropriated towards clothing them; in answer to which I have received a letter from that honorable Board, that they have not the means in their hands for purchasing clothing for any of the officers, and that each respective State are, in future, to clothe their own officers, which, perhaps may be the most prudent method, as in that case they will very probably have orders from Congress upon each respective loan office for that purpose, and as the season of the year is already come that the whole of the clothing they are to have is much wanted, and as there is but a small sum of money in the General Treasury of this State, and considering the difficulty that attends our accounts already with you, a very considerable part of which as yet unpaid, exclusive of a large sum since accrued, the account of which is now making out by the Auditor, which I hope to be able to transmit to you soon, makes it very difficult for this State, at this time, to raise any further sums for the

purposes above mentioned. Shall therefore be glad if you will move in Congress that the legislative authority of this State may have an order upon the loan office here to draw whatever sum they may find necessary to complete the clothing of the Continental officers belonging to this State. I doubt not when you consider the necessity of this measure you will embrace the earliest opportunity to effect it.

I am, gentlemen, with very great esteem,  
Your obedient and most humble servant,

W. GREENE.

Hon. William Ellery and  
Henry Marchant, Esqs.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

NEWPORT, STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, &C., }  
December 3d, 1779. }

SIR,—I had the honor of receiving your favour of the 23d of last month, and am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to endeavour to procure the records belonging to the distressed inhabitants of the towns of Newport and Middletown, to be returned to this State.

Since General Gates left this place there is no person empowered to sign warrants upon the Continental Paymaster for discharging of abstracts, which have become due to the several regiments doing duty in this department under the command of General Cornell, and there being the greatest necessity of the troops being punctually paid agreeable to contract. The Council of War of this State have requested me to desire the favour of you to appoint some proper person to draw warrants on the above Paymaster for the purpose aforesaid.

I am, with very great esteem and respect,  
Your Excellency's most obedient  
and most humble servant,

W. GREENE.

His Excellency General Washington, Esq.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 3d, 1779.

HONORED SIR,—My account of disbursements for the months of October and November I transmit you enclosed, also returns of stores on hand and persons employed in the department. In consequence of your recommendation, we are getting the hay from Newport and Conanicut as fast as possible. We are much retarded for want of proper vessels, as those most suitable we do not employ on account of the supply of wood for the town, which they only carry. I received a few days since, a draft on the Commissioner of Loans, in this State, from Mr. Pettit, for sixty thousand pounds, which I have received and credited the United States for.

No doubt you have been informed of the sudden and extravagant depreciation of money since the evacuation of Newport. Our expectations were quite the reverse of what has turned out.

I flatter myself that the expenses of this department in proportion to the number of troops and articles supplied, have been hitherto as moderate as any other, but I have reason to fear that in future they'll be equal to our *neighbours*. I have sent with these returns a pair of blankets for yourself and a pair for General McDougal. As soon as I get the price of them I will inform you. The clothiers have not paid for them and cannot tell the price.

General Cornell has directed barracks, to contain 1000 men, to be built in this town, which we are now about. What boards we have left, more than the department may require, I shall dispose of to best advantage by advice of Gen. Gates.

The new form of accounts to be made out in order for settlement I received of Mr. Pettit, and shall employ a person to go about them immediately. His wages I expect will be great in *sound* but shall get him on as reasonable terms as I can.

Enclosed is the prices demanded to the articles mentioned, which will give you an idea of the worth of money.



Mrs. Bowen's and my compliments wait on Mr. Greene.

I am, with gratitude, &c.,

E. B[OWEN].

Hon. General Greene.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 17th Dec., 1779.

RESPECTED GENERAL:

I am again under the necessity of begging of you a supply of cash for this department. You are sensible, from the minute of prices enclosed in the last letter I wrote, that the sum I received at the first of this month would serve but a little while. Add to that forty thousand dollars I had borrowed of Mr. Steele, D. P. M. General, out of the Continental chest which I obligated myself to repay on demand.

If my accounts and returns, which I transmit monthly, are not as correct and as seasonable as any other deputy whatever, I shall think myself greatly obliged if the General will be kind enough to let me know it, as I have endeavoured to give entire satisfaction in that respect, as well as in every other. I have hitherto been supplied beyond my expectation, and on that account my credit has always been good to borrow what sums I wanted, which I have declined as much as possible on account of the fluctuating and uncertain state of our currency. The Assembly are now sitting, but do not seem disposed to adopt the measures recommended by Congress, till they see their neighbours do it.

I am, respectfully, &c.,

E. BOWEN, D. Q. M. G.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 24th December, 1779.

DEAR SIR,—Your two favours of the 10th and 13th inst. I this day received, and agreeable to the order of the Board of

War enclose a return of all the persons employed by me in the department. The clothing I wrote about I have since mentioned in a letter to you. It is for myself and the other officers employed by me in the department. I wrote you, Sir, respecting the duck which I found in Newport. The whole was but sixteen bolts, and General Cornell ordered one for the sloop Argo, Capt. Talbot; the other, I directed to be made into tents. I have, hitherto, supplied the Argo, commanded by Capt. Talbot, and the galley, by orders from the commander of the department. Shall be glad to know if I am to proceed in that way in future. The Navy Board decline supplying them because they are not under their direction.

I am, &c.,

E. B[OWEN].

Hon. General Greene.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

PHILADELPHIA, May 2d, 1780.

SIR,—Nothing new in the congressional line hath taken place since our last but what will have reached your Excellency's hands before this.

The frigate Confederacy arrived here last Saturday from Martinico, and confirms the account of the arrival there of 16 sail of the line with a considerable body of troops, so that the French have now a decided superiority in the West Indies.

An express arrived here last Sunday with despatches from General Lincoln to the 9th of April, the substance of which is, that the enemy crossed Ashley river in force near the ferry on the 29th ultimo, and encamped about three thousand yards from our lines. They have erected works in front, and on the left, and on Cooper's river, and were opening lines of communication. What they have done seems rather calculated to cover their approaches than to annoy. Seven ships of war passed Fort Moultrie the 8th, and anchored near where Fort Johnston stood, without any apparent injury. Our people

were employed in throwing obstructions in the passage up Cooper's river, thereby to preserve a communication with the country from which they might draw succors and supplies, and means to throw up works in proper places the more effectually to secure that communication. General Woodford, with about seven or eight hundred of the Virginia line, arrived the 7th, and the North Carolina militia were coming in.

The remainder of General Scott's troops and some militia from North Carolina were soon expected.

We do not pretend to form a judgment of the event. The events of war are uncertain, and your Excellency can make up as good a one as we are able to do. Hoping that everything will eventually turn out well, we are, with great respect,

Your Excellency's  
most obedient servants,

WILLIAM ELLERY,  
JOHN COLLINS.

P. S. Mr. Ellery hath received your Excellency's letter respecting the Pigot galley, and will lay the same before the Admiralty Board.

Governor Greene.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

CAMP PRECANESS, July 20th, 1780.

SIR,—By the requisition of the honorable committee of Congress, of the 2d ult., the State of Rhode Island were to furnish 2285 bushels of grain forage, to be delivered at such place as I should require. You will please to direct that the same be lodged at Providence, subject to the orders of the Hon. Major General Heath, of Col. Biddle, Commissary General of forage, or the deputy acting under me in your State.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

NATH. GREENE,  
Q. M. G.

His Excellency Wm. Greene, Esq.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, Jan. 8th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—I have delayed the returns and accounts for this month on account of the violent snow storms we have had, which have rendered the roads impassable hitherto, but as there seems a probability of their getting through, have directed an express to make trial, and if he can get as far as Hartford to leave them with Col. Hubbard, who I have desired to forward them.

In my last I begged to be remembered in regard to cash; the article of wood carries off large sums, especially what is sent to Newport. The inhabitants (I am told by General Cornell) gave three hundred dollars per cord, or ten hard dollars. I have sent per this conveyance a bundle for Mrs. Greene, which I brought from Coventry, and a pair of gloves for Mr. Olney, directed to your care. Shall be glad to know whether my accounts are to be sent to Philadelphia as soon as they are completed, or whether I am to keep them till called for.

I am, Sir, with respect,

Your devoted servant,

E. B[OWEN].

General Greene.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, Jan. 17th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—Your circular letter of 2d inst., I received on 13th, and have enclosed an estimate, as directed, as near as I am at present able to complete it, which amounts to seventy-two thousand five hundred pounds. I hope to have a supply of cash, in a short time, that I may pay off the bills that are due.

I am, Sir, with perfect esteem,

Your devoted servant,

E. BOWEN, D. Q. M. G.

Hon. General Greene.

TO THEODORE FOSTER, Esq.

ELIZABETHTOWN, 19th Jan., 1780.

MY GOOD FRIEND :

By Major Thayer I received your very polite address, which contains the agreeable news that the Assembly of Rhode Island are disposed to make good the currency to the officers and soldiers of their State. This great work is as necessary as just. I hope those persons who are appointed to confer with the officers may be such as love justice.

We consider ourselves under particular obligations to you and some few more gentlemen, for this act of justice. Hope your services may not pass unrewarded. It is a faint proof of your attachment to the American cause, and of your friendship to the army in particular.

As my time is very short I can give you only some out-lines of an expedition on Staten Island, under Gen. Lord Sterling.

On the 12th, 13th and 14th current, General Washington sent large detachments of troops into the neighborhood of this place under pretence of relieving the troops then in this town. The whole, when formed, was about twenty-seven hundred. At 4 o'clock in the morning of the 15th, the whole moved on in two columns, one to cross the Tee at Deharts Point, the other at the Blazing Star, with orders to form a junction on the island. The whole crossed the Tee without sustaining the least loss. I was in the front division which reached the enemy's shore. Just as the day-star appeared the enemy had discovered our advanced guard and retired to a large stone house enclosed with two lines of abattis (very strong). We found it necessary to wait for the column which marched by the Blazing Star, and the rear of our own to come up, which was extended an uncommon length by reason of the deep snow, which obliged us great part of the way to march in files.

Just before sunrise the enemy abandoned the stone house, and left stores to a very considerable amount. They were all secured by our troops and sent off the island. Our column moved on in the road leading to the enemy's right. The other

column took its route towards their centre. The enemy, on our near approach, paraded on an height in front of their works to appearance about three hundred men, with one field piece, which they fired to their rear to give the alarm. They immediately dispatched boats to the city of New York. Their arrival was, in a very short time, announced by the discharge of some very heavy cannon from their different forts. Some scattering muskets were fired on both sides, and ten or twelve prisoners taken by our troops. Night coming on, picquets were ordered out, and the main body retired into a thick wood to make themselves as comfortable as the times would admit. Axes and shovels were not wanting to complete this business. At dawn of day orders came to march, the troops paraded and were conducted off the island. The enemy followed only with a few light dragoons from which we sustained no loss, nor was there but very few shots exchanged. The design of this expedition I am at a loss to determine. Great numbers of militia followed in the rear of the army, who plundered all the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, those only excepted who were protected by the Continental troops. Necklaces off the ladies' necks, buckles from their shoes, shirts from men's backs, were taken by those hell-deserving villains.

Fancy to you can better paint the wretched condition of those islanders than I am able to express.

Great quantities of plunder belonging to the inhabitants has been collected, and is to be sent on in a Flag, that the inhabitants may get their own as far as it will go. This town is guarded at present by a detachment of an hundred men, commanded by Major Hamilton. We are in some expectation of a visit from the enemy this night, as retaliation is sweet.

The deep snow, with the exceeding cold weather, froze many of the officers' and soldiers' hands and feet while we were on the island.

Lieut. Colonel Olney, the bearer of this, and who commanded all the advanced picquets on the island, and safely conducted them from the force of the enemy, will give you a better account of this expedition than I am able to. A dollar will pass for 2d. only in this part of the country. I hope 'tis not so bad

yet at Rhode Island. Your known goodness will render an apology unnecessary for this confused letter.

My compliments attend your lady, and am,

Dear Sir, with great esteem,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

Wednesday night, 12 o'clock.

Theodore Foster, Esq.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, January 28th, 1780.

SIR,—By the resolve of Congress of 28th Dec., 1779, I see that all express riders in the pay of the United States, [are to] be discharged, and that no express rider [is to] be, in future, maintained at public expense. Whether this Resolve has reference to those riders immediately with the army I am at loss to determine, therefore beg your directions that I may know how to govern myself. I have sent the bearer, Mr. Snow, in expectation of obtaining a supply of money. If it is in your power, will thank you to send it by him as I am entirely out, and people call loudly for their dues. I was on Prudence a few days ago, and notwithstanding the large quantity of snow on the island, the horses look in better order than when they were put on. I have directed all the spare horses to be carried on, and expect in the spring to be able to furnish the army with a number of good horses.

I am, with gratitude, &c.,

F. B[OWEN].

General Greene.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, Feb. 6th, 1780.

ESTEEMED SIR,—Your letter of 19th ultimo, directing the accounts to be completed by 1st of March, I duly received, and

for that purpose have got the advertisement enclosed in your letter inserted in the newspapers. If the certificates should not soon arrive I fear it will be a means of delaying the business.

The account of disbursements for the month of December, through mistake, was not sent forward with the returns as mentioned. I now enclose them with those of the last month, and the returns likewise.

As forage is scarce and difficult to be procured at the North River and the camp in its vicinity, with your directions I will (as soon as the Sound breaks up) transport a few vessel loads to Horse Neck or its neighborhood, that it may be moved whenever it is wanted. If there is a probability of horses being much wanted, which doubtless will be the case should there be another campaign, the present is the most favorable time to purchase them here, as forage in the country is exceeding scarce and dear, and we have the means of keeping them on Rhode Island at little expense, comparatively. If you think proper to give directions on this head, they shall be punctually attended to. This will be delivered you by Capt. Talbot, who is going to Philadelphia. If it should be convenient to hand me any cash he will bring it.

I am, Sir, &c., &c.,

E. BOWEN, D. Q. M. G.

Hon. General Greene.

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TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, Feb. 6th, 1780.

ESTEEMED GENERAL,—Your two favours of 23d ultimo, the one in answer to my letter of the 6th and the other with certificates I have this moment received. Agreeable to your directions in the first I shall dispose of what hay we can spare, and have the horses in this department put in order as soon as possible. The certificates sent will be sufficient and perhaps more, as I have issued some that I had printed some time since when I was out of cash, and as I thought waiting for these to



be sent from Head-Quarters, would be a means of delaying the settlement of the accounts by the time directed, and you might expect to have them done, I concluded it would be agreeable. I am in hopes that ten days will complete them to 1st. March, when I shall transmit a copy.

I am, &c.,

E. BOWEN.

Hon. General Greene.

TO GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, April 8th, 1780.

DEAR GENERAL,—I herewith enclose you the returns for this month (in manuscript for want of blanks) which I hope will be agreeable. I have also sent the account of what I have paid by giving certificates, which is near the amount of my estimation. There are yet some bills that are not collected. I have received from Mr. Pettit an order on the Treasurer in this State for \$80,000, which will not pay the money I have been obliged to borrow of the Council of War and Mr. Steele, D. P. M. General, by \$10,000. Since the resolution of Congress to call in the present money in circulation, and redeem it at forty for one, it has depreciated near half, and hardly anything is to be purchased without hard money, or some exchange of goods. One more such stroke I think will effectually kill it.

I am, &c.,

General Greene.

E. B[OWEN].

TO THEODORE FOSTER, Esq.

QUARTERS NEAR MORRISTOWN, }  
April 23d, 1780. }

DEAR SIR,—By these lines you will please to observe that I have not forgot my old friend, though I've great reasons to believe he has me. However, I had much rather impute your silence to want of time, the scarcity of paper, ink and pen, or

anything rather than suppose you neglect me. See how generous I am.

On the 19th current, His Excellency the French Ambassador arrived at Head Quarters. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and suite went out to meet him, preceded by General Greene and General Washington's secretary. They all attended the Ambassador to camp. He was in a close carriage, drawn by four horses and guarded by forty light dragoons, in beautiful uniform. As he entered the vicinage of camp, he was received by General Stark's brigade; as he entered Morristown by four complete battalions, and the discharge of 13 cannon. As he entered General Washington's quarters he was received by His Excellency's life guard, and ushered in with music. The Ambassador's secretary and a Spanish nobleman were with him.

To-morrow, the four battalions that received the Ambassador, with eight field pieces, are to go through the firings in his presence. He is a great military man.

The 16th inst., the enemy surprised and captured about fifty men at Paramus, (officers included). Major Boyles commanded our troops, who was mortally wounded, and is since dead. The militia collected immediately, and with the Continental troops followed them some miles and took several prisoners. The enemy, before they retreated, burnt two houses with several of our wounded men in them.

The bearer waits; my compliments attend your lady, and am,

Dear Sir, with great esteem,

Your obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

Theodore Foster, Esq.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

MAY 4th, 1780.

SIR,—The enclosed I received the last week, but as the General Assembly was so near I did not take any measures for complying with the requisition, since which Major Perkins has

received orders from General Washington to remove the train, &c., to Springfield. Should think it best to send for the Quarter-Master and Major Perkins, and urge them to send on the ammunition from the school-house without loss of time.

By General Washington's letter to Major P. you will perceive he tells him to leave 1000 lbs. of powder. This quantity will not be half sufficient. There must be, also, fixed musket and cannon cartridges left, to a considerable quantity. As we turned in all our ammunition to the Continent at the time of General Sullivan's expedition, we must be supplied out of these stores.

Dr. Turner, the Surgeon General, lately applied to me for advice, to know whether it was necessary to keep a branch of the General Hospital in this State. I promised to lay the matter before the Assembly and give him their answer. For my own part, I don't think it at all necessary to continue so expensive an establishment. Your Excellency will give Dr. Turner, Surgeon General, such advice as you think best. I wrote Col. C. Greene on the subject, but have had no answer. If he is in town should advise him to be consulted. I think the Doctor of his regiment could attend the sick that are like to be in this State.

I am your Excellency's

most humble servant,

JABEZ BOWEN.

Governor Greene.

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TO GENERAL HEATH.

[In the hand-writing of General Varnum].

PROVIDENCE, July 27th, 1780.

SIR,—You are sensible I have ordered the whole military force of this State into the field. You are also sensible that the urgency of the present season is very great. If the service can admit, you will perceive the propriety of retaining only a part upon actual duty, leaving the remainder upon their arms

at home. No consideration, however interesting to an individual State, can abate our ardor in the great cause for which we now contend ; but, if the strength now upon Rhode Island, the immediate expected success from the neighboring States, and a part only of the militia of this State will answer the public expectations, we shall be very happy. However, we will be contented with any condition, in our power, conducive to the general good.

Your answer, Sir, to these intimations, will greatly oblige  
Your very obedient, humble servant.

(No SIG.)

General Heath.

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TO HON. JAMES BOWDOIN.

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 6th, 1780.

SIR,—I herewith transmit your Honor a copy of Governor Greene's letter, on my application to the Council of War of this State for money to purchase the necessary supplies for the troops doing duty in this department. Your Honor will perceive that the great demand on the Treasury of the State from the Quarter-Master General's and other departments, heretofore have so exhausted it that it is not in the power of the State, at present, to supply more than their own troops. I have requested of the Hon. Major General Heath to write to the Council of Massachusetts on this subject, whose letter I have the honor to forward with this. I have to request of the Honorable Council either to advance me a sum of money for the supply of their troops or to appoint and enable some other person to supply them.

I am, most respectfully,

Your Honor's obedient,  
humble servant,

EPHRAIM BOWEN,  
D. Q. M. G.

Hon. James Bowdoin.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

CAMP AT KENNEMARK, Sept. 5th, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—We have just received the disagreeable intelligence of General Gates's defeat to the southward, with all the troops under his command. The action happened on the 16th of last month, within a few miles of Camden, at which place the enemy lay; and to which place our troops were directing their march.

The two armies met in the night, and a little skirmishing ensued; but the action was not serious until the morning. At day light, General Gates made the necessary disposition of his troops, consisting of between eight hundred and a thousand regulars; and about two thousand militia, and some few horse. The enemy had from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred regular troops, and about one thousand militia.

Our militia gave way the first fire; and left the Continental troops to bear the brunt of the whole of the enemy's force; which they did with great spirit and bravery. General Gesh, who commanded one of the Maryland brigades, repulsed the enemy with charged bayonets; but the militia quitting their ground, let the enemy into his rear.

General Gates made several unsuccessful attempts to rally the militia, but they were so panic struck, it was all to no purpose; and the general was borne away on the road, and had the mortification to leave the Maryland line bravely engaged, without having it in his power to assist them, or even to tell what was their fate; but as the firing ceased after he had got eight or ten miles in the rear, he supposes they must have been cut to pieces; however, this is not certain by any means from any intelligence we have as yet received. Further particulars are hourly expected.

Reports come on with General Gates's letter, which say that both General Smallwood and Gesh are slain, and that Baron de Kalb is wounded; but there is no authority for it.

We lost eight pieces of cannon, and doubtless all our baggage and stores. The militia dispersing and taking to the woods,

few or none of them fell into the enemy's hands; but probably many of them might suffer greatly for want of provisions, and perhaps some might perish.

General Gates retreated one hundred and eighty miles in three days, to Hillsborough; at which place he wrote to Congress of the misfortune which had befallen him.

This is a great misfortune; and the more so, as that unfortunate country was too discouraged before, to make any great exertions. However, it was beginning to recover itself, and some few days before the action, we had gained several advantages, and taken several hundred prisoners.

It is high time for America to raise an army for the war, and not distress the country by short enlistments, and hazard the liberties of these States with an order of men, whose feelings, let their principles be ever so good, cannot be like those who have been long in the field.

I am, with great respect,  
Your most obedient, humble servant,

NATH. GREENE.

N. B. I wish you not to have any part of this letter published, as the President of Congress did not think it proper to publish General Gates's letter, until the arrival of further particulars.

To His Excellency Governor Greene.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

CAMP, Sept. 22d, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—This will be handed you by His Excellency the Chevalier de la Lusurne, the minister of France, who is on his way to Newport, to visit the French army. His stay will be short; therefore, whatever honors you mean to pay to him, must be done in a day or two after his arrival, as his stay will not exceed five days. His zeal for our cause, and the attachment he has manifested for our interest, entitles him to every mark of public respect, and private esteem.

The affairs to the southward are still more agreeable than the account I mentioned in my last. Most of the prisoners taken in the action at Camden, were rescued by Col. Marion, as they were on their march to Charlestown. Upon the whole, the British have got little to brag of. General Gates's first account was shocking, and very premature.

Reports are in New York that an expedition is planning there against Wilmington, North Carolina; and another against Portsmouth, in Virginia. But some people think the whole is against Newport.

We have no news of the fleet; and are ready to conclude that Count de Guichen[has] gone back again to the West Indies.

Nothing new in this quarter. Hitherto we have had a very inactive campaign in these northern States; and I am afraid it will end so.

I beg my compliments to Mrs. Greene, and am, with

Great esteem and regard,

Your most humble, obedient servant,

NATH. GREENE.

To His Excellency Governor Greene.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

NEWPORT, Sept. 22d, 1780.

SIR,—Yesterday I received intelligence from the best authority that Admiral Rodney arrived at Sandy Hook on the 13th instant, with ten sail of the line, and two frigates; and on the 15th detached Commodore Drake with four sail of the line to join Admiral Arbuthnot, near Gardner's Island, which was effected on the 18th. The design of this junction, it was said, was to intercept twelve sail of French men of war, supposed to be coming from the West Indies to this place.

A body of troops were also ordered to embark at New York immediately; by some, their destination was supposed to be Virginia; by others, to this place. I have thought it best to order Col. Greene's regiment back to this island.

The French General is desirous that the militia may be notified to hold themselves in readiness to come in on the shortest notice, should it be necessary. If your Excellency should be of opinion that such notice is necessary to facilitate the coming in of the militia of your State, previous to the call for them to march, I request that it may be done.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

W. HEATH.

To Governor Greene.

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TO GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH.

WARWICK, Sept. 23d, 1780.

SIR,—I received your two favors of yesterday, and noted their contents. I am doubtful whether it would make any material difference, the notifying of the militia to be in readiness so as to facilitate their coming in, should there be a necessity for it, as they have heretofore been often notified in the same way, without an alarm.

I am glad you have ordered Col. Greene to return with his regiment. I imagine that through the hurry of business the affair respecting the intercourse between Block Island and the main, was passed over unnoticed. I do not recollect to have seen any vote from the lower house respecting that matter; do therefore recommend to you to issue the same order now, and continue them until the sitting of the Council of War, who are to convene in Providence on the 2d day of next month, as you did in consequence of the late resolve of the late Council of War held in Bristol, before whom I will mention the affair.

I yesterday received a letter from Christopher Ellery, Esq., mentioning that Mrs. Whitman, who, as I am informed, has a husband in New York, and is desirous of going to him in the flag now in Newport, bound there, and that you are unwilling to grant a permit for that purpose, unless I will recommend it; and as the Assembly lately enacted that permissions of a similar



nature might be granted to sundry persons, do therefore recommend to you that she be permitted to go to New York in the same flag with those allowed by the Assembly, and under the same restrictions.

With much respect and esteem, I am yours, &c.,

W. GREENE.

To the Hon. Major General Heath.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, Sept. 29th, 1780.

SIR,—The enclosed letter from General Heath, has just come to hand; and as it respects the troops, I have sent it per express.

Application has been repeatedly made to the Council of Massachusetts for money to supply the troops, but none received; nor any other encouragement than what I enclosed Your Excellency while at Newport.

To purchase any more on credit, is almost impossible; and was it possible, I should decline doing it without the strongest assurance of my being soon enabled to pay for what might be received in that way. I have repeatedly wrote to Col. Pickering, the new Quarter-Master General, but have not received a line in answer. The situation of the troops is truly distressing; and perhaps a dismissal of the three months' men might be advisable. I am, respectfully,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,

EPH'M BOWEN, D. Q. M. G.

To His Excellency Governor Greene.

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TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF RHODE ISLAND.

CAMP ORANGE TOWN, Oct. 1st, 1780.

GENTLEMEN,—These will be delivered you by Capt. William Tew, who is sent by leave obtained from the Commander-in-Chief, and the consent of the officers of the regiment, to receive and bring on the proportion of the £75,000, ordered in July

session to be paid to the line of the State, on the depreciation account. The abstract for ascertaining the regiment's proportion of the money, was sent the 3d of August last.

I have also to inform you, that it is the opinion of the officers in general, that receiving confiscated lands for the balances due them would be attended with much difficulty, and perhaps confusion among them in making a division of said land; they therefore decline taking the same. My sentiments on the matter were fully expressed in my letter of the 31st of last August, to the Governor.

Gentlemen, if you recollect, I wrote to you some time last winter concerning promotions and new appointments, which had taken place in my regiment, by orders from General Gates, but was informed by Lieut. Colonel Olney that the Assembly would not approve of the appointments, except the Commander-in-Chief would certify that that number of officers was necessary in the regiment; upon which I immediately applied to His Excellency and procured such a certificate, signed by himself, and sent it on to the State, directed to the Governor and Council, but have heard nothing of the matter since, though I have wrote once before on the subject; therefore have reason to think that the letters have miscarried, or that the approbation of their appointments was sent to the Board of War, and are there mislaid; and as the gentlemen have served a long time without their commissions, and are very anxious to know whether they are to have them or not; often applying to me on the subject by the Council; I beg the Council would be pleased to inform me by Capt. Tew, whether the letters ever came to hand, and if they did, what is done on the matter.

As for news, gentlemen, I shall refer you to Capt. Tew for all that is here.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your obedient, humble servant,

ISRAEL ANGELL.

To the Governor and Council, State of Rhode Island.

N. B. It is expected that the State will pay the expenses of sending for the money due the regiment.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

CAMP AT TAPPAN, Oct. 2d, 1780.

DEAR SIR,—The late falling off of General Arnold will doubtless be a subject of much speculation; and as it is probable there will be many stories fabricated foreign from truth and the facts, I do myself the honor to give you a short account of the matter, until a more perfect one is published by authority.

On his first arrival at camp this summer, he intimated to the General his wish to have the command of the forts and fortifications on the Highlands. His Excellency readily agreed to the proposition, both from a persuasion that he would defend the place to the last, as well as from a desire to gratify an unfortunate officer, who had become a cripple in the service of his country.

On his first taking command, as has since been discovered, he opened a commercial connection with New York. This was carried on under the plausible pretext of obtaining intelligence. His real intentions being thus masked, he opened a correspondence with Major John Andre, the British Adjutant General, under the feigned name of Mr. John Anderson, merchant, New York. Several letters passed between Arnold and him; Arnold signing himself by the name of Gustavus; and Major Andre by the name of Anderson.

On the 19th of last month Major Andre came up in the Vulture sloop-of-war, near to King's Ferry; and found means by certain signals before agreed on, to let one Joseph Smith, who was to be the go-between Arnold and Andre, know that he was there; and Smith immediately communicated the intelligence to Arnold, who came down and had an interview with Andre that evening, upon the Haverstraw mountains. Andre went up to Smith's house, and was there concealed two days. He got a pass from Arnold, shifted his clothes, and set off for New York by the way of Crompond and the White Plains; at the last of which place, he was made prisoner by three militia men, who deserve immortal honor for their fidelity to their country, as they nobly resisted every bribe that he offered

them ; many of which were very flattering to their private fortunes.

The militia men immediately examined Andre from head to foot and found in the foot of his stocking sundry papers in Gen. Arnold's own hand writing, giving an account of the works at West Point, the strength of the garrison, returns of all the ordnance and stores, and a general state of the army of the United States, where and how employed ; which had been stated some little time before, to the general officers in a council of war, for the purpose of fixing our future plan of operations.

These papers convinced the militia men that there must be treachery somewhere, and without loss of time conveyed Andre to Col. Sheldon's regiment of light horse, which lay about eight miles from the place where they took the prisoner.

Major Jameson, who commanded, forwarded the papers with an account of Andre's capture, who then went by the name of John Anderson, to General Washington, who was on his return from Hartford, from the interview with the French officers.

Unfortunately, the express missed the General, and did not overtake him until some hours after his arrival at West Point. From which place Arnold made his escape about a quarter of an hour before the General's arrival. Had the express fell in with the General on the road, Arnold would have been happily secured ; or if Major Jameson, from a false notion of duty, and from an apprehension that it was criminal to suspect even with the evidence in his own hands, such a character as Arnold, had not written to Arnold two days after he sent off the first letter to General Washington, that he was possessed of a person by the name of Anderson ; which was the first hint he had had of the matter ; and on the receipt of which, he rose (being then at breakfast), and just told his wife that he had received two letters which obliged him to leave her and his country forever ; and immediately left her, and went on board his barge, and rowed down the river, and got on board the Vulture sloop-of-war, then lying a little below King's Ferry.

On the General's arrival at the Point, Arnold was gone ; but nobody knew where nor suspected for what. Some hours after the General's arrival, the dispatches came, which unravelled

the whole mystery. One of the General's aids flew to King's Ferry, to intercept the barge, but she had gone by about an hour and-a-half before.

Thus did this greatest of all villains make his escape, by the most unfortunate delay of the General's dispatches; and thus did Major Andre, by the most providential train of accidents, fall into our hands, and bring about a discovery of this hellish plot. Andre is to be hanged to-day; the gallows is erected in full view of the place where I am writing.

Nothing can equal Arnold's villainy, but his meanness. He is the blackest of all mortals, and the meanest of all creatures. His robbery and plunder of the public stores at West Point exceeds all belief. Nor could I have persuaded myself that it was possible for any thing short of the devil incarnate to perpetrate such horrid crimes, and complicated acts of rascality.

This event convinces me of the force of Spectator's observation; which is, that he that don't make principle the rule of his conduct in every thing, is not to be trusted in any thing. This is the first considerable wound that the cause of America has met with from a desertion: and what makes it more disgraceful, is, that he is an American.

Since the fall of Lucifer, nothing has equalled the fall of Arnold. His military reputation in Europe and America, was flattering to the vanity of the first General of the age. He will now sink as low as he has been high before; and as the devil made war upon heaven after his fall, so I expect Arnold will upon America. Should he ever fall into our hands, he will be a sweet sacrifice.

I beg my kind compliments to Mrs. Greene and the gentlemen and ladies of your family.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

N. GREENE.

To His Excellency Governor Greene.

P. S. I have been obliged to write in haste (Capt. Tew being polite enough to wait for the letter); if there are any inaccuracies, beg you'll excuse them.

TO COLONEL TIMOTHY PICKERING.

PROVIDENCE, Oct. 6th, 1780.

SIR,—Your favour of 13th ultimo I have just received, and find that it is your opinion that the three Eastern States require but one D. Q. Master. However, I am of opinion that upon farther enquiry and experience you will find it necessary to keep one in this State. As you have already taken measures for your appointments in this quarter, the sooner your deputy appears to relieve me the more I shall be obliged. The troops I mentioned before are still doing duty in this State, and are exceedingly distressed for fuel. I have made every exertion in my power to supply them hitherto, which has been done tolerably well, with hard money I have advanced, and what credit I could get. I have, with General Heath, made application to the Council of Massachusetts for cash, or for supplies for their troops, as the Treasury of this State is exhausted, but as yet to no purpose, although they have given some encouragement. The French army are continually wanting assistance from my department; and, a few days ago, I had an application from the General Assembly of this State and the Quarter-Master General of the French army to appoint an assistant, whose principal duty should be the barracking the French troops, but as I was not authorized I declined making the appointment.

The horses in this department I have sent on the State farm at Point Judith, where they will remain till your order is received.

I am, &amp;c.,

Col. Pickering.

E. BOWEN.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

NEWPORT, 11th Oct., 1780.

SIR,—The French ambassador would have had the pleasure of dining with Your Excellency yesterday. His intention was

to have gone up by water, but the wind and tide both being against it, obliged him to give over the visit; and as business called him to Boston, he has gone for that place. He desired me to make his best compliments, and excuse to Your Excellency.

The intendant informs me he has just [been] in great difficulty in getting wood brought from Taunton river, Fall River and Assonet; the owners of vessels suitable for that business demanding the most extravagant prices for their service. He asked me if it would not be just I should give him a power to take them, and pay them what had been customary.

I gave him for answer, it would be more proper and just that any matters of that kind should be done by the legislative authority of the State; and that I would let Your Excellency know the difficulty complained of, to which this is only a prelude, as I requested of him if the cause of complaint could not be remedied by ways more agreeable, to give in, in writing, what he complained of, and I would enclose it to you, and join him in any reasonable request.

I am, with great respect,  
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

To Governor Greene.

C. GREENE.

P. S. I fear we shall be greatly distressed for want of wood for our troops. I learn the wood purchased by Major Lovett, is several miles from any landing, and part of the road very bad; if so, our wagons will not be able to get it fast enough. We are now almost out, and no prospect of getting any soon from that quarter or any other.

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TO COLONEL EPHRAIM BOWEN.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 18th 1780.

SIR,—General Greene, having some time since, ceased to be Quarter-Master General, the authority of the officers appointed under him has of course ceased, as to every other purpose than

E. BOWEN.

th Oct., 1780.  
had the pleasure  
His intention was

settling and accounting for past transactions. It is, therefore, to be presumed that all your contracts under General Greene are closed, and that you will devote *your whole* time and attention, or as much as shall be necessary, to effect a speedy settlement of your accounts. To call for cash to pay the debts you owe on public account, would, at this juncture of difficulty, be in vain; the present state of the public finances does not admit of a compliance with such a demand. At the same time it is necessary that Congress should be informed, as minutely as possible, of the debts due from the United States in order to make due provision for the payment of them. With a view to furnish this information respecting the Quarter-Master's department, I have repeatedly called on the several deputies for lists of the debts owing in their respective districts, specifying the sum due to each person, and when it became due, particularly in my circular letters of the 12th of April and 20th of May last, but have never yet been enabled to frame an estimate of the whole with any tolerable precision. To this letter, however, I entreat your particular attention, and though a compliance may be attended with some circumstances of difficulty, I am persuaded that when you consider the object in view, and the embarrassments that will necessarily be occasioned by a disappointment, you will spare no pains necessary on your part to avoid such disappointment. You will receive herewith copies of certain resolutions of Congress of the 26th of August last, respecting the mode of liquidating the public debts. By these Resolutions you will perceive that you are authorized to liquidate and settle all the debts due from the United States on contracts made by you, or under your authority, at their value in specie, compared with the rate of exchange for Continental money at the time the debts by contract respectively became due, provided the prices of the articles, when thus reduced to specie value, do not exceed the prices established by the act of Congress of the 25th of February last, for the supplies to be furnished by the respective States, or a due proportion to the same for such articles as are not enumerated in the said Act of the 25th of February, an extract from which you will also receive herewith; but it is presumed the prices thus liquidated



will generally fall considerably below that mark. These resolutions show a desire in Congress to do justice to individuals in the best manner the circumstances of the public affairs will at present admit, and it is hoped that every person concerned will yield to the mode prescribed so far as to remove all obstructions to the speedy and final liquidation of the public accounts, though it may happen, in some particulars, not to square exactly with their ideas of propriety. If any cases should happen in which difficulties are raised the persons interested would do well to consider that it is of necessity rather than of choice that new regulations are made for the liquidation of these debts; that these regulations must be general, and cannot be accommodated to every particular circumstance which may happen; that they are intended for their benefit, and that if they do not avail themselves of the present opportunity of getting their accounts thus settled, it may not hereafter be in the power of the public officers to put them on so good a footing. These are considerations deserving weight with the creditors, and I cannot doubt but that your desire to do them the best justice in your power as well as your earnest wish to settle and close your own accounts with the public, in which your own reputation and that of the whole department are deeply interested, will prompt you to exert your utmost influence and industry to liquidate and settle all the accounts of your department on the plan now offered, especially when you consider that such settlement is absolutely necessary to enable the late Quarter-Master General to comply with the order of Congress for rendering to the Board of Treasury an exact "account of the monies due from him on certificates or otherwise, specifying the sum due in each State." I flatter myself, from the former instructions which have, from time to time, been given you, that the greater part of the debts owing from the public through your hands, are already liquidated and certified according to the form of the printed certificates sent to you early in this year, so far as to ascertain the sum due to each person in Continental money, and the times when they respectively became due. So far as this has been done it may not be necessary to make any alteration, unless it shall be the desire of the creditor; but as it seems to

be the intention of Congress that every one should be entitled to have his account liquidated in specie, and that he may pay the certificate in taxes at that rate, or receive new money for it, I should think it best to give every one the offer of this liquidation. In this case an endorsement on the back of the former certificate, certifying in letters at length, the sum due in specie, and that it has been "duly examined and adjusted by you according to the directions of the Act of Congress of the 26th of August, 1780," may be the best mode of doing it; and I would recommend the same mode of settling the accounts yet remaining uncertified, that is, that they be first reduced to a certificate in the old form, and, then liquidated in specie by an endorsement on the back of it, as before mentioned. But as the sum in specie is the essential point, this being fairly ascertained, the other circumstances are less material, and need not be precisely insisted on at too great an expense of time and trouble. You will, however, observe that this liquidation of the sum in specie is to be examined, adjusted and certified, either by commissioners that may be appointed agreeably to the resolution of Congress of the 12th of June last, to settle the accounts of the officers of the Staff departments in the several States, or by you. I would therefore recommend that, if such commissioners should be in your district, or in the neighborhood of it in due season, you apply to them for the purpose, and either refer the matter to them, or take their directions as a rule for your conduct. But as the utmost expedition the nature of the business will admit, is necessary, it may be best not to let it be delayed for want of such commissioners. In such case it will be well to consult with the most judicious men of those conversant in business in the State, in order to form a table of the exchange between Continental money and specie at the several periods the debts or contracts relate to, by which exchange they are to be liquidated. You will, nevertheless, lay an account of your proceedings in this matter before the commissioners for their approbation when they do appear. When the debts are thus liquidated and certified, you will transmit to me an exact list of them, disposed in columns in the following order: 1st, the date of the certificate; 2d, its number,

3d, the name of the person to whom the money is due, 4th, the time when it became due by contract, 5th, a general expression of what it is for, such as team-hire, wages, one horse, &c., as the case may be, 6th, the amount in Continental money at that time, and 7th, the sum certified to be due in specie. This business, I hope, may be speedily accomplished. If possible, let me have the whole in the course of the next month; but if that be impracticable, send me a list as far as you can in that time together with a general estimate of what you suppose remains, as nearly as you can ascertain it, and let the list of such residue follow as soon afterwards as you can form it. These instructions are perhaps more prolix than might have been necessary, as you will have the resolutions of Congress before you, by which you are to be governed. My meaning is only to point out a method in such matters as are left either unexplained by Congress, or which seem to admit a latitude in the mode of execution, in order to preserve uniformity. The resolutions themselves must be your guide in all the essential points; and I send you several copies for your ease in instructing your subordinate officers.

You will observe, by the resolution of Congress of the 12th of June, a copy of which is subjoined to those above referred to, that the commissioners before mentioned are to be sent into the different States to liquidate and settle the accounts of the officers of the Staff departments in the places where the business was transacted, in order that they may, on the one hand be duly informed of the nature and circumstances of every transaction necessary to be investigated, and make due allowances for such circumstances; and on the other, enquire into and report any mal-practices which may have invaded any of the Staff departments, by which means the honest servants of the public will be placed in a fair point of view, and those who have done amiss, if any such there be, will be detected.

The business of these commissioners, I presume, will be to examine your accounts and vouchers, and certify to what amount you are entitled to have allowance for all disbursements of every kind in the public service, including your pay and commissions, and the pay of those employed under you, which

certificate will be a voucher for giving you credit to that amount in the Quarter-Master General's books in discharge of the monies advanced to you. They will also examine into the disposal of all such articles as it shall appear in your account of disbursements you have purchased on the public account, and such as have otherwise come to your hands as public property. When these commissioners will be ready to enter upon your accounts is not yet made known to me, but I suppose it will be within a short time, and I would wish you to have your accounts ready for examination on the shortest notice, that no improper delay may be occasioned on your part.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

CHARLES PETTIT,

A. Q. M. G.

Col. Ephraim Bowen,  
late D. Q. M. G., Providence.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

PROVIDENCE, 4th Dec., 1780.

SIR,—I received at New London in a little journey I made there, a letter from General Washington of the 27th of Nov., in which he sent me orders for Col. Greene, to march with his regiment to West Point; as I have given them to the French cutter that was to go to Newport, and that I fear the wind has hindered him to arrive, I have the honor to send you the extract of General Washington :

“As the two Rhode Island regiments are to be incorporated into one, by a new arrangement of the army, I would wish to unite them at West Point, for the purpose of the incorporation. If their services should be of no use to you I should be obliged to give orders to Col. Greene to march to West Point.”

I beg Your Excellency will give him his orders, and to relieve with other troops the posts of Providence, Butt's Hill and

Point Judith, if you think it proper. I will send twenty-four men to guard Butts' Hill, and spare your troops that post. I think it necessary to have always a detachment at Point Judith, in order to hinder the communication of the ill-intentioned with the enemy.

My plan was to have the honor to see Your Excellency at Greenwich, instead of passing here; but having heard at Wattertown that the General Assembly was still at Greenwich, I was afraid to be to you some trouble for the lodgings, and I took my way through this place. I intend to be to-morrow evening at Newport.

I beg Your Excellency will present my respects to Mistress Greene, and be assured that

I have the honor to be, with great esteem,  
Your Excellency's most humble  
and most obedient servant,

LE COMPTE DEROCHAMBEAU.

To His Excellency Governor Greene.

TO GENERAL LE COMPTE DEROCHAMBEAU.

WARWICK, STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, }  
December 6th, 1780. }

SIR,—I had the honor to receive Your Excellency's favor of the 4th instant, respecting Col. Greene's regiment, and have laid the same before the General Assembly, who have made provision for forwarding them to West Point, agreeably to the requisition of His Excellency General Washington.

It is perfectly agreeable to the General Assembly that Your Excellency should place a guard at Butts' Hill. Care will be taken by us to place sufficient guards in Providence.

With respect to the post at Point Judith, the General Assembly considering the advanced season of the year, and other circumstances, are of opinion that the placing a detachment there at present may be dispensed with. Should Your Excel-

lency's sentiments prove different, upon being favored with them, they shall receive the earliest attention and consideration.

I have the honor to be, with great esteem,

Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient  
and most humble servant,  
WILLIAM GREENE.

To le Compte de Rochambeau.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WARWICK, 8th Dec., 1780.

SIR,—In consequence of Your Excellency's requisitions, the General Assembly have ordered three hundred and eight men to be enlisted the 1st day of January next, to complete the State's regiment, agreeably to the resolution of Congress, to serve during the war. They are to receive as a bounty one hundred and twenty silver dollars; and for three years, one hundred dollars. And whatever number may be deficient on the said 1st day of January, in order to procure them immediately, the whole of the inhabitants from sixteen years old and upwards, throughout this State, are to be put into classes in numbers, agreeably to the deficiencies, and each one to furnish a man.

They have also furnished this State's clothier with cash, to procure clothing, to make up the deficiency of that article in their regiment. And have also ordered the purchasing Commissary to purchase the necessary supplies. And in order to furnish those departments as well as all others, as far as may be reasonably expected from this little State, the Assembly have ordered a tax of £1,000,000, in the old Continental bills, to be paid by the 1st day of February, and the 1st day of April next, in equal halves; and a further sum of £16,000, in silver; ten of which to be paid by the 1st of January next, the other by the 1st of February following.

These proceedings I have thought proper to communicate to

you, that you may be informed of the manner in which this State has undertaken to comply with your requisitions; and I hope they will meet your approbation.

I am, Sir, with great truth,  
Your Excellency's most obedient,  
and most humble servant,

WILLIAM GREENE.

To His Excellency General Washington.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

NEWPORT, April 6th, 1781.

SIR—It having been necessary on different occasions to make use of the boats of this country, and having experienced delays which may be very prejudicial to the public service; or having been grossly imposed on as to the payment in hard money, which is equally pernicious, I beg of Your Excellency to send me an order which I may make use of on all occasions, that I may have the boats at the same price and conditions as the Continental army. As this corps is a part of it, it is but just that it should be treated in the same manner; it is likewise for the service of the common cause.

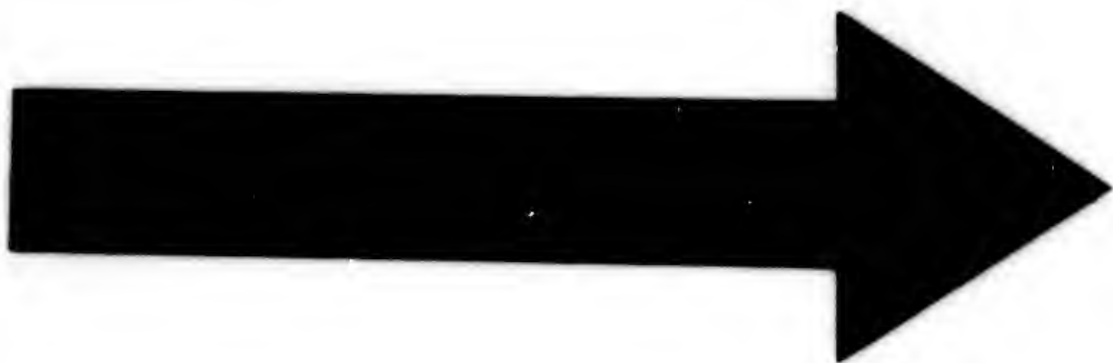
I beg Your Excellency to have regard to my demand, and to be persuaded of the respect with which I am,

Your Excellency's most humble,  
and most obedient servant,

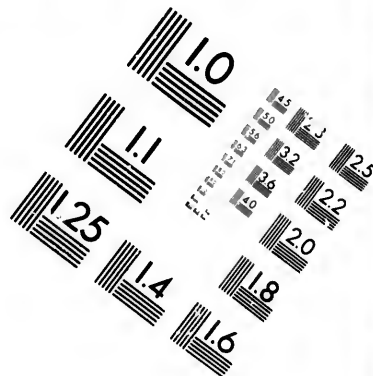
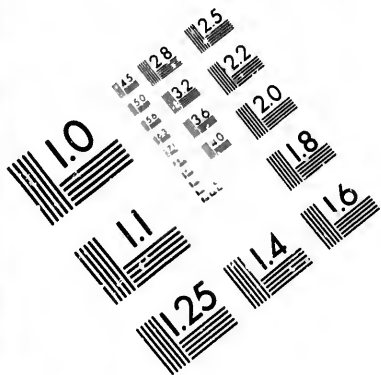
LE COMPTE DEROCHAMBEAU.

To His Excellency Governor Greene.

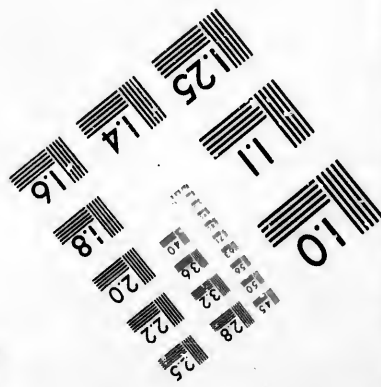
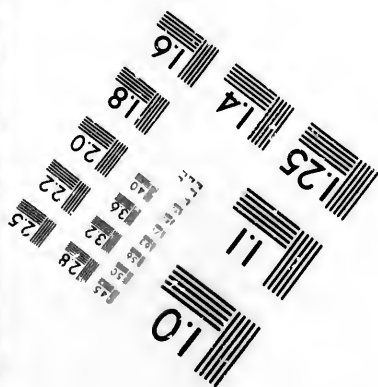
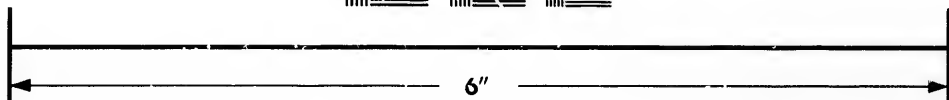
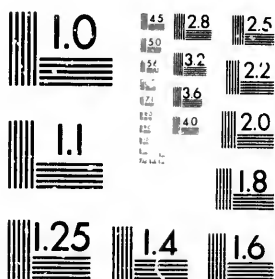
P. S. I beg of Your Excellency that the order may likewise be for the wagons of the country, in case they should be needed for the service.







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TO GENERAL LE COMPTE DEROCHAMBEAU.

WAKWICK, 7th April, 1781.

SIR,—Your favor of yesterday is now before me, and am sorry to find that you meet with difficulty in regard to the prices of boats and wagons, when necessarily employed by you.

But as I am not authorized to give an order in the manner you have requested, shall lay your letter before the General Assembly in the early part of their next session, which is to be held in Newport within about four weeks; and in the meanwhile recommend to you Christopher Ellery, Esq., Mr. William Channing, Col. Robert Elliot and Mr. William Taggart, who are members of the General Assembly, and inhabitants of Newport. They, or either of them, are capable of letting you know what are the customary prices for those articles when employed in the manner you have mentioned; and I doubt not will cheerfully afford you every assistance in their power. And you may rest assured that nothing shall be wanting on my part consistent with the power vested in me, to prevent impositions of this kind from taking place.

With great regard, I am,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

WM. GREENE.

To His Excellency General Rochambeau.

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TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

CAMP before Camden, April 22d, 1781.

SIR,—In my last I informed your Excellency of Lord Cornwallis's precipitate retreat from Deep River, of the situation of our army for want of provisions, and of the Virginia militia time of service having expired, which reduced our numbers greatly inferior to the enemy's.

Finding that I had not a force to pursue them further, and

that our army could not be subsisted either on the route the enemy had marched, or in the lower country, I thought it most advisable to push my operations into South Carolina to recover the expiring hopes of the people, to divide with the enemy the supplies of the country, of which they had an entire command; to break up their little posts of communication, and if possible oblige Lord Cornwallis to return to the State for their protection.

This last was the great object of my movement, and had we a force to prosecute the plan, I persuade myself it would take effect; but for want of which the matter remains doubtful. Upwards of five months have I been in this department, with nothing but the remains of a routed army, except the addition of Col. Lee's legion, and a couple of small detachments from Virginia, amounting to little more than a regiment, and those without discipline, or even officers to command them. In this situation, with a temporary aid of militia, we have been struggling with a very unequal force under every possible disadvantage, and surrounded with every kind of distress.

We have run every hazard, and been exposed to every danger, not only of being beaten, but totally ruined. I have been anxiously waiting for succor, but the prospect appears remote, except the temporary aid of militia, which is too precarious and uncertain to commence any serious offensive operations upon.

The more I inquire into the natural strength of North and South Carolina, either to form or support an army, the more I am persuaded they have been greatly overrated. More of the inhabitants appear in the King's interest than in ours; and the country is so extensive, and thinly inhabited, that it is not easy either to draw any considerable force together or to subsist them when collected. The militia in our interest can do little more than keep Tories in subjection, and in many places not that.

These States were in a better condition to make exertions last campaign than this; the well-effected last year, spent their time and their substance in fruitless exertions; and finding themselves unequal to the conflict, and their families being exposed and in distress, hundreds and hundreds of the best whigs

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amble servant,  
WM. GREENE.

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April 22d, 1781.

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them further, and

have left their country. Last year it was full of resources ; this, it is almost totally exhausted ; and the little produce that remains is so remote, means of transportation so difficult to command, that it is next to an impossibility to collect it.

The enemy have got a firmer footing in the southern States than is generally expected. Camden ninety-six, and Augusta cover all the fertile parts of South Carolina and Georgia ; and they are laying waste the country above them, which will effectually secure those posts, as no army can be subsisted in the neighborhood to operate against them. Below, they have a great many intermediate posts of communication for the purpose of aving the country and commanding its supplies. Nor can I see how we are to reduce those capital posts but with a superior army in the field.

I wish Congress not to be deceived respecting the situation of things in the southern department, and therefore I hope they will excuse the freedom I take. If more effectual support cannot be given than has been, or as I can see any prospect of, I am very apprehensive that the enemy will hold their ground, not only in the sea-ports but the interior country. The conflict may continue for some time longer, and Generals Sumpter and Marion deserve great credit for their exertions and perseverance, but their endeavors serve rather to keep the contest alive than lay a foundation for recovering the States.

We began our march from Deep River on the 7th, and arrived in the neighborhood of Camden on the 19th ; all the country through which we passed is disaffected ; and the same guards and scouts were necessary to collect provisions and forage, as if in an open and avowed enemy's country.

On our arrival at Camden, we took post at Logtown, about half a mile in front of their works ; which, upon reconnoitering were found to be much stronger than had been represented, and the garrison much larger. The town is upon a plain, covered on two sides by the river Wateree and Pine Tree Creek. The two other sides, by a chain of strong redoubts ; all nearly of the same size, and independent of each other. Our force was too small, either to invest the town or storm the works, which obliged us to take a position at a little distance from it.

Before we began our march from Deep River, I detached Lieut. Colonel Lee with his legion, and part of the second Maryland regiment to join General Marion to invest the enemy's post of communication upon the Santee; and one of their posts is now invested called Fort Watson, and must fall, if not relieved by a detachment of Lord Cornwallis's army.

I have been greatly disappointed in the force I expected to operate with me. Fifteen hundred Virginia militia were called for immediately after the battle of Guilford, having this present movement in contemplation at the time; and the State gave an order for a greater number than was required. But the busy season of the year, and the great distance they have to march, prevents their coming to our assistance in time, if not in force. General Sumpter also engaged to have one thousand men in the field by the 10th, to operate with us; but the difficulty of collecting the militia, from the disagreeable situation of their families, has prevented their embodying yet in any considerable force.

These disappointments lay us under many disadvantages, to say nothing worse. The country is extremely difficult to operate in, being much cut to pieces by deep creeks and impassable morasses; and many parts are covered with such heavy timber, and thick underbrush, as exposes an army and particularly detachments, to frequent surprises.

The service has been so severe that it will be absolutely necessary to give the army some relaxation soon, and therefore I lament the delay which is occasioned at this time for want of sufficient force to invest all the enemy's posts of communication. Our numbers are so reduced by the different actions and skirmishes which have happened, and by the fatigues and hardships of the service, that we have but the shadow of an army remaining; and this we are obliged to divide, to push our operations to any effect, though it is attended with danger, and may prove our ruin.

I am extremely mortified at the disappointment which happened in Virginia, in the plan of co-operation against Portsmouth, between our good ally and the Marquis de LaFayette, Success there would have given us great relief here, and I am

persuaded that nothing can recover this country out of the hands of the enemy but a similar plan in the southern States. At present the enemy have as full possession of Georgia, and almost the whole of South Carolina, as they can wish. The last accounts I had from Lord Cornwallis he lay at Wilmington and his army, it was said, was getting very sickly.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

NATH. GREENE.

To Governor Greene.

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TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

WARWICK, June 7th, 1781.

SIR,—The General Assembly of this State, deeply impressed with the absolute necessity of assembling a respectable army in the field, did, in the beginning of the last winter, cheerfully adopt the proper measures for filling up our Continental battalion, agreeable to the arrangement of the army. With unwearied exertions, and at a vast expense, they have proved so far successful that the whole number demanded have been enlisted and mustered, excepting thirty-nine; and such measures are now pursuing that I trust the remainder will be very soon completed.

Sensible, also, that to provide for the clothing and feeding the troops was equally necessary, they have hitherto supplied and sent forward their quota of fresh beef, and have laid up considerable quantities of salted provisions and rum, of the former of which we now have nearly seven hundred barrels, and of the latter about eleven thousand gallons, besides what hath been delivered to the troops who have done duty in the State. They have also provided and sent on a sufficient quantity of summer clothing for the battalion, and have on hand the greatest part of the warm clothing for winter.

[I laid your Excellency's letters of the 18th and 24th of May before the General Assembly, at their session last week. They

entered upon the consideration of them with that seriousness and attention which their importance required].

They contracted for thirty thousand pounds weight of fresh beef for the month of June, and the same quantity for July, to be delivered on the hoof, at such place or places on the East side of the North River as the proper officers for receiving it shall direct. And the character of the person contracted with is such that the punctual performance of his contract may be securely relied upon.

Although there was a sufficient number of tents in this State for the use of our battalion, procured with money advanced by us, yet the service requiring them for the Southern army, the General Assembly appointed a committee to procure the materials for, and to cause one hundred and twenty tents to be immediately made for our battalion. They will be soon completed and delivered to the Assistant Quarter-Master General in this State.

In consequence of your Excellency's letter of the 24th of May, the General Assembly ordered a regiment of militia to be embodied to do duty on Rhode Island for one month. They are to be rendezvoused there to-morrow, excepting two hundred of them, who, at the request of His Excellency Count de Rochambeau, were ordered upon the Island yesterday. I have received information that a considerable part of them have gone on. Col. Archibald Cray, an officer of experience and ability, is appointed to the command of the regiment, and of the posts upon Rhode Island.

\* I will not excite in your Excellency's breast those disagreeable sensations which must arise from a detail of the distresses of this small State. I will only say that it is impossible for us, without the assistance of the neighboring States, to garrison

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\*This letter *mutatis mutandis* was addressed to Congress, with the addition of the following paragraph :—

The General Assembly have also ordered a tax of £20,000, lawful silver money, to defray the expenses of the State—one-half thereof payable on the 1st day of August next, and the other half on the 5th day of October following; and another tax of £6,000, lawful money, being one-sixth part of the Continental money of the new emission of this State, to be paid in the identical bills by the last day of December next, which will be within a year from the time of their emission.



Newport ; and I must earnestly request your Excellency to make an early application to the other New England States for a just and equitable proportion of troops for the defence of that post, which we conceive to be of great consequence to our allies as well as to us.

During the time the enemy were in great strength at Rhode Island, it frequently happened that this State was left in a measure destitute of succors from the neighboring States. At one time there was not a single man from Connecticut nor New Hampshire, and but about one hundred and fifty from Massachusetts. Sometimes all the fencible men in the State, sometimes a third, and at others a fourth part, were called upon duty. The intolerable burthens we then labored under are so recent, and the apprehensions of suffering similar distresses from a like conduct in the neighboring States, are so great, that your Excellency will excuse my being importunate with you to make early requisitions, and in such terms and with such precision, as your Excellency shall think best adapted to procure seasonably the necessary succors.

I have the honor to be,

with the greatest esteem, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient  
and most humble servant,

WM. GREENE.

To His Excellency General Washington.

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TO THEODORE FOSTER, Esq.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 15th, 1781.

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty to acquaint you that the Rhode Island regt., after a passage of twenty-one days, arrived safe at the Head of Elk, [from York, in Virginia, and on the 12th inst, by short marches reached this place with part of the reg't. I am not master of the language sufficient to paint the horrid situation we were in. Great part of the time, on our passage, we had water for about ten days only ; we had twice the num-

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ber of men on board to be in the smallest degree comfortable ; we had several breaking out with the small pox, whilst others were shuddering for fear of taking it the natural way. Great numbers of the soldiers were hourly taken sick in a manner so uncommon that the surgeons were unable to tell the disease, much less to afford them relief. However, we lost but two on the passage, but since landing twelve or thirteen have died, and numbers more must share the same fate, though they are tenderly taken care of, and everything provided for their comfort that a hospital can afford.' Col. Olney will be able to give you the particulars of our unhappy passage. We have no news in this quarter except that of Manorea being taken, which is generally believed, and some accounts say that Gibraltar is on the brink of surrendering, and that Madras is closely be-seiged by a formidable army under the orders of Hyder Ali. All these things, if but half true, must settle the matter agree-able to our wishes.

Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on the late happy suc-cess of our arms, and the splendid prospect of an honorable and lasting peace, with liberty unimpaired. Now is the time to exert every nerve, and show a good front to the enemy. No expense should be spared to complete our armies and pay off those virtuous men who have braved every danger to serve their country, notwithstanding they have more than a year's pay due and suffering for want of it.

I shall do myself the pleasure to pay you a visit between this and April next, if Congress are kind enough to pay us some cash before that time. I will thank you to present my com-pliments to your lady and love to Miss Theodosia, and believe me as I really am wanting in words to express the obligations I feel myself under, for your repeated acts of kindness and un-bounded generosity to me. I should be glad to hear from you the first opportunity, for I have not had the honor of a line from you since I left Providence., nor from but few of my other friends.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with sentiments of esteem,  
 Your most obedient and humble servant,  
 Theodore Foster, Esq. WILLIAM ALLEN.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

OFFICE OF FINANCE, 26th June, 1782.

SIR,—Finding that your State have made advances of pay to their troops, it becomes my duty to inform your Excellency that Congress included in their estimates, amounting to eight millions, the sums necessary for paying the army. Of consequence, there can be no use in making such payments by the several States. I must also observe, Sir, that partial payments, or supplies of any kind, have been found, by experience, to give general dissatisfaction, and therefore the determination to discontinue them has been long since adopted. The variety of accounts, also, is dangerous and expensive, and therefore to be avoided. I might add other reasons why such payments by the States cannot be admitted in abatement of their respective quotas. The same reasons also operate against the admission of charges for supplies of any kind, or certificates therefor, as deductions from those quotas. I have written to Mr. Olney on the subject the 23d instant, and am now to pray your Excellency's attention and assistance to prevent such irregularities in future. The more our operations are simplified the better will they be understood, and the more satisfactorily will they be conducted. Congress have asked for men and money. These granted, they will ask for nothing more; and I persuade myself that if, consistently with the confederation, they could confine their requisitions to money alone, the people at large would desire relief from it; the Legislatures would act with greater ease, and our resources be applied with greater vigor.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient  
and humble servant,

ROBERT MORRIS.

To His Excellency the Governor of Rhode Island.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEWBURGH, }  
July 10th, 1782. }

SIR,—I think it necessary to communicate to your Excellency the following remarks of the Inspector General, which are annexed to the last inspection return of the Rhode Island regiment:

“This regiment wants 7 ensigns, 9 sergeants, 5 musicians, and 75 privates to complete it. The regiment is in good order and discipline, notwithstanding one-third of the men are recruits. If it should happen to be deficient in this point, it might justly be attributed to a want of officers. The regiment can at present form two large battalions, but there are scarcely officers enough to command one. If the State does not fill up the vacancies, the Commander-in-Chief must be requested to appoint officers from the other lines to command in the regiment.”

I have only to add my earnest wish that a matter of so much importance to the service as that of having a sufficient number of officers in the field to command the men, may be attended to by your State as soon as the circumstances will permit.

I have the honor to be, with great regard,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

To His Excellency Governor Greene.

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TO THEODORE FOSTER, Esq.

CAMP HIGHLANDS, August 14th, 1782.

DEAR SIR,—By this you will see that I am not particular in waiting for you to write. If I should be so ceremonious I am not able to guess when you would hear from me. Concerning the journals of Congress, the printer, Mr. Claypoole, proposed having them complete in 20 days from the time I applied, which

was immediately after the receipt of your letter. I called at the expiration of 20 days, but found them as far from being ready as at first, nor was there any advances towards printing them when the regiment left the city.

News we have none except the flying accounts of peace, which I pray God may prove true. Rhode Island is much talked of and charged of being very obstinate for not passing the impost law, by which the Public Treasury, it is computed, is some hundreds of thousands the poorer, besides the great disappointment it must be to Mr. Morris, and a still more sensible one to the army, which has not a shilling to help itself, and when it will have God only knows. Captain Lewis, the bearer of this, was once of Col. Greene's regiment. He went out on the establishment, and soon after put to sea and was taken and carried into Ireland and confined in Kensail prison, from whence, after about a year's confinement, he had the good fortune to make his escape, and got to France. The kind treatment he received from a number of Irish merchants is beyond conception, knowing him at the same time to be an American prisoner, and that he'd broke jail. Capt. Lewis says that Count DeGrasse had arrived at Paris six weeks before he left France, and that the Count was received at the Court with every attention and politeness possible.

\* \* \* \* \*

I hope you will let me hear from you soon, and give me a sketch how the world slides at Providence. I have been very sick with a kind of intermitting fever, but I have got the better of it and am in hopes to be about again in eight or ten days.

Please offer my compliments to Mrs. Foster, and believe me, dear Foster, your assured friend and

Obedient, humble servant,

W. ALLEN.

Theodore Foster, Esq.

TO THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF DEPUTIES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, }  
November 2d, 1782. }

GENTLEMEN,—We are much surprised by an application made to us by Col. Samuel Aborn, for the payment of the charter party of the sloop Polly, which was hired by Major John Hopkins, as a flag, to proceed, with prisoners from your Commonwealth to New York.

Mr. Aborn hath informed us that he hath made several applications to Major Hopkins for the money, but was informed that he could not pay him; that he presented a petition to you for payment thereof, but without effect.

We presume that if you were acquainted with the circumstances, that Mr. Aborn would be immediately paid the debt. In November, 1781, His Excellency Gov. Hancock wrote a letter to the Hon. Lient. Governor Bowen, informing him that Major Hopkins, with a number of prisoners, were coming into this State, in order to send them to New York. In consequence of the credit of Gov. Hancock's letter, the Council of War granted the payment to Mr. Aborn. We have enclosed a copy of Gov. Hancock's letter, with other documents, to show that it is a proper debt of your State. We cannot imagine that any hesitation will be made with respect to the payment of Mr. Aborn's demand, as what was done by us was only to facilitate Mr. Hopkins in getting his prisoners off, and bringing back a number of the citizens of your State, who were in a very sickly and distressed situation. Humanity dictated us to assist them, and we were at upwards of one hundred pounds specie in administering to their relief.

We must request that such attention be paid unto Mr. Aborn's application, that upon any future occasion we may readily join in lending that friendly and sisterly assistance which always ought to exist between neighboring States.

I am, gentlemen, with great esteem and respect,

Your most obedient servant,

To the Speaker of the House of Deputies of Massachusetts. W. B. BOURNE, Clerk.

TO GOVERNOR WILLIAM GREENE.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 13th Dec. 1782.

SIR,—By a resolution of Congress, of the 7th of August, there is to be, upon the 1st of January next, a reform of all regiments in the Continental army which do not, at that time, consist of at least 500 rank and file. But this being left somewhat at the discretion of the Secretary at War, he would wish, before he carries the resolution into execution, to give those States whose corps are not a great way below the proposed establishment, an opportunity of endeavoring to complete them, upon a supposition that they would rather exert themselves to effect this salutary purpose than suffer a number of valuable officers, whose inclination it is to remain in service, to retire upon half pay.

The regiment of your State will, upon the 1st of January, consist of about 300 rank and file, which will, at most, form five companies. Consequently, should there be no prospect of recruiting it, a great proportion of the officers must be dismissed upon half pay.

Before Col. Olney marched to the northward he showed me an act of the Legislature of the State for raising 200 men; but the object of that act seemed to be the re-enlisting the levies who had been engaged for the campaign; and as the bounty money was not sent forward, Col. Olney seemed of the opinion that very few of those men would be retained. But I imagine he will have informed you of his success and prospects.

I must request your Excellency to lay this matter before the Legislature, and to endeavor to prevail upon them to make an adequate provision for recruiting their regiments to 500 rank and file, at least, should the former act prove insufficient; and as the Secretary at War only waits the determination of the House upon this point, that he may regulate his conduct accordingly, you will be pleased to furnish me with their decision as soon as it is known.

I would just beg leave to observe, that from the present situation of affairs we have no reason to conclude that an addition

to our present force will not be necessary the next year; and that making an early provision for such addition can be attended with no real inconvenience or expense, as the fund appropriated to this purpose can, with ease, be converted to other uses before the men are raised, should we happily have no occasion for them.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and humble servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

To His Excellency Governor Greene.



## NOTE.

A Return of Persons employed in the Quarter-Master General's Department, under the Inspection of Ephraim Bowen, Deputy Quarter-Master General, State of Rhode Island.

*Assistants D. Q. M. General.*

Names and Number.	Where Stationed.
Charles Whittelsey .....	Providence.
Daniel Box,.....	Tiverton.
Sylvester Gardner,.....	N. Kingston.
Richard Fry,.....	Greenwich.

*Clerks to D. Q. M. General.*

Ebenezer Floyd,.....	Providence.
William Wilkerson,.....	Tiverton.
Isaac Pierce,.....	N. Kingston.
Griffin Spencer,.....	Greenwich.

*Brigade Quarter-Masters.*

Benjamin Hoppin,.....	Tiverton.
William Tey,.....	Bristol.

*Store Keeper, Hired.*

Lemuel Olney,.....	Providence.
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*Deputy Wagon-Master General.*

Simo. Martin,.....	Providence.
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*Assistant D. W. M. General.*

Philip Martin,.....	Providence.
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*Brigade Wagon-Masters.*

Francis Ratliff,.....	Providence.
William Jones,.....	Tiverton.

*Commissary of Wood.*

Name and Number.	Where Stationed.
Samuel Pitcher,.....	Providence.

*Wagoners taken from the Line.*

Names and Number.	Where Stationed.	From what Brigade.
R. Gillson .....	Providence.....	Gen. Glover's.
Samuel Spicers,.....	ditto. ....	Gen. Cornell's.
Six,.....	ditto. ....	Col. Crarie's.
Three, ..	Warwick. ....	Col. Harrison's.
Two,.....	Providence.....	Col. Webb's.
Three,.....	ditto. ....	Col. Jackson's.
Thirteen,.....	ditto. ....	Col. Tyler's.
Three,...	Tiverton. ....	Gen. Cornell's.
Six,...	Bristol. ....	Gen. Stark's.
Four,.....	N. Kingston.....	Col. Angell's.

*Wagoners Enlisted.*

Names and Number.	Where Stationed.
Patrick McKown, . . . . .	Providence.
John Allin, . . . . .	Tiverton.
Three, . . . . .	Bristol.

*Ship and Boat-Wrights, Enlisted.*

Benjamin Eddy and Son, . . . . .	Providence.
Stephen Devol, . . . . .	Tiverton.

*Carpenters and Wheelwrights, Enlisted.*

Abim'k Riggs, Capt. . . . .	Providence.
William Stall, . . . . .	Providence.
Beniah Curtis, . . . . .	Providence.

*Carpenters and Wheelwrights taken from the Line.*

Names and Number.	Where Stationed.	From what Brigade.
Nine, . . . . .	Providence, . . . . .	Gen. Cornell's.
John Webster, . . . . .	Providence, . . . . .	Col. Tyler's.
Two, . . . . .	Tiverton. . . . .	Gen. Cornell's.
Two, . . . . .	N. Kingston. . . . .	Col. Angell's.
Two, . . . . .	Greenwich. . . . .	Col. Greene's.

*Ship and Boatwrights taken from the Line.*

Three, . . . . .	Tiverton. . . . .	Gen. Cornell's.
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*Blacksmiths, Enlisted.*

Names and Numbers.	Where Stationed.
Nathaniel Dana and Son, . . . . .	Providence.
Nathaniel Gilmore and three Apprentices, . . . . .	Providence.
Ebenezer White, his shop and tools, . . . . .	Providence.
Jonathan Salisbury, his shop and tools, . . . . .	Greenwich.
Daniel Devol, . . . . .	Tiverton.

*Blacksmiths taken from the Line.*

Names and Number.	Where Stationed.	From what Brigade.
Isaac Clapp, . . . . .	Providence. . . . .	Gen. Cornell's.
Two, . . . . .	Providence. . . . .	Col. Tyler's.
Two, . . . . .	Providence. . . . .	Col. Jacobs's.
Four, . . . . .	Tiverton. . . . .	Gen. Cornell's.
Four, . . . . .	Bristol. . . . .	Gen. Stark's.
Three, . . . . .	N. Kingston. . . . .	Col. Angell's.
Prince Ingraham, . . . . .	Greenwich. . . . .	Col. Greene's.

*Armorer, Enlisted.*

Name and Number.	Where Stationed.
John Herber, . . . . .	Providence.

*Armorer taken from the Line.*

Name and Number.	Where Stationed.	From what Brigade.
James Morse, . . . . .	Greenwich. . . . .	Col. Greene's.

*Express Riders, Enlisted.*

Names and Number.	Where Stationed.
John Jenkins, . . . . .	Providence.
William Darbe, . . . . .	Providence.
Josiah Snow, . . . . .	Providence.
Thomas Barstow, . . . . .	Providence.
Joshua Bicknell, . . . . .	Tiverton.
Elisha Brown, . . . . .	Tiverton.
William Barrington, . . . . .	Tiverton.
Charles Cahoone, . . . . .	N. Kingston.
Joseph Noice, . . . . .	N. Kingston.
Roger Darbe, . . . . .	Providence.

*Saddler, Enlisted.*

Ford Wescoat, . . . . . Providence.

*Saddlers taken from the Line.*

Names and Number.	Where Stationed.	From what Brigade.
Pierce Spear, . . . . .	Providence,	Col. Barton's.
Jotham Barns, . . . . .	Providence.	Col. Jackson's.
Jonathan Holt, . . . . .	Providence.	Col. Tyler's.

PROVIDENCE, 15th October, 1779.

Errors Excepted.\*

E. BOWEN, D. Q., M. G.

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\* The "pay in dollars per month," of the above named employees was as follows:

Assistants D. Q. M. General, . . . . .	\$140.	Subsistence, . . . \$20
Clerks " " " . . . . .	40.	" 10
Brigade Q. Masters " " . . . . .	15.	" 10
Store Keepers hired, . . . . .	40.	" 10
Deputies Wagon Master General, . . . . .	100.	" 20
Assistants " " " . . . . .	80.	" 10
Brigade Wagon Masters, . . . . .	75 and 80.	" 10
Commissaries of Wood, . . . . .	50.	" 20
Wagoners taken from the Line, . . . . .	10.	
Wagoners enlisted, . . . . .	26 2-3 and 70.	
Ship and Boatwrights enlisted, . . . . .	12.	
" " " taken from the Line, per day, . . . . .	2.	
Carpenters and Wheelwrights enlisted, . . . . .	80.	20
Two " " " . . . . .	48s. per day.	
Carpenters and Wheelwrights taken from the Line, . . . . .	10.	
Two " " " . . . . .	12s. per day.	
Blacksmiths enlisted, . . . . .	100, 140, 150.	
One " " " . . . . .	7s. per day.	
Blacksmiths taken from the Line, . . . . .	10.	
Armorsers enlisted, . . . . .	120.	
" taken from the Line, . . . . .	10.	
Saddlers enlisted, . . . . .	50.	
" taken from the Line, . . . . .	10.	
Express Riders enlisted, . . . . .	360.	

[Committee on Publication].

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## APPENDIX.

LETTERS OF DR. SOLOMON DROWNE, TO MR. WILLIAM DROWNE,  
IN MENDON, MASS.\*

PROVIDENCE, June ye 23rd, 1772.

DEAR BROTHER:

If I had no other motive to embrace this opportunity of writing to you, yet gratitude would oblige me. \* \* \* \* \*

Doubtless you have heard of the skirmish down the river, and of the burning of the armed Schooner,† and badly wounding the captain; so I shall write no more concerning that affair (though I was on the wharf when the boats were manned and armed, and know the principal actors) lest it should be too much spread abroad; and perhaps you have seen the thundering proclamation in the newspaper, and the reward of £100 sterling, offered to any person or persons who shall discover the perpetrators of the said villainy, as it is called.

The clock strikes eleven. We take no note of time but from its loss \* \* \*.

From your affectionate brother and sincere friend,

SOLOMON DROWNE, junr.

\*SOLOMON DROWNE, M. D., was born in Providence, R. I., on the 11th of March, 1753; and after graduating at Brown University, in 1773, and completing his medical studies in the University of Pennsylvania, he entered the Revolutionary Army as a surgeon. On the 20th of November, 1777, he married Elizabeth (daughter of Thomas and Honora) Russell, of Boston, Mass., who was born April 16th, 1757, and died in Foster, R. I., May 15th, 1844. At the conclusion of the war, he practiced medicine for a time in his native city; visited the medical schools and hospitals in London and Paris, in 1781; was one of the founders of Marietta, Ohio, and delivered there a Funeral Eulogy on General VARNUM, and also the first Anniversary Oration in commemoration of the settlement on the 7th of April, 1789. After residing for several years in Virginia and Pennsylvania, he returned to Rhode Island in 1801, and settled in Foster, where he passed the remainder of his days in professional, agricultural and literary pursuits. In 1811 he was appointed Professor of Materia Medica and Botany, in Brown University; and in 1819 served as a delegate to the Convention which formed the National Pharmacopoeia. During his latter years, he published a work on agriculture, and many scientific and literary papers, and delivered several Addresses and Orations, all of which, bear the marks of a highly cultivated taste, ripe scholarship, and extensive research. He died on the 5th of February, 1834.

† The Gaspee. For a full, detailed account of "this important event in the colonial annals of Rhode Island," the reader is referred to the Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Vol. VII., pp 57-192.

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APPENDIX.

TO THE SAME.

PROVIDENCE, August 12, 1775.

\* \* \* One day last week, Mr. Compton, with one of the Light Infantry drummers, and two of the Cadet fifers, went round to notify the Sons of Freedom who had the public good and safety at heart, to repair to Haacker's wharf, with such implements as are useful in intrenching, where a boat was ready to take them on board and transport them to the shore between Sassafras and Field's Point. About sixty of us went in a packet; many had gone before, some in J. Brown's boat, &c.; so when all had got there, the number was not much short of two hundred. I don't know that ever I worked harder a day in my life before. With what had been done by a number that went the day before, we threw up a breastwork that extended near one quarter of a mile. A large quantity of bread was carried down, and several were off catching quahaugs, which were cooked for dinner *a la mode de Indian*. The channel runs at not a great distance from this shore, so that when consin Wallace comes up to fire our town, his men who work the ship can easily be picked down by small arms, from our intrenchment, which is designed principally for musqueteers. However, we have a little *twentyfication* growing at Fox Point, where six pretty lusty bull dogs are to be placed; perhaps this creature may grow into a fortification in time.\*

I herewith send you a hand-bill, published to be sent into the country, for informing the inhabitants of our beacon, &c. The beacon-pole, mast, or whatever you please, is raised on the hill, not very far above the powder house, nearly opposite the church; the top of it, I have heard said, is about eighty feet higher than the top of the new meeting house steeple, which perhaps you have heard, is upwards of one hundred and eighty feet from the ground. Judge what an extreme view it commands † If this reaches you before the 17th inst., I wish you would go up on the hill near your habitation at the time appointed, and direct your eye towards Providence, to descry, if possible, that light, on which one time, perhaps, our safety may in a considerable measure depend.

\* "At a town meeting, on the 29th day of August, Esek Hopkins, afterwards first commodore of the American Navy, was appointed commandant of this battery; Samuel Warner lieutenant, and Christopher Sheldon, gunner. Seven men were appointed for each gun. A floating battery was soon commenced. In October they prepared scows, filled with combustible materials, and were engaged in stretching a boom and chain across the channel, when the Colony assumed the direction and completion of those works." *Staples' Annals*, p. 250.

† The beacon was erected on the east hill, near the junction of Meeting and Prospect streets. It "was fired on the night of the 17th of August, to enable persons at a distance to ascertain its location. Its light, it was said, was seen in Newport, New London, Norwich, Pomfret, Prospect Hill in Cambridge, and in almost all the towns within the same distance from it." *Staples' Annals*, p. 250.

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APPENDIX.

[Copy of the hand-bill alluded to in the foregoing letter.]

PROVIDENCE BEACON.

*The Town of Providence, to the inhabitants of the Towns adjacent.*

LOVING FRIENDS AND BRETHREN :

In consequence of the recommendation of the Continental Congress, that those seaport towns which are principally exposed to the ravages and depredations of our common enemies, should be fortified and put into a good state of defence as may be, which has also received the approbation of the Legislature of this Colony; besides a strong battery and intrenchments on the river, there has been lately erected, on the greatest eminence in this town, a BEACON, for the purpose of alarming the country, whenever it shall become necessary in our defence; and as we doubt not of the readiness of our friends and brethren, both within and without this government, to give us every assistance in their power on such an occasion, if timely apprized thereof:

This is therefore to inform you, that it is our urgent request that you all hold yourselves in readiness, and whenever you see said BEACON on fire, you immediately, and without delay, with the best accoutrements, warlike weapons and stores you have by you, repair to the town of Providence, there to receive from the military officers present, such orders as may be given by the authority of this jurisdiction for our common safety and defence. In case of an alarm, we intend to fire the BEACON, and also discharge cannon, to notify all to look out for the BEACON. Be it observed and carefully remembered, that the discharge of cannon alone is not an alarm; but the firing of the BEACON itself, even without cannon, will be an alarm in all cases excepting on Thursday the 17th inst., at sunset, when the BEACON will be fired, not as an alarm, but that all may ascertain its bearings, and fix such ranges as may secure them from a false alarm, and that they may know where to look for it hereafter.

Whenever you hear cannon, look out for the BEACON.

Providence, August 10, 1775.

TO DR. BINNEY, OF PHILADELPHIA.

PROVIDENCE, September 26, 1778.

MY DEAR BINNEY :

\* \* \* I was a volunteer in the General Hospital on the late expedition, some account of which I suppose you wished me to transmit, when you desired me to write fully, &c.\* About the time your letter was dated, our

\* In April, 1778, Dr. Drowie was appointed surgeon's mate in the General Hospital, under Dr. John Morgan, Director General of the Hospitals, and served eight months at New York, Westchester, North Castle, &c., in the state of New York; and at Norwalk, Connecticut. On the 5th January, 1777, he was appointed surgeon's mate in the Rhode Island State Hospital, under Dr. Jonathan Arnold, for fifteen months; but after serving seven months, was promoted to the rank of surgeon, in Col. Cray's regiment.

APPENDIX,

troops retreated from Rhode Island; and as I have no doubt you have seen General Sullivan's letter to the President of Congress, published at Philadelphia, I need not be particular as to the movements, battle, &c. Since that letter was forwarded, it has been ascertained that the enemy's loss in the action amounts to a thousand and twenty-three killed, wounded and missing. Our killed, wounded and missing, are two hundred and eleven, according to the return. Major Sherburne, of New Hampshire, lost his leg; Lieut. Lowell, of Jackson's regiment, lost his leg; Lieut. Walker, of Boston, mortally wounded, and since dead. A day or two after the retreat, we came with the wounded to this town. The College is occupied for a hospital. Doct. Hutchinson amputated a thigh very high up, while on the Island. The operation was attended with the disagreeable circumstance of the tourniquet's slipping off; however, 'twas well performed. Doct. Wilson, whom I doubt not you remember, a quondam pupil of old Bond's, took off a poor Hessian's leg in this town, but he did not many days survive the loss of it. I had part in an operation, trepaning, where there was a considerable depression of a piece of the cranium; and had the satisfaction of seeing the patient almost instantly relieved, who is since in a fine way.\* But why should I be thus minute to you, to whom such affairs are so familiar? I expected to have sent this, as did Mr. Brown, a letter he wrote you, by Doct. Hutchinson, but he went sooner than he expected. He was well esteemed here, as is Wilson, and the other hospital surgeons; and I will mention, that I have heard Wilson, in company, give such high encomiums of you, especially of your hospital character, as would almost wound your delicacy for me to repeat.

Political and military matters this way, seem at present almost stagnant. We are waiting, with incertitude, what is next to take place. There has been a report that Byron is going to take or destroy the French fleet, at Boston, if he can. I believe the Brest fleet had the best of it in the engagement with Kepple's, and this, according to his own account. The British flag is treated with almost every mark of slight in the port of Cadiz, while the thirteen stripes of an American privateer receive every salutatory honor.

I congratulate with you on your re-possession of Philadelphia; never more, I hope, to be trodden by the unhallowed feet of those oppressors of mankind. Your losses, when the city was taken, I am very sorry for; but you are happy to lean on the unfailling support of "all provident Heaven."

\* \* \*

Adieu,

Your affectionate friend,

SOLOMON DROWNE.

\* The other surgeons thought it was useless to try to save the poor fellow's life, and he was being borne away, when Dr. Drowne noticing that the case had not, in his opinion, received proper attention (though the wounded were being constantly brought in at the time), ordered the soldier to be brought back in order that he might give the case a personal examination. The man lived some fifteen years afterwards.

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**DROWNE.**

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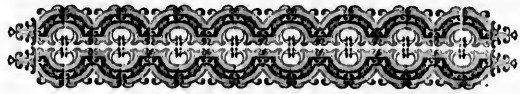
# MATERIALS

FOR A

## History of the Baptists in Rhode Island.

BY REV. MORGAN EDWARDS.





## MATERIALS FOR A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS.

The province of Rhode Island and Providence may, on some accounts, be styled the *Land of Baptists*; first, Because they who settled the country were chiefly of that denomination. The first settlement was began at Providence by Rev. Roger Williams and Thomas Olney, in 1634-5; to whom resorted soon after John Thockmorton, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukely Westcot, John Green, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston, Ezekiel Hollman (*alias* Holliman). Some of these were Baptists, as appears by what the famous Hugh Peters writes to the church of Dorchester from the church of Salem, where he was minister:—"We thought it our bounden duty to acquaint you with the names of such persons as have had the great censure passed upon them in this church, with the reasons thereof, viz.: Roger Williams and wife, John Throckmorton and wife, Thomas Olney and wife, Stukely Westcot and wife, Mary Holliman and the widow Reeves; these wholly refused to hear the church (denying it and all the churches in the Bay to be true churches), and are all except two, re-baptized." But it does not appear by this that Roger Williams was a Baptist, because he might be one of the two excepted in the above letter; therefore we add what Mr. Hutchinson quotes out of Hubbard concerning the said planters: "Roger Williams was re-baptized at Providence by one Holliman and Mr. Williams in return baptized him and ten more." This account also leaves out one of the thirteen, but that one could

not be Roger Williams. I mention this because Mr. Callender in a note suffixed to (the 56th page of his century sermon) delivers it as a tradition that Mr. Williams was no baptist; but the above account of Hubbard must outweigh an oral tradition. Besides, Mr. Callender was afterwards convinced of the mistake; for I have one of the sermons with a *dele* upon the said note in his own hand-writing. The other settlement was made on Rhode Island in 1637-8, by Rev. John Clark, William Coddington, John Sanford, William Hutchinson, Edward Hutchinson, senior and junior, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwell, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, Thomas Savage, William Dyre, William Freeborne, Philip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulston, Henry Bull. The first of these was a Baptist, and several of the other seventeen, though I am not able to specify their names. These and the settlers of Providence were driven hither by the intolerant and persecuting spirit that raged in Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies, and were all exactly of the same mind with respect to liberty of conscience; this last soon made them join the people of Providence in sending Roger Williams to England to procure a Charter. Their Charter (dated March 14, 1643) came and united both in one body politic by the name of "The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narraganset Bay in New England," after having existed separately, the one for nine years, the other for six. They governed themselves by their charter for twenty years, and spread over the islands in the Narraganset Bay and the adjacent parts of the Continent. But finding some defects in this charter they (Nov., 1651), sent Rev. John Clark to solicit a better, in which solicitation he spent about twelve years of his time, and 65l. 17.10 of his money. Mr. Clark had his expenses allowed him, but Mr. Williams it seems had not; this I gather from his address to the people who had treated him with ingratitude.

"I was unfortunately drawn from my employment, and sent a vast distance from my family to do your work of a high and costly nature, and there left to starve, or steal, or beg, or borrow."

BAPTISTS.

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Thus, we see that the first settlers of this government were chiefly baptists, and that its polity, first and last, was founded by two baptist ministers. The second (and present) charter bears date July 8, 1663, and varies the style thus: "The English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America." Another reason for denominating this country a land of Baptists is, that they have always been more numerous than any other sect of Christians which dwell therein; two-fifths of the inhabitants at least are reputed baptists. Another reason is, that the baptists in this government have always had much power in their hands, both legislative and executive. Their Governors, Deputy Governors, Judges, Assembly men, Justices, and officers (military and civil) have been chiefly of that denomination. The last reason I shall mention is, that their college is a baptist college; the baptists only, made a motion for it, the baptists only gathered money to endow it; the head of it and about two-thirds of the fellows and trustees must ever be of that denomination.\* Such narratives as the above, concerning baptists, are a *rara avis in terris* and the peculiarities of this country, and these latter times. Since the manifestation of the man of sin, the baptist church hath been a church in the wilderness, but now she begins to come *out of it, leaning upon her beloved*. The general character of the people in this government, hath been given in the following words, and I believe their conduct for a course of an hundred and thirty-six years hath proved them to be words of soberness and truth: "They are much like their neighbors, only they have one vice less, and one virtue more than they; for they never persecuted any; but have ever maintained a perfect liberty of conscience." Their first work after their incorporation in the year 1648 was (not to establish their own religion by law, and to compel all in their jurisdiction to maintain it but) to make a law to prevent such things, and to ascertain this noble principle.

"Every man who submits peaceably to civil government in this Colony shall worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without molestation." One man in

\* See the history of this college, in the third appendix to this volume.

attempted to subvert this glorious equality, and for that was disfranchised, as I suppose; because I find it on record, that his vote in a town meeting was rejected. In the year 1656 the Colonies of Plymouth, of Massachusetts, of Connecticut and New Haven, pressed them hard to give up the point, and join the confederates to crush the Quakers, and prevent any more from coming to New England. This also they refused, and returned the following answer: "We shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle on which this Colony was first settled, to wit, that every man who submits peaceably to the civil authority may peaceably worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience without molestation." This answer made the said colonies hate them the more, and meditate their ruin by slunderous words and violent actions. They slandered them at home, which made Sir Henry Vane to admonish them in a letter, still extant in his own hand writing. This caused Roger Williams to go over in order (as he sayeth) to prevent their ruin. His words are these, "I spent almost five years' time with the State of England to keep off the rage of the English against us." The said answer made the confederates encourage the Pumham Indians to harrass this people to the loss of 80 or 100l. a year; they put the good sachem Myantonomo to death for his attachment to this colony; they refused to let the colonists have ammunition for their money when in imminent danger; they encouraged families within the jurisdiction to refuse obedience to their authority; they sent armed forces among them, besieging some in their houses, and taking the same (and their property) captive to Boston, where they were most inhumanly treated and their property embezzled; they endeavored on all sides to stretch their lines so as to have them in their power; they represented them as saying, "Here is a fair inlet (meaning the Narraganset Bay) to let in foreign forces to destroy the Massachusetts people:" their letter writers, preachers, and historians calumniated them as "the scum and run-aways of other countries, which, in time, would bring a heavy burden on the land—as sunk into barbarity, that they could speak neither good English nor good sense—as libertines, familists, antinomians, and every thing except what is good—as des-

pisers of God's worship, and without order or government, &c."

Whoever has a mind to satisfy himself about these matters may read Gorton; the Magnalia; some papers published by His Excellency Gov. Hutchinson, &c. I forbear to mention private manuscripts and letters, because every one cannot come at them. And all these railing accusations and spiteful acts of violence had no other foundation, in reality, than the inextinguishable attachment to religious liberty, and thereby a tacit condemnation of the bigotry and persecution which raged in the neighboring colonies. What I here assert is no more than what was asserted to the higher power at home, in 1659; a part of their address to the lord Protector is as follows: "We bear with the several judgments and consciences of each other in all the towns of our colony, the which our neighbor colonies do not; which is the only cause of their great offence against us." And it is remarkable that there are not wanting some public acts of the said colonies which contradict the vile reports which their public histories make concerning this people, and represent them as kind, civil, religious and well governed. One of which public acts I shall here recite. It is a petition from an association of the Massachusetts ministers in the year 1721, addressed "To the Hon. Joseph Jenckes, Esq., late Deputy Gov. William Hopkins, Esq., Major Joseph Wilson, Esq., Col. Richard Waterman, Esq., Arthur Vernon, Esq., ——— Wilkinson, Esq., Philip Tillinghast, Esq., Capt. Nicholas Power, Esq., Thomas Harris, Esq., Capt. William Harris, Esq., Andrew Harris, Esq., ——— Brown, Esq., Jonathan Burton, Esq., Jonathan Spreague, jr. Esq., and to the other eminent men in the town of Providence. Pardon our ignorance if any of your honorable christian names, or if your proper order be mistaken."

#### Honorable Gentlemen.

We wish you grace, mercy and peace, and all blessings for time and for eternity through our Lord Jesus Christ. How pleasing to Almighty God and our Lord and Redeemer, and how conducive to the "public tranquility and safety" a hearty "union and good affection of all pious protestants of whatever "particular denomination (on account of some difference of

" opinion) would be, by the divine blessing, yourselves (as well  
 " as we) are not insensible of. And with what peace and love  
 " societies of different modes of worship have generally enter-  
 " tained one another in your government, we cannot think of  
 " without admiration. And we suppose under God 'tis owing  
 " to the choice liberty granted to protestants of all persuasions  
 " in the royal charter graciously given you;\* and to the wise  
 " and prudent conduct of the gentlemen that have been im-  
 " proved as governors and justices in your colony. And the  
 " Rev. Mr. Greenwood, before his decease at Rehoboth, was  
 " much affected with the wisdom and excellent temper and  
 " great candor of such of yourselves as he had the honor to wait  
 " upon and with those worthy and obliging expressions of kind  
 " respects he met with when discoursed about his desire to  
 " make an experiment, whether the preaching of our ministers in  
 " Providence might not be acceptable; and whether some who  
 " do not greatly incline to frequent any pious meeting in the  
 " place on the first day of the week might not be drawn to give  
 " their presence to hear our ministers, and so might be won over  
 " (by the influence of heaven) into serious Godliness. And  
 " although God has taken that dear brother of ours from his  
 " work in this world, yet it has pleased the Lord to incline  
 " some reverend ministers in Connecticut, and some of ours, to  
 " preach among you, and we are beholden to the mercy of  
 " heaven for the freedom and safety they have enjoyed under the  
 " wise and good government of the place, and that they met  
 " with kind respect, and with numbers that gave a kind re-  
 " ception to their ministration among you. These things we  
 " acknowledge with all thankfulness. And if such preaching  
 " should be continued among your people (designed only for  
 " the glory of God and Christ Jesus in chief; and nextly for  
 " promoting the spiritual and eternal happiness of immortal  
 " precious souls; and the furtherance of a joyful account in the  
 " great day of judgment,) we earnestly request, (as the Rev.  
 " Mr. Greenwood, in his life-time, did before us) that your-  
 " selves, according to your power and the influence and inter-

\* Be it observed that the same liberty was granted the Massachusetts people by  
 their charters, first and last.

" est that God hath blessed you with, will continue your just  
 " protection; and that you add such further countenance and  
 " encouragement thereunto as may be pleasing to the eternal  
 " God, and may, through Christ Jesus, obtain for you the  
 " great reward in heaven. And if ever it should come to pass  
 " that a small meeting-house should be built in your town to  
 " entertain such as are willing to hear our ministers, we should  
 " count it a great favor if you all, gentlemen, or any of you  
 " would please to build pews therein, in which you and they  
 " (as often as you see fit) may give your and their presence  
 " and holy attention. And we hope and pray that ancient  
 " matters that had acrimony in them may be buried in oblivion,  
 " and that grace and peace and holiness and glory may dwell in  
 " every part of New England, and that the several provinces and  
 " colonies in it may love one another with pure hearts fervently.  
 " So, recommending you all, and your ladies, and children, and  
 " neighbors, and people to the blessing of Heaven, and humbly  
 " asking your prayers, to the divine throne for us we take leave,  
 " and subscribe ourselves your servants."

The subscribers were: Rev. Messrs. Peter Thatcher, John  
 Danforth and Joseph Belcher, a committee appointed by the  
 Association for that purpose. By the foregoing paper (which  
 is the joint act of the Massachusetts ministers,) it appears that  
 the people of Rhode Island government were good people, even  
 while the Mathers (their chief accusers) were alive. And if  
 the Association spake according to knowledge and truth the  
 characters in the Magnalia, and other New England histories  
 must be false and slanderous. I will here add the answer that  
 was made to the foregoing paper, and then offer two or three  
 remarks:

"To John Danforth, Peter Thacher and Joseph Belcher, of  
 " the Presbyterian Ministry: Sirs, we the inhabitants of the  
 " town of Providence received yours bearing date Oct. 27, 1721,  
 " which was read publicly in the hearing of the people; and we  
 " judge it uncivil to return you no answer. But, finding the  
 " matter to be of religious concernment, we counted it our duty  
 " to ask counsel of God lest we should be beguiled as Israel  
 " was by the Gibeonites. And inasmuch as the sacred Scrip-

"tures were given forth by the Spirit of the living God to be  
 "our instructor and counsellor, we shall therefore apply our-  
 "selves to them. And in the first place we take notice of the  
 "honorable titles you give to many of us. Your view, as we take  
 "it, is to insinuate yourselves into our affections, and to induce  
 "us to favor your request. But we find flatteries in matters  
 "of religion to be of dangerous consequence; witness the Hi-  
 "vites, who said: 'We are your servants, and have heard of  
 "the fame of the God of Israel.' In this way did Joash set up  
 "idolatry after the death of Jehoiada. Elihu abstained from  
 "flattery for fear of offending God, while the enemies of Judah  
 "for want of the fear of God practised it. By the same means  
 "was Daniel cast into the lion's den, and Herod sought to slay  
 "the Lord Christ; and some at Rome sought to make divisions  
 "in the church of Christ by flattering words and fair speeches  
 "to deceive the simple; but, saith the Spirit, 'such serve not  
 "the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies,' and saith the  
 "Apostle Peter, 'through covetousness and feigned words they  
 "shall make merchandise of you.' To conclude this article.  
 "We see that flattery in matters of worship has been, and now  
 "is, a cloak to blind men and lead them out of the way, and  
 "serves for nothing but to advance pride and vain glory. Shall  
 "we praise you for this? We praise you not. Next you salute  
 "all as saints in the faith and order of the gospel, wishing all of  
 "us blessings for the time present and to all eternity. It is not  
 "the language of Canaan but of Babel to salute men of all  
 "characters as in the faith of the Gospel. This is the voice of  
 "the false prophets which daub with untempered mortar, sew-  
 "ing pillows under every arm-hole, and crying peace, peace,  
 "when there is no peace. Is this your way to enlighten the  
 "dark corners of the world? Surely, this is darkness itself.  
 "Moreover, you highly extol liberty of conscience to men of  
 "all persuasions, affirming it to be most pleasing to God, and  
 "tending most to love and peace and the tranquillity of any  
 "people. And you say, 'we are not insensible of this any more  
 "than you.' To which we say Amen; and you well know it  
 "hath been our faith and practice hitherto. Fourthly. We  
 "take notice how you praise the love and peace that dissenters

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“ of all ranks entertain one another with in this government ;  
 “ and this as you say to your admiration ; and you suppose  
 “ that under God it is owing ‘ to the choice liberty granted to  
 “ protestants of all denominations in the loyal charter gra-  
 “ ciously given us, and to the discreet and wise rulers under  
 “ whose conduct we enjoy this happiness.’ We answer, this  
 “ happiness principally consists in our not allowing societies to  
 “ have any superiority one over another, but each society sup-  
 “ ports their own ministry of their own free will and not by  
 “ constraint or force upon any man’s person or estate, and this  
 “ greatly adds to our peace and tranquility. But, the con-  
 “ trary, which takes away men’s estates by force to maintain  
 “ their own or any other ministry, serves for nothing but to  
 “ provoke to wrath, envy and strife. This wisdom cometh not  
 “ from above but is earthly, sensual and devilish. In those  
 “ cited concessions we hope, too, that you are real and hearty,  
 “ and do it not to flourish your compliments ; otherwise you  
 “ make a breach on the third commandment. This is but a  
 “ preface to make room for your request, which is : That we  
 “ would be pleased according to our power to countenance,  
 “ protect and encourage your ministers in their coming and  
 “ preaching in this town of Providence. To which we answer :  
 “ We admire at your request, or that you should imagine or  
 “ surmise that we should consent to either, inasmuch as we  
 “ know that (to witness for God) your ministers for the most  
 “ part were never set up by God, but have consecrated them-  
 “ selves, and have changed His ordinances ; and for their greed-  
 “ ness after filthy lucre, some you have put to death, others  
 “ you have banished upon pain of death ; others you barbar-  
 “ ously scourged ; others you have imprisoned and seized upon  
 “ their estates. And at this very present you are rending  
 “ towns in pieces, ruining the people with innumerable charges,  
 “ which make them decline your ministry and fly for refuge to  
 “ the Church of England, and others to dissenters of all de-  
 “ nominations, and you like wolves pursue ; and whenever you  
 “ find them within your reach, you seize upon their estates.  
 “ And all this is done to make room for your pretended minis-  
 “ ters to live in idleness, pride and fullness of bread. Shall we

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 l seized upon  
 are rending  
 able charges,  
 for refuge to  
 ers of all de-  
 whenever you  
 their estates.  
 ended minist-  
 d. Shall we

“countenance such ministers for Christ ministers? Nay,  
 “verily, these are not the marks of Christ’s ministry, but are  
 “a papal spot, that is abhorred by all pious protestants. And  
 “since you wrote this letter the constable of Attleboro has  
 “been taking away the estates of our dear friends, and pious  
 “dissenters, to maintain the minister. The like hath been done  
 “in the town of Mendon. Is this the way of peace? Is this  
 “the fruit of your love? Why do you hug the sins of Eli’s sons,  
 “and walk in the steps of the false prophets, biting with your  
 “teeth and crying peace; but no longer than put into your  
 “mouth, but you prepare war against them. Christ bids us  
 “beware of such as come to us in sheep’s clothing but inwardly  
 “are ravening wolves, and your clothing is so scanty that all  
 “may see your shame, and see that your teaching is like  
 “Gideon’s who taught the men of Succoth with the briars and  
 “thorns of the wilderness. In the next place: You freely  
 “confess that we entertained you kindly at all times. We hope  
 “we are also taught of God to love our enemies, and to do good  
 “to them that hate us, and pray for them who despitefully treat  
 “us. And since you admire the love and peace we do enjoy, we  
 “pray you to use the same methods, and write after our copy.  
 “And for the future never let us hear of your pillaging conscien-  
 “tious dissenters to maintain your own ministers. O, let not this  
 “sin be your everlasting ruin! Further. You desire that all for-  
 “mer injuries done by you to us may be buried in oblivion. We  
 “say, far be it from us to avenge ourselves, or to deal to you  
 “as you have dealt to us, but rather say with our Lord, ‘Father  
 “forgive them for they know not what they do.’ But, if you  
 “mean that we should not speak of former actions done hurt-  
 “fully to any man’s person, we say God never called for that  
 “nor suffered to be so done, as witness Cain, Joab and Judas,  
 “which are upon record, to deter other men from doing the  
 “like. Lastly. You desire of us to improve our interest in  
 “Christ Jesus for you at the throne of grace. Far be it from  
 “us to deny you this, for we are commanded to pray for all  
 “men. And we count it our duty to pray for you, that God  
 “will open your eyes, and cause you to see how far you have  
 “erred from the way of peace; and that God will give you

“ godly sorrow for the same, and such repentance as never to  
 “ be repented of; and that you may find mercy and favor of  
 “ our Lord Jesus Christ at his appearing. And so hoping, as  
 “ you tender the everlasting welfare of your souls, and the  
 “ good of your people you will embrace our advice, and not  
 “ suffer passion so to rule as to cause you to hate reproof lest  
 “ you draw down vengeance on yourselves and on the land.  
 “ We, your friends, of the town of Providence, bid you fare-  
 “ well. Subscribed for, and in their behalf by your ancient  
 “ friend and servant, for Jesus’s sake, JONATHAN SPREAGUE.  
 “ Feb. 23, 1722.”

If it be thought that there are too much tartness and resentment in this letter they will be readily excused by them who consider, that the despoiling of goods, imprisonments, scourgings, excommunications, and banishments, the slandering of this colony, at home and abroad, and attempts to ruin it were yet fresh in the knowledge of the people; and especially that the petitioners were at the time doing those very things to the brethren in the neighborhood, which they desire the men of Providence to forget. This was such a piece of uncommon effrontery and insult as must have raised a mood in the man of Uz. Yet, be it further observed, that the people of Providence do not forbid the Presbyterian ministers to come among them, nor threaten them if they should come, but in express terms execrate the thought of dealing to them as they had dealt to Baptists. Nay, Col. Nicholas Power in particular became bound for their security in case they should build a meeting-house at Providence, which they did in the year 1723. I must not quit this letter without rectifying a misrepresentation of Mr. Neal: He saith that the people of this government have an extreme aversion to a regular ministry, and would never allow such to preach among them, though the Massachusetts ministers offered to do it for nothing. (Vol. 2, p, 179). This is not true in any sense, for they at all times had some regularly bred ministers, and never hindered the Massachusetts ministers to preach among them, and if they refused to countenance them it was not because they were regular but (as the foregoing letter shows) because they were persecutors. But these things being beside my main design, I will desist from

preambling and come to the materials I have collected towards a history of the Baptists in this province. Some of them hold that Christ died for all, some that he died only for the elect, and some of the former hold that the last day of the week is the Sabbath. Hence arise the distinctions of General Baptists, Particular Baptists, Seventh-Day Baptists.

## PART I

*Treats of the General Baptists in this Province.*

They have that distinction from their holding the doctrine of General Redemption, which supposes their holding other Arminian doctrines that go along with it. Accordingly, the confession of faith which they have adopted is that Arminian one which was presented to Charles the II. in 1660, and subscribed (Mar. 1,) the same year by "Elders, deacons and brethren, met in London to the number of 41, and afterwards owned and approved by more than 20,000." Of these there are churches, which we shall treat according to seniority, and therefore begin with

## PROVIDENCE.

This church is usually distinguished by the above name, which is the name of the town where the meeting-house is, in the township of Providence and county of the same. The house is 41 feet by 35, and pretty well finished, with pews and galleries. It was erected about the year 1722, [1726], on a lot of 112 feet by 77, partly the gift of Rev. Pardon Tillinghast and partly the purchase of the congregation. It is situated towards the north end of the town, having the main street to the front and the river to the back. No estate belongs to it, for which reason the salary of the minister (Rev. James Manning) is reputed no more than 50 £ a year. The character of it is that of General Baptist, holding the six points, though the minister and several of the congregation are calvinistic in sentiments, and slack about laying on of hands. The families be-

longing to them are about 250, whereof 118\* persons are baptized and in communion, which is here celebrated every S. in the month.

This was their state in 1771. For their beginning as a church, we must look back towards the year 1638. The constituents were Roger Williams and his twelve companions, mentioned in page 3. To which we may add Chad Brown, Wm. Wickenden, Mrs. Olney, Mrs. Westcott, Mrs. Holliman, Mrs. Reeves, Robert Williams, John Smith, Hugh Bewit, John Field, Thos. Hoplins and Wm. Hawkins.

This church hath now existed for 133 years without any very remarkable events, though it be the first in all America. The most considerable are these :

[1st.] It in time departed from what it was at first, with respect to some points of faith and order. At first it was a particular baptist church, but afterwards (as Mr. Callender observes in his Cent. Serm., p. 61), it came generally to hold universal redemption. At first, laying on of hands was held in a lax manner, so that they who had no faith in the rite were received without it, and such (saith Joseph Jenekes) " was the opinion of the baptists in the first constitution of their churches throughout this colony." At first they used

\* Rev. Messrs. Samuel Winsor and James Manning, Messrs. Jos. Sheldon and Cornelius Astion and John Dyer, *deac.*, and their wives, and Winsor's daughter, Mrs. Thurber, Ebenezer Jenekes, Esq., and wife, Jonathan Jenekes and wife, Rebecca Ballou, Martha Power, Ann Comstock, Hannah Olney, Mercy Winsor, Deborah Olney, John King and wife, Jonathan King, Joseph Randolph and wife, Wm. Randolph, Mary Dyer, Mercy Williams, Ann Waterman, Barbara Spreague, Susanna Warner, John Dexter, Ephraim Wheaton, Hester Whipple, Catherine Turpin, Elizabeth Eddy, Wm. Carpenter and wife, Ann Law, Hope Brown, Daniel Jenekes, Esq., and wife, Arther Fenner, Esq., and wife, Lydia Bowen, Mary Kennicot, Elizabeth Olney, Mary King, Wait Cortis, Mrs. Carpenter, Nedabiah Angell, Lydia Manchester, Daniel Eddy and wife, Susannah Olney, Martha Thornton, Christiania Sheldon, Christiania Fenner, Solomon Drown, Esq., and wife, Elizabeth Remington, Mary (a negro), Phebe Dexter, Bethia Whipple, Col. Wm. Brown and wife, Timothy Sheldon, Jonathan Noales, Josiah King, Esq., John, (a negro), Mary Waterman, Mrs. Thurber, Elizabeth Eddy, Thos. Williams and wife, Mary, (an Indian), Elizabeth Arnold, Job Olney and wife, Lydia Spreague, Robert Miller, Elizabeth Rhodes, Eliz. Denly, Sam'l Hill, Eliz. Ingraham, Hannah Harding, M. S. Brown, Christopher Potter, Stephen Whipple and wife, Sarah Warner, Martha Randall, Eliz. Sullivan, Hope Spreague, Amy Nichols, Emor Olney and wife, Mrs. Salisbury, Hulday Randall, Mary Cook, Sarah Allen, Samuel Wightman and wife, Mary Billings, Roby Fenner, Lydia Mason, Rhoby Dyer, Mercy Dyer, Peter Ballou, Amy Fenner, Jeremiah Sheldon, John Brown and wife, William Simmons and wife, John Pattys and wife.

psalmody in their worship, but afterwards laid it aside. These alterations, (according to tradition took place about the year 1654, or rather before. But now it begins to return towards its first state. Psalmody is restored already, and the minister is a particular baptist; laying on of hands with him is no bar of communion.

[2d.] This church is said to have celebrated divine worship in a grove for many years, and (when the weather permitted not) in private houses, till the first meeting-house was erected by Rev. Pardon Tillinghast, about the year 1700, on the spot where the present stands.

[3d.] Some divisions have taken place in this church. The first was about the year 1654, on account of laying on of hands. Some were for banishing it entirely, among which Rev. Thos. Olney was the chief, who, (with a few more) withdrew and formed themselves into a distinct church, distinguished by the name of Five Point Baptist, and the first of the name in the province; it continued in being to 1715, when Mr. Olney\* resigned the care of it, and soon after it ceased to exist.

Another division happened in the year 1731, on account of holding communion in special ordinances with baptists that were not under hands, as it is called. Against this lax communion was the late Samuel Winsor who was then a deacon, and few others who withdrew and had the Lord's Supper administered to them at the deacon's house, by the Rev. Mr. Place; but other churches (by their messengers) interposing, the breach was soon healed. One of those special ordinances, in their esteem, is prayer; accordingly, when they were among others in prayer time they kept on their hats in token of non-communion. But this foolish whimsey is almost withered away.

[4th.] The ministry of this church has been a very expensive one to the ministers themselves and a very cheap one to the church. Their first meeting-house was built for them by Mr.

\* Rev. Thomas Olney was born at Hartford about the year 1631. Came to Providence in 1636. When he was baptized and ordained, I find not. He died June 11, 1722, and was buried in his own field. His children were: Thomas, William, Ann, Elizabeth, Sarah; the last died childless, the others married into the Burns, Sayles, and Waterman families, and raised him 28 grand-children.

Tillinghast; neither did he nor any of his predecessors, nor any that came after (till of late) take any wages; they being men of property, and deeming it more blessed to give than to receive. Nor did they thereby sin against that ordinance of their Muster, (1 Cor. ix. 14), for Paul at Corinth suspended his right to a livelihood of the gospel.

[5th.] This church, being the first in the province, is to be considered as the mother and centre of all the rest. And it is not only the first in the province, and the first in America, but the first (except one) in the British dominions, that gathered in London, by Rev. John Spilsbury, was constituted Sept. 12, 1633, and therefore but five years before this.

We come now to the ministers of the church of Providence, wherof the first and also the founder was Roger Williams. He became their minister at the time they were settled in 1638, but in a few years resigned the care thereof to Rev. Messrs. Brown and Wickenden. Assistant to Mr. Williams, was Rev. Ezekiel Holliman, of whom I can learn no more than that he came to Providence about the year 1636, and was the man who baptized Roger Williams. As to Mr. Williams he is said to have been a native of Wales, and to have had his education (which was liberal) under the patronage of the famous lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, under whom also he studied law, and by whose interest he got Episcopal orders and a parish. The manner in which he obtained his patronage is said to have been this: "Sir Edward, one day observing a youth at church taking notes of the sermon, and the people crowding, beckoned to him to come to his pew; and seeing how judiciously he minuted down the striking sentiments of the preacher, was so pleased that he entreated the parents to let him have the lad." However all this be, it is certain that he embraced the sentiments of the Puritans, and suffered on account thereof, (Hist. of Mass., Vol. 1, page 39. Neal, Vol. 1, p. 140.) This sent him and many more to America. He landed at Salem [Boston] Feb. 5, 1631, and immediately was admitted a preacher in the independent church of Salem as an assistant to Mr. Skelton. Soon after he removed to the church of Plymouth, where he continued about three years, and was much thought of by the gov-

ernor (Bradford) and the people, of whom the former gives this testimony :

“ Mr. Roger Williams (a man godly and zealous, having “ many precious parts) came hither, and his teaching was well “ approved, for the benefit whereof I still bless God and am “ thankful to him even for his sharpest admonitions, &c.” But Mr. Skelton, of Salem, growing infirm, Roger Williams returned thither and soon succeeded him in the ministry. Here he had not been long a preacher before his favorite sentiment, liberty of conscience, gave offence to a small but the leading part of the congregation. Yet, this would have been borne with had he not further maintained that civil Magistrates as such have no power in the church, and that Christians as Christians are subject to no laws of control, save those of king Jesus. These were intolerable positions among the Massachusetts Magistrates, who, from the beginning discovered an itch for being kings in Christ’s kingdom, and for hanging, whipping, and otherwise persecuting his good subjects if they would not let them reign with him. Wherefore they banished Mr. Williams and made the church excommunicate him, which put the town of Salem in an uproar, and would have made most of the people follow their “ dear Mr. Williams ” (as Neal calls him) “ to voluntary banishment had they not been prevented by force.” However, the twelve mentioned, page 3, did follow him. When they were out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction they pitched at a place now called Rehoboth, but the men of Plymouth hearing it sent an armed force to drive them out of their territories also. Now they had no refuge but to venture among the savages. Accordingly Mr. Williams and his friend Olney took a canoe, and crossing the bay landed on the spot where Providence town now stands. What induced them to land there was a fine spring of water, for which the people have some veneration to this day.

The barbarous people treated them courteously, and gave them land. Humane were Indians then in comparison of the then Massachusetts and Plymouth saints. They had not been above three or four years in the place before they embraced the principles of the baptists, and formed themselves into a



church as before related. Mr. Holliman baptising Mr. Williams, and then Mr. Williams baptising the rest. But as I observed before, he did not continue above three or four years in the particular care of the church, thinking (it is said) that his labors were more loudly called for among the Indians, whose language he had learned, and among whom he labored with more real success, than perhaps Eliot or Brainard, and before either of them. There remains to this day a congregation of Narragansett Indians whose forefathers were converted to the faith by Roger Williams. He wrote an account of the Indians which the then lords of trade highly commended; also a defence of the doctrines controverted by the Quakers, and another piece called the bloody tenet, with others which I have not seen.

Mr. Williams died A. D. 1682, aged 84, and was buried under arms in his own lot, at Providence, where his grave is yet to be seen. His wife's name was Elizabeth, by whom he had children—Mary, Freeborn, Providence, Daniel, Joseph and Mercey; the third died young, the others married into the Rhodes, Olney, Waterman, Winsor and Sayles families, who raised him a most numerous progeny. Governor Hopkins has traced his descendants to the number of near 2000, some of which (especially in the female lines) rank with the best gentlemen in the government, both for parts and property. Mr. Williams's character, both as a scholar, a gentleman and a Christian, is most excellent, maugre all the calumnies of his enemies. "He appears (saith Mr. Clark Callender Cent. Serm., p. 17), by the whole tenor of his life and conduct, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, and a most pious and heavenly-minded soul." How despitely he and his people had been treated by the neighboring colonies is well known, yet, (saith Governor Hutchinson, Vol. 1, p. 38), "Instead of showing any revengeful sentiment he was continually employed in acts of kindness and benevolence towards them for forty years after." Both these accounts show him a Christian indeed. He was no less eminent as a divine and statesman. "The true grounds of liberty of conscience was not understood in America, (saith Mr. Cal-

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“lender, Cent. Serm. 15, 16), till Mr. Roger Williams and “Mr. John Clark publicly avowed that Christ alone is king in his own kingdom, and that no others had authority over his subjects in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation.” This was about a hundred years before Hoadly, Lock, &c., inculcated the point. “Roger Williams, (saith Gov. Hopkins, “Prov. Gazette), justly claims the honor of having been the “first legislator in the world that fully and effectually provided “for and established a free, full and absolute liberty of conscience.”

This colony hath now existed for 137 years, and hath increased from 13 to 60,000.\* He not only founded a State but by his interest with the Narraganset Indians broke the grand confederacy against the English in 1637, and so became the saviour of all the other colonies. For these singular excellencies and worthy deeds he deserves a statue, and will certainly have one, except there be some cross-grained fatality attending the noblest characters among baptists to prevent their having the praise they deserve. I could fancy that I see his statue erected in the college yard, at Providence. His clothing is a garment of camel's hair tied about the loins with a leathern girdle. His feet are shod with sandals, and about his neck a little puritanical band. In his right hand is the gospel as an emblem of the religious liberty he established, and the peace that followed. In his left, is a roll containing the charter of the colony, with as much of it unfolded as shows this paragraph: “To exhibit a lively experiment that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained, and that “among our English subjects, with a full liberty in religious “concernments; and that true piety rightly grounded on gospel principles will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest “obligations to true loyalty.” On the pedestal are these words—

\* In the year 1755 an exact account was taken of the inhabitants by officers under oath, which were found to be 40,636. Now they must be 60,000, according to the rapid course of multiplying in America. Our period of doubling is from 25 to 30 years.

## FATHER

of the colony which was founded in MDCXXXIV, and whose special distinction is that of religious liberty, and under God the

## SAVIOUR

of it and of the neighboring colonies, from being extirpated by the confederate Indians in MDCXXXVII was that reverend baptist,

## ROGER WILLIAMS.

Mr. Williams' successors in the ministry of this church were Rev. Messrs. Chad Brown, William Wickenden and Gregory Dexter, who had to their assistants Thomas Olney\* and Jonathan Spreague\*. We begin with the first of the three, that is the Rev. Chad Brown. He is said to have come to Providence about the year 1636, and to have been ordained about the year 1642, when Mr. Williams resigned the special care of the church and went to England to solicit the first charter. Mr. Brown was one of the town proprietors and the 14th in order. The college stands on the lot that was his. His children were—1st. John, who married a Holmes. 2d. Chad, who died childless. 3d. James, who went to Newport, about the year 1672, and married a ————. 4th. Jeremiah, who also went to Newport, and married a ————. 5th. Daniel, who married a Herndon. These raised him a most numerous progeny. He died sometime between 1660 and 1665, and was buried in his own lot, leaving behind him a good character.

His colleague and successor was Rev. William Wickenden. He came to Providence from Salem, about 1636, and was ordained (it is said) by Mr. Brown. Where and when he was born I do not find. He died Feb. 23, 1669, after having removed from Providence to a place which he called Solitary Hill. A kind

\* \* Of Mr. Olney we have said something in page 40. Mr. Spreague, (author of the letter in page 21), was not ordained but preached as an exhorter. His native place was Braintree, in Massachusetts. He came to Providence some time before 1639, and there lived to the month of January, 1741, when he died, aged about 93. He had two wives and five children—Patience, Jonathan, Joanna, Persis, and William. He was a man of tolerable education, and bore a commission of the peace, was an assembly man, and one of the council. His first wife was a Holbrook; his second a ————.

of apples is yet known by his name, the seed of which he brought with him from England, in a tobacco box. His children by his first wife were Plain, Ruth, Hannah, who married into the Wilkinson, Smith and Steer families, and raised him 17 grandchildren, the youngest of which is yet alive. Mr. Wickenden preached occasionally at New York, and for it was there imprisoned for four months. Colleague to him and Mr. Brown was the Rev. Gregory Dexter. He is said to have been born in London, and to have followed the stationery business there in company with one Coleman, who became the subject of a farce called "The Cutter of Coleman Street," and to have been obliged to fly for printing a piece that was offensive to the then reigning power. He came to Providence in 1643, and was the same year received into the church, being both a baptist and preacher before his arrival; but was not chosen to be their minister till about the time that Mr. Wickenden removed to Solitary Hill, and thereby had in some sort abdicated the care of the church of Providence.

Mr. Dexter, by all accounts, was not only a well-bred man but remarkably pious. He was never observed to laugh, seldom to smile. So earnest was he in his ministry that he could hardly forbear preaching when he came into a house, or met with a concourse of people out of doors. His religious sentiments were those of the particular baptists. He died about the 91st year of his age. His wife was Abigail Fullerton, by whom he had children—Stephen, James, John and Abigail. About the year 1646 he was sent for to Boston, to set in order the printing office there, for which he desired no other reward than that one of their almanacs should be sent him every year. The successors of these were Messrs. Tillinghast, Brown and Jenckes. Rev. Pardon Tillinghast was born at a place called Seven Cliffs, near Beachyhead, in Old England, about the year 1622. Came to Providence by way of Connecticut in the year 1645, and sometime after became minister of the church, wherein he continued to his death, in 1718. He was a *particular baptist*, and remarkable for his plainness and piety. His first wife was a Butterworth, by whom he had children, John, Mary. His second was Lydia Tabor, who bore him

Pardon, Philip, Benjamin, Joseph, Lydia, Abigail, Mercy, Hannah, Elizabeth. They married into the Seyles, Carpenter, Keach, Holmes, Rhodes, Staffords, Audley, Sheldon, Power, Hale and Taber families, and raised him a most numerous progeny. He bestowed on the church the lot before mentior ed, with the meeting-house upon it. His colleague was Rev. James Brown. He was grand-son of Chad Brown, by the eldest son, born at Providence in 1666, ordained ———; at which time he assumed the care of the church, and therein continued to his death, Oct. 28, 1732, an example of piety and meekness worthy [of] admiration. His wife was Mary Harris, by whom he had children, John, James, Joseph, Martha, Andrew, Mary, Obediah, Ann, Jeremy, Elisha. John died childless. The rest married into the Power, Field, Greene, Knowlton, Harris, Comstock, Rhodes, Smith and Barker ~~family~~. His colleague [was] Rev. Ebenezer Jenckes. He was born in 1669, at Pawtucket, in the township of Providence; ordained in 1719, when he took on him the care of the church, and wherein he continued to Aug. 14, 1726, when he died. He married a Butterworth and had children, Sarah, Ebenezer, Daniel, Phebe, Rachel, Martha and Josiah. These formed alliances with the Eastons, Martins, Scotts, Comstocks, Wheelers, Ingles and Jenckes, and raised him thirty-four grand-children.

Mr. Jenckes was a man of parts and real piety. He refused every public office except the surveyorship of the proprietary of Providence, which required no great attention or time. Successor of this set of ministers was the Rev. Samuel Winsor, a man remarkable for preaching against paying ministers, and for refusing invitations to Sunday dinners for fear they should be considerations for Sunday sermons. But this singularity of his ought, I dare say, to be somewhat qualified; for he could not mean to abolish an ordinance of his Lord, or say that they who preach the gospel, may not live of the gospel—1 Cor. ix: 14. He was born in the town of Providence, in 1677, and ordained in 1773. He continued minister of this church to his death, which came to pass Nov. 17, 1758. He married Mary Harding, by whom he had children, Martha, Mary, Lydia, Hannah, Joseph, Deborah, Mercy, Freelove and Samuel. These

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married into the families of the Colwells, Potters, Angells, Olneys, Mathewsons, Jenckes and Winsors, and have raised him eighty-one grand-children, and these a generation of 182. His colleague for sometime was Rev. Thomas Burlingham. He was born May 29, 1688, at Cranston; ordained in 1773, when he took the joint care of this church with Mr. Winsor, jr., but in a manner resigned it a considerable time before his death, in order to preach at the new church of Cranstone. He died Jan. 7, 1770, and subjected his estate to the yearly charge of nine bushels of Indian corn to be given to the poor of Cranston and Warwick churches. His wife was Eleanor Relfe, by whom he had children, Barbara, Esther, Eleanor, Susanna, Ann, Peter, who married into the Utter, Mitchel, Colvin, Chace and Potter families, and who have raised him a great number of grand-children. Successor to them both is Rev. Samuel Winsor. He is son of the forementioned Samuel Winsor; born Nov. 1, 1772, in the township of Providence; ordained June 21, 1759. His first wife was Lydia Olney, by whom he had children, Lucy, Rhoda, Isaac, Olney. His present wife is Ann Winsor, who bore him Lydia, Mercy, James, Hannah, Benjamin, Elizabeth, Wait, all single except James who married a Waterman. Mr. Winsor has lately moved to the country, and in a manner resigned the care of the church to Rev. James Manning, A. M. He came to Providence with the college in 1770. We shall speak of him when we come to Warren.

From Providence we shall pass to the next church in point of seniority, viz.—Newport.—I distinguish this church by the name of the town; but the other churches in town (which are the offspring of this) I will distinguish by the names of the streets where the meeting-houses are. Newport is on Rhode Island, in a township and county of the same name, 32 miles S. b. E. from Providence, and 348 miles N. E. b. E. h. E. from Philadelphia. The meeting-house belonging to Newport church is in Bull street, built in 1738, and well finished, with pews and galleries. Its dimensions are 40 feet by 30.\* The lot on which it stands is 73 feet by 64, the gift of Messrs. Colonels

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[\* About 60 feet—note by another hand].

Hezekiah Carpenter and Josias Lyndon. The temporalities of the church are, [1.] Hundred and fifty pounds, the gift of John Holmes. [2.] A farm of 166 acres (with house and out-houses thereon, now rented out for 50*l.*), the gift of Rev. John Clark. The issues and profits were chiefly intended for the minister, though not so expressed in the will for a reason which Mr. Clark communicated to particular friends. [3.] A garden in town, the gift of said Mr. Clark.

With these helps, and the rates of the pews, the living is reputed worth 90*l.* a year to the present minister, Rev. Erasmus Kelley. The families belonging to the congregation are about 50, whereof\* 37 persons are baptized and in the communion, which is here celebrated the last Sunday in the month. The character of this church for some years past has been that of *General Baptist*, but as the minister and several of the members are of the sentiments of the *Particular Baptists* it is supposed it will return to what it was at first. They also have re-admitted psalmody, and laying on of hands. This was their state in the year 1771. For their origin as a church, we must look back to the year 1644, when, according to tradition, they were constituted. The constituents were Rev. John Clark and wife, Mark Lukar, Nathaniel West and wife, Wm. Vaughan, Thomas Clark, Joseph Clark, John Peckham, John Thorndon, William Weeden and Samuel Weeden. The most remarkable things that may be said of this church (which hath now existed for 127 years), are the following:

[1]. It is said to have been a daughter of Providence church, which was constituted about six years before. And it is not at all unlikely but they might be enlightened in the affair of believers' baptism by Roger Willians and his company, for whom they had the greatest kindness. [2]. This church was

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\* Rev. Erasmus Kelley, Wm. Peckham, Esq., Col. Benj. Hall, Capt. Wm. Rogers, Capt. James Rogers, Phillip Weeden, Henry Peckham, Sam'l Maxwell, Isaac Peckham, Samuel Fowler, Joseph Burgess, Sarah Peckham, senior and junior, Mary Gray, Mary Bennet, Mary Phillips, Deborah Spooner, Sarah Baxter, Elizabeth Pike, Mary Cole, Susannah Hillard, Phebe Woodman, Mary Lyndon, Mrs. Bliss, Hannah Burgess, Mrs. Burgess, Mary Callender, (9) Ann Squire, Alice Lillibridge, Freelove Lawton, Mary Peckham, Mrs. Clark, Sarah Rogers, Sarah Bliss, Elathan Tew, Sarah Reed, Dorcas Peckham.

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originally of the distinction of *Particular Baptist*, holding laying on of hands as a manner of indifference; for it is certain that one reason why a few broke off in 1654, was an apprehension of being called to account for avowing general redemption, and for insisting that laying on of hands should be a term of communion; and that singing psalms should be excluded. This last was given up till the year 1726; and laying on of hands was violently opposed in 1730, which theretofore had been a matter of indifference. It appears also that some of this church were Calvinistic in the year 1724, when seven persons withdrew on account of the Arminianism of those they left behind. [3]. There have been some separations from this church; one in 1654, which is now the largest church on the Island; another in 1665, occasioned by removal of residence from the Island to Westerly; another in 1671, which is now a Sabbatarian church; another in 1673, when five of its members went off to the Quakers, viz.: Joan Slocum, Giles Slocum, sen. and junior, Jacob Mott and Joanna his wife; another in 1724. The cause of this last was as follows: About six years before, one Daniel White was received into membership by a letter commendatory from Mr. Wallis's church in London; he soon made a party (being a man of dividing principles) and they built him a meeting-house, and went with him to it in 1724. Their names were John Rogers, Philip Peckham, Wm. Vini-cot, Mary Hamblin and Elizabeth Clark; also, Mr. White's wife and daughter, Mary. These kept together for about four years, but the people deserting him, and he failing to possess the glebe at Greenend, sold the meeting-house to one James Blacksock, and (Aug. 7, 1728) decamped for Philadelphia, where also he set up a separate meeting, but it soon came to nothing as the other did. [4]. This church met at first at Greenend, where they erected a place of worship, and where they resorted till the year 1707. This year they built another in town on a lot which Mr. Clark gave them, and where he and his wives are interred. This lot is now a garden. Here they continued to the year 1738, when they built their present place of worship before described. [5]. In the year 1734 they (and the other churches) erected a meeting-house and a bap-



tistry at Greenend, an a lot of 120 feet by 80, the gift of Messrs. William and Jeremiah Weeden. [6]. In 1726, psalmody was restored by means of their then new minister, Mr. Comer, and July 15, 1761, laying on of hands was admitted.

The ministers which this church have had are the following: Rev. John Clark, M. D. He was the founder of the church as also its first minister. He took the care of them at their settlement in 1644, and continued their minister to his death, which came to pass April 20, 1676, in the 66th year of his age. He had three wives; the first was Elizabeth, daughter of John Harges, Esq., of Wreslingworth, in Bedfordshire; of his second and third I find no more than that the name of each was Mary. He had no child by either of them. The Clarks now in the government sprang from his brother Thomas, Joseph and Carew. Where Mr. Clark was born is not certainly known. In some of his old papers he is styled "John Clark of London, physician;" but tradition makes him to be a native of Bedfordshire. Neither can I find where he had his education and studied physic; but have met with proof of his acquaintance with the learned languages. In his will he gives to his "dear friend Richard Bailey, his Hebrew and Greek books; also, (to use his own words) my concordance with a lexicon to it belonging, written by myself being the fruite of severalle years studye." Nor yet is there any certain account of his baptism\* and ordination; tradition saith, "that he was a preacher before he left Boston, but that he became a baptist after his settlement in Rhode Island, by means of Roger Williams."

The cause of his leaving Boston was this: In the year 1637, their Synod condemned 82 heresies, and let loose the civil powers to hunt and worry the heretics; whereupon Mr. Clark determined (and proposed his determination to others, Cent. Serm., p. 29,) to quit those sons of bigotry and persecution and to seek some quiet abode for the children of peace and liberty of conscience. His first search was to the east of Boston; but failing that way he bent his course westward till he came to Providence, where Roger Williams had made a settlement

[\* Probably at Rehoboth by Mr Holmes. Note by another hand.]

about four years before. This Mr. Williams proposed to him *Aquetneck*, (now Rhode Island), which was not then inhabited by any Europeans. Whereupon Mr. Clark returned to Boston, and with 17 others arrived to the pleasant isle March 24, 1637-8, and so became properly the founder of the second colony, though Mr. Coddington hath run away with the praise of it. They had not been here long before they joined the colony of Providence, and were incorporated with them by the first charter bearing date the 14th of March, 1643. The next year the church was settled, as we said before; and having thus founded a church and state out of the jurisdiction of the cruel men of Boston, Mr. Clark might have thought himself safe. But it turned out otherwise; for as he (and two others) were going to Boston, the constable of Lynn took him up and lead him to the said Boston, where he was found guilty of preaching the gospel and administering its ordinances to a few baptists at the said Lynn, and for which he was to receive twenty lashes.

While Mr. Clark stood stripped at the whipping post, some humane person was so affected with the sight of a scholar, a gentleman, and a reverend divine, in such a situation, that he with a sum of money redeemed him from the bloody tormentors, and let him go home in a whole skin. But before this, Mr. Clark asked the court when they had pronounced his sentence, "What law of God or man had he broken, that his back must be given to the tormentors for it, or he be despoiled of his goods to the amount of 20*l*." To which Gov. Endicott replied:

"You have denied infant baptism, and deserve death, going up and down, and secretly insinuating into them which be weak, but cannot maintain it before our ministers; you may try and discourse, or dispute with them, &c." He was going to speak but the Governor ordered the gaoler to take him away. From prison he wrote the following letter to the Court, daed Aug. 1, 1651: "Whereas it pleased the honored court yesterday, to condemn the faith and order which I hold and practice, and after you had passed your sentence upon me for it, were pleased to express, *I could not maintain the same against*

“ *your ministers*, and thereby publicly proffered me a dispute  
 “ with them, be pleased by these few lines to understand,  
 “ that I readily accept it, and therefore do desire you would  
 “ appoint the time when, and the person with whom, I (in that  
 “ public place where I was condemned), might (with freedom,  
 “ and without molestation of the civil power), dispute that  
 “ point, where, I doubt not, by the strength of Christ to make  
 “ it good out of His last will and testament, &c. JOHN CLARK.  
 “ P. S. If this motion be granted, I desire it may be signed by  
 “ the Secretary as an act of the court by which I was con-  
 “ demned.” After much ado the court granted the dispute  
 which was to be carried on Aug. 12th, and Mr. Clark showed  
 in writing the positions he intended to maintain, which were in  
 substance as follows: “ Christ is king, none to or with him by  
 “ way of commanding or concerning the household of faith with  
 “ respect to the worship of God. Baptism is dipping in water,  
 “ and visible believers the subjects. Every brother may in the  
 “ church ask questions for his own edification, or speak for the  
 “ edification of others. No man has a right to hurt the person  
 “ or estate of another for matters of conscience who behaves in-  
 “ offensively with respect to civil laws.”

Mr. Clark had sent for some of his friends to be present against  
 the day of disputation; but before the day came the magistrates  
 informed him that it must be postponed for a fortnight longer  
 because of the commencement at Cambridge. The whole  
 country was now alarmed with this disputation, and eager to  
 hear it; and the magistrates and ministers found it would not  
 do; partly because it would be admitting things to be debated  
 in court which the court had already determined; partly be-  
 cause the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion  
 have also been determined at Salem, when they banished Mr.  
 Williams; and at Boston, when they banished Mr. Wheel-  
 right, Mrs. Hutchinson, &c., and partly because they feared  
 the ability of Mr. Clark (who was a scholar) on so scriptureless  
 a point as that of infant baptism, and persecution for conscience  
 sake. Therefore, before the fortnight was expired, Mr. Clark  
 received a letter (signed by Gov. Endicott, and deputy Gov.  
 Dudley, Bellingham, Hibbins and Nowel), signifying, “ That

“ he mistook the Governor’s words at court, who meant not a disputation, but private discourse with the Boston ministers for Mr. Clark’s own information;” but, (to save appearances) added, “That if he was forward to dispute, and did move it to the court, he should be indulged in keeping close to the questions to be propounded; and that a moderator should be appointed, and time and place fixed.”

By this Mr. Clark saw that he must either not dispute at all, (which was the thing intended) or become a challenger instead of acceptor of a challenge; dispute questions to be propounded instead of maintaining the positions already exhibited; and all this under the control of a moderator of their own choosing; or else fall into the snare that was laid for him. To avoid this and to obtain the other he wrote the following letter, addressed to the Governor and the rest of his society, and dated in the prison, Aug. 14, 1651:

“Worthy Senators! I received a writing subscribed with five of your hands by way of answer to a twice-repeated motion of mine before you, which was grounded (as I conceive) sufficiently upon the Governor’s words in open court; which writing of yours doth no way answer my expectations, nor yet the motion which I made. And whereas (waiving that grounded motion) you are pleased to intimate, *that if I were forward to dispute, and would move it myself to the Court or Magistrates about Boston, you would appoint one to answer my motion, &c.*, be pleased to understand that though I am not backward to maintain the faith and order of my Lord, (the king of saints for which I have been sentenced), yet am I not in such a way so forward to dispute or move therein lest inconveniency should thereof arise. I shall rather once more repeat my *former* motion, which, (if it shall please the honored general court to allow, and under their Secretary’s hand shall grant a free dispute without molestation or interruption), I shall be so well satisfied with, that what is past I shall forget, and upon motion shall attend it; thus desiring the Father of mercies not to lay that evil to your charge, I remain your well wisher, JOHN CLARK.”

No notice was taken of *this* letter. On the contrary, Mr. Clark was the next day discharged without paying the gaol fee, and that by an order (as appeared afterwards) dated one day before the time fixed for the dispute. I have been more particular with this story because Mr. Neal has misrepresented it; and a willful representation it must be, because, (as appears by his quotation,) he had before him a true narrative of the whole matter. He had not been long at home before he (with Mr. Williams) was appointed to go to England to solicit a new charter, (Nov., 1651), which, after waiting twelve years, came over bearing date July 8, 1663. By which it appears that Mr. Clark had a hand with R. Williams in establishing the polity of this province, that he without him might be made perfect.

Mr. Clark's character as a Christian was unspotted. As a divine, he (saith Mr. Callender, Cent. Sermon, p. 16), was among "the first who publicly avowed that Jesus Christ alone is King in his own kingdom." His sentiments denominated him a *Particular Baptist*, as appears by a passage out of a book of his, cited by Mr. Comer. See the records of this church. I have seen no other piece of his in print than a *narrative of the persecution of Obediah Holmes, &c.*, published in London in 1652.

Successor to Mr. Clark was Rev. Obediah Holmes. He had one Joseph Tory to his assistant, of whom I can find no more than that he was a preacher in this church, and one of the three who went from hence to Boston in 1668, to stand by their brethren who were there called before rulers for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Mr. Holmes was a native of Old England, but of what part of England I find not.\* A great grandson of his (in Rhode Island), tells me that there is a manuscript in the family which went to the Jerseys, from which his history may be gathered. But from his letter to Gov. Endicott; another to the London ministers, a relation of John Hazell; Clark's Narrative; the records of this church and Mr. Holmes' will, I gleaned the following particulars: [1]. That he had been in Boston govern-

\* Preston, in Lancashire—note by another hand].

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ment and member of that church seven years before the year 1646. [2]. That in 1646 he and his family removed to Rehoboth, and became a member of the Congregational church at that place, whose minister was one Newman, and with whom he held communion four years; which bring matters down to the year 1650. This year, he and eight others separated, and were baptized and became a church, choosing Mr. Holmes to their minister. This made Mr. Newman excommunicate them, and petition the court of Plymouth against them, and to stir up the town of Taunton, of Boston, and the Magistrates of Plymouth, to do the same; according to which four petitions they were summoned to court, and strictly charged to desist. [3]. That on July 21, 1651, Mr. Holmes (with his neighbors, John Crandall and Rev. John Clark, of Newport), was seized, at Lynn, and the next day sent to Boston gaol, where he was found guilty of *hearing a sermon in a private manner,\* &c.*, and for which he was "to be well whipped," as the court ex-

\* The sentence was this: "For as much as you, Obediah Holmes, being come into this Jurisdiction about the 21 of the 5 m. did meet at one Wm. Witters house at Lyn, and did hear privately (and at other times being an excommunicate person did take upon you to preach and baptize) upon the Lord's day or other days, and being taken then by the constable, and coming afterwards to the Asssembly at Lyn, did, in disrespect of the ordinance of God and his worship keep on your hat, the pastor being in prayer, insomuch that you would not give reverence in velling your hat, all it was forced off your head, to the disturbance of the congregation, and professing against the Institution of the church, as not being according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and that you, the said Obediah Holmes, did upon the day following, meet again at the said Wm. Witters, in contempt to authority, you being then in the custody of the law, and did there receive the sacrament being excommunicate, and that you did baptize such as were baptized before, and thereby did necessary deny the baptism that was before administered to be baptism, the churches no churches (to deny the churches to be no churches is to affirm to be churches,) and also other ordinances and ministers, as if all wore a nullity (to deny all to be nullities is to make him affirm they were realities), and also did deny the lawfulness of baptizing of infants, and all this tends to the dishonor of God, the despising the ordinances of God among us, the peace of the churches, and seducing the subjects of this commonwealth from the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and perverting the strait ways of the Lord, the court doth fine you 30 pounds to be paid or sufficient sureties that the said sum shall be paid by the first day of next court of assistants or else to be well whipped, and that you shall remain in prison till it be paid, or security given in for it. By the court the 31 of the 5th m., 1651. ENCREASE NOWELL."

N. B. The only thing that seems faulty in Mr. Holmes was his going to meeting at Lyn to disturb, but it ought to be remembered that the constable forced him thither. Clark's Nar., p. 3.

presses it. Accordingly he was whipped most severely, the hard-hearted Nowell (ruling elder of the church) standing by, and the executioner spitting on his hands, and with an instrument of three cords belabouring his back till poor Holmes' flesh was reduced to jelly. He received thirty lashes,\* though others who were whipped at the time for rape, and coining money, &c., received but ten. This was the first instance of tormenting for conscience sake in New England. A baptist was the protomartyr here, as a baptist was the first martyr that was burned in Old England.†

Soon after this whipping, Mr. Holmes and family removed to Rhode Island, and in the year 1652 became the minister of the church of Newport. He died Oct. 15, 1682, and was buried in his own field, where a tomb is erected to his memory. His wife's name was Catherine, by whom he had children. [1.] Mary, who married a Brown. [2.] Martha, who, I suppose, was a maiden, when her father made his will, dated April 9, 1681. [3.] Lydia, who married one of the Bownds. [4.] Hopestill, who married a Taylor. [5.] John, who married a Cole. [6.] Obediah, (who died minister of Cohansey, in the Jersey), who married a Cole. [7.] Samuel, who died childless. [8.] Jonathan, who married a Bordon. His grandson is yet alive at Newport, in the 96th year of his age. Several of his descendants are yet in this government, some in Long Island, York, East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c. Mr. Holmes' letters (before mentioned) may be seen in the 4th appendix to this volume.

Successor to Mr. Holmes was the Rev. Richard Dingley. Of him I have not been able to learn more than that he became minister of the church in 1690, where he was ordained by the Rev. Messrs. Thomas Skinner and James Baker, of Boston, and that he bore a good character. His successor was the Rev. Wm. Peckham. The name is sometimes written Peckcom. He was ordained and became minister of this church Nov. 15, 1711. The persons concerned in his ordination were the Rev. Samuel Luther, of Swanzy. He died June 2, 1734. His first

\* Another hand writes *ninety*.

† The last burned was Edward Wightman.—Note by another hand.

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wife was niece of Rev. John Clark; his second was a Weeden, his children were William, Samuel, Mary, Phebe and Deborah, who married into the Tew, Weeden, Thomas, Tripp and Clark families. Mr. Peckham bore a very good character. Colleague with him was Rev. John Comer, A. B. He was born at Boston, Aug. 1, 1704, and bred at Yale College. His parents were Presbyterians, but on reading Stennett against Russen, he was convinced of believers' baptism; and after struggling with convictions for about two years, submitted to the ordinance, Jan. 31, 1725. The administrator was Rev. Elisha Callender, of Boston. From Boston he went to Swanzy, where he was invited to settle; but an invitation from the church of Newport prevented it. Hither he came, and here was ordained (May 19, 1726), co-pastor with Mr. Peckham. But, in about three years' time, he quitted the church and went to Rehoboth, where he planted a church, and there died, and was buried May 23, 1734. The cause of his quitting Newport was his preaching up the indispensability of laying on of hands to all baptized believers. This gave offence to some of the church, and made them lose the indifference in which they held that rite, and to oppose it with earnestness equal to his who urged it. Nevertheless, they whom he made angry, venerated the man for his piety and popular talents. He was curious in making minutes of every remarkable event, which swelled at last into two volumes, now in possession of his son (John), at Warren. To these manuscripts am I beholden for many chronologies and facts in this my 3d volume. He had conceived a design of writing a history of the American baptists, but death broke his purpose at the age of thirty years, and left that for others to execute. His wife was Sarah Rogers, of Newport, by whom he had children, John, Sarah and Mary; these married into the Kennicutt, Mendall, and Cranston families, and raised him many grand-children.\*

Successor to Mr. Peckham was the Rev. John Callender, A. M. He was a native of Boston, and a son of Cambridge College. He became minister of Newport, Oct. 13, 1731, when he was ordained pastor over the church, and wherein he acted the part of a good shepherd to his death, which came to pass

\* He was a particular baptist.



Jan. 26, 1748. He published a funeral sermon occasioned by the death of Rev. Mr. Clapp; a sermon preached at the ordination of Mr. Condy, of Boston; a sermon to young people; and a sketch of the history of Rhode Island government for a hundred years, usually known by the name of the *Century Sermon*. His wife was Elizabeth Hardin, of Swanzy, by whom he had children, Elizabeth, Mary, John, Elias, Sarah and Josias, all single except the first and fourth, who married into the English and Lawrence families. As for Mr. Callender's character it was drawn by Dr. Moffatt in an epitaph which may be seen on his tomb, in Newport,

“ Confident of awakening, here reposesh

JOHN CALLENDER,

“ Of very excellent endowments from nature, and of an accomplished education, improved by application in the wide circle  
 “ of the more polite arts and useful sciences. From motives of  
 “ conscience and grace, he dedicated himself to the immediate  
 “ service of God, in which he was distinguished as a shining  
 “ and very burning light by a true and faithful ministry of  
 “ seventeen years in the first baptist church of Rhode Island;  
 “ where the purity and evangelical simplicity of his doctrine  
 “ confirmed and embellished by the virtuous and devout tenor  
 “ of his own life endeared him to his flock; and justly conciliated, the esteem, love, and reverence of all the wise, worthy  
 “ and good; much humanity, benevolence, and charity breathed  
 “ in his conversation, discourses and writings, which were all  
 “ pertinent, reasonable and useful; regretted by all, lamented  
 “ by his friends, and deeply deplored by a wife and numerous  
 “ issue. He died in the forty-second year of his age, Jan. 26,  
 “ 1748. Having struggled through the vale of life in adversity,  
 “ much sickness and pain, with fortitude, dignity and elevation  
 “ of soul worthy of the philosopher, christian and divine.”  
 His successor was the Rev. Edward Upham, A. M. He was born March 26, 1709, at Malden, near Boston; bred at Cambridge College, where he commenced in 1734; Ordained at Springfield in 1740, by Rev. Messrs. John Callender, of Newport, and Jeremiah Condy, of Boston. He became minister of

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this church in 1748, but resigned this year (1771) and returned to Springfield. His wife is Mary Leonard, of said Springfield, by whom he has children, Sarah, Leonard, Ann, Joseph, James, George and Mary. The first is married into the Bliss family, the rest single.

Mr. Upham's successor and present minister, is the Rev. Erasmus Kelley, A. B. He arrived here from Southampton, in Pennsylvania, Aug. 27, 1771. Was ordained Oct. 9, 1771, by Rev. Messrs. Gardner Thurston and John Maxson. He married Mary Morgan, of Philadelphia.—See more of him in Vol. 1, p. 40.—The second church of Newport is in Farewell Street. And I would distinguish this church by the name of the street where the meeting-house is, because it will be better than to distinguish it by the name of its minister (for the time being) as has been the case hitherto. The house is 76 feet by 52, and stands on a lot of about a hundred feet square with a school-house and stabling.\* The lot was purchased by the congregation at several times, and is a part of the estate of the famous William Coddington. The house at first was very small; in 1725 it was enlarged to 52 feet by 34; in 1749 it was enlarged again, to 62 feet by 52; and in 1768, to its present dimensions. It is pretty well finished, with pews and galleries, but too large for the speaker. The temporalities of this church are: [1]. 37£ 10s., the gift of Daniel Sanford, (O. T. 1000£). [2]. 11£ 3s., (O. T. 300£), the gift of Joseph Sanford. [3]. 28£ 4s. (O. T. 750£), the gift of the same person, for the use of the poor. With the above helps and perquisites, the living is reputed worth 100£ a year to the present minister, Rev. Gardner Thurston.

The families belonging to the congregation are about 250, whereof 230† are baptized and in the communion, which is

\* 32 miles S. by E. from Providence, and 348 from Philadelphia.—Note by another hand.

† Rev. Gardner Thurston, *min.*, James Barker, jr., Esq., and Wm. Tilley, *deac.*, Capt. Closser Pierce, John Davis, Esq., Capt. James Barker, John Barker, Esq., Sam'l Burroughs, Wm. Burroughs, Peleg Barker, Clark Brown, Samuel Brown, Jethro Briggs, Peleg Burroughs, Joseph Card, Sam. Creetman, Wm. Creetman, Nicholas Clark, Sam'l Carpenter, John Castwell, Caleb Coggeshall, Elisha Clark, Jonathan Finley, Capt. James Gardner, Wm. Goudard, John Holmes, James Hubbard, Silas Harman, Parker Hall, John Jones, Joshua Irish, James Lyon, Edward

here celebrated the first Sunday in the month. The denomination of this church is that of *General Baptist*, (with exception of many individuals), holding the six points, and using psalmody. So much for its present state (1771). It originated in the year 1665, when the following persons broke off from the first church of Newport: William Vaughan, Thomas Baker, James Clark, Jeremiah Clark, Daniel Wightman, John Odlin,

Lillbridge, Ephraim Macumber, Joseph Marin, Stephen Peckham, Benj. Peckham, B-noni Peckham, Benj. Peckham, jr., John Rogers, Greene Rogers, Peleg Rogers, Wm. Rogers, A. B., Elisha Shearman, Henry Smith, Jeremiah Sheffield, Constant Tabor, John Thurston, John Vial, Wm. Weeden, Wm. Weeden, jr., John Weeden, Joseph West, Capt. Valentine Wightman, John West, Richard Whitehorn, James Weeden, Income Sanford, Benj. Sanford, Peter Wilkey, Tonsy, Cato, Kingstown, (three negroes), Elizabeth Arnold, Mary Atwood, Mary Almey, Sarah Arnold, Alicc Aronshire, Lydia Atwood, Alice Baily, Abigail Burroughs, Elizabeth Brown, Margaret Barker, Penelope Barker, Rebecca Barker, Ann Barker, Elizabeth Barker, Susanna Barker, Sarah Barker, Abigail Barker, Hannah Balley, Mary Burroughs, Elizabeth Burroughs, Ann Bridgos, Elizabeth Bash, Abigail Bogs, Lydia Barrell, Ann Bennetland, Rebecca Burington, Ruth Chapman, Betushoba Clark, Patience Clark, Mary Card, Christiana Cranston, Ann Carpenter, ilope Campbell, Mary Creetman, Elizabeth Clark, Mrs. Carpenter, Mary Cheese, Mary Briggs, Elizabeth Clark, jun., Mehltable Colvin, Jernsha Coffin, Mary Carr, Margaret Clark, Mary Cranlall, Elizabeth Cleveland, Pricilla Card, Elizabeth Clark, sen'r, Sarah Cornell, Barbara Card, Mary Castwell, Elizabeth Chapman, Wait Carr, Elizabeth Card, Abigail Card, Sarah Card, Phebe Coggeshall, Susanna Carpenter, Mary Dun, Sarah Davenport, Abigail Dyre, Ann Dyre, Catharine Dun, Jane Finley, Frances Gardner, Abigail Gardner, Mary Gardner, Mary Gardiner, jun., Sarah Green, Mary Green, Deborah Groen, Elizabeth Goddard, Martha Gavet, Amey Greenman, Freelove Gardner, Ann Green, Elizabeth Green, Elizabeth Gardner, Dorcas Gardner, Abigail Goddard, Elizabeth Hookey, Sarah Hoars, Mary Hathaway, Mary Hargill, Abigail Hill, Deliverance Hall, Sarah Howland,\* Deborah Hacker, Rachel Howard, Deborah Hoxsie, Amy Jones, Patience Kenoy, Merrin Nichols, Mary Little, Sarah Langworthy, Esther Lillbridge, Sarah Lawton, Mary Lawton, Mary Lathor, Elizabeth Lee, Lucy Lawton, Sarah Lyons, Lovis Mitchel, Mary Morsy, Mary Mudson, Mary Martin, Rebecca Green, Barbara Martin, Pricilla Oakley, Mary Pearce, Sarah Paul, Mary Phillips, Amy Peterson, Deborah Peckham, Naomi Peckham, Catharine Peckham, Jane Peckham, Virtue Peckham, Mary Peckham, Mary Peckham, jun., Ruth Pierce, Sarah Phillips, Phillis, (a negro), Sarah Rogers, Jane Richardson, Eleanor Rogers, Martha Rider, Martha Remington, Phebe Rogers, Janny, (a negro), Lydia Sanford, Abigail Sanford, Ann Smith, Rachel Allen Swan, Sarah Ingram, Margaret Summers, Rachel Smith, Abigail Smith, Elizabeth Smith, Ruth Kirby, Walt Shaw, Martha Thurston, Phebe Taylor, Mary Tilley, Bridget Tow, Mary Thurston, Mary Tomlin, Freelove Vaughan, Susanna Vaughan, Hannah Vennable, Abigail Weeden, Mary Weeden, Hannah Weeden, Elizabeth Weeden, Sarah Weeden, Mary Weeden, jun., Rachel Warren, Martia West, Rebecca Walker, Hannah Williams, Sarah Warner, Dinah Weaver, Sarah Wilkey, Sarah Witherel, Mary Soule, Mary McQuarter, Mary Sheffield, widow Read.

[\* Mother of John Howland, of Providence.—Note by another hand.]

Jeremiah Weeden, Joseph Card, John Greenman, Henry Clark, Peleg Peckham, James Barker, Stephen Hookey, Timothy Peckham, Joseph Weeden, John Rhodes, James Brown, John Hammet, William Rhodes, Daniel Sabear, and William Greenman.

The cause of the separation was this: the said persons conceived a prejudice against psalmody, and against the restraints that the liberty of prophesying (as they termed it), was laid under; also against the doctrine of *particular redemption*; and against leaving the rite of *laying on of hands*, as a matter of indifference, and therefore withdrew in order to form themselves into a distinct society.

The most remarkable events in this church (which hath now existed for 106 years, and increased from 20 to 230), are the following: [1]. In the year 1721 a division took place, in which were principals John Rhodes and William Clagget. The pretended cause was an error in discipline. Clagget wrote a book, which he entitled "*A Looking Glass for Elder Clark and Elder Wightman.*" He that hath patience to read may read it. But their society soon dissolved. [2]. Another division happened in 1739. The chief persons concerned were Timothy Peckham, Daniel Green and James Brown. The pretended cause was reformation or a design of having a *true and pure church*. Mr. Green wrote a book on the occasion, and so put some on mis-spending time to read it. But this *pure church* lasted no longer than about eight years. [3]. Another division was in 1753, occasioned by some who embraced the sentiments of Arius with respect to the Trinity; principals in this secession were John Hammet and Joseph Tillinghast. But this soon came to nothing. Their creed was printed, and is yet extant.

There are yet in this church several of dividing principles, but by the prudence of the present minister all are in peace at present. The ministers it has had are the following: Rev. William Vaughan. Of him I can learn no more than that he was first minister of this church, and one of them who broke off from the other church in 1665. Some of his descendants are yet in being in the province of Connecticut. His successor was Rev. Thomas Baker, of whom I have not been able to gather

more account than that he survived Mr. Vaughan, and was one of them who broke off in 1665. His successor was the Rev. John Hardin. He is said to have been a native of Kent, in Old England, and to have come to this province by way of Boston, and there to have taken to wife one Sarah Butcher. He died in 1700, and was buried in Newport grave-yard. His children were Mary, Elizabeth, Amy, Hannah and Israel, who married into the Hooky, Williams, Clark, Medbury and Turtuloe families. His successor was Rev. James Clark. He was born at Newport, in the year 1648, and was nephew to Rev. John Clark. Ordained minister of this church by Rev. Messrs. Dexter, Tillinghast and Brown, of Providence, in 1697. Died Dec. 1, 1736, and was buried at Newport, where a tomb is raised to his memory. No man can be better spoken of than he is by all who remember him. His wife was Hope Power, who bore him two children, Ann and Jonathan. These married into the Brown and Harding families. His colleague and successor was the Rev. Daniel Wightman. He was born at Narragansett, Jan. 2, 1668. Ordained in 1700, at which time he took the joint care of the church with Mr. Clark. He died Aug. 31, 1750, and was buried at Newport, where a tomb is erected to his memory. They who remember him, give him an excellent character. The last man burned in England was one Edward Wightman,\* and a baptist, who, it is said, was a progenitor of this family.

Our Wightman married Catharine Holmes, by whom he had children, Elizabeth and George. These married into the Hooky and Clark families. His successor was Rev. Nicholas Ayres. He was born at a place called Chipmanslade, in the parish of Corsley, county of Wilts, in Old England, Aug. 22, 1691. Came to New York about the year 1711. Was baptized there in 1714, by Rev. Valentine Wightman, of Groton, and was the first man who submitted to the ordinance in the place. Five women were baptized there very early the same day for fear of being mobbed; but Mr. Ayers disdaining to do that in secret which he himself would have known openly, de-

[\* At Litchfield, April 11, 1612.—Note by another hand.]

terminated to have it done in the face of the world; yet not willing to make a cross though willing to take it, he addressed the governor, (Burnet), for protection; the governor promised both his protection and his presence, and was as good as his word, which so awed the multitude that all was hush and solemn. He soon gathered a church and raised a meeting-house (chiefly at his own expense), and in the year 1724 was ordained their minister. He continued among them to Oct. 21, 1731, when he set sail for Newport, in compliance with an invitation from his church, and the same month became their minister. He married Margaret Splinters, of New York, by whom he had many children. Two are yet alive, Thomas and Jane. Thomas married into the Tillinghast family, and has one daughter named Amy. Jane is not married. He has left heaps of manuscripts, some political, some polemical, some devotional, &c., for which he was every way qualified. I have not seen anything of his in print, except an answer to the Arian creed before mentioned. He died Feb. 13, 1759, and was buried at Newport, where a tomb is erected to his memory, with the following inscription by ————

"From an early institution in the languages, and mathematical learning, he proceeded to the study of the sacred Scriptures, and from them alone derived the true christian science of the recovery of man to virtue and happiness. This he explained in his pastoral instructions. This he happily recommended in his own example of gravity, piety and unblemished morals. Like his Divine Master, in his daily visitations, he went about doing good. He was a friend to the virtuous of every denomination, but a foe to established error and superstition; an enemy to unscriptural claims of superiority among the churches of our common Lord, but of protestant liberty and the rights of conscience an able and steady defender. From these distinguishing strictures and ruling principles of his character posterity may know, or at least have reason to judge, that while many monumental inscriptions perpetuate the names of those who will awake to shame and everlasting contempt, this stone transmits the memory of one who shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and as the stars

"forever and ever." His successor is the Rev. Gardner Thurston. He has to his assistant Mr. William Rogers.\* Mr. Thurston was born at Newport, Nov. 14, 1721. Ordained April 29, 1759, by Rev. Messrs. Job and Russel Mason, and Charles Holden; at which time he took the oversight of the church, and abides therein to this day, with great success and reputation†. His meeting-house and congregation are the largest among the baptists in all New England.

The third church of Newport is in Sabbath Street. The place of worship is 38 feet by 26, and well finished with pews, galleries, and a clock. It was erected in 1730, on a lot of 85 feet by 40, purchased by the congregation‡. The temporalities are, [1]. A dwelling-house, let for 10*l.* 10*s.* a year, the gift partly of the honorable Richard Ward, partly of Capt. Joshua Saunders, partly of Sarah Arnold. [2]. Six pounds 3*s.* the gift of Joseph Sanforl. With these helps and perquisites the living is reputed worth 40*l.* a year to the present minister, Rev. John Maxson. The families belonging to the congregation are about 39, whereof 54½ persons are baptized and in the communion, which is here celebrated the last Saturday in the month. The distinction of this church is that of Seventh day baptist, holding general redemption, laying on of hands, using psalmody, &c. This was their state in 1771. They originated in the year 1671, when the following persons withdrew from the first church of Newport:

\* Mr. Rogers was born Aug. 2, 1751. Bred at Rhode Island college, where he graduated in 1769. Licensed to preach Aug. 29, 1771. A hopeful youth.

† He married Martha Sanford, by whom he has one daughter named Frances. Note by another hand.]

‡ It is distant 32 miles S. by E. from Providence and 348 from Philadelphia.— Note by another hand].

§ Rev. John Maxson, *min.*, John Tanner, Esq., *deac.*, Col. Job Bennet, Esq., Capt. Wm. Bliss, Samuel Green, Joseph Southwick, Henry Bliss, Jonathan Maxson, Samuel Marryott, Joseph Carpenter, Judah Cartwright, Charles Ward, John Maxson, Jun., Benedict Bliss, Brenton Bliss, Ebenezer David, Scipio and Arthur, (two negroes). Ann Sabin, Ruth Clark, Lydia Clark, Abigail Barker, Martha Reynolds, Amy Hawkins, Abigail Hall, Ruth Richardson, Mary Tanner, Freelove Saunders, Barbara Bliss, Lydia McDonold, Elizabeth Greene, Mary Shearman, Content Scofield, Mary Jersey, Sarah Greenman, Ann Cartwright, Mary Shreave, Elizabeth Bliss, Barbara Bliss, Patience Bennet, Elizabeth Clark, Elizabeth Clark, Elizabeth Clark, Junior, Ann Maxson, Content Maxson, Barcha Barker, Mary Bliss, Sarah Carpenter, Elizabeth Sabin, Dorothy Fry, Martha Maccloud, Elizabeth Smith, Susanna Greenman, Elizabeth Marryott.

William Hiscox, Roger Baslar, Samuel Hubbard, Tacy Hubbard and Rachel Langworthy. The cause of the separation was their embracing the sentiments of the Sabbatarians, which indeed they had done sometime before, but kept their communion till two or three of their number relapsed to the observation of the first day, and then could keep together no longer, except those apostates, (as they called them) were expelled [from the] church.

No very remarkable event took place in this church since its commencement just 100 years ago, except that the brethren of Westerly, (who till then had been but one church), did separate Sept. 17, 1708. They met in private houses to the year 1707, when they built their first meeting-house on the spot where the present stands. This they took down in the year 1730, to make way for the present, before described. The ministers which this church hath had from the beginning are the following: Rev. William Hiscox; he became minister at the separation in 1671, and seems to have been a man of good understanding by the manner in which he vindicates his cause against Rev. Messrs. Holmes and Tory, which may be seen in the records of the first church of Newport. He died May 24, 1704, aged 66, and was buried at Newport, where a headstone is put up at his grave, from which I took the above date. His wife was a ————. His successor was Rev. William Gibson. He was a Londoner, and a scholar, as appears by the catalogue of his books. He arrived in Newport in the year 1665, and was ordained minister before his arrival. He left behind him a good character as a preacher and christian. His first wife was ————. His second was a Weeden. His children ———, who married a Harris. He died March 12, 1717, aged 79. His successor was the Rev. Joseph Crandall. He was born at Westerly. Ordained minister of this church May 8, 1715. He died Sept. 13, 1737. His first wife was a ———, his second a ———, by whom he had children. These married into the families of the ———. His successor and present minister is Rev. John Maxson. He was born in that part of Westerly now called Hopkintown. Became minister of this church Nov. 24, 1754, when he was



ordained by Rev. Messrs. Thomas Hiscox and Thomas Clark, He married.

These are all the baptist churches in the town of Newport, or in Rhode Island. There is something like a church who meet in the house that was built by the Moravians, about — years ago. This society of the *queer ones* was gathered March 4, 1770, but in less than a year broke to pieces, their number was 17. On the 14th of April last eight of them were gathered together again, and (with a few more which Dawson baptised), reconstituted, but are not likely to hold together long. This Henry Dawson arrived from Dr. Gifford's church in London, to New York, in 1767, and offered himself to our association, but being under the censure of his church, was rejected again and again, so that he stands alone railing at associations and regular ministry.

The next church we shall mention is that of Warren. It is so distinguished from the village where the meeting-house is, in a township of the same name, and county of Bristol, 11 miles S. by E. from Providence and 328 miles from Philadelphia. The house was erected in 1763, on a lot of 50 rods square, purchased by the congregation. Its dimensions are 52 feet by 44, with pews, gallerics, and a little turret, wherein is a bell, but the gallerics are not finished. On the same lot is a handsome parsonage house, valued at 14*l.* a year, which is all the estate belonging to the church. The living including this is reputed worth 74*l.* to the present minister, Rev. Charles Thompson. The families belonging to the congregation are about —, whereof fifty-six \* persons are baptized and in com-

\* Rev. Charles Thompson, min., John Eastabroke, Caleb Salisbury, Benjamin Cole, John West, Col. Sylvester Child, William Eastabrook, Amos Hale, Capt. John Child, Samuel Hix, exhort., Mary Ormsby, Susannah Luther, Elijah Cranstone, Frances Easterbrook, Sarah Troop, Abigail Child, Lydia Kelley, Amy Hardin, Sarah Luen, Jemima Thomas, Lydia Child, Ruth Hale, Elizabeth Hill, Mary Cole, Susanna Easterbrook, Mary Salisbury, Patience Miller, (members of Swanzy), Ebenezer Cole, Esq., deac., John Comer, Sarah Kennicut, Lillis Cole, Ann Bowen, Rachel Ormsby, Phebe Champlin, Mary Sims, Joanna Ormsby, Rebecca Bowen, Anna Luther, Elizabeth Luther, Rebecca Miller, James Bowen, John Thurber, Hezekiah Bower, Huldah Bowen, (baptized by sundry), Sarah Jollis, Daniel Brown, William Hale, Sarah Cole, Curils Cole, Servial Ormsby, Andrew Cole, Jemima Toogood, Mary Bowen, Anna Hailo, Mary Wheaton, Martha Hammond, Patience Eastabrook, Bethia Luther.

munion, which is here celebrated the — Sunday in the month. The character of this church is *Particular Baptist*, holding laying on of hands no bar to communion, and using psalmody. This is their present state, (1771). They originated in the following manner: There lived in this neighborhood a small branch of the first church of Swanzy, to the number of about 26. There were also several baptized by ministers who occasionally visited the place, particularly Rev. Messrs. Gardner Thurston and James Maxwell. The number was 17. These 43 persons, (with Rev. James Manning), were constituted into a church, October 15, 1764.

The names of these constituents are printed in italics in the list of members. No very remarkable event hath happened since their constitution, except: [1]. That the first commencement in Rhode Island college was celebrated in this meeting-house, and, [2]. That the New England association originated here 1767, for which cause it is called the *Warren Association*. The first pastor of this church was Rev. James Manning, A. M. He took the care of them at the time they were constituted, and continued in the care to \* 1770, when he left them to follow the college to Providence. Mr. Manning was born Oct. 16, 1738, in Elizabeth township, in the Jersey. Had his grammar learning at Hopewell school, and his academical at Jersey College, where he was graduated Sept. 27, 1762. After that he travelled, and Oct. 15, 1764, settled at Warren. On Sept. 5, 1765, he was chosen president of the college. He married Margaret, daughter of alderman Stites. Mr. Manning is an excellent man, both as to person, parts, learning and piety. His successor is Rev. Charles Thompson, A. B. He was born April 14, 1748, at Amwell, in the Jersey. Had his grammar learning at Hopewell. His academical at Rhode Island college, where he graduated in 1769. He was ordained minister of Warren, July 3, 1771, by Rev. Messrs. Ebenezer Hinds and Noah Alden. He is reputed an excellent preacher. His wife is Sarah Child, of the same Warren.

From this we pass over the bay to Greenwich. This is usually distinguished as above from the township, but should

[\* May.—Note by another hand].

, Benjamin  
Capt. John  
Cranstone,  
Hardin, Sa-  
Mary Cole,  
of Swanzy),  
Ann Bowen,  
becca Bowen,  
hurber, Hez-  
Brown, Wil-  
emima Too-  
attence Eas-

rather be called Newtown, which is the name of the village where the meeting-house is, in the county of Kent, 15 miles S. S. W. from Providence, and — miles from Philadelphia. The house is 30 feet square, erected in 1729, on a lot of 30 rods by 5, the gift of Clement Weaver. The situation is beautiful, being rising ground commanding a prospect of the town and harbor and a fine country. This was one reason urged why the college should be placed here. The character of this church is that of *General Baptist*, holding the six points; of late they have admitted psalmody, and are grown more moderate in sentiments. No estate belongs to this church; nor any fixed salary for the minister, though they could easily raise him 40l. a year. The families belonging to the congregation are about —, whereof 52\* persons are baptized and in the communion, which is here celebrated every Sabbath in a month.

This was the state of the church in 1771. For its original as a body we have no further back to look than June —, 1743, when the following persons (some belonging to the churches of Newport and Providence, some baptized at occasional visits of Rev. Messrs. Ayres, Martin and Lewis), did incorporate: Daniel Fisk, John Corpe, Samuel Basset, Adam Casey, Eleanor Cook, Benj. Weaver, Michael Spencer, Ebenezer Morphy, John Baker, Edward Casey, John Gorton, Peter Lee, Thomas Hill, Elizabeth Clark, Thomas Allen, Thomas Spreague, Geo. Vaughan, Mary Casey, Hannah Weaver, Elizabeth Weaver, Patience Corp, Mercy Fisk, Mary Morphy, Mary Weaver, Elizabeth Corp, Mary Spencer, Rebecca Strafford, Lilly Baker, Sarah Vaughan, Dorcas Basset, Elizabeth Haven, Ann Sweet, Hannah Biddlecome, Patience Cook, Quassy, (a negro), Sarah

\* Rev. John Gorton (present minister) and wife, Thomas Green, *deac.*, and wife, Thomas Allen, Esq., and wife, Ebenezer Cook and wife, Jonathan Weaver and wife, Samuel Gorton, Nicholas Goddard, Ann Blee, Samuel Tillinghast and wife, Caleb Carr and wife, Mrs. Spreague, Sarah Vaughan, Hannah Johnstone, Rebecca Strafford, Catherine Trip, Mary Wightman, Ann Hill, Elizabeth Corpe, Mary Casey, Horace Campbell, Edward Casey and wife, Peter Lee, George Vaughan, Dorcas Basset, Elizabeth Havens, Mary Spiewod, (an Indian), Caesar, (a negro), Sarah Major, Catherine Hains, Rebecca Stratt, Mary Stratt, Sarah Andrew, Mary Green, Mercy Wilky, Hannah Westcott, Elizabeth Stafford, Martha Foster, Mary Allen, Jane Remington, Mrs. Carpenter, Elizabeth Price, Prudence Vaughan, Jeremy Tabor, Margaret Gardner.

Major, Ann Low, Catherine Hains, Frances Low, Rebecca Strait, Mary Strait, Sarah Weaver, Ruth Bailey, Phebe Low, Mary Westcott, Mary Green, Mary Wilky, Hannah Westcott, Elizabeth Pearse, Ann Rise, Marguret Gardner.

This church hath now existed for 28 years without any extraordinary event; the most remarkable follow: [1]. When the church was constituted, the boundaries of it were fixed by a line running round the meeting-house, and distinguished by the notable places it touched in the neighborhood, like the circumscription of a parish in England. The church of Providence was bounded in the same manner, when the branches of it became distinct churches. These are the first instances of the kind I have met with among the baptists, which, though by no means proper bounds of churches, yet show that the baptist church in this province comes nearer a National church than in any other country. [2]. In the year 1752, the minister became a particular baptist and proselyted several to his opinion, but the majority being on the other side made him soon resign his charge. [3]. This year, (1771), psalmody was admitted into their public worship. The next event will be, I hope, raising a salary for their minister that he may attend wholly on his ministry, and not be entangled with the world as he now is.

The first minister was Rev. Daniel Fish. He was born in Scituate township, in 1714. Ordained in the month of June, 1743, at which time he took on him the care of the church. He continued in the care thereof to 1752, and then resigned on account of his embracing the sentiments of the particular baptists. He died of the small pox at Swanzy, in the year 1764. He began to preach in the 18th year of his age, and bore a very good character. His first wife was Mercy Stone, by whom he had children, Samuel, Mary, Amos, Mercy, Caleb, Mehitable, Daniel, Abigail. His second wife was Sarah Stewart, who bore him William, Joseph, Reuben, Abigail. The Abigails and Joseph died childless. Mary and Reuben are single; the rest married into the Culver, Bailey, Willbore, Easterbrook, Burlingham, and Barton families. His successor is the present

minister, Rev. John Gorton. He was born April 22, 1723, in the township of Cranston. Baptized in 1743. Ordained Sept. 6, 1753. He married Rhoda Bowen, by whom he had children, John, Phebe, Elizabeth, Mary, Bowen, Ann, Benjamin, all single except John and Phebe, who married into the Spink and Olney families.

The next church we shall mention is Cranston. It is usually distinguished as above from the name of the township where the place of worship is, in the county of Providence, about six miles S. W. from the town, and 312 miles from Philadelphia. The place of worship was originally a dwelling house purchased by the church in 1770, and made commodious for divine service. The character of the church is that of *Particular Baptist*, using psalmody and laying on of hands. Temporalities they have not; nor any fixed salary for their minister, but are able to raise him about 80*l.* if they were willing. The families belonging to them are about ———, whereof 40\* persons are baptized and in communion of the church, which is here celebrated the ——— Sunday in each month.

This is the present state of Cranston. It originated in the following manner: About the year 1741, Rev. Timothy Peckham, of Newport, visited these parts and baptized one Joseph Stone, Ann Stone, Hannah Stone, and Keelah, (a negro). Soon after, some of the old baptists belonging to the churches of Providence and Warwick, embraced the calvinistic doctrine, viz., Peter Burlingham, Jeremiah Knight, Thomas Corp, Jonathan Stone, Elisha Greene, Charles Rhodes, Abigail Stone, Desire Relff, Welthan Stone, Penelope Knight, widow Rhodes, Meribah Pearse, Mary Corp, and Deborah Rhodes.

These twenty persons were, July 12, 1764, constituted into a church, with the help of Rev. Messrs. Holden and Burling-

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\* Rev. Elisha Green, Peter Burlingham, Jeremiah Knight, Thomas Corp, Joseph Stone, Keelah, (a negro), Wm. Stone, Jun., Jabez Stone, Joseph Lockwood, Timothy Blanchard, Jacob Lockwood, William Carpenter, Josiah Westcott, John Sheldon, Benj. Dexter, Abigail Stone, Eleanor Stone, Ann Stone, Desire Relff, Welthan Stone, Penelope Knight, Mrs. Hopkins, Meribah Pearse, Lydia Sheldon, Eleanor Knight, Freelove Turner, Demas Lockwood, Sarah Stone, Walt Porter, Ann Lockwood, Athollna Lockwood, Frances Westcott, Comfort Carpenter, Mary Westcott, Walt Thornton, Ruth Gardner, Ann Lewis, Patience Beers, Rachel Joy, Ann Green.

ham. They met at first in private houses, particularly the house of their present minister, until they purchased the place before described. No remarkable event hath happened since their settlement except that Charles Rhodes broke off from them to become a Sandimanian and a pedobaptist. Their first minister is yet alive, viz., *Rev. Elisha Green*. He had Mr. Burlingham to his assistance, of whom we have spoken under Providence. Mr. Green was born Aug. 5, 1698, in the township of Warwick, and county of Kent. Baptized at Newport by Rev. Daniel Wightman, Dec. 5, 1717. Called to the ministry in 1741. Ordained July 30, 1764, by Rev. Messrs. Holding, Gorton and Burlingham. He married Martha Brown, by whom he had a son named James. His second wife was Abigail Dexter, who bore him Elisha and Abigail. The daughter is single. The sons married into the Burlingham, Clark, and Gorton families, and have raised him seventeen grand-children. Mr. Green hath shown himself through a course of seventy years to be a right honest and good man. He spent a considerable part of his estate in settling and supporting the church. Thus 'a parent laid out for the children,' and it is to be hoped that children will 'learn to show piety by requiting the parent.' The next church we shall mention is\*\_\_\_\_\_

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\* The manuscript terminates thus abruptly.--[Com. Pub].



### APPENDIX III.†

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In p. 9, mention was made of the college in Rhode Island government; with a reference to this appendix for its history. Young indeed the institution is, and therefore short would its history be, had it received its existence, locality, endowment and permanency like other institutions of the same nature; but contrarywise, some peculiar circumstances attend each which infer the interposition of Providence, and bespeak it to be a thing of God and not of man only. The first mover for it in 1762 was laughed at as a projector of a thing impracticable. Nay, many of the Baptists themselves discouraged the design (prophesying evil to the churches in case it should take place), from an unhappy prejudice against learning, and threatened (not only non-concurrence but) opposition. Nevertheless, a young Jerseyman (who is now at the head of the institution), went to Rhode Island government and made the design known. The reason of his attempt in this province was (as has been observed), that legislature is here chiefly in the hands of Baptists, and therefore the likeliest place to have a baptist college established by law. The remainder of what I intend to say on this head, shall be in the words of President Manning, to which I shall add the history of the first charter by Daniel Jenckes, Esq., who both (for obvious reasons), think it necessary to have them published. President Manning's narrative is as follows :

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† Appendices I and II do not appear in the manuscript. The pages containing them were probably used elsewhere by the author.—(Com. F. 1b).

"In the month of July, 1763, we arrived in Newport,  
 "and made a motion to several gentlemen of the baptist de-  
 "nomination (whereof Col. Gardner, the deputy governor, was  
 "one), relative to a seminary of polite literature, subject to  
 "the government of the Baptists. The motion was properly  
 "attended to, which brought together about fifteen gentlemen  
 "of the same denomination at the deputy's house, who request-  
 "ed that I would draw a sketch of the design against the day  
 "following. That day came, and the said gentlemen, with  
 "other baptists, met in the same place, when a rough draft  
 "was produced and read. The tenor of which was that the  
 "institution was to be a baptist one; but that as many of other  
 "denominations should be taken in as was consistent with the  
 "said design. Accordingly the Hon. Josias Lyndon and Col.  
 "Job Bennet were appointed to draw a charter to be laid be-  
 "fore the next General Assembly, with a petition that they  
 "should pass it into a law. But the said gentlemen pleading  
 "unskillfulness touching an affair of the kind, requested that  
 "their trusty friend, Rev. Ezra (now Dr.) Styles, might be  
 "solicited to assist them. This was opposed by me as unwill-  
 "ing to give the Dr. trouble about an affair of other people;  
 "but they urged that his love of learning and catholicism,  
 "would induce him readily to give his assistance. Accord-  
 "ingly their proposal was consented to, and his assistance ob-  
 "tained, or the draughting of the charter was left entirely to  
 "to him, after being told that the Baptists were to have the  
 "lead in the institution and the government thereof forever;  
 "and that no more of other denominations were to be admitted  
 "than would be consistent with that. The charter was drawn,  
 "and a time and place appointed for the parties concerned to  
 "meet and hear it read. But the vessel in which I was to sail  
 "for Halifax going off that day, prevented my being present  
 "with him long enough to see whether the original design was  
 "secured. And as the corporation was made to consist of two  
 "branches, trustees and fellows, and those branches to sit and  
 "act by distinct and separate powers, it was not easy to de-  
 "termine by a transient hearing what those powers might be.  
 "The trustees were presumed to be the principal branch of

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" authority, and as 19 out of 35 were to be baptists, the bap-  
 " tists were satisfied without sufficient examination into the  
 " authority vested in the fellowship (which afterward appeared  
 " to be the soul of the institution while the trusteeship was only  
 " the body), and placing an entire confidence in Dr. Styles,  
 " they agreed to join in a petition to the Assembly to have the  
 " charter confirmed by authority. The petition was preferred  
 " and cheerfully received, and the charter read, after which a  
 " vote was called for and urged by some to pass it into a law  
 " But this was opposed by others, particularly by Daniel  
 " Jenekes, Esq., member for Providence, alleging that the As-  
 " sembly required more time to examine whether it was agree-  
 " able to the design of the first movers for it, and therefore  
 " prayed the house to have the perusal of it while they ad-  
 " journed for dinner. This was granted with some opposition.  
 " Then he asked the governor, (who was a baptist), whom  
 " they intended to invest with the governing power in said in-  
 " stitution? The governor answered the baptists, by all means.  
 " Then Mr. Jenekes showed him that the charter was so artfully  
 " constructed as to throw the power into the fellows' hands,  
 " whereof 8 out of 12 were Presbyterians, (usually called Con-  
 " gregationalists), and that the other four might be of the same  
 " denomination for aught appeared in the charter to the con-  
 " trary. Convinced of this, Gov. Lyndon immediately had an  
 " interview with Dr. Styles, (the Presbyterian minister of New-  
 " port), and demanded why he had perverted the design of the  
 " charter? The answer was, *I gave you timely warning to*  
 " *take care of yourselves, for that we have done so with regard to*  
 " *our society*; and finally observed that he was not the rogue.  
 " When the assembly was convened again, the said Jenekes  
 " moved that the affair might be put off to the next session,  
 " adding that the motion for a college originated with the bap-  
 " tists, and was intended for their use, but that the charter in  
 " question was not at all calculated to answer their purpose;  
 " and since the committee (entrusted by the baptists) professed  
 " they were misled, not to say imposed upon, that it was ne-  
 " cessary the baptists in other parts of the colony should be con-  
 " sulted previous to its passing into a law, especially as few

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" (if any of them except himself) had seen it, and prayed that he might have a copy for the said purpose, which he promised to return. All of which were granted.

" When the charter came to be narrowly inspected, it was found to be by no means answerable to the designs of the agitators and the instructions given the committee. Consequently application was made to the Philadelphia Association, (where the thing took its rise), to have their mind on the subject, who immediately sent two\* gentlemen hither to join with the Baptists of this colony in making what alterations and amendments that were to them specified before their departure. When they arrived, Dr. Ayres, of Newport, was added to the committee, and they happily draughted the present charter, and lodged it, with a new petition, in proper hands. The most material alterations were appointing the same number of baptists in the fellowship that had been appointed (of Presbyterians) by Dr. Styles, settling the presidency in the baptist society; adding 5 baptists to the trustees, and putting more episcopalians than presbyterians in the corporation." Thus the baptists narrowly escaped being jockeyed out of their college by a set of men in whom they reposed entire confidence. How the same party in general have acted since, will appear hereafter.

I now proceed to the further history of the first charter by the said Daniel Jenckes, Esq. " While I attended the business of the assembly (held Aug., 1763), Capt. Wm. Rogers came to the council chamber and presented me with a paper with a design I should sign it, adding that as it was a petition for a baptist college he knew I would not refuse. Business not permitting me to attend to him immediately I requested he would leave with me the petition and charter; meanwhile the sergeant made proclamation requiring the members to take their seats. In my seat I began to read the papers, but had not done before the petition and charter were called for, which I gave to the sergeant and he to the speaker

\* Why their names are not mentioned I cannot say. However, there was no one sent but myself, although Mr. Robert Strettle Jones was so kind as to bear me company to Rhode Island on the occasion.—SAMUEL JONES.

" at the board. The petition being read, a motion was made  
 " to receive it and grant the charter. After some time I stood  
 " up to oppose proceeding immediately on the petition, giving  
 " my reason in words to this effect, 'I understood that the  
 " college in question was sought for by the baptists; and that  
 " it was to be under their government and direction with ad-  
 " mission only of few of other religious denominations to share  
 " with them therein, that they might appear as catholic as  
 " could be consistent with their main design; but on the con-  
 " trary, I perceived by glancing over the charter, while I sat  
 " in my place just now, that the main power of government  
 " and direction is vested in twelve fellows, and that 8 out of  
 " the 12 are to be presbyterians, and that the other may or  
 " may not be of the same denomination, but of necessity none  
 " of them is to be baptist. If so there is treachery somewhere,  
 " and a design of grossly imposing on the honest people who  
 " first moved for the institution; I therefore desire that the  
 " matter may lie by till the afternoon.' This was granted. In  
 " the afternoon the matter was resumed, with a seeming reso-  
 " lution in some to push it through at all events; but I had in-  
 " fluence enough to stop proceeding then also. That evening  
 " and next morning I made it my business to see Gov. Lyndon  
 " and Col. Bennet, and to inform them of the construction of  
 " the charter. They could not believe me for the confidence  
 " they had in Dr. Styles' honor and integrity, until seeing con-  
 " vinced them. What reflections followed may be better con-  
 " cealed than published. However, we all agreed to postpone  
 " passing the charter into a law, and did effect our purpose for  
 " that session, notwithstanding the attempts of Mr. Ellery and  
 " others of the Presbyterians to the contrary.

" Before the breaking up of the assembly the house, at my  
 " request, directed the speaker to deliver the charter to me  
 " after I had made a promise it should be forthcoming at the  
 " next meeting of the assembly. I took the charter to Provi-  
 " dence, and showed it to many who came to my house, others  
 " borrowed it to peruse at home. Meanwhile, the messengers  
 " from the Philadelphia association arrived in Newport, which  
 " occasioned the committee of Newport to send to me for the

" charter. I asked for it of Dr. Ephraim Bowen who had bor-  
 " rowed it last. The Dr. said he had lent it to Samuel Night-  
 " ingale, Esq. Search was made for it there, but it could not  
 " be found; neither do I know to this day what became of it.  
 " When the next General Assembly met, (last Wednesday in  
 " Oct., 1763), the second charter was presented, which was  
 " much faulted and opposed by the gentry who concerned  
 " themselves so warmly about the other. And one in particu-  
 " lar demanded that the first charter, which had been entrusted  
 " with me might be produced. Then I related (as above) that  
 " it was lost, and the manner how it was lost, but the party  
 " instead of believing this, very rudely suggested that I had  
 " secreted the charter, and in the face of the court charged me  
 " with a breach of trust, which brought on very disagreeable  
 " altercations and bickerings, till at last I was necessitated to  
 " say *that if there had been any foul doing it was among them*  
 " *of their own denomination at Providence.* Their clamors  
 " continued, and we gave way to them that session for peace  
 " sake. Meanwhile Dr. Bowen, who is a man of strict honor  
 " and integrity, used all means to recover the former charter,  
 " posting an advertisement in the most public place in town,  
 " and making diligent enquiry, but to no purpose.

" At the next assembly, (which met in Feb., 1764), the new  
 " charter was again brought on the carpet, and the same clamor  
 " against it, and unjust reproaches against me were repeated.  
 " It was said that the new charter was not like the old, and  
 " was constructed to deprive the Presbyterians of the benefit  
 " of the institution. To which it was replied, *That it was*  
 " *agreeable to the design of the first undertakers, and if calcu-*  
 " *lated to deprive the Presbyterians of the power they wanted*  
 " *it was no more than what they themselves had attempted to do*  
 " *to the Baptists.* After much and warm debate, the question  
 " was put, and carried in favor of the new charter by a great  
 " majority." This charter, which is surely a brand plucked  
 " out of the burning, is as follows: "At the General Assembly  
 " of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode  
 " Island and Providence Plantations, &c., &c.," [the charter at  
 " large to follow].

This charter lay dormant for about two years, except that some nominated in it, did qualify themselves in order to become a corporation; and did open a subscription among themselves and choose Rev. James Manning to be President. But on Sept. —, 1766, the tuition part of it was begun at Warren by said president, who soon had eight or a dozen scholars, which brought on the first commencement in Sept. 7, 1769. Before this (Feb. 16, 1767), the Rev. Morgan Edwards, of Philadelphia, set out for Europe to solicit money towards paying the salary of the President and his assistant, (for hitherto we had no fund), and succeeded pretty well considering how angry the mother country then was with the colonies for opposing the stamp act. Afterwards the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, and others gathered small sums in America for the same purpose; but after all the endowment is so scanty that the college is in arrears to the president to this day, who has suffered considerably by it. To the year 1769 this seminary was for the most part friendless and moneyless, and therefore forlorn in so much that a college edifice was hardly thought of. But Mr. Edwards making frequent remittances from England some began to hope, and many to fear that the institution would come to something and stand. Then a building and the place of it were talked of, which opened a new scene of troubles and contentions, and that had well nigh ruined all.

Warren was at first agreed upon as a proper situation, where a small wing was to be erected in the spring of 1770, and about 800*l.* raised towards effecting it. But soon afterwards some who were unwilling it should be there, and some who were unwilling it should be anywhere, did so far agree as to lay aside the said location, and propose that the county which should raise the most money should have the college. Then the four counties went to work with subscriptions. That of Providence bid high for it, which made the county of Newport (who is jealous of Providence on account of trade), exert itself to the utmost. However, Providence obtained it, which so touched the jealousy and piqued the pride of the islanders as to make many of them enemies to the institution itself. The same is too much the case with the other disappointed counties. Never-

theless, by the adventurous and resolute spirit of the Browns, and some other men of Providence, the edifice was begun in May, 1770, and roofed by the fall of the year. The next summer the inside was so far finished as to be fit for the reception of scholars.

This college is allowed to be a neat pile of building and most pleasantly situated. The building is of brick, 150 feet by 46, four stories high, exclusive of the cellar, which is partly above ground. In the middle on each side is a projection of 15 feet, making the whole resemble a cross. In one of these projections is the Chapel, in the opposite the dining room; above is the library, the apparatus room, &c. The chambers are 52 in number, opening to large isles, running the whole length of the building. Upwards of a 100 scholars may be here accommodated. The situation of the college is remarkably airy, healthful and pleasant, being the summit of a hill pretty easy of ascent, and commanding a prospect of the town of Providence below, of the Narragansett Bay and the islands, and of an extensive county variegated with hills and dales, woods and plains, &c. Surely, this spot was made for a seat of the muses.

The first commencement (mentioned before) was celebrated at Warren, Sept. 7, 1769, whereat was a great concourse of people, who openly professed their admiration of the performances of the young gentlemen, and the regularity and decorum of the whole business of the day. The names of the candidates for degrees were :

Joseph Belton,	Charles Thompson,
Joseph Eaton,	James Mitchell Varnum,
William Rogers,	William Williams.
Richard Stites,	

Some of these first sons of Rhode Island college have already begun to make a figure in divinity, law, and physick, and to show forth the praises of their *Alma Mater*. The second commencement was celebrated at Providence, Sept. 9, 1770, when the following young gentlemen became Bachelors in the Arts :

John Dennis,	Samuel Nash,
Theodore Foster,	Seth Read.

The third commencement was celebrated this year, Sept. 7, in the same place. The graduates were—

Thomas Arnold,	Benjamin Farnham,
Micah Brown,	Thomas Ustick,
Ranna Cossit,	Samuel Ward.

The honorary degrees of A. M. were conferred at each commencement on many worthy gentlemen, both European and American. The following is a list of the present fellows and trustees of this college. N. B. They distinguished with a \* are fellows :

## BAPTISTS.

Rev. James Manning, A. M.	Rev. Samuel Winsor,
and Prest.,*	Josias Lyndon, Esq.,
Rev. Edward Upham, A. M.*	Job Bennet, Esq.,
Rev. Morgan Edwards, A. M.*	Peleg Barker, Esq.,
Joshua Babcock, M. D.*	Rev. Russel Mason,
Thomas Eyres, M. D.*	Rev. Isaac Backus,
Rev. Hezekiah Smith, A. M.*	Sylvester Child, Esq.,
Rev. Sam'l Stillman, A. M.*	John Tanner, Esq.,
Rev. John Davis, † A. M.*	Nathan Spear,
Hon. Samuel Ward, Esq.,	William Brown, Esq.,
John Tillinghast, Esq.,	Rev. Joshua Clark,
Joseph Brown, Esq.,	Rev. John Gano,
Daniel Jenckes, Esq.,	John Warren, Esq.,
Nicholas Brown, Esq.,	John Stites, Esq. §
Rev. Gardner Thurston,	Henry Ward, Esq.
Rev. John Maxson,	

## CHURCHMEN.

Rev. George Bisset, A. M.*	Joseph Russel, Esq.,
Hon. Joseph Wanton, Esq.,	George Hazard, Esq.,
James Honeyman, Esq.,	Francis Willet, Esq.

## QUAKERS.

Jonathan Easton, M. D.*	John G. Wanton, Esq.,
Joseph Galloway, Esq.,*	Edward Thurston, Esq.,

† The name of Rev. John Davis has been written in by a modern hand.

§ A pencil line has been drawn across this name by a modern hand.

Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Esq., Thomas Green, Esq.,  
Nicholas Easton, Esq.,

## PRESBYTERIANS.

Jabez Bowen, M. D.\*            Nicholas Cooke, Esq.,  
Ephraim Bowen, M. D.,        Benjamin Ellery, Esq.,  
James Helme, Esq. ||

I shall finish this appendix with a letter addressed to President Manning, whom the writer supposes to have expected the friendship and help of the Presbyterians with respect to the college, had not the Baptists (in newspapers) complained of the oppression of their brethren in New England, and threatened to carry those complaints to the throne in case they should be continued any longer; at least the writer supposes the President to have ascribed their present enmity against the college, and industry to prevent youth from resorting thither to those complaints and threatenings. Part of the letter is as follows:

“ I should not have thus ventured to oppose my opinion to  
“ yours, had not facts, recent facts, decided the matter in my  
“ favor, and shown that the goodness and candor of the Presi-  
“ dent have imposed on his judgment. Remember you not the  
“ first charter? While the baptist college was yet in embryo,  
“ they very disingenuously opposed it as such, and contrived to  
“ make it their own. Since which disappointment Dr. Styles  
“ would have nothing to do with it, though courted again and  
“ again to accept even a fellowship therein. And when the  
“ present charter was presented to the Assembly, at South  
“ Kingston, remember you not what clamor they raised against  
“ it there? and what stout opposition they made to the passing  
“ of it, insomuch that its friends thought it best to desist? and  
“ how they triumphed afterwards? And when the affair was  
“ brought on again at East Greenwich, the next session, you  
“ can never forget with what heat and coarse expressions the  
“ same oppositions were renewed; nor the mortification and  
“ murmurings which the passing of it occasioned. It is true,  
“ while the charter lay dormant they remained easy, and, (as  
“ you say), appeared well pleased when you had set it on foot

|| The name of James Helme has been written in by a modern hand.



“ at Warren. But the reason of that is obvious; they knew  
“ that while the college stood friendless and moneyless, (as it  
“ then did), they should have the pleasure to see it full, and to  
“ mock them who began to build a tower and were not able to  
“ finish it. But seemed they good humored when money came  
“ thither from Europe? Or did they not look as the man of  
“ Bristol did at your first commencement; and put the same  
“ invidious construction upon everything that he did on the  
“ complaisance you showed him that day? Their good affec-  
“ tion towards the college edifice was but varnish; for while  
“ with specious arguments they would have it here, and anon  
“ there, and then in another place, they were only working to  
“ prevent its being anywhere; and as it had a locality, and the  
“ beginning of existence at Providence, did they not (with  
“ some misled baptists) attempt to get another college to destroy  
“ yours? and actually carried their design through the lower  
“ house. This also failing, what remains but to prevent youth  
“ from resorting to it. Their slandering the officers of instruc-  
“ tion, as insufficient, the town where it is as a lawless place;  
“ the college as wanting government, their representing it as a  
“ nest of anti-baptists calculated to make proselytes; their  
“ visiting grammar schools and tampering with masters and  
“ parents; their scolding presbyterian youth when they enter  
“ with you, (as your neighbor Rowley did, who is capable of  
“ nothing but what is gross and indelicate); their refusing to  
“ pay their subscriptions, &c., are all intended to hurt what  
“ they could neither prevent nor destroy. Think you that their  
“ present opposition to the college is the effect of those news-  
“ paper complaints and threatenings of presbyterian oppression  
“ in New England? Why then did they oppose it before those  
“ complaints and threatenings had existence? Think you that  
“ they will be its friends should we desist from those complaints  
“ and court their favor? It cannot be expected God should  
“ once teach them to love their neighbors as themselves, and  
“ to do as they should be done by. Destroying the Baptist  
“ college will pacify them, and nothing else; the existence of  
“ that on the hill of Providence is a Mordecai in the gate. I  
“ told you long ago that if you could not do without the Pres-

“byterians, you could not do at all. I need not inform you  
 “that while I deal in generals I except the honest, the trusty,  
 “and the good; and some such Presbyterians I met with in  
 “their connexions with this college. God send us more such  
 “and mend the rest.”

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 APPENDIX IV.

In p. —, reference was made to this appendix from the letters of Rev. Obediah Holmes. The first that came to my hands is without a date, though by the contents it must have been written soon after his release from Boston, which happened Sept. 4, 1651: “Unto the well beloved brethren John Spilbury, William Kiffin, and the rest that, in London, stand fast in that faith, and continue to walk steadfastly in that order of the gospel which was once delivered unto the saints by Jesus Christ, Obediah Holmes, (an unworthy witness that Jesus is the Lord, and of late a prisoner for Jesus’s sake at Boston), sendeth greeting:

“Dearly beloved and longed for: My heart’s desire is to hear from you, and to hear that you grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and that your love to him and one another (as He hath commanded) aboundeth, would be the very joy and great rejoicing of my soul and spirit. Had I not been prevented by my beloved brethren of Providence, who wrote unto you (wherein you have my mind at large), and also by our beloved brother Clark, of Rhode Island, who may (if God permit) see you,\* and speak with you, mouth to mouth, I had here declared myself in that manner, but now I forbear, and because I have an experimental knowledge in myself, that in members of the same body (while it stands in union with the head) there is

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\* By the above it appears that the letter was written before Mr. Clark went for England, which was Nov. —, 1651.

“ a sympathizing which passeth through and also remaineth in  
“ each particuler (so that one member can neither mourn nor  
“ rejoyce, but all the members are ready to mourn or rejoyce  
“ with it), I shall the rather impart unto you some dealings  
“ which I have had therein from the sons of men and the gra-  
“ cious supports which I have met with from the Son of God,  
“ (my Lord and yours), that so like members you might re-  
“ joyce with me, and might be encouraged by the same experi-  
“ ment of his tender mercies to fear none of those things which  
“ you shall suffer for Jesus sake.

“ It pleased the Father of Light, after a long continuance of  
“ mine in death and darkness, to cause life and immortality to  
“ be brought to light in my soul, and also to cause me to see  
“ that this life was by the death of his Son (in that hour and  
“ power of darkness procured) which wrought in my heart a  
“ restless desire to know what that Lord (who hath so dearly  
“ bought me) would have me do; and finding that it was his  
“ last will (to which none is to add, and from which none is to  
“ detract), that they which had faith in his death for life,  
“ should yield up themselves to hold forth a lively consimili-  
“ tude or likeness unto his death, burial, and resurrection, by  
“ that ordinance of baptism, I readily yielded thereto, being by  
“ love constrained to follow that lamb (that takes away the sin  
“ of the world) whither so ever he goes. I had no sooner  
“ separated from their assemblies and from communion with  
“ them in their worship of God, and thus visibly put on Christ,  
“ (being resolved alone to attend upon him, and to submit to  
“ his will), but immediately the adversary cast out a flood  
“ against us, and stirred up the spirits of men to present my-  
“ self and two more to Plymouth Court, where we met with  
“ four petitions against our whole company, to take some speedy  
“ course to suppress us; one from our own plantation with 35  
“ hands to it; one from the church (as they call it) of Taunton;  
“ one from all the ministers in our colony, except two, if I mis-  
“ take not; and one from the Court of Boston, in Massachu-  
“ setts, under their secretary's hand; whereupon the court  
“ straightly charged us to desist, and neither to ordain officers  
“ nor to baptize, nor to break bread together, nor yet to meet

" upon the first day of the week; and having received these  
 " straight charges one of the three discovers the sandy founda-  
 " tion upon which he stood, who, when the flood came, and  
 " the wind blew, fell, yet it pleased the Father of Mercies (to  
 " whom be the praise) to give us strength to stand and to tell  
 " them it was better to obey God rather than men; and such  
 " was the grace of our Lord to us ward that though we were  
 " had from court to court yet we firmly resolved to keep close  
 " to the rule and to obey the voice of our Lord, come what  
 " will come. Not long after these troubles, I came upon oc-  
 " casion of business into the colony of Massachusetts with two  
 " other brethren, (as brother Clark, being one of the two, can  
 " inform you) where we three were apprehended,\* carried to  
 " the prison at Boston,† and so to the court, and were all sen-  
 " tenced. What they laid to my charge you may read in my  
 " sentence, (see p. 76), upon the pronouncing of which as I  
 " went from the bar I expressed myself in these words: '*I*  
 " '*bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of*  
 " '*Jesus.*' Whereupon John Wilson‡ (their pastor as they

\*The following is a copy of the Warrant by which they were apprehended: "By  
 " virtue hereof, you are required to go to the house of William Witters, and so to  
 " search from house to house for certain erroneous persons, being strangers, and  
 " them to apprehend, and in safe custody to keep, and to-morrow morning, by  
 " eight of the clock, to bring them before me, ROBERT BARDOES. To the constable  
 " of Lin, 2d of 5th m. 1651." After being taken and carried to meeting, they were  
 " the next day committed. This is the mittimus: "To the keeper of the prison of  
 " Boston. By virtue hereof you are required to take into your custody from the  
 " constable of Lin, or his deputy, the bodies of John Clark, Obadiah Holmes, and  
 " John Crandall, and them to keep until the next county court, to be held at Bos-  
 " ton, that they may then and there answer to such complaints as may be alleged  
 " against them for being taken by the constable at a private meeting at Lin, upon  
 " the Lord's day exercising among themselves, to whom divers of the town repaired  
 " and joined with them, and that in time of public exercise of the worship of God;  
 " as also for offensively disturbing the peace of the congregation at their coming  
 " into the public meeting in the time of prayer, in the afternoon, and for saying and  
 " manifesting that the church of Lin was not constituted according to the order of  
 " our Lord, and for such other things as shall be alleged against them concerning  
 " their seducing and drawing aside of others after their erroneous judgments and  
 " practices, and for suspicion of their having their hands in re-baptising of one or  
 " more among us, as also for neglecting or refusing to give in sufficient security  
 " for their appearance at the said court; hereof fall not at your peril. 22-5-1651.  
 " Bon BARDOES."

† "This Wilson," (saith Gov'n'r Hutchinson, Vol. 1, p. 258), "left an amiable  
 " character, and is represented by his cotemporaries as one of the most humble,

" call him) strook me before the judgment seat, and cursed me,  
 " saying, '*The curse of God or Jesus go with thee.*' So we  
 " were carried to prison, where, not long after, I was deprived  
 " of my two loving friends; at whose departure the adversary  
 " stept in, took hold on my spirit, and troubled me by the  
 " space of an hour, and then the Lord came in and sweetly  
 " relieved me, causing me to look to himself. So was I stayed  
 " and refreshed in the thoughts of my God. . And although,  
 " during the time of my imprisonment, the tempter was busy,  
 " yet it pleased God so to stand at my right hand, that the  
 " motions were but sudden and so vanished away; and although  
 " there were that would have paid the money if I would  
 " accept it, yet durst not accept of deliverance in such a way,  
 " and therefore my answer to them was, that although I would  
 " acknowledge their love to a cup of cold water, yet could I not  
 " thank them for their money if they should pay it; so the  
 " court drew near, and the night before I should suffer accord-  
 " ing to my sentence, it pleased God I rested and slept quietly.  
 " In the morning many friends came to visit me, desiring me  
 " to take the refreshment of wine and other comforts; but my  
 " resolution was not to drink wine nor strong drink that day  
 " until my punishment was over, and the reason was, lest in  
 " case I had more strength, courage and boldness, than ordin-  
 " arily would be expected, the world should either say he is  
 " drunk with new wine, or else that the strength and comfort  
 " of the creature have carried him through; but my course  
 " was this: I desired brother John Hazell to bear my friends  
 " company, and I took myself to my chamber, where I might  
 " communicate with my God, commit myself to him, and beg  
 " strength from him. I had no sooner sequestered myself and  
 " come into my chamber but Satan let fly at me, saying: Re-

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" pious, and benevolent men of the age." Sad age, therefore, [say: *Mr. Edwards*].  
 What? amiable, most humble, most pious, most benevolent; and yet a striker, a  
 cuffer, and curser of a fellow minister! Was not this Bishop Bonner's practice?  
 If Paul had been at the judgment seat instead of Holmes, would he not say (as  
 he did in a similar case), "Thou whited wall, smitest and curseth thou me contrary  
 " to the law of thy function?" No wonder that Gov. Endicott was a cuffer, and  
 knew not that it was wrong, since his parson showed him the way.

See *Hutch. Hist.*, Vol. 3, p. —.

"member thyself, thy birth, breeding and friends, thy wife,  
 "children, name, and credit; but as this was sudden so there  
 "came in sweetly from the Lord, as sudden an answer, 't'is  
 "'for my Lord.' I must not deny him before the sons of men,  
 "(for that is to set men above him), but rather lose all,—yea,  
 "wife, children, and mine own life, also. To this the tempter  
 "replied: Oh! but that is the question, is it for him? Is it  
 "not rather for my own or some others' sake? thou hast so  
 "professed and practiced and now art loth to deny it; is not  
 "pride and self love in the bottom? Surely this temptation  
 "was strong. And thereupon I made diligent search after the  
 "matter, as formerly I had done, and after a while there was  
 "even as it had been a voice from heaven in my very soul,  
 "bearing witness with my conscience that it was not for any  
 "man's cause or sake in this world that so I had professed and  
 "practiced, but for my Lord's cause and sake, and for him  
 "alone, whereupon my spirit was much refreshed; as also in  
 "the consideration of these three scriptures which speak on  
 "this wise: Who shall say anything to the charge of God's  
 "elect? Although I walk through the valley and shadow of  
 "death I will fear no evil, thy rod and thy staff shall comfort  
 "me; and he that continueth to the end, the same shall be  
 "saved."

"But then came in the consideration of the weakness of the  
 "flesh to bear the strokes of the whip though the spirit was  
 "willing; and hereupon I was caused to pray earnestly unto  
 "the Lord that He would be pleased to give me a spirit of  
 "courage and boldness, a tongue to speak for him, and strength  
 "of body to suffer for his sake, and not to shrink or yield to  
 "the strokes, or shed tears lest the adversaries of the truth  
 "should thereupon blaspheme and be hardened, and the weak  
 "and feeble-hearted discouraged; and for this I besought the  
 "Lord earnestly; at length he satisfied my spirit to give up,  
 "as my soul, so my body to him, and quietly to leave the  
 "whole disposing of the matter to him; and so I dressed my-  
 "self in as comely a manner as I could, having such a Lord  
 "and master to serve in this business. And when I heard the  
 "voice of my keeper come for me, even cheerfulness did come

“ upon me ; and taking my testament in my hand, I went along  
 “ with him to the place of execution, and after common saluta-  
 “ tion, there stood. There stood by, also, one of the Magis-  
 “ trates, by name Mr. Increase Nowell, who for a while kept  
 “ silent, and spoke not a word, and so did I, expecting the  
 “ Governor’s presence ; but he came not. But after a while  
 “ Mr. Nowell bade the executioner do his office. Then I de-  
 “ sired to speak a few words, but Mr. Nowell answered, It is  
 “ not now a time to speak ; whereupon I took leave and said :  
 “ Men, brethren, fathers and countrymen, I beseech you give  
 “ me leave to speak a few words ; and the rather because here  
 “ are many spectators to see me punished, and I am to seal  
 “ with my blood if God give me strength, that which I hold  
 “ and practice in reference to the Word of God and the testi-  
 “ mony of Jesus, that which I have to say in brief is this : Al-  
 “ though I confess I am no disputant, yet seeing I am to seal  
 “ what I hold with my blood, I am ready to defend it by the  
 “ Word, and to dispute that point with any that shall come  
 “ forth to withstand it. Mr. Nowell answered me, now is no  
 “ time to dispute. Then, said I, then I desire to give an ac-  
 “ count of the faith and order I hold. And this I desired three  
 “ times, but in comes Mr. Flint and saith to the executioner,  
 “ Fellow, do thine office, for this fellow would but make a long  
 “ speech to delude the people. So I, being resolved to speak,  
 “ told the people : That which I am to suffer for is for the  
 “ Word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ. No, saith  
 “ Mr. Nowell, it is for your error, and going about to  
 “ seduce the people. To which I replied : Not for error, for  
 “ in all my imprisonment wherein I was left alone, (my breth-  
 “ ren being gone), which of all your ministers in all that time  
 “ came to convince me of error ? and when upon the court’s  
 “ words a motion was made for a public dispute, and upon fair  
 “ terms, so often renewed and desired by hundreds, what was  
 “ the reason it was not granted ? Mr. Nowell told me it was  
 “ his fault, who went away and would not dispute.\* But  
 “ this the writing will clear at large.

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\* Mr. Clark was aware this would be said when he found the dispute was evaded,  
 wherefore he wrote the following letter to the Magistrates : “ Whereas through the

“ Still, Mr. Flint calls to the man to do his office. So before and in the time of his pulling of my clothes, I continued speaking, telling them that I had so learned that for all Boston I would not give my body into their hands thus to be bruised upon another account, yet upon this I would not give the hundredth part of a wampum peague† to free it out of their hands, and that I made as much conscience of unbuttoning a button as I did of paying the 30*l.* in reference thereunto. I told them, moreover, the Lord having manifested his love towards me in giving me repentance towards God and faith in Jesus Christ, and so to be baptized in water by a messenger of Jesus Christ into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, wherein I have fellowship with him in his death, burial, and resurrection, I am now come to be baptized in afflictions by your hands, that so I may have further fellowship with my Lord, and I am not ashamed of his sufferings, for by his stripes am I healed. And as the man began to lay the strokes upon my back, I said to the people, though my flesh should fail, and my spirit should fail, yet God will not fail. So it pleased the Lord to come in and so to fill my heart and tongue as a vessel full, that with an audible voice I brake forth praying unto the Lord, not to lay this sin to their charge; and telling the people, that now I found he did not fail me, and therefore now I should trust him forever who failed me not; for in truth, as the strokes fell upon me I had such a spiritual manifestation of God’s presence as the like thereto I never had nor felt, nor can with fleshy tongue express, and the outward pain was so removed from me that, indeed, I am not able to declare it to you; it

“ indulgency of tender-hearted friends, without my consent, and contrary to my judgment, the sentence and condemnation of the court of Boston (as is reported), have been fully satisfied on my behalf, and thereupon a warrant hath been procured by which I am secluded the place of my imprisonment, by reason whereof I see no other call at present but to my habitation, and to those near relations which God hath given me there; yet, lest the cause should hereby suffer, (which I profess in Christ), I would hereby signify, that if yet it shall please the honored magistrates or general court of the colony to grant my former request under their secretary’s hand I shall cheerfully embrace it, and, upon your motion shall, through the help of God, come from the island to attend it, and hereunto I have subscribed my name 11th d. 6th m., 1651. JOHN CLARK.”

† A kind of money current among the Indians, value one-sixth of a penny.



“ was so easy to me that I could well bear it, yea, and in a  
 “ manner felt it not, although it was *glorious*, as the spectators  
 “ said, the man striking with all his strength, (yea, spitting on  
 “ his hand three times, as many affirmed), with a three-corded  
 “ whip, giving me therewith thirty strokes.\* When he had  
 “ loosed me from the post, having joyfulness in my heart and  
 “ cheerfulness in my countenance, (as the spectators observed),  
 “ I told the Magistrates, *You have struck me as with roses*,  
 “ and said, moreover, Although the Lord hath made it easy to  
 “ me yet I pray God it may not be laid to your charge. After  
 “ this many came to me rejoicing to see the power of the Lord  
 “ manifested in my weak flesh. But sinful flesh (takes occasion  
 “ hereby to bring others in trouble) informs the magistrates  
 “ hereof, and so two† more were apprehended as for contempt  
 “ of authority. Their names were John Hazell and John  
 “ Spur,‡ who came indeed and did shake me by the hand, but  
 “ did use *no words of contempt, or reproach* unto any. No,

\* Mr. Clark says 90, which is no contradiction, for 90 strokes with an instrument of three words are equal to 90 [with one].

† There were warrants issued out against 13 persons, but the other 11 escaped, some by hiding, and others by disguising themselves in women's clothes.

‡ Hazell and Spur were taken the next day; the warrants I have not seen, but their mittimus was as follows: “ To the keeper or his deputy.—By virtue hereof you are to take into your custody and safe keeping the body of John Spur, for a heinous offence by him committed; hereof not to fail. Take also into your safe keeping John Hazell. Dated the 5th of the 7th month, 1651. By the court. INCREASE NOWELL.” The heinous offence mentioned is contained in these depositions. “ I, \_\_\_\_\_ Cole, being in the market place when Obadiah Holmes came from the whipping post, John Spur came and met him presently, laughing in his face, saying: blessed be God for thee, brother; and so did go with him, laughing upon him up towards the prison.” The other deposition was this: “ I, Thomas Bultolph, did see John Spur come to Obadiah Holmes, so soon as he came from the whipping post, laughing in his face, and going along with him towards the prison.” The deposition against Hazell was this: “ I, \_\_\_\_\_ Cole, saw John Hazell take Obadiah Holmes by the hand, but what he said I cannot tell.” Yet, for these heinous offences the court sentenced them to receive ten lashes or pay 40s. fine apiece. The latter they could not do with a clear conscience, and therefore were preparing for such another scourging as they saw Mr. Holmes receive. But some, without their knowledge, paid the fines. Nevertheless, the thing so affected Mr. Hazell that he sickened and in a few days died, being a man of near 100 or more years old. The principal complaints of these five baptists were, “ That they were refused the privileges of Englishmen, viz., to have council, to be tried by a jury, to know what law they had transgressed.” To this last Gov. Endicott replied, “ You have denied infant baptism, and deserve to die; I will have no such trash brought to our jurisdiction.”—(Clar. Nar., p. 7, 27, &c).

" man can prove that the first spoke anything. And for the  
 " second, he only said this: 'blessed be the Lord.' Yet, these  
 " two for taking me by the hand and thus saying (after I had  
 " received my punishment) were sentenced to pay 40s. or be  
 " whipped. Both were resolved against paying their fines,  
 " nevertheless, after one or two days' imprisonment, one paid  
 " John Spur's fine and he was released, and after six or seven  
 " days' imprisonment of brother Hazell, (even the day when  
 " he would have suffered), another paid his, and so he escaped,  
 " and the next day went to visit a friend about six miles from  
 " Boston, where he the same day fell sick, and within ten days  
 " he ended this life. When I was come to the prison it pleased  
 " God to stir up the heart of an old acquaintance of mine, who  
 " with much tenderness (like the good Samaritan) poured oil  
 " into my wounds and plastered my sores,\* but there was  
 " present information given what was done, and inquiry made  
 " who was the chirurgeon, and it was commonly reported he  
 " should be sent for; but what was done I yet know not. Now  
 " thus it hath pleased the Father of mercies so to dispose of  
 " matters that my bonds and imprisonments have been no hind-  
 " rance to the gospel, for before my return some submitted  
 " to the Lord and were baptized, and divers were put upon the  
 " way of inquiry. And now being advised to make my escape by  
 " night because it was reported that there were warrants forth  
 " for me, I departed, and the next day after (while I was on  
 " my journey) the constable came to search at the house where  
 " I lodged. So I escaped their hands, and was, by the good  
 " hand of my Heavenly Father, brought home again to my near  
 " relations, my wife and eight children, (the brethren of our  
 " town and Providence having taken pains to meet me four  
 " miles in the woods where we rejoiced together in the  
 " Lord). Thus have I given you as briefly as I can a true  
 " relation of things. Wherefore, my brethren, rejoice with  
 " me in the Lord, and give all glory to him (for he is worthy)  
 " to whom be praise forevermore; to whom I commit you, and

\* Those who have seen the scars on Mr. Holmes' back, (which the old man was  
 wont to call the marks of the Lord Jesus), have expressed a wonder that he should  
 live. In a manuscript of ——— Jencks, Esq., I have met with this paragraph.

“ put up my earnest prayers for you, that by my late experience (who have trusted in God and have not been deceived) you may trust in him perfectly. Wherefore, my dearly beloved brethren, trust in the Lord, and you shall not be ashamed nor confounded. So I also rest, yours in the bond of charity. OBADIAH HOLMES.”

This tragedy (of Mr. Holmes) made the minds of the common people of Boston evil affected towards the Magistrates and Governor, wherefore (like all persecutors) they found it necessary to represent the persecuted as very bad men; and that it was doing a pleasure to God and man to punish them. What slanders were raised against Mr. Holmes, are hinted at in the following letter addressed to Gov. Endicott, the chief slanderer. It is dated 12th of the 7th month, 1651 :

“ Honoured Sir : However you may judge of me, yet am I daily waiting to stand before him who shall judge quick and dead. And now, because I am under reproach and censure by many, and the more by reason of some words spoken by yourself as though I were an evil person in life and conversation, and although I may be accounted a fool, yet as a fool hear me a little to plead mine innocency; and I hope you will not too far condemn me until you hear me speak. Sir, I acknowledge only by free grace and his power alone that I have been kept. And what my life and manner of conversation was for six or seven years while I was with you, I appeal to yourself, and the experiences you have had of me; and to your elders and to the whole church, who ever reprov'd me of sin? And ye recommended me to others. And for the four years' time I walked with them of Rehoboth, who also should have reprov'd me if under sin. But when it pleased the Lord to cause me to hear his voice, I separated from them, which was occasioned by an unrighteous act of theirs, as I judged, that seven of the brethren should pass an act of admonition upon a brother without the consent of the rest, we being 23 in number who might all, in one hour's space, if in health, have come together; so when I heard of it I went to Mr. Newman and told him of the evil which he and the other six had done. He told me they were the

" church representative, and if four of them had done it, it had  
 " been a church act; when this comes to the congregation with  
 " much ado he got five more to himself, and then they were 12  
 " and we 11; then they owned themselves to be the church,  
 " and so began to deal with me for saying they had abused the  
 " church and had taken from their power, whereupon I told  
 " them I should renounce them and not have any more fellow-  
 " ship with them, till either they saw their sin or I further  
 " light. After that divers others to the number of seven or  
 " eight fell off from them, and we met once a week and every  
 " first day, and so continued for a long space of time; ye, and  
 " the day was known when we intended to be baptized, and  
 " there were many witnesses observing our faith and order;  
 " and yet not one man or woman of Mr. Newman's company  
 " ever came to deal with me for evil either in judgment or  
 " practice, until a long time after that appointment of our Lord  
 " was dispensed. Thus I say, when I had separated from them,  
 " and a long time after, I understood by their messenger that  
 " they intended to proceed against me. So I desired the mes-  
 " senger to tell me for what evil? He told me I should know  
 " when I came there. So I sent one of their own brethren to  
 " tell them from me, though I owned them not as brethren, yet  
 " if any man or woman had ought against me I would come  
 " to them, although they had not dealt with me according to  
 " any rule. But none came to me, nor charged me with any  
 " evil. And when upon occasion I came before all the con-  
 " gregation and strangers, I demanded for what cause it was  
 " that they proceeded against me, seeing I had sent them be-  
 " fore, and no man accused me? Mr. Newman told me it was  
 " for non-appearance. And now judge of the evil in your own  
 " way, and that for my ex-communication (as you call it), I  
 " am by you rendered that wicked person. As for the sus-  
 " picion of that most abominable evil of uncleanness and adul-  
 " tery (which many think I am guilty of by reason of some  
 " persons' speeches), I desire to bless my Lord God who hath  
 " caused me to deny all uncleanness and wickedness, and God  
 " forbid that I should take the members of Christ and make

“ them the members of an harlot. And I challenge all men  
“ and women that dare stand before the judgment seat of the  
“ Lord to come forth and say if they ever heard unclean words  
“ proceed out of my mouth, or any unseemly gesture, much  
“ less action, to any in my life at Salem, Seacunk, or else-  
“ where; yea, let them come forth before any to meet me in  
“ private or in public, upon my friends’ request, without the  
“ magistrate’s warrant. But I remember my Lord was called  
“ Belzebub; and what though I be called an adulterer, or  
“ witch, or blasphemer? Every one saith what he pleases.  
“ Yet, I stand before the judgment seat of the Lord. And  
“ whereas it was also reported that I baptized goodwife Bow-  
“ dish naked, I bless the Lord he hath taught me to do that  
“ which is comely and of good report; yea, and I know a man  
“ or woman may be drowned in their clothes, or buried in the  
“ earth with their clothes, but that she had comely garments  
“ from the crown of her head to the soles of her feet, many  
“ being present with her husband can testifie. And if any be  
“ pleased to reproach me behind my back, and not to speak to  
“ my face, let them know that the Lord knows how to deliver  
“ the innocent, unto whom I commit myself with my prayer for  
“ you, and am yours still, as formerly, to command in all law-  
“ ful things. OBADIAH HOLMES.”



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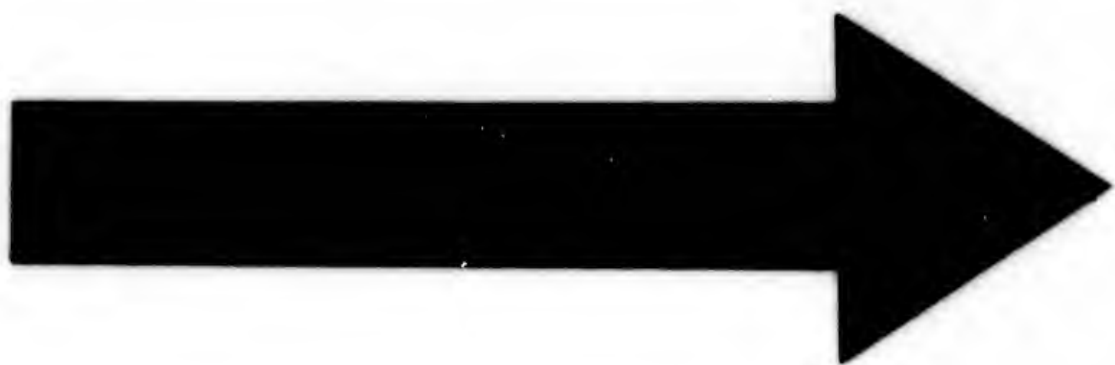
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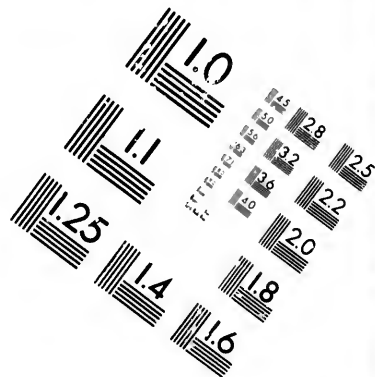
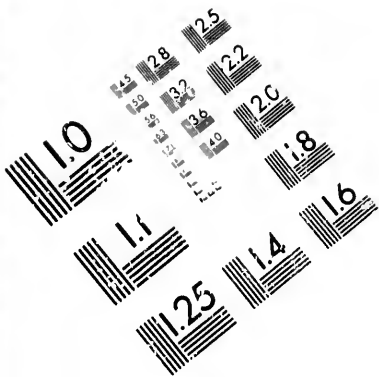
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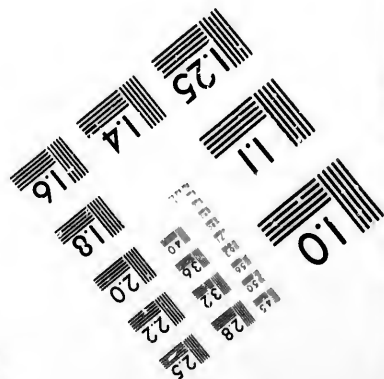
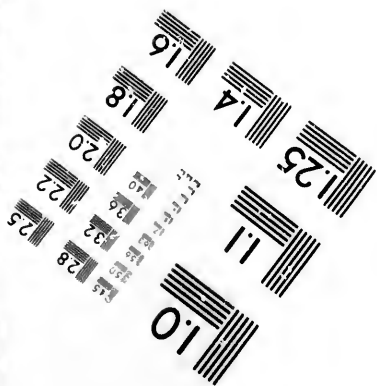
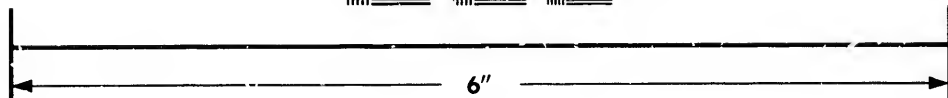
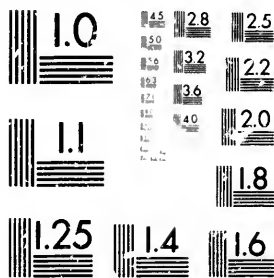
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