

Life During the Siege of Boston



Poem about the British by an American Lady, 11 Feb. [1776]
<http://www.masshist.org/database/1902>

Document Packet

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Section I:

Civilians in Boston

Extracts from the Diary of John Rowe

John Rowe diaries, Massachusetts Historical Society

John Rowe (1715–1787) was a successful and prominent Boston merchant. Born in Exeter, England, in 1715, he emigrated to Boston with one of his brothers at an early age. He imported and sold a wide variety of goods and owned several properties in Boston; one of his properties, now the site of the Boston Harbor Hotel, is still known as Rowe's Wharf. Rowe also owned whaling and commercial ships, including one carrying a shipment of tea that was destroyed during the Boston Tea Party. During the conflicts with England that led to the American Revolution, Rowe expressed allegiance to the Patriot cause but did not go so far as to endorse independence. As a successful supplier of goods to the British Navy, Rowe may have been unwilling to let his political concerns interfere too strongly with his business interests. Rowe married Hannah Speakman in 1743; the couple lived the remainder of their lives in Boston, near what is now Essex Street in Chinatown.

John Rowe's diaries, held by the Massachusetts Historical Society, cover the years 1764–1779 and include many valuable observations about people, events, and daily life in Boston.

Source: <http://www.masshist.org/cabinet/july2002/rowe.htm>

April 19, 1775. — Last night the Grenadiers and Light Companies belonging to the several regiments in this town were ferry'd over Charles River, and landed on Phipps farm in Cambridge, from whence they proceeded on their way to Concord, where they arrived early this day. On their march they had a skirmish with some country people at Lexington.

The First Brigade, commanded by Lord Percy, with two pieces of artillery, set off from this town this morning about 10 of clock, as a reinforcement, which with the Grenadiers and Light Infantry made about eighteen hundred men. The people in the country had notice of this movement; early in the night alarm guns were fired thro' the conn- try and expresses sent off to the different towns, so that very early this morning large numbers from all parts of the country were assembled. A generall battle ensued, which from what I can learn was supported with great spirit on both sides, and continued untill the King's troops got back to Charlestown, which was near sunset . Numbers are killed and wounded on both sides. Capt. Linzee and Capt. Collins in two small armed vessels were ordered up Charles River to bring off the troops to Boston, but Lord Percy and Generall Smith thought proper to encamp on Bunker's Hill this night; this unhappy affair is a shocking introduction to all the miseries of a Civil War. I dined at home with the Rev. Mr. Parker, Sirs. Linzee, Mrs. Rowe, and George Inman, and spent the evening at home with Mr. Inman, Mrs. Linzee, Mrs. Rowe, George Inman, and Jack.

April 20. — Tis said many thousands of country people are at Roxbury and in the neighbourhood. The people in town are alarmed, and the entrenchments on Boston Neck double-guarded. Mrs. Linzee dined at the Admirall's.

April 21. — The reinforcement that was sent to Charlestown by the Gen. are returned too, and the 64th Regim' that was at the Castle are now in Boston Town House. All business at an end, and the communication stop'd between the town and country. No fresh provision of any kind brought to this market, so that Boston is in a most distressed condition.

April 23. — The inhabitants met again this morning, and after some debate they came into the Generall [Gage's] measures, which was to deliver up their arms to be deposited in the hands of the Selectmen; and such of the inhabitants as had a mind to leave the town might go with their effects. This evening news was brought that Capt. Brown was stop'd at Charlestown in his way by the country people.

April 24. — I rose very early, and got away Mr. Nun, John Inman, Mr. Sparks, Thos. Knights, Jos. Taylor, and John Head on board Mr. Sheriff's sloop for Salem. Between one and two Capt. Brown got to town. I soon despatched him. This day the inhabitants carried in their arms; the number 2674.

April 28. — This day I apply'd to get a pass to go out with my effects, but could not prevail.

May 3. — Mr. Inman went to the lines to see Mrs. Inman ; he had some conversation with her.

May 5. — The inhabitants flocking out of town. Some transports arrived from Hallifax with four companies of the 65th Regiment.

May 25. — The Cerberus man of warr, Capt. Chad, arrived from Spithead; in this ship the Generalls Burgoyne, How, and Clynton came passengers.

Dec. 25, Christmas Day. — Mr. Walter read prayers, and Mr. Parker preached a very good sermon from the 2nd chap. St. Luke's Gospell & 14th verse. The money gathered for the use of the poor of tins church amounted to sixty dollars.

Dec. 31. — Thus endeth the year 1775, a most fatal year for this part of America. The Niger, Mann of Warr, Capt. Talbot, is arrived in Nantasket Road, and has brought the King's speech, dated the 26 October.

1776. *Jan. 21.* — Some good person put in Mr. Parker's hands a quantity of provisions, wood, and coals, to be distributed for the poor of Trinity Church.

March 3. — This night the people from the Battery at Phipps farm threw many shells into town, which put the inhabitants into great fear; and they have done damage to many houses, particularly Sherborn Fitch's, George Erving's, & Courtney's the tailor.

March 4, Monday. — All the preceding night the town has been fired at by the people without from every quarter. I don't hear of much damage being done. The guns from Cobble Hill on Charlestown side have thrown these shot the farthest into town; one of them struck Wheatley's in King's Street. I spent the evening at home with Rich. Green and Mrs. Rowe and Jack Rowe.

March 5. — This morning we perceived a battery erected on the hill on Dorchester Neck. This has alarmed us very much. About 12 the Generall sent off six regiments; perhaps this day or tomorrow determines the fate of this truly distressed place. All night both sides kept a continual

fire. Six men are wounded in a house at the South End ; one boy lost his leg. A very severe storm; it blew down my rail fences, both sides the front of the house.

Mar. 6. — This morning the country people have thrown a strong work on another place on the Neck at Dorchester Neck Gen'l Howe has ordered the troops ashore again, and tis now out of doubt that Gen. Howe will leave this town with his troops, &c., which has put the inhabitants of this town into great disorder, confusion, and much distress. The firing has ceased this day.

Mar. 7. — The troops and inhabitants very busy in getting all the goods and effects on board the shipping in the harbour; tis impossible to describe the distresses of this unfortunate town.

Mar. 8. — My situation has almost distracted me. John Inman, Archy McNeil, and Duncan are determined to leave me. God send me comfort in my old age. I try to do what business I can, but am disappointed, and nothing but cruelty and ingratitude falls to my lot. I spent the day with my dear Mrs. Rowe, Richard Green, and John Hasking.

March 9. — I dined at home with the Rev. Mr. Parker, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack, and spent the evening at the Possee. This day Gen. Robinson pressed the ship Minerva into the service; nothing but hurry and confusion, every person striving to get out of this place. A great deal of firing on both sides this night.

March 10, Sunday. — Capt. Dawson is returned with two vessells ; he has had a severe brush with four privateers. A proclamation came out from Gen. How this day, a very severe one on some people. John Inman went on board this day with his wife; he has in his possession three watches of mine — sundry pieces of checks which was to be made into shirts. Jos. Goldthwait [and] Mrs. Winslow went on board this day; he has carried off Capt. Linzee's horse without paying for him.

March 11. — This morning I rose very early and very luckily went to my warehouse; when I came there I found Mr. Crean Brush with an order and party from the Gen'l, who were just going to break open the warehouse, which I prevented by sending for the keys, and opening the doors. They took from me to the value of twenty two hundred and sixty pounds sterling, according to the best calculation I could make, in linnens, checks, cloths, and woollens. This party behaved very insolently and with great rapacity, and I am very well convinced exceeding their orders to a great degree. They stole many things and plundered my store. Words cannot describe it. This party consisted of Mr. Blasswitch, who was one of the Canceaux people, Mr. Brush, the provost, Mr. Cunningham, a refugee, Mr. Welch the provost deputy, a man named Hill, and about fifteen soldiers, with others. I remained all day in the store, but could not hinder their destruction of my goods. This day I got a piece of bread and one draft of flip. I spent the evening at home with Mr. Parker, Rich. Green, Mr. Warner of Portsmouth, who assisted me very much, with Mrs. Rowe and Jack Howe. They are making the utmost speed to get away, and carrying ammunition, cannon, and everything they can [carry] away, taking all things they meet with, never asking who is owner or whose property, making havoc in every house and destruction of all kinds of furniture. There never was such destruction and outrage committed any day before this. Many other people have

suffered the same fate as me, particularly Mr. Sam. Austin, Mr. John Scolly, Cap' Partridge, Capt. Dashwood, Mr. Cyrus Baldwin, and the Widow Newman.

Mar. 12. — A continual fire from both sides this night. They are hurrying off all their provisions and destroying and mangling all navigation ; also large quantities of salt and other things they heave into the sea and scuttle the stores. The inhabitants are greatly terrified and alarmed for fear of greater evils when the troops leave this distressed place. I got Crean Brush receipt for the goods taken from me, but don't expect much good from it, the severall gentlemen say they will be my friends in this affair.

March 13. — I have staid at home most part of this day. The confusion still continues, and plundering of houses, &c., increasing. Gen. Robinson paid me a visit and eat a morsell of provisions, together with Richd Green, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe. The sailors from the ships have broke open stores on my wharff and plundered them; this was done at noon this day. This morning a house was burnt at the North End, whether set on fire on purpose or from accident seems uncertain. A considerable number of cannon fired in the night from both sides. The country people throwing up more entrenchments, &c., on Dorchester Neck.

March 14. — This night much damage has been done to many houses and stores in this town, and many valuable articles stolen and destroyed. Stole out of Perry's store a quantity of tea, rum, and sugar, to the value of £120 sterling. Mr. Saml Quincy's house broke and great destruction, the Revd Mr. Walter's, also the Revd Dr. Caner's and many others.

Mar. 15. — This night my store on the Long Wharff broke open and almost a hhd [hogshead] of sugar and a hogshead of ware stole. Twas expected the troops would have embarked this night, but they still remain in town; I dined at home with Gen. Robertson, Colo. Clark, Rich. Green, an officer of the 5th reg., Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe; after dinner, Capt Haskins gave me notice that several officers were in Mrs. Hooper's house, committing violence and breaking everything left; they broke a looking glass over the chimney which cost twenty guineas — such barbarous treatment is too much for the most patient man to bear. I spent the evening at home with Richd Green, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe.

Mar. 16. — The troops are getting everything in order to depart. My store on Long Wbarff broke open again this night; the behaviour of the soldiers is too bad, tis almost impossible to believe it. Two officers came to me for wine ; they wanted to be trusted; I refused them ; since I have heard nothing, only they damned me and swore they would take it by force ; one of them named Russell of the 5th Regiment, the other I don't know.

Mar. 17, Sunday. — St. Patrick's day. The Provincials are throwing up a battery on Nook Hill on Dorchester Neck, which has occasioned much firing this night. This morning the troops evacuated the town, and went on board the transports at and about Long Wharff; they sailed and got most part of them into King Road. About noon Genl Putnam and some troops came into town to the

great joy of the inhabitants that remained behind. I dined at home with Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, Mr. Warner, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe.

March 18. — Major Chester and Capt. Huntington lodged at our house. The town very quiet this night. Several of my friends came to see me from the country.

Mar. 19. — Numbers of people belonging to Boston are daily coming in. Genl Washington and his retinue were in town yesterday. I did not hear of it; otherways should have paid my respects and waited on him. This afternoon the King's troops burnt the Block house at the Cassell and the Continental troops are throwing up a battery on Fort Hill; most all the ships are gone from King Road into Nantasket Road.

Mar. 20. — They burnt the barracks and houses at the Cassell this afternoon and destroyed everything they could on the island and blew the fortifications all around it.

Mar. 22. — I dined at home with Generall Putnam, Generall Greene, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, Mrs. Forbes, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack. After dinner Colo. Gridly, Mr. Chase, both Mr. Webbs, and several other officers came to the house.

Mar. 25. — The fleet still in Nantasket Road. A great many of the ships in Nantasket sailed this afternoon.

Mar. 26. — I waited on Gen. Greene this morning, with Mr. Baker, about some iron on my wharff. After dinner I went with Mr. Parker and paid my respects to Generall Washington, who received us very politely.

Mar. 27. — This afternoon all the fleet sailed from Nantasket Road but three which is supposed to be men of warr.

Mar. 28. — This day the General Court made a handsome entertainment at Capt Marston's, that now lives in Colo. Ingersoll's house, for Genl Washington and the other generalls of the United Colonies, and the Rev. Dr. Elliot preached at Dr. Chauncy's Meeting a sermon on the occasion, giving a history of what has hapind in town during the siege. I dined with twenty four gentlemen at Waterman's tavern in Roxbury, all Free Masons, by invitation.

March 29. — A town meeting this day at Dr. Chauncy's Meetinghouse. The old officers of the town were chose. I dined at home with Rich. Green, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack, and spent the evening at home with Richd Green, Mr. Parker, Mr. Warner, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe.

March 30. — I lent Mr. Parker my mare to go to Cambridge this morning.

March 31, Sunday. — I gave Genl Washington an invitation to dine, who returned me a very polite answer. Mr. Parker preached at Trinity in the morning, at Chaple this afternoon. Several regiments under orders to march to the southward from Prospect and Winter Hills.

Apr. 5, Good Friday. — Gen. Washington and Lady and family set out yesterday; also Gen. Gates to the southward.

Apr. 6. — Capt. Manly is come to town, and brings the account of his taking Crean Brush, Wm Jackson, and seventy other passengers in a brigg bound with the fleet. This vessel, tis said, has twenty five thousand pound sterling on board in English goods and other merchandise ; among the prisoners is a Serjeant and 12 men of the King's troop.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) Why did Mr. Rowe choose to stay in Boston during the siege?
- 2.) According to Rowe, what were the requirements for leaving the city?
- 3.) What would you imagine was Rowe's social status? What evidence leads you to your assumption?
- 4.) Read Rowe's entry for Dec. 31. What does this suggest about communication between England and the colonies? What significance might this have for the future of the war?
- 5.) How do the events of early March affect Rowe personally? Cite specific examples.
- 6.) How did life in Boston change after the evacuation?
- 7.) Evaluate the validity of this diary as a source.
- 8.) Compare Rowe's diary with Timothy Newell's. Cite three instances where their depictions corroborate each other.

Extracts from letters written by John Andrews Esq. of Boston to his brother-in-law William Barrell, a merchant in Philadelphia

Andrews-Eliot correspondence, Massachusetts Historical Society

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May 5th, 1775. You'll observe by this that I'm yet in Boston, and here like to remain. Three of us charter'd a vessel a fortnight since to convey us to Halifax, as Sam doesn't think the city safe by any means, but the absolute refusal of the Governor to suffer any merchandize to be carried out of the town, has determin'd me to stay and take care of my effects, together with the perswasion of Sam. and his wife and Ruthy — the latter being perfectly willing and desirous of going with-out me, as her peace of mind depends entirely upon her leaving the town: in consequence of which, have acquiesc'd, but am affraid it will be a long time before I shall see her again, if ever. Near half the inhabitants have left the town already, and another quarter, at least, have been waiting for a week past, with earnest expectation of getting papers, which have been dealt out very sparingly of late, not above two or three procur'd of a day, and those with the greatest difficulty.

Its a fortnight yesterday since the communication between the town and country was stop'd. Of consequence our eyes have not been bless'd with either vegetables or fresh provisions, how long we shall continue in this wretched state — God only knows — but that no more blood may be shed is the earnest wish and prayer of your affectionate friend.

P. S. I expect to bid farewell to Sam. and his wife and Ruthy, tomorrow or Sunday, but I hope not an eternal farewell. You can have no conception, Bill, of the distresses the people in general are involv'd in. You'll see parents that are lucky enough to procure papers, with bundles in one hand and a string of children in the other, wandering out of the town (with only a sufferance of one day's permission) not knowing whither they'll go. Such, Bill, are but feint emblems of the distresses that seem to threaten us, which I hope the Almighty God, in his infinite wisdom, will avert. Your uncle Joe has engag'd a passage for London, at the expence of one hundred Guineas for himself and wife, to expedite her sailing without waiting for freight. Baltch, brother Joe and his wife, Jno. Amory, &ca.. &ca., go in her. Your uncle and aunt are very desirous for us, but my finances won't, at present, admit of it, as my whole interest, saving outstanding debts, is in town and cant be remov'd. If the lines should be attack'd, as some are apprehensive of, farewell to life and property. — You must know, that no person who leaves the town is allow'd to return again, and this morning an order from the Governor has put a stop to any more papers at any rate, not even to admit those to go who have procur'd 'em already.

June 1st, 1775. Its possible Samuel may have wrote you from the country, where he is wandering I know not where, with his wife and Ruthy, having quitted the vessel at Marblehead upon hearing that the same spirit prevail'd there as in the other colonies, together with finding it disagreeable to the Congress that people should emigrate there, though previous to that it was determin'd for his wife and Ruthy to leave her, as they had been three days beating in the bay and became so intolerable sick, that no perswasions could prevail on them to proceed the voyage. Ruthy writes me in the utmost distress, and says her sister must inevitably have died. You must know that we

hir'd the vessel and were ready for sailing near a week before they went, but after we had had her in pay three week-, and lay'd out a hundred Dollars for accommodation, the Admiral bought her for Government use, but Stipulated that she should proceed to Halifax with our passengers, but then we were oblig'd to wait his orders for sailing, he having appointed a commander and other officers to her with eight men, which were all to go with our Captain, Mate and hands, and we to victual, therefore you must think she was well man'd ; but having out- Stay'd a long -pell of fair winds, they'd no sooner sail'd hut head wind- came up and oblig'd them to put into harbour as above, where they concluded to alter their plans, but was oblig'd to leave their provissions and furniture on board; the admiral's commander being very willing to oblige them, by taking 'em out, if it had been in his power, but has finally carried them with him to Halifax, and what will become of them there, God only knows, as a rumour prevails here that they have forc'd the troops from their posts there and destroy'd all the stores belonging to the King, in the dock yard, &ca. — that she being a Government vessell, will no doubt, meet with difficulty. — My honor oblig'd me to bear the same expenses in voyage as though I had gone myself, therefore you must suppose much money to be flung away to no purpose, more especially if the furniture and provissions should be lost, having on board sufficient of every kind to go to housekeeping. By the last letter I received they seem inclin'd to go to Exeter, but not determin'd. I wish 'em well fix'd somewhere, to their satisfaction. When they are, I shall be much easier in my own mind, altho' amidst continual alarms and frequent battles. It can't but afford satisfaction to every well wisher to his country to find that providence smiles upon every of their undertakings.

If Breck and his wife are with you please to shew 'em this, and tender my love to them all. Your favor of the 2nd May Post came to hand but a few days since. You earnestly request my writing you by every Post, at which time you did not consider the embarrassments we are under in town, and that a letter cannot pass without being liable to the inspection of both parties, unless by water. I wrote you by Breck, as well as by Mr. Prince, which letters I presume you have received. If my brother can get a pass to go out, I shall give him this to forward, if possible, without inspection. Its hard to stay coop'd up here and feed upon salt provissions, more especially without one's wife, Bill, but at the same time would not wish to have her here under the present disagreeable circumstances — though I find an absolute necessity to be here myself, as the soldiery think they have a license to plunder every one's house and Store who leaves the town, of which they have given convincing proofs already — And the wanton destruction of property at the late fire, makes the duty, in my mind, more incumbent on me.

We have now and then a carcase offer'd for sale in the market, which formerly we would not have pick'dup in the street; but bad as it is, it readily sells for eight pence Lawful money per lb., and a quarter of lamb when it makes its appearance, which is rarely once a week, sells for a dollar, weighing only three or three and a half pounds. To such shifts has the necessity of the times drove us; wood not scarcely to be got at twenty two shillings a cord. Was it not for a trifle of salt provissions that we have, 'twould be impossible for us to live. Pork and beans one day, and beans and pork another, and fish when we can catch it. Am necessitated to submit to such living or risque the little all I have in the world, which consists in my stock of goods and furniture to the amount of between two and three thousand sterling, as its said without scruple that those who

leave the town, forfeit all the effects they leave behind. Whether they hold it up as only a means to detain people or not, I cant say — but in regard to slaves their actions have been consistent with the doctrine, however absurd — It has so far avail'd as to influence many to stay, who would otherways have gone.

April 11, 1776. Nothing but a continual round of company has prevented my writing you before this, but one of your liberal principals, am perswaded, will not only forgive the neglect, but rejoice in our deliverance, as well as sympathize with us in all the difficulties we have gone through. Nor are my anxieties yet at an end. Your favor of the 26th ult. by express, concludes Ruthy be with me before this, but you undoubtedly will be surpriz'd, that after above three weeks liberation, I am still without her, and all owing to the unkindness of Sam, who was down a few days after our deliverance, and contrary to my most sanguine expectations, came without her, nor could I prevail on him to stay and take care of the extensive charge I had on my hands, while I went and fetch'd her; notwithstanding which I was determin'd at all events to go and leave my affairs to chance, but he urg'd the badness of the road, the impossibility of a carriage's passing, the uncertainty as to the designs of the fleet, the melancholly appearance of the town, &ca., all which I esteem'd as mere trifles and of no consequence, but finally to answer his own purposes, and keep her as company for his wife, whom he doesn't intend to bring to town for a month or two, he promis'd me if I would make myself easy, I might depend on his bringing her the next monday, or tuesday at farthest, but now its a fortnight since, and all the satisfaction I've had, is a letter or two from him, amusing me with his intentions of coming at this and that time, when its now out of my power to go myself, as I understand a warrant is issued to seize the remaining furniture of your uncle Joe's, which I must be upon the spot to prevent, if possible. I suppose I shall make myself Enemies by it, but I'll do my duty at all events.

I should have set out for Haverhill the day after the troops evacuated the town, had not the small pox prevented my lad from coming in, which difficulltie still continues. By the earnest perswasion of your uncle's friends and with the advice of the select men, I mov'd into his house, at the time the troops &ca., were preparing for embarkation, under every difficulty you can conceive at such a time, as every day presented us with new scenes of the wantonness and destruction made by the soldiers. I had the care of six houses with their furniture and as many stores fill'd with effects for eleven months past, and at a time like this I underwent more fatigue and perplexity than I did through the whole siege; for I was oblig'd to take my rounds all day, without any cessation, and scarce ever fail'd of finding depredations made upon some one or other of them, that I was finally necessitated to procure men at the extravagant rate of two dollars a day to sleep in the several houses and stores for a fortnight before the military plunderers went off — for as sure as they were left alone one night, so sure they were plunder'd. Poor Ben, in addition to his other misfortunes suffer'd in this; the fellow who took charge of his house neglected to sleep there the third night, being affrighted, the consequence was a party of soldiers got in, went into his cellar, took liquors from thence and had a revelling frolick in his parlour, carried off and destroy'd of his furniture &ca., to the value of two hundred sterling — which was not to be nam'd with what fifty other houses suffer'd, or I may say a hundred.

I was oblig'd to pay at the rate of a dollar an hour for hands to assist me in moving; such was the demand for laborers, that they were taken from me, even at that, by the Tories who bid over me, for the sake of carrying away other people's effects, wherever they could come at them, which so retarded my moving that I was oblig'd to have my kitchen furniture in the house I left — consequently it was broke open and rummag'd, and with all my crockery ware carried off. Wat has strip'd your uncle's house of every thing he could conveniently carry off, which had I have known that had been his intention I would by no means have consented to go into it. but as I had mov'd most of my heavy things while he was preparing to go, it was too late for me to get off, when I discovered it. Your uncle Jerry was almost frantic about it, and said he should write his brother and acquaint him that I was knowing to it, and yet permitted him to do it; little thinking that it was not in my power to prevent his carrying off every thing, if he was dispos'd to do it, as I only took charge of the house as his (Wat's) substitute. He has left all the looking glasses and window curtains, with some tables and most of the chairs ; only two bedsteads and one bed, without any bedding or sheets, or even a rag of linen of any kind. Some of the china and principal part of the pewter is the sum of what he has left, save the Library, which was pack'd up corded to ship, but your uncle Jerry and Mr. Austin went to him and absolutely forbid it, on his peril. He treated them in a very rough, cavalier way; told them they had no right to interfere with his business; he should do as he pleas'd, and would not hear what they had to say. Upon the whole, I don't know but what it would have been as well if he had taken them, seeing matters are going to be carried with so high a hand. For my further comfort, I have Boston upon my hands with a confirmed consumption upon him, whom I had not the least thought of being troubled with, as he was in the service of Major Smelt of the 17th and had embark'd with him, but was sent on shore again, on account of his sickness.

I am well in health, thank God, and have been so the whole of the time, but have liv'd at the rate of six or seven hundred sterling a year — for I was determin'd to eat fresh provisions, while it was to be got let it cost what it would; that since October I have scarce eat three meals of salt meat, but supply'd my family with fresh at the rate of one shilling to one shilling and sixpence sterling the pound. What wood was to be got, was oblig'd to give at the rate of twenty dollars a cord, and coals, though government had a plenty, I could not procure (not being an addressor or an associator) though I offer'd 30 high as fifty dollars for a chaldron, and that at a season, when Nabby and John, the only help I had, were under inoculation for the small pox, that if you'll believe me, Bill, I was necessitated to burn horse dung. Many were the instances of the inhabitants being confin'd to the Provost for purchasing fuel of the Soldiers, when no other means offer'd to keep them from perishing with cold — Yet such was the inhumanity of our masters, that they were; even deny'd the priviledge of buying the surplusage of the soldier rations. Though you may think we hail plenty of cheese and porter, yet we were oblig'd to give from fifteen pence to two shillings a pound for all we eat of the former, and a loaf of bread of the size we formerly gave three pence for thought ourselves well off to get for a shilling. Butter at two shillings. Milk, for months without tasting any. Potatoes, from nine shillings to ten shillings and sixpence [a] bushel, and every thing else in the same strain. Notwithstanding which. Bill, I can safely say that I

never suffer'd the least depression of spirit-, other than on account of not having heard from Ruthy, in one season, for near five months — for a perswasion, that my country would eventually prevail, kept up my spirits, and never suffer'd my hopes to fail.

Do tender my best regards to Colonel Miffling and Lady, and tell him that I have this day got the apples he was kind enough to order to be sent me. They have been laying for ten days past in a remote part of the town and I not made acquainted with it till last evening, whereby they are chiefly carried off, and most of the remaining ones rotten. Am much oblig'd to him, notwithstanding, as the state they are in by no means lessens the merit of the donor. Tell him farther that my wishes are answer'd. The brave Captain Manly has taken the Brig that contained that cursed villain Crean Brush, with great part of the plunder he rob'd the stores of here, that I imagine -he must be the richest vessel in the fleet. The brave General Warren is to be interr'd this afternoon with all the honors his great merit deserves, an oration is to be deliver'd at the C'haple. Last Tuesday week I had the honor of General Washington with his lady. General Gates, Mr. Custos and Lady, with Aid de Camps. &ca., to dine with me, with no earlier notice than half past eleven the same day. So good an opportunity as by Mr. Hammet (who comes your way to fetch home Breck's little daughter) I thought I would not omit, but I find I have been so prolix, that I believe you'll be tired before you'll half peruse it, must request you'd not let any body see it, as I wrote it in the greatest hurry, and with continual interruptions.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) Mr. Andrews chose to stay in Boston during the siege, even though his wife escaped for safer territory. Why did he choose to stay?
- 2.) According to Mr. Andrews, how could people leave the city? How difficult was it?
- 3.) What difficulties did Ruthy Andrews encounter in trying to get to Halifax? Why did she eventually decide not to go?
- 4.) How does Mr. Andrews describe life in Boston during the siege?
- 5.) In his April 11th letter, Andrews remarks that the on days just before the evacuation by the British he "underwent more fatigue and perplexity than [he] did through the whole siege". Why?
- 6.) He also wrote that he "never suffer'd the least depression of spirit-, other than on account of not having heard from Ruthy". What does he credit for keeping up his spirits?
- 7.) How reliable is this document? What factors should an historian take into account when analyzing it?

Extracts from the Diary of John Leach

Published in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. XIX (1865), 255-263.

John Leach came to Boston from England, at the age of 27. There he married Sarah Coffin, and together they had 17 children. Mr. Leach kept a navigation school in Boston prior to the revolution. He was particularly suited for this occupation, as he had in his younger days circumnavigated the globe three times. He died at his residence in Boston, June 10, 1799, aged 75.

Below are excerpts from his diary during the time he was a prisoner of the British during the siege of Boston.

Memorandums, began Thursday, June 29th, 1775. — At 3 this afternoon, a few steps from my House, I was seized upon by Major Cane of the Regulars, accompanied by one Loring, who is lately made a Sheriff : they obliged me to return to my House, where Major Cane demanded my Keys of my Desks, and search'd all my Drawings, Writings, &c., and told me I had a great deal to answer for. I replied, it was very well, I stood ready at a minute's warning to answer any accusation ; had a drawn Hanger, I could have took hold of in a moment, and cut them both down. I had both Courage and inclination to do it, tho' they had each their swords by their sides, but I suddenly reflected, that I could not escape, as the whole Town was a prison. God wonderfully restrained me, as I should have lost my Life, either by them, or some of their Companions. They then conducted me from my House to the Stone Gaol, and after being locked there 20 minutes, the said Cane and Loring brought in Master James Lovell, after searching his Papers, Letters, &c. as they had done mine. Cane carried my drawings to show Gen. Gage, next day, and returned them.

From Sunday, July 1st, to Monday, July 17th. From the 2d July to the 17th a Complicated scene of Oaths, Curses, Debauchery, and the most horrid Blasphemy, Committed by the Provost Marshal, his Deputy and Soldiers, who were our guard, Soldier prisoners, and sundry soldier Women, confined for Thefts, &c. We had some of the Vilest Women for our Neighbours ; some placed over our Heads, and some in Rooms each side of us ; they acted such scenes as was shocking to Nature, and used Language, horrible to hear ; as if it came from the very Suburbs of Hell. When our Wives, Children and Friends came to see us (which was seldom they were permitted), we seemed to want them gone, notwithstanding we were so desirous of their Company, as they were exposed to hear the most abandon'd Language, as was grating to the Ears of all sober persons. Friday, July 7th, my Wife came to see me. She has attempted it since, but was denied sundry times, and I did not see her again till the 23th July. We are very close confined, having the Doors open for air, sometimes one hour in 24, and sometimes not at all. Monday 17th, my son Tileston died, whom I left well in my house ; I was not permitted to attend the Funeral, notwithstanding my Letter to the General this morning requesting the same, or Dismission, or Trial. This Evening the Provost informed us, there was to be held a Garrison Court of Enquiry, at Concert Hall to-morrow, in Consequence of my Letter. We were desired to prepare for trial.

Tuesday, 18th. We were escorted by a strong Guard of soldiers from the Gaol to Concert Hall ; Our boom Companions consisting of 5, James Lovell, John Leach, John Hunt, Peter Edes, and

William Starr ; also Dorrington, his son and maid, for blowing up Flies. These 3 last were examined to day, and then we were all returned to Gaol.

Wednesday, 19th. Escorted from Gaol again, with the additional Company of 3 Sailors, Thieves and House-breakers ; surrounded by Soldiers, we made a Curious medley ; the Fly blowers examined, and the 3 Sailors. Mr. Hunt, Mr. Edes, and Mr. Starr, were asked who prosecuted them, and one Capt. Symmes, of the Regulars, was summoned by Major Moncreif, as an Evidence against Mr. Lovell and myself. Till this Time we did not know our Crimes, on what account we were committed, but now we found Mr. Lovell was charged with "being a Spy, arid giving intelligence to the Rebels." And my charge, "being a spy, and suspected of taking plans." When Capt. Symmes appeared, he knew so little of us, that he called me Mr. Lovell ; he knew so little of us, that instead of being a just Evidence, he appeared ashamed and confounded, and went off. At 2 o'clock we were sent back to our stone Edifice, under a strong Guard.

Thursday, 20th. Our 5 Room Companions were escorted as before, with one Carpenter, a Barber, who swam to Cambridge and back again. The said Carpenter and Mr. Hunt were examined. We were all sent back to Gaol again, under a strong Guard. This makes 3 days we were carried out to Trial, 4 Hours each Time (and nothing asked us) under all the disgrace and contempt they could contrive.

Friday, 21st. No Court of Enquiry held, so that we are still held in Suspence. We had been in 19 days, when we found out by chance, from the Serjeant's returns, what our Crimes were, and yet we were ordered to prepare for Trial, and not accused of any thing.

August 11. Close confined ; the provost would not suffer the doors to be opened to put our victuals in, but made us take it through the bars ; and we are daily treated with Fresh insults and abuses. Today Amos Fisk died ; he was a Charlestown prisoner, and the Provost uttered the most horrid speeches, of what would become of his Soul and Body. This afternoon my Wife came, and tarried some time in the Gaol House before she was admitted, in which Time the Provost insulted her, by saying I was a Damned Rebel, and my Family the Damnedest Rebel Family in the Country. She was admitted into our Room a few minutes, and a Serjeant sent in with her, to hear the Conversation. The Provost told her she must not come again.

Saturday, 12th. Close Confined. This morning my Wife went to the General and got a pass to come and see me ; our Treatment very hard on that account, so that we are abused if we Don't complain of hard usage, and are abused if we do. The order my Wife got was a permit to come and see me ; this is the Copy of it, which I have now by me :

" Mrs. Leach has the General's permission to Visit her Husband, providing she carries in no Letters nor brings any out, and the Provost is always to hear the Conversation. R. DONKIN, Aug. 12, 1775. *Aid de Camp.*

To day a poor Journeyman Baker was discharged from Gaol, after several days confinement, for speaking saucy to an officer. The man's name Hyter. The General knew nothing of it, and the poor man was obliged to pay a Dollar Fees ; he had no body to complain to.

Sunday, 13th. Close shut up ; much swearing and Blasphemy, Close under our Window, the whole day, by the Provost, his Deputy, and our Guard of Soldiers. It seems to be done on purpose, as they knew it was grating to us to hear such Language. This morning my Wife sent me a Note, in the Foot of a stocking roll'd up. We are obliged to act with secresy, as our Victuals, Cloaths and every thing are Constantly searched, for Letters and papers. This Note informed me that my Friend and Relation, Mrs. B , was got well, of the small pox in the Country.

Monday, 14th. Close shut up : Very much swearing as usual, which we are confined to hear. Lucy Purnam, a negro Woman, discharged ; she had been confined for attempting to set the Town on fire.

Tuesday, 15th. Close confined, the weather hot. Died, Capt. Walker, a Country Prisoner, from Charlestown. Swearing began at 3 this morning, and held all Day : The place seems to be an Emblem of Hell. At 9 at Night most Horrid Swearing and Blasphemy ; the worst man of War, that ever I knew, was nothing to Compare with this Diabolical place. Poor Mr. Lovell began to Droop ; he is very weakly. It gives us all great Concern, as we were all more afraid of sickness in this dreadful place, than any thing else, but God wonderfully preserved our healths and spirits. I did not think we could possibly survive such Treatment, but our help was from above. They sometimes gave us Water in the pail in the morning, and by the Heat of the Weather and our Cell, it grew very warm, and they would not Change it, and Damned us, saying we must have that or none. This night I watched with Mr. Lovell.

Wednesday, 16th. The provost gave orders to the Serjeant of the Guard, to keep us Close. We took our Victuals thro' the Bars. Mr. Lovell Continues ill. To day Cornelius Turner, another Rifle man, was brought to Gaol ; he ran from the Provincial Army, and attempted to go back, in a day or two after. He was told by Col. Robinson, about 1 o'clock, afternoon, that he must be hanged that day, at 4 o'clock, and a Minister of the Army came to Visit him, and for sundry days, to get him to confess all he knew about the Provincial Army. He was visited 2 or 3 times a day, by this Chaplain, for several days.

Thursday, 17th. Kept Close all day. One Mr. French, an Inhabitant, confined in the Dungeon all day, and at night let out, and was obliged to fall down on his knees to the Provost in the yard, and say, God bless the King. To day, Phineas Nevers, a Charlestown Prisoner, died. James Dickey discharged, and to pay a Dollar Fees ; he paid a pistareen, and left his silver Broach in pawn, for 4 more ; the Provost kept the Broach, and give Dyer the Pistareen. Also 3 Dollars was Demanded of Dorrington, and the Provost kept his Bed and Bedding 6 days, and then delivered them up. The old Dutchman who was Discharged the 25th July, was confined for Complaining of the soldiers for Robbing his Garden, which was his whole living, and because he had not a Dollar to pay his Fees, the soldiers on Guard were ordered, Each, to give him a kick as he went away.

Friday, 18th. Close Confined. Mr. Lovell received an answer from General Howe, to a Letter he wrote him. Much swearing from morning to Night.

Saturday, 19th. Close Confined ; Dreadful Language from morning to Night ; Mr. Lovell Continues poorly. This afternoon my Wife came to ask my advice, about signing, for buying meat, as none were to have it but Friends of Government. I told her to sign nothing, and trust to Providence, and ask no favours from such Wretches. The poor sick and Wounded prisoners fare very hard, are many days without the Comforts of Life. Doctor Brown Complained to Mr. Lovell and me, that they had no Bread all that Day and the day lie- fore. He spoke to the Provost, as he had the Charge of serving the Bread ; he replied, they might cut the Nail Heads, and knaw the plank and be damn'd. The Comforts that are sent us by our Friends we are obliged to impart to these poor suffering Friends, and Fee the soldiers and others with Rum, to carry it them by stealth, when we are Close Confined and cannot get to them. They have no Wood to burn many days together, to Warm their Drink, and dying men drink them cold. Some of the Limbs which have been taken off, it was said, were in a state of Putrification, not one survived amputation.

Sunday, 20th. From before sun Rise till after sun Sett, a Continued scene of horrid Swearing, Obscene Talk, and shocking Blasphemy. Mr. Lovell very ill, which gives us great uneasiness ; to day we had some small liberty of the yard. They practice most Swearing on the Sabbath.

Monday, 21st. Most awful Swearing and Blasphemy from morning to Night. Mr. Lovell continues ill ; no Compassion towards him any more than a Dog. We are all very much troubled for him, but cannot help him, any otherwise than by Brotherly kindness, and Tenderness. To day the Provost Cursed and Damned my little Child, for a Damn'd Rebel ; he even Trembles at bringing my Diet.

Tuesday, 22d. A Hot day and Night ; Close Confined. Doctor Eliot called at the Gate, and spoke to Mr. Lovell ; he says the Provost ordered him not to Come here any more. We can't go to hear a Minister and we are denied his coming to see us.

Wednesday, 23d. This Morning, when my son brought my Breakfast, the provost said to the soldiers on Guard, G—d Damn that Dog (meaning my child), don't let him come up the yard; that Dog deserves to be shot. In the afternoon Serjeant Neal and Corporal Boyal were Confined prisoners by the Provost, for giving us air and Fresh Water in his Absence. They told him we were almost suffocated with Heat ; he replied, G—d Damn them, if they are Dead and Rotten, my orders to you is to keep them Close.

Thursday, 24th. This day Confined 56 days ; the weather exceeding Hot ; we were close shut up all day.

Friday, 25th. Last Night Thomas Forakers, Boatbuilder, and his servant John Bouve, were brought to Gaol, on suspicion of concealing a man that swam over from Chelsea, upon the false information of a very wicked Woman ; and this morning the Boy John Bouve (about 16 years of

age) was put in Irons, in the Dungeon, as he had nothing to confess ; he was Examined by Major Sheriff and Major Rooke, and then hand cuffed and put in the Dungeon again. We fed the Boy from our room, and encouraged him to keep up his spirits, by telling him they were a pack of Cowardly scoundrels, and dare not hurt the Hair of his Head. While his Irons were putting on, close by our Cell Door, the Provost said to him, he was a man under sentence of Death, and might Choose his Minister to Come and see him, for he was to be hanged this afternoon. At 5 in the afternoon, finding they could make nothing of him, they took his Irons off, and put him in a Room next to ours, among some Soldiers, Thieves, &c. The Weather very hot and we close confined all day.

September 21. Out of twenty-nine of the Charlestown prisoners, only eleven are living.

September 23. Firing all day at the lines. A captain of the regulars had a leg shot off at the lines.

September 24. Four prisoners went to meeting ; we were not allowed the liberty.

September 25. Old Mr. Howe, a poor insane man, was brought to prison at the instigation of Nathaniel Coffin, Jr. and brother. They suspected he had stolen from them, and although no proof appeared, because they were rank tories, the poor man was unmercifully beat by the provost. Also, Mr. Dickman's old negro was served in the same manner, to gratify a certain young woman.

September 26. The Cerberus frigate arrived from England, 7 weeks passage, and had been 13 weeks from Boston. She sailed express with the account of the Bunker's Hill fight.

Tuesday, October 3. Doors open. We were obligated to sign a paper that we would not quit the Town, attested by 2 witnesses. And the obligation signed by Mr. Gill was refused, on account of my being one of the Witnesses. The General pointed to my Name, saying, "I do not like that Name," and they were obliged to draw them over again.

Wednesday, 4th. Was discharged, having been confined 97 days ; the first 63 days allowed only Bread and Water.

In the foregoing Narrative, I have endeavour'd to avoid writing with warmth (tho' it might have been pardonable, from the abusive usage we met with), least it might be thought I was actuated by prejudice and anger. I must Confess I have been often at a loss to determine, which they seemed most to deserve, my Anger or my Pity : They deserved the former, from the scandalous treatment we received ; and the latter claimed a share, from the consideration of their being fellow Creatures, made after the Image of the Glorious Creator of us all, and by whose restraining Grace alone, we are made to differ.

Teach me to feel another's Woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That Mercy I, to others show,
That Mercy show to me.
—Pope's Universal Prayer.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) From Mr. Leach's description of his arrest, what might you imagine he was accused of?
- 1.) Mr. Leach describes his trial. How was it conducted? Would it be considered legitimate under current American law? Why or why not?
- 2.) How does Mr. Leach describe the conditions in the jail?
- 3.) How was Mr. Leach treated by the guards?
- 4.) What were some of the things people staying in Boston during the siege were imprisoned for? Cite 3 specific examples.
- 5.) How reliable is this source?
- 6.) Leach includes a piece of verse at the end of his account. Why did he choose this passage? What insight does its inclusion give us as to the character and values of Leach?

Excerpts from the Journal of Timothy Newell

Timothy Newell journal, Massachusetts Historical Society

Published in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, series 4, vol. I (1852), 261–276.

Timothy Newell was a selectman to the assembly of the town of Boston; he was creating this document not for personal reasons but as a town selectman, recording what he considered the injustices of the royal authorities for future reference.

August 1st, 1775. This week passed tolerably quiet. Last night at half past 12 oclock was awoke with a heavy firing from a Man of War at the Provincials on Phip's farm. From the lines at Charlestown and Boston it appeared a general attack was made, the firing continued till 6 oclock. The George Tavern was burnt by the Regulars and the house at the Light house by the Provincials (about 300) who took about 30 soldiers and a number of Carpenters. This morning half past 4 oclock awoke with cannonade and small arms from Charlestown which lasted to eleven oclock after that. Very trying scenes. This day was invited by two gentlemen to dine on *rats*. The whole of this day till sunset a constant fire up the Mistic River, from the lines...

Sept. 14th Began taking down houses at the South end, to build a new line of Works—a good deal of cannonading on both sides the lines for many days past. Several shots came thro' houses at the South end. Capt. Poulet lost his leg, &c. &c. &c.

Sept. 27th These several days past have been tolerably quiet...Yesterday the Cerberus Man of war arrived in 7 weeks from London—brings advices of coercive measures by Administration—5 Regiments—one thousands Marines, another Admiral with a fleet of men of war &c.—and General Gage called home.

Oct. 10th General Gage sailed this day for London and left several thousand Inhabitants in town who are suffering the want of Bread and every necessary of life.

Oct. 13th Colonel Birch of the Lighthorse Dragoons went to view our Meetinghouse which was destined for a Riding School. It was designed to clear the floor, to put two feet of tan covered with horse dung to make it elastic. But when it was considered that the Pillars must be taken away, which would bring down the roof, they altered their minds,—so that the Pillars saved us.

Oct. 27th The spacious Old South Meeting House, taken possession by the Light horse 17th Regiment of Dragoons. The Pulpit, pews and seats, all cut to pieces and carried off in the most savage manner as can be expressed and destined for a riding school. The beautiful carved pew with the silk furniture was taken down and made into a hog style...

Nov. 16 Many people turned out of their houses for troops to enter...Houses, fences, trees &c. pulled down and carried off for fuel. My wharf and barn pulled down...

January 8th, 1776. The Old North Meeting House, pulled down by the order of General Howe for fuel for the Refugees and Tories.

March 5th This morning the Provincials were discovered fortyfing the heights of Dorchester. About 12 oclock 7 regiments of the Kings Troops were to land at Dorchester Neck and the main body... Eight or Ten

ships sailed below – but whether, a Hurrycane, or terrible sudden storm which arose in the evening prevented, or a pretence only, can't say – nothing was attempted,--Indeed, the violence of the storm made it impossible for any boat to land...

March 6th This day the utmost distress and anxiety is among the Refugees and associators &c. &c. &c., orders being given to Embark the King's troops and evacuate the town. Blessed be God our Redemption draws nigh.

March 17th Lord's day. This morning at 3 o'clock, the troops began to move – , Crow feet strewed in the streets to prevent being pursued. They all embarked at about 9 oclock and the whole fleet came to sail. Every vessel which they did not carry off, they rendered unfit for use. Not even a boat left to cross the River. –

Thus was this unhappy distressed town (thro' a manifest interposition of divine providence) relieved from a set of men, whose unparralled wickedness, profanity, debauchery and cruelty is inexpressible, enduring a siege from the 19th. April 1775 to the 17th. March 1776.

Immediately upon the fleet's sailing the Select Men set off, through the lines, to Roxbury to acquaint General Washington of the evacuation of the town. After sending a message Major [Joseph] Ward aid to General [Artemas] Ward, came to us at the lines and soon after the General himself, who received us in the most polite and affectionate manner, and permitted us to pass to Watertown to acquaint the Council of this happy event.

The General immediately ordered a detachment of 2000 troops to take possession of the town under the command of General [Israel] Putnam who the next day began their works in fortifying Forthill &c., for the better security of the Town. A number of loaded Shells with trains of Powder covered with straw, were found in houses left by the Regulars near the fortification.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) What does Newell's diary convey about the availability of food in Boston during the siege? Use specific evidence.
- 2.) What about the availability of fuel? Cite 2 specific examples.
- 3.) According to Newell, what attitude did the British take towards the property of Bostonians?
- 4.) According to Newell, what prevented the British army from engaging the Continentals at Dorchester Heights on March 5th? What does he mean when he says, "*but whether, a Hurrycane, or terrible sudden storm which arose in the evening prevented, or a pretence only, can't say*"?
- 5.) How reliable is this diary as a source?

Dr. Jeremy Belknap



Image from the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
Portrait, oil on canvas by Henry Sargent, 1798

<http://www.masshist.org/database/159>

Jeremy Belknap was an American clergyman and historian. Jeremy was born in Boston, Massachusetts, the son of a tanner. His uncle was Mather Byles, one of New England's intellectual leaders. Belknap was baptized by the historian Thomas Prince, another leading figure of 18th-century New England. He was educated at the Boston Latin School and Harvard College, where he graduated in 1762 and then settled in Dover, New Hampshire. After the Battle of Lexington in 1775 some units of the Dover militia were called out to support the Siege of Boston. Belknap accompanied them, and remained through the next winter as chaplain to the New Hampshire troops involved with the siege. After the war he continued to preach and write about history (he was probably the first American to a book about Christopher Columbus), and in 1791 he helped to found the Massachusetts Historical Society, the first such organization in the United States.

A description of Roxbury in October 1775

On October 20, 1775, Dr. Belknap visited the lines at Roxbury and wrote:

Nothing strikes me with more horror than the present condition of Roxbury: that once busy, crowded street is now occupied by a picket guard. The houses are deserted, the windows taken out, and many shot-holes visible; some have been burnt, and others pulled down, to make room for the fortifications. A wall of earth is carried across the street to William's old house, where there is a formidable fort mounted with cannon. The lower line is just below where the George Tavern stood; a row of trees, root and branch, lies across the road there, and the breastworks extends to Lamb's Dam, which makes a part thereof. I went round the whole and was so near the enemy as to see them (though it was foggy and rainy) relieve their sentries, which they do every hour.

Source: quoted in Richard Frothingham, *The History of the Siege of Boston* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co. 1872), 254.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) What does this account tell you about the methods the Continental Army used to lay siege to the town?
- 2.) What does this account tell you about how the siege affected civilians?
- 3.) How reliable is this source?

Crean Brush

*****Crean Brush is mentioned throughout the documents in this packet.*****

What evidence can you find to corroborate the information as stated below?

Crean Brush was a wealthy landowner in Vermont, and a staunch loyalist to the British crown. At the outset of Revolutionary violence in the colonies, Brush traveled to New York, and then settled in Boston, then occupied by the British, and offered his services to General Gage.

The General, having determined to winter his army in Boston, found it necessary to vacate some of the residences of the inhabitants, and this business was entrusted to Crean Brush, who was commissioned to receive and protect such property as should be entrusted to his care. Having seized many goods that were not contraband, which were stowed away in vessels in the harbor, he endeavored to set sail to Halifax, but his ship was overtaken when a few days out, by Commodore Manly, and Brush and others were made prisoners. He was examined and committed to the jail in Boston, on charges of having plundered the city, and carried away under protection of the British fleet, large quantities of goods, wares and merchandise, the rightful property of the citizens of Boston. He was handcuffed, and denied the use of pen, ink, paper and candles, and forbidden to converse with any person unless in the presence of the jailer.

During his imprisonment Mrs. Brush was allowed to visit him and on Wednesday, the 5th of November, 1778, he made his escape in her clothes; and not until the next morning was it discovered that the noted prisoner was gone, and his wife occupied his place in the cell. Mrs. Brush had left a horse tied at a certain spot, and furnished her husband with the means of escape.

He immediately set out for New York, which place he reached on the 16th of the same month, after an imprisonment of more than nineteen months.

He then directed his efforts for the recovery of his property, and to obtain redress for the injuries he had received and compensation for the losses he had sustained on behalf of the King. Not being successful in this, and stung with a feeling of remorse, on a cold morning in the following spring, he determined to put an end to a miserable life, and with a pistol in his hand, shot himself to death.

Mr. Brush owned, as it is supposed, about 25,000 acres of land in the State of New York, and nearly the same amount on the New Hampshire grants, only a small part of which ever came into the hands of his heirs.

Source: Rev. F. J. Fairbanks. "The History of the East Parish," from *The Double History of Westminster, Vermont*. Abby Maria Hemenway, Editor (Chicago: Press of Jameson & Morse, 1885), 586-588.

*Excerpts from Letters of Isaac Winslow,
Loyalist during the Siege of Boston*

Published in *The New England Genealogical Register*, vol. LVI (1902), 48-54.

May 17, 1775: Mr. Winslow wrote , "A detachment of troops, about eight hundred men, in marching to seize a magazine at Concord, were opposed by some armed men at Lexington and were on their return repeatedly attacked and lost about sixty killed, one hundred and fifty wounded and some prisoners. A brigade sent to their support met them at Lexington, which prevented their being destroyed. Since this, which was the eighteenth, we have been without intercourse with the country and deprived of all fresh provisions, — the town being commanded by the enemy, the sentries of the country coming within hail of those of the King. By all we can hear, the flame spreads far and wide through the Colonies. New York is in the utmost confusion, the liberty folks carrying all before them there. The Governor here gave liberty to the townsmen giving up their arms, to go out, and a scene of distress ensued which is pitiable, but nothing to what we fear from the havoc of war and its evil train. The shops and stores are mostly shut, numbers of houses empty and people flying, they know not where. At first, we were frightened, expecting an immediate attack on the town but either danger lessened or habit reduced the apprehension so that we are now composed enough to stay. The country, you know, would be no shelter for such obnoxious folks and to go by water where we could not carry our effects was not likely to be done by persons of no greater ability. Besides, we know what use Providence may make of us here, if by any means our countrymen get sobered out of the frantic idea put into their heads by the clergymen, most of whom have gone off from town. A large stock of provisions has been laid in by the army and as soon as this affair took place, all the grain vessels which were met with were brought in, so that as yet there has been no want, though we have been brought down from the luxurious living our country afforded. The Governor has called on the friends of government to know if they will support the government. We signed to take up arms if ordered by him. Nothing in our profession dissolves the obligation of our being servants, and faithful ones too, to those kingdoms which are of this world and therefore must be defended by the sword. We have no prospect, happily, of a cull to this ; part of the new forces — the marines — having already arrived and more hourly expected. We hope we shall not be called to the work of killing folks. The worst difficulty at present is the want of business. We have some from the King's troops but being shut out from the country on the one hand and shut in by the port bill on the other, affords :i small view. There is talk that the Governor and Admiral will open the port for the admission of King's supplies in any vessels, but I fear it will not extend to matters of private commerce. However, 'the earth and the fullness thereof are the Lord's' who has promised that he will never forsake his people."

July 10, 1775: "I gave you the particulars of the affair of the nineteenth April, since which all communication with the country for provisions has been shut off and all letters intercepted. This happened to us at a time when most families have some store of salt provisions, which have subsisted us hitherto. ... The King's troops are now possessed of Charlestown, but no opening into the country as since the battle they are raising formidable lines all around the environments of the

town and at such an expense it will not do to face them. This is a most shocking situation. Scarce a day without the firing of cannon of some sort around the town. The heat of the weather has made many wounded to die. My wife witnessed the engagement from the top of the house and it being a very hot day, nothing could be more distressing than the scene of the wounded soldiers passing by, fainting with heat, pain and thirst and continually calling on the inhabitants for water. Vast numbers of the people have removed so as to leave but about six thousand in town."

October 3, 1775: "An eighteen pound shot from the American works on the Roxbury line, near the George tavern, going through the bakery used for the supply of the army. The ships of the fleet bring in many vessels here whose cargoes are sold, and from them we get our supplies, but everything bears an excessive price. Fuel is much wanted and little in town..."

December 1, 1775: "We are all well though just in the height of inoculation for the smallpox, and expecting it to break out soon."

December 13, 1775: "Vessels are now taken in the very mouth of our harbor. A brig loaded with ordnance stores and a ship of Mr. Anderson's full of woolens for the army here were lately captured by the enemy. Both these vessels must be of eminent service to them. Some vessels coming in have been taken by boats from the shore. This is more serious as we grow in want of fuel, etc...."

January 13, 1776: "The Americans have erected some new works on Phipps farm, whence they fired a cannon shot which struck the hill back of Dr. Lloyd's house on Pemberton's Hill. Shells may be thrown into almost any part of the town. Recently there was an attack by a small detachment of the enemy, in which they set fire to some of the few remaining houses in Charlestown and surprised and took prisoners a sergeant and four men. The British troops in Charlestown, supposing it might be an attack on their lines, began firing, which alarmed the town, in which at that time a play called 'The Blockade of Boston' was acting at Faneuil Hall, fitted up as a theatre, the officers being performers. The play was broken up, as they had at once to join their respective corps. It proved, however, only a false alarm. Fuel is now the scarcest article, and to supply the troops they take down the oldest houses and buildings in town. 'Tis all a scene of desolation. You would not know your own town scarcely. Dr. Sewall's meeting-house has been gutted of pews and galleries to make a riding school for the Light Horse. Dr. Byles's is a barrack. Every necessary is most exorbitant, — wood fifty-two shillings per cord; beef twelve pence; coal seventy-two shillings (if to be had); West India rum nine shillings; cheese twelve pence, yet there is much employ for tradesmen owing to the numbers going out."

January 15, 1776: "Social life is almost at the last gasp. We have passed favorably through the smallpox."

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) Cite specific passages that disclose Winslow's political feelings.
- 2.) What does Mr. Winslow's depiction of the siege suggest were some of the hardships experienced by loyalists in Boston?
- 3.) Why might a loyalist have chosen to stay within the city rather than flee like so many others had?
- 4.) Re-read the events described in Mr. Winslow's letter of January 13th. What does it suggest about the attitude of the British officers towards the Continental Army and their current situation.
- 5.) To what extent does Winslow's correspondence parallel the events described by Rowe and Newell? Is this surprising? Why or why not?
- 6.) Is this correspondence a reliable source?

In CONGRESS, MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1775.

Broadside published in Philadelphia by William & Thomas Bradford, [1775]

As the GREAT GOVERNOR of the WORLD, by his supreme and universal Providence, conducts the course of nature with unerring wisdom and rectitude... [it is] our indispensable duty, devoutly to acknowledge His superintending Providence, especially in times of impending danger, and public calamity, to reverence and adore his immutable Justice, as well as to implore his merciful Interposition for our deliverance.

This CONGRESS, therefore, considering the present critical, alarming and calamitous state of these colonies, do earnestly recommend that THURSDAY, the Twentieth day of July next, be observed by the inhabitants of all of the English Colonies on this Continent, as a day of public HUMILIATION, FASTING and PRAYER, that we may, with united hearts and voices, unfeignedly confess and deplore our many sins, and offer up our joint supplications to the All-wise, Omnipotent and Merciful Disposer of all events, humbly beseeching him to forgive our iniquities, to remove our present calamities...and to bless our rightful Sovereign King George the III^d, and inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interests of all his subjects,---that a speedy end may be put to the civil discord between Great-Britain and the American Colonies, that the divine blessing may descend and rest upon all of our civil rulers...that America may behold a gracious interposition of heaven for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, a reconciliation with the parent state, on terms constitutional and honorable to both. And it is recommended to Christians of all Denominations to assemble for public worship, and to abstain from servile labour and Recreations on said day.

By Order of the Congress

JOHN HANCOCK, President

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) To whom is Congress referring when they invoke “the Great Governor of the World”?
- 2.) How significant is the date of this proclamation? How might it have been different if it had been issued two weeks later?
- 3.) What insight might this proclamation give us as to the spirit of the Americans in terms of rebellion towards their king? Were they as yet convinced of independence?
- 4.) What might this mean for the people of Boston during the siege? To what extent were their loyalties divided? Might their divided loyalty have added another layer to the trauma of the siege?

Pennsylvania Journal August 2, 1775

As to intelligence from Boston, it is seldom we are able to collect any that may be relied on; and to repeat the vague flying rumors would be endless. We heard yesterday by one Mr. Rolston, a goldsmith, who got out from Boston in a fishing schooner, that the distress of the troops increases fast, their beef is spent, their malt and cider all gone; all the fresh provisions they can procure, they are obliged to give to the sick and wounded; that thirteen of the provincials who were in jail, and were wounded at Charlestown, are dead; that no man dared to be seen talking to his friend in the street; that they are obliged to be within every evening at ten o'clock according to martial law, nor can any inhabitant walk the streets after that time without a pass from Gage; that Gage has ordered all the molasses to be distilled into rum for the soldiers; that he has taken away all licenses for selling of liquors, and given them to his creatures; that he has issued an order that no one else shall sell under a penalty of ten pounds; that the spirit which prevails among the soldiers is that of malice and revenge; that there is no true courage to be observed among them; that their duty is hard, always holding themselves in readiness for an attack, which they are in continual fear of; that Doctor Eliot was not on board of a man-of-war as was reported; Mr. Lovel, with many others, is certainly in jail; that last week a poor mulch cow was killed in town and sold for a shilling sterling a pound; that the transports from Ireland and New York arrived last week, but every additional man adds to their distress.

Source: Frank Moore, compiler, *The Diary of the American Revolution* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1967), 58-59.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) How did information circulate among the colonies/states during the war?
- 2.) Considering the sources you have read, how much of what was reported in Philadelphia accurate?
- 3.) Is this a primary source? Evaluate its reliability.

Excerpts of letters from Abigail Adams to her husband John

Adams Family papers, Massachusetts Historical Society

Available online at: <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/aea/letter/>

7 May, 1775

...The Distresses of the inhabitants of Boston are beyond the power of language to discribe. There are but very few who are permitted to come out in a day. They delay giving passes, make them wait from hour to hour, and their counsels are not two hours together alike. One day they shall come out with their Effects, the next Day merchandise are not Effects. One day their household furtinutire is to come out, the next only weareing apparel, and the next Pharaohs heart is hardned, and he refuseth to hearken unto them and will not let the people go. May their deliverence be wrought out for them as it was for the Children of Israel. I do not mean by miracles by [illegible] but by the interposition of heaven in their favour. They have taken a list of all those who they suppose were concernd in watching the tea, and every other person who they call obnoxious, and they and their Effects are to suffer distruction. Poor Eads escaped out of town last night with one Ayers in a small boat, and was fired upon, but got safe and came up to Braintree to day. His name it seems was upon the black list. -- I find it impossible to get any body in with any surty of their returning again. I have sent to Waltham but cannot hear any thing of Mr. Cushings Son. I wish you would write me whether Mr. Cushing left any directions what should be done in that affair. -- I hear that Mr. Bromfield has Letters for you, and young Dr. Jarvis has more, but cannot get at them. -- Pray write me every opportunity every thing that transpires. Every body desires to be rememberd to you -- it would fill the paper to name them. I wrote you once before. Let me know whether you have received it. -- You dont say one word about your Health. I hope it was comfortable and will continue so. It will be a great comfort to know that it is so to your Portia

- ❖ How does Abigail describe the situation in Boston at the beginning of the siege?
- ❖ How does her account compare with others you have read?

Sunday June 18 1775

The Day; perhaps the decisive Day is come on which the fate of America depends. My bursting Heart must find vent at my pen. I have just heard that our dear Friend Dr. Warren is no more but fell gloriously fighting for his Country -- saying better to die honourably in the field than ignominiously hang upon the Gallows. Great is our Loss. He has distinguished himself in every engagement, by his courage and fortitude, by animating the Soldiers and leading them on by his own example. A particuliar account of these dreadful, but I hope Glorious Days will be transmitted you, no doubt in the exactest manner.

The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but the God of Israel is he that giveth strength and power unto his people. Trust in him at all times, ye people pour out your hearts before him. God is a refuge for us. -- Charlestown is laid in ashes. The Battle began upon our

intrenchments upon Bunkers Hill, a Saturday morning about 3 o'clock and has not ceased yet and tis now [illegible] 3 o'clock Sabbath afternoon.

Tis expected they will come out over the Neck to night, and a dreadful Battle must ensue. Almighty God cover the heads of our Country men, and be a shield to our Dear Friends. How [many have] fallen we know not -- the constant roar of the cannon is so [illegible] [distressing] that we can not Eat, Drink or Sleep. May we be supported and sustained in the dreadful conflict. I shall tarry here till tis thought unsafe by my Friends, and then I have secured myself a retreat at your Brothers who has kindly offerd me part of his house. I cannot compose myself to write any further at present. I will add more as I hear further.

❖ Do you agree with Abigail when she says, "The Day; perhaps the decisive Day is come on which the fate of America depends"?

June 22, 1775

I received yours [of] June 10, for which I thank you. I want you to be more perticular. Does every Member feel for us? Can they realize what we suffer? And can they believe with what patience and fortitude we endure the conflict -- nor do we even tremble at the frowns of power. -- You inquire of me, who were at the engagement at Grape Island. I may say with truth all Weymouth Braintree Hingham who were able to bear Arms, and hundreds from other Towns within 20 30 and 40 miles of Weymouth. Our good Friend the Doctor is in a very misirable state of Health, has the jaundice to a [very great] degree, is a mere Skelliton and hardly able to [ride from] his own house to my fathers. Danger you [know] sometimes makes timid men bold. He stood that day very .well, and generously attended with drink, Bisquit, flints &c. 5 hundred men without taking any pay. He has since been chosen one of the committee of Correspondence for that Town, and has done much Service by establishing a regular method of alarm from Town to Town. Both your Brothers were there -- your younger Brother with his company who gaine honour by their good order that Day. He was one of the first to venture aboard a Schooner to land upon the Island. -- At Chelsea I cannot be so perticular as I do not know only in General, that Coll. Putnam commanded there, and had many Gentlemen volunteers.

We have two companies stationd in this Town, at Germantown Capt. Turner, at Squantum Capt. Vinton. In Weymouth one, in Hingham two &c. -- I believe I shall remove your Books this week to your Brothers. We think it adviseable. Coll. Quincy has procured his family a retreat at Deacon Holebrooks. Mr. Cranch has one at Major Besses -- in case of necessity to which we hope not to be driven. -- We hear that the troops destined for Newyork are all expected here, but we have got to that pass that a whole legion of them would not intimidate us. -- I think I am very brave upon the whole. If danger comes near my dwelling I suppose I shall shuder. We want powder [although] with the blessing of Heaven we fear them not ... every possible method that can be made use of [. . .] it should, be by the whole continent. The state we are in at present is intrenching and fortifying. Tis said we have lost 44 men and the Regulars near a thousand, 64 officers amongst them. -- God bless and preserve us. Write me every opportunity you can. I am your
Portia

Braintree October 21, 1775

...The sickness has abated here and in the Neighbouring Towns. In Boston I am told it is very sickly among the inhabitants and the soldiery. By a Man one Haskings who came out the day before yesterday I learn; that there are but about 25 hundred Soldiers in Town. How many there are at Charlestown he could not tell. He had been in Irons 3 weeks, some malicious fellow having said that he saw him at the Battle of Lexington, but he proved that he was not out of Boston that day, upon which he was released, and went with two other men out in a small boat under their Eye to fish. They played about near the shore a while catching small fish, till they thought they could possibly reach Dorchester Neck; no sooner were they perceived attempting to escape than they had 20 cannon discharged at them, but they all happily reached the shore. He says no Language can paint the distress of the inhabitants, most of them destitute of wood and of provisions of every kind. The Bakers say unless they have a new supply of wood they cannot bake above one fortnight longer -- their Biscuits are not above one half the former size. The Soldiers are obliged to do very hard duty, and are uneasy to a great degree, many of them declaring they will not continue much longer in such a state but at all hazards will escape; the inhabitants are desperate, and contriving means of escape. A floating Battery of ours went out two nights ago, and went row'd near the Town, and then discharged their Guns. Some of the Ball went into the Work house, some through the Tents in the common, and one through the Sign of the Lamb Tavern; he says it drove them all out of the common, Men, women and children screaming, and threw'd them into the utmost distress. But very unhappily for us in the discharge of one of the cannon, the Ball not being properly ramed down one of them split and killed 2 men and wounded 7 more, upon which they were obliged to return. He also says that the Tories are much distressed about the fate of Dr. Church, and very anxious to obtain him, and would exchange Lovell for him. This Man is so exasperated at the ill usage he has received from them that he is determined to insist immediately. They almost starved him whilst he was in Irons, he says he hopes it will be in his power to send some of them to Heaven for mercy.

They are building a fort by the Hay market and rending down houses for timber to do it with. In the course of the last week several persons have found means to escape. One of them says tis talked in Town that How will issue a proclamation giving Liberty to all who will not take up arms to depart the Town, and make it death to have any intercourse with the Country afterwards.

At present it looks as if there was no likelihoods of peace. The Ministry are determined to proceed at all events. The people are already slaves, and have neither virtue or spirit to help themselves or us. The time is hastning when Gorge like Richard may cry a kingdom a kingdom for a horse, and want even that wealth to make the purchase.

I hope by degrees we shall be innured to hardships and become a virtuous valient people, forgetting our former Luxury and each one apply with industry and frugality to Manufactory and husbandry till we rival all other Nations by our Virtues.

- ❖ From reading Abigail's letter, how might we imagine the events in Boston affected the people on the outskirts of the town?
- ❖ Comment on Abigail's writing style. How might her situation influence her style?
- ❖ Abigail writes to her husband, "*I hope by degrees we shall be innured to hardships and become a virtuous valient people, forgetting our formour Luxery and each one apply with industry and frugality to Manufactory and husbandery till we rival all other Nations by our Virtues.*" Is Abigail an optimist? What good does she see coming out of Bostonians' experiences? How common might such an outlook be?

16-18 March, 1776

...From Pens Hill we have a view of the largest Fleet ever seen in America. You may count upwards of 100 & 70 Sail. They look like a Forrest. It was very lucky for us that we got possession of Nook Hill. They had placed their cannon so as to fire upon the Top of the Hill where they had observed our people marking out the Ground, but it was only to elude them for they began lower upon the Hill and nearer the Town. It was a very foggy dark evening and they had possession of the Hill six hours before a gun was fired, and when they did fire they over shot our people so that they were coverd before morning and not one man lost, which the enemy no sooner discoverd than Bunker Hill was abandoned and every Man decamp'd as soon as he could for they found they should not be able to get away if we once got our cannon mounted. Our General may say with Ceasar *veni vidi et vici*.

Adieu -- Yours most Sincerely.

P.S. Pray convey me a little paper. I have but enough for one Letter more.

Monday morning

A fine quiet night -- no allarms no Cannon. The more I think of our Enemies quitting Boston, the more amaz'd I am, that they should leave such a harbour, such fortifications, such intrenchments, and that we should be in peaceable possession of a Town which we expected would cost us a river of Blood without one Drop shed. Shurely it is the Lords doings and it is Marvelous in our Eyes. Every foot of Ground which they obtain now they must fight for, and may they purchase it at a Bunker Hill price.

- ❖ How close is Abigail's account of evacuation to others you have read?
- ❖ Describe Abigail's tone. How is it significant?
- ❖ What does she mean when she says, "Our General may say with Ceasar *veni vidi et vici*"?
- ❖ How reliable are Abigail's letters as a source?

Section II:

Soldiers in Boston

Major General Henry Knox

Henry Knox was born in Boston to William Knox and Mary Campbell Knox in 1750. His parents were pioneers from North Ireland. Henry was the seventh of ten children. William Knox was a shipmaster, carrying on trade with the West Indies. Suffering from financial difficulties and all the mental stress and burdens that go with money woes, William died at the age of fifty. Henry gave up school and became the sole support for his mother. He became a clerk in a Boston bookstore, and eventually opened one himself. He was an avid reader, fond of history, but his main interest later settled on artillery.

Knox supported the American cause, and as early as 1772, he became a member of the Boston Grenadier Corps. He was a volunteer in June 1775 at the Battle of Bunker Hill. He served under General Ward, in charge of the colonials around Boston. In 1775, Washington arrived in Boston, taking command of the army. There he met and developed a friendship with Knox, a friendship that would last a lifetime. Washington realized the need of artillery in the American forces and found Knox to be well versed on the subject. Washington asked his opinion on what the army should do. The thought of Knox was to use the cannon from the captured Fort Ticonderoga. Thus, Knox was commissioned a colonel, placed in charge of artillery, and given the task to bring cannon from Ticonderoga to Boston. By way of ox sleds, Knox successfully brought fifty cannon to the city.

In March 1776, Washington seized Dorchester Heights and Knox placed the cannon in position there. Howe, realizing the danger of an impending American bombardment, withdrew his troops from the city. On March 17, he and his troops departed for Halifax.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) Washington Irving, in *Life of George Washington* (1859), wrote that [Henry] "Knox was one of those providential characters which spring up in emergencies, as if they were formed by and for the occasion." To what extent do individuals shape history? Think of examples to support your answer.
- 2.) One of the things that distinguished Americans from their British brethren was the extent to which they could raise their status through hard work and perseverance. Could Henry Knox have done what he did in the British Army?
- 3.) George Washington recognized Knox's talent and immediately brought him into his inner circle. What can this tell us about Washington as a leader?

Selections from Henry Knox's Diary

Henry Knox diary, Massachusetts Historical Society
Available online at: <http://www.masshist.org/revolution/>

[Page 12]

13th [Dec. 1775] being very uneasy
at not hearing of our
little fleet we dispatch'd an
Express boat -- about 2 oClock
but in the afternoon we
Receiv'd advice that on the
morning of the 10th [Dec. 1775] the Scow had
gotten from off the rock on
which she had run & with
great difficulty had reach'd
Sabbath day point -- & on
the same Night the wind
being exceeding high the sea
had beat in her in such
a manner that she had
sunk -- this news was

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on foot about 6 miles in
the midst of an exceeding fine
Snow -- when Judge Dewer
procur'd me a sleigh to go
to Stillwater -- after crossing the
ferry we got with Considerable
Difficulty to Arch McNeals Saratoga
where we din'd & sat off about
three oClock it still snowing
exceeding fast & it being very
deep after the utmost efforts
of the horses we reach'd Ensigns
26 [Dec. 1775] about 8 Miles beyond saratoga
where we lodg'd -- In the
morning the snow being
nearly two feet deep we with

great trouble reach'd about
two miles we then procur'd
saddles & went to Stillwater
Where we got a Sleigh to go
to albany but the roads

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not being broken prevented
our getting farther than
New City about 9 miles
above albany -- where we lodg'd.

In the morning we sat out
& got about 2 miles when
our horses tir'd and refus'd
to go any farther -- I was then
Oblig'd to undertake a very
fatiguing march of about 2
miles in snow three feet
deep thro' the woods there
being no beaten path --
got to Squire Fishers who
politely gave me a fine
breakfast & provided me
with horses who saw which
carried Me as far as Col Schuylers
where I got a Sleigh to
carry Me to Albany which

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I reach'd about two oClock
almost perish'd with the Cold

In the afternoon waited on Genl.
Schuyler & spent the evening with
him

[27. December 1775.] Sent off for Mr Palmer
to Come immediately down to
Albany --

28th [December 1775] Mr Palmer Came Down
& after a considerable degree
of conversation between him
& General Schuyler about
the price the Genl Offering
18/9. & Palmer asking 24/. P
day for 2 Yoke of Oxen
the treaty broke off abruptly [abruptly]
& Mr Palmer was dismiss'd &
by reports from all parts the

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[snow was] too deep for the Cannon
to set out even if the Sleds
were ready

29th [December 1775] General Schuyler
agreed with. sent
out his Waggen Master &
other people to all parts of the
County to immediately send up
their slays with horses suitable
he allowing them 12/. P day
for each pair of horses or £ 7.
P Ton for 62 miles

the 31st [December 1775] the Waggen master
Return'd the Names of persons
in the different parts of the
County who had gone up
to the lake with their horses
in the whole amounting
to near 124 pairs. -- with

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Slays which I'm afraid are
not Strong enough for the heavy
Cannon If I can Judge from
the sample Shewn me by
Genl Schuyler.

January 1st to the 4th [1776]
employ'd in getting holes cut
in the different crossing places
in the river in order to Strengthen
the Ice. this day the 4th [Jan. 1776] arriv'd
a brass 24 pounder & a small mortar
I this day sent a Letter to Genl
Washington one to Brg Genl
Gates also one to Capt. Baylor
and one to my lovely Lucy

In much the afternoon much
alarm'd by hearing that one
of the heaviest Cannon
had fallen in to the river a

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At half moon ferry this Genl
Schuyler came & inform'd me
just as I was going to set down
to Dinner I immediately sent
out for A Slay & went up to the
half moon which where I reach'd
at Dusk & not hearing of the
others & fearing that they would
meet the same fate I sent
off an express to Sloss's ferry
about 7 miles Distant With
a Letter to Mr. Schuyler Informing
him of my excessive surprize
Of the Careless manner in

which he carried the Cannon
over without taking those
precautions which by his
Instructions he was bound
to have done & by no
means to attempt crossing

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where he was untill I
came -- the express return'd
& inform'd that they had all
got safely over -- I then
sent off another express to
Mr Swartz to cross at Sloss's
as the Ice was so much stronger
there than at half Moon
the usual place of crossing --

5th.[January 1776] I went up the mohawk
river about seven miles & there
cross'd over on very weak Ice
indeed for horses -- & run down
along side the River untill we
came to the falls, so famous
in this part of the Continent &
known by the name of the
Cohoos falls. Those stupendous

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Falls inferior to none save
the Grand one of Niagara, are
form'd by the whole body
of the mohawk River falling
at one pitch from a perpendic [perpendicular]
of fiftyeighty feet -- It is the most
superb & affecting sight I ever
saw -- the river is about
4 or 500 Yards wide, at the
time I saw it was about
9 oClock in the morning
when the beams of the Sun

reflected on the whole Icy
Scence [scene] around -- Vast Icicles
of twenty feet long and three
or four feet thick hanging
pendent from the neighboring
rocks -- which were form'd

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from the rain & melted Snow
falling from the neighboring
heights & a very severe frost
coming up which arrested
the Water in its fall --
-- this ornamented the scene
in a very particular manner
-- the water falling from such a
height gave the water the
look of milk. It look'd like
one vast torrent of milk
pouring from a stupendous
height -- In its fall
Occasion'd a very thick mist
to arise, which look'd like
a Shower of rain & I was
told that in Summer time
a perpetual rainbow was
to be seen here after having

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after having gaz'd & wonder'd
for a long time I return'd to
Albany about 12 Miles from
the admiring the stupendous
Works or [of] nature & not a little
humbl'd by thoughts of
my own insignificancy

Sunday Jany 6th 7th [1776] albany
The Cannon which the night
before last came over at Sloss's
ferry we attempted to get

Over the ferry here, which we
effected excepting the last which
fell into the River notwithstanding
the precautions we took, & in its
fall broke All the Ice for
14 feet around It -- this was
a misfortune as It retarded

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the dispatch which I wish'd to
use in this business we push'd
the 10 Sleds on which got over
safe & then I went to getting
the drown'd Cannon out which
we partly effected tho but by reason
of the nights coming cou'd not do it entirely.

8th [Jan. 1776] Went on the Ice About 8
oClock
in the morning & proceeded so cautiously
that before night we got over thing
three sleds & were so lucky as
to Get the Cannon out of the
River, owing to the assistances
the good people of the City of
Albany gave In return for which
we christen'd her the The Albany

The 9th [Jan. 1776] -- Got several spare
slays also some spare string

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of horses, in case of Any
accident -- After taking my
leave of General Schuyler &
some other of my friends in
albany I sat out from thence
About twelve oClock &
went as far as Claverac
about 9 Miles beyond Kinder
hook -- I first saw all the

Cannon set out from the
ferry opposite albany --

10th [Jan. 1776] reach'd [No 1,?] after have
Climb'd mountains from
which we might almost
have seen all the Kingdoms
of the Earth -- 11th [Jan. 1776] went
12 miles thro' the Green Woods
to Blanford It appear'd to

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me almost a miracle that
people with heavy loads should
be able to get up & down such
Hills as Are here with any thing
of heavy loads -- 11th [Jan. 1776] at Blanford
we overtook the first division
who had tarried here untill
we came up -- and refus'd
going any further On accott
that there were no snow
beyond five or six miles further
in which space there was
the tremendous Glasgow
or Westfield mountain to go
down -- but after about
three hours perseverance
& hiring two teams of
oxen -- they agreed to go

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) What difficulties did Knox encounter on his journey? Cite 3 specific examples.
- 2.) Was Knox well prepared for his journey? How could you know?
- 3.) What might this diary tell you about Knox's personality, temperament, and character?
- 4.) What is your favorite part of this diary? Cite a specific section or quote.
- 5.) How reliable is this diary as a source?

General John Thomas

John Thomas was born in Marshfield, Massachusetts. As a young man he studied medicine with Doctor Tufts in Medford before beginning his own practice in Kingston.

During King George's War in 1746 he was appointed surgeon to a regiment bound for Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia. Liking military service, in 1747 he traded his post as surgeon for that of a lieutenant. By the time of the French and Indian War he had risen to colonel in the militia or provincial ranks. In 1760, General Jeffrey Amherst put him at the head of a division during the attack and capture of Montreal. After the war he returned to his practice at Kingston.

Thomas was a true patriot and a leader, and in the period leading up to open war, he recruited a regiment of volunteers (2nd Massachusetts Regiment) in Plymouth County and served as their colonel. In February 1775 the state assembly named him a brigadier general. He led his troops to the siege in Boston, and in June, the Congress appointed him a brigadier in the Continental Army. General Thomas briefly resigned, disappointed that while four major generals were named, he was not on the list. At the time the Congress was trying to name no more than one major general from each state, and Artemas Ward was given preference. When George Washington and Charles Lee both implored him to remain, he returned to service. The Congress did resolve that he would be given precedence over all other brigadiers in the army.

On the night of March 4, 1775 he led his division to fortify the Dorchester Heights overlooking the south harbor at Boston using cannon that Henry Knox brought from Fort Ticonderoga. From this position he threatened the British fleet and the British were forced to withdraw, evacuating Boston on March 17. Thomas was finally named a major general. After General Richard Montgomery was killed, Thomas was assigned to command in Canada and take charge of the Canadian invasion, where he died of smallpox on June 2, 1776.

Order from Major General Ward to Brigadier General John Thomas

John Thomas papers, Massachusetts Historical Society

Camp at Roxbury 4 March, 1776

Brigadier general Thomas is to take command of 2100 men which are to be paraded at Dorchester at six o'clock this evening, with which he is to proceed to Dorchester Point and there throw up such works on the two commanding eminences, as with the advice of the engineer shall think most proper for the defense of the ground and annoyance of the enemy and defend the same.

By order of Major General Ward
Joseph Ward
Aide de camp

Letter from General John Thomas to his wife, March 9, 1776

John Thomas papers, Massachusetts Historical Society

Dear Mrs. Thomas

We have for some time been preparing to take possession of Dorchester Point, and last Monday night about 7 o'clock, I marched with about 3,000 picked men, beside 360 ox teams and some pieces of artillery. Two companies of the train of teams were laden with materials for our works. About 8 o'clock we ascended the high hills and by daylight got two hills defensible. About sunrise the enemy and others in Boston appeared numerous on the tops of houses and on the wharfs viewing us with astonishment, for our appearance was unexpected to them. The cannonading which kept up all night from our lines at Lamb's Dam and from the enemy's lines, likewise at Lechmere Point, now ceased from those quarters, and the enemy turned their fire toward us on the hills, but they soon found it was to little effect. About 10 o'clock we discovered large bodies of troops embarking in boats with their artillery, which made a formidable appearance. After some time they were put on board transports and several of the ships came down near the castle, as we supposed with a design to land on our shore. Our people appeared in good spirits to receive them. We were now in a good position of defense, and had 2,000 men added to our number. The enemy viewed us critically, and we remained in that situation that night. The next day they came to sail, and returned to town and landed these troops. On Friday, about 2 o'clock pm, they sent a flag of truce with a paper, a copy of which I have enclosed. I have had very little sleep or rest this week, being closely employed day and night. But now I think we are well secured. I write in haste, thinking you may be anxious to hear, as there is much firing this way. We lost but two men killed in all this affair. How things are in Boston or what loss they have sustained from our shots and shells, at present we are not informed, but I am sensible we distressed them much, from appearances. I have wrote you enclosed by the same hand and in haste.

Dorchester Hills, in a small hut, March 9, 1776

Your son John is well and in high spirits. He ran away from Oakley privately, on Tuesday morning and got by the sentries and came to me on Dorchester Hills, where he has been most of the time...

Questions to Consider:

- 1.) Compare Thomas's account of the evacuation with Sullivan's. How are the similar/different?
- 2.) According to Thomas, how many men were lost in the engagement?
- 3.) Strategically, how well designed was the American army's plan to defeat the British at Boston?
- 4.) Unlike ourselves, the American commanders could not read ahead in the textbook to know how this engagement would end. How confident do you think they were of their success? What other options might they have considered?

Horatio Gates

Born in Essex, England, Gates became a professional soldier in the British army. He served during the French and Indian War, including Braddock's campaign to Fort Duquesne, and the Monckton expedition against French Martinique. In 1772, he purchased an estate in western Virginia. Three years later, Gates joined General Washington's staff. He provided the Continental Army's first disciplinary code, supply procedures, and camp sanitation regulations.

Source: <http://www.nps.gov/history/museum/exhibits/revwar/>

Letter from General Gates to John Adams, March 8, 1776

Adams Family papers, Massachusetts Historical Society

Available online at: <http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde/>

Dear Sir,

Monday night two thousand men under the command of Brigadier General Thomas took possession of Dorchester Heights, a vast quantity of Materials being previously collected, especially Chandeliers and Fascines, out troops were soon covered, and long before day began to break ground to thicken their defences [sic] against the enemy's cannon.

To conceal our design and divert the Enemy's attention to a very heavy Service of Cannon & Mortars began to play upon the town between ten and eleven Saturday night from our three fortified Batteries at Cobble Hill, Lechmere Point and Lamb's Dam, this was continued all that night, and the two succeeding. The Enemy returned the fire constantly, but always ceased as we did in the mornings. Our shot must have made Great Havock amongst the houses, as I am confident they swept the town; what loss otherwise suffered by the Enemy we are ignorant. As neither townsman nor deserter has yet come in to acquaint us. Monday morning at sunrise expecting the enemy would attempt to force our New Works upon the Heights, everything was prepared for their proper reception and a Large body of troops were drawn up by Cambridge River, with orders upon a signal given, to embark upon slab Bottom'd Boats & in two Divisions push into Boston; but the Enemy disappointed us by remaining sullen and sulky in Boston, suffering our works upon the Heights to be carried on without any other molestation than now and then a Feint Cannonade upon Dorchester Neck, & even this ceas'd with the day, for neither side have since fired a shot at each other. By Monday morning our Redoubts will be finished and Barracks for 600 Men, so all that Peninsula

may be called ours, as the Cannon on the Heights commands the whole of it. The Behavior of the Enemy since Monday strongly indicates their intention of removing from Boston, as their Heavy Cannon & Powder had been seen and heard transporting from Bunker's Hill and the Upper parts of the Town, to the Wharf's next the shipping for several days past & this morning a Quantity of Bedding is observed putting on board Transports at the Long Wharf. Before we are quite ready to advance our Batteries upon Dorchester Point I suspect the Enemy will enbarque. A few days will shew if am or am not mistaken. I was disappointed in not receiving your High Mightyness's Act of Independency in the Last Post.

The Middle way the best we sometimes call
But 'tis in Politicks no way at all.

Shew this immediately to my Worthy Friend T. Johnson & remember I have begun to fulfill my promise to you.

I am, Dear Sir,
with Great esteem
your affectionate
Humble Servant
Horatio Gates

Questions for Thought and Discussion:

- 1.) What are the Chandeliers and Fascines to which Gates refers? Hypothesize first, then look it up. What is a redoubt?
- 2.) Locate the "three fortified Batteries" to which Gates refers on the map of Boston.
<http://www.masshist.org/database/2053>
- 3.) According to the document, how did Gates and other military leaders acquire information and intelligence?
- 4.) According to the letter, what was the American plan had the British not left but stayed to engage the forces at the Heights?
- 5.) At the end of the letter, Gates quotes a bit of verse. What does it suggest about his position in regards to the politics of the day?
- 6.) What might you guess is the promise to which Gates refers in the last sentence?
- 7.) Evaluate the reliability of this document.

Major General John Sullivan

John Sullivan was an American general in the Revolutionary War and a delegate in the Continental Congress. He served as a major general in the Continental Army and as Governor (or "President") of New Hampshire, 1786–1788 & 1789–1790.

Letter from John Sullivan to Samuel Adams, January 8, 1776

Published in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. XIV (1875-1876), 275–276.

Camp on Winter Hill, Jan. 8, 1776.

My Dear Sir, — Give me leave to assure you that my not writing you often proceeds only from want of time, being over engaged upon some affair or other that wholly engrosses my attention, though nothing of consequence has as yet resulted from our endeavor for want of an article so material as powder which next to money is the life and support of an army. I am almost ashamed to write when I can give account of no matters of consequence which has as yet turned up. Jack Frost has been promising us a bridge but alas it is now going to decay which prevents any attempt upon Boston for the present...

I this moment received his Majesty's most graceless speech of the 26 of October last, and much applaud the moderation of our worthy senators in bearing with so much coolness the reflections cast upon them by his Majesty. He says they have been preparing for a revolt — while they were trying to amuse by the strongest protestations of loyalty! I sincerely wish that our present situation did not prove the falsity of this declaration and the folly we have been guilty of in not giving his Majesty more foundation for this libel. I hope by this time you are all convinced that we have nothing to hope from Great Britain, and that you will act that part which even malice itself must now justify. That your councils may be guided by wisdom and that the results of your deliberations may procure independence, and safety to your country is dear sir the earnest prayer of your most

Obedient servant

Letter from John Sullivan to John Adams, March 15-19, 1776

Adams Family papers, Massachusetts Historical Society

Available online at: <http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde/>

Winter Hill, March 15th 1776

Dear Sir

Your very acceptable Favour of the 7th last came to hand this day. You could not have conferred a great obligation on me than by giving yourself the Trouble to write, but when you give me to understand that my services are acceptable to your eyes, & in the eyes of the Congress in General, I already esteem myself fully rewarded for all my toils & cannot but persevere in my Endeavor to Deserve the good opinion of the Congress & my Country.

The Enemy after being severely handled by our Shots and Shells for a few nights found us in possession of Dorchester Heights. This threw them into the utmost consternation. They endeavored to elevate their cannon so as to reach our works by sinking the Hinder wheels of the cannon into the Earth, but after an unsuccessful fire of two Hours, they grew wary of it and desisted. They then ordered Lord Piercy with 3000 troops on board the Transports & to procede to the Castle, from whence he was to come and attack our works on the South while the grenadiers and Light Infantry were to land from Boston on the north point of Dorchester called Nook Point & attack our lines on the other side. This was no more than we expected and had therefore prepared signals at Roxbury to notify us of the Enemy's movement; & upon their making an attack at Dorchester, we were to land in our Boats on the North of Boston, and carry the Town, sword in hand. I was appointed to Command the first Division, & General Green the Second. General Heath was to remain in Cambridge with the Troops left here, & the attack was to be made with 4000, we not having Boats to carry more. Our Boats were prepared, & men Paraded by them ready to Embark, & all seemed to be in longing Expectation for the Signal: but the Renowned Lord Piercey Disappointed us, for he, instead of his Prospect Glass, took a multiplying Glass, & viewed our people from the Castle, & made them fifty thousand, when in fact, we had only sent on four thousand. This prevented their attack & Depriv'd us the pleasure of walking the Streets of Boston for that time. The Troops then thought of nothing but quitting the Town, & have been ever since, preparing for their Departure.

Tuesday March 19th 1776

Dear Sir

I had not time on the 15 Inst. to finish my Letter and now beg Leave to give you Some further Intelligence viz. on Saturday Evening our People took possession of Nook Hill near Boston. They Continued a Cannonading all night without hurting a Man. In the morning they found the Approaches So near and being Suspicious that we were about taking possession of Noddles Island they Embarked Early on Sunday morning and fell Down to the Castle. We Saw the Ships under way about 8 in the morning and the River full of Boats

with Armed Soldiers. This gave an Alarm as Some Suspected they were about to Land at Dochester but having a full view of them with a Glass from Plowed Hill I found they were going on board the Ships. I then took my Horse and Rode Down to Charlestown Neck where I had a Clear view of Bunkers Hill. I Saw the Sentries Standing as usual with their Firelocks Shouldered but finding they never moved I Soon Suspected what Regiment they belonged to and upon taking a Clear view with my Glass found they were only Effigies Set there by the flying Enemy. This Convinced me that they were Actually fled for if they meant to Decoy us they would have taken away Every appearance of Men. By this time I was Joined by Colo. Mifflin who with my Brigade Major agreed to go up Sending two persons Round the works to Examine whether there was any of them in the Rear of the works while we went up in the front. I at the Same time Sent for a Strong party to follow us on to the Hill to assist us in Running away (if necessary). We found no persons there and bravely Took a fortress Defended by Lifeless Sentries. I then brought on the party to Secure what we had So bravely won and went Down to the other works where we found all Abandoned but the works not Injured in any part. We hailed the ferry Boat which came over and Informed us that they had abandoned the Town. We then gave Information to the General who ordered me with the Troops under my Command to take possession of Charlestown and General Putnam with 2000 men to take possession of the works in Boston and on Monday morning his Excellency Make his Entry into Boston and Repaired to Mr. Hancocks House where we found his Furniture Left without Injury or Diminution. Indeed General Grant Sent for the man Left in Charge of the House and Desired him to Examine whether any of the Furniture was Damaged which he Said was not (Though I believe the Brave General had made free with Some Articles in the Cellar). Indeed the Buildings Except the old wooden ones have Suffered but very Little by the Rebel Army. We found about forty good Cannon, a fine 13 Inch mortar and great Quantity of Stores which they in their Hurry have Left for our use. They Spiked up the Cannon but we can Easily Clear them. I Shall this Day visit your House or rather mine and Inform you what State it is Left in and for your Sake and the Lady who gave it me as well as my own Shall see that no Injury is Done to it in future. Till I can have the pleasure of Seeing you and your family in full possession. I Expect to march for New York in two or three Days part of our Army having marched Some Days Since and the whole is to follow to prevent them getting possession of that Important Post.

I have Seen Common Sense and admire it. It Takes well with the Army and the People in General and I hope So Rational a Doctrine will be Established throughout the Continent as the only Doctrine which will {p. 56} work out the Salvation of America. You ask me if we have any Colonels fit for Brigadiers and who they are. I will undertake to Recommend one Viz Colo. Stark⁸ who is an old veteran and has better pretensions than any other Colonel in the Army though by Down right Dint of Blunder he was Ranked below other Colonels in the Army when by the very Principles the Committee pretended to go upon he Should have been the first. This Recommendation I Submit to your wise Consideration. I beg you to make my most Respectful Compliments to Colo. Hancock, Mssrs Adams, Pain and Garey and believe me to be Dr Sir with much respect

your most obedt. Servt.
Jno Sullivan

- 1.) What does Sullivan mean when he tells Samuel Adams that "Jack Frost has been promising us a bridge"?
- 2.) Sullivan writes to Adams that King George "says they [the colonists] have been preparing for a revolt — while they were trying to amuse by the strongest protestations of loyalty!" Do you think Sullivan was correct in this statement? What insight does it give into the inevitability of a break with England at this point?
- 3.) How much do you think Sullivan's political feelings influenced his role as a soldier?
- 4.) What reason does Sullivan give for the British decision to flee Boston without an attack? How does it differ from Washington's? (see Washington's letter to John Augustine) Whose assessment do you think is more accurate?
- 5.) What happened to John Hancock's house during the siege?
- 6.) How reliable is this source?

Joseph Ward

Joseph Ward is listed in Continental Army records as a major and aide-de-camp (personal secretary) to Artemas Ward from July 20, 1775 to April 1776 and remained with General Ward as secretary until the general retired from active service in September, 1776.

Letter from Joseph Ward to John Adams, March 14, 1776

Adams Family papers, Massachusetts Historical Society

Available online at: <http://www.masshist.org/publications/apde/>

Camp at Roxbury 14 March 1776

Sir,

At night we began a cannonade of bombardment upon the Enemy and continued three night successively. On the 4th at night we threw up works upon the heights on Dorchester Point. The next morning the Pirates in Boston and in the Harbour appeared to be in great agitation and every day and night since have been preparing (according to our observations and information from the Town) to leave Boston. During our fire upon them they returned it warmly with shot and shells but thro' the good Providence of God we lost but four privates in this Camp and one private only in Cambridge. Several were slightly wounded....Since we are possessed of the heights which command the town it is generally apprehended the Pirates will go to New York or the Southern Colonies. May all the winds of Heaven oppose there...

Our privateers continue to be successful and every appearance and the general state of things affords an encouraging prospect and if we persevere I cannot doubt but we shall soon see our Country in Freedom, Peace and Safety.

I hope Common Sense will convince every doubting mind with regard to the propriety and necessity of forming a Government in America; it is a glorious performance and I think I see strong marks of your pen in it. I am persuaded the war would not be long if those sentiments were adopted and that America would soon be the admiration and glory of the world. I trust Heaven will direct to it, and for which I ardently wish.

Gen. Ward desires his Compliments to you and to your worthy Colleagues in Congress.

May the God of our Fathers direct all the Councils of America. I am, Sir, with great respect,

Joseph Ward

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) What is the purpose of this letter? What is its tone? How is tone significant?
- 2.) What is Ward's attitude toward the enemy? How do we know?
- 3.) What is Wards attitude towards Congress and independence? How do we know? How is this attitude significant?
- 4.) How reliable is this document?

The Diary of Samuel Bixby: A Soldier in Boston during the Siege

Richard Frothingham papers, Massachusetts Historical Society

Published in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. 14 (1875-76), 285-298.

SUTTON, Mass., May 4, 1775.

Took our journey, and encamped this night at Sudbury.

5th. Took our journey, & pitched our tents in Roxbury. ,

6th. It is said the regulars were about to make an attack somewhere; and about 6 o. c. P.M. the Army was on the Grand parade. The Col. ordered us to lie by our arms & ammunition all night. But there was no disturbance.

14th. Last Sunday the Meeting House was full of soldiers, and news came that the regulars were landing on Dorchester Point. The Gen ordered the drums beat to arms, and as soon as the drums sounded, the soldiers were out of the Meeting House in the twinkle of an eye. We paraded, and marched to Dorchester Neck, as it was said, the enemy was landing from the Castle. It proved to be a false alarm, and we returned to our quarters. We were ordered to lie by our arms through the night.

27th. Saturday. About 200 men were detached to go to the Point to guard it. About 9 or 10 o. c. in the evening we heard the cannon roar, and the small arms crack for about an hour, in the direction of Marblehead or Medford, as we thought. We have since learnt that it was Col. Putnam, & his men on Noodle's Island, where he engaged the regulars, and took 300 sheep, & 200 lambs. One ship run aground, & they burnt it. He also took some cattle.

June 1st. Thursday. Now I shall endeavour to put some things upon record every day, that are transacted during my campaign. We heard to-day that a soldier over at Cambridge was deeply in love, & wished to go home to see his *dear*, and being refused leave of absence by his Captain, (Wood) went into a barn and hanged himself. Two others died of sickness the same night.

2d. Friday. Guards & fatigues as usual.

3d. Saturday. Drawed provisions for Sunday; namely, Bread, Dry-fish, Potatoes, Butter, Rice, &c.

4th. Sunday. Nothing remarkable.

5th. Monday. This day is " Artillery Election;" but it was not much thought of by the soldiers. About 12 o. c. the regulars fired from the Fortification; and they fired from the Castle at a party of our men on shore digging clams, but did no damage. Our men picked up one of the balls, a 24 pounder, and carried it to the Gen., who gave them two gall. of rum. A party of our men out towards Noddle's Island captured a barge and four men belonging to a man of war, & carried it ashore at Cambridge, and this day brought the barge to Roxbury in a cart, with the sails up and three men in it. It was marched round the meeting-house, while the Engineer fired the Cannon for joy.

6th. Tuesday. Orders to wash the floor of the Barracks, and clean out every hole and corner, and to sweep the yards. Gen Thomas and Heath went to Dorchester Point to view & lay out a place

where to entrench, in order to storm the Castle. The regulars fired three times at them with their Cannon, but did no harm. Our sentries stopped a team going into Boston with a load of hay. They threw the hay off, & found 2 calves, 32 watches, a great number of letters, some veal, several boxes butter, 2 bushels green peas, and some mutton.

7th. Wednesday. William Waite of Sutton, went into Boston with his team, and carried a load of goods back for the liberty men in Boston.

8th. Thursday. A man to be whipped 20 lashes for stealing.

9th. Friday. The man who was going into Boston with the hay &c. was tried by a Court Martial, and acquitted, as he proved not to be a Tory. —

June 10th, 1775. Saturday. Nothing remarkable.

11th. Sunday. Last night Mr. Evans died of the pleurisy.

12th. Monday. General Orders : That every man shall turn out at the break of day on the Grand parade till further orders.

13th. General Court Martial. A man sentenced to 20 lashes and drummed out of camp for striking without cause, a soldier. — Eight ships sailed into Boston harbor to day.

14th. Wednesday. Squire Pain's son of Worcester went into Boston with his horse. The sentries searched his saddle bags, & then let him pass.

15th. Thursday. Nothing remarkable.

16th. Friday. Firing by the regulars in Boston. Went on the Grand parade, where about 300 men were drawn for the Point Piquet, and about 600 to entrench the piquet.

About 9 o. c. P. M. the regulars in Boston fired an alarm, and rung the bells. We heard them drawing the carriages to the neck, & the riding of horses with great speed up to their guard and back into Boston, and there was great commotion there. It was supposed they were preparing to attack us in the morning, but no special orders were issued. The town seemed to be alive with men marching in all directions.

June 17th, 1775. Saturday. Col. Putnam with a large party went on to a hill in Charlestown, called Bunker's Hill, last night to entrench, & this morning the British discovered him, & commenced firing at the men on the hill. A heavy fire was opened at Col. Putnam from the ships, & also from the fortifications in Boston. The regulars went over in barges in great numbers and landed in Charlestown to attack Col. Putnam. Our men returned the fire smartly, and the battle appeared to rage fiercely. The entrenchment was not quite completed, and our men having spent their ammunition, still defended themselves bravely, but were obliged to retreat. The regulars set houses on fire, & did all manner of mischief. Col. Putnam retreated to another hill, & went to entrenching there, while the British kept up a constant fire upon him.

About noon we fired an alarm, & rung the bells in Roxbury; and every man was ordered to arms, as an attack was expected.

Col. Darned marched his Beg' up to the meeting house, & then to the burying yard, which was the alarm post, where we laid in ambush with two field pieces placed to give it to them unawares, should the regulars come.

About 6 o. c. the enemy drew in their sentries, & immediately a heavy fire was opened from the Fortification. The balls whistled over our heads, & through the houses, making the clap-boards and shingles fly in all directions.

Before the firing had begun, the Gen ordered some men down the street to fall some apple trees across the street, to hinder the approach of their Artillery.

Lieut Hazeltine picked up a 12lbs ball—we were anxious to get their balls as though they were gold balls. The firing is still kept up at Charlestown & Cambridge. The enemy threw bomb-shells hourly into Roxbury during the night. Col. Larned ordered his Reg to encamp in the safest place. Our company took cover behind a hill.

18th. Sunday. Paraded at the burying yard, & then went into quarters. The firing of cannon & small arms continued at Charlestown and Cambridge, and several more houses burnt. A man belonging to the Connecticut Reg was struck in the shoulder by a cannon ball, & died this morning. No other man was hurt in Roxbury. The Rhode Islanders laid out a piece of ground for an entrenchment, & went to work entrenching. Gen Thomas ordered them to cease work, but they swore they would not, and he thought best to let them go on with the work.

June 19th, 1775. Monday. Our men were ordered to another place to entrench. We hear from Cambridge that Col Putnam is entrenching, & that the regulars are still firing at him.

20th. Tuesday. Entrenching here and at Cambridge, and but little firing.

21st. Wednesday. A fatigue party to cut facines for the Fort. We cannot go nearer the Point now, than on to Dorchester neck, as the enemy might cut us off from the way of the marsh; and with their Guns of the Ships & Blockhouse. Our sentries spied 3 men of wars- men on shore, & fired at them. Two were killed.

About 4 o. c. P.M. The Rev. M. Paine of Sturbridge preached a sermon to our Reg from Judges 20th c. 28th v. " Shall I yet again go out to battle against the children of Benjamin, my brother ? "

22d. Thursday. We are still entrenching here & in Cambridge, & making our position as strong and secure as we can. We have thrown up a strong work across the street, and also one across the road to Dorchester. The enemy has withdrawn the sentries to the Fortification.

Within three weeks 14 Ships have arrived in Boston harbor.

23d. Friday. Nothing new this day, unless it is new to dig graves. We can see the regulars, with the spy glass digging graves in Boston. — We are still building the Fort.

June 24th, 1775. Saturday. A house near our entrenchment was ordered to be taken down, as it might be set on fire by a bomb-shell & render the entrenchment too hot for us. A party soon began the work, and about 1 o. c., the British opened a fire upon them.

Col. Larned paraded at the Burying Yard, & the regulars continued to fire shells at us.

A house on (Boston) Neck, called "Brown's House " was used by the regulars for a Guard House; and a party of our men obtained leave to set it on fire, and burn them out. But they were discovered too soon, & did not succeed. The parties had a pretty smart skirmish. Our party had two men killed. But we brought down a field piece & gave them a few shots; the first ball fired went through the house & drove them out. The firing was continued on both sides for some time. Two houses in Roxbury were set on fire.

25th. Sunday. Another attempt was made to burn the " Brown House," but we did not succeed. One man wounded. Our men returned the fire of the regulars briskly. Smart skirmishing with the enemy throughout the day on the neck, (Boston.) They lost several men.

26th. Monday. The guards kept a firing with small arms during the day. About sun-set the Rhode Islanders marched down to the guard, & fired 7 or 8 times at the regulars; & they returned three shots. No damage done to our men.

27th. Tuesday. We are building defences on Dorchester Neck. The Regulars fire at us occasionally. A man under guard jumped out of the garret window, and killed himself.

28th. Wednesday. A soldier was drummed out of camp for defaming the General.

29th. Thursday. Haynes Larned, son of Col. Larned, crept down to near the regular's guards last night, and fired at one of the sentries, and *dropt* him.

30th. Friday. General Orders: — The Drummers & Fifers shall parade at Head Quarters at 8 o'clock. A.M. each day to call the Main Guard, & at 4 o'clock. P.M. to call the Reg on to the Grand Parade. Also, that all sorts of gaming, such as card playing & the like, shall be suppressed. Last night, the Rhode Islanders went down to the guard with a field piece, & fired nine times at the regulars. They returned three shots. , July 1st. Saturday. We are fortifying on all sides, and making it strong as possible around the Fort. We have two 24 lbs. Cannon, & forty balls to each. We have hauled apple trees, with limbs trimmed sharp & pointing outward from the Fort. We finished one platform, & placed the Cannon on it just at night, and then fired two balls into Boston.

2d. Sunday. This morning at 4 o'clock. the regulars opened a heavy fire at us which was continued till about 7 o'clock., sending in among us balls, bomb-shells, carcasses, & stink pots. One house was burnt. We mounted guard at the usual hour, & marched to the Col's quarters and attended prayers; after which we returned to our quarters, with orders to keep ourselves ready for a start; and should there be no alarm before 2 o'clock. P.M. the Reg would attend public worship at the Col.'s Quarters. There was no alarm, & we accordingly attended the Divine Worship.

Our Company drew powder & balls enough to make up 30 rounds to each man.

3d. Monday. Orders from the Congress: — That the Captains of the several Companies shall make returns of the age & height of the men of their respective Companies : — where born — whether sons or servants : — when enlisted, & who under.

4th. Tuesday. James Wood, a soldier, broke his arm wrestling.

5th. Wednesday. Both of the new Generals, Washington and Lee, came into town (Roxbury) to day.

6th. Thursday. A flag of truce came from Boston, & was suspected as a spy. We were ordered to lie by our arms. I slept with my gun in my arms, & used my cartridge box for a pillow.

July 7th, 1775. Friday. Nothing.

8th. Last night we planted two pieces of artillery within range of the enemy's out post on the neck. About sun rise this morning a fire was opened on their guard house, which took fire. Our men fired with small arms also. Two regulars were killed. A floating battery was brought into the Bay near us, but we drove them away with our artillery. On this fight, our party burnt two houses & one barn, took 1 gun, 1 Bayonet, 1 halbert, & it is reported we killed several of the enemy.

9th. Sunday. Cut down apple trees & trimmed the limbs sharp, & built a sort of breast work across the road, with their points toward Boston to stop the light horse, should they come to attack us.

10th. Monday. Nothing remarkable.

11th. Tuesday. Last night a party went to attack Brown's Store. It was the only house left standing on the Neck this side of the Fortification. The store was set on fire, and firing of small arms was kept up on both sides.

12th. Wednesday. Last Wednesday a detachment of about 400 men marched down to Weymouth, & from there went in whaleboats to an Island, & captured 13 men, 2 boys, 2 women, 200 sheep, 19 head horned cattle, & several hogs. The 45 boats landed at Dorchester, & the 13 men were brought to Roxbury.

13th. Thursday. The regulars fired at our fatigue party which was throwing up an embankment on the marsh to set piquets in.

The regulars fired shot & shells at times during the day. Reuben Stockwell, of Sutton, died this afternoon about 3 o'clock of the camp distemper. He belonged to Capt. Daggett's Company, & was in his 20th year of age.

14th. Friday. Last night a party undertook to capture the enemy's sentries, but did not succeed. The party was discovered, & fired upon, & a smart skirmish took place. We lost one man belonging to the Connecticut forces.

15th. Saturday. Last night 200 men were ordered to march quietly to "George's Tavern," & throw up a breast work on the marsh.

16th. Sunday. General orders : To ascertain who, & how many in each company were expert in managing whale boats.

17th. Monday. Col. Larned & a number of his officers and soldiers took a walk to Dorchester point this morning for pleasure, & were fired at.

18th. Tuesday. About eleven o'clock the party at George's were fired upon. We sent a few balls into Boston, & the guards fired at each other.

19th. Wednesday. Nothing remarkable.

July 20th, 1775. Thursday. This day was set apart by our Rulers as a Day of Fasting throughout the twelve Tribes of America. Another flag of truce came from Regulars in Boston, with some letters about the poor. The Captain of our guard told him to inform Gage that all our Generals were well; and also that Hancock & Adams were well, and likely to live, & that we are all ready for him to come out.

21st. Friday. A man of Col. Reed's Reg was accidentally shot.

22d. Saturday. Nothing remarkable.

23d. Sunday. Nothing.

24th. Monday. Nothing.

25th. Gen Washington, Gen Lee, & Gen Ward came from Cambridge to take a view of things in Roxbury.

26th. Wednesday. Gen! Ward marched his Reg into Roxbury this day.

27th. Thursday. A deserter from Cambridge reports that the regulars are to attack Putnam's Fort.

28th. Friday. A deserter came in today, and says the regulars have but 900 men fit for duty, in Boston.

29th. Saturday. Nothing remarkable to-day.

30th. Sunday. Had an alarm, & the Adjutant General ordered the troops to the alarm post.

1st, Monday. Night before last a party of our men on Cambridge side went on to Charlestown neck, attacked the regular guard, & killed four men, & captured two. Last night about midnight, our troops at Cambridge began firing at the enemy. They fired also from Brooklin Fort, & here in Roxbury, into Boston. The regulars had it from all sides. Our guard near ' George's Tavern ' were drove in. The enemy fired from their ships & other places. " George's Tavern " & barn were burnt. The Cannon roared like thunder in all directions. Bomb shells were flung into Roxbury, but generally went over us. One man of our company was wounded.

August 1st. Tuesday. Yesterday we had a fight with the regulars down at the light house. We killed a considerable number of them, made prisoners of 35 regulars & 7 Tories, burnt two schooners, one house & one barn ; sunk one barge and took a great deal of plunder. We had one killed & one wounded. The regulars kept up a cannonading all day.

2nd. Wednesday. One of Gen Washington's riflemen was killed by the regulars to day & then hung up by the neck! His comrades seeing this were much enraged, & immediately asked leave of the Gen to go down and attack them. He gave them permission to go and do as they pleased. The Riflemen marched immediately & began operations. The regulars fired at them from all parts with cannon but the Riflemen skulked about, and kept up their sharp shooting all day. Many of the regulars fell, but the riflemen lost only one man.

A flag of truce came from Boston for a cessation of hostilities six days, but our Gen would not agree to it, & sent it immediately back. About 1 o. c. the enemy fired from their floating batteries

which was returned from the Brookline Fort. We fired the 24 pounder in the Great Fort above the meeting house, three times. One ball went into Boston, & two struck their breast work (*N.B. a breast work is a temporary, quickly constructed fortification, usually chest-high*)

3d. Thursday. Our men at Cambridge keep picking off the regular's sentries daily, & they continue to fire with their cannon at us.

4th. Friday. About the same as yesterday.-

5th. Saturday. The Captain who was at the burning of " George's Tavern " was broke for improper conduct.

6th. Sunday. This morning the regulars fired at our sentries, & our men gave them back the same.

7th. Monday. Major Tupper went into Boston, as far as the enemy's sentries with a flag of truce.

8th. Tuesday. The regulars took a floating Battery up to the north side of Charlestown and set two houses on fire. Soon our men brought out a field battery, and compelled them to withdraw.

9th. Wednesday. Nothing remarkable going on to day. A good deal of sickness in the camps with the camp distemper.

10th. Thursday. A flag of truce came from Boston, with letters concerning the prisoners on both sides. In the afternoon another came concerning the liberty people in Boston.

11th. Friday. A family came to Roxbury by way of Charlestown, & report that the British are plundering Boston, & loading their vessels with the plunder.

12th. Sat. About 1 o'clock. P. M. a Regiment of Riflemen arrived in Roxbury. Our men we have heard, took a Tory and several regulars & brought them into Cambridge. They were going eastward for stores. The firing we saw over at Charlestown neck last night was the riflemen attacking the regulars. The enemy lost several killed, & four made prisoners.

13th. Sun. Nothing.

14th. Mon. Last night we began to entrench down by Roxbury burying yard on each side of the street; — one in the orchard at the right hand, and one at the left hand, down towards " George's Tavern."

August 15th, 1775. Tuesday. About 2 o'clock. the enemy opened a cannonade from the Fortification and floating battery ; but our men kept entrenching/ We flung a few shots from the Fort, and with a field piece. They still keep pitching bomb-shells. One of our men was wounded.

16th. Wedn. The enemy keep up a firing upon our fatigue parties in the entrenchments, but they mind it not.

17th. Thurs. Three or four deserters came in from the ships of war. Also, a light horseman from Boston by swimming his horse — reports sickness among the regulars.

18th. Frid. The regulars continue to fling balls and bombs at our fatigue parties. The riflemen picked off a few of the regulars to day.

19th. Sat. Nothing remarkable. A deserter came in last night by swimming from Boston Common to Roxbury.

August 20th, 1775. Sunday. The deserters who came in last night report, that Gage's wife is about to sail for England.

A Guard was posted down at Lamb's Dam.

21st. Mon. A flag came out as far as our lower sentries.

22d. Tuesday. Cannonading by the regulars. A deserter came in.

23rd. Wed. Last night a party of our men took two boats, and rowed from the tide mill down the Bay to within gun shot distance of the regulars camp on Boston Common ; & then formed broad side on, and fired into their tents. It was a dark night & the party returned without loss.

24th. Thurs. One of our riflemen deserted last night. Fifteen ships sailed out of Boston harbor this day.

300 men were ordered to entrench at the lower end of Roxbury street last night, & 300 men were stationed at Lamb's Dam to protect them.

25th. Frid. Nothing but a bomb shell from Boston which fell in Roxbury.

26th. Sat. A brisk firing of small arms over at Charlestown neck.

August 27th, 1775. Sun. The firing at Charlestown neck yesterday by our men & the regular's guard.

28th. Monday. We see heavy firing from Bunker's Hill at our men on Prospect Hill.

The enemy drew up two floating batteries, from which they opened a fire upon them also. Our men returned the fire with good effect, by which one of the batteries was sunk. A brisk fire of small arms was kept up for some time.

29th. Tues: A Company of Riflemen arrived in Roxbury to day. Heavy firing on Bunker's Hill.

30th. Wed. Nothing.

31st. Thurs: The regulars came out this side of the Fortification last night.

Sept. 1st . Friday. A deserter came out last night. It was very dark and rainy, & the enemy gave us a shower of balls and bomb shells, some of which fell in Roxbury Street. We lost three men.

2nd. Sat. This morning we spied the enemy entrenching at Brown's Chimnies, & we fired at them from the lower fort, and with a field piece. Elias Sibley, of Sutton, died this morning at 4 o'clock of the camp distemper. He had come to stay awhile in the place of Sergeant Jonathan Gould.

3rd. Sun: Nothing of note.

Sept. 4th, 1775. Mon: Guards & fatigues.

5th. Tues: Things seem to go very dull at present. We have heard that it is very sickly in the country, & sore judgments seem to be coming upon us on all sides.

6th. Wed: Our fatigue parties are at work on both sides, below George's Tavern & at Lamb's Dam.

7th. Thus: — A Lieut in Col. Cotting's Regt. was accidentally shot in the side.

8th. Frid: Our fatigue party building a Fort on the Hill above Lamb's Dam, were fired upon by the enemy. They flung 6 or 7 balls and 2 bomb shells.

9th. Sat: Nothing important.

10th. Sun: The enemy flung several shot amongst our fatigue parties.

11th. Mon: Nothing.

12th. Tues : All quiet.

13th. Wed : Heard firing from the ships in the harbor.

14th. Thurs. A deserter came out from Boston.

15th. Fri. A deserter came from Boston last.

16th. Sat. Guards & fatigues as usual.

17th. Sun. This morning about 8 o'clock the regulars fired at our Main Guard 3 or 4 balls, and we gave them back 8 or 9 with our 12 & 18 pounders.

Sept. 18th, 1775. Mon: About 9 o'clock this morning the enemy began firing into Roxbury Street, and continued it at intervals during the day. We returned the fire.

19th. Tues. About 9 o'clock this morning the enemy opened another heavy fire into Roxbury. We returned one or two shots.

20th. Wed: Heavy firing from the ships at our men on Prospect Hill.

21st . Thurs: We fired from the lower fort with our 18 pounder, which was returned by the Regulars with balls and shells. The Guards on both sides fired at each other.

22d. Frid: Last night 15 men deserted from the ships in boats. A number of boats have been brought into Roxbury by the deserters. This is the " King's Coronation Day," and at 12 o'clock the regulars fired on Boston Common and Bunker's Hill; and at 1 o'clock P. M. the Admiral's ship fired a salute. They fired also from all the other ships, and at the Castle.

23rd. Sat: At 8 o'clock this morning the enemy opened a heavy fire from the fortification, & flung over a 100 balls into Roxbury. We returned a few shots from our lower fort. They fired from the Castle.

24th. Sun. Guards and fatigues.

Sept. 25th, 1775. Mon. This morning we fired from our lower fort, & sent some 12 and 18 lbs. shots into Boston, but they did not return the fire.

26th. Tues: Nothing remarkable to-day.

27th. Wed: A scouting party came in from Governor's Island, with 11 cows & 2 horses.

28th Sept. Thurs. Nothing to note.

29th. Friday. Nothing.

30th. Sat. At 9 o'clock A. M. we fired two 18 lbs balls into Boston, and the regulars gave us back upwards of twenty.

Oct. 1st. Sunday. Guards & fatigues.

2nd. Mon : Just at night the enemy threw 7 or 8 balls into Roxbury. We returned the fire from the lower fort.

3rd. Tues. 4th. Wed. Nothing these days of importance.

5th. Thurs. A sale at Major Smith's of the plunder taken at the light house, the proceeds to go to Major Tupper & his party, who captured it.

6th. Frid. About 9 o'clock A.M. we flung two 18 lb balls into Boston from the lower fort, just to let them know where to find us, for which the enemy returned 90 shots. We had one man wounded.

7th. Sat. Guards & fatigues.

Oct. 8th, 1775. Sunday. A deserter came in last night, and reports that both shots of ours, fired into Boston on the 6th took effect, killing one man and wounding another.

9th. Mou. Nothing remarkable.

10th. Tues: Same.

11th. Wedn : Building barracks.

12th. Thurs: Regimental Orders : From this time forward every soldier not on duty, shall turn out on the parade at 2 o'clock P. M., & exercise to the best advantage, & for the good of these Colonies.

13th. Frid. A flag of truce came out from Boston with letters to our Generals.

Some firing from the ships in the harbor.

14th. Saturday. Firing on Bunker's Hill.

15th. Sunday. The fatigue men were set to work entrenching, which is not practised in our Regt on Sundays. Mr. Pope, of Spencer, preached to our Regt. Gen Thomas attended the Worship.

16th. Mon. 17th. Tues. General orders : — That Coal be furnished for the redoubts, & the sentries be relieved at midnight, & hourly during the remainder of the night — per order. Building barracks, & watch boxes, & burning bricks: the masons are also called for, to prepare for winter quarters.

Oct. 18th, 1775. Wedn. A party of our men at Cambridge went on board of two floating batteries, and sailed down the Bay by Brook- line Fort, to near Boston Common, and opened a smart fire into the town. Unfortunately one of the cannon burst, by which eleven men were wounded — one mortally. They also lost two swivels, and two chests powder. .,

19th. Thurs. All quiet.

20th. Frid. The regular's guards fired a few times at our men in the redoubts.

21st. Sat. A deserter came in last night, & reported that it is sickly in Boston.

22nd. Sun. Guards & fatigues.

23rd. Mon : Col. David Brewer was tried by a Court Martial, for giving his son, 16 years of age, a commission, and drawing the pay for him for the month of August, while the inexperienced lad was at home in his own service. Also, for sending two soldiers belong to his Regiment to work on his farm. The Court ordered the said David Brewer to be dismissed the service. Amen to that.

24th. Tues. General Orders. The Officers will give notice at Head Quarters of their intentions to serve another year. Per order.

Oct. 25th, 1775. Wedn. Heavy firing on Boston Common, by the ships in the harbor, and the Castle, in honor of the king.

26th. 27th. 28th. 29th. Generally quiet.

30th. Mon. Some heavy firing from the ships this day.

31st. Tues. Guards & fatigues.

Nov. 1st. Wedn. Guards as usual.

2d. Thurs. Heavy firing from the ships.

3rd. Frid. Some may think that I put down things which do not happen. But I put nothing down but such as I am certain of. And you may depend upon it, that all I say here is the truth.

SAMUEL BIXBY.

4th. Sat. Guards & fatigues.

5th. Sun. The firing last Sunday we have heard was, "mourning for the King."

6th. 7th. 8th. All quiet.

9th. Thurs. Sharp firing over at Charlestown Neck by a party of regulars from the ships, & our men. We had one killed, & one wounded.

10th. Friday. All's well.

11th. Saturday. Last night the tide overflowed Dorchester Neck. The picquet guard was ordered in; otherwise the regulars would have cut them off..

Nov' 12th, 1775. Sunday. All sorts of rumors brought by the deserters.

13th. Mon: Last night the regulars advanced up toward our Redoubt. The Guard opened a brisk fire at them and drove them back.

14th. Tues: Recruiting men to serve one year.

15th. Wed. 16th, 17th. Nothing remarkable.

18th. Sat. General Orders: — The fatigue parties will begin work at 9 o'clock. A.M., & continue until 3 o'clock. P.M.

19th. Sunday. The floating battery near Boston Neck, moved off this day.

20th. Mon: General Orders: — The Main Guard will be commanded by a Field Officer, & consist of 3 Captns. 9 Subalterns, 18 Sergeants, 18 Corporals & 360 privates. The picquet guard 1 Subaltern, 2 Serg & 2 Corporals from each Reg.

21st. Tues : General Orders: — No man will be permitted to carry away his gun, when the term of his service is ended; as it will be appraised & the value thereof paid in money. — Per order. —

22nd. Wedn: Regimental Orders: — The Reg' will not parade at the alarm post as heretofore, but will attend prayers at the usual times, that is, at a little before sunrise. —

Nov. 23rd, 1775. Thursday. This is a day of Public Thanksgiving throughout the Province. We had the Rev. Mr. Bowman of Oxford to preach to us at the Col.'s as usual. Text 101 Psalm, 1 verse. (*N.B. Psalm 101 verse 1 reads: "I will sing of mercy and judgment; unto thee, O LORD, will I sing."*)

24th. Friday. Orders came last night from Gen. Washington to Gen. Thomas, & from him to Col. Lamed, for every man to lie by his arms, & with his clothes on, as an attack was expected from the enemy, who had given out word that they would take supper with us in Roxbury on Thanksgiving night.

25th. Sat. General Orders: — The main guard will in future parade in the street from Howe's Bake-house to the Guardhouse.

Regimental Orders.

That the drums & fifes beat down the street, from the Col.'s quarters as far as his right, every morning at sunrise, & at one hour before sunset to call the troops to Prayers.

26th. Sun. A flag of truce was sent into Boston by Col. Parsons, & one was returned by the enemy.

27th. Mon. I read in the "News Print" that Gen. Howe sent out from Boston by way of Chelsea, 300 of the town's poor; men, women and children.

28th. Guards & fatigues. —

Nov. 29th, 1775. Wedn. Gen Ward's Orders to the Capt. of the Main Guard to allow no persons to send letters into Boston, or to go beyond our sentries, without a written permit from the Gen in Command. He is to be very vigilant, & see that there is no waste of the private property in Roxbury.

30th. Thur. Nothing important.

Dec. 1st. Friday. Guards & fatigues as usual.

2nd. Sat: I went with Col. Larned & several other officers & soldiers, about 50 in all, to Dorchester Point, for a pleasure walk. While there, we were fired at from the Castle, 6 or 7 times.

3rd. Sun: Moses Foster, of Sturbridge, belonging to Capt. Martin's Company, was buried in Roxbury.

4th. Mon: Orders from Gen Washington: That no person be sent into Boston with a flag of truce, who has not had the small pox: & that all letters from Boston to be dipped in vinegar before perusing them.

5th. Tues: Nothing. —

6th. Wedn. General Orders:

The main guard shall parade from Howe's Bakehouse to Doct. Davis' great house.

Dec. 7th, 1775. Thurs: Capt. Ingersoll was tried by a Court Martial for spreading false reports about the Country, tending to defame the General. He was fined £8, and dismissed the service. —

8th. Friday. The same Court fined one man £8, and sentenced him to two years imprisonment in the New Gate Prison in Simsbury, for stealing & deserting; and another man, John Smith, for similar offences, was fined £8, and sentenced to six months at Newgate.

9th. Saturday. Nothing.

10th. Sunday. All is quiet.

11th. Mon: Several Companies of militia marched into Roxbury to day.

12th. Tues. Several Companies of militia arrived in Roxbury today, & joined Col. Larned Reg

13th. Wed. Nothing of note.

14th. Thurs. Regimental Orders.

The Regiment will parade tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock at the Col.'s quarters, & march to the alarm post to instruct the militia.

15th. Friday. Attended prayers as usual, and it being a wet day, we stood with our hats on.

16th. Sat. Regimental parade as usual.

17th. Sun. The Regulars fired from the ship near Bunker's Hill, at our men on Cobble Hill. In the evening they fired from Beacon Hill, and from the Ship. Our men returned the fire. —

Dec. 18th, 1775: Mon. That ship near Bunker's Hill dropped down into the harbor to day.

19th. Tues. The Regulars kept up a heavy fire from Beacon hill, of balls and shells, at intervals during the day and night, at our men on "Lechmere's Point."

20th. Wedn. The firing is continued on Beacon hill.

21st. Thurs. Lieut. Col McNott was tried by a Court Martial for treating Lieut Goodell in an unbecoming manner. Fined £2.

22d. Frid. All quiet.

23d. Sat. Several men discharged from Col. Larned's Reg Wednesday.

24th. Sun. Paraded as usual.

25th. Mon. No Chaplain in Col. Larned's Reg at present.

26th. Tues. Trouble as usual, but nothing remarkable.

27th. Wed. In future the sentries of the Main Guard will be relieved hourly, & oftener, if the Officers see fit.

28th. Thur. General Orders.

The new recruits will join their respective Reg at Roxbury & Cambridge on the 1st day of January next. —

Dec. 29th, 1775. Friday. We of Col Larned's Reg received one month's pay. / Last night there was firing of small arms near Bunker's hill. It is said, our men undertook to storm the fort on the hill, by crossing over on the ice; but the ice was not strong enough. We had two men drowned.

30th. Saturday. General Orders.

The old Regiments of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, & Rhode Island will parade tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock to receive the instructions of the Commander in Chief, concerning their arms ; &

to see what they intend to do with them; for such noncommissioned Officers & privates as shall presume to carry home their arms, contrary to an express General Order, and the pressing necessities of the country, will be deducted in the sum of their pay and rations.

31st. Sunday. Paraded according to the above order, but had no further instructions.

January 1st, 1776. Monday. Paraded, and had our guns inspected, and returned our ammunition. Col. Larned desired us not to leave until properly discharged by the General, whose orders he expected to have within an hour, but the largest part of the companies left. Some of us remained in camp till morning.

Jan. 2nd, 1776. Tuesday. This morning the drums beat for prayers, and we attended. After which, the Col. dismissed us with honor, and gave us many thanks for our good conduct; and then we took up our journey for home, and lodged at Framingham.

3rd. Wed. Resumed our march, and arrived at Sutton about 9 o'clock in the evening.

Samuel Bixby, Sutton, Mass.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) Describe the daily life of a soldier in Boston, listing at least 4 examples of specific activities.
- 2.) What hardships did they encounter? (List 4 specific examples)
- 3.) Who were the "regulars" to whom Bixby refers?
- 4.) What kinds of foods did soldiers eat?
- 5.) What does the incident Bixby relates on June 6 tell you about the situation of the inhabitants of Boston? What were the consequences for the man carrying the hay?
- 6.) What was the significance of July 20, 1775?
- 7.) How closely does Bixby interact with Gen. Washington?
- 8.) What was the nature of the fighting in Boston? (List 4 specific examples)
- 9.) What does the diary tell you about how soldiers and officers obtained information? How reliable was information? How did the 2 sides communicate?
- 10.) What were some reasons soldiers were court-martialed? (List 4 specific examples)
- 11.) What does the command relayed in the entry on Nov. 21 suggest might be a problem for Washington?
- 12.) What is significant about Nov. 23, 1775?
- 13.) What was the purpose of Washington's orders on Dec. 4?
- 14.) To what extent does the entry on Nov. 3 attest to the reliability of this source?
- 15.) How reliable do you think this diary is as a source?

General Burgoyne's Assessment of the American Troops

George E. Ellis, *Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Evacuation of Boston by the British Army, March 17th, 1776* (Boston: Printed by Order of the City Council, 1876).

"I arrived in Boston, together with Generals Howe and Clinton, on the twenty-fifth of May. It would be unnecessary, were it possible, to describe our surprise, or other feelings, upon the appearances which at once, and on every side, were offered to our observation. The town, on the land side, invested by a rabble in arms, who, flushed with success and insolence, had advanced their sentries to pistol-shot of our out-guards; the ships in the harbor exposed to, and expecting, a cannonade or bombardment; in all companies, whether of officers or inhabitants, men still lost in a sort of stupefaction, which the events of the nineteenth of April had occasioned, and venting expressions of censure, anger or despondency."

**Having read the previous sources, to what extent would you agree with Burgoyne's assessment of the situation in Boston? Cite evidence to back up your answer.
How biased is Burgoyne's judgment?**

General Howe's later Assessment after Bunker Hill

A Memorial of the American Patriots who fell at the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775...
(Boston: Printed by order of the City Council, 1889), 153.

"It may be wise policy to support this impression to the utmost, both in writing and discourse ; but when I withdraw the curtain, your lordship will find much cause for present reflection, much for the exercise of your judgment upon the future conduct of the scene. Turn your eyes first, my lord, to the behavior of the enemy. The defence was well-conceived and obstinately maintained; the retreat was no flight; it was even covered with bravery and military skill, and proceeded no farther than to the next hill, where a new post was taken, now entrenchments instantly begun, and their numbers affording constant reliefs of workmen, they have been continued day and night ever since. View now, my lord, the side of victory; and first the list of killed and wounded. If fairly given, it amounts to no less than ninety-two officers, many of them an irreparable loss — a melancholy disproportion to the number of the private soldiers — and there is a melancholy reason for it. Though my letter passes in security, I tremble while I write it; and let it not pass even in a whisper from your lordship to more than *one* person [the king]. The zeal and intrepidity of the officers, which was without exception exemplary, was ill-seconded by the private men. Discipline, not to say courage, was wanting. In the critical moment of carrying the redoubt, the officers of some corps were almost alone; and what was the worst part of the confusion of these corps, all the wounds of the officers were not received from the enemy."

How does Howe's assessment differ from Burgoyne's? What might account for these differences? Why was Howe so secretive about his assumptions?

Section III:

Washington in Boston

Selected Correspondence of George Washington, 1775–1776

Address Accepting the Command of the Army, 16 June, 1775.

Washington was the unanimous choice of the Continental Congress to lead the new army. Washington was selected over other candidates such as John Hancock based on his previous military experience and the hope that a leader from Virginia could help unite the colonies. Washington left for Massachusetts within days of receiving his commission and assumed command of the Continental Army in Cambridge on July 3, 1775. After eight years of war, Washington resigned his commission as Commander in Chief on December 23, 1783.

Source: *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008.

<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-01-02-0001>

Mr. President,

Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty and exert every power I possess in the service and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation. But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those I doubt not they will discharge, and that is all I desire.

- 1.) What insight does the letter Washington wrote to Congress accepting command of the army give into his character? What qualities do you think Washington values?
- 2.) What reasons does Washington cite for accepting the position? Can you read anything into this letter? What other reasons may he have had that are not explicitly stated?
- 3.) Why does Washington decline a salary? Does this tell you anything about him?

LETTER TO MRS. MARTHA WASHINGTON

There are only three known letters that exist between George and Martha Washington. Before she died, Martha Washington purposefully burned the letters from her husband, to keep their relationship private. Two letters from Washington to his wife were found in a desk that Martha gave one of her granddaughters. Both date from the early months of the Revolutionary War, in June 1775. A brief note from Martha from 1777 has also recently been discovered by one of the editors at the Papers of George Washington.

Source: *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008.

<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-01-02-0003>

Philadelphia, 18 June, 1775.

My Dearest,

I am now set down to write to you on a subject, which fills me with inexpressible concern, and this concern is greatly aggravated and increased, when I reflect upon the uneasiness I know it will give you. It has been determined in Congress, that the whole army raised for the defence of the American cause shall be put under my care, and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the command of it. You may believe me, my dear Patsy, when I assure you, in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home, than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny, that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose. You might, and I suppose did perceive, from the tenor of my letters, that I was apprehensive I could not avoid this appointment, as I did not pretend to intimate when I should return.

That was the case. It was utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment, without exposing my character to such censures, as would have reflected dishonor upon myself, and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not, and ought not, to be pleasing to you, and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely, therefore, confidently on that Providence, which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting but that I shall return safe to you in the fall. I shall feel no pain from the toil or the danger of the campaign; my unhappiness will flow from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone. I therefore beg, that you will summon your whole fortitude, and pass your time as agreeably as possible. Nothing will give me so much sincere satisfaction as to hear this, and to hear it from your own pen. My earnest and ardent desire is, that you would pursue any plan that is most likely to produce content, and a tolerable degree of tranquility; as it must add greatly to my uneasy feelings to hear, that you are dissatisfied or complaining at what I really could not avoid. As life is always uncertain, and common prudence dictates to every man the necessity of settling his temporal concerns, while it is in his power, and while the mind is calm and undisturbed, I have, since I came to this place (for I had not time to do it before I left home) got Colonel Pendleton to draft a will for me, by the directions I gave him, which will I now enclose. The provision made for you in case of my death will, I hope, be agreeable.

I shall add nothing more, as I have several letters to write, but to desire that you will remember me to your friends, and to assure you that I am, with the most unfeigned regard, my dear Patsy, your affectionate, &c.

- 1.) What can you imagine about Washington's relationship with his wife from this letter?
- 2.) What reasons does he give for accepting the position of commander in chief? Why is he reluctant?
- 3.) How is his rationale different in this letter than in the previous? What do you think accounts for these differences?
- 4.) Which letter do you think is a more reliable source?

LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS, JOHN HANCOCK

Almost everyone is familiar with the great suffering that George Washington's troops endured while encamped at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, in the winter of 1777-1778. Less well known is the fact that nearly all of the supply problems faced by the Continental army during that winter had existed since the very first weeks of the war and would continue to plague the army in the years following.

Inadequate administrative procedures, a scarcity of money and the failure of credit, a weak transportation system, and a lack of manufacturing all combined with the natural obstacles of geography and weather to create frequent shortages of food, clothing, tents, and other military supplies throughout the war. The difficulties caused by these problems appeared during the Boston Campaign, beginning in April 1775 and continuing through the army's first winter. Critical shortages of arms and ammunition, clothing, shelter, and camp equipment persisted in spite of repeated appeals to political authorities and the local population; food rations for both man and beast were unpredictable.

Source: *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008.

<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-02-02-0025>

Camp at Cambridge, 21 September, 1775.

Sir,

The mode in which the present army has been collected has occasioned some difficulty, in procuring the subscription of both officers and soldiers to the Continental articles of war. Their principal objection has been, that it might subject them to a longer service, than that for which they engaged under their several provincial establishments...

It gives me great pain to be obliged to solicit the attention of the honorable Congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army, the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring, and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted; the paymaster has not a single dollar in hand; the commissary-general assures me he has strained his credit, for the subsistence of the army, to the utmost. The quartermaster-general is precisely in the same situation; and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny, upon the deduction from their stated allowance. I know not to whom I am to impute this failure; but I am of opinion, if the evil is not immediately remedied, and more punctually observed in future, the army must absolutely break up....

LETTER TO JOSEPH REED

General Joseph Reed was one of the most prominent characters of the Revolution. He was an ardent patriot and was appointed one of the committees of correspondence of Philadelphia. He was in the same year president of the first provincial convention held in Pennsylvania, and a delegate to the Continental Congress. At the request of General Washington, he resigned a lucrative law practice, and went to the camp at Cambridge, where he served as aid-de-camp, secretary, and loyal friend to the commander-in-chief.

Source: *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008

<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-03-02-0062> (January 14) and
<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-03-02-0209> (February 10)

Cambridge, 14 January, 1776

Dear Sir,

... You cannot render a more acceptable service, nor in my estimation give a more convincing proof of your friendship, than by a free, open, and undisguised account of every matter relative to myself or conduct. I can bear to hear of imputed or real errors. The man, who wishes to stand well in the opinion of others, must do this; because he is thereby enabled to correct his faults, or remove prejudices which are imbibed against him...

... We are now without any money in our treasury, powder in our magazines, arms in our stores. We are without a brigadier (the want of which has been twenty times urged), engineers, expresses (though a committee has been appointed these two months to establish them), and by and by, when we shall be called upon to take the field, shall not have a tent to lie in. Apropos, what is doing with mine? These are evils, but small in comparison of those, which disturb my present repose. Our enlistments are at a stand; the fears I ever entertained are realized; that is, the discontented officers (for I do not know how else to account for it) have thrown such difficulties or stumbling-blocks in the way of recruiting, that I no longer entertain a hope of completing the army by voluntary enlistments, and I see no move or likelihood of one, to do it by other means...

Thus am I situated with respect to men. With regard to arms I am yet worse off. Before the dissolution of the old army, I issued an order directing three judicious men of each brigade to attend, review, and appraise the good arms of every regiment; and finding a very great unwillingness in the men to part with their arms, at the same time not having it in my power to pay them for the months of November and December, I threatened severely, that every soldier, who carried away his firelock without leave, should never receive pay for those months; yet so many have been carried off, partly by stealth...

How to get furnished I know not. I have applied to this and the neighboring colonies, but with what success time only can tell. The reflection on my situation, and that of this army, produces many an uneasy hour when all around me are wrapped in sleep. Few people know the predicament we are in, on a thousand accounts; fewer still will believe, if any

disaster happens to these lines, from what causes it flows. I have often thought how much happier I should have been, if, instead of accepting of a command under such circumstances, I had taken my musket on my shoulder and entered the ranks, or, if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country, and lived in a wigwam. If I shall be able to rise superior to these and many other difficulties, which might be enumerated, I shall most religiously believe, that the finger of Providence is in it, to blind the eyes of our enemies; for surely if we get well through this month, it must be for want of their knowing the disadvantages we labor under...

Cambridge, 10 February, 1776

Dear Sir,

... My own situation feels so irksome to me at times, that, if I did not consult the public good, more than my own tranquillity, I should long ere this have put every thing to the cast of a Dye. So far from my having an army of twenty thousand men well armed, I have been here with less than half of it, including sick, furloughed, and on command, and those neither armed nor clothed, as they should be. In short, my situation has been such, that I have been obliged to use art to conceal it from my own officers...

...With respect to myself, I have never entertained an idea of an accommodation, since I heard of the measures, which were adopted in consequence of the Bunker's Hill fight. The King's speech has confirmed the sentiments I entertained upon the news of that affair; and, if every man was of my mind, the ministers of Great Britain should know, in a few words, upon what issue the cause should be put. I would not be deceived by artful declarations, nor specious pretences; nor would I be amused by unmeaning propositions; but in open, undisguised, and manly terms proclaim our wrongs, and our resolution to be redressed. I would tell them, that we had borne much, that we had long and ardently sought for reconciliation upon honorable terms, that it had been denied us, that all our attempts after peace had proved abortive, and had been grossly misrepresented, that we had done everything which could be expected from the best of subjects, that the spirit of freedom beat too high in us to submit to slavery, and that, if nothing else could satisfy a tyrant and his diabolical ministry, we are determined to shake off all connexions with a state so unjust and unnatural. This I would tell them, not under covert, but in words as clear as the sun in its meridian brightness.

- 1.) What are Washington's major problems while camped in Boston in 1775-6? How does he attempt to solve these problems?
- 2.) Comment on Washington's mood. Does the tone of his letters give any insight into it?
- 3.) How does Washington feel about his leadership position? Do you think he is a good leader?
- 4.) How does Washington explain his political feelings? How strongly do you think these feelings influence his actions?

TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

In this letter to his brother, Washington provides a detailed account of the evacuation of Boston by the British as well as an assessment of the condition of the town.

Source: *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, ed. Theodore J. Crackel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008.

<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-03-03-02-0429>

Cambridge, 31 March, 1776.

Dear Brother,

The want of arms and powder is not peculiar to Virginia. This country of which doubtless you have heard large and flattering accounts, is more deficient in both than you can conceive. I have been here months together, with (what will scarcely be believed) not thirty rounds of musket cartridges to a man; and have been obliged to submit to all the insults of the enemy's cannon for want of powder, keeping what little we had for pistol distance. Another thing has been done, which, added to the above, will put it in the power of this army to say, what perhaps no other with justice ever could say. We have maintained our ground against the enemy, under this want of powder, and we have disbanded one army, and recruited another, within musket-shot of two and twenty regiments, the flower of the British army, whilst our force has been but little if any superior to theirs; and, at last, have beaten them into a shameful and precipitate retreat out of a place the strongest by nature on this continent, and strengthened and fortified at an enormous expense.

As some account of the late manoeuvres of both armies may not be unacceptable, I shall, hurried as I always am, devote a little time to it. Having received a small supply of powder, very inadequate to our wants, I resolved to take possession of Dorchester Point, lying east of Boston, looking directly into it, and commanding the enemy's lines on Boston Neck. To do this, which I knew would force the enemy to an engagement, or subject them to be enfiladed by our cannon, it was necessary, in the first instance, to possess two heights (those mentioned in General Burgoyne's letter to Lord Stanley, in his account of the battle of Bunker's Hill), which had the entire command of the point. The ground at this point being frozen upwards of two feet deep, and as impenetrable as a rock, nothing could be attempted with earth. We were obliged, therefore, to provide an amazing quantity of chandeliers and fascines for the work; and, on the night of the 4th, after a previous severe cannonade and bombardment for three nights together, to divert the enemy's attention from our real design, we removed every material to the spot, under cover of darkness, and took full possession of those heights, without the loss of a single man.

Upon their discovery of the works next morning, great preparations were made for attacking them; but not being ready before the afternoon, and the weather getting very tempestuous, much blood was saved, and a very important blow, to one side or the other, was prevented. That this most remarkable interposition of Providence is for some wise purpose, I have not a doubt. But, as the principal design of the manoeuvre was to draw the enemy to an engagement under disadvantages to them, as a premeditated plan was laid for this purpose, and seemed to be succeeding to my utmost wish, and as no men seem better disposed to make the appeal than ours did upon that occasion, I can scarcely forbear

lamenting the disappointment, unless the dispute is drawing to an accommodation, and the sword going to be sheathed.

...The enemy left all their works standing in Boston and on Bunker's Hill; and formidable they are. The town has shared a much better fate than was expected, the damage done to the houses being nothing equal to report. But the inhabitants have suffered a good deal, in being plundered by the soldiery at their departure. All those who took upon themselves the style and title of government-men in Boston, in short, all those who have acted an unfriendly part in the great contest, have shipped themselves off in the same hurry, but under still greater disadvantages than the King's troops, being obliged to man their own vessels, as seamen enough could not be had for the King's transports, and submit to every hardship that can be conceived. One or two have done, what a great number ought to have done long ago, committed suicide. By all accounts, there never existed a more miserable set of beings, than these wretched creatures now are. Taught to believe, that the power of Great Britain was superior to all opposition, and, if not, that foreign aid was at hand, they were even higher and more insulting in their opposition than the regulars. When the order issued, therefore, for embarking the troops in Boston, no electric shock, no sudden explosion of thunder, in a word, not the last trump could have struck them with greater consternation. They were at their wits' end, and, conscious of their black ingratitude, they chose to commit themselves, in the manner I have above described, to the mercy of the waves at a tempestuous season, rather than meet their offended countrymen.

I believe I may with great truth affirm, that no man perhaps since the first institution of armies ever commanded one under more difficult circumstances, than I have done. To enumerate the particulars would fill a volume. Many of my difficulties and distresses were of so peculiar a cast, that, in order to conceal them from the enemy, I was obliged to conceal them from my friends, and indeed from my own army, thereby subjecting my conduct to interpretations unfavorable to my character, especially by those at a distance, who could not in the smallest degree be acquainted with the springs that governed it. I am happy, however, to find, and to hear from different quarters, that my reputation stands fair, that my conduct hitherto has given universal satisfaction. The addresses, which I have received, and which I suppose will be published, from the General Court of this colony, and from the selectmen of Boston upon the evacuation of the town, and my approaching departure from the colony, exhibit a pleasing testimony of their approbation of my conduct, and of their personal regard, which I have found in various other instances, and which, in retirement, will afford many comfortable reflections.

The share you have taken in the public disputes is commendable and praiseworthy. It is a duty we owe our country; a claim which posterity has upon us. It is not sufficient for a man to be a passive friend and well-wisher to the cause. This, and every other cause of such a nature, must inevitably perish under such an opposition. Every person should be active in some department or other, without paying too much attention to private interest. It is a great stake we are playing for, and sure we are of winning, if the cards are well managed. Inactivity in some, disaffection in others, and timidity in many, may hurt the cause. Nothing else can; for unanimity will carry us through triumphantly, in spite of every exertion of Great Britain, if we are linked together in one indissoluble bond. This the leaders know, and they are practising every stratagem to divide us, and unite their own people. Upon this

principle it is, that the restraining bill is passed, and commissioners are coming over. The device, to be sure, is shallow, the covering thin, but they will hold out to their own people, that the acts complained of are repealed, and commissioners sent to each colony to treat with us, and that we will attend to neither of them. This, upon weak minds among us, will have its effect. They wish for reconciliation; or, in other words, they wish for peace without attending to the conditions.

...As I am now nearly at the end of my eighth page, I think it time to conclude; especially, as I set out with prefacing the little time I had for friendly correspondences. I shall only add, therefore, my affectionate regards to my sister and the children, and compliments to friends; and that I am, with every sentiment of true affection, your loving brother and faithful friend.

1. Does Washington seem proud of his accomplishments in Boston? Why or why not?
2. When describing the British reaction to the fortifications of Dorchester Heights, Washington writes, *"Upon their discovery of the works next morning, great preparations were made for attacking them; but not being ready before the afternoon, and the weather getting very tempestuous, much blood was saved, and a very important blow, to one side or the other, was prevented. That this most remarkable interposition of Providence is for some wise purpose, I have not a doubt."* How much does chance and happenstance influence history?
3. How does Washington describe the situation in Boston after the siege?
4. Washington believes "that no man perhaps since the first institution of armies ever commanded one under more difficult circumstances" than were present in Boston. How does he respond to these challenges? What are his concerns upon leaving Boston and continuing as commander?
5. What does Washington believe is one's duty to his country? How do you think this belief shapes his decisions and actions?

Orders from Gen. George Washington, taken from the orderly books of Colonel William Henshaw

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June 24th. Head-quarters, Cambridge.

General orders his thanks to be given to those officers and soldiers who behaved so very gallantly in the late action at Charlestown. Such bravery gives the General sensible pleasure, he being thereby fully satisfied that we shall finally come off victorious, and triumph over the enemies of freedom and America.

June 30th. Head-quarters.

GENERAL ORDERS. — That all profane cursing and swearing, all indecent language and behavior, will not be tolerated in camps. The General expects that all the officers, from the highest to the lowest rank, set a good example to the soldiers in this respect.

That three subalterns be appointed daily to visit the colleges at nine o'clock in the morning, and see that they are daily swept clean; and that the officers improving dwelling-houses take care that those soldiers who are quartered in the same see that they are daily swept.

That all possible care be taken that no lewd women come into the camp; and all persons are ordered to give information of such persons, if any there be, that proper measures be taken to bring them to condign punishment, and rid the camp of all such nuisances.

That the rules and regulations for the American army be read at the head of the respective companies by the captains, or such other person as they shall appoint, once a week, till further orders.

Headquarters, July 4th.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. Exact returns to be made by the proper officers of all the provisions, ordnance, ordnance stores, powder, lead, working-tools of all kinds, tents, camp-kettles, and all other stores under their respective care, belonging to the armies at Cambridge and Roxbury. The commanding officer of each regiment to make a return of the number of blankets wanted to complete every man with one, at least.

2. The Hon. Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, Esqs.. are appointed majors-general in the American army, by the honorable Continental Congress, and due obedience is to be paid them as such. The Continental Congress not having completed the appointments of the other officers in said army, nor had sufficient time to

prepare and forward their commissions, every officer is to continue to do duty in the rank and station he at present holds, until further orders.

3. Thomas. Mifflin, Esq., is appointed by the General one of his aides-de-camp ; Joseph Reed, Esq., is in like manner appointed secretary to the General; and they are in future to be considered and regarded, as such.

4. The- Continental Congress having now taken all the troops of the several colonies, which have been raised or which may be hereafter raised, for the support and defence of the liberties of America, into their pay and service, they are now the troops of the United Provinces of North America, and it is hoped that all distinction of colonies will be laid aside, so that one and the same spirit may animate the whole, and the only contest be, who shall render on this great and trying occasion the most essential service to the great and common cause in which we are all engaged.

5. It is required and expected that exact discipline be observed and due subordination prevail through the whole army, as a failure in these essential points must necessarily produce extreme hazard, disorder, and confusion, and end in shameful disappointment and disgrace.

6. The General most earnestly requires and expects a due observance of those articles of war established for the government of the army which forbid profane cursing and swearing, and drunkenness ; and in like manner requires and expects of all officers and soldiers not engaged in actual duty a punctual attendance on divine service, to implore the blessing of Heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence.

Head-quarters, Cambridge, July 5th, 1775.

By his Excellency General Washington.

GENERAL ORDERS. — 1. The adjutant of each regiment is required to take special care that all general orders are communicated as well to the private men as to the officers, that there may be no plea of ignorance. They will be deemed answerable for all consequences which may follow from a neglect of this order.

2. A general court-martial is ordered to sit to-morrow, at ten o'clock, A.M., for the trial of William Patten, charged with leaving his post while on guard ; David Wells and Gideon Cole, for sleeping on their posts as sentinels ; John Scott, for insulting the sentry, and attempting to pass the guard at Boston ; and James Foster, for theft; when the witnesses are to attend, and the parties charged are to have notice this day that they may be prepared for their trials.

3. The General most earnestly recommends and requires of all the officers, that they be exceeding diligent and strict in preventing all invasion and abuse of private property in their quarters or elsewhere. He hopes, and indeed flatters himself, that every private soldier will abhor and detest such practices, when he considers that it is for his own rights, liberty, and property, and those of his fellow-countrymen, that he is now called into service ; that it

is unmanly, and sullies the dignity of the great cause in which we are all engaged, to violate that property he is called to protect; and especially that it is most cruel and inconsistent thus to add to the distresses of those of their

Cambridge, Head-quarters, July 7th, 1775.

1. It is with inexpressible concern that the General, upon his first arrival in the army, should find an officer sentenced by a general court-martial to be cashiered for cowardice, — a crime of all others the most infamous in a soldier, the most injurious to an army, and the last to be forgiven, inasmuch as it may, and often does, happen that the cowardice of a single officer may prove the destruction of the whole army. The General therefore, though with great concern (and more especially as the transaction happened before he had the command of the troops), thinks himself obliged, for the good of the service, to approve the judgment of the court-martial with respect to Captain John Callender, who is hereby sentenced to be cashiered. Captain John Callender is accordingly cashiered, and dismissed from all further service in the Continental Army, as an officer.

The General, having made all due inquiries, and maturely considered this matter, is led to the above determination, not only from the particular guilt of Captain Callender, but the fatal consequences of such a conduct to the army, and to the cause of America. lie now therefore most earnestly exhorts officers of all ranks to show an example of bravery and courage to their men, assuring them that such as do their duty in the day of battle as brave and good officers shall be honored with every mark of distinction and regard, their names and merits made known to the General Congress, and all America; while, on the other hand, he most positively declares that every officer, be his rank what it may, who shall betray his country, dishonor the army and his General, by basely keeping back and shrinking from duty in any engagement, shall be held up as an infamous coward, and punished as such with the utmost martial severity ; and no connections, interest, or intercessions in his behalf will avail to prevent the strict execution of justice.

3. No officer or soldier posted in the lines, or for the defence of them, on Prospect Hill, or Winter Hill, or elsewhere, are upon any account to sleep out of their encampment, or leave it at nights. The troops raised in New Hampshire are particularly required to attend to this order, from their particular circumstances of situation.

4. No soldier belonging to those posts, or elsewhere, to be suffered to straggle at a distance from their respective parade, on any pretence, without leave from his officers, as an unguarded hour may prove fatal to the whole army, and to the noble cause in which we are engaged ; the importance of which to every man of common understanding must inspire every good officer and soldier with the noblest ardor and strictest attention, lest he should prove the fatal instrument of our ruin.

5. The Adjutant-General is required to make a strict return, as quick as possible, of the troops in Cambridge, their numbers, and the duty they do.

6. Complaints having been made with respect to the bread, as being sour and unwholesome, the Quartermaster-General is hereby directed to inquire into the matter, and

report upon it; at the same time, to inform the bakers that if any more complaints are made, and they shall be found just, they will be most severely punished.

Head-quarters, July 14th, 1775.

As the health of an army principally depends upon cleanliness, it is recommended in the strongest manner to the commanding officer of corps, posts, and detachments, to be strictly diligent in ordering the necessaries to be filled up once a week, and new ones dug; the streets of the lines and encampments to be swept daily, and all offal and carrion near the camp to be immediately buried. The officers commanding in barracks or quarters to be answerable that they are swept every morning, and all filth and dirt to be removed from about the houses.

Next to cleanliness, nothing is more conducive to a soldier's health than dressing his provision in a decent and proper manner; the officers commanding companies should therefore daily inspect the camp kitchens, and see that the men dress their provisions in a wholesome way.

Headquarters, July 15, 1775

Notwithstanding the orders already given, the General hears with astonishment that not only soldiers, but officers unauthorized, are continually conversing with the officers and soldiers of the enemy. Any officer, non-commissioned officer, soldier, or any person whatsoever, who is detected holding any conversation, or carrying on any correspondence, with any officers or sentries of the advanced posts of the enemy, will be immediately brought before a general court-martial, and punished with the utmost severity. The General *alone* is to judge of any propriety of any intercourse with the enemy, and no one else is to presume to interfere.

Daniel Carmicle, soldier in Colonel Paterson's regiment, tried for disobedience to orders, for re-enlisting and taking advance money twice, and for drunkenness, is found guilty of the several charges, and ordered to be whipped on the bare back, with thirty-nine lashes, and discharged from the army. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed to-morrow morning, at the head of the regiment he belongs to.

Camp before Boston, July 18th, 1775.

Colonel James Scammonn, of the Massachusetts Bay forces, tried by the general court-martial of which Colonel John Nixon was president, for disobedience to orders and backwardness in the execution of duty, the court, after duly examining the evidence for and against the prisoner, together with what the prisoner had to say in his own defence, are of opinion that Colonel Scammons is not guilty of the crimes whereof he was accused, and therefore do acquit the prisoner.

Colonel Scammons to be immediately released from his arrest.

If, after what has happened, the enemy in revenge for their late losses should dare to attempt forcing our lines, the army may be assured that nothing but their own indolence

and remissness can give the least hope of success to so rash an enterprise; it is therefore strongly recommended to the commanding officers of corps, guards, and detachments, that they be assiduously alert in parading their men at their several posts half an hour before daybreak, and remain there till the commanding officer thinks proper to dismiss them.

The General hears with astonishment the very frequent applications that are made to him, as well by officers as by soldiers, for furloughs. Brave men, who are engaged in the noble cause of liberty, should never think of removing from their camp while the enemy is in sight, and anxious to take every advantage any indiscretion on our side may give them. The General doubts not but that the commanding officers of corps will anticipate his wishes, and discourage those under them from disgracefully desiring to go home, until the campaign is ended.

Headquarters, July 24, 1775

As any attempt the enemy from their late disappointments may have the rashness or the hardness to make will be violent and sudden, the General expects the officers and soldiers will be not only resolute, but alert to defeat; and, in a particular manner, he enforces his orders to every field-officer, upon no account (duty excepted) to lay out of camp, but upon every occasion to show by their example that activity and steady courage so necessary to defeat an enterprising enemy.

Notwithstanding the orders of the 11th instant, expressly forbidding all officers and soldiers from quitting their guard before they are relieved and dismissed, the General is informed such unsoldierly practices are still committed; he therefore admonishes all officers and non-commissioned officers not to suffer any person to quit their guard upon any pretence; care to be taken the men are properly supplied with provisions before they mount guard.

Report being made this morning to the General that the main guard-room is kept abominably filthy and dirty; for the future no commanding officer is to relieve another upon that guard until he is assured the officers' and men's apartments are clean and in decent order.

Head-quarters, July 29th, 1775.

Mr. Benjamin Whiting, tried by a court of inquiry, ordered in the general orders of the 27th instant, whereof Lieut.-Colonel Brickett was president. The court having maturely considered the evidence for and against the prisoner, as well as what the prisoner had to offer in his defence, are of opinion that the prisoner is not guilty of the crime laid to his charge, and do therefore acquit the prisoner. The General therefore orders the prisoner to be released.

James McDaniel, tried by a general court-martial, whereof Colonel Glover is president, for forging an order of General Putnam's to obtain a quart of rum, and for abusive language to Colonel Gridley, is found guilty, and ordered to receive twenty lashes. The General confirms the sentence, and orders it to be executed after prayer-time to-morrow.

James Foster, of Captain Butler's company, in Colonel Nixon's regiment, tried by the same general court-martial for robbing Dr. Foster, surgeon of the general hospital, being found

guilty of the charge, is sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes, and to suffer one month's fatigue. The General approves the sentence.

WATERTOWN, July 29, 1775.

One man in a company to be appointed a camp color-man, from every company in every regiment in the army, whose particular duty it must be to attend the quartermaster and quartermaster-sergeant; to sweep the street of their respective encampments; to fill up the old necessary houses, and dig new ones; to bury all offals, filth, and nastiness that may poison or infect the health of the troops; and the quartermasters are to be answerable to their commanding officers for a strict observance of this order, and, by persevering in the constant and unremitted execution thereof, remove that odious reputation which (with but too much reason) has stigmatized the character of American troops. The colonels and commanding officers of regiments are to be answerable to the General for all due obedience to this order.

The General finding it not uncustomary for officers to take the liberty of absenting themselves from camp without leave, and going home, for the future any officer found guilty of so glaring an offence against all order and discipline, and setting so bad an example to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers under his command, such officer or officers so offending may depend upon being punished with the utmost severity.

Lest the late successes against the enemy should occasion any relaxation in the alertness of the troops, the General recommends it in the strongest manner to all the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army to be more vigilant in their duty, and watchful of the enemy, as they will certainly take every advantage of any supineness on our part.

Head-quarters, August 3d, 1775.

When any plunder is taken from the enemy (not excepted by the Continental articles of war), such plunder must be all surrendered to the commanding officer; and, as soon as convenient after his arrival at head-quarters, public notice must be made that an auction will be held in the front of the encampment for the sale thereof the next day at noon; and the money arising therefrom is to be equally divided between the officers and men that took it. This order is not to be construed to extend to permitting unlawful and irregular plundering, as any officer or soldier who shall be found guilty thereof will be punished with the greatest severity.

Head-quarters, August 4th, 1775.

It is with indignation and shame the General observes that notwithstanding the repeated orders which have been given to prevent the firing of guns in and about the camp, that it is daily and hourly practised. That, contrary to all order, straggling soldiers do still pass the guards, and fire at a distance, where there is not the least probability of hurting the enemy, and where no other end is answered but to waste their ammunition, expose themselves to the ridicule of the enemy, and keep their own camps harassed by frequent and continual

alarms, to the hurt and detriment of every good soldier, who is thereby disturbed of his natural rest, and at length will never be able to distinguish between a real and false alarm.

For these reasons, it is in the most peremptory manner forbid any person or persons whatsoever, under any pretence, to pass the out- guards, unless authorized by the commanding officer of that part of the lines, signified in writing, which must be shown to the officers of the guard as they pass.

Any person offending in this particular will be considered in no other light than as a common enemy, and the guards will have orders to fire upon them as such. The commanding officer of every regiment is to direct that every man in his regiment is made acquainted with these orden», to the end that no one may plead ignorance, and that all may be apprised of the consequences of disobedience. The colonels of regiments and commanding officers of corps to order the rolls of every company to be called twice a day, and every man's ammunition examined at evening roll-calling, and such as are found to be deficient to be confined.

The guards are to apprehend all persons firing guns near their posts, whether towns-people or soldiers.

Head-quarters, August 10th, 1775.

It is a matter of exceeding great concern to the General to find, that, at a time when the united efforts of America are exerting in defence of the common rights and liberties of mankind, that there should be in an army constituted for so noble a purpose such repeated instances of officers, who, lost to every sense of honor and virtue, are seeking, by dirty and base means, the promotion of their own dishonest gain, to the eternal disgrace of themselves, and dishonor of their country. Practices of this sort will never be overlooked, whenever an accusation is lodged ; but the authors brought to the most exemplary punishment. It is therefore much to be wished that the example of Jessee Saunders, late captain in Colonel Sargeant's regiment, will prove the last shameful instance of such a grovelling disposition; and that for the future, every officer, for his own honor and the sake of [an] injured public, will make a point of detecting every iniquitous practice of this kind, using their utmost endeavors in their several capacities to lessen the expense of the war as much as possible, that the general cause in which we are struggling may receive no injury from the enormity of the expense.

The several paymasters are immediately to ascertain what pay was due to the different regiments and corps on the first day of this instant, that each man may receive his respective due, as soon as the money arrives to pay them.

It is earnestly recommended that great exactness be used in these settlements: first, that no man goes without his pay; and, next, that not one farthing more be drawn than what is justly due. After this, the pay may be drawn once a month, or otherwise, as shall be found most convenient. In the mean while, the soldiers need be under no apprehension of [not] getting every farthing that is justly their due: it is therefore expected that they do their duty

with that cheerfulness and alacrity becoming men who are contending for their liberty, property, and every thing that is valuable to freemen and their posterity.

Head-quarters, August 18th, 1775.

Connor, of Captain Oliver's company, Colonel Doolittle's regi- 'ment, tried at a general court-martial for stealing a cheese, the property of Richard Comel is found guilty of the charge, and adjudged to receive thirty-nine lashes upon his bare back. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed at the relieving the main guard, at the head of the two guards.

Joseph Matthews, of Captain Perkins's company of artillery, tried by the same general court-martial for selling his gun, which the selectmen of his town had given him, and drawing pay for a blanket, furnished by said selectmen. The court sentence the prisoner to receive ten lashes upon his bare back, and order twelve shillings to be stopped from his wages, to repay Captain Perkins for the blanket. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed at the head of the guards where the company the prisoner belongs to is posted.

Head-quarters, August 22d, 1775.

The General does not mean to discourage the practice of bathing whilst the weather is warm enough to continue it, but he expressly forbids any person's doing it at or near the bridge in Cambridge, where it has been observed and complained of that many men, lost to all sense of decency and common modesty, are running about naked upon the bridge, while passengers, and even ladies of the first fashion in the neighborhood, are passing over it, as if they meant to glory in their shame. The guard and sentries at the bridge are to put a stop to this practice, for the future.

Head-quarters, September 7th, 1775.

Whereas, a number of pretended soldiers, utterly disregarding the good of the service, sell liquor to every one indiscriminately, to the utter subversion of all order and good government, the troops being continually debauched, which causes them to neglect their duty, and to be guilty of all those crimes which a vicious ill habit naturally produces : to prevent such evils from spreading in the camp, no person is for the future to presume to sell any stores or liquor to the troops.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) What evidence of George Washington's leadership style comes across in this source? Cite 3 specific examples.
- 2.) Given some of the orders given by Washington, how might you imagine the daily life of soldiers in camp in Boston?
- 3.) Describe 3 instances of soldiers being court-martialed. Does the procedure and punishments sound fair?
- 4.) General Greene wrote that Gen Washington "*has been taught to believe the people here a superior race of mortals; and finding them of the same temper and dispositions, passions and prejudices, virtues and vices of the common people of other governments, they sink in his esteem..*" In what ways does this source support this statement? Cite 2 specific examples.
- 5.) Assess the reliability of this source

**The following proclamation was printed in the
Boston Gazette and Country Journal on Monday, April 1, 1776**

**By His Excellency George Washington Esq.
General and Commander in Chief of the Thirteen United Colonies**

Whereas the Ministerial Army has abandoned the Town of BOSTON and the forces of the United Colonies under my command are in the possession of the same:

I have therefore thought it necessary for the preservation of peace, good order and discipline to publish the following orders, that no person offending therein may plead ignorance in excuse for misconduct.

All officers and soldiers are ordered to live in utmost peace and amity with the inhabitants, and no inhabitant, or other person employed in lawful business in this town is to be molested in his person or property on any pretense whatsoever. If any officer or soldiers should presume to strike, imprison or otherwise ill treat any of the inhabitants, they shall depend on being punished with the utmost severity, and if any officer or soldier shall receive any insult from any of the inhabitants, he is to seek redress, in legal way, and no other.

Any non-commissioned officer, soldier or others under my command, who shall be guilty of robbing or plundering the town, are to be immediately confined, and will be most rigidly punished. All officers are ordered to be very vigilant in the discovery of such officers, and report their names, and crime to the commanding officer in the town, as soon as may be.

Questions for Consideration:

1. What does this source tell you about George Washington's leadership style?
2. In what ways does his style differ from Gage's or Howe's? What might account for any differences?
3. Does this source shed any light on Washington's value system? If so, how?
4. How reliable is this document as a source? Is it valuable for an historian?

War and Washington

General Washington seems to have inspired in the American people almost instant respect and affection, evidenced by the many songs which glorified him, the most popular of which was Jonathan Mitchell Sewall's "War and Washington," which was sung by soldiers and civilians throughout the Revolution.

Source: Burton Egbert Stevenson, ed., *Poems of American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908) 170.

WAR AND WASHINGTON

Vain Britons, boast no longer with proud
indignity,
By land your conquering legions, your
matchless strength at sea,
Since we, your braver sons incensed, our
swords have girded on.
Huzza, huzza, huzza, huzza, for war and
Washington.
Urged on by North and vengeance those
valiant champions came,
Loud bellowing Tea and Treason, and George
was all on flame,
Yet sacrilegious as it seems, we rebels still live
on,
And laugh at all their empty puffs, huzza for
Washington!
Still deaf to mild entreaties, still blind to
England's good,
You have for thirty pieces betrayed your
country's blood.
Like Esop's greedy cur you'll gain a shadow
for your bone.
Yet find us fearful shades indeed inspired by
Washington.
Mysterious! unexampled! incomprehensible!
The blundering schemes of Britain their folly,
pride, and zeal. Like lions how ye growl and
threat! mere asses have you shown, And ye
shall share an ass's fate, and drudge for
Washington!
Your dark unfathomed councils our weakest
heads defeat,
Our children rout your armies, our boats
destroy your fleet,
And to complete the dire disgrace, cooped up
within a town.
You live the scorn of all our host, the slaves of
Washington!

Great Heaven! is this the nation whose
thundering arms were hurled.
Through Europe, Afric, India? whose navy
ruled a world ?
The lustre of your former deeds, whole ages
of renown.
Lost in a moment, or transferred to us and
Washington!
Yet think not thirst of glory unsheaths our
vengeful swords To rend your bands asunder,
or cast away
your cords, 'T is heaven-born freedom fires us
all, and
strengthens each brave one. From him who
humbly guides the plough, to
god-like Washington.
For this, oh could our wishes your ancient
rage inspire.
Your armies should be doubled, in numbers,
force, and fire.

Then might the glorious conflict prove which
best deserved the boon,
America or Albion, a George or Washington!
Fired with the great idea, our Fathers' shades
would rise, To view the stern contention, the
gods desert
their skies; And Wolfe, 'midst hosts of heroes,
superior
bending down, Cry out with eager transport,
God save great Washington!
Should George, too choice of Britons, to
foreign realms apply,
And madly arm half Europe, yet still we
would defy
Turk, Hessian, Jew, and Infidel, or all those
powers in one,

While Adams guards our senate, our camp
great Washington!
Should warlike weapons fail us, disdaining
slavish fears,
To swords we'll beat our ploughshares, our
pruning-hooks to spears,
And rush, all desperate, on our foe, nor
breathe till battle won.
Then shout, and shout America! and
conquering Washington!
Proud France should view with terror, and
haughty Spain revere.
While every warlike nation would court
alliance here;
And George, his minions trembling round,
dismounting from his throne
Pay homage to America and glorious
Washington !

Jonathan Mitchell Sewall.

Questions for Consideration:

- 1.) What specific lines in the song attest to the feelings the Americans have for their commander-in-chief?
- 2.) What can this song tell us about Washington as a leader?
- 3.) Is this a reliable source? Of what value is literature and popular song to an historian?
- 4.) An Englishman writing in London made the following statement about the Continental Army: "Though the American soldiery perhaps may not be so regularly disciplined as the king's troops, yet it must be considered that there is a very material difference between a man who fights for his natural liberty, and the man who only fights because he is paid for it. The former defends himself in a just cause; the latter is the mere dupe of power. The former is animated by the zeal of his attachments to the public weal; the latter has no attachments at all, except to his pay for slaughter and bloodshed." Do agree? Can you find evidence in this song that corroborates this statement? What might this mean for Washington as a leader of this army?