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LIEUT. GENERAL WILLIAM PEPPERRELL

MAINE AT LOUISBURG

In 1745

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State Historian



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To
THE GOVERNOR OF MAINE
HON. BERT M. FERNALD
GREATLY INTERESTED IN THE PAST
PRESENT AND FUTURE OF
HIS NATIVE STATE

PREFACE

In the making of the Nation, Maine has not received the credit to which she is fairly entitled. While the making was in progress she was a part of Massachusetts, and the services of her sons redounded to the glory of the great mother Commonwealth. But the Lexington alarm awoke the minute men here as well as the minute men of Essex and Middlesex; and with enthusiasm and alacrity they assembled and hurried forth to take their places in the ranks of the uprising colonists. They were at Bunker Hill and Dorchester Heights, indeed in most of the movements of the continental forces that followed on remoter fields. One of the surprises of our Revolutionary history is the recent discovery in the Massachusetts Revolutionary rolls that what is now the State of Maine had in Washington's army at Valley Forge, in the winter of 1777-8, ten hundred and eight officers and men, or about one-tenth of Washington's entire force. In placing in 1907, on the line of Washington's intrenchments at Valley Forge, a granite marker with an inscription in bronze containing a tribute to these Maine heroes, the Pine Tree State—the first of all the states next to Pennsylvania to erect a memorial on that scene of privation and suffering—has evinced in a most worthy way her continued patriotic spirit.

But we have been as neglectful of our history of Maine's part in the Colonial period as in that of the Revolution. For example, the fathers of the men from Maine who fought for independence in the Revolution were at Louisburg in 1745 in even larger numbers proportionately—that is when compared

with the quotas from other parts of New England—than on the many battlefields of the Revolution from Bunker Hill to Yorktown. Parkman, in his "Half-Century of Conflict," following doubtless a statement made by Pepperrell,¹ the commander of the expedition, says: "A full third of the Massachusetts contingent, or more than a thousand men, are reported to have come from the hardy population of Maine, whose entire fighting force, as shown by the muster rolls, was then but 2855."²

Maine's part at Louisburg in 1745, therefore, was a most distinguished one. It is a matter for regret that, in the absence of official rolls, it is not now possible to present a complete list of the men who served in the three Maine regiments in that memorable campaign. Only a few names of those who served in Waldo's regiment have come down to us; but the names of men who served in Pepperrell's and Moulton's regiments, brought together in this volume from various sources, furnish abundant evidence that the estimate above mentioned is a correct one.

We have been too neglectful of our State history. The Maine Historical Society, with limited financial resources, has done a most valuable service in collecting historical data, and in publishing the same. The Society has received needed financial encouragement from the State. It is worthy of added encouragement. But Maine will not discharge her just obligations to the past until on her part proper attention is paid to the work of collecting the materials of her history in the colonial period, also in the period of her statehood, and to the care and preservation of her archives.

¹ See note on page 21.

² Vol. 2, p. 99.

In my attempt in the following pages to call attention to the part Maine had in the Louisburg expedition in 1745, I am especially indebted to the source-books concerning Cape Breton and the capture of Louisburg at that time, which are mentioned in the appendix and are found in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University; the Massachusetts Historical Society Library (including its valuable collection of "Pepperrell Papers"); the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; the Boston City Library; the Maine State Library; and the library of the Maine Historical Society in Portland. Some of these source-books I have been able to add to the State Library from funds placed at my disposal by the Legislature of 1909, and others should be added as opportunity offers.

The portrait of Sir William Pepperrell, of which the frontispiece is a half-tone reproduction, was painted recently by Mr. Joseph B. Cahill for Henry Deering, Esq., of Portland, Maine, who presented it to the Maine Historical Society. It is taken partly from the Pepperrell portrait in the Essex Institute, and partly from engravings of Sir William. I am indebted to Mr. Deering for the excellent photograph used in the preparation of the frontispiece. The portrait of Sir William Pepperrell in the State House in Augusta was placed there near the close of 1862, and was a gift to the State by Mr. S. Brannan of San Francisco, California, a native of Maine. It is a copy of a portrait by John Smibert or Smybert, a Scotch painter, who accompanied Dean Berkeley to America in 1728, and settled in Boston, where he died in 1751. He painted portraits of many of the prominent men of his time in New England. The copy of his portrait of Sir William Pepperrell in the State House in Augusta was made from the portrait in the Portsmouth

Atheneum, Portsmouth, N. H. Mr. Brannan, for his valuable gift, received the thanks of the Maine Legislature in a resolve approved by the Governor February 16, 1863.

The illustrations, Louisburg in 1745, and Siege of Louisburg in 1745, are taken from Parkman's "Half-Century of Conflict," published by Little, Brown and Company, Boston, whose permission for their use in this volume is gratefully acknowledged.

It may be stated that the substance of the following account of Maine's part in the Louisburg expedition of 1745 has been presented at a meeting of the Maine Society of Colonial Wars, at a meeting of the Maine Historical Society and at a meeting of the National Society of Colonial Dames in the State of Maine.

H. S. B.

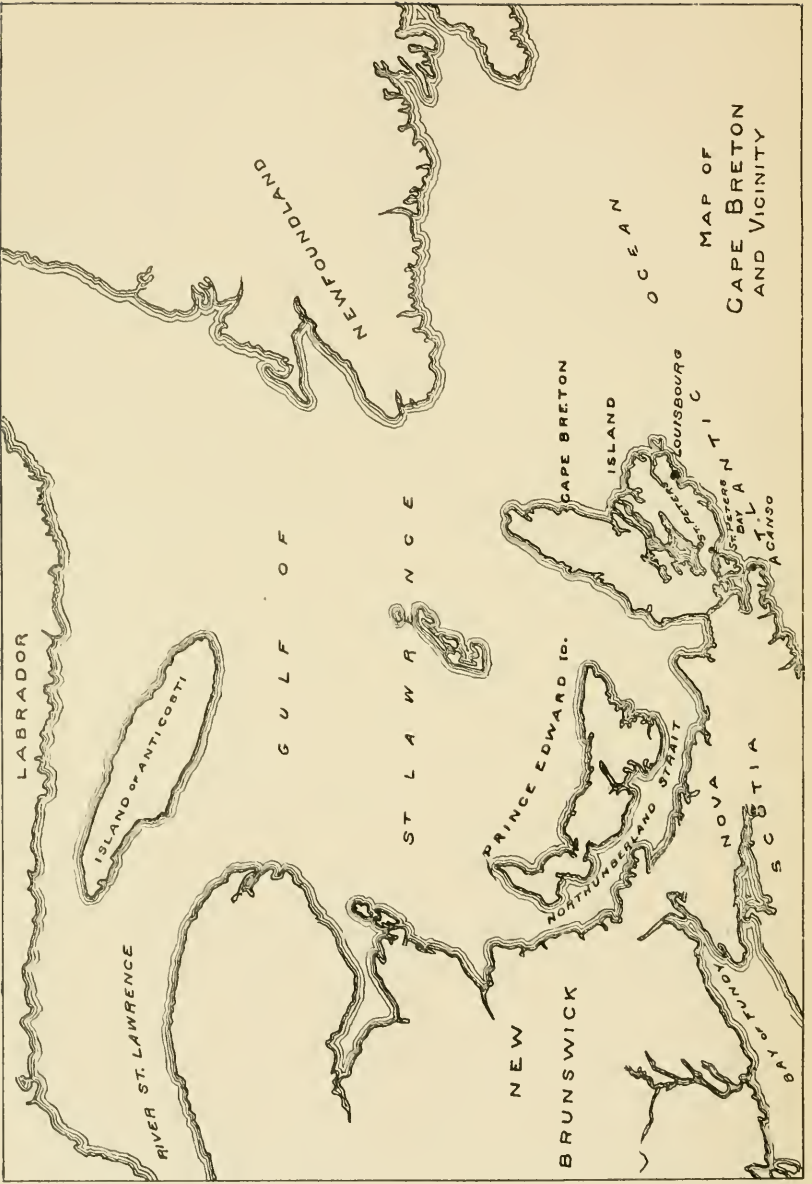
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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. MAINE AT LOUISBURG IN 1745, - - - - -	I
II. ASCERTAINABLE LISTS OF OFFICERS AND MEN FROM MAINE WHO WERE AT LOUISBURG IN 1745, - -	55
III. CORRESPONDENCE, - - - - -	89
IV. OFFICIAL REPORTS, &C., - - - - -	103
V. IMPORTANT SOURCES OF INFORMATION, - - -	113
VI. INDEX TO LISTS OF OFFICERS AND MEN, - - -	129

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
LIEUT. GENERAL WILLIAM PEPPERRELL, - - - <i>Frontispiece</i>	✓
MAP OF CAPE BRETON, - - - - -	I ^l
LOUISBURG IN 1745, - - - - -	5 ^v
SIEGE OF LOUISBURG IN 1745, - - - - -	27
THE KING'S BASTION AS IT APPEARS TODAY, - - -	33 ^r
ENTRANCE TO THE HARBOR ; ISLAND BATTERY ON THE LEFT AND GREEN ISLAND ON THE RIGHT, - - - - -	34 ^v
PART OF MAGAZINE RECENTLY UNCOVERED, - - - -	42 ^p
THE PEPPERRELL MANSION AT KITTERY, - - - - -	51 ⁱ
BRASS MORTAR AND PESTLE BROUGHT FROM LOUISBURG BY MORRIS O'BRIEN, - - - - -	52 ^v
MONUMENT AT LOUISBURG ERECTED IN 1895 BY THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS, - - - - -	54 ^t



MAP OF
CAPE BRETON
AND VICINITY

MAINE AT LOUISBURG IN 1745.

During the sixteenth century French discoverers and explorers were busy on this side of the sea. Early in the century they planted their national colors upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, and later, proceeding westward, establishing a chain of forts south of the Great Lakes and along the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi to its mouth, they indicated their purpose to seize and to hold this vast virgin territory, and to found upon it a New France, which under favorable conditions, and upon a broader field, should maintain the traditions and glories of the mother country.

But already the attention of English discoverers and explorers had been directed hither; and in the sixteenth century there were attempts at English colonization upon the Atlantic shores of the new world. If in these attempts there were disappointments and defeats, effort was not abandoned; and early in the seventeenth century English colonies obtained a firm foothold on the seaboard, making it evident that England as well as France had purposes with reference to the American continent—that here was a field for grand tactics, with the issue whether in this broad domain England or France should be supreme.

In the unfolding of events, Cape Breton, an island guarding the approaches to the St. Lawrence, was for awhile, in the early part of the seventeenth century, in the possession of English colonists; but in 1632, by treaty, it was restored to France. In 1710, with the fall of Port Royal, which was taken by New England troops and renamed Annapolis, Cape Breton

again became British territory, as did the rest of Acadia of which it was a part. The island remained an English possession, however, only until the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when what is now Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain, France retaining the island of Cape Breton, renamed Isle Royale. In order to make secure the possession of the island—all that now remained of her Atlantic possessions—France forthwith proceeded to fortify English Harbor, giving it a new name, Louisburg, in honor of the French monarch, Louis XIV.

A glance at the map will show how important in defense of French interests along the St. Lawrence was the possession of the island of Cape Breton. Separated from the main land by a narrow strait, it has the appearance of an extension of Nova Scotia into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In fact the French name, Acadia, covered both Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. A fortified seaport on the ocean front of the island would furnish a position from which easily French war-vessels could sally forth to intercept England's communication with her colonies on the American coast, or to fall upon them in any movement for their weakening or extermination. It would also serve as a protection to French fishing interests on the American coast. ¹

¹ Those interests were very great. It was estimated that the French fisheries on the "American coast at that time gave employment to 27,500 men and 564 vessels, and that the value of the annual product amounted to a million sterling." Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton, pp. 90, 91. Referring to the importance of securing and holding Cape Breton, Rev. Thomas Prince, pastor of the South Church, Boston, in a sermon "on the General Thanksgiving, July 18, 1745," said: "It abounds in the best of pit coal in America; and so near the surface of the earth and coast of the sea as to be very easily dug and put

Such a fortified seaport Louisburg became. Thither were brought settlers from Placentia, the seat of the French colony in Newfoundland; and elaborate works were planned by French engineers, who sought to make it, what France designed it to be, the strongest fortress in America.

It is a matter of surprise that England, by the treaty of Utrecht, should have consented to part with a possession, whose value to English interests on the Atlantic coast was as great as it was to French interests on the banks of the St. Lawrence.¹ The explanation of this piece of diplomatic folly is doubtless to be found in a lack of intelligent interest in American affairs in English administrative circles at that time—a lack that was manifested on other occasions later,

in vessels. Yea, from 1703, Lahontan had told us of the French ships loading with and carrying the same to Guadalupe and Martineco, for the refining of sugars, to their great advantage. And its commodious harbors; with its happy situation in the center of our fishery, at the entrance of the bay and river of Canada, and in the wake of all the trade from Europe to the British colonies on the main land of America, and both from them and our West India Islands to Europe; rendered the place of such vast importance—that I remember while in England, when we came to know the Tory ministry had by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 resigned it to the French; all true hearted Britons, who knew the circumstance of the island, most grievously lamented the resignation, as full of teeming mischief to the British trade, wealth and power, and as one of the most fatal acts of that unhappy ministry." London edition of 1746, pp. 16, 17.

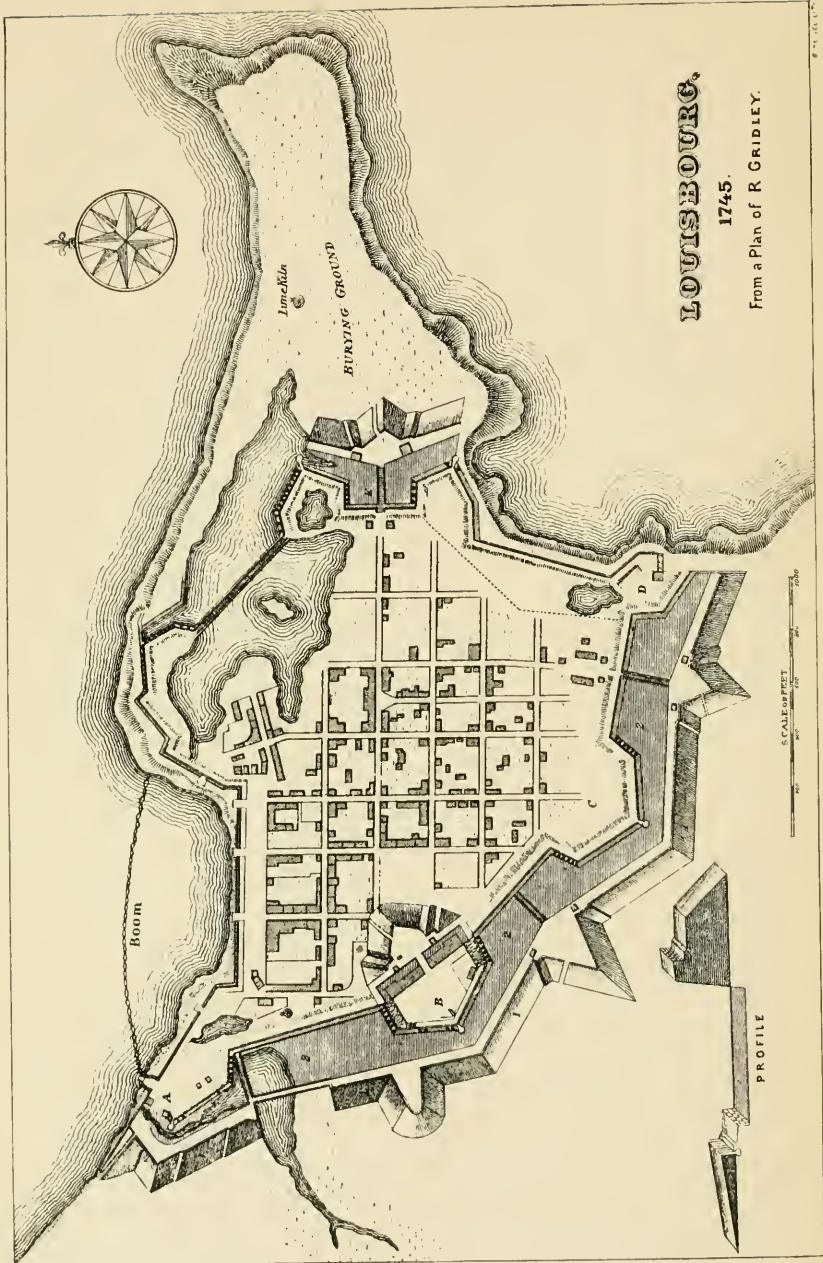
¹See "The Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton." There was not only a large profit from the fisheries employing men and ships, but the fisheries were a nursery as it were for British seamen "to the immense interest and profit of the nation:" pp. 90, 91. There was every reason why England should have retained its hold on Cape Breton. From this point of view the London Courant of September 4, 1745, referring to the capture of Louisburg, said: "The next step to be taken to make any conquest lasting, secure and valuable, is to drive the French from Canada."

weakening the ties that bound the colonists to the land of their fathers, and which at length led to the struggle for independence that ended in the establishment of a new nation, "conceived in liberty," but based on English laws and animated by the English spirit.

Some time naturally elapsed before a beginning could be made upon the fortifications of Louisburg. In an account of these fortifications by most writers the view is expressed that while temporary works were constructed soon after Cape Breton again came into the possession of France, the more elaborate fortifications, for which time for plan-making would be required, were not commenced until 1720; and an appeal is made to a medal, bearing that date, which was struck in honor of the founding of Louisburg. By others, however, it is thought that the construction of at least parts of the defenses was in progress not later than 1715, inasmuch as official reports of that date make mention of fortifications, and of the work already accomplished.¹ In 1728, de Brouillon, who was in command at Louisburg, reported to the Minister of Marine that the works defending the place were almost finished, and in 1733 he announced their completion. Of course, added work was necessary from time to time, either on account of changes or repairs; but the construction work had been done, and Louisburg was regarded by its defenders as not subject to successful assault by land or sea. The cost of the fortifications is said to have been not less than six million dollars.

The town occupied a triangular piece of ground containing about one hundred acres between the southern part of the harbor and the sea. A walk around the inclosing works

¹ Coll. of the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., Vol. 9, p. 154.



LOUISBOURG,

1745.

From a Plan of R. GRIDLEY.

SCALE OF FEET
0 100 200 300 400 500

PROFILE

measured about two miles. On the landward side, at the base of the triangle, there was a ditch eighty feet wide. In the works at this part of the line were "two bastions, the King's and the Queen's, and two demi-bastions, one of which, called the Dauphin's, was at the extreme north-west end of the line and close to the harbor; at this point also was the West Gate (leading out into the country), and the Circular Battery (armed with sixteen 24 pounders) which covered West Gate." The other demi-bastion, the Princess', was at the sea end of this line. In the rear of the King's bastion was the Citadel, a massive stone building, the headquarters of the garrison. "The lines of defence which ran parallel to the harbor and to the sea were of lighter construction—a wall of masonry with banquette; but the short, north-eastern face of the fortress was of the more massive and elaborate type. The north-east corner of the town had no wall or defensive works for a space of about two hundred yards; but it was protected from attack by a large pond, which extended along its front. A somewhat similar gap existed on the sea face, between the Princess' and Brouillon bastions, a palisade and ditch being the sole defenses; but in front, shoals, rocky islands, and a continuous heavy surf formed an effectual barrier against hostile attack from this quarter." ¹ An island at the mouth of the harbor was strongly fortified, while on the main land, opposite the Island Battery, and commanding the entrance to the harbor, was another strong work known as the Royal Battery, containing twenty-eight 42 pounders and two 18 pounders. There were embrasures in the works for one hundred and forty-eight cannon, but at the time of the siege only about one-half of the

¹Collections of the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., Vol. 9, pp. 153, 154.

number were in position. The garrison in 1745 numbered about two thousand regulars and militia.¹ The population of the town was about four thousand.

The British ministry was early made acquainted with the menace to British interests upon the American coast which Louisburg, thus strongly fortified, continually constituted. In 1741, Lieut. Governor Clarke, of the province of New York, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle a letter suggesting how the French might be dispossessed "of the footing they have got on the back of all the English colonies on this continent." In this letter he said:

"The harbor of Louisbourg at Breton is strongly fortified and the entrance defended by a Battery of fifty guns; there is depth of water sufficient for the biggest ships, and the harbor is capable of containing a very large fleet; its situation gives them all the advantages they can wish for, it secures their own navigation to Quebec, and gives them but too great opportunities to annoy and interrupt our fishery; in the winter they have few men upon the island except their garrisons, but are secured by the cold, the snow and ice. In summer they are strengthened by the great numbers of men employed in their fishery; the only time therefore to attempt with most advantage the taking of the place will be at the breaking up of the winter, and before their ships come from France, and this may be done; for if his Majesty's ships to be appointed for that

¹Others give the number as 1800. See Coll. Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., Vol. 9, p. 158. But the number of regulars and militia transported to France after the surrender was 1960. It is claimed that the garrison, at the time of Pepperrell's approach, was in a state of discontent occasioned by the non-payment of money due for labor performed, the money being withheld by rapacious officers.

service winter at Boston, they may block up the harbor of Louisbourg before any ships from France can arrive there, and his Majesty's troops may land when the least opposition can be given them, and for this expedition I am persuaded that four or five thousand men may be raised in New England, if the officers, as they were for the expedition against the Spaniards, be appointed in these provinces, but then I presume it will be necessary they be disciplined before they embark, so that if the orders and commissions be sent over the summer before, and a sufficient number of subalterns to teach them their exercise, they may before the ensuing spring be fit for service; but I presume some veterans from England will be absolutely necessary to join the Americans, under the command of an experienced General. If we take Cape Breton and have constantly there and at Placentia, in those months wherein those seas are navigable, a sufficient number of ships of war to guard our fishery, they may intercept the French ships bound, to or from Canada, and thereby reduce that country to great necessity, and their communication with Mississippi being cut off by the means proposed that country will become an easier conquest." ¹

Again, in 1743, Lieut. Governor Clarke, in a report to the home government, called attention to the importance of taking Cape Breton from the French. He said:

"If ever it be thought advisable to attempt again to take Canada, the dispossessing the French of their mastery on the Lake and of the fort at Crown Point, will greatly facilitate the enterprise, but before we begin the work, I presume to think we ought to take Cape Breton, a place well fortified, and from

¹ Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Vol. 6, pp. 183, 184.

whence the French can annoy our fishery at Newfoundland and guard their own navigation to and from Canada. That place is such a thorn in the sides of the New England people, that it's very probable a large body of men may be raised there to assist in any such design. And if proper officers are sent from England in the summer to exercise them, they may by the ensuing spring be well disciplined, as all their youth are expert in the use of fire arms from the unrestrained liberty of fowling, which obtains in all the provinces; and I conceive the spring is the most proper season to attack the place before the men-of-war and fishing vessels come from France, for in the winter they have few men except the garrisons, and Boston being a proper port for our fleet to harbor in the winter, we may block up the harbor of Breton before the ships from France can come upon the coast.”¹

These communications indicate the forebodings existing in the minds of the English colonists on the Atlantic seaboard. But especially was there alarm among the New England colonists when, near the close of 1743, there were rumors of the probability of a rupture between Great Britain and France. In a letter dated October 10, 1743, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts called the attention of Colonel William Pepperrell, in command of the York County regiment, to the danger of such a rupture as announced in advices he had received from England, and directed him to communicate this intelligence to the exposed towns and settlements. Pepperrell sent a copy of the Governor's letter to all the captains in his command, and in doing this he added: “I hope that He who gave us breath will give us the courage and prudence to behave ourselves like true-born Englishmen.”

¹ Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Vol. 6, p. 229.

An illustration of the attention given by thoughtful minds in New England at this time to the importance of taking Cape Breton from the French is furnished in a small pamphlet printed in London in July, 1745, but which was ready for publication April 9, 1744. It was prepared by Robert Auchmuty, of Roxbury, Mass., a judge of the Admiralty Court for Massachusetts and New Hampshire, who was in England at the time on a visit, and availed himself of an opportunity for impressing upon people there the views which he and doubtless many others held concerning the capture of this island and its stronghold, Louisburg. His pamphlet was entitled "The Importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation—Humbly represented by Robert Auckmuty [sic] Judge, &c., in New England. N. B. Upon the plan laid down in this representation the island was taken by Commodore Warren and General Pepperrell the 14th of June, 1745. London, 1745." A copy of this pamphlet is in the Library of Harvard University, and it was also printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1746. It has been reprinted in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls., First Series, Vol. 5, pp. 202-205. Auchmuty was of Scotch descent, settled in Boston early in the 18th century, was made judge of the Admiralty Court in 1733, and died in Boston, in April, 1750.

France, however, did not declare war until March 15, 1744 (N. S.), and Great Britain followed March 29, 1744 (O. S.), being April 9, 1744 (N. S.). An early notice of the declaration of war on the part of France was sent to the commanding officer at Louisburg, who at once organized an expedition, which sailed May 12th for Canso, near the entrance to the strait of Canso, and the nearest British post. The garrison at Canso, unprepared for such a movement, surrendered and the prisoners were taken to Louisburg. Later, an attempt was made by

the French to take possession of Annapolis, but Governor Shirley succeeded in throwing a strong reinforcement into the place. Some say that this hurried activity on the part of the commanding officer at Louisburg was not inspired by the home government; in fact it is stated that when orders at length were received from France, they were to the effect that no such movement should be undertaken. Certainly the result was harmful to French interests. The prisoners taken at Canso and carried to Louisburg were released in the autumn of 1744 and sent to Boston. From observation during their stay they brought with them much information concerning the place, its defenses, the strength of its garrison, &c.

This information was eagerly welcomed by Governor Shirley. What was said concerning the weakness of the French garrison, and the favorable opportunity which present conditions afforded for a strong, vigorous attack upon the French stronghold in the early spring, before reinforcements could reach Louisburg, deeply impressed him. It impressed others also in various parts of the colony as the released prisoners made their way to their homes. The importance of taking Louisburg from the French became the chief topic of interest at the fireside and wherever men assembled in the various relations of life.¹ In November, Governor Shirley sent Colonel

¹ Parkman, who finds in the capture of Canso garrison the immediate incitement to the Louisburg expedition, attributes, "the wildly audacious project to some heated brains." Such doubtless there were, but the uprising in New England at that time was not unlike that which was witnessed in New England, and indeed throughout the North, at the opening of the Civil War. No one would think of attributing that remarkable spectacle in April, 1861, to "heated brains." As has been shown, the Governor of New York had for some time busied himself with the problem of taking Louisburg. So had many other

Pepperrell to the Penobscot Indians for a consultation that should test their fidelity to the English colonists in time of war and secure their cooperation in accordance with their treaty obligations. He also took an early opportunity to bring the imperilled situation of the New England colonists to the attention of the British ministry, sending his communication by the hands of Captain Royal, an officer of the captured garrison at Canso, who "from his particular knowledge of Louisburg," as Governor Shirley wrote to Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire, November 10, 1744, "and of the great consequence of the acquisition of Cape Breton, and the preservation of Nova Scotia," he hoped would be of considerable service to the northern colonies, with the Lords of the Admiralty. After the conference with the Penobscot Indians, Governor Shirley also took up the matter with Colonel Pepperrell, whose business interests made him familiar with all questions concerning affairs at the eastward. Pepperrell's report strengthened the governor's growing convictions.

Especially were these convictions strengthened by representations made to Governor Shirley by Captain William Vaughan of Damariscotta. Captain Vaughan was a son of Lieutenant Governor Vaughan of New Hampshire, but had long been prominent in business affairs in Maine. As early as 1728, he established a fishing and trading station at Matinicus. Later he erected lumber mills at Damariscotta. Belknap says of him, "He was a man of good understanding, but of daring, enterprising and tenacious mind, and one who thought of

thoughtful men, who had come to the conviction that Louisburg, as a stronghold of France, was a perpetual menace to British interests. *Atlantic Monthly*, 1891, p. 316.

¹ History of New Hampshire, p. 269.

no obstacles to the accomplishment of his views. . . . Vaughan had not been at Louisburg, but had learned from fishermen and others something of the strength and situation of the place; and nothing being in his view impracticable, which he had a mind to accomplish, he conceived a design to take the city by surprise; and even proposed going over the walls in the winter on the drifts of snow. This idea of a surprisal forcibly struck the mind of Shirley, and prevailed with him to hasten his preparations before he could have any answer or orders from England." Parsons,¹ on the other hand, says, "Governor Shirley conceived the idea of taking the city by surprise.

. . . Vaughan of New Hampshire, a man of sanguine temperament and daring enterprise, assisted in collecting information and urged the expedition." It is not now possible to settle definitely the question whether Vaughan, or Shirley, or some other person, proposed the taking of Louisburg by surprise. It seems probable, however, that the initial impulse came from Vaughan, and that this was all that was needed to stir the governor to immediate activity in the endeavor to execute the proposed plan.²

No mention of taking Louisburg by surprise was mentioned by Governor Shirley when he first called the attention of the General Court to the importance of capturing Louisburg. This first communication was made in a message trans-

¹ Life of Sir William Pepperrell, p. 48.

² March 23, 1745, Gov. Shirley wrote to Gen. Pepperrell: "I desire you would let Mr. Vaughan, who goes a volunteer to Cape Breton in this expedition, and has been very instrumental in promoting it, both within this and the neighboring provinces, and has the success of it much at heart, assist in your councils, and I do appoint him to be one of it. Your countenance and protection of him, also, so far as is proper, I shall esteem a favor."

mitted January 9, 1745, and which was read after the members had taken an oath of secrecy. In the message the Governor referred to the advantages that would result from a successful movement against Louisburg, and to the favorable opportunity that seemed to offer for the enterprise. He was of the opinion that two thousand men would furnish a force ample for the undertaking, and he urged the General Court to make a suitable provision for the expenses of the expedition.

A committee of the House and Council was appointed to take the message into consideration. In their reply on January 12, the members of this committee replied that while they were sensible of the importance of such an expedition as was proposed, they were convinced that the province could not provide the necessary sea and land forces for such an undertaking; and they suggested that the Governor should appeal to the King, and seek to enlist his "compassionate regards," while at the same time offering such assistance as the province was able to render.

But this did not end the matter with Governor Shirley. His endeavor to withhold the message from the general public failed, a member of the General Court, in the fervency of his private supplication for Divine guidance in the matter, was so loud in his appeal as to be overheard, and the secret was out. Soon public interest was manifested. Those not members of the General Court insisted upon being heard, and January 19, Governor Shirley sent a second message to the House calling attention to a petition of Benjamin Marston and others of Marblehead in favor of the proposed expedition; and a committee was appointed to consider the message and petition and to hear any gentlemen "upon this affair."

Four days later Governor Shirley sent to the General

Court a third message with reference to the proposed expedition. In this message he increased to three thousand the force he deemed necessary for the reduction of the French stronghold; and such a force he regarded adequate even though the attempt to take the place by surprise should fail. Help in the undertaking he was confident could be obtained from England, and from the British squadron in American waters, and he promised to use his best efforts in securing such help. For the encouragement of enlistments he suggested "some reasonable pay or bounty." He would also seek to obtain the assistance of the adjacent provinces of New York, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island, whose interest and welfare were identical with the interest and welfare of Massachusetts.

On the same day a petition in favor of the proposed expedition was received from a large number of merchants and others, inhabitants of the town of Boston. William Pepperrell and Samuel Waldo were made members of the committee to which the message and petition presented on the 19th and these additional documents were referred. At a meeting of the Council January 25, Pepperrell presented the report of the committee. Two of the prisoners taken at Canso had been before the committee, also men who had been at Louisburg as traders and were familiar with the conditions there. Their testimony was to the effect that the garrison at Louisburg consisted of about one thousand fighting men of whom only five or six hundred were regular troops; that their stock of provisions was low, and that there were no formidable war vessels in the harbor.¹ The members of the committee, therefore, were

¹ After the surrender of Louisburg, Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton wrote to a friend in Scotland: "The state of the place was

of the opinion that the present favorable opportunity for the proposed expedition should be embraced, and it was recommended that the Governor by proclamation should call for the enlistment of three thousand volunteers; that warlike stores and provisions should be procured, also transports which should be ready to sail by the beginning of March; and that a suitable naval force should be provided as a convoy to the expedition. The governments of New York, the Jerseys, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island were to be asked to furnish their quotas of men and vessels, "to accompany and follow the force of this province."

Dr. Belknap says that "the address of the Governor and the invincible perseverance of Vaughan" secured the adoption of the report, though only by a majority of one, and in the absence of several members who were known to be opposed to the expedition. Circular letters were at once addressed to the colonial governments mentioned in the committee's report,

strangely concealed from us, which if it had been known, would have effectually prevented the design. We seemed to be under great advantages to be informed; for we had many that very lately had been prisoners there, and others that had traded, and been very conversant there, and some that had dwelt there a considerable time, and our Governor and General Assembly were very diligent in making inquiry, and all seemed to be well satisfied that we had full information; and yet the representations that were relied upon as true were exceedingly wrong. It was unaccountable that so many, that had been conversant there, should be kept in such ignorance. If one-half of the strength of the place had been known, the expedition had never been thought of; or if they had imagined the number of soldiers and inhabitants there, or if the expensiveness of the undertaking had been conceived of, it never would have been meddled with; for it soon abundantly exceeded the expectations of our General Assembly." *Christian History*, Edinburgh, 1745. From a copy in Congregational Library in Boston.

Vaughan being made the bearer of the letter to the New Hampshire governor.¹

Preparations for the expedition were now hurriedly undertaken. Governor Shirley well understood the importance of immediate attention not only to the work of enlistment, but of collecting military stores and vessels for the transportation of troops. The command of the expedition was given to Colonel William Pepperrell² of Kittery, who had long been identified with the militia of the province. He was a captain of cavalry at the age of twenty-one. Subsequently he held commissions as Major and Lieutenant Colonel of the York County regiment of infantry, and this position he held in 1745. But he had had no experience in actual warfare, nor had the province in its service one who had developed marked military ability in field operations. Pepperrell, however, as president of the Council, had been in close touch with Governor Shirley in all matters

¹ New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut responded favorably. Governor Clinton of New York urged the General Assembly to take an active part in the Louisburg enterprise, but when he found that its members were not inclined to render any assistance in men and to furnish but a trifle in money, he dissolved the Assembly in the hope that another Assembly would show a different spirit. Meanwhile he sent ten 18 pounders, to Boston, and later, when he was informed by Governor Shirley that the troops were greatly in want of provisions, he set on foot a subscription and raised £2000, toward which he contributed liberally himself. Afterwards he purchased powder and clothing, expending £2900 additional. From the later Assembly he obtained £5000. See Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York, Vol. 6, pp. 274, 275, 284, 285. The New Jersey Assembly voted £2000 toward the expedition, and the Pennsylvania Assembly voted £4000 currency for the purchase of provisions.

² Colonel Pepperrell was born in Kittery, June 27, 1696. His father was a native of Ravistock Parish, near Plymouth, in Wales. He emigrated at the age of twenty-two, and came to the Isle of Shoals. After residing there four or five years, he removed to Kittery Point, where he died in 1734.

that had arisen because of the war with France, he possessed energy and good judgment, a winsome personality, and above all a character that commanded the highest respect. He had been found faithful in all other positions of honor and influence; and it was believed that those who were ready to enlist in an enterprise of so much importance to the general welfare would do so even more enthusiastically under the leadership of one so worthy of confidence and even affection as was Colonel William Pepperrell. At first, however, Pepperrell hesitated to accept the appointment,¹ but Governor Shirley urged the claims of duty and loyalty with so much persuasiveness as to overcome all objections. "His patriotism now shone out with great lustre, for nothing but a zeal for his country's good could have carried him from the scenes of domestic enjoyment, and extensive and lucrative business, to the fatigues of a camp and the risks of certain conflict, with doubtful result."² At the time of his appointment Pepperrell was in his forty-ninth year. His rank was that of Lieutenant General.³

¹ "Before Pepperrell accepted the command, he asked the opinion of the famous George Whitefield, who was itinerating and preaching in New England. Whitefield told him that he did not think the scheme very promising; that the eyes of all would be on him; that if it should not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain would reproach him; and if it should succeed, many would regard him with envy, and endeavor to eclipse his glory; that he ought therefore to go with 'a single eye,' and then he would find his strength proportioned to his necessity. Henry Sherburne, the commissary of New Hampshire, another of Whitefield's friends, pressed him to favor the expedition and give a motto for the flag; to which, after some hesitation, he consented. The motto was, 'Nil desperandum Christo duce.'" Belknap's History of New Hampshire, p. 272.

² Parsons' Life of Sir William Pepperrell, p. 51.

³ Pepperrell received three commissions as Lieutenant General, that is one from each of the three provinces, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut.

Roger Wolcott¹ of Connecticut was made second in command, with the rank of Major General, and Samuel Waldo,² then a representative of Falmouth in the General Court, and Colonel of the eastern Yorkshire regiment, was made third in command, with the rank of Brigadier General.

Recruiting for the expedition began at an early day. Three regiments were asked for from that part of the province that is now known as the State of Maine. In 1744 the militia enrollment in this territory was as follows:³

In Kittery	450 men	In Scarborough	160 men
In York	350 men	In Falmouth	500 men
In Wells	250 men	In North Yarmouth	150 men
In Arundel	95 men	In Brunswick	50 men
In Biddeford	120 men	In Narraganset No. 1	20 men
In Berwick	150 men	In New Marblehead	40 men
In Phillipstown	150 men	In Georges and Broad Bay	270 men
	—	In Pemaquid	50 men
Pepperrell's Regt.	1565	In Sheepscot	50 men
	—		—
Both regiments	2855	Waldo's Regt.	1290

¹ He was afterward Chief Justice of Connecticut and Governor of that province from 1751 to 1754. He died May 13, 1767, in the 89th year of his age. Waldo originally was designated as second in command, but Connecticut, on account of its participation in the expedition, was given the second place.

² General Waldo was born in England in 1696, and came to this country when he was four years old. His father, Jonathan Waldo, settled in Boston, where he died in 1730. Like his father, Samuel became a prosperous business man. Later, he became largely interested in lands in Maine, especially in what was afterwards known as the Waldo patent. In developing his land interests he brought to this country Scotch-Irish and German emigrants. May 23, 1759, while exploring the eastern banks of the Penobscot above Bangor, he died suddenly of apoplexy, and was buried at Fort Point at the mouth of the river; but subsequently the body was removed to Boston and buried in King's Chapel cemetery.

³ Georgetown, which is omitted, is supposed to have had about one hundred men able to bear arms.

The three eastern regiments in the Louisburg expedition were known as Pepperrell's, Waldo's and Moulton's, Pepperrell and Waldo having only a nominal relation to the regiments bearing their names. To Lieutenant Colonel John Bradstreet of Massachusetts was given the command of Pepperrell's regiment, and the command of Waldo's regiment was given to Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Noble of Georgetown. Colonel Jeremiah Moulton of York, who commanded the third Maine regiment, had seen hard fighting in the Indian Wars, and was with Captain Johnson Harmon at the destruction of the Indian village at Norridgewock in 1724.¹

The influence of such men as Pepperrell, Waldo and Moulton could not but be powerfully felt in all the towns and villages of Maine. Not only the larger communities, but even the smaller settlements responded to the call to arms. Major John Storer of Wells, in a single day is said to have raised a company of sixty-one men, of which the oldest was sixty years of age and the youngest sixteen.² Some letters of the period that have been preserved give us graphic sketches of the enthusiasm that was awakened in Maine towns by the Governor's proclamation. The militia companies of York were called together on February 4th. Of Captain Harmon's snowshoe men seventeen enlisted. Ten or twelve enlisted to serve under any captain the Governor should appoint. Ten others enlisted under Ensign James Donnell. Twelve of Captain Sewall's company signed a paper signifying their intention of enlisting, though desirous first of knowing who would be their

¹ Colonel Moulton was a member of the Provincial Council, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas and Treasurer of York County. He was born in York, in 1688, and died there July 20, 1765.

² *Atlantic Monthly*, 1891, p. 322.

captain.¹ Captain Johnson Harmon wrote to Pepperrell February 16th: "I am persuaded there is yet something for me to do there [Louisburg] before I leave the world."² Captain Ammi R. Cutter of Saco, a graduate of Harvard College, who was disappointed in not securing a surgeon's appointment, raised a company, and February 20th reported to Pepperrell that he had enlisted forty-six recruits, and expected to increase the number to sixty.³ Captain Moses Pearson of Falmouth wrote to General Pepperrell February 25th that notwithstanding other recruiting officers had been in the place in his absence, and enlisted men he had expected to secure for his own company, he hoped to make up the number to thirty or more, and leave on the first opportunity for Boston.⁴ In Kittery, Berwick, Arundel and other places in York County, also in places at the eastward, there was a like prompt response to the Governor's call.⁵ In a letter to his friend Hill in Berwick,⁶ General Pepperrell wrote February 20th: "Yesterday I heard that Captain Butler had enlisted in Berwick nearly his fifty brave soldiers. This news is like cordial to me. Last

¹ Dr. Alexander Bulman of York in a letter to Pepperrell. *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 2nd Series, Vol. II., pp. 99, 100.

² Pepperrell Papers, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 6th Series, Vol. 10, pp. 103, 104.

³ Pepperrell Papers, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 6th Series, Vol. 10, pp. 104, 105.

⁴ Pepperrell Papers, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 6th Series, Vol. 10, pp. 107, 108.

⁵ Southgate, in his *History of Scarborough*, (*Me. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1st Series, Vol. 3, p. 172), says: "One hundred and sixty of our townsmen were enlisted in Col. Waldo's regiment sometime before the attack on Louisburg, but it does not appear how many of these continued in the service through that event, or who of them were present and assisted in the capture."

⁶ Parsons' *Life of Sir William Pepperrell*, pp. 53, 54.

night I received a letter from the War Committee, saying they thought there was (upon our completing five or six companies of our brave County of York men) the full number proposed to be enlisted and more, so that there will be a number cleared off, but you may be assured that our brave county of York men shall not be cleared off unless they desire it."

While the work of enlistment proceeded rapidly, it is evident from a letter to Pepperrell, written by Captain Vaughan, that in Maine there was a quicker response to the Governor's call than in Massachusetts. "I have desired," he wrote February 8th, "the gentlemen at York to march one company next Monday to Boston to give life and spring to the affair. I hope you will encourage the same."¹ Vaughan says he had proposed that at least two thousand men should be in Boston ready to sail by the 20th of February. His enthusiasm was contagious, but the task of providing men, stores and transports within the time-limit mentioned was not accomplished. However, in less than two months from the day on which the General Court voted in favor of the Louisburg expedition, the requisite military force had been recruited, and was ready to embark. This force comprised eight regiments or 3,250 men from Massachusetts (including three regiments from Maine), one regiment from Connecticut with 516 men, and one from New Hampshire with 304 men. New Hampshire also provided 150 recruits for Massachusetts regiments. Later, Rhode Island furnished three companies or 150 men, and a guard sloop with ninety men. Parkman says, "Maine, then a part of Massachusetts, furnished full one-third of the Massachusetts contingent."²

¹ Pepperrell papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 6th Series, Vol. 10, pp. 100, 101.

² In a letter to the Hon. Josiah Willard, dated Kittery, Oct. 9, 1750, Sir William Pepperrell wrote: "I think one-third part of the

Maine furnished not only so large a part of the military force and the commander of the expedition, Lieutenant General Pepperrell, but also the third in command, General Samuel Waldo, who owned land, and had business interests in Maine requiring his personal attention to such a degree as to identify him largely with that part of the Province: also the commander of the armed vessels of the provincial squadron, Captain Edward Tyng¹ of Falmouth. In the preceding year, while in command of a provincial "snow,"² Captain Tyng had captured a French privateer of 18 guns, and brought his prize into Boston Harbor. Captain Tyng was now given the rank of Commodore. His fleet consisted of thirteen vessels, carrying 204 guns. Of these thirteen vessels, Massachusetts provided nine, Connecticut two, Rhode Island one and New Hampshire one. Some of the vessels sailed as early as the middle of March, and made their way to the vicinity of Louisburg for the purpose of intercepting the enemy's vessels, and preventing them from entering the harbor with supplies or reinforcements. The rest of the squadron and the eighty or ninety transports³ for the troops and stores anchored in Nantasket Roads, Boston Harbor.

forces that went on the expedition to Louisbourg were enlisted from the County of York." Baxter Manuscripts: Maine Historical Society's Documentary History, 2nd Series, Vol. 12, p. 104.

¹ He was the third son of Colonel Edward Tyng and was born in Falmouth in 1683. After he came to manhood he was in partnership, and owned vessels and their cargoes, with Phineas Jones of Falmouth. Wm. Gould's "Portland in the Past," p. 249.

² A vessel equipped with two masts, resembling in rig a brig, "except that the brig bends her fore-and-aft mainsail to the mainmast, while the snow bends it to the trysail-mast." Century Dictionary.

³ Jonathan Sayward of York was Captain of one of the transports, and brought home some fine China ware in the fall of 1745.

As the day of the departure drew near, a day of fasting and prayer was appointed by Governor Shirley, and fervent petitions were offered for the divine blessing to rest upon officers and men.

The Maine troops made Boston their rendezvous as did the other Massachusetts regiments. Governor Shirley urged Governor Wentworth of New Hampshire to send thither the contingent from that province; but as it seemed to the Governor more desirable that the New Hampshire troops should avoid the delay this would necessitate, they sailed direct from Portsmouth, leaving that port March 23.

Pepperrell received his orders from Governor Shirley, March 19, and he sailed from Nantasket Roads with the Massachusetts troops in the afternoon of March 24.¹ In his letter to Governor Wentworth, urging him to send the New Hampshire troops to Boston, Governor Shirley showed that he still had in contemplation the surprise of the French at Louisburg, for he wrote: "The success of our scheme for surprising Louisburg will entirely depend on the execution of the first night, after the arrival of our forces. For this purpose, it is necessary that the whole fleet should make Chapeau-rouge² point just at the shutting in of the day, when they cannot easily be discovered, and from thence push into the bay so as to have all the men landed before midnight; (the landing of whom, it is computed by Captain Durell and Mr. Bastide, will

¹ "Lord's day, March 24. This morning Commodore Rouse gave a signal for weighing anchor. About noon Mr. Hutchinson brought orders from his Excellency for sailing. About 4 p. m., the fleet under convoy of Com. Rouse sail[ed] from King Road for Cape Breton." Green's diary in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

² A corruption of Chapeaurouge

take up three hours at least)."¹ The forming of the four corps to be employed in scaling the walls of Louisburg would take two hours. The march of these four corps to their respective posts would require two hours more. This would bring them to day-break, and therefore full late for the attack. Hence the necessity that the fleet should arrive at the precise hour indicated.

In his instructions to Pepperrell the Governor was more minute. The commanding General was directed to proceed to Canso with the force intrusted to him. He was to build there a block-house, construct a battery and land such stores as would not be immediately needed. Then he was to send a detachment to St. Peter's on Cape Breton, and destroy it so that no information concerning the expedition could reach Louisburg from that locality. Afterward the whole fleet was to sail for Gabarus Bay, on which was the proposed landing place for the troops. The approach of the transports was to be so timed that they would arrive in the bay in the evening, and the landing of the troops would take place without delay. If he should not succeed in surprising the enemy, Pepperrell was to call a council of war and proceed according to circumstances.²

On account of unfavorable weather the transports containing the Massachusetts troops anchored three days (March 26-29) at Sheepscoot; Green says, "in Sheepscoot harbor, about a league within the docks or entrance." The New Hampshire regiment reached Canso, March 31.³ Pepperrell and the men

¹ Belknap's History of New Hampshire, p. 274.

² Parsons' Life of Sir William Pepperrell, p. 55; Williamson's History of Maine, Vol. 2, p. 228.

³ Belknap's History of New Hampshire, p. 275.

from Massachusetts arrived in the early days of April,¹ but the Connecticut troops were not at the place until April 24.² For some time the shores of Cape Breton were inclosed in ice. Pepperrell wrote to Governor Shirley, "We impatiently wait for a fair wind to drive the ice out of the bay, and if we do not suffer for want of provisions make no doubt but we shall by God's favor be able soon to drive out what else we please from Cape Breton."³ "Meanwhile, however, Pepperrell not only employed his men in fortifying the place, but in military drill, making cartridges, &c. On Sunday, April 7, Parson Moody of York preached from the text, "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power," Psalm 110:3; but the daily drills were not suspended on that day evidently, for Major Pomeroy made this record in his diary: "Several sorts of businesses was Going on, Som a Exercising Som a Hearing Preaching." Of incalculable value were these weeks of preparation, notwithstanding the impatience of officers and men because of the enforced delay.

In the autumn of 1744, Governor Shirley had asked the Duke of Newcastle for naval assistance in maintaining British interests at the eastward. He also wrote to Commodore Warren, who was in command of the British war ships in

¹ Parsons' *Life of Sir William Pepperrell*, p. 57, says: "The Mass. troops arrived at Canso, April 1." Williamson, *History of Maine*, Vol. 2, p. 228, says: "The land and naval forces all arrived at Canso, April 4." Parsons doubtless gives the day of the first arrival, and Williamson the day when all had arrived, as he supposed; but Major Pomeroy says his vessel arrived on the 5th. Others evidently came in from day to day later. See Parkman's "Capture of Louisbourg by the New England Militia," *Atlantic Monthly*, 1891, pp. 514, 516.

² *Journal of Pepperrell Expedition*, Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society; New Series, Vol. 20, Part I.

³ *The Taking of Louisburg, 1765*, Samuel Adams Drake, p. 79.

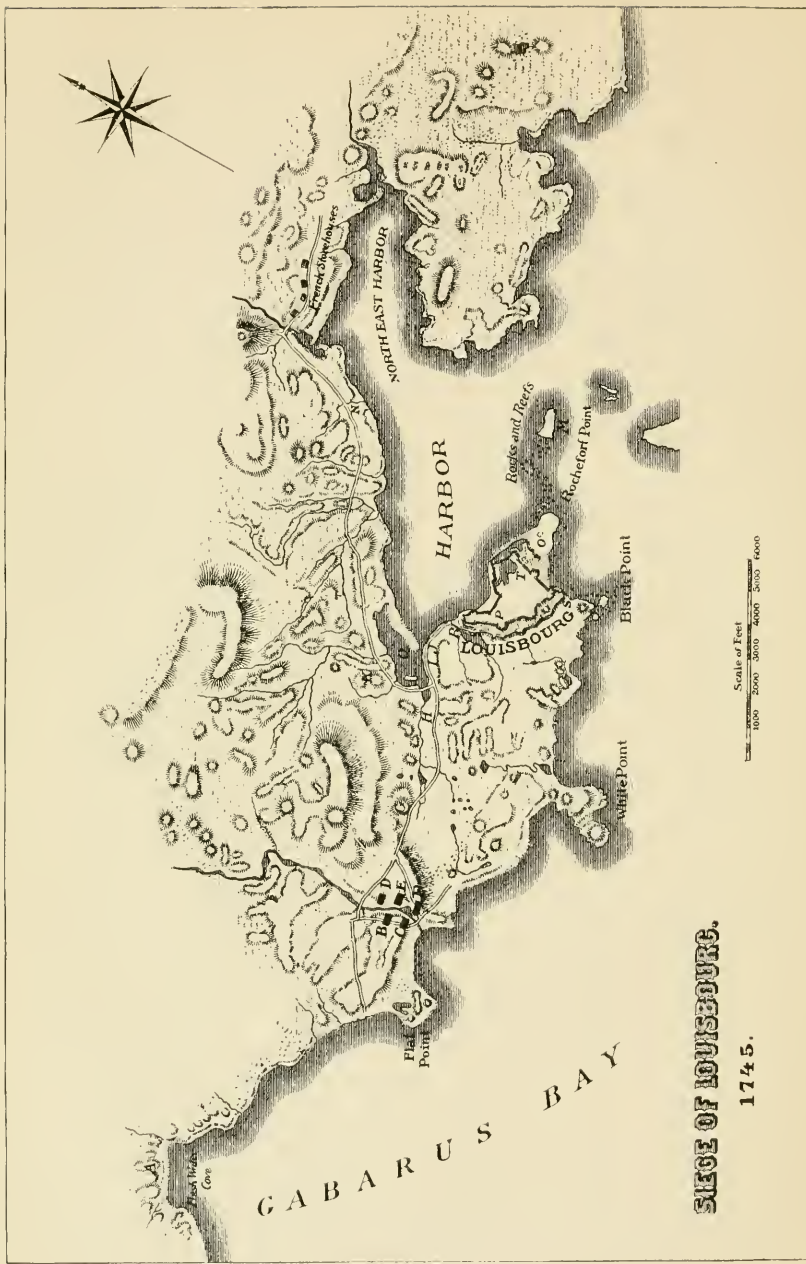
American waters, and was then at his station in the West Indies. Warren properly declined to accede to the Governor's earnest appeal until orders were received from England. When these at length came, he at once proceeded northward, and while on the way to Boston, ascertaining from the captain of a schooner that the expedition had already sailed for Canso, he hurried his ships thither. The first vessel of the squadron, the frigate *Eltham*, forty guns, arrived at Canso, April 22, and Commodore Warren, in the *Superb* of sixty guns, with the other vessels, the *Mermaid* and the *Launceston* of forty guns each, came into the harbor the following day. Warren was most heartily welcomed by Pepperrell, and after an exchange of greetings the Commodore proceeded at the close of the day to join Tyng and the provincial squadron in the blockade of the harbor of Louisburg.

It has been said¹ that no rumors of the approach of Pepperrell's forces from Canso reached the French garrison at Louisburg before the fleet of transports was in sight. Parkman,² however, quotes from a French account of the siege showing that information concerning the expedition had been received at Louisburg, but was discredited. The French commander, Duchambon, however, posted a small detachment in a position from which any approach of the enemy might be seen; but evidently he had no expectation that the enemy would appear, and the members of the detachment were as incredulous as he.³

¹ Williamson's *History of Maine*, Vol. 2, p. 229. Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*, p. 276.

² *Atlantic Monthly*, 1891, p. 516. In a note, p. 630, he says that the work from which he quotes, "Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg" contains eighty-one printed pages and dated "a . . . ce 28 Aout. 1745." There is a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

³ *Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Coll's*, Vol. 9, pp. 165, 166.



SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG.

1745.

General Pepperrell was informed April 26th that the ice had left Gabarus Bay, and preparations were at once made for re-embarking the army. The troops were in the best of spirits, and all were eager to enter upon the task for which they had enlisted. It was decided that Captain Cutter's company of Colonel Moulton's regiment should be left at Canso to garrison the fort and guard the stores, while to the rest of the regiment was assigned the duty of destroying the fort and settlement at St. Peter's, a village not far away on the island of Cape Breton;¹ and then Colonel Moulton was to join the rest of the army in its forward movement.

Everything being in readiness, Pepperrell sailed from Canso early in the morning of April 29. There was a favorable wind, and all were in high hopes that the evening² would find them at the selected landing place; but the wind ere long died away, and instead of reaching Gabarus Bay at nightfall, according to Governor Shirley's plan, the transports did not reach their anchorage until about nine³ o'clock the next morning. All hope of surprising the garrison at Louisburg had of course then been abandoned. In fact the detachment from the garrison, watching for the approach of the enemy, had discovered the fleet of transports on its approach, and informed the Governor, Duchambon,⁴ who at once dispatched an addi-

¹ St. Peter's was a menace to the Provincials. It was the second place in importance on the Island of Cape Breton, and if left free to furnish spies and information to the French at Quebec and Montreal would prove a source of untold harm.

² "While the enemy were asleep," are the words of Gen. Wolcott in his diary.

³ Journal of Pepperrell Expedition, Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society; New Series, Vol. 20, Part I.

⁴ He was the successor of Duquesnel, who had died in the autumn.

tional force of eighty men under a trustworthy officer to prevent the landing. A well planned feint on Pepperrell's part proved successful in deceiving the enemy as to the place of landing, and Pepperrell soon had men enough ashore to meet the opposing party. In this first brush with the enemy some of the French were killed, others captured including a French officer, and the rest were driven back into the town.

During the day about two thousand men, including Waldo's regiment (under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Noble), were landed; and the rest of the force followed on the next day, May 1st. That afternoon¹ Vaughan, now with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and acting under the direction of the commander of the expedition, was given about four hundred men, and instructed to proceed to make a reconnoissance west and northwest of the town. This task Vaughan executed with characteristic zeal, and also with skill and determination. Passing to the westward of the town, he skirted the Royal Battery at a safe distance, and burned the buildings along the shore at the northwestern part of the harbor. The smoke of the burning buildings was driven by the wind in the direction of the Royal Battery. The officer in command there, not able to follow the movement of Vaughan's men because of the thick smoke, and probably overestimating the force, suggested to Duchambon the abandonment of the battery. The suggestion strangely enough was approved, and at night, having spiked the cannon, the officers and men in the battery hurriedly made

¹ This is Parsons' statement (*Life of Sir William Pepperrell*, p. 63). Parkman (*Atlantic Monthly*, 1891, p. 517) says it was May 2nd. Neither Pepperrell nor Vaughan would hardly have waited so long. Green, in his *Journal of the Expedition* (*Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, Vol. 20, Part I.), says it was on May 1.

their way into the town.¹ Vaughan and the other members of the reconnoitering party bivouacked near the burnt district. In the morning, Vaughan ordered the troops to return to Pepperrell's camp. With a small party moving in the same direction, Vaughan, when on high ground overlooking the Royal Battery, turned his attention toward it, but could not discover any signs of the presence of the enemy. No flag was flying at the staff, and within the fort there were no indications of life. A Cape Cod Indian, who accompanied Vaughan, was induced to approach the fort and ascertain whether or not it was occupied. The Indian reached the battery in safety, and crawling through one of the embrasures, finding no trace of the garrison, he signalled to Vaughan, and soon the latter and his men were in possession. Hurriedly Vaughan notified Pepperrell of this piece of good fortune. "May it please your honor to be informed," he wrote, "that by the grace of God, and the courage of about thirteen men, I entered this place about nine o'clock, and am waiting here for a reinforcement and flag." Meanwhile a substitute for a flag was found, as one of the party, William Tufts,² a boy of eighteen, climbed to the summit of the flagstaff and affixed to it his red coat. In his note Vaughan added: "Be pleased further to be informed that there are about one hundred men now landed on the lighthouse side, proceeding up the northeast part of the harbor, as I suppose to destroy about fifty sail of vessels, &c.

¹ According to another statement, Duchambon, the French Commander at Louisburg, visited the battery after the arrival of Pepperrell's force and instructed the officer in command to hold the position if possible; but if he found it necessary to withdraw he was to do so after spiking the cannon.

² Of Medford, Mass., John Langdon Sibley in *New England Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 25, p. 337.

If your honor think it proper to send the whale-boats immediately round two miles without the Island Battery to land and cut them off, I believe it will be of service." Doubtless, Pepperrell saw the impossibility of getting a whale-boat party around the Island Battery, but he hurried off Waldo with three companies of his regiment, and soon after, the rest of Waldo's men went to Vaughan's assistance, in all about four hundred men. Thus early were Maine men at the front at Louisburg. The reinforcement arrived none too soon. Duchambon also, discovering the blunder he had made in allowing the garrison at the Royal Battery to withdraw, hurried a party in boats to reoccupy this important position. Vaughan and his men, however, kept them from landing until Waldo's arrival, when the Frenchmen returned to the town.

In the Battery were twenty-eight 42 pounders, two 18 pounders, three hundred and fifty 13 inch shells, thirty 10 inch shells and a quantity of shot. Colonel Bradstreet, who accompanied Waldo, reported to Pepperrell that the Battery was in a bad condition; "but notwithstanding," he added, "we can soon repair it as well as ever. I beg you will send the smiths and armorers as soon as possible to drill open the vents of the cannon." This was done under the direction of Major Pomeroy¹ of Northampton, Massachusetts, a gunsmith. In

¹ Pomeroy, thirty years later, was at Bunker Hill where Gen. Putnam greeted him with the words, "Pomeroy, you here! A cannon shot would waken you out of your grave." Mr. Geo. E. Pomeroy of the Ohio Society of Colonial Wars, and a descendant of Major Pomeroy, was at Louisburg, June 17, 1895, on the occasion of the unveiling of the Louisburg Memorial, and in connection with the celebration read extracts from Major Pomeroy's diary. *Louisburg Memorial*, published by the New York Society of Colonial Wars, pp. XX—XXII. A letter from Major Pomeroy to his wife, written at Louisburg, May 8th, 1745, was printed by Edward Everett at the close of his oration on "The Seven Years' War, the School and the Revolution," *Orations* Vol. I., pp. 402, 403.

a little while the guns found in the battery were made serviceable, and those on the side of the town were brought into use against the French, General Waldo firing the first gun. The capture of these guns meant much to Pepperrell and his men. They lacked heavy artillery for siege operations, and their use of the captured cannon, during the following weeks, told severely against the imprisoned enemy. The possession of the Royal Battery also, aside from the captured cannon, meant much to the provincial forces. Its guns commanded the entrance to the harbor, and removed one great obstacle to the approach of the war vessels outside.

But on account of the heavy surf and the absence of wharves, much delay was encountered in landing the stores and war material from the transports. Not only was it difficult to handle the heavy guns, but it was no easy matter to get them in position. But the herculean task was accomplished. The cannon were placed on hastily constructed sledges,¹ and over the two miles and more of soft, marshy ground, gangs of two hundred men dragged them one by one to the positions designated by the artillery officers. The first battery, fifteen hundred and fifty yards from the citadel, was ready for use May 4th.² The following day was Sunday, and religious services were held in the chapel of the Royal Battery, where Waldo's men listened to a sermon from the text, "Enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise." As the nine and eleven inch mortars failed to reach the town from the first battery, they were

¹ This was a device of a shipbuilder, Lieut. Col. Meserve of the New Hampshire regiment.

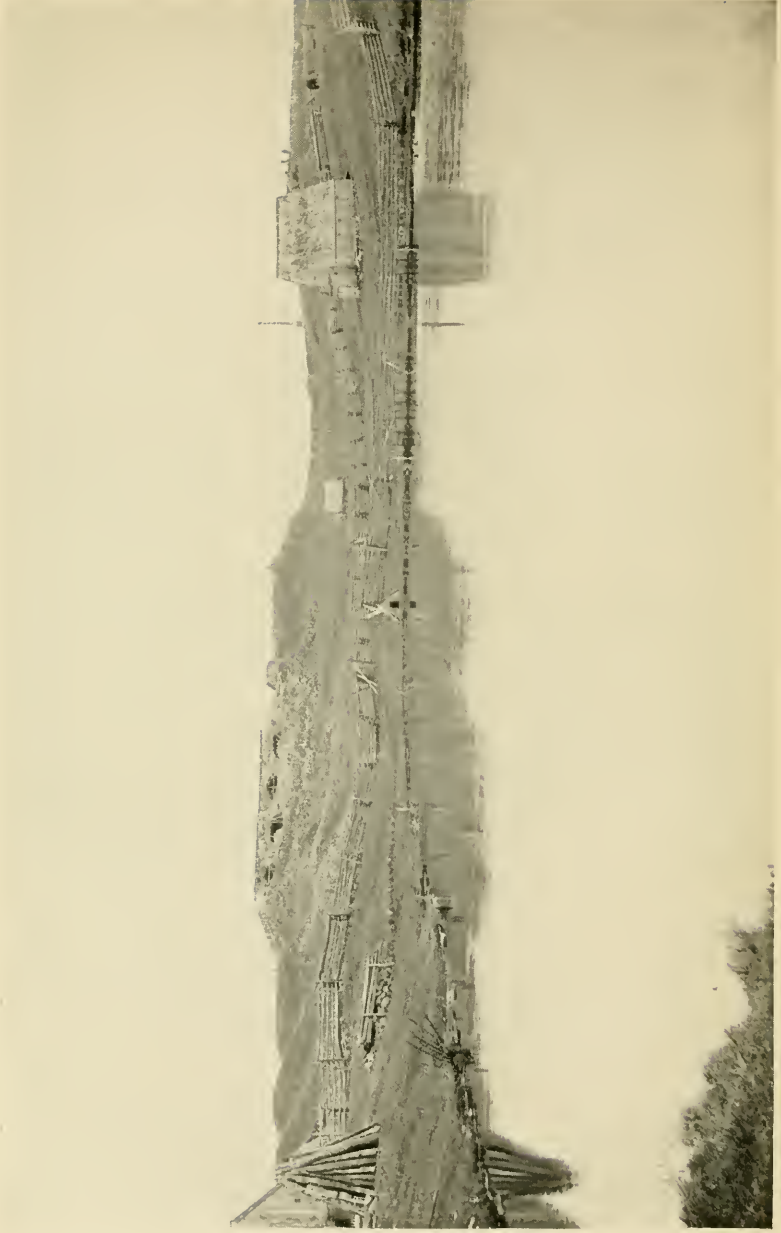
² Journal of Pepperrell Expedition, Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society; New Series, Vol. 20, Part I.

moved forward May 7th to a nearer position. On that day Pepperrell and Warren, who had been in daily communication since the arrival of the transports, sent to Duchambon, in the name of the king, a summons to surrender. Duchambon with French gallantry replied that inasmuch as his own king had confided to him the command of the fortress, he had no other reply than by the mouths of his cannon.

On Commodore Warren's suggestion, it was decided at a council of war held May 9th that Duchambon's refusal to surrender should be followed by a strong, sharp attack on the town by Pepperrell's army; but the weather proved unfavorable for the movement. Moreover, further consideration showed that Pepperrell's officers did not regard the proposed attack as feasible in the present stage of siege operations, and the movement was abandoned. Meanwhile the erection of new batteries, in favorable positions, was pushed forward with energy. May 16th mortars were in place on a hill four hundred and forty yards from the West Gate, and on the 17th an advanced battery, two hundred and fifty yards from the West Gate, was ready to receive its guns. An 18 pounder, brought from the Royal Battery, was mounted that night, and another 18 pounder and two 42 pounders were added from some source, all of which opened fire on the West Gate.

Pepperrell's force lacked trained artillerymen. Some of the troops had served on privateers, and had handled the small cannon they carried; but the men who had had even this experience were few, and Pepperrell asked Commodore Warren for instructors in gunnery from among his officers and men. Several were sent, and they found eager pupils.

With unflagging industry the siege operations were



THE KING'S BASTION AS IT APPEARS TODAY—THE COLONIAL WARS MONUMENT ON THE RIGHT

pressed by Pepperrell and his men. Some of the cannon in the hands of the provincials proved destructive to the besiegers as well as to the besieged. May 17th Lieutenant Colonel Arthur Noble, in command of Waldo's regiment at the Royal Battery, wrote to Pepperrell saying that one of his guns burst wounding Captain Hale and Lieutenant Storrs of Captain Rhodes' company.¹ Captain Rhodes had been injured by the bursting of a cannon only a few days before. May 20th, the North West Battery, generally known as Titcomb's Battery,² was erected on rising ground between the Royal Battery and the town, and about eight hundred yards from the West Gate.³ By the guns of this battery, and also of the advanced battery, the West Gate was demolished, and a large breach made in the adjoining wall. The Circular Battery, also, was almost entirely demolished, only three of the sixteen guns being left standing.⁴

On the 19th of May a piece of good fortune came to

¹ Pepperrell Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 6th Series, Vol. 10, p. 180. The name of Nathaniel Storrs does not appear elsewhere in the Pepperrell Papers. Rhodes commanded a company in Waldo's regiment. Of Capt. Hale, Waldo wrote to Pepperrell, "He was our mainstay as to gunnery."

² Named for Major Moses Titcomb of Col. Hale's Essex Co. regiment. He was in command of the battery.

³ On this day Waldo wrote to Pepperrell: "Another forty-two pound gun burst at the Grand Battery. All the guns are in danger of going in the same way by double-shotting them, unless under better regulation than at present."

⁴ The French writers make mention of the destructive fire of Pepperrell's guns. Bigot says: "The enemy established their batteries to such purpose that they soon destroyed the greater part of the town, broke the right flank of the King's Bastion, ruined the Dauphin's Battery with its spur, and made a breach at the Porte Dauphine [West Gate], the neighboring wall and the sort of redan adjacent."

the war vessels off the harbor. About noon a French 64 gun-ship, the *Vigilant*, loaded with stores and munitions of war, was discovered approaching in the endeavor to bring relief to the garrison and town of Louisburg. The British war ships *Superbe*, *Mermaid*, *Eltham*, together with the *Massachusetts Frigate* and *Shirley Galley* of Tyng's squadron, at once bore down upon her, and coming up to her in the evening, after a gallant fight, and a loss of eighty men, the *Vigilant* lowered her flag.¹ Her capture was most opportune, inasmuch as Pepperrell's supply of powder, shot and shell was now well-nigh exhausted.

The Island Battery, at the entrance of the harbor, prevented Warren's ships from entering; and, almost from the beginning of the siege, attempts had been made by Pepperrell to obtain possession of it. One of these attempts was assigned to Lieutenant Colonel Noble. According to Waldo's order,² a copy of which has been preserved, Noble was to take command of a detachment "drawn out of several regiments," and with this force it was expected that about

¹ Williamson, in his *History of Maine* (Vol. 2, p. 230), says the *Vigilant* surrendered to Capt. Tyng; but the statement is not confirmed by the account given in the report of the expedition which received the sanction of Pepperrell, Waldo and other officers. The *Journal of the Pepperrell Expedition*, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*; New Series, Vol. 20, Part 1, says under date of Tuesday, May 21, "about noon Capt. Tyng brought a letter ashore from Commodore Warren, with the very agreeable news of his having taken a French ship of 64 guns, the same that he engaged with the Lord's day evening" [May 19].

² William Goold, in a paper on "Col. Arthur Noble of Georgetown," (*Coll. of the Maine Historical Society*, Series 1, Vol. 8, p. 120), states in a note that the original of this order is in the possession of Col. F. E. Hunt, U. S. A., whose wife was a daughter of George Noble, the youngest son of Arthur Noble, Jr.

ENTRANCE TO THE HARBOR—ISLAND BATTERY ON THE LEFT AND GREEN ISLAND ON THE RIGHT



two hundred of Warren's sailors would cooperate. The assault was to be made late in the evening of May 23rd; but on account of a bright moon, with northern lights, it was deemed best to postpone the attack. It would seem that on the night of the 24th, and that of the 25th, the conditions were not any more favorable. The delay was, doubtless, as annoying to Pepperrell as it was to Commodore Warren, who chafed under the enforced delay.

On May 25th, greatly to his surprise, Pepperrell received a communication from Commodore Warren dated May 24th, proposing to go into the harbor and attack the town and batteries with all his "ships and all the colony cruisers except two, with the schooners and transports," and asking for sixteen hundred of Pepperrell's men, six hundred to be put on board of the *Vigilant* recently captured from the French, the

Royal Battery of Cape Breton,
23rd of May 1745.

Dear Colonel:—Agreeable to general orders, you are to take upon you the command of the detachment drawn out of several regiments for the attack of the Island Battery, and proceed with them accordingly at ten of the clock this evening, or as soon as possible. Before you put off your boats, I expect an officer from Commodore Warren, who commands about two hundred seamen, will be with you and with him you'll concert the proper measures for joining your and his forces and carrying on the attack with the utmost vigor and security to your and his men, and to prevent the enemy from damaging your boats. The officers and their men are strictly to observe your orders, and be at their peril who refuse. Countersign to be *King George forever*. May God succeed you in this enterprise what will, in all probability, put a happy issue to the siege, and be for the honor of His Majesty's arms, the great good of his American dominions, and your own reputation; and I doubt not, to your future satisfaction and benefit.

I am, dear Sir, your most assured friend and humble servant.
Lieut. Col. Noble. *S. Waldo.*

remaining thousand to be distributed among his other ships. Pepperrell submitted the communication to his Council of War. Its members were as much astounded as was Pepperrell. The army had been greatly reduced by sickness occasioned by exposure and various hardships, and all saw that to take sixteen hundred men from the siege works would place a large part of Pepperrell's effective force under the command of Commodore Warren, leaving Pepperrell only a handful of men to hold his lines exposed to an attack from the French and Indians in his rear.

In his reply, giving expression to the views of the Council, Pepperrell expressed the hope, while declining to accept the suggestions of the Commodore, that some plan might be adopted in which the entire land and naval forces could cooperate. By reason of a dense fog, Pepperrell's reply could not be sent until the following day. Meanwhile the Commodore became even more impatient, indeed petulant, saying, "For God's sake let us do something, and not waste our time in idleness." If these harsh, unjust words aroused bitter feelings on the part of those serving with the provincial forces, they did not find public expression. Idleness, in no sense of the word, could be attributed to Pepperrell's men, who, from the day of their arrival before the walls of Louisburg, had labored untiringly day and night, and with results that should have called forth praise and even admiration. But there was no time for crimination and recrimination; and the Council advised Pepperrell to have a personal interview with Warren, taking with him some of his officers, and endeavor to come to some mutual understanding as to future operations. They desired to cooperate, but they were unwilling to turn over the command of the provincial forces to Commodore Warren.

The words of Commodore Warren in his letter of May 26th, "Pray how came the Island Battery not to be attacked?" were doubtless resented by the Provincial Commander and his officers; but evidently they induced Pepperrell to proceed that evening to make the assault already planned. The attempt was made by about four hundred volunteers commanded by Captain Brooks.¹ The boats, containing the attacking party, were discovered as they drew near the island, and at once shot and shell from the Island Battery, also from the guns of the town, opened upon them a most destructive fire. Some of the boats, nevertheless, reached the island, and the men who landed were hastily drawn up for a dash upon the works. It is said² that they succeeded in placing scaling ladders upon the walls of the battery but they were unable to proceed farther, and the survivors surrendered. The loss was seventy-three, killed and drowned, while one hundred and sixteen were taken prisoners.

May 28th, in communicating the action of the Council with reference to Commodore Warren's letter of May 26th, Pepperrell wrote:

"I beg leave to represent that it is now the twenty-ninth day since the army invested Louisburg and drove in the inhabitants. That we have erected five fascine batteries, and with hard service to the men have drawn our cannon and mounted them, have distressed the inhabitants, made

¹ The names of only a small part of the four hundred volunteers have been preserved. The list will be found in the appendix. See also a list given in the Pepperrell Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 6th Series, Vol. 10, pp. 515, 516.

² Collections of the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., Vol. 9, p. 173.

some breaches in the wall, and doubt not we shall soon reduce the circular battery. That in this time we have made five unsuccessful attempts upon the island battery, in the last, of which, we lost one hundred and eighty-nine men and many of our boats. That we have kept out scouts to destroy the enemy's settlements, and prevent surprise. That fatigue has brought on disease and left us not more than two thousand one hundred men fit for duty, six hundred of whom are gone in pursuit of two large bodies of French and Indians, eastward and westward of us. The Council decide that another attack on the island is impracticable. We continue our best exertions against the enemy, and I shall, as soon as possible, visit you with some of my Council to determine on the most suitable measures to adopt. Please to stand in toward Gabarus Bay as soon as it suits you."

Pepperrell's endeavors to secure a personal interview with Commodore Warren were unsuccessful. He went out in one of his vessels, taking with him some of his officers, but on account of a heavy fog the Commodore's ship could not be found. June 2nd, Pepperrell wrote to Governor Shirley: "We have been prevented by fog four days from having any interview with the Commodore and planning an attack." On the 5th, however, Pepperrell succeeded in having the desired conference, when he found that Warren was "not inclined after all to attempt sending his ships into the harbor, till further execution is done against the enemies batteries." The provincial troops accordingly continued to hammer away at the walls of Louisburg as heretofore.

A new battery, known as the Lighthouse Battery, was erected on the high ground at the right of the harbor, and only 3400 feet from the Island Battery. In this battery two

18 pounders were mounted June 11th, and by the 14th four more. On that day occurred the anniversary of the King's accession to the throne, and the day was signalized by the discharge of all the cannon in all the batteries at midday. During the rest of the day there was incessant firing along the line.

On the forenoon of the next day, June 15th, Commodore Warren came ashore, and a review of the troops was held. Bradstreet,¹ in his diary, says that Pepperrell's army was drawn up and the General and Commodore Warren came to view them. The Commodore made a speech, and told us we could not take the city with the land forces, neither could he with the sea forces. Both must cooperate. With the first easterly wind he said he would come in by sea, and we by land, and try it out. Pepperrell, also, addressed the troops, urging them to fidelity and heroism in the approaching assault.

Meanwhile the combined fleet had been drawn up before the town. Duchambon, who was not unaware of this tightening of the lines around his much battered walls and gates, and of its effect upon his troops and the townspeople, disheartened, moreover, by the non-arrival of reinforcements and supplies, was already considering his duty in the face of the foreseen closer grapple of the contending forces; and late in the afternoon² he sent a flag of truce to Pepperrell's lines, asking

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 2d Series, Vol. 11, p. 435. The author of the diary was Lieut. Dudley Bradstreet of Groton, Mass.

² It is said (Collections of the Nova Scotia Hist. Soc., Vol. 9, p. 175,) that the flag of truce appeared "a little after twelve o'clock on that day (15)"; but Parsons, in his *Life of Pepperrell*, says "late in the afternoon," and the fact that the reply of the two commanders was dated at 8.30 p. m. seems to support the statement.

for a suspension of hostilities and terms of capitulation.¹ Commodore Warren had not returned to his ship and in the evening at half-past eight the two commanders replied to Duchambon's request in a joint note in which they assented to an armistice until eight o'clock on the morning of the 16th. "If in the meantime you surrender yourselves prisoners of war," they added, "you may depend upon humane and generous treatment." In the morning Duchambon replied, presenting terms upon which he was ready to surrender the town and fortifications of Louisburg. The terms were rejected, and other terms were submitted by Warren and Pepperrell. These provided that if the French commander's own vessels were found insufficient for the transportation of the French prisoners back to France, other vessels would be provided for the purpose, together with such provisions as were necessary for the voyage; that the officers of the garrison and inhabitants of the town could remain in their houses with their families undisturbed and unharmed until the time of embarkation; that the non-commissioned officers and soldiers should immediately upon surrender be placed on board His Majesty's ships to be transported to France; and that the sick and wounded should receive the same tender care as those of the victors. As security for the proper performance of the duties imposed by these terms, the Island Battery, or one of the batteries of the town, was to be in the possession of the besieging forces by

¹ Bigot says: "We could have borne all this [the harassments of the siege], but the scarcity of powder, the loss of the *Vigilant*, the presence of the squadron, and the absence of any news from Marin, who had been ordered to join us with his Canadians and Indians, spread terror among the troops and inhabitants. The townspeople said that they did not want to be put to the sword, and were not strong enough to resist a general assault."

six o'clock that evening ; His Majesty's ships of war were to be permitted to enter the harbor of Louisburg as soon after six o'clock as Commodore Warren should think fit ; the captured were not to take up arms against His Majesty or any of his allies until after a full twelve months from the time of the surrender ; and all British subjects held as prisoners by Duchambon should be released at once.

To these terms Duchambon assented on the 16th, except that the French commander asked that his officers and men should be allowed to march to the beach with their arms, colors flying, the arms and colors there to be delivered up, to be kept until the arrival of the French troops in France, when the arms and colors were to be returned to them. Pepperrell and Warren in separate notes—Warren having returned to his ship—agreed to the modified terms.

In his reply to Duchambon, Commodore Warren made it a condition that the keys of the town be delivered to such officers and troops as he should appoint. At the time, and probably ever after, Pepperrell was unaware of this demand on the part of Commodore Warren. In a note to Duchambon, Pepperrell wrote : "I shall send Colonel Bradstreet with a detachment at four o'clock this afternoon to take possession of the town and forts, to whom I desire you will deliver them with all your warlike stores and keys." This letter was shown by Duchambon to Warren, who wrote to Pepperrell that it was not regular to ask the delivering up of the town, etc., till the articles had been ratified on both sides, "which I will hasten to get done, and meet you at three or four o'clock at Colonel Richmond's, and if the papers proper can be by that time done, I will bring them with me." At the same time Warren attributed to Pepperrell "a kind of jealousy" in his purpose to

take possession of the town. But both men were large enough to overlook their differences, and to continue to act in harmony in all matters pertaining to the surrender. Warren had performed his work well, but during the siege the heavy burden had rested upon Pepperrell and his brave, hardworked soldiers. With Warren in possession of the Island Battery, therefore, it was rightly conceded that Pepperrell's troops should march into the town, and that Pepperrell should receive the tokens of surrender.

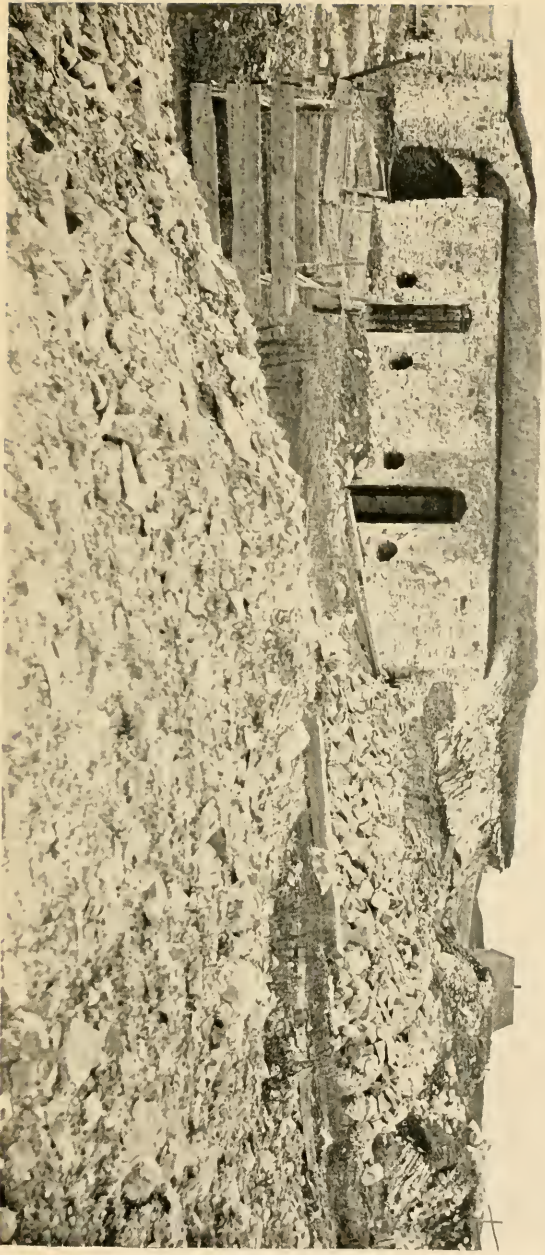
The provincial troops entered Louisburg, June 17th, at the southwest gate.¹ Colonel Bradstreet² was at the head of the column, with Pepperrell and the other higher officers in the rear. The French troops were drawn up in front of their barracks. Salutations were exchanged, and then the French "with their arms, music and standards" marched down to the shore, and were taken on board the transports which were to return them to their native land. The prisoners included six hundred and fifty veteran troops, thirteen hundred and ten militia and the crew of the *Vigilant*. Of the inhabitants, about two thousand were transported to France. In all fourteen ships were required for the removal of the French; and when the embarkation was completed, the vessels sailed for Rochefort.

By the surrender there came into the possession of the victors seventy-six cannon and mortars,³ and a large amount of property, including prisoners and ammunition. As Pepperrell on

¹ Mass. Soc. Proceedings, 2nd Series, Vol. 2, p. 435.

² Col. Bradstreet, after the reduction of Louisburg, was made Governor of Newfoundland. He saw service in the French War, was a Major-General in 1772, and died in 1774.

³ Major Pomeroy says a little above ninety were found besides a number of swivels, but the general statement is as above.



PART OF MAGAZINE RECENTLY UNCOVERED

entering the town viewed the magnitude and strength of the defenses, he exclaimed, "The Almighty, of a truth, has been with us." The provincial loss during the siege was about one hundred and thirty.¹ The French loss was about three hundred.

The joy on the part of the troops at this brilliant ending of their toil and sufferings can well be imagined. The fearful strain of the past seven weeks had told upon them physically. Many of their number were already broken in health, and were in hospitals improvised near their camps. But gladness ruled the hour,² and they hoped for a speedy return to the homes they had left.

General Pepperrell gave a banquet to his officers in honor of the surrender. One of the chaplains present, Parson Moody of York, the uncle of Mrs. Pepperrell, was called upon to ask the divine blessing. The parson was known to have the grace of continuance in his ministrations, and on an occasion so full of joy and thanksgiving it was expected that he would give large expression to the devout feelings which the surrender had awakened in all hearts. To the amazement of the company, however, the parson's words were few. "Good Lord," he said, "we have so many things to thank thee for,

¹ Gov. Shirley, in his letter to the Duke of Newcastle (p. 12), says the loss was "no more than 101 men killed by the enemy and all other accidents from the time of landing to the reduction of the place, and about 30 who died of sickness." The same statement appears in "The Journal of the Siege of Louisburg," published in England.

² Parson Moody of York preached on Sunday, June 23, from Prov. 8:6: "Hear; for I will speak of excellent things; and the opening of my lips shall be right things;" while Rev. Samuel Langdon of Portsmouth, N. H., afterward President of Harvard College, preached from Heb. 3:13: "But exhort one another daily, while it is called today; lest any of you be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin."

that time will be infinitely too short to do it ; we must therefore leave it for the work of eternity. Bless our food and fellowship on this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ our Lord, Amen."

June 18th, Pepperrell wrote to Governor Shirley announcing the surrender of Louisburg. On the same day he united with Commodore Warren in an announcement of the victory to the Duke of Newcastle.¹ "The acquisition of this strong fortress," they say, "which exceeds our most extended apprehension, will, we are persuaded, be of great advantage to His Majesty's dominions, especially in North America, and that immediate care will be taken for the defence thereof by the nation."

The tidings of the capture awakened enthusiastic expressions of patriotic joy on both sides of the sea. Captain Bennett carried the official despatches to Boston, where he arrived about one o'clock on the morning of July 3rd. The good news was at once caught up and carried hither and thither. Before sunrise, bells were ringing and cannon thundering, while on every side were heard shouts of rejoicing on the part of young and old. The Rev. Dr. Colman, pastor of the Brattle Street church, wrote to Pepperrell that day: "O, the joy to us, Sir, this morning to hear of the surrender of the strong city to you, and since to read the pious ascriptions of all the glory to the most high God in your own and the worthy officers' letters to their friends and dear relatives! the most joyous Commencement² morning we had ever seen, and we waked like them that dream

¹ Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, and at that time Secretary of State, was born in 1693 and died in 1768. He was afterward First Lord of the Treasury.

² At Harvard College.

at the ringing of the bells at four." Dr. Chauncy,¹ in his note of congratulation to Pepperrell, wrote that the people before sunrise were as thick on the streets of Boston "as on an election day, and a pleasing joy visibly sat on the countenance of every one met with." In the evening of July 3rd, the houses in Boston were illuminated, and, as Hubbard wrote to Pepperrell, there was "a great variety of most curious fireworks." Colonel Nathaniel Sparhawk, Pepperrell's son-in-law, was in Boston at the time, and in a letter to Pepperrell, July 5th, in addition to what Dr. Colman wrote concerning the Harvard Commencement, which occurred on the day in which the news of the surrender was received, he wrote: "The President in his oration at Cambridge did you all the honor he could, nor can you think how much you'll be had in esteem by good men of all ranks."² Sermons, having reference to the Capture of Louisburg, were preached in many of the churches.³

But nowhere was the rejoicing greater than in Massachusetts counties in Maine, from which came the regiments of

¹ Pepperrell Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 6th Series, Vol. 10, pp. 306, 307.

² Pepperrell Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 6th Series, Vol. 10, p. 318.

³ Rev. Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, took as his theme, "Extraordinary Events, the Doings of God." Rev. Jonathan Edwards, in a long letter to a correspondent in Scotland, dated November 20, 1745, an extract from which was published in "Christian History," Edinburgh, 1745, illustrated "the manifest hand of God in the details of the expedition which captured Louisburg." Mr. Edwards says: "I have had much opportunity to be well-informed of the circumstances of this affair, about twenty of my parishioners being present at the siege and surrender of the place, and among others, a Major of one of the regiments, and the General's Chaplain, both worthy pious men." (A copy of this interesting volume is in the Congregational Library in Boston.)

Pepperrell, Waldo and Moulton. In Pepperrell's own town, Kittery, the manifestations of joy were peculiarly strong and heartfelt. The honors that were surely awaiting the commander of the provincial forces would also descend upon the place in which he was born, and in which he had been fitted for the service he had so patriotically rendered. Tidings of the surrender also awakened rejoicing in York, Berwick, Wells, Arundel, Biddeford, Scarborough, Falmouth, and places farther to the eastward. Referring to the tidings from Louisburg, Rev. Samuel Jefferds of Wells wrote to Lieutenant Colonel John Storer: "I embrace this opportunity to express my joint praises and thanksgivings with you unto God for the marvellous things which he has herein done by and for you and for us, whose holy arm hath gotten him the victory. Here is a new song put into our mouths; a song of praise to the Lord, for the avenging of Israel when the people willingly offered themselves. We bless God for what he has done, and acknowledge he has laid us under singular obligations of gratitude and thankfulness to those he has been pleased to honor by improving them as happy instruments in this truly great and glorious work. Our hearts should be, and I trust are, carried out in esteem and love, especially towards the Governors or Rulers of our New England Israel that offered themselves willingly among the people." Parson Smith, in his Journal under date of July 6th, made this entry: "We had news today that Cape Breton was taken the 27th of last month. There is great rejoicing throughout the country. We fired our cannon five times, and spent the afternoon at the fort rejoicing." The celebration was continued the next day, although it was Sunday, and the parson made this entry in his journal: "7th, Sunday. Our people of the Neck were

again all day rejoicing, and extravagantly blew off a vast quantity of powder." Throughout the province a day of public thanksgiving for the success of the provincial arms at Louisburg was held July 18th.¹

The rejoicing in England was hardly less enthusiastic. In London the Tower guns were fired and the city was illuminated. The King, George II., was at Hanover in Germany, but the Duke of Newcastle lost no time in forwarding to him the joint report of Warren and Pepperrell, and in a letter, August 10th, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to Pepperrell, expressing the "gracious approbation" of the King and his great satisfaction at the successful issue; and he added: "It is a great satisfaction to me to acquaint you that His Majesty has thought fit to distinguish the commanders-in-chief of this expedition by conferring on you the dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain (upon which I beg leave most sincerely to congratulate you), and by giving a flag to Mr. Warren, making him a Rear Admiral."² The other officers of the expedition, in the land or sea service, were included in the King's expression of "highest satisfaction." Pepperrell received the Duke's letter at Louisburg, August 23, and in his reply he thanked the King for the "great unexpected

¹ The day was observed at Louisburg also, Rev. Elisha Williams, who had been president of Yale College, preaching the sermon. A sheep was given to each company, and a pint of wine was served to each man "to keep thanksgiving with." The wine in all probability was obtained from the captured French stores.

² In England an attempt was made to give Warren the chief credit for the Capture of Louisburg. Even later, Lord John Russell, in his introduction to the Bedford Correspondence, i. p. xlv, making this statement: "Commodore Warren, having been dispatched by the Duke of Bedford for that purpose, took Louisbourg."

dignity" that has been conferred upon his family in creating him a Baronet.¹

In Boston the general joy was considerably lessened by rumors concerning the treatment Pepperrell received from Commodore Warren at the time of the surrender. It was reported that the keys of Louisburg were delivered to Warren, not to Pepperrell, and that throughout the proceedings in connection with the surrender, and also afterward, the Commodore acted too much as though the command of the place belonged to him. These rumors were doubtless occasioned by letters from persons connected with the provincial forces, and indignation was freely expressed. Dr. Chauncy wrote to Pepperrell: "It is indeed highly resented by every New England man in Boston, that Mr. Warren should pretend to assume the government at Louisburg, and he has lost a great deal of credit in the affair, and some things are said to your disadvantage for not exerting yourself for the honor of New England upon this occasion." Governor Shirley, in a letter to Pepperrell, July 7th, gave expression to his fears as to the consequences of "Mr. Warren's designs to take upon himself the chief command on shore." These rumors concerning Commodore Warren's designs, however, rested only on suspicions which some of his actions unfortunately strengthened. General Pepperrell received the keys of Louisburg, and later delivered them to Governor Shirley on the occasion of the latter's visit to the captured stronghold. Throughout the siege, evidently, Pepperrell was by no means pleased with Commodore Warren's attitude toward the provincial forces ;

¹ Subsequently Pepperrell was made a Colonel in the British army, as also was Gov. Shirley, each with authority to raise a regiment in America, the 65 and 66 of the line.

but he was tactful in his dealings with him. Doubtless, if a less resolute officer had been in command of the army, Commodore Warren would have assumed and held the supreme command; but Pepperrell was firm in maintaining his position as commander of the land forces, and without creating open antagonism he succeeded in keeping the Commodore in his position as commander of the sea forces. In his report to Governor Shirley concerning the surrender, he made a most generous reference to Commodore Warren's services.¹

Duchambon² and his associates brought to France a story of neglect and disaster. Criminations and recriminations followed. De Luynes, in his *Memoirs*, has this to say concerning the state of things: "People have been willing to doubt about this affair of Louisburg, but unhappily it is only too certain. These misfortunes have given rise to altercations among ministers. It is urged that M. Maurepas is at fault in having allowed Louisburg to fall for the want of munitions. The friends of M. Maurepas contend that he did all that was possible, but could not obtain the necessary funds from the Treasury."

Some of Pepperrell's officers and men who were much needed at home were allowed to return soon after the

¹ "I esteem it of the happiest consequence that His Majesty's ships were sent here under the command of a gentleman whose distinguished merit and goodness New England claims a particular right to honor and rejoice in. I should want words to express the instances of his zeal in the affair, and the entire readiness he has shown through the whole of it, to give the army all possible assistance, but to your Excellency and every one who knows him, it is enough to say Commodore Warren was here." Letter of June 18, 1745. See Parsons' *Life of Sir William Pepperrell*, p. 105.

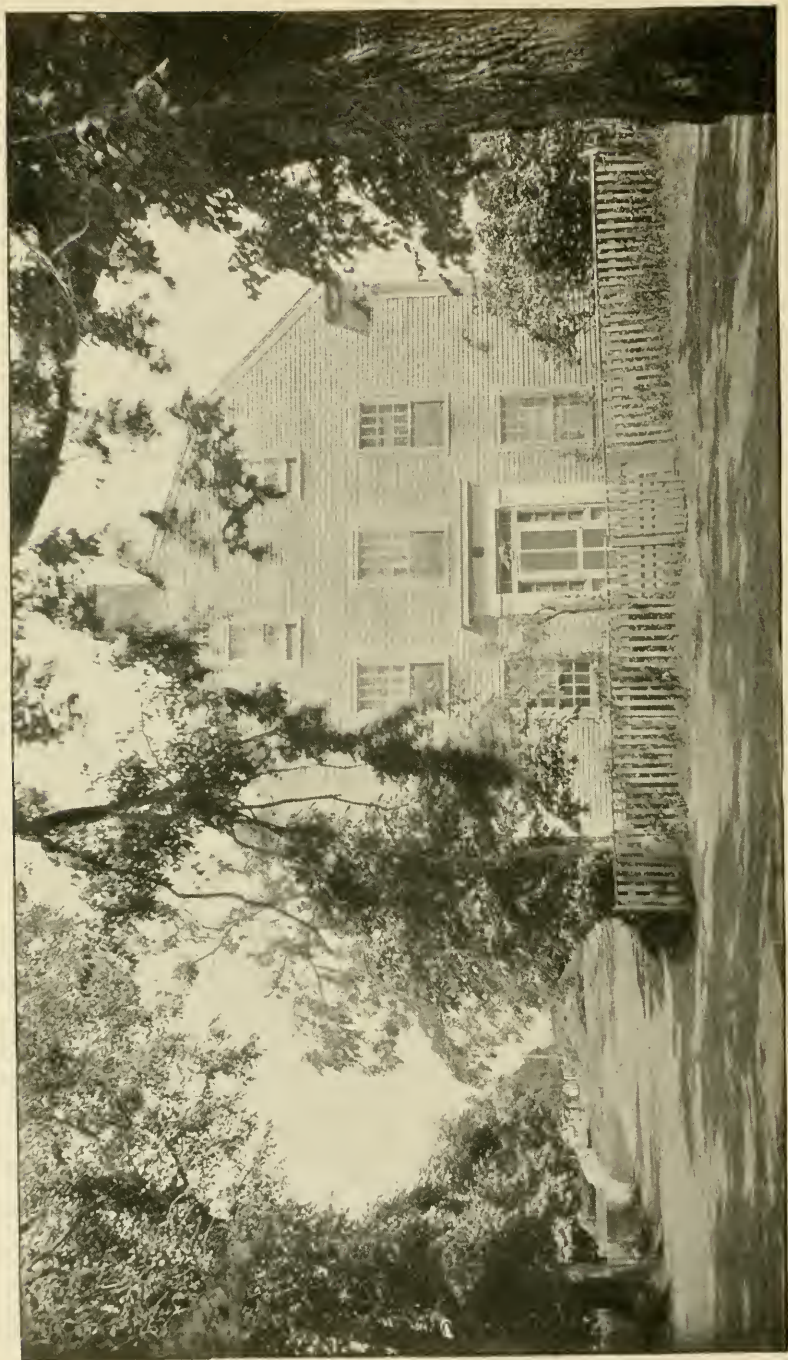
² Duchambon's account of the siege, dated Rochefort, Sept. 2, 1745, is in *Collection de Manuscrits* (Quebec), Vol. 3, p. 237.

surrender. The larger number, however, were retained until they could be relieved by other troops ordered thither from Gibraltar. In a letter ¹ to his wife, September 11th, Pepperrell wrote: "We have not as yet any answer to our express's from England, and it being uncertain whether I shall return this winter, although it is the earnest desire of my soul to be with you and my dear family, I desire to be made willing to submit to him that rules and governs all things well; as to leave this place without liberty I don't think I can on any account."

Much sickness prevailed in the months following the surrender, as well as before.² In this letter to Mrs. Pepperrell reference is made to the critical illness of Dr. Bulman of York, surgeon of Pepperrell's regiment, who had been placed in charge of the sick at Louisburg. "And now my dear, I must tell you something of the distress and anguish of my soul. My prudent and valiant Dr. Bulman, although he has had his

¹ Manuscript letter, Willis Papers, Vol. Q., Public Library, Portland, Maine.

² From the last of November, 1745, to January 28, 1746, there were 561 burials at Louisburg, and Pepperrell's force was reduced to less than one thousand men capable of service. The diary of Lieut. Dudley Bradstreet has many references to the sickness and death of officers and men at Louisburg, between Aug. 1st, and the close of the year. Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Soc., 2nd Series, Vol. 11, pp. 440-446. When in August, 1751, there was a call for troops, Sir William Pepperrell wrote to Lieut. Gov. Phips: "I have received your Honor's favor of the 31st of last month, wherein I am directed to enlist fifty ablebodied men out of the regiment under my command, and to send them to Falmouth, to be under the directions of Col. Ezekiel Cushing—upon sight of which I sent for Capt. John Harmon, who I think to be a good officer and directed him to enlist the said men. I likewise wrote to all the Captains in this regiment to assist him, and hope your orders will soon be complied with, although men in this part of the Country are very scarce by reason that many was lost at Louisbourg, Meanus [Minas] and going there."



THE PEPPERELL MANSION, KITTERY POINT

health finely until about six days past, was taken with a nervous fever and given over. I expected the day past he would not have lived, but blessed be God there is some hope this morning. The Lord in great mercy continue him to us if it is his holy and blessed will." Dr. Bulman must have died not long after, as his death is mentioned in a letter from Benjamin and Mary Colman, dated Boston, September 21, 1785; "Mr. Jones of this town is arrived this morning, and brings us the sorrowful news of the death of Dr. Bulman."¹

The General Court of Massachusetts voted a congratulatory address to Pepperrell and to his officers and men; also to Warren and his officers and men. The provincial troops were not relieved by the British regulars from Gibraltar until toward the end of March, 1746; and not many weeks after they made their way back to their New England homes. Pepperrell and Warren remained at Louisburg until June 6,² 1746, when they sailed for Boston, where they arrived June 24th, and were received with high honors by Governor Shirley and other prominent officials. Admiral Warren soon sailed for England.³ July 4th, Sir William left Boston on his return to Kittery. On his way thither, at the various court towns, he was received with the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and other expressions of

¹ Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., 2nd Series, Vol. 11, p. 373.

² Baxter Manuscripts, Maine Historical Society's Documentary History, 2nd Series, Vol. 11, pp. 325, 326.

³ For distinguished services in the sea fight off Cape Finisterre in 1747, he was made Knight of the Bath. He died July 29th, 1752, and was buried in the north transept of Westminster Abbey. He married Susan, eldest daughter of Stephen de Lancy and Ann Van Cortlandt of New York. Warren and Pepperrell remained strong friends and exchanged portraits. A replica of the portrait of Pepperrell is in Salem, Mass., while the original is said to be in the possession of Warren's descendants in England.

welcome. At Portsmouth he dined with Governor Wentworth, and in the evening, in the castle barge, he was taken across the river to his home in Kittery. His reception there was the warm, heartfelt greeting of his family and fellow-townsmen. During his absence he had won fame for himself, and added territory to the dominions of the crown; and his friend and neighbors crowded around him and hailed him with tributes of affectionate regard.

One of the men from Maine most signally failed to receive just recognition for his services at Louisburg, namely, Lieutenant Colonel William Vaughan. In the various movements for the reduction of the French stronghold he bore a heroic part. After the surrender he made his way to London expecting that his services would secure some adequate reward. In this he was sorely disappointed. While in London he was stricken at length with smallpox, and died in December, 1746, aged forty-three years.¹

Pepperrell's soldiers also failed to secure expected tangible rewards. The spoils of Louisburg had little or no money value.² For the most part, only the officers and sailors of the

¹ Col. William Vaughan of Matinicus and Damariscotta, by Hon. William Gould, Collections of the Me. Hist. Soc., First Series, Vol. 8, pp. 307-9. See also concerning William Vaughan, "The Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton," pp. 128-132.

² Morris O'Brien, who served during the siege in Capt. Peter Staples' Company, brought home, on his return from Louisburg, a brass mortar and pestle. This is now the property of his great, great granddaughter, Mrs. Josephine O'Brien Campbell of Cherryfield, Maine, who has loaned it to the Maine Historical Society. Capt. Moses Pearson of Falmouth received as his share of the spoils of Louisburg two cannon. These he brought home, and soon after the cannon were mounted at Spring Point, Cape Elizabeth, on the site of Fort Preble. This was the first attempt to erect harbor defences at this Point. The



BRASS MORTAR AND PESTLE BROUGHT FROM LOUISBURG
BY MORRIS O'BRIEN

fleet were in any way enriched by the expedition. A few days after the surrender, three large French vessels were captured seeking to enter the harbor of Louisburg. Vessels and cargoes had an estimated value of \$700,000. Under similar circumstances, a few weeks later, a still richer prize, a French vessel having on board gold and silver to the amount of more than \$4,000,000, was captured off Louisburg. In this case, as in the others, one-half of the prize money went to the crown, and the other half to the officers and men of the fleet, every one of the latter receiving, it is said, more than \$4,000.

But if the provincial soldiers were not enriched by the spoils of Louisburg, they received during their service there many exceedingly valuable lessons. Best of all they learned the power of united action in the execution of some great purpose. It was the victory at Louisburg that inspired them with the resolve to bring to a speedy end French influence and French dominion on this continent. Many of the men from Maine, as elsewhere in New England, who served at Louisburg, served also in the armies that a few years later at Lake George drove the advancing French forces back to their strongholds on the St. Lawrence, to be finally overcome by Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. Some of them, and many of their sons, were among the first to respond to the Lexington Alarm

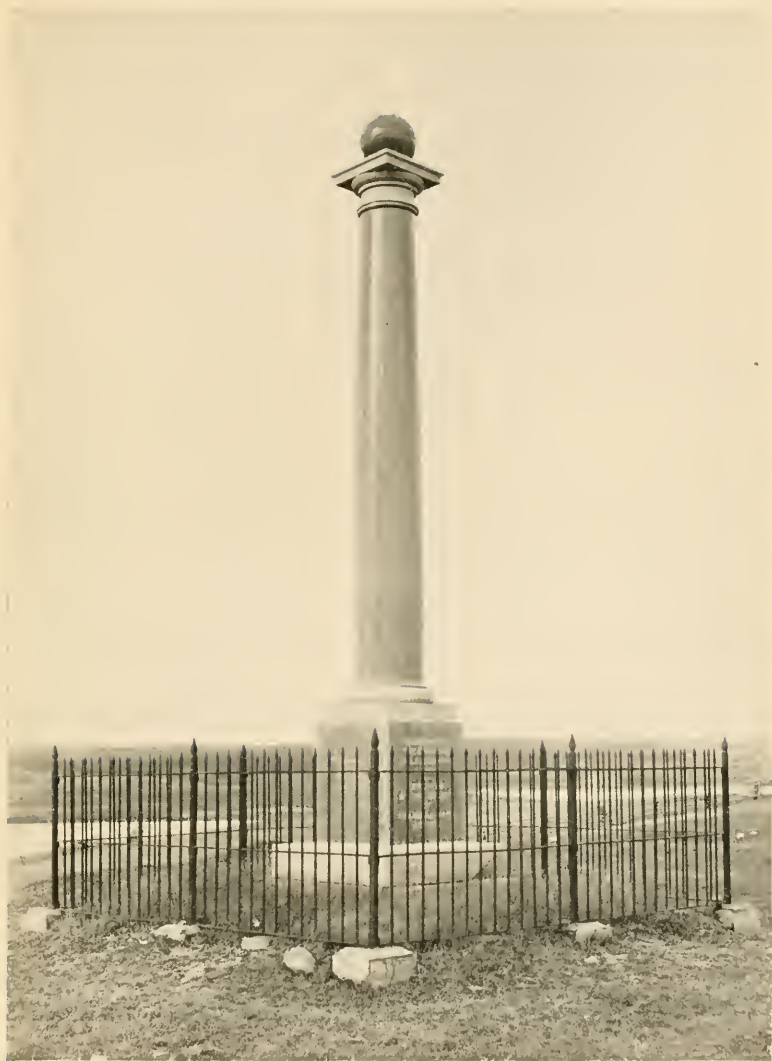
cannon have disappeared, and search for them in recent years has not been rewarded. An iron cross on the garrison chapel at Louisburg was brought to Boston by some of the Massachusetts troops, and came at length into the possession of Harvard College. It was kept in Harvard Hall until 1841. It was then stored in the building in which was the exhibition of the panorama of Athens. In 1845, this building was burned, but the cross was recovered and placed in Gore Hall, the library of the College. Justin Winsor, while librarian at Harvard, caused the cross to be gilded and placed over the library entrance. For greater security, it is now kept in Gore Hall.

in 1775. The drums that were heard at Louisburg were heard at Bunker Hill, and on other battlefields of the Revolution. The Louisburg expedition was a school for the New England militia.¹ Moreover, it brought the provinces into close and harmonious relations, and developed that power which was at length manifested in the great struggle, which was finally won at Yorktown, and which made the united colonies the United States.

On the seventeenth of June, 1895, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the capture of Louisburg, the Society of Colonial Wars unveiled on the ruins of the French stronghold a handsome monument commemorating the victory won by the New England troops under Lieutenant General Pepperrell, and by the British and Colonial fleets under Commodore Warren and Captain Tyng. The New York Society was prominent in the erection of this memorial, but generous subscriptions were received from other State societies and from the General Society. The memorial, twenty-six feet in height and weighing sixteen tons, consists of a polished granite shaft resting on a pedestal, and stands on an elevated position not far from the spot where Pepperrell received from the French Commander the keys of the fortress in token of surrender.²

¹ Edward Everett's Oration, "The Seven Years' War a School of the Revolution." An Oration delivered at Worcester, Mass., on the Fourth of July, 1833. Orations, Vol. I.

² A Louisburg Memorial Fund, under the patronage of the King of Great Britain, has been organized for the purpose of erecting a suitable memorial of the 1758 siege and capture of Louisburg. The work has been directed to the protection of the ruins of the old French Fortress, and was commenced in November, 1903. The outside walls have been cleared of their earth covering and also cemented. The inside arches have also been cemented, and the floors cleared of the accumulations of a century and a half. It is expected that ere long a memorial tower will be erected, marking the spot where France made her last stand in Acadia.



MONUMENT AT LOUISBURG ERECTED IN 1895 BY THE
SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS

ASCERTAINABLE LISTS OF
OFFICERS AND MEN FROM WHAT IS NOW
THE STATE OF MAINE
WHO WERE AT
LOUISBURG WITH PEPPERRELL IN 1745.

LISTS OF MAINE OFFICERS AND MEN

The rolls of the men who served in the Louisburg expedition of 1745, have not been preserved so far as is now known. They are not in the Massachusetts archives, and it has been supposed that they were sent to England by Gen. Pepperrell. In a letter which he addressed to the Duke of Newcastle June 28, 1745,—accordingly, not long after the surrender,—Pepperrell wrote: "I have now the honor to enclose to your Grace an account of what troops were raised in each of His Majesty's governments in New England which were aiding in this expedition and the present state of them." This statement has awakened in some the hope that the "account" mentioned might have been broad enough to include a roll of the colonial forces under Pepperrell's command; and that an examination of the documents in the records offices of the British government in London would bring such a roll to light. A more or less extended examination in these offices has been made at different times by persons interested in the history of the expedition, but no rolls of Pepperrell's men have been found.

The most careful search in this direction was made in 1897, in accordance with a resolve passed by the General Court of Massachusetts directing the Secretary of State, Col. William M. Olin, to ascertain and report whether or not there are in existence in England, rolls of the Fifth Massachusetts Colonial Regiment, and of all the forces engaged in the Louisburg expedition of the year 1745. In accordance with this action of the General Court, Col. Olin addressed a letter to the Department of State at Washington, requesting that the proper inquiry might be made through the regular official channels, deeming that course more likely to be effectual than any other. Hon. John Sherman was at that time Secretary of State, and in response to this request of Secretary Olin, he made the inquiry through Hon. John Hay, then our ambassador to the Court of Great Britain. Mr. Hay referred the inquiry to Mr. B. F. Stevens, the United States despatch agent in London, an expert on

such subjects. In his reply to Mr. Sherman, October 9, 1897, Mr. Hay wrote that every facility was afforded to Mr. Stevens by "the officers of the record office in his careful search among the documents of the colonial, admiralty, audit and war offices, and, though his search for the desired rolls was unsuccessful, he nevertheless obtained certain collateral information as to the colonial forces engaged in this expedition;" and he enclosed a letter from Mr. Stevens expressing his regret that he was unable to find the desired rolls and adding the following concerning this collateral information:

"In the absence of the desired rolls, I have sought for collateral information as to the colonial forces engaged in this expedition. There are four thin books in the audit office, unique of their kind, giving the skeleton 'establishment' of the Cape Breton forces in 1745-48. The number of men is given, but not the names."

' "Among the colonial office papers is a register of the commissions in the army under the command of the Hon. William Pepperrell for an expedition against the French settlement at Cape Breton. This register gives the names of the officers of the forces sent out by Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut that captured Louisburg, June 17, 1745."

There remained a possibility that in some way the rolls of Pepperrell's men at Louisburg might have found a place in the archives in the Provincial Building at Halifax, Nova Scotia; and the General Court of Massachusetts in 1898 authorized and instructed the Secretary of the Commonwealth to ascertain and report to the General Court whether or not there were any such rolls in existence there. Colonel Olin visited Halifax for this purpose, and though a careful search was made for any such rolls, it was unavailing.

I am inclined to the opinion, therefore, that one of the "four thin books," found by Mr. Stevens in the audit office in London, contains the information given by Gen. Pepperrell in his "account of what troops were raised in each of His Majesty's governments in New England" in connection with the Louisburg expedition of 1745. Pepperrell's statement seems to indicate that just such information as is there found, giving the number of men comprising the colonial forces in the expedition, was communicated by him, when he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, June 28, 1745. If so, there is no hope that any

added exploration among the papers of the record offices in London, or elsewhere, will meet with better success.

Accordingly I have attempted, in connection with the foregoing account of Maine at Louisburg in 1745, to bring together as many of the names of Maine men who served under Pepperrell in that memorable expedition as it now seems possible to obtain. In doing this I have been largely indebted to the earlier labors of Hon. Edward E. Bourne of Kennebunk and Hon. Charles Hudson of Lexington, Mass. Mr. Bourne, in 1866, prepared a list of two hundred and twenty-one names of officers and men who were with Pepperrell at Louisburg. This list was published in volume 22 (April 1868) of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, pp. 116, 117. In an introductory note Mr. Bourne said he had been surprised to learn "that the rolls of the 3250 men who were engaged in that memorable expedition" were not to be found in the archives of Massachusetts. His list, consisting largely of the names of Maine officers and men, is as follows :

HON. E. E. BOURNE'S LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEN.

Company under the command of Col. John Storer.

John Fairfield (1st Lieut.), Nathaniel Kimball (2d Lieut.), John Keene, Charles White, Daniel Sayer (Clerk), Joseph Taylor, Benjamin Curtis, Pendleton Fletcher (Corporal), Ichabod Cousins (Sergeant), Joshua Lasell, Peter Rich, Enoch Davis (Sergeant), Phillip Devotion, Matthew Lindsey, James Jypson, Edward Evans, Lemuel Clark, John Burks, James Read, James Littlefield, John Huston, Aaron Lord, John Crediford, Benjamin March, John Look (Sergeant), Joshua Kimball (Corporal), Ichabod Dunham, Isaac Danforth, Benjamin Jellison (Corporal), Joseph Crediford, Ichabod Jellison, Isaac Buswell, William Robinson, Matthew Robinson, Caleb Kimball, Ebenezer Littlefield, Joseph Curtis, John Bagshaw, Joseph Webber, Joshua Adams, Benjamin Curtis,¹ Joseph Taylor,¹ Jonathon Adams (Corporal), Aaron Lord,¹ William Curtis, Benjamin Jacobs, James Wilson, Joseph Boston, John McDaniel, John Dean, John Eldridge, Simeon Merrifield,

¹ Same names already given, but not necessarily the same party.

James Gilpatrick, John Wakefield, Jr., Edmund Welch, Thomas Wheelright, John Winn, Gershom Boston, Shebuleth Boston, James Littlefield, Jr., Benjamin Hatch (Sergeant), Caleb Kimball, Jr., John Canaway, Benjamin Cousins.

Captain Cornelius Soul's Company.

John Ross, Nathaniel Fairfield, Peter Pendergrass, Amos Harris.

Captain John Kinslugh's Company.

Thomas Mahony, Corporal——Butler, Lawrence Allen, Daniel McMarrow, Abraham Martin, Richard Linch, Daniel McEffee.

Captain Thomas Perkins's Company.

Bryant Paul, John Hamor, Jesse Dorman, Stephen Harding, Asa Burbank, Nathan Martin, Eliphalet Perkins, Richard Perry, James Deshon, Jeremiah Springer, Allison Lassell, Joseph Cole, John Carr, Jonathan Thompson, Edward Stuart, Samuel Hutchins, Nathaniel Bailey, Timothy Burbank, Jedediah Wakefield, Amos Hardy, Benjamin Cousens, David Hutchins, Enoch Danforth, Rolandson Bond, Shadrach Watson, James Sampson, Stephen Averill, Levi Hutchins, Benjamin Palmore.

Captain Moses Pierson's¹ Company.

David Doughty, John Ayres.

Captain Moses Butler's Company.

John Lewis, Moses Spenser, John Nason, Ichabod Corson, Thomas Withum, John Conner, Ephraim Joy, Samuel Holmes, William Perry, John Clark, Solomon Walker, Samuel Jones, Samuel Grant, Samuel Lord, Joseph White, Nathan Lord, Israel Pierce, Peter Grant (Lieutenant), Israel Honewell, Elias Grant, Adam Goodwin, William Chadbourne, Noah Nason, John Davis, Samuel Getchell, John Pierce, James Stimpson, Samuel Allen, James Gerrish, James Mecarel, Nathan Goodwin, Gideon May, Ichabod Tibbets, Ezekiel Wentworth.²

¹ Sometimes Pearson's.

² The late Rev. George Lewis, D. D., of South Berwick, in answer to an inquiry, wrote as follows concerning this list: "The following were connected with the church of which I am now pastor: Peter Butler, Peter Grant, Moses Spencer, John Nason, John

Major Cutts's Company.

Enoch Hutchins, Henry Miles, Job Lunt, Dennis Downing, Joseph Troy, Nathaniel Hicks, John Carter, Bray Dearing, Samuel Billings, Patrick Loller, James Webber, John Tobey, John Pariman, Daniel Catten, Thomas Arcules, Ebenezer Leach, Samuel Cluff, Moses Furnald, William Furbish, Robert More, Enoch Stevens, Solomon Rose, Samuel Hooper, James Spinney.

Captain Peter Staples's Company.

Thomas Hardy (1st Lieutenant), John Burbank (2d Lieutenant), George Knight, Parker Gowel, Hugh McLellan, John Furbish, James Goodwin, Samuel Chadbourne, John Try, John Pudsleigh, Josiah Clark, John Lydstone, Edward Hammond, Peter Withum, Daniel Lydstone, Benjamin Leach, Andrew Green, Daniel Wilson, Joshua Brooks, James Abbot, Ichabod Corsen, Uriah Hanscom, Zimri Hanscom, Simeon Dam, George Marriner, Thomas Allen, Bartholomew Withum, John Thompson, John Ayers, Jonathan Thomas.

Captain William Warner's Company of Boston.¹

Thomas Lysinby, Benjamin Ropes, John Laver, Robert Gilbert, James Thom.

Captain Nathaniel Donnell's Company.

Josiah George, Sergeant Dotson, Shubael Boston, Jonathan Sayward, David Morrison, John Clement,——Leavitt, Joseph Boston.

Connor, Ephraim Joy, Solomon Walker, Samuel Grant, Samuel Lord, Joseph White, Nathan Lord, Israel Pierce, Elias Grant, Wm. Chadbourne, Samuel Getchel, James Stimpson, James Gerrish, Gideon May and Ezekiel Wentworth. The other names in the list were common names in this region one hundred and sixty years ago, with the possible exception of Mecarel and Honewell, and it is probable that all of them were Berwick men."

¹ Col. William M. Olin, Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in answer to an inquiry as to the residence of Captain Warner, makes the following statement: "The only reference to William Warner in connection with the military service during the province period is that found in the Register of Commissioned Officers secured by this office from the State Paper Office in London. An examination was made of the record index to the muster rolls series covering the period 1710-1774 in order to ascertain whether or not he might have rendered service in a previous campaign, but no reference whatever was found to the name William Warner. I am unable, therefore, to supply you with any information as to his actual or probable place of residence."

Rev. Samuel Moody, of York, as is well known, was one of the Chaplains. Dr. Alexander Bulman, of York, was a Surgeon, and died in the service.

When Mr. Bourne, in 1875, published his *History of Wells and Kennebunk*, he inserted the following list of the men of Wells who served under Pepperrell at Louisburg in 1745 :

Col. John Storer, Capt. ; John Fairfield, 1st Lieut. ; Nathaniel Kimball, 2d Lieut. ; Daniel Sayer, Clerk ; Enoch Davis,¹ Sergt. ; Benjamin Hatch, Sergt. ; Ichabod Cousins, Sergt. ; John Look, Sergt. ; Benjamin Jellison, Corp. ; Joshua Kimball,¹ Corp. ; Pendleton Fletcher, Corp. ; Jonathan Adams, Corp. ; Isaac Buswell, Drummer ; John Huston, John Sinkler, James Gilpatrick, John McDaniel, James Read, Benjamin Jacobs, Gershom Boston, Thomas Boston, Joshua Lasell, John Crediford, Edward Evans, Joseph Crediford, Edmund Welch, Joseph Taylor, Benjamin Curtis, Thomas Wheelright, William Robinson, James Littlefield,¹ Matthew Linsey, Elimuel Clark, Joshua Adams, James Reed, Aaron Lord, Peter Rich, John Eldridge, Simeon Merryfield, Michael Wilson, Joseph Boston, Matthew Robison,¹ Joseph Webber, Ichabod Dunham, James Jepson, Isaac Danforth, John Dean, Philip Devotion, John Burks, Charles White, Ebenezer Littlefield, Joseph Curtis, Caleb Kimball, John Kenne, William Curtis,¹ Ichabod Jellison, John Bagshaw, James Littlefield, Jr., John Canaway, Jedediah Preble, Shebuleth Boston, James Wilson.¹

HON. CHARLES HUDSON'S LIST OF OFFICERS.

In the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1870, (pp. 367-380,) Hon. Charles Hudson, who for many years had been interested in collecting the names of those who had served under Pepperrell at Louisburg, published a list of the commissioned officers in that expedition, his attention having been called to it by the librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This list, which belonged to the Belknap papers in the possession of the Society, is the

¹ Died at Louisburg.

same as the list which Mr. Stevens found among the papers in the Colonial office in London, and which is published by the Society in the appendix to the tenth volume of the Sixth Series of the Society's Collections (pp. 497-515), except that it contains additional names of officers commissioned at a later date, and some other regiments.

The following is the list of general officers thus obtained and also of the commissioned officers of the three Maine regiments in Pepperrell's expeditionary force, namely Pepperrell's, Waldo's and Moulton's.

General Officers.

William Pepperrell, Esq., Lieut. General and Commander-in-Chief of all the Forces by Sea and Land in sd Expedition, &c., dated 31st Jan., 1745. From Gov. Shirley and Gov. Law and Gov. Wentworth, with a Commission from Gov. Shirley to hold Courts Martial, March 19th, 1744, and to appoint necessary and proper Officers therefor. Roger Wolcott, Esq., Major General, from Gov. Shirley, dated March 7, 1745. Samuel Waldo, Esq., Brig. Gen., dated Feb. 7, 1745, from Gov. Shirley. Joseph Dwight, Brig. Gen., dated Feb. 20, 1745, from Gov. Shirley.

Commissions in the First Regiment of the Massachusetts Troops received from Gov. Shirley.

Hon. Wm. Pepperrell, Esq., Col. and Capt. of the 1st Co., 31st Jan. 1744; John Bradstreet, Esq., 2d Col. and Capt. of the 2d Co.; Feb., 1744; John Storer, Esq., 2d Lieut. Col. and Capt. of the 3d Co., 5th Feb., 1744; Richard Cutt, Esq., Maj. and Capt. of the 4th A. Co., 5th Feb., 1744; Peter Staples, Capt. Lieut., 1st Co., 5th Feb., 1744; Eph. Baker,¹ Capt. 2d Co., 16th Feb., 1744; John Kinsleagh,¹ Capt. 5th Co., 2d Feb., 1744; John Harman, Capt., 6th Co., 5th Feb.; Moses Butler, Capt., 7th Co., 5th Feb.; Thomas Perkins, Capt. 8th Co., 5th Feb.; Will Warner, Capt., 9th Co., 5th Feb.; Moses Pearson, Capt., 10th Co., 6th Feb.; John Butler, Lieut. 2d Co., 16th Feb.; John Fairfield, Lieut. 3d Co., 5th Feb.; Bray Deering, Lieut., 4th Co., 5th Feb.; Andrew Watkins, Lieut., 5th Co., 2d Feb.; Benj. Harman, Lieut. 6th Co., 5th Feb.; ——— Lieut. 7th Co., ———; John Burbank, Lieut., 8th Co., 5th Feb.; George

¹ 2d and 5th Companies were from Massachusetts.

Gerrish, Lieut., 9th Co., 5th Feb.; George Knight, Lieut., 10th Co., 6th Feb.; George Gowell, 2d Lieut., 1st Co., 5th Feb.; Joel Whittemore, Ensign, 1st Co., 5th Feb.; John Greenough, Josiah Rice, Ensigns, 2d Co., 16th Feb.; Nathaniel Kimball, Ensign, 3d Co., 5th Feb.; Charles Cavenaugh, Ensign, 5th Co., 2d Feb.; Jos. Weeks, Ensign, 4th Co., 5th Feb.; Thos. Adams, Ensign, 6th Co., 5th Feb.; ———— Ensign, 7th Co., ————; Tho. Hardy, Ensign, 8th Co., 5th Feb.; John Bridge, Ensign, 9th Co., 5th Feb.; James Springer, Ensign, 10th Co., 6th Feb.; Jos. Goldthwait, Adjutant, 12th March; John Gorman Armourer, 1st Feb.

Joseph Stevens, afterwards, Lieut., Nov. 28th, 1745; Danl. Wilson, afterwards, Ensign; Christopher Jephson, afterwards, 1st Lieut., June 17th; Thos. Callis, afterwards, Lieut., Aug. 2d; Peter Grant, afterwards, Lieut., Feb. 5th, 1744; John Lewis, afterwards, Ensign, Feb. 5th; Joel Whittemore, afterwards, Lieut., July 20th; Wm. Crosby, afterwards, Adjutant, July 20th; Edmund Dwight, afterwards, Captain, Oct. 15th; Nathl. Collins, afterwards, Lieut., Oct. 15th; Jonathan Kellogg, afterwards, Captain, Oct. 15th; Aaron Hitchcock, afterwards, Lieut., Oct. 16th.

Benj. Titcomb, Ensign Bagly's Co., Nov. 1, 1745; Nathan Payson, Lieut. Capt. Pearson's Co., Feb. 28, 1745; David Gunnison, Ens. Capt. Staples's Co., May 1, 1746; Joshua Insley, Ens. Capt. Pearson's Co., May 1, 1746.

Commissions granted by Gov. Shirley at Louisburg.

John Shaw, Lieut. in Gen. Pepperrell's Regt., Oct. 27, 1745.

Commissions in the Second Massachusetts Regiment, whereof the Hon. Samuel Waldo, Esq., is Colonel.

Samuel Waldo, Esq., Col. and Capt., 1st Co., 5th Feb., 1744; Arthur Noble, Esq., Lieut. Col. and Capt., 2d Co., 5th Feb.; William Hunt, Major, 15th Feb.; Samuel Moody, Capt., 1st Co., 9th Feb.; John Watts, Capt., 2d Co., 8th Feb.; Philip Dumaresque, Capt., 3rd Co., 8th Feb.; Benj. Goldthwaith, Capt., 4th Co., 9th Feb.; Danl. Hale, Capt., 5th Co., 11th Feb.; Jacob Stevens, Capt., 6th Co., 9th Feb.; James Noble, Capt., 7th Co., 8th Feb.; Richd. Jacques, Capt., 8th Co., 9th Feb.; Danl. Fogg, Capt., 9th Co., 13th Feb.; Jere. Richardson, Capt., 10th Co., 8th Feb.; Charles Proctor, Lieut., 1st Co., 9th Feb.; James Noble, Lieut., 2d Co., 8th Feb.; Josiah Crosby, Lieut., 3d Co., 8th Feb.;

Charles Harrison, Lieut., 4th Co., 9th Feb.; James Bailey, Lieut., 5th Co., 11th Feb.; Stephen Webster, Lieut., 6th Co., 9th Feb.; Solomon Bragdon, Lieut., 7th Co., 8th Feb.; Wm. Allen, Lieut., 8th Co., 19th Feb.; John Libbee, Lieut., 9th Co., 16th Feb.; Clemt. Chamberlain, Lieut., 10th Co., 8th Feb.; John Murphey, Ensign, 1st Co., 9th Feb.; John Cargill, Ensign, 2d Co., 8th Feb.; Tho. French, Ensign 3rd Co., 15th Feb.; Joseph Newhall, Ensign, 4th Co., Mar. 5, 1744; Abraham Edwards, Ensign, 5th Co., Feb. 11; Edmond Morse, Ensign, 6th Co., Feb. 9; Danl. Mesharvey, Ensign, 7th Co., Feb. 8; Edward Clark, Ensign, 8th Co., Feb. 9; Jona. Lord, Ensign, 9th Co., Feb. 16th; John Russell, Ensign, 10th Co., Feb. 8; John Shaw, Second Lieut., June 12; Nathl. Mountford, Commissary, March 9, 1744; Benj. Williams, Lieut. in Maj. Noble's Co., Jan. 10, 1745; Benj. Easterbrooks, Lieut. Capt. Soul's Co., March 3, 1745; Jona. Trumbal, Lieut. in Capt. Watkin's Co., March 17, 1745; Joseph Waldo, 1st Lieut. in Brig. Waldo's Co., March 28, 1746.

John Lemmon, afterwards, Ensign, May 10, 1745; Andrew Watkins, afterwards, Capt. 8th Co., May 4, 1745; Joseph Newhall, afterwards, 1st Lieut., July 20; Sebastian Zouberbhuler, afterwards, Captain, Jan. 10; John Sterns, afterwards, Capt. of a Co., Nov. 30, 1745.

Commissions granted by Gov. Shirley at Louisburg.

John Huston, Capt., Oct. 2, 1745; James Fry, Capt., Oct. 2; Ephm. Hayward, Capt., Oct. 2; Jona. Hubbard, Capt., Oct. 2; Jos. Clark, Capt., Oct. 24; Saml. Waldo, Jr., Capt., Oct. 12; Jona. Smith, Capt., Oct. 21; Abm. Edwards, Capt., Oct. 2; James Noble, Major;——— Clark, Lieut; Thos. Waldron, Lieut., Oct. 12; John Moore, Lieut., Oct. 21; Jeremy Pearson, Lieut., Oct. 2; Jona. Hoar, Lieut., Oct. 29; Jeremy Powers, Ensign, Oct. 21; John March, 2d Lieut. Oct. 2; Benj. Butterfield, Ensign, Oct. 29; John Malcomb, Ensign, Oct. 29; Elisha Strong, 2d Lieut., Oct. 2; Dudley Bradstreet, 2d Lieut., Oct. 2; John Fry, 1st Lieut. in Capt. Fry's Co., Oct. 2, 1745; Nathl. Pettingall, 2d Lieut. in 2d Co., Oct. 2; John Bell, Lieut. in Capt. Howard's Co., Oct. 2.

Commissions in the Third Massachusetts Regiment, whereof the Hon. Jere. Moulton, Esq., is Colonel.

Jeremiah Moulton, Esq., Col. and Capt., 1st Co., Feb. 5, 1744; Nathl.

Donnell, Esq., Lieut. Col. and Capt., 2d Co., Feb. 5; Edward Ellis, Esq., Major and Capt., 3rd Co., Feb. 25, 1744; Christopher Marshall, Capt., 3rd Co., Feb. 15; James Grant, Capt., 4th Co., Feb. 1; Chas. King, Capt., 5th Co., Feb. 1; Peter Prescott, Capt. 6th Co., Feb. 9; Ammi Ruammah Cutter, Capt., 7th Co., —; Saml. Rhodes, Capt., 8th Co., Jan. 29; Bartholomew Trow, Capt., 9th Co., Feb. 15; Estes Hatch, Capt., 10th Co., Feb. 4; —, Capt. Lieut., 1st Co., —; —, Lieut., 2d Co., —; Benj. Stansbury, Lieut., 3rd Co., Feb. 1; Benj. Phippen, Lieut., 4th Co., Feb. 1; John Marston, Lieut., 5th Co., Feb. 4; William Larken, Lieut., 6th Co., Feb. 9; —, Lieut., 7th Co., —; Jona. Hartshorn, Lieut., 8th Co., Feb. 8th; Joseph Miller, Lieut. 9th Co., Feb. 15; Ebenr. Newhall, Lieut., 10th Co., Feb. 4; —, 2d Lieut., 1st Co., —; —, 2d Lieut., 2d Co., —; Nathl. Richardson, Ensign, 3rd Co., Feb. 15; Israel Porter, Ensign, 4th Co., Feb. 1; Joseph Gerrish, Ensign, 5th Co., Feb. 14; Jona. Hoar, Ensign, 6th Co., Feb. 9; —, Ensign, 7th Co., —; John Hearsey, Ensign, 8th Co., Feb. 8th; Joseph Fairbanks, Ensign, 9th Co., Feb. 8; Ebenr. Sumner, Ensign, 10th Co., Feb. 4; James Donnell, Ensign, Feb. 5; John Lane, Lieut., Feb. 5.

John Card, afterwards, 1st Lieut., Feb. 7; Saml. Black, afterwards, 2d Lieut., Feb. 7, 1745; John Trevitt, afterwards, Adjutant, May 6, 1745; James Donnel, afterwards, Ensign, Feb. 7; Ebenr. Sumner, afterwards, 1st Lieut., July 15; Edward Carter, afterwards, 2d Lieut., July 15; Andrew Lemercier, Jr., afterwards, 1st Lieut., July 15.

HON. CHARLES HUDSON'S LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEN.

In the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for July, 1871, (pp. 249-269), Mr. Hudson published a list of soldiers in Gen. Pepperrell's army, so far as he had been able to obtain their names after a long continued search. The preparation of this list had been attended with inherent difficulties. "The lists I have found," he said, "do not profess to give the full roll of companies, but only the lists of such men as were under the command of certain officers at a particular time, or the list of men fit for service at a given day, or of the men who selected a certain officer to act as their agent to obtain what bounty might fall to their lot. There is also a confusion of names very difficult to clear up. The same name may and does sometimes appear on different lists; and

whether these are different persons or the same individual, it is often impossible to tell. Where the same name occurs in different companies and regiments, I have set them down as distinct individuals; but in case one list purported to be the list of Capt. A's company, and the other was a list of men who chose Capt. B to act as their agent, I have generally supposed that it might be the same person in both, if there was no evidence to the contrary. There is also a confusion arising from the different spelling of the same name. I have generally adopted the orthography as I find it in the list.

“There is also a confusion in the title of the officers. The same individual is set down as General and Colonel, or as Colonel or Major and Captain, at the same time. By referring to the list of commissioned officers in the Register [that given on preceding pages in this volume], it will be seen that almost every Colonel, Lieut. Colonel and Major has his particular company. This was customary in the English service at that day. A knowledge of this fact will remove much obscurity which might otherwise exist. There is also a difficulty in classifying the companies by the name of their commanders. Sometimes the company may be under the command of a Lieutenant or even of an Ensign. Besides, the promotions rendered necessary by death, resignation and other causes, may give the same company two or three different commanders in a short space of time; and hence what might otherwise be regarded as a surplus of officers may be accounted for. The lists I herewith present are not to be considered as the proper rolls of the respective companies, but simply such lists as I have collected from different sources. Some of them are merely the sanitary condition of the company at a particular day, some a list of petitioners for a certain object, and others have been gleaned from sources too numerous to mention.”

Mr. Hudson states that in addition to the valuable information obtained from Mr. Bourne's published list, he obtained a large number of names from a book kept by Moses Pearson of Pالمouth, who entered the service as Captain of the 10th company in Pepperrell's regiment, but subsequently was made its paymaster. This book was at this time in the possession of Wm. Willis of Portland. It has now a place in the Willis manuscripts in the Public Library, Portland, Vol. Q, pp. 1-91.

Mr. Hudson also greatly enlarged his list from the Pepperrell Papers in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society and also from the records of the Council for that period. The lists in the Pepperrell Papers have since been published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in the appendix to the Pepperrell Papers. (Vol. 10, Sixth Series of the Society's Collections, pp. 497-561).

The following is Mr. Hudson's list of the officers and men in the three regiments at Louisburg from what is now the State of Maine :

First Massachusetts Regiment, Sir William Pepperrell.

1st Company, Capt. Peter Staples, of Artillery. This company was subsequently commanded by Richard Mumford, commissioned June 3rd, 1745.

Lieut. George Gowell, Lieut. Joel Whittemore, Ensign Daniel Wilson, Serg. Hugh McClanan, Corp. Benjamin L [each], Corp. George Knight, Jonathan Thomas, Zimariah Hanscome, John Thompson, John Ruggsley, Bartholomew Whitton, Cato Farwell, George Black, Benjamin Leach, John Lydston, James Gooding, John Ayers, William Remish, William Allen, James Spinney, John Pinkim, Joseph Greenleaf, Thomas Allen, Simery Hanson, David Spinney, Uria Hanson, William Pettygrew, George Marriner, Jedediah Spring, Simon Emery, Nathaniel Hooper, John Ranking, Edward Hammon, Robert Due, Moses Bryan, John Banker, Richard Dolley, James Goodwin, George Manenow.

All from a frontier town in the County of York.

3d Company, Capt. Storer.

Capt. Storer was selected to receive the bounty of a large number of soldiers. This company was subsequently commanded by Joshua Champlin, commissioned June 3rd, 1745.

Lieut. John Fairfield, Lieut. Samuel Eldred, Ens. Jeffrey Champlin, Serg. Enoch Davis, Joshua Kimball, Benjamin Jellison, Joseph Littlefield, Matthew Robinson, Charles White, Ichabod Jellison, John Adams, Jonathan Bagshaw, Edward Evans, John Garney, John Crafford, James Reed, Edward Welch, James Taylor, Isaac Danforth, Benjamin Curtis, William Curtis, John Dean, James Gibson, Lemuel Clark, John Kimball, * Joshua Laffit, * James Littlefield, * Joshua Adams, * Ichabod

Dunham, * John Credison, * John Bagshaw, * Joseph Taylor, * Joseph Webber.*

The men above whose names are distinguished by a star (*) were of Capt. Storer's company, and were left at Louisburg, Oct. 24, 1745.

4th Company, Captain Richard Cutts.

I find no list of his men. Bray Deering was a Lieutenant in his company and Joseph Week, Ensign. After the capture of Louisburg most of the soldiers left for their respective homes; but anticipating a portion of the spoils which would fall to their lot, the following named men appointed Major Richard Cutts their agent to receive in their behalf whatever might belong to them. It is highly probable that most of these men belonged to his company.

John Taker, John Walker, Job Lunt, Jabies Fairfield, Davis Downing, Samuel Leach, Joseph Jenkins, Enoch Hastings, Reuben Mace, Samuel Hooper, Thomas Bairman, Thomas Fernand, James Willey, John Tobey, Thomas Sewall, James Arckle, Enoch Stevens, Joseph Tay, Samuel Jennison, Samuel Billings, Ebenezer Leach, John Carter, Richard Carter, Thomas Arckle, Charles Smith, Tobias Allen, Benjamin Finnix, William Currash, John Cain, Daniel Caton, Solomon Rose, James Spiney, David Gunnerson, Gideon Parker, James Amey, Patrick O'Lollers, Samuel Clough, Joseph Jennison, Moses Firnald, James Webb, William Stevens, Joseph Weakly, Caleb Hutchens, Robert Moore, Richard Finnix, Thomas Jenkins, Elisha Holbrook, Jonathan Brown, Enoch Stevens, Samuel Kenney, John Bairman.

6th Company, Capt. John Harmon.

I have not been able to find any list of Capt. Harmon's men. Benjamin Harmon was his Lieutenant, and Joseph Adams his Ensign.

7th Company, Capt. Moses Butler.

The only list of his company that I have been able to find is the following meagre one :

Lieut. Dexter Grant, Ensign John Lewis, John Clark, Michael Wooson, John Mory, Jonathan Lewis, Micah Woodman, John Muzzey, Ichabod Tibitts, James McCarrid, Samuel Grant, Samuel Jones, Nathan Goodwin, John Laws.

8th Company, Capt. Thomas Perkins.

The following is all I can learn of his Company.

Lieut. John Burbank, Ensign Thomas Hardy, Jesse Jellison, Rollesin Bond, James Samson, John Carr, Elizer Leardon, Brian Paul, Joseph Webber, Nathaniel Martin, James Murrey, Elisha Perkins, Noah Peenir, John Gerry, John Wells, Joseph Clark, Samuel Jones, Samuel Grant, James Gerrish, Nathaniel Gooding, James McCarrill, Ichabod Tibbitts, Micah Woodsome.

9th Company, Capt. William Warner.

Lieut. George Gerry, Ens. John Bridge, Serg. Samuel Buckner, Corp. Samuel Muggridge, Corp. Thomas Romoril, James Thorne, Benjamin Ropes, Richard Richardson, Thomas Lessenby, Robert Cubb, James Leara, Charles Nichols, Edmund Ruby, James Thomas, John Allen, Shubel Cook, Nathaniel Flynn, Samuel Millett, Robert Simmons, Nathaniel Williams, A. Culbert, Samuel Newhall.

10th Company, Capt. Moses Pearson.

I find no list of his Company. When the regiment was first organized George Knight was his Lieutenant and James Springer his Ensign. The reason why we find no list of his men, as such, probably arises from the fact that Capt. Pearson was made paymaster of Col. Pepperrell's Regiment, and so had no command in the field. Capt. Pearson was of Falmouth, now Portland. He came from Newbury and was a joiner by trade, but by his intelligence and energy of character he rose to considerable eminence and usefulness. He was the first sheriff of Cumberland Co., and afterwards Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was, after the fall of Louisburg, chosen as agent to act for the following officers and soldiers:

Lieut. George Knight, Lieut. Alexander Roberts, Ens. James Springer, Sergt. Philip Hodgskins, Sergt. Joshua Hsley, Cor. Jonathan Emerson, Cor. David Woodman, Joshua Simpson, James Gilkey, Jonathan Thorn, John Ayer, John Anderson, Jacob Clifford, Moses Gould, Moses Hodgskins, Samuel Hodgskins, James Simeon, Abel Crosby, Samuel Hunt, Gamaliel Pote, David Dowty, Nathan Ingersoll, Simon Wheeler, Ebenezer Agustus.

Ebenezer Lincoln, John Roberts, John Roberts, Samuel Clark. In the 1st Regiment, Joseph Goldthwait was Adjutant, and John Gorman, Armorer.

Second Massachusetts Regiment, Col. Samuel Waldo.

1st Company, Capt. Samuel Moody.

I can give no list of his command. Charles Proctor, was Lieut. and John Murphy Ensign in this company.

2d Company, Capt. Arthur Noble.

John Watts was, on the 8th of Feb., 1744, commissioned Captain of this company, James Noble, Lieutenant, and John Cargill, Ensign. This is all the information possessed concerning this company.

3d Company, Capt. Philip Demoresque.

Josiah Crosby, Lieutenant, and Thomas Frank, Ensign.

4th Company, Capt. Benjamin Goldthwait.

Charles Harrison, Lieutenant, and Joseph Newhall, Ensign.

5th Company, Capt. Daniel Hale.

James Baily, Lieutenant, and Abraham Edwards, Ensign.

6th Company, Capt. Jacob Stevens.

Stephen Webster, Lieutenant, and Edmond Morse, Ensign.

7th Company, Capt. James Noble.

Solomon Bragdon, Lieutenant, and Daniel Mesharvey, Ensign.

8th Company, Capt. Richard Jacques.

William Allen, Lieutenant, and Edward Clark, Ensign. Andrew Watkins subsequently was made Captain of this company, and Jonathan Trumbull was his Lieutenant.

9th Company, Capt. Daniel Flag.

John Silsbee, Lieutenant, Jonathan Lord, Ensign.

10th Company, Capt. Jeremiah Richardson.

Clement Chamberlain, Lieutenant, John Russell, Ensign. Nathaniel Manutford was commissary of this regiment.

Third Massachusetts Regiment, Col. Jeremiah Moulton.

1st Company, Capt. Jeremiah Moulton.

2d Company, Capt. Nathaniel Donnell.

3d Company, Capt. Christopher Marshall.

Benjamin Stansbury, Lieutenant, Nathaniel Richardson, Ensign.

The following is a list of men under Marshall's command :

David Clark, Samuel Whittemore, Samuel Bradford, Thomas Fanton, Marshall Miller, William Conover, Benjamin Shillgrass, Adam Shenedy, Morris Welch, Nathaniel Henderson, James Chilent, Luke Welch, Thomas Stubby, Josiah Lyon, John Wood, Edward Hunt, Samuel Cidiu, Nathaniel Putnam, Samuel Cowdry, John Melody, John Jenkins, Samuel Ellis, Robert Dothinson, Nathaniel Sidon, Thomas Webb, Robert Colbetson, David Taylor.

4th Company, Capt. James Grant.

Lieut. Benjamin Pippin, Lieut. Andrew Lamessier, Ens. Israel Porter, Sergt. John Brown, Sergt. David Gleason, Sergt. William Webster, Sergt. Thomas Farrington, Corp. John Holton, Corp. William Hilborn, Peter Sabine, Samuel Stone, William Andrews, Samuel Porter, James Ebbon, Aaron Ennell, William Halford, James Davison, James Lindsey, James Magery, Michael Hide, John White, Ebenezer Ramsdell, James Farn, Jacob Cain, Cornelius Walcom, Israel Howard, Ebadiah Farn, Andrew Millitt, Benjamin Barnol, Peter Brown, John Elthrop, John Fuller, Richard Newhall, Samuel Baker, John Lester, Joseph Clough, Richard Thomas.

5th Company, Capt. Charles King.

John Marston, Lieutenant, Joseph Gerrish, Ensign. No list of his men.

6th Company, Capt. Peter Prescott.

William Larkin, Lieutenant, Jonathan Hoar, Ensign. Capt. Prescott was selected by the soldiers to act for them in obtaining their bounty or share of the spoils. They were probably a portion of his command.

Lieut. William Larkin, Sergt. John Wheeler, Sergt. Daniel Molan, Sergt. Cornelius Sullivan, John Shipman, Alexander Telfare, Robert Stone, Samuel Wood, Job Whittam, John Wellson, Jonathan Corey, Elisha Johnson, Alexander Kidd, John Bryan, John Keef, William French, Joshua William, Morris Akim, Richard Grifis, Jeremiah Shepard, Rahio Dyke, Timothy Kieg, John Gould.

7th Company, Capt. A. R. Cutter.

The following men were among those who were under his command.

Caleb Harrington, William Sampson, Joseph Fletcher, Samuel Nichols, Benjamin Margridge, Parker Moody, John Johnson, John Kelley, George Cary, Joseph Leavitt, William Brown, Thomas Humphy, John Brackly, Owen Cunningham, John Trott, Benjamin Sawin, Nehemiah Robinson, William Daniels.

8th Company, Capt. Samuel Rhodes.

Jonathan Hartshorn, Lieutenant, John Hersey, Ensign.

Lieut. Jonathan Hartshorn, Sergt. Thomas Pynes, Sergt. John Shaw, Sergt. Francis Richards, John Williams, Thomas Evans, William Daniels, Jeremiah Gould, John Stebbins, William Davis, Nathan Barlow, James Borcilwater, Ebenezer Durant, Arthur Vincent, Joseph Alton, Jesse Covit, Ebenezer Brown, Pierce Crosby, John Jones, Jeremiah Howard, Lewis Francis, Lewis Swan, Caleb Farman, George Pickerell, William Jenkins, Thomas Keller, Lewis Posser, Richard Abbott, John Downing.

9th Company, Capt. Bartholomew Trow.

Joseph Miller, Lieutenant, Joseph Fairbanks, Ensign.

Joseph Frothingham, Jonathan Rand, William Osmit, John Fitts, John Delany, John Nichols, Philip Tray, Ebenezer Burgess, John Watters, William Mattocks, John Fowle, Samuel Bowles, Samuel Walcutt, James Holland, George Dowdell, Cuthe Mauries.

10th Company, Capt. Estes Hatch.

Ebenezer Newall, Lieutenant, Ebenezer Sumner, Ensign. Sumner was subsequently promoted to a Lieutenant. Edward Carter was Ensign.

Sergt. Daniel Lane, Ezekiel Hovey, Benjamin Wilkins, William Oakley, Benjamin Phillips, George Byram, James Stanley.

Mr. Hudson added the following lists, which are inserted here as having reference to men from what is now the State of Maine :

Petition¹ of the following persons who were in the expedition to Louisburg in 1745, presented to Lieut. Gov. Phips, 1749 :

Isaac Ilsley, Jeremiah Springer, Jeremiah Springer, Jr., Samuel Graves, Jeremiah Pote, Benjamin Sweetser, Samuel Lunt, Jr., Job Lunt, Joshua Fowle, John Robinson, Jacob True, Samuel Lovewell, Jacob Graffum, John Irish, Abraham Sawyer, Percival Baton, William Putnam, James Springer, Stephen Clark, Gamalel Pote, Elisha Pote, Nathaniel Ingersol, Ebenezer Gastin, David Dowty, Thomas Bracket, Joshua Bracket, John Clark, John Clark, Jr., Richard Temple, Josiah Hunnewell, John Owen, Joshua Moody, William Reed, Philip Hodgskins, John Roberts, George Williams, Samuel Atwood, George Knight, John Ayer.

Cape Breton, July 10, 1745.

We the subscribers being dismissed to go home, do authorize Lieut. Peter Grant to receive our bounty money, if there be any coming to us in taking the famous city's plunder.

Moses Butler, Stephen Frost, Lakely Cessor, Nathan Lord, Jr., Alexander Grant, Samuel Holmes, John Goodwin, Joseph Goodwin, Richard Gerrish, Solomon Walker, William Grant, John Gitchell, John Murray, Nathan Goodwin, Ichabod Tibbetts, William Pierce, James Markwell, Adam Goodwin, Nathaniel Lord, James Stimson, Samuel Gitchell, Moses Spencer, Elder Smith, Elias Hart, John Lewis, Samuel Allen, Trabel Casan, Ebenezer Jelson, Joseph Woodson, James Yorses, Samuel Loud, 3d, John Nason, Daniel Malony, Joshua Nason, Michael Woodson, John Davis, Gideon May, Ezekiel Weytoor, William Chadburn, Noah Nason, Ephraim Joye, John Currier, Samuel Jones John Clark, Samuel Grant, Elias Grant, Israel Hunniwell.

¹ This was for a township of land for service at Louisburg in 1745. The signers belonged to Capt. Moses Pearson's Company. Willis, in his *History of Portland*, note, pp. 419, 420, in giving this list of signers, adds the following names : Moses Pearson, Jacob Clifford, James Gilkey, Samuel Clark, Samuel Hodgskins, John Anderson, Moses Hodgskins.

Louisburg, Sept. 19, 1745.

We the subscribers select Capt. Thomas Perkins to receive our part of the plunder that is coming to us, by virtue of our being soldiers at Cape Breton.

John Burbank, Timothy Burbank, Asa Burbank, Eliphalet Carr, Joseph Cole, Nathaniel White, Richard Perry, Alleson Lassell, Benjamin Turner, Eliphalet Perkins, Jeremiah Springer, John Carr, Robinson Bond, Stephen Harding, Jesse Dorman, John Homer, Edward Strout, Seth Turner.

Louisburg, Sept. 16, 1745.

Sergeant Enoch Davis made agent of the following persons to receive their plunder.

Moses Kimball, Benjamin Tileston, John Kenne, James Gibson, John Sacklar, Eben Littlefield, Joseph Huston, William Robinson, Ichabod Tileston, Ichabod Dunham, Edward Evans, Joshua Adams, Isaac Russell, Jonathan Adams, James Gilpatrick, John Bagshaw, John Cradeford, Samuel Clark, James Reed, Aaron Lord, Matthew Robertson, John Deane, Edward Wealth, Isaac Danforth, Joshua Lathe, William Curtis, James Littlefield, Benjamin Curtis, John Locke, Caleb C. Kimball, Jr.

Louisburg, Sept. 13, 1745.

Capt. John Storer was made agent for:—

James Gilpatrick, Jr., Peter Rich, Philip Devotion, Joseph Webber, Charles White, John Fairfield, Capt. Nathaniel Kimball, Ichabod Cressons, Daniel Sayer, Joseph Cradiford, John Lock, Jr.

Sergeant Enoch Davis was agent for the following men:—

Joshua Kimball, Benjamin Tellson, John Keene, James Gibson, John Sinklar, Eben Littlefield, John Huston, William Robinson, Ichabod Tellson, Ichabod Dunham, Joshua Adams, James Littlefield, Jonathan Adams, James Gilpatrick, Edward Evens, John Codeford, Lemuel Clark, James Reed, Aaron Lord, Matthew Robertson, John Deane, Edward Wealth, Isaac Danforth, Joseph Taylor, Joshua Little, Isaac Russell, Benjamin Curtis, John Locke, Caleb Kimball, Jr., John Bagshaw, William Curtis.

In the appendix to the Pepperrell Papers, Mass. Hist. Society's Coll.,

Sixth Series, Vol. 10, (pp. 538-542), I find a roll of the companies belonging to Pepperrell's regiment at Louisburg, November 15, 1745.

The 1st Company, the General's.

Capt. Ptr. Staples, Lieut. Joel Whittymore, Ens. Danl. Wilson, dead; Sergt. Hewn McClane, Corp. Benj. Leach, Drummer Jno. Ayres; Privates George Knight, Wm. Remmick, James Gooding, Jno. Ledston, Wm. Allen, Geo. Marriner, Wm. Pettegrow, Jno. Thomson, Jerh. Spinney, Jno. Pugsley, Barth. Whittom, Jno. Rankim, Nath. Hooper, Simon Emery, Zimry Hunscome, Juth'n Thomas, Cato Farewell. Sergt. 1, Corp'l 1, Drummer 1, Privates 17.

The 2d Company.

Lt. Col. Storer, Sergt. Enock Davis, Privates, Josa Kimball, Benj. Jellyson, Jas. Littlefield, Matt'w Robison, Char's White, Icabod Gullison, Jno. Crafford, Jas. Reed, Edwd. Welch, Jos. Taylor, Isac Danforth, Benj. Curtis, Wm. Curtis, Josha Admans, Jno. Bagshaw, Jno. Deen, Jas. Gebson, Edw'd Evans, Lem'l Clark, Jno. Garey. Sergt. 1, Corp'l 1, Drummer 0, Privates 20.

The 3rd Company.

Major Cutts, Privates David Gunnison, Gideon Parker, Jno. Amey, Jno. Brawn, Enoch Stevens, Sam. Kenney. Sergt. 0, Corp. 0, Drummer 0, Privates 6.

The 4th Company. (From Massachusetts.)

The 5th Company. (From Massachusetts.)

The 6th Company.

Capt. Moses Pearson, Sergt. Php. Hodskins, Sergt. Thos. Ilsley, Corp. David Woodman; Privates Jer'h Simson, Eben'r Linkhorne, Jas. Gilkey, Jno. Anderson, Moses Hodskins, Sam. Hodskins, Jno. Ayres, Abiah Crosby, Jas. Thorn, Sam. Clark. Sergt. 2, Corp. 1, Drummer 0, Privates 10.

The 7th Company.

Capt. Wm. Warner, Lieut. Garish, Sergt. Sam. Bicknor, Corp. Sam. Mugeridge, Corp. Thos. Rommerrill, Drummer Jas. Thorne; Privates

Benj. Ropes, Rich'd Richardson, Thos. Lesinby, Jno. Leava, Chas. Nichols, Jno. Ruby, Jno. Thomas, Jno. Allen, Shubal Crook, Nath'l Flinn, Sam. Millett, Robt. Simmons, Matt'w Williams, Ron't Culbort, Sam. Newhall. Sergt. 1, Corps. 2, Drummer 1, Privates 15.

The 8th Company.

Capt. Thos. Perkins, Lieut. Burbank; Privates Jesse Dorman, Jno. Jelleson, Rollison Bond, Jas. Samson, Jno. Carr, Elizor Leasdon, Brian Paul.

¹(Sergt. Jos Webber, Corp. Nath. Martin, Privates Noah Peenis, Jno. Garey, Jno. Wells).

²(Sergt. Jno. Clark, Privates Sam. Jones, Sam. Grant, Jas. Garish, Nath. Goodings, Jas. McCarrill, Icabod Tibbitts, Jno. Murrey, Mica Woodsome. Sergts. 2, Corp. 1, Drummer 0, Privates 18.)

The 9th Company.

Capt. Jas. Smith, Lieut. Hoile, Sergt. Andrew Dexter, Corp. Caleb Callom, Corp. Ptr. Hurley, Corp. Jno. Evans, Sergt. John MacDonald, dead; Privates Jas. Briggs, Jos. Alverson, Benj. Ford, Thos. Ales, Mic'l Thornton, Sam. Saunders, Jno. Wallace, Josa Sly, Nath. Sheldon, Jno. Eddy, Robt. Watts, Jnthn. Mounygue, Thos. Thornton, Water Drimont, Gideon Thornton, Isac Medburrey, Gideon Hawkins, Jas. Whipple, Nath. Spywood, Francis Streeter, Jno. Tubball, Benj. Amos, Mat. Packhord, Eben'z Edson, Geo. White, Thos. Green, Jos. Trueworthy, Rich'd Lewis, Martha Short, Nath'l Colben, Sam'l Cobern, Jno. Lane, Wm. Bentley, Danl. Collum, Jos. Indian, Eben'z Lovell; Sergts. 2, Corps. 3, Drummer 0, Privates 36.

The 10th Company.

Capt. Edward Cole, Lieut. Jos. Wheaten, Ensign Benj. Allen, Sergt. Thos. Dewen, Sergt. Jno. Lee, Corp. Robt. Kelsey, Corp. Dan'l Fuller, Corp. Geb. Arwin, Drummer Robt. Bennett; Privates Robt. Tripp, Francis Lyner, Isac Everson, Wm. Roach, Thos. Niles, dead; Jas.

¹ N. B. These are added to Ct. Perkins company, but did formerly belong to Capt. Harmon of sd regt.

² N. B. These are added to Ct. Perkins company, but did formerly belong to Ct. Butler of sd. regt.

Samson, dead; Nichs. Larrence, Wm. Mills, Jno. Newman, Stephen Trays, dead; Wm. Corey, dead; Jas. Strange, Jno. Crookay, dead; Wm. Ward, Ptr. New, Jas. Tataush, Jno. Lawless, Jno. Greenman, Jno. Rogers, Benj. Hunton, Jno. Shores, Wm. Jones, Martin Blake, Jas. Robbison, Ptr. Tyask.

The 11th Company. (From R. I.) Louisbourg, Nov. 19, 1745.

The following list of the officers and men in Col. Moulton's regiment I take from the appendix to the Pepperrell Papers, (Mass. Hist. Society's Coll., Sixth Series, Vol. 10, pp. 545-549).

Capt. Grant's Company.

James Grant, Capt.; Andrew Le Mercier, Lieut.; Joseph Brown, Sargt.; David Glover, Sargt.; Wm. Webster, Sargt.; Theo. Farrington, Sargt.; Peter Labere, Clark; John Holton, Corpo.; Wm. Hilborn, Corpo.; Sam'l Stone, Wm. Andrews, Saml. Porter, James Ebborn, Aaron Crowell, Wm. Holford, James Davidson, Richd. Newhall, Saml. Baker, Jno. Lister, James Lindzey, Jno. Magery, Michl. Vide, Jas. White, Tho. White, Ebenr. Ramsdel, Jno. Farn, Jacob Cain, Clow Walcom, Izrael Howard, Obediah Farn, Andrew Millett, Benj. Parnel, Peter Brown, Jno. Elethrap, Dd. Fuller, Joseph Clough, Richd. Thomas. Private soldiers and non-commission officers, 35.

A list of Capt. John Card's Company.

John Card, Capt.; John Linscot, Sergt.; Jno. McCluker, Sergt.; Jonathan Dodson, Sergt.; Elias Banks, Corp.; George Spinney, Wm. Davis, Daniel Grant, Melachi Castle, Eleazar Whittum, John McDanniel, John Moulton, Nath. Abbot, Jno. Simpson, Ebener Napp, Jno. Conne-way, Joseph Webber, James Spinney, Joseph Barton, Shubal Barton, Wm. Moore, Jonathan Clough, James Wilson, Isaac Provinder. Private men and non-commission officers, 23.

A list of Capt. Charles King's Company.

Charles King, Capt.; Jno. Marston, Lieut.; Joseph Gerrish, Ensign; Rich'd Reith, Jno. Erwin, Jno. Bickford, Tho. Downing, Robt. Annable, dead; Wm. Cummins, Daniel Darling, Wm. Daniels, Packfry Downing, Jno. Chambers, Jno. Callum, Nath. Felt, David Griffis, Benj. Hooper,

Jona. Phippen, Sam Grosse, Jno. Silver, Jno. Symond, David Howard, Tho. Ward, Jno. Wells. Private men and non-commission officers, 21.

A list of Capt. Marshall's Company.

Christo Marshall, Capt.; Benja. Stansbury, Lieut.; ———
Richardson, Ens.; gone home on furlow; David Chase, Sam'l
Whittemore, Adam Kenedy, Morris Welch, Luke Welch, Nath.
Henderson, Jno. Chilcut, Josiah Lyon, Jno. Wood, Edwd. Hunt,
Samuel Oidin, Nath. Putnam, Sam'l Bradford, Tho. Fenton,
Marshall Miller, Wm. Curwen, Benj. Killgoo, Sam'l Cowdry,
Jno. Melody, Jno. Jenkins, Simon Ellis, Robt. Dollinson, Nicho.
Lidon, Tho. Webb, Robert Colbetson, Tho. Stubly, David Tayler.
Private soldiers and non-commission officers, 27.

A list of Capt. Rhodes's Company.

Sam. Rhodes, Capt.; Tho. Pyne, Sergt.; John Shaw, Sergt. ;
Francis Pickett, Sergt.; John Williams, Tho. Evans, Wm. Daniels,
Jeremiah Gould, Jethro Sedebin, Rich'd Abbot, Wm. Davis, Nathan
Barlow, James Benit Waters, Eben. Durant, Arthur Vincent, Joseph
Aton, Jesse Cavil, Eben. Brown, Pierce Crosby, Jno. Downing, John
Jones, Jeremiah Howard, Lewis Francis, Francis Lewis, Lewis Passer,
Caleb Farnum, George Pickerill, Wm. Jenkins, Tho. Keller. Private
soldiers and non-commission officers, 28.

List of Capt. Prescott's Company.

Peter Prescott, Capt.; ——— Larken, Lieut.; John Wheeler, Sergt. ;
Daniel Molen, Sergt.; Cornelius Sullivan, Sergt.; John Shipman, on
furlow; Alex. Telfare, Robert Stone, Sam. Wood, Job Whittum, Jno.
Wilson, Jonathan Corey, Alex'r Kidd, Jno Bryan, John Keef, Wm.
French, Joshua Williams, Morris Aken, Rich'd Griffis, Jere. Shepard,
Robin Dyke, Timothy Kreg, John Gould, Elisha Johnson. Private
soldiers and non-commission officers, 22.

From Melvin's Company.

Sam. Dudley, Jno. McCollow, Timo. Adams, Jno. Temple, Jno.
Hucker, Simon Robins, Jona Wood, Joseph Ham, Jona Barrat, Aaron
Russell, Joseph Dudley. Private soldiers & non-commission officers, 33.

A list of Capt. Estes Hatch's Company.

Edward Carter, Ensign; Daniel Lane, Sargt.; Ezekiel Hovey, Benj. Wilkins, Benj. Phillips, George Byram, James Stanly, Wm. Oakley. Private soldiers and non-commission officers, 7.

A list of Capt. Bartho Trow's Company.

Joseph Miller, Lieut.; Joseph Fairbanks, Ens.; Joseph Frothingham, Jonathan Rand, Wm. Osmint, Jno. Watters, Wm. Mattocks, John Fowle, Daniel Bowles, Sam'l Wilent, John Fitts, John Delany, James Holland, George Dowdell, John Nichols, Eben. Burgis, Phillip Tray, Cuffe Munnis. Private soldiers and non-commission officers, 16.

Capt. Cutter's Company.

A. R. Cutter, Capt., Caleb Harrington, Wm. Sampson, Joseph Fletcher, Sam. Nichols, Benj. Morgridge, Parker Moody, Joseph Levett, Wm. Brown, Tho. Humphrey, John Brackley, Owen Cunningham, John Frost, John Johnson, John Kelley, Benj. Sawyer, Nehem'a Robinson, George Casey, Wm. Daniels. Private men and non-commission officers, 18.

Soldiers and non-commission officers on the spot	208
Commission officers on the spot	14
	<hr/>
	221 ¹

Louisburg, Novm'r 20th, 1745. The foregoing list of men are all alive. Attest JER. MOULTON

In answer to an inquiry, Lieut. Oliver P. Remick, who has given much attention to Kittery's relation to the Louisburg expedition of 1745, sends to me in a letter dated Kittery, Maine, July 18, 1908, the following list of Kittery men, who were at Louisburg with Pepperrell:

Capt. Lieut. Peter Staples; 2nd. Lieut. George Gowell; Ensign Joel Whittemore, promoted Lieut. July 20, 1745; Daniel Wilson, Ensign, died before Nov. 15, 1745; David Gunnison, promoted Ensign May 1, 1746; also promoted Lieutenant: Benj. Leach, Corp.; Joseph Greenleaf,

¹The original and correct footing is 222, but the last figure was changed by having a strong mark drawn over it.

Thomas Allen, John Tompson, Zimeriah Hanscom, David Spinney, Uriah Hanscom, William Pettigrew, Edward Hammond, George Knight, Corp., (died there); Moses Bryan, John Ayers, (drummer); Richard Dolley, Nathaniel Hooper, James Goodwin, John Lydstone, William Remick, William Allen, George Marriner, Jeremiah Spinney, Jonathan Thomas, Bartholemy Witham, Simon Emery, George Black, Cato Farwell, Henry Hanscom, Morris O'Brien,¹ Richard Cutts, Major and Capt. 3d Co. Pepperrell's Regt.; Bray Deering, Lieut.; Joseph Weeks, Ensign; Gideon Parker, John Amey, John Brown, Enoch Stevens.

The following Kittery men were at Louisburg, and probably belonged to one of the above companies:

John Walker, Davis Downing, Samuel Leach, Samuel Billings, Ebenezer Leach, John Carter, Richard Carter, Charles Smith, Joseph Jenkins, Reuben Mace, Samuel Hooper, Thomas Fernald, David Caton, Solomon Rose, James Amey, Patrick Lollens, John Tobey, Joseph Fay, William Stevens, Joseph Winkley, Caleb Hutchins, Richard Finix, Robert Moore, Thomas Jenkins, Elisha Holbrook, Tobias Allen, Benjamin Finnix, Samuel Clough, Moses Fernald, Jonathan Brown, Simeon Dam, Parker Gowell, David Hutchings, Levi Hutchings, Samuel Hutchings, Benjamin Curtis, Jr., Joseph Curtis, John Furbish, William Furbish, Andrew Green, Ichabod Jellison, Benjamin Jacobs, Nathaniel Hicks, Daniel Ludstone, Nathan Lord, Benjamin March, William Perry, Aaron Lord, Samuel Lord, Peter Witham, Thomas Witham, Benjamin Curtis, William Curtis, Richard Perry, John Nason, Joshua Nason, Noah Nason, Samuel Joris, John Lewis, Sannel Allen, Nathaniel Lord, Nathan Lord, Jr.

The following Kittery men were in Capt. Richard Mumford's Company, in Pepperrell's regiment:

John Rogers, John Shores or Shorey, Robert Tripe, Francis Lynn, William Jones, John Lawless, Thomas Jeffs, Robert Bennett, Martin Blake.

In Capt. James Grant's Co., George Crocker.

In Capt. John Card's Co., Col. J. Moulton's Regiment; James

¹ [He was a resident of Scarboro, and went from Scarboro to Machias in 1765.]

Spinney, George Spinney, Eleazer Witham, William Davis, William Moore, James Wilson, Benj. Mugridge, John Trott.

The following Kittery men were in the New Hampshire Regiment: Capt. John Fernald, John Hooper, Isaac Wherrin, Jonathan Dam, Richard Furber, John Welch, Richard Knight, Jonathan Boothby, John Stevens, Richard Fitzgerald, John Fry, John Woodman, Nicholas Grace, Thomas Newmarch, Ensign and promoted Lieut.

Other Kittery men at Louisburg were Andrew Pepperrell Frost, Brevet Lieut.; Charles Frost, 2nd Secretary; John Pierce, James Webber, James Wilson, Nathaniel Jugerson, Samuel Green, Thomas Dixon, Robert Dixon, John Frost, (5th Co. 1st Regt.); Jesse Jellison, 8th Co., 1st Regt.; Samuel Mugridge, Corp. 9th Co., 1st Regt.; Andrew Watkins, Capt. 8th Co., 2nd Mass. Regt.; Samuel Greenough, Lieut. 1st Co., 5th Mass. Regt.; Benjamin Jellison, Corp. in Capt. Joshua Champlin's Co.

Lieut. Remick adds: "The Maine men were in Pepperrell's, Moulton's, Gorham's and Waldo's Infantry Regiments, and Dwight's Artillery Regiment; but Capt. Baker's Co. (2d), and Capt. Kinsleagh's Co. (5th), of Pepperrell's Regiment, were from Boston and vicinity. Staples' and Deering's companies (1st and 4th) were from Kittery; Fairfield's (3d) from towns in York Co.; Harmon's Co. (6th) from York; Butler's (7th) from Berwick; Perkins' (8th) from Wells; Warner's (9th) I think from Biddeford and Saco; and Pearson's (10) from Falmouth."

There were also Kittery men on the provincial fleet and transports at Louisburg.

In the Pepperrell Papers (Mass. Hist. Coll., 6th Series, Vol. 10, pp. 525, 526), I find the following:

A list of men under my command [Capt. Peter Staples'] in the General's regiment, viz.:

Joel Whitemore, Lieutenant, Marred; Daniel Wilson, Ensign, Bachelor; Joseph Greenleaf, Marred; ¹Thomas Allen, marred, has several children; John Tompson, marred, has children; ¹Zimry Hanscon, marred, has no children; ¹David Spiney, marred, no children; ¹Uriah Hanscon,

¹ All belonging to a frontier town in the county of York. Louisbourg, Sept. ye 20th, 1745. Peter Staple.

marred, one child; 'William Pettegrew, marred, no children; 'Edward Hammond, marred, has children; Robert Due, marred, one child; 'George Knight, marred, several small children; 'Morres Bryan, marred, has several small children; 'John Ayers, batchelor; James Abbot, batchelor; John Ranken, batchelor; John Pugsley, batchelor; 'Richard Dolley, batchelor; 'Nath'l Hooper, batchelor; 'James Goodwin, batchelor; 'John Lydstone, batchelor; 'William Remick, batchelor; 'William Allen, batchelor; 'George Marrenor, batchelor; 'Benj. Leach, batchelor; 'Jeremiah Spieuey, batchelor; 'Jonathin Thomas, batchelor; Bartholumy Whittum; 'Simon Emery, batchelor; Hugh McClanen, batchelor; 'Cato Fairwell, batchelor.

In the Pepperrell Papers (Mass. Hist. Coll., 6th Series, Vol. 10, p. 521) there is the following "true state of Capt. Butler's Company:"

Lieut. Peter Grant, Married, 11 children, ———, ———, 5 children, Ensign John Lewis, Married, ———, John Clerk, ———, ———, James Gerrish, ———, ———, Mikeil Wooson, ———, ———, John Murray, ———, ———, Ichabod Tibits, ———, ———, James McCarriel, ———, ———, Samll Grant, Married, 2 children; Samll Jones, Sick, ———, Nathan Goodwin, Sick ———, Louisbourg, Sept. ye 17th, 1745; Capt. Butler, gone home.

On the following page in the Pepperrell Papers (522) is a "list of the men belonging to Capt. John Harmon, in the General's regiment and thare circumstances, &c, Sept. 17, 1745. All in a frontier town," viz.

Jno. Harmon, Capt., Jos. Weber, Sergt, A married man, with 6 children; Jos. Cole, A married man, with 5 children; Hugh Holeman, A married man, with 7 or 8 children; James Hays, A married man, with 4 or 5 children; Noah Penass, A married man; Moses Samoss, A married man, with 1 child; Joshua Ramsdill, Single man, being at ye point of death; Dan'l Young, single man; Jno. Gary, Single man; Paul Roach, Single man; John Wells.

Several of these men were transferred to Capt. Thomas Perkins' Co. The following account "of the men that has families of Coll. John

1 All belonging to a frontier town in the county of York. Louisbourg, Sept. ye 20th, 1745. Peter Staple.

Storer's company, all belonging to frontiers very much exposed," is from the Pepperrell Papers, Mass. Hist. Coll., 6th Series, Vol. 10, pp. 526, 527 :

Sargantt Davis, A wife and 7 children ; Joshua Kimball, A wife and 1 child ; Ichabod Donhew, A wife and 7 children ; Joshua Lasdill, A wife and 8 children ; Isaac Buswell, A wife and 3 children ; Aaron Lord, A wife and 3 children ; John Cradiford, A wife and 3 children ; Lemuel Clark, A wife and 3 children ; Edward Evens, A wife and ——— ; Joshue Adams, A wife and 0 child : James Reed, A wife and 2 children ; William Cortis, A wife and 1 child ; Charles White, A wife and four children.

The names of the singale men :

John Kene, Benjamin Gellision, Ichabod Gellision, James Littlefield, John Bagsher, John Deen, Isaac Danford, Joseph Taylor, James Gibson, Edmond Welch, Mathew Robson, Benjamin Cortis, Joseph Webber.

In the Pepperrell Papers (Mass. Hist. Coll., 9th Series, Vol. 10, p. 527) I find the following :

A List of men under my Command. Capt. Perkins.

Capt. Tho's Perkins, Lieut. John Burbank, Clark, Jesse Dorman, Rolison Bond, Nath'l Martin, Bryant Paule, Allezon Aesdell, John Carr ; Under my command, Thos. Perkins' 6 men.

Serg. Joseph Webber, John Gairy, John Wells, Noa Pennice ; Capt. Harman's 4 men.

Sergt. John Clark, Sam'l Jones, James Gairish, Sam'l Grant, Michell Woodsome, John Murray, Nathan Gooden, James MacClalling, Ichabod Tibbits ; Capt. Butler's 9 men.

James Sampson, John Gellason ; Capt. Lowe's 2 men.

In the Pepperrell Papers (Mass. Hist. Coll., Series 6, Vol. 10, pp. 527, 528) is the following "list of Thomas Perkins' men in the estate they are in :

Left. John Burbank, sick and a wife, and six children ; Eliphalet Perkins, Joseph Coole, a wife and three children ; Edward Stuart, a wife and four children ; Jeremiah Springer, sick, and a wife and four children ; Stephen Harding, sick, and a wife and one child ; Richard

Perry, a wife and two children; Jesse Darman, under difficult circumstances at home; Eliphalet Carr, sick; John Carr, sick; John Hames, sick; Asa Burbank, Nathanael Marten, Rolenson Bond, Aleson Lasdell, Bryant Paul. All living in a frontier town in New England.

The following list of Capt. Moses Pearson's Falmouth Company is from an original roll in the possession of Hon. Andrew Hawes of Portland: Moses Pearson, Captain; George Knight, Lieut.; James Springer, Ensign; Alex. Roberts, Sergt.; Philip Hodgkins, Sergt.; Ebenezer Gustin, Sergt.; Joshua Ilsley, Sergt.; Joseph Emerson, Corp.; David Woodman, Corp.; Gamaliel Pote, Corp.; Samuel Lunt, Corp.; Simon Wheeler, Drum'r; John Roberts, Clerk; Privates, John Anderson, John Ayer, Penuiel Barton, Samuel Clark, Jacob Clifford, Abiel Crosby, Daniel Douty, Joseph Foster, Andrew Pep. Frost, James Gikey, Edward Gilman, Moses Gould, servt. to Nathan Winslow; Jacob Graffam, Samuel Graves, son of John (under age), Ebenezer Hall, Moses Hodgkins, Samuel Hodgkins, servt. to Philip Hodgkins (under age), Nathaniel Ingersoll, Ebenezer Lincoln, Samuel Lowell, Nehemiah Pitnam, Abraham Sawyer, Sequent (an Indian), Joshua Simson, Joseph Thorn, Joseph Thorn, Jr. servt. to Moses Pearson, George Williams, son of George (under age).

Of the above the following petitioned for a township of land for their services at Louisburg, and the township granted was called Pearsons town, now Standish: Moses Pearson, George Knight, James Springer, Ebenezer Gustin, Gamaliel Pote, Samuel Lunt, John Anderson, John Ayer, Penuiel Barton, Samuel Clark, Jacob Clifford, Daniel Douty, James Gikey, Jacob Graffam, Samuel Graves, Moses Hodgkins, Samuel Hodgkins, Nathaniel Ingersoll, Samuel Lowell, Abraham Sawyer, George Williams.

The following also signed the petition: Isaac Ilsley, Jeremiah Springer, Jr., Joshua Brackett, Philip Hodgkins, John Fowle, Richard Semple, Stephen Clark, John Clark, Jacob True, Josiah Hunniwell, Benjamin Sweetser, Jeremiah Pote, Thomas Brackett, Elisha Pote, Job Lunt, John Clark, John Owen, Jr., Joshua Moodey, John Irish, William Reed, John Roberts, William Pitman, Samuel Atwood.

The Township was granted in 1750 to Capt. Moses Pearson, Capt. Humphrey Hobbs and their companies.

A list of laborers belonging to Col. Moulton's regiment employed on the repairs of His Majesty's Garrison at Louisburg, from the 2nd to the 7th of September, 1745, both days inclusive. The manuscript is in the Newburyport Pepperrell Papers in the possession of the Maine Historical Society. Joseph Fairbanks, Samuel Wilcott, James Grant, James Holland, Cuff Mannis, John Butler, John Towle, William Everleth, Phillip Tray, Tho. Hill, Stephen Teneris, John Fitts, Ezekiel Henry, Joseph Wood, John Figget, Isaac Brown, Isaac Farn, Daniel Fuller, Richard Newhall, John Majenry, Obediah Farn, Theo. Farinton, James Linzey, William Andrews, John Newmarch.

Frank D. Marshall, Esq., of Portland, a native of Ybrk, in a letter concerning the York men in the Louisburg expedition, writes: "I had a great-great-great-grandfather, John Kingsbury of York, who, as a boy of eighteen years, was at Louisburg, and there lost a leg. Years ago, I came across a receipt given to him by L. D. Leopold, Surgeon of the Royal Convent and Hospital at Louisburg, acknowledging payment in 1747, '*Pour avoir fait une amputation de la jambe de Mons. Jean Kingsbury.*' Kingsbury stumped around on his wooden leg for more than sixty years afterward; was Selectman, Justice of the Peace and one of the committee on the crisis of 1774. The wooden leg is well remembered by my aunt, who as a girl used to see it in the attic of the old Kingsbury house.

"I believe that Jonathan Sayward was also in the expedition, commanding the sloop 'Seaflower.' He was subsequently Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Judge of Probate, for many years a representative to the General Court, and one of the leading men in that section.

"Francis Raynes of York was another well known man in the expedition."

Endeavors to obtain lists of the men in Waldo's regiment, recruited largely from coast towns between the Kennebec and the Penobscot, have been disappointing in their results. The History of Boothbay, Southport and Boothbay Harbor gives no names of men in the expedition. Johnston, in his History of Bristol and Bremen, mentions two names, Joseph Burns, captain of a transport, and James Yeates, (p. 290). Lieut. Samuel L. Miller, of Waldoboro, then

Broadbay, writes: "We have no records previous to 1773 when the town was incorporated. Undoubtedly nearly all the Germans, who were here then, enlisted. Sebastian Zouberbhuler or (Tsauberuhler) was an agent of Waldo's in securing German settlers, and undoubtedly commanded the German contingent in Waldo's regiment,¹ but I cannot give a single name of the rank and file. "Cyrus Eaton, in his *Annals of Warren*, says (p. 73): "Many of the settlers at St. George's enlisted in this Pepperrell's expedition. Several from the upper town took their families with them. Some remaining at Louisburg three years, and others never returning. . . . Among those who went to Louisburg were Walker, Kelloch and Gregg with their families, also Bernard and Allen, the latter of whom died there."

Southgate, in his history of Scarborough (*Collections of the Maine Historical Society, First Series, Vol. 3, p. 172*), says: "One hundred and sixty of our townsmen were enlisted in Col. Waldo's regiment some time before the attack upon Louisburg, but it does not appear how many of these continued in the service through that event, or who of them were present and assisted in the capture, excepting Sam'l Milliken, Roger Hunniwell and Seth Fogg. Milliken was lost on the return thence, and Hunniwell had one arm shot off in the engagement." On page 173, he adds: "The names of some of the soldiers enlisted in this war from Scarborough are preserved in the following lists:

"Capt. George Berry's Company.

"Daniel Moody, Josiah Hunniwell, John Libby, Thomas Foss, Robert Munson, Alex Roberts, Lt. John Libbee, Noah Libbee, Sam'l Larrabee, Richard Honewell, Jethro Starbird, Rich'd Carter, Theo'd Moses, Robert Munson, James Libbee, David Sawyer, Lt. Dan'l Field, Walter Foss, Timo. Haines, Daniel Mudy.

"And in Capt. Thomas Perkins' Company.

"Isaac Mackene, James Libbee, Thomas Larrabee, Ephraim Andrews, Sam'l Figuit (Fickett), Elijah Bragdon, John Myrick."

¹ The conjecture is correct. Zouberbhuler's name appears in the list of commissioned officers in Waldo's regiment.

The name of Capt. George Berry does not occur in the lists of Pepperrell's officers previously given, and it would seem that he must have received his commission some time after the surrender.

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENCE

DR. A. BULMAN TO WM. PEPPERRELL,

[Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., 2 Series, Vol. 11, pp. 99, 100]

To the Hon. Colonel Will. Pepperrell, Esqr., in Boston. Per. Mr. Jon. Sayward.

York, Feby 4, 174 4-5

Hon. Sir :—Having a favorable opportunity by my neighbor J. Sayward, I tho't it might not be disagreeable to let you know that agreeable to the late proclamation, this day the several companies of the town were called together (except one), and there was a considerable readiness in many to enlist; and as I am informed 17 of Capt. Harmon's snowshoe men have already entered their names enlisted. About ten or twelve have enlisted at large under any captain whom the Governor shall appoint. About ten more under Mr. James Donnell. And twelve of Capt. Sewall's company have signed a paper signifying their intention of enlisting, tho' desirous of first knowing who is like to be their Captain. Among these twelve the Lieutenant of the company was one. Here I cannot but observe (and indeed it was no small part of the end of my writing to let you hear of what I doubt not but your Honor will be pleased with) and that the said Capt. Sewall called his men to his own house and generously entertained them all with a dinner and much encouraged them to engage in the present expedition, promising to as many of his men as would go that he would give them out of his own pocket so much as with the Province pay they should have 8 £ per month. And that if any of their families were in want he would supply them so that they should not suffer. An example (I think, and I doubt not your Honor will think) worth speaking of, and worthy of imitation. Some decline enlisting till they know who shall be the general officers, as also who shall be their particular Captain. I have some reason to conclude from what I have heard that your Honor has declined, so that I look upon my [self?] free from any special obligation to attend the present service. But yet if there be a

blank warrant for a surgeon's mate, if it might be filled up with the name of John Sweet of York, he is willing and I hope would be able to serve his King and country in that capacity. I would before I conclude this scrip inform that this day I waited on your lady and found her health something bettered. That your Honor, with the honorable brethren, may have council from above to direct in the important affairs you are from day to day engaged in is the hearty desire of your Honors most humble and obliged servant,

A. BULMAN.¹

P. S. I have reason to apologize for my freedom but I must omit it till I shall have the pleasure of seeing your Honor face to face.

WILLIAM VAUGHAN TO WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

[Pepperrell Papers, pp. 100, 101.]

To the Hon. W. Pepperrell, Esq., at Kittery.

Portsmouth, Feb. 8, 1744.

Hon. Sir,—Give me leave to salute you on your being appointed General. I doubt not but you will use your best endeavor, and I heartily wish you success. I am doing all that I can to forward the business. I was lately at York, and find the people exceeding ready to go, but are in confusion on account of officers. I hope Capt. Donnell will be appointed a Lieut. Coll., and Elder Harmon a Major, as he was the first man that engaged with me in the affair, even before Capt. Donnell came. I pray that if these gentlemen are appointed above Captains that they may have an allowance to nominate the officers of these companies. I have desired the gentlemen at York to march one company next Monday to Boston, to give life & spring to the affair. I hope you'll encourage the same. I have written to Dr. Hale to desire the Governor to order all the men to march next week. I pray you to make ready to be at Boston next week, for dispatch is the life of business. I have proposed that 2000 men, if no more, be ready to sail by the twentyeth day of the month. I hear that you intend to

¹ See pp. 50, 51.

be at this town Monday next ; shall endeavor to wait on you, should do it sooner but that I expect you'll be full of company.

I am your humble servant,

W. VAUGHAN.¹

Hon. W. Pepperrell, Esqr.

ANDREW LE MERCIER TO WILLIAM PEPPERRELL

[Pepperrell Papers, pp. 102, 103.]

Boston, the 8th of February 1744-5

Sir:—I give myself the honour to write to you to acquaint your Honour that the Honorable Samuel Waldo hath been appointed by the committee of our General Court to speak to my son Andrew (now at Falmouth) and to encourage him to go with you and your army against Cape Breton, in quality and in the character of a linguister. Tho' I want him very much about some other business, yet if he can be serviceable in the intended expedition, I would consent to his going upon a suitable encouragement. It is uncertain yet how much the General Court will allow him. It is not likely that they will grant what I call a sufficient encouragement, except you are pleased to give him a lieutenancy in your own regiment or some other. Indeed, Sir, what makes people fond of commissions in your army is a hope, well or ill grounded, that if the place be taken they may have their commissions confirmed at home, and so have either a full sterling pay, if they are employed, and if they are dismissed a half pay. For that reason I would have him receive a lieutenant's commission, and be left in garrison there. However, I would desire it upon these terms, that during the expedition he would only act as a linguister, and after the taking of the place as both a Lieutenant and a linguister. My son hath by him a plan of Louisburg and the fortifications of the town, drawn by himself, which (as Captain Loring saith) is truer than any extant, and might be of some use in this expedition. Pray, Sir, honour me with one word of answer. I pray the God of Hosts to be your shield against

¹ See pages 11, 12, 21, 28-30-52.

al your enemies, to crown your undertaking with succes and your person with His best blessings, and I pray you to believe me, most respectfully, Sir,

Your Honour's most humble and obedient servant.

ANDREW LE MERCIER.¹

To the Honourable Brigadier Pepperel, Esqr., &c, &c.
Boston, the 8th of February, 174 4-5.

JOHNSON HARMON TO WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

[Pepperrell Papers, pp. 103, 104.]

York, February 16, 1744.

To the Hon. William Pepperrell, Esq., Brigadier General, at Kittery per Captain Beal.

Hond. Sir, — This waits on you with my duty, wishing you all the success and comfort that prosperity can afford you in the great trust reposed in you. May the conduct of Heaven always attend you in every scene of life. The Providence of God blessing me with so good a measure of health, and my inclinations being strong to wait on you to Lewisburgh, I am persuaded there is something yet for me to do their before I leave the world. And as your smile is all I crave in order to my going with you, I shall look for my reward either in the coming world (if I am called of in the cause of my King and country) or as you see I deserve if ever I return to New England. If you'll favour me with a line in answer, I shall look upon it as a token of your regard. I beg leave, Honored Sir, to subscribe myself,

Your dutiful humble servant,

JOHNSON HARMAN.²

¹He was minister of the French Protestant church in Boston. Andrew Le Mercier was commissioned a First Lieutenant in Col. Moulton's regiment, July 15, 1745.

²Also Harmon. He was commissioned Captain in Pepperrell's regiment. In earlier life he had been conspicuous in Indian warfare, and was with Col. Moulton in many of his expeditions. While the army was before Louisburg, he was put in charge of an expedition to the island of St. Johns for the removal of the inhabitants to France. Gen. Waldo, in a letter to Gen. Pepperrell concerning a proposed attack on the Island Battery, wrote May 23, 1745: "Capt Card & his company, Eldr Harman & his, Capt Terry & his 100 men, also the men who would have gone with Capt Pierce, would be the most likely to be serviceable herein, but any companies you think well of may probably do as well."

AMI RUH. CUTTER TO WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

[Pepperrell Papers, pp. 104, 105.]

For the Hon. William Pepperrell, Esq., Brigadier General for the Expedition to Cape Breton, in Kittery or elsewhere, by Mr. Young.

Saco Falls, Febr'y 20, 1744.

Hond. Sir, — Understanding by Col. Waldo that my proposal of being a surgeon in the intended expedition was rejected by the Honorable Committee, and being desirous to go in some shape or other, hearing nothing in answer to my request in writing to your Hond. for an enlisting order, I took a warrant from Col. Waldo to beat in his and your regiments, and have with such as I had secured before completed the number of forty-six men, whose names I have sent to the Governor by Mr. Young, and do believe I can make up sixty. If what I have done be agreeable to your Honor, I shall be content with a command that will not degrade me. Dennis Downing tells me he has enlisted with your Honor, notwithstanding he had before entered with me, which he was induced to do for want of money, and I hear that Nathaniel Crocker, another of my men, has since enlisted with Capt. James Noble, which I mention that they may not be entered twice. Sir, as Biddeford (wherein are about twelve of my men) is nearer to Falmouth than to York, and as my family and a number of my men are at North Yarmouth, I must beg the favour that I may appear with my men at Falmouth rendezvous. I shall wait at Biddeford for your Honor's further order, and am

Your humble servt.

AMI RUH. CUTTER.¹

I expect by Saturday to make up sixty men, having already secured five or six that are not in the list.

¹ He was appointed Captain of the 7th company in Col. Moulton's regiment, and was left at Canso in command of the post after the army left Canso for Louisburg. Captain Cutter was a graduate of Harvard College in 1725, and was ordained minister of the church in North Yarmouth in 1729, but on account of differences that had arisen between him and his people he was dismissed Dec. 12, 1742. Later he practiced as a physician. In 1742 he removed to Saco, and was placed in command of a fort, and had charge of an Indian trading house. He was made chief surgeon at Louisburg, probably after the death of Dr. Bulman, and died there in March, 1746. Edward Russell, in his *History of North*

DEA. JOHN GRAY TO WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

(Pepperrell Papers, pp. 105, 106.)

To the Hon. William Pepperrell, Esq., Brigadier General and Commander-in-chief of the intended Expedition, &c., at Kittery.

Biddeford, February 25, 1744.

Sir.—Though I may be the last that may congratulate you upon your exalted station that the Almighty God and the people of this province have entrusted you with, which, indeed, is of the greatest, and in my small capacity of discerning the most wisely concerted for the best interest of the whole continent, yet I may with sincerity own to you my heart and affections are with you ; and had I had time to have appeared, I should have been proud to have waited on you in this expedition tho' without sustaining any commission or profit. It being enough for me as a gentleman of this country to have accompanied General Pepperel. I am fully knowing that in the midst of the hurry of business you are now in, long epistles are unseasonable. Yet permit me to add a few words which you may peruse at your leisure. Go on, Great Sir, in your strength and under the banner of the Lord of Host. 'Tis not by numbers that I hope you think to conquer, but to them to whom the arm of the Lord shall be revealed. I believe no expedition ever will be any more accompanied with more ardent and fervent prayers to God than this, that you Sir, may be directed to such measures as may be to the honour and glory of God. For 'tis he that giveth wisdom and upbraideth not. 'Tis strongly impressed on my mind that you will have the honor of taking that strong citidal. And how sweet and pleasant will it be to you to be the person under God that shall reduce and pull down that stronghold of Satan, and set up the kingdom of our exalted Savior. O, that I could be with you and dear Mr. Moody in that single church to destroy the images their set

Yarmouth, says : "Although dismissed from the office of minister, he did not lose the confidence of the people. He was much employed in transacting the business of the proprietors, in drawing reports, deeds, and even writing letters for individuals. The records and ancient papers furnish ample evidence, that nothing important was done while he resided here without his aid ; and his elegant handwriting will render him an agreeable companion to every antiquary who may examine these documents." Coll. of Maine Hist. Society, 1st Series, Vol. 2, pp. 186, 187.

up, and the true Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ there preached. My wife who is low and under confinement, yet is so spirited in the affair on your taking of the comand that she is very willing all her sons shall wait on you, tho' it is outwardly much to our damage; one is already enlisted, and [we] know not but there may be more. She sends her duty to you, and tells me as long as she has life she shall importunately pray for you. I have attended the enlistments by your officers here, but am surprised at the conduct of Capt. Cutter. I am honored Sir,

Your most obedient friend and humble servant,

JOHN GRAY.¹

MOSES PEARSON TO WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

[Pepperrell Papers, pp. 107, 108.]

Falmouth, February 27, 1744.

Honored Sir,—In obedience to your Honor's command I take this, being the first opportunity to let you know I got home the 25th instant; since which I have enlisted twelve able-bodied men. My being from home, Capt. Noble, Capt. Moody, and Capt. Cutter, with some others telling people I had got a full company at Newbury and did not intend to return to Falmouth, but proceed to Boston, induced a number on whom I most depended to enlist with the said Captains, so that men are not plenty; but I hope within four or five days to make up the number thirty or more, and take the first opportunity to Boston. I am,

Your Honor's most obedient servant

MOSES PEARSON.²

Postscript. Colonel Waldo at Biddeford informed me Capt. Cutter would have no commission and encouraged me I had opportunity to take the men he enlisted at Falmouth. If so I shall be able to make up a company in a short time. I am, Honored Sir,

Yours;

MOSES PEARSON.

¹ He was deacon of the church in Biddeford.

² Moses Pearson came from Newbury to Falmouth in 1728. He was a carpenter, and became one of the most prominent citizens of Falmouth. He was the first sheriff of Cumberland County, a deputy to the General Court in 1737, '40 and '49, and judge of the

NICHOLAS SPARHAWK TO WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

[Pepperrell Papers, pp. 118, 119.]

Kittery, 18 March, 1744.

Hon. Sir: I wrote you the last post but one, which went under cover to my partner, and he doubtless delivered it to you. I wonder not that I have no answer, since you were engaged greatly in matters of infinitely greater consequence. As I expect this will be delivered you at sea, you may possibly have leisure enough to read it and will excuse me, should it give you any interruption, nothing further being proposed by it then to give you a fresh (and the best I am able to present) token of my filial regards and affection towards a parent to whom I can neither express my obligations, much less requite them, nor give more then a shadow of the firm attachment I have to your person and interest. I do assure you, Sir, that I constantly bear you on mind with all the duty, love, and respect that the best father can desire or claim from an affectionate and most obedient son; nor am I more solicitous for the prosperity of my own family (which I know is closely connected and depends greatly on your prosperity, favour & patronage) then for the happiness of yours; and I am more especially concerned in regard of your present great undertaking, that the Almighty God may preserve you in and qualify you for everything that may be required from you; that He would give you health, wisdom and courage equal to your enterprises; that you may gain an honourable victory, and be returned in safety, according to your wishes, and may have the just applause of all good men for your love of virtue magnanimity, and inviolable attachment to our nation and particularly to New England; and may not only your works praise you, but may your countrymen, inspired with a sense of your value universally rise and call you blessed. This letter, I trust, will be more agreeable as it covers one from your good lady, my mother Pepperrell. Bettsy begs

Court of Common Pleas. His share of the plunder at Louisburg was two cannon. When in the autumn of 1746 all New England was in arms on account of the arrival of D'Anville's fleet, sent over from France for the purpose of retaking and dismantling Louisburg and making havoc along the New England coast, the people of Falmouth, in town meeting, requested the loan of these two cannon to be placed on Spring Point, the site of Fort Preble. See p. 52, note 2.

her father to accept her in joining with me in every wish, peice of respect, and duty. Each of our families (God be thanked) are pretty well. Mr. Waldron, the bearer, has in a very complaisant manner taken leave of each of them, which is a piece of civility that he is singular in, and therefore if his behavior entitles him likewise, he will have some marks of your favor to distinguish him. Pray, Sir, favor me with a line, if an express comes from you, which will highly honor and particularly gratify me. I would not presume to add any more. Allow me to finish with my compliments to Colonel Waldo and any gentlemen that may enquire after me, and to assure you that I am sincerely and with all possible deference, Sir,

Your most obedient son & devoted humble servant.

Brigadier General Pepperrell.

N. SPARHAWK.¹

WILLIAM PEPPERRELL TO HIS WIFE.

[Vol. Q., Willis Mss., Library of Maine, Historical Society, Portland.]

Louisbourg, Sept. 11, 1745.

My dearest :

I received by Capt. More six shirts in a bundle, but no letter from you, which gave me some concern. If you knew what pleasure a letter from you gives me, I am sure you would strain your dear eyes even by candle-light ; but am afraid you was not well, being well assured you cannot forget me.

We have not as yet any answer to our express's from England, and it being uncertain where [when] I shall return this winter, although it is the earnest desire of my soul to be with you and my dear family, but I desire to be made willing to submit to him that rules and governs all things well ; as to leave this place without liberty I don't think I can on any account.

I shall want some red, blue and black thread to mend my clothes, worsted and yarn to mend my stockings, some pieces of dark blue, red or crimson Shalloon to mend my clothes. I do believe I have clothes enough for winter except it is a pair or two of yarn stockings. I have

¹ Nicholas Sparhawk married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Pepperrell, June 10, 1742. He was a son of Rev. John Sparhawk of Bristol, R. I., and was born March 4, 1715. He died at Kittery, Dec. 21, 1776.

sent you five shirts and three necks, for they spoil shirts to wash them here. I sent you all my tea in great hopes then soon to follow it ; but you must send three or four pounds. Catto¹ will want a pair or two of large thick shoes, stockings and woolen shirts or two, some fowls [fowls] will answer, and then hope I shall be well provided for winter.

If you have an opportunity you may send these things, but don't give yourself much trouble about them. Hope we shall do well without them.

Let Andrew send me the saddle I rode to Boston on, the plate holsters, pistol-bags and housing, a good bridle. As to pistols I have a [—— ?] here.

But after all I hope to be with you this winter ; if not must provide for the worst.

And now my dear, I must tell you something of the distress and anguish of my soul. My prudent and valiant Doctor Bulman, although [he] has had his health finely until about six days past, was taken with a nervous fever and given over. I expected the day past he would not have lived, but blessed be God there is some hopes this morning. The Lord in great mercy continue him to us if it is his holy and blessed will.

Cannot enlarge my love to my dear children and all my dear friends ; and accept of same from

Your affectionate husband,

WM. PEPPERRELL.

REV. SAMUEL JEFFERDS TO COL. JOHN STORER.

Wells, September 16, 1745.

To Col. John Storer, Esq., at Louisburg :

Dear Sir,—I should not have delayed the congratulating you upon the reduction of Cape Breton, nor the acknowledging the receipt of your favors to me from Louisburg, dated June 22 and June 30, unto this day, as I have done, had not a fond expectation of seeing you here from week to week, operated with me, to think, that my writing to you there, would have been fruitless. But having seen my mistake, and to amend it as well as I can, I embrace this opportunity to express my

¹ Cato Farwell, Gen. Pepperrell's colored servant.

joint praises and thanksgivings with you unto God, for the marvellous things which he has herein done by, and for you, and for us, whose right Hand and holy Arm hath gotten him the victory. Here is a new song put into our mouths; a song of praise to the LORD, for the avenging of Israel when the people willingly offered themselves. We bless God for what he has done, and acknowledge he has laid us under singular obligations of gratitude and thankfulness to those he has been pleased to honor, by improving them as happy instruments in this truly great and glorious work. Our hearts should be, and I trust are, carried out in esteem and love, especially towards the Governors or Rulers of our New English Israel, that offered themselves willingly among the people.—O that We may cleave to the Lord our God, and take good Heed to ourselves that we may love him and serve him and may He confirm his work, and satisfy our longing souls in your safe and speedy return unto us.

I take it as a special favor, that in the midst of all your triumphs, you was pleased to remember me, and to take so much notice of the few lines I sent you, and give yourself the trouble of writing me once and again. I thank you for the particular account you was pleased to give me of the strong but conquered city.

Your aged holy mothers are still living, and in their common state of health, as are also the rest of your family. Your pious consort, though heavily bowed down under the cares and troubles of your long absence, and filled with grief and sorrow under the unexpected continuance of it, yet she bears it all with an exemplary patience, and sweet serenity of mind. Your eldest son keeps our school; your second looks after your husbandry and other affairs. Your daughter is at Boston, waiting for your arrival, and to accompany you here. Your two youngest daughters are at home longing to see you, and little Sam'l is ready to jump and fly into your arms. I presume you have received the mournful news of the Hon. Colonel Wheelright's decease and of your honored aunt Littlefield's. Besides which, there has but one grown person died among us, since you have gone, viz. Sam. Littlefield's wife of Maryland, and not so much as a child, belonging to any of our friends that are with you.

Be pleased, Sir, to present my duty to his Excellency, our Captain

General, for whose wise, just, and easy, happy administration, thanks are continually offered up unto God, by a grateful Province, with their earnest prayers for the long continuance and further prosperity of it; and to his Honor, our Lieutenant General, the merits of whose valor and conduct will not be forgotten by an obliged people, but conveyed down to late posterity with all suitable tokens of respect. Please to give all proper regards to all friends, and especially my hearty love to these of my particular charge, that are yet at Louisburg.

And now, Sir, that the happy day may be hastened when I shall see you face to face, and hear you rehearse the righteous acts of the Lord, and go in Company with you to his house, and there enjoy an holy fellowship with you, is the constant, earnest desire, and fervant prayer of

Your faithful and affectionate Pastor and
Dutiful, humble, Servant,

SAM'L JEFFERDS.

OFFICIAL REPORTS, &c.

OFFICIAL REPORTS, &c.

PEPPERRELL'S REPORT TO GOV. SHIRLEY.

Louisburg, June 18, 1745.

May it please your Excellency: It is with the utmost pleasure that I now congratulate you and my country on the happy issue of our enterprise against Louisburg, which was effected through God's goodness by the surrender of this strong fortress, etc., on the 16th instant, upon terms of capitulation agreed to with the governor of said place, by Commodore Warren, and myself, a copy of which I have inclosed to your Excellency; and accordingly the fleet came into the harbor, and a detachment of our troops with myself entered the town yesterday and this morning. The French troops marched out and were embarked on board the ships. We are with all possible speed removing everything from the camp into town, and are taking an account of the state of the garrison and of the stores found here, which I shall send with this, if it can be accomplished in season. We find our shot and bombs have prodigiously distressed and damaged the enemy. The circular battery is almost entirely demolished; but I must omit particulars. Many of our army will be impatient to return home. I desire your directions on that head, also relating to Canso, etc., etc. I shall forthwith forward despatches to the Duke of Newcastle to inform his grace of our success and situation.

I need not again express to you, Sir, that I esteem it of the happiest consequence that his Majesty's ships were sent here under the command of a gentleman whose distinguished merit and goodness New England claims a particular right to honor and rejoice in. I should want words to express the instances of his zeal in the affair, and the entire readiness he has shown through the whole of it, to give the army all possible assistance, but to your Excellency and every one who knows him, it is enough to say, Commodore Warren was here. I was favored with his company on shore the day Mr. Duchambon sent out

his first letter desiring suspension of hostilities, and we had just before agreed upon a general attack by land and sea the first opportunity; but heaven has given us an easier victory than that might probably have been. We have not lost above one hundred men by the enemy in this vast enterprise, including the disaster at the island battery.

[After referring to the lack of provisions, flags, and building materials to make the necessary repairs, he adds:]

I believe such ruins were never seen before, which, however, is not to be wondered at, as we gave the town about nine thousand cannon balls and six hundred bombs before they surrendered, which sorely distressed them, especially the day before they sent out a flag of truce, when our incessant fire on the town prevented their showing their heads or stirring from their covert ways, and from our light-house battery we played upon the island battery with our cannon and large mortar, so that some of them ran into the sea for shelter.

REPORT BY WARREN AND PEPPERRELL TO THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

[Parsons' Life of Sir William Pepperrell, p. 119.]

Louisburg, June 18, 1745.

May it please your Grace :

We presume you have been made acquainted, by Governor Shirley, of the expedition intended against Louisburg and the territory thereunto belonging. We have now only time to congratulate your Grace on the success of his Majesty's arms by the surrender of said place on the 16th instant, after a siege of forty-nine days on terms of capitulation, a copy of which we inclose to your Grace. The repeated timely assistance of the squadron of his Majesty's sent here, deserves our most grateful acknowledgments. The acquisition of this strong fortress which much exceeds our most extended apprehensions, will, we are persuaded, be thought of great advantage to his Majesty's dominions, especially in North America, and that immediate care will be taken for the defence thereof, by the nation; also that his Majesty's subjects who voluntarily engaged in the expedition will be entitled to such favor

from his Majesty as will animate them to make further progress against the settlements of the French in America, and flatter ourselves that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to approve of, by confirming such persons in their posts for their zeal and good behavior, as we from personal observation take leave to recommend to his favor.

PEPPERRELL'S REPORT TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE

[Pep. Papers, 299-302.]

Louisbourg, June 28th, 1745.

My Lord Duke :

I have already had the honor to transmit to your Grace in conjunction with Commodore Warren an account of the success of his Majesty's arms in the reduction of Louisburg and territories adjacent to his Majesty's obedience, which was happily effected on the sixteenth instant by an army of his Majesty's New England subjects whom I have the honor to be at the head of, assisted on the seaside by a squadron of his Majesty's ships under the command of Mr. Warren, said fortresses & territories being surrendered on terms of capitulation, of which a copy was forwarded to your Grace with our letter, and duplicate thereof is herewith inclosed. On the 17th instant his Majesty's ships entered the harbor, and the same day, part of the troops with myself marched into the city. Since which have used the utmost dilligence in making the proper dispositions for the security and good regulation of the place, and the speedy evacuation of it, agreeable to the terms of capitulation. I have now the honor to enclose to your Grace an account of what troops were raised in each of his Majesty's governments in New England which were aiding in this expedition and the present state of them, and I flatter myself that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to approve of their zeal in voluntarily engaging in so expensive and hazardous an enterprise, even before they had notice of any other naval force than the private vessels of war fitted out by themselves. And I humbly beg your Grace's leave to say that I should not do my fellow soldiers justice if I omitted this opportunity to assure your Grace that they have with the utmost cheerfulness endured almost incredible hardships, not only

those necessarily incident to a camp in such an inclement climate, where their lodging and accommodations could not be but of the poorest sort, but also in landing and transporting with infinite industry and pains our heavy artillery (some of which were 42 lb. cannon) several miles in cold foggy nights over almost impassible bogs, morasses and rocky hills, also in landing the warlike stores and provisions, in doing which they were extremely exposed; and at the same time we were obliged to keep out large detachments to range the woods in order to intercept and disperse parties of the French and Indian enemy who were gathering together behind us, with whom we had several skirmishes, in all which we routed the enemy, killed and wounded many of them, and took upwards of two hundred prisoners. Several sallies were made from the town, in all which we repulsed the enemy with very little loss on our side, and we have been so happy thro' God's goodness as not to lose above 100 men by the enemy in the whole of this great enterprise. They held out against a close siege of forty-nine days, during which time we raised five fascine batteries, from whence, and a large battery deserted by the enemy on our landing, we gave them above nine thousand cannon ball and about six hundred bombs, which greatly distressed them and much damaged their fortifications, and in particular rendered useless the most considerable battery of the town (called the Circular Battery) which mounted sixteen large cannon and very much commanded the harbor. The fatigue of our men in all these services was so great that we had near fifteen hundred sick at a time. Notwithstanding all which they not only continued to express the greatest zeal to go on vigorously against the enemy, but in general generously acquiesced in the loss of the plunder they expected from the riches of the city, and tho' undisciplined troops I am persuaded his Majesty has not in his dominions a number of subjects more universally loyal, or that could possibly express greater readiness to spend their lives in the cause they were embarked in for his Majesty's honor and the good of their country. I esteem it a peculiar favour and of the happiest consequence that his Majesty's ships sent so timely to our assistance were under the command of a gentleman of such distinguished merit and so universally beloved in New England as Commodore Warren. He has constantly exerted himself to give the

army all possible assistance, and the same day that a suspension of hostilities was desired by the enemy, we had determined upon a general assault by land and sea, and for the better manning the ships for that purpose it was agreed to spare them six hundred men out of our troops. I have the honor also to inform your Grace that in our way from New England we stopt at Canso, and began to rebuild the fortification there, which the French destroyed last year, and left eight cannon with the necessary stores and eighty men of the troops to complete and defend the same, which I hope will meet with his Majesty's gracious approbation. We have also destroyed the town and the fort at St. Peters and several other considerable settlements upon this island; and may the happy success of this expedition against Louisburg (the pride of France) whereby his Majesty has the key of the great river of St. Lawrence, and by which the absolute command of the fishery and indeed very much of the whole trade of North America is secured to his Majesty's subjects, be an happy prelude to the reduction of all the French settlements in America, in which, will your Grace permit me to say, I am confident his Majesty's New England subjects will at all times be ready to contribute their utmost assistance, as far as their circumstances will admit of. And his Majesty's great goodness leaves no room to doubt but that he will be graciously pleased to express his royal favor toward those who engaged in this expedition in such manner as will animate them and their country to proceed further with the greatest cheerfulness. I must not omit to acquaint your Grace that the French in conjunction with the Indian enemy had prepared to besiege the garrison of Annapolis Royal this summer; seven or eight hundred of them having gathered together there, expecting, as 'tis said, an armament from France to join them, but were called off from thence to the relief of Louisburg, but did not arrive in season. It appears there were notwithstanding about 2000 men able to bear arms in the city when it was surrendered.

I now have the honour to inclose also your Grace an account of the state of this fortress, and of the stores found here, and beg your Grace's leave to mention that the inclemency of this climate will render it absolutely necessary that particular care be taken for the warm clothing and lodging of the troops posted here. I presume his

Majesty will be pleased forthwith to make known his royal pleasure relating to this important place, 'till which time I shall endeavour with the utmost loyalty and my best discretion to promote the security and good regulation thereof, and beg leave to subscribe myself, with all possible duty & respect, may it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most obedient and most humble servant.

W. P.

Louisbourg, June 28, 1745.

His Grace, the Duke of Newcastle, &c., &c., &c.

THE GENERAL COURT TO PEPPERRELL

Province of the
Massachusetts Bay.

Boston, Dec. 24, 1745.

Sir:

As his Excellency's wise choice and appointment of you to the chief command of the land forces, on his first forming the design to reduce Cape Breton, gave us great satisfaction and hopes, so your brave and successful execution of this important trust has given us the highest joy and pleasure: And we do with the greatest sincerity congratulate you on the approbation and favor your great and good services met with from our most gracious sovereign, by his creating you a baronet of Great Britain, an honor never before conferred on a native of New England,¹ and we heartily rejoice, that as a farther assurance of his Majesty's satisfaction in your conduct, courage and fidelity, his Majesty has appointed you Colonel of a regiment designed for the preservation of the important acquisition you so bravely obtained: We have no occasion now to debate, whether it be a greater glory to procure or preserve a conquest; you have done both. You first reduced a strong and almost impregnable fortress and then cheerfully submitted to the difficulties and inconveniences of continuing on the place for the quiet and satisfaction of the officers and soldiers whom you had so happily led on to victory.

¹ This is an error. Sir William Phips, a native of Woolwich, Maine, received the honor of knighthood at Windsor Castle, June 28, 1687.

And we cannot forbear mentioning what every one proclaims to your honor, that no mercenary or vain consideration induced you to accept of this difficult and hazardous service ; nothing but a zeal for his Majesty's interest and an ardent affection to the good of your fellow subjects, could have carried you from the most affluent fortune among us, and from the head of his Majesty's Council, the highest honor your native country could put upon you.

We heartily congratulate that so brave a Commander as Admiral Warren had the direction of his Majesty's ships of war, and on you and his mutual, wise and harmonious conduct in this important affair which has proved so beneficial for the producing this great event.

We earnestly pray that the same kind Providence which has hitherto remarkably attended and crowned your faithful services with success, may still preserve and long continue you in the favor of your king and an honor and blessing to this your native country.

In the name and by order of the Council.

JOSIAH WILLARD, Secretary.

In the name and by the order of the House of Representatives

THOMAS CUSHING, Speaker.

[Baxter Manuscripts, Maine Historical Society, Documentary History, Second Series, Vol. 11, pp. 311, 312.]

IMPORTANT SOURCES OF INFORMATION
CONCERNING LOUISBURG, ITS
SIEGE AND CAPTURE

IMPORTANT SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The Great Importance of Cape Breton, Demonstrated and Exemplified By Extracts from the best Writers, French and English, who have treated of that Colony.

The Whole containing, besides the most accurate Descriptions of the Place a Series of the Arguments that induced the French Court to settle and fortify it, the Plan laid down for making the Establishment, and the great Progress made in the Execution of that Plan; with the Reasons that induced the People of New England to subdue this formidable and dangerous Rival, and that should determine the British Nation never to part with it again, on any Consideration whatever.

London. Printed for John Brindley, Bookseller to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, 1746, [John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.]

The importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation, humbly represented by Robert Auchmuty, Judge, &c., in New England, N. B. Upon the plan laid down in this representation the island was taken by Commodore Warren and General Pepperrell the 14th of June, 1745. London, 1745. [A tract of seven pages in the Library of Harvard University. A paper of this title, printed in the Mass. Hist. Coll., V. 202-205 has the name correct, Auchmuty, and is dated "from my lodgings in Cecil Street, the 9th of April, 1744."]

The Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton, Truly Stated and Impartially Considered. With proper maps. London, 1746. [Ascribed to William Bollan and believed by some to have been inspired by Lt. Col. William Vaughan. Chapter VI, is entitled "A Summary Relation of the Siege of Lewisburg. With a Short Account of Mr. William Vaughan's particular Behavior in the Expedition of Cape Breton." [John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.]

An accurate Journal and Account of the Proceedings of the New England Forces During the late Expedition against the French Settlements on Cape Breton to the Time of the Surrender of Louisbourg, 1746.

[Pepperrell, Waldo, Col. Moore of the New Hampshire regiment, Lieut. Col. Lothrop of the Connecticut regiment and Lieut. Col. Gridley of the artillery certified that this account "contains a just Representation of the Transactions and Occurrences therein set forth and of the Behaviour of the said Forces Sent over, by General Pepperrell himself, to his Friend Capt. Henry Stafford, at Exmouth, Devon. Printed from the original Manuscript, at the Desire of Capt. Stafford, as well as in Justice to the General, or for the better information of the Publick." John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Library of Harvard University, Boston Public Library and State Library, Boston. The Journal was printed, with occasional verbal differences, as an appendix to a letter written by Gov. Shirley to the Duke of Newcastle, entitled "Letter from William Shirley, Esq., to the Duke of Newcastle, with a Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg. London, 1746." There is a copy in the State Library in Augusta.]

In a sermon by Thomas Prince, M. A., "Extraordinary Events the Doings of God, and marvellous in pious Eyes," preached "at the South Church, Boston, N. E. on the General Thanksgiving, Thursday, July 18, 1745," there is considerable information with reference to the siege and capture of Louisburg evidently derived from officers and soldiers connected with the expedition. [The State Library at Augusta has a copy.]

A manuscript diary, kept by Mr. Benjamin Green, Secretary of the Louisburg expedition of 1745, is one of the treasures of the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. It was presented to the Society April 27, 1818, by George Bates, M. D., and was printed in the Proceedings of the Society for October, 1909, under the title "The Sir William Pepperrell Journal." This is not the title of the manuscript given to it by Mr. Green. He entitled it "Journal or Minutes made in an Expedition against Louisbourg. Anno Domini 1745." There is nothing in the manuscript which indicates that this

was regarded as the official record of the expedition. Certainly, the title, "The Sir William Pepperrell Journal," is a misleading one.¹

Lieut. Col. John Storer of Wells is said to have kept a diary beginning at Wells, March 8, 1745, and ending April 30. Dr. S. A. Green Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society, says he was informed by the late Hon. Joseph Williamson that Col. Storer's diary was published in the *Lewiston Journal* in 1854. The office of the *Lewiston Journal* has not a file of the paper for that year, and search for one elsewhere has not been successful. Unless a copy of the *Lewiston Journal*, containing Col. Storer's diary can yet be found, therefore, it is believed that the loss is irreparable.

Col. James Gibson, who accompanied the French prisoners to France as cartel-agent, published in London in 1745, "Journal of the late Siege by the Troops of North America against the French at Cape Breton. There is a copy in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University.

The most important of Gen. Pepperrell's papers came into the hands of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, who used them in the preparation of his *History of New Hampshire*. Afterward he deposited them in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where they are preserved in two volumes. In the same depository are the Belknap Papers, also a volume of Louisburg papers. Dr. Usher Parsons, in preparing his *Life of Sir William Pepperrell*, used not only the Massachusetts Historical Society materials, but some papers he found at Kittery "in an old shed on the Pepperrell estate."

¹ Benjamin Green Esq., is mentioned in the records of the Council of War presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by Dr. Belknap in October, 1791, (*Pepperrell Papers*, Vol. X, p. 3); also as appointed treasurer "to receive and pay the money for the repairs made at Louisbourg" after the surrender (p. 32). He was born July 1, 1713, and in his early manhood was engaged in mercantile pursuits in Boston with his brothers, Joseph and John. At the organization of the Louisburg expedition he was made Gen. Pepperrell's secretary; and while at Louisburg, after the surrender, he held several offices of honor and responsibility until 1749. Later, at Halifax, N. S., he continued in the public service, and in 1757 he was made military secretary to the Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces, and Colonel of the militia of Nova Scotia. He died at Halifax in 1792.

BOOKS IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY,
BROWN UNIVERSITY

The Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton, Truly Stated and Impartially Considered . . . London . . . MDCCXLVI.

The Great Importance of Cape Breton, Demonstrated and Exemplified . . . London . . . MDCCXLVI.

De Importantie en Voordeeligheid van Kaap-Breton . . . Te Delft . . . 1746.

Two letters, Concerning some farther Advantages . . . Cape Breton, London . . . 1746.

Lettres et Memoires . . . L'Histoire . . . Du Cap Breton . . . Son établissement . . . 1758. A la Haye . . . A Londres . . . MDCCCLX.

Genuine Letters and Memoirs, Relating to . . . History of . . . Cape Breton . . . First Settlement . . . 1758. By an impartial Frenchman, London . . . 1760.

Shirley, William. 1744-1745. Instructions . . . to Wm. Pepperrell . . . an expedition against Cape Breton. Massachusetts Historical Society in American Apollo, 1792. Metcalf 941.

(Pepperrell, William) An Accurate Journal and Account of the Proceedings of the New-England Land-Forces . . . Cape Breton . . . Surrender of Louisbourg . . . London . . . 1745.

Warren, P. and Pepperrell, Wm., MS. News Letter to Governor Wanton, Louisbourg, Jan'y 25th, 1745.

Pepperrell, William MS. Autograph order to Col. Hale, Louisbourg, July 31, 1745.

Lettre D'un Habitant De Louisbourg, Contenant exacte & circonscancee de la Prise de L'Isle-Royale, par les Anglais Quebec . . . MDCCXLV. Translated by G. M. Wrong, 1897.

A letter from William Shirley, Esq; . . . Duke of Newcastle. . . with a Journal of the Seige of Louisbourg . . . London . . . 1746.

Gibson, James. A Journal of the late Siege by the Troops from North America, against The French at Cape Breton . . . London . . . MDCCXLV.

Prentice, Thomas. When the People and the Rulers among them . . . Thanksgiving . . . Reduction of Cape Breton. Boston . . . 1745.

Prince, Thomas. Extraordinary Events the Doings of God . . . Occasion'd by the taking of Louisbourg, . . . Boston . . . 1745.

Niles, Samuel. A Brief and Plain Essay on God's Wonder-Working Providence . . . Reduction of Louisbourg. N. London, 1747.

Sewall, Joseph. The Lamb Slain . . . Boston . . . 1745. (The last few leaves refer to the capture of Cape Breton).

Walter, Nathaniel. The Character of a True Patriot. Boston . . . 1745.

Chauncey, Charles. Marvellous Things done by the right hand and holy arm of God . . . Thanksgiving . . . Reduction of Cape Breton . . . Boston . . . London: reprinted 1745.

McClenachan, William. The Christian Warriour . . (Cape Breton) Boston . . . 1745.

A Letter to a certain Eminent British Sailor, Occasion'd by his Specimen of Naked Truth. London . . . MDCCXLVI.

National Prejudice, Opposed to the National Interest . . . yielding up Gibraltar and Cape Breton . . . London . . . 1748.

(Vernon, Admiral Edward) A Specimen of Naked Truth, from a British Sailor . . . London . . . MDCCXLVI.

A Voyage to South America, undertaken by command of his Majesty the king of Spain by Don George Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa [Capt. Ulloa, returning in a French vessel, was captured off Louisburg, August 13, 1745, and given an account of Louisburg, as he found it so shortly after its capture. See Vol. 2, Chap. VII, pp. 373-389.] London, 1758.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

Pepperrell, Sir William, 1745, Journal and notes made in an expedition; March,——; August, against Louisburg, 1 Vol.; 1745, Letter to Col. Robert Hale; June 2,——; July 26, Letter to Col. Robert Hale; Aug. 15, Letter to Col. Robert Hale; 1745, "Rules of Discipline to be observed by troops at Louisburg; 1745, Three miscellaneous manuscripts of Pepperrell relating to the campaign; 1745, Hale, Robert; Four letters to Hale as to details or while in the

campaign; 1745, Curwen, Samuel, Warrant to Curwen for raising troops, Commission to Curwen, two letters of Curwen; 1744-5, Willard, Josiah; Letter to Edward Tyng as to drafting men for his fleet; 1745, Letter to Sir William Pepperrell; May 22——. (No lists of troops.)

WORKS IN THE STATE LIBRARY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Bent, S. A. Why was Louisburg Twice Besieged? Address. (Society of Colonial Wars. *Massachusetts*. Proceedings, 1895.)

Bradstreet, D. Diary During the Siege of Louisburg, April, 1745—Jan. 1746. With notes and an introduction by S. A. Green. Camb., 1897. 8°. 32p.

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- Prince, T. *Extraordinary events the doings of God.* Illustrated in a sermon, Boston, on the general thanksgiving, July 18, 1745. 5th ed. Boston, *reprinted*, London, 1746. 12°. 32p.
- Shirley, W. *Letter to the Duke of Newcastle: with a Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg.* London, 1746. 8°. 32p. (Pm. v. 219, no. 1.)
- Society of Colonial Wars. *Report of the committee on Louisbourg memorial.* N. Y., 1896. 8°. lxiip. Facsimile and illus.
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- Walker, G. L. *The Capture of Louisbourg.* (Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut. Papers and addresses, v. 1. [1903.]
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COPIES OF DOCUMENTS IN THE DOMINION ARCHIVES AT
OTTAWA, CANADA

[By A. W. Doughty, Dominion Archivist.]

1745, April 6.—Shirley to House of Representatives—refers to his expedition against Cape Breton.

1745, June 16.—“Ratification of the Terms of Capitulation made & Concluded on for the Surrender of Louisbourg, and Territories adjacent to the obedience of his Brittanic Majesty June 16, 1745. o. s.” (June 27, u.s.)

“A Registry of the Commissions in the army under the Command of the Honble. Wm. Pepperell Esqr. for an Expedition against the french Settlement on Cape Breton.”

“General Officers,—William Pepperell Esqr. Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of all the Forces by Sea and Land in said Expedition, and dated 31st January 1745. From Govr. Shirley and Govr. Law & Govr. Wentworth.”

—— “Roger Wolcott Esqr., Major General, from Shirley dated 7th March, 1745.”

—— “Samuel Waldo, Esqr., Brigadier General from Govr. Shirley, dated 7th March, 1745.”

—— “Joseph Dwight, Esqr., Brigadier General, from Govr. Shirley, dated Feb. 20th, 1745.”

The names of the officers of each regiment are given in these lists.

1745, May 7, o. s. The Camp before Louisbourg—Summons sent in to the commanding officer in Louisbourg, signed by W. Pepperell and P. Warren.

1745, May 18, n. s. Answer to the foregoing summons. Duchambon, the French commanding officer, refuses to listen to a proposal for the surrender of the fort until after the most vigorous attack.

1745, June 26, n. s. First letter of Duchambon to Pepperell and Warren for proposals of surrender.

1745, June 15, o. s. (or 26 n. s.)—Answer to the foregoing letter by Pepperell and Warren.

1745, June 27—Second letter from Duchambon to the same—He sends them Articles of Capitulation.

1745, June 16, o. s. (27 n. s.)—Answer from Pepperell and Warren to Duchambon. They refuse to accept his Articles of Capitulation, and send him their own.

1745, June 27, n. s.—Third letter from Duchambon to Pepperell and Warren relative to surrender.

1745, June 16, o. s. (27 n. s.)—Answer to the foregoing by Pepperell and Warren.

1745, June 18, o. s. (29 n. s.)—Letter from Warren to Newcastle in which he says: “General Pepperell and I have acquainted your grace by a joynt letter, that we are now in quiet possession of the Town, Fortresses, and Territorys of Louisbourg, upon the Island of Cape Britoon, which has been surrendered to us by capitulation, the articles of which, will be transmitted to your grace, with the said joynt letter.”

This joint letter was not found in the Colonial Office Records, London, when the transcripts for the Dominion Archives were made, and we have no copy of it. By Newcastle's letter of August 10th (o. s.) to Pepperell, this joint letter is dated the 18th June (o. s.).

1745, June 19, o. s. (30 n. s.)—Letter from Pepperell to Newcastle in which he recommends that a garrison should be left at Louisbourg.

1745, June 28, o. s. (July 9, n. s.)—Letter from Pepperell to Newcastle giving an account of the siege of Louisbourg, and enclosing returns "of what Troops were raised in each of his Majesty's Government in New England which were aiding in this Expedition."

(Copies of thirteen returns.)

1745, August 10, o. s.—Letter from Newcastle to Pepperell acknowledging receipt of his letters of June 18 and 28, and expressing his satisfaction with the "agreeable news of the reduction of the Fort & Town of Louisbourg, and of the Territory thereto belonging, to His Majesty's obedience."

There are in the Archives two volumes of Admiralty Logs of the British Fleet at the Siege of Louisbourg for the year 1745. The contents of volume *M 641* are as follows :

Lark—(Captain's log 547) 1745, June 1 to July 4.

Superb—(Captain's log 933) 1745, April 16 to June 23.

Superb—(Master's log 722) 1745, June 24 to July 8, & Aug 17 to Oct. 8.

Sunderland—(Captain's log 944) 1745, June 1 to October 8.

Canterbury—(Captain's log 161) 1745, June 13 to October 8.

Lankeston—(Captain's log 562) 1745, April 16 to July 4.

The contents of volume *M 642* are :

Princess Mary—(Captain's log 739) 1745, May 22 to October 8.

Eltham—(Master's log 393) 1745, April 23 to July 5.

Chester—(Captain's log 195) 1745, June 9 to July 5, & Sept. 23 to Oct. 9.

Hector—(Master's log 412) 1745, May 24 to June 30, & August 15 to 17.

Vigilant—(Master's log 737) 1745, May 23 to November 12.

Mermaid—(Captain's log 4260) 1745, April 15 to August 30.

We have also a copy of the Journal of Reverend Stephen Williams, Louisbourg, 1745-1749.

Volume 83 of "Correspondence Générale, Canada" for the year 1745, in the despatches of Beauharnois and Hocquart to the Minister, contains references to the taking of Louisbourg by Pepperell and Warren, but has no account of the Siege.

In volume 27 of "Correspondence Générale, Isle Royale" for 1745-48, there is a letter from Duchambon, lieutenant du roi, written from "La Rade de Belisle le 13 aoust 1745" to the Minister in which he says: "le vingt sept Juin dernier je fus obligé de rendre aux Anglois Louisbourg avec ses dependances après avoir soutenu le siégedurant quarante sept jours le nombre des ennemis étoit trop supérieur au notre, ils étoient environ treize mil tant par mer que par terre et je n'avois que douze à treize cens hommes tant bons que mauvais au commencement du siége qui ont été réquits à onze cens."

In the same letter he says "comme vous le verrez par la décision des conseils de guerre que j'ai tenu avant la reddition de cette place." We have no copies of the councils of war in the Archives, nor of the long account of the siege written at Rochefort by Duchambon to the Minister dated September 2, 1745. This letter is published in the "Collection de documents relatifs a la Nouvelle-France" vol. III, p. 237, also in Parkman's "A Half-Century of Conflict," vol. II, p. 287, Champlain edition. The original documents are in the "Ministère de la Guerre" in Paris. The documents relating to Canada, Acadie, Isle Royale, Plaisance, etc. in the "Ministère de la Guerre" have not yet been transcribed for the Archives Branch.

In volume 27 of "Correspondence Générale Isle Royale," there is a short letter from Duchambon to the Minister dated at Rochefort, Sept. 18, 1745, in which he speaks of his letter of the 2d of the same month. This volume also contains a letter of Verrier, "ingénieur à l'Isle-Royale," dated at La Rochelle, August 22, 1745, to the Minister; and a letter from Boucher, "sous-ingenieur a l'Isle Royale," dated at Rochefort, August 28, 1745, to the Minister.

The Archives also have two "Mémoires," unsigned, written in 1745, both relating to Louisbourg, and an "Extrait d'une lettre de Londres du 6 avril 1745" relating to the expedition of that date.

In Vol. F. 159 there is a memoire, dated Rochefort, November 6, 1745, by Prevost; and a list of the guns, mortars and small arms found in Louisbourg in 1745.

In the Summary of Documents in Paris published in the "Report concerning Canadian Archives for the year 1905," Vol. I, part VI, p. 495, there is an account of the "Order of Battle of the English Squadron in the Port of Louisbourg" in 1745, and other references to the attack.

MATERIAL IN THE FRENCH ARCHIVES RELATING TO THE
SIEGE OF LOUISBURG OF 1745.

[By W. G. Leland, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.]

Most of the material in the French Archives on the siege of Louisbourg in 1745, and without doubt nearly all the most important material, is to be found in the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies, in some seven or eight volumes and cartons. Complete list of the documents in these volumes have been printed in the Annual Reports of the Canadian Archives for 1887 and 1905 and can readily be consulted. A great many of the documents have been copied in full and the transcripts are to be found in three collections:—the Parkman papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society, the so-called "Poore Transcripts" in the archives at the State-House in Boston (printed in the collection having the title "Collection de Manuscrits contenant lettres. . . relatives à la Nouvelle France," 4 Vols., Quebec, 1883-1885—especially Volume II), and the regular series of transcripts from the French Archives being made for the Dominion Archives at Ottawa.

Archives du Ministère des Colonies.

Series B. Dépêches. Vols. 81, 82.

These two volumes contain the instructions and other despatches sent from the home government to the officials in the colonies.

See list of contents in Canadian Archives Report, 1905, Vol. I, pt. VI, pp. 39-68.

Series C¹¹. Correspondance Générale, Canada, Vols. 83, 84.

These two volumes contain letters from the governor and other officers at Quebec to the home government. Not many of these letters relate to Louisbourg, however.

See list of contents in Canadian Archives Report, 1887, pp. clvi—. Complete copies of volumes are in the Dominion Archives numbered *F 83* and *F 84*.

Series C. ¹¹ Correspondance Générale, Isle Royale, Vol. 27.

This volume contains the letters and reports from the officers at Louisbourg, material which is of course of first importance.

See list of contents in Canadian Archives Report, 1887, pp. ccxliii—.

Complete copy in Dominion Archives, numbered *F 159*.

Series F.³ Collection Moreau St. Méry, Vol. 50, "Isle Royale, 1686-1766."

This volume contains many important letters, despatches, reports and other documents. See list in Can. Arch. Rept. 1905, I, pt. VI, pp. 482-502.

Dépot des Fortifications des Colonies. Cartons No. 3, 4.

These cartons contain a number of memoirs, letters, reports, and maps of interest.

See list in Canadian Archives Report, 1905, I, pt. IV, pp. 10-19.

The transcripts in the Dominion Archives are noted above. The transcripts among the Parkman and the Poore papers were drawn from the whole body of originals. In the Parkman Collection the following volumes contain the Louisbourg documents.

Nouvelle France, Vol. II.

"Papers relating to Louisbourg, 1745,"—a portfolio.

Lettre d'un habitant de Louisbourg, 1745.

INDEX TO LISTS OF OFFICERS
AND MEN

INDEX

- Abbot, Nath., 78
 Abbott, James, 61, 83
 Abbott, Richard, 73, 79
 Adams, Corp., Jonathan, (John) Wells, 59, 62, 68, 75
 Adams, Joshua, Wells, (Admans) 59, 62, 68, 75, 76, 84
 Adams, Ensign Thomas, 64, (on p. 69, Joseph Adams)
 Aesdell, Allezon, (Probably same as Elizer Leardon, 70) 84.
 Agustus, Ebenezer, 70
 Akim, Morris, (Aken) 73, 79
 Allen, John, 70, 77
 Allen, Lawrence, 60
 Allen, Samuel, Kittery, Berwick, 60, 74, 81
 Allen, Thomas, Kittery, 61, 68, 81, 82
 Allen, Tobias, Kittery, 69, 81
 Allen, William, Lieut., 65, 68, 71, 76, 81, 83
 Allen, ———, 87
 Alton, Joseph, 73
 Amey, John, Kittery, 76, 81
 Amey, James, Kittery, 69, 81
 Anderson, John, Falmouth, 70, 74, 76, 85
 Andrews, Ephraim, Scarborough, 88
 Andrews, William, 72, 78, 86
 Annable, Robert, (dead) 78
 Arckle, James, 69
 Arckle, Thomas, (Arcules) 61, 69
 Aton, Joseph, 79
 Atwood, Samuel, Falmouth, 74, 85
 Averill, Stephen, Arundel, 60
 Ayer, John, Falmouth, (Ayres) 60, 68, 70, 74, 76, 85
 Ayres, John, drummer, Kittery, 61, 76, 81, 83
 Bagshaw, John, Wells, (Bagsher) 59, 62, 69, 75, 76, 84
 Bailey, James, Lieut., (Baily) 65, 71
 Bailey, Nathaniel, Wells, 60
 Bairman, John, 69
 Bairman, Thomas, 69
 Baker, Samuel, 72, 78
 Banker, John, 68
 Banks, Corp., Elias, 78
 Bare, David, York, Drake's Hist. of the French and Indian Wars.
 Barlow, Nathian, 73, 79
 Barnol, Benjamin, 72
 Barton, Joseph, 78
 Barton, Penuiel, 85
 Barton, Shubal, 78
 Baton, Percival, 74, Falmouth, same as Percival Barton, also Burton.
 Bell, John, Lieut., 65
 Bennett, Robert, Kittery, 81
 Bernard, ———, (Warren) 87
 Berry, Capt. George, 88
 Bickford, John, 78
 Bicknor, Sam., 76
 Billings, Samuel, Kittery, 61, 69, 81
 Black, George, Kittery, 68, 81
 Black, Samuel, 2d Lieut., 66
 Blake, Martin, Kittery, 81
 Bond, Robinson, (Rollesin, Rolondson, Rolenson) Arundel, 60, 70, 75, 77, 84, 85

- Boothby, Jonathan, Kittery, 82
 Borcilwater, James, 73
 Boston, Gershom, Wells, 60, 62
 Boston, Joseph, Wells, 59, 61, 62
 Boston, Shebuleth, Wells, 62
 Boston, Shubael, Wells, 61
 Boston, Thomas, Wells, 62
 Bowles, Daniel, 80
 Bowles, Samuel, 73
 Brackett, Joshua, Falmouth, 74, 85
 Brackett, Thomas, 74, 85
 Brackly, John, 73, 80
 Bradford, Samuel, 72, 79
 Bradstreet, Dudley, 2d Lieut., 65
 Bragdon, Elijah, Scarboro, 88
 Bragdon, Solomon, Lieut., 65, 71
 Bridge, John, Ensign, 64, 70
 Brooks, Joshua, 61
 Brown, Ebenezer, 73, 79
 Brown, Isaac, 86
 Brown, John, Sergt., Kittery,
 (Brawn) 72, 76, 81
 Brown, Joseph, Sergt. 78
 Brown, Jonathan, Kittery, 69, 81
 Brown, Peter, 72, 78
 Brown, William, 73, 80
 Bryan, John, 73, 79
 Bryan, Moses, (Morris) Kittery,
 68, 81, 83
 Buckner, Sergt., Samuel, 70
 Bulman, Dr., Alexander, York, 62
 Burbank, Asa, Arundel, 60, 75, 85
 Burbank, John, Lieut., Arundel,
 61, 63, 70, 75, 77, 84
 Burbank, Timothy, Wells, 60, 75
 Burgess, Ebenezer, (Burgis) 73, 80
 Burks, John, Wells, 59, 62
 Burns, Joseph, Pemaquid, 87
 Buswell, Isaac, drummer, Wells,
 59, 62, 84
 Butler, Moses, Capt., Berwick, 60,
 63, 69, 74, 83
 Butler, John, Lieut., 63, 86
- Butler, Corp.—, 60
 Butterfield, Benjamin, Ensign, 65
 Byron, George, 74, 80
 Cain, John, 69
 Cain, Jacob, 72, 78
 Callis, Thomas, Lieut., 64
 Callum, John, 78
 Canaway, John, Wells, 60, 62
 Card, John, 1st Lieut., Capt., 66,
 78, 81
 Cargill, John, Ensign, 65, 71
 Carr, Eliphalet, 75, 85
 Carr, John, Arundel, 60, 70, 75, 77,
 84, 85
 Carter, Edward, Ens., 2d Lieut.,
 66, 73, 80
 Carter, John, Kittery, 61, 69, 81
 Carter, Richard, Kittery, 69, 81
 Carter, Richard, Scarboro, 88
 Cary, George, 73
 Casan, Trabed, 74
 Casey, George, 80
 Castle, Melachi, 78
 Catten, Daniel (David), (Caton) 61,
 69, 81
 Cavil, Jesse, 79
 Cessor, Lakely, 74
 Chadbourne, Samuel, 61
 Chadburn, William, (Chadbourne)
 Berwick, 60, 61, 74
 Chamberlain, Lt., Clement, 65, 71
 Chambers, John, 78
 Champlin, Ens., Jeffrey, 68
 Chase, David, 79
 Chilcut, John, 79
 Chilent, James, 72
 Cidin, Samuel, 72
 Clark, David, 72
 Clark, Edward, Ensign, 65, 71
 Clark, John, Berwick, (Clerk) 60,
 83, 84
 Clark, John, Falmouth, 69, 74,
 77, 85

- Clark, Jr., John, Falmouth, 74
 Clark, Jos., Capt., 65
 Clark, Joseph, 70
 Clark, Josiah, 61
 Clark, Lemuel, (Elimuel) Wells,
 59, 62, 68, 75, 76, 84
 Clark, Samuel, Falmouth, 71, 74,
 75, 76, 85
 Clark, Stephen, Falmouth, 74, 85
 Clement, John, 61
 Clifford, Jacob, Falmouth, 70, 74,
 85
 Clough, Jonathan, 78
 Clough, Joseph, 72, 78
 Clough, Samuel, Kittery, (Cluff)
 61, 69, 81
 Colbetson, Robert, 72, 79
 Cole, Joseph, (Coole) Arundel, 60,
 75, 83, 84
 Connaway, John, 78
 Connor, John, Berwick, 60, 61
 Conover, William, 72
 Cook, Shubel, 70
 Corey, Jonathan, 73, 79
 Corson, Ichabod, (Capt. Peter
 Staples' Co.) 61
 Corson, Ichabod, Berwick, Capt.
 Moses Butler's Co.) 60
 Cousens, Benjamin, (Col. John
 Storer's Co.), Wells, 60
 Cousens, Benjamin, (Capt. Thomas
 Perkins' Co.) 60
 Cousins, Sergt., Ichabod, Wells,
 59, 62
 Covit, Jesse, 73
 Cowdry, Samuel, 72, 79
 Crediford, John, Wells, (Cradiford,
 Credison, Crafford, Codeford)
 59, 62, 69, 75, 76, 84
 Crediford, Joseph, Wells, (Cradi-
 ford) 59, 62, 75
 Cressons, Ichabod, 75
 Crocker, George, Kittery, 81
 Crook, Shubal, 77
 Crosby, Abel, 70, 85
 Crosby, Abiah, 76
 Crosby, Josiah, Lieut., 64, 71
 Crosby, Pierce, 73, 79
 Crosby, Adj't William, 64
 Crowell, Aaron, 78
 Cubb, Robert, 70
 Culbert, A., 70
 Culbort, Ron't [Robert] 77
 Cummings, William, 78
 Cunningham, Owen, 73, 80
 Currash, William, 69
 Currier, John, 74
 Curtis, Benjamin, Wells, (Cortis,
 59, 68, 75, 76, 81, 84
 Curtis, Benjamin V., Wells, 59, 62,
 81
 Curtis, Joseph, Wells, 59, 62, 81
 Curtis, William, Wells, (Cortis) 59,
 62, 68, 75, 76, 81, 84
 Curwen, Wm., 79
 Cutt, Richard, Capt., Major, Kittery,
 61, 63, 69, 76, 81
 Cutter, Ammi, Ruammah, Capt.,
 66, 73, 80
 Dam, Jonathan, Kittery, 82
 Dam, Simeon, Kittery, 61, 81
 Danforth, Enoch, Arundell, 60
 Danforth, Isaac, Wells, (Danford)
 59, 62, 68, 75, 76, 84
 Daniels, Wm., (7th Co.) 73
 Daniels, William, (8th Co.) 73, 78,
 79, 80
 Darling, Daniel, 78
 Darman, Jesse, 85
 Davis, Sergt., Enoch, Wells, Sergt.
 (died at Louisburg) 59, 62, 68, 75,
 76, 84
 Davis, John, Berwick, 60, 74.
 Volunteered to attack the Island
 Battery.

- Davis, William, Kittery, 73, 78, 79, 82
 Davison, James, (Davidson) 72, 78
 Deane, John, Wells, (Dean, Deen, Deene) 59, 62, 68, 75, 76, 84
 Deering, Bray, Lieut., (Dearing) Kittery Pt., 61, 63, 69, 81
 Delaney, John, 73, 80
 Demoresque, Capt., Philip, 71
 Deshon, James, Arundel, 60
 Devotion, Philip, Wells, 59, 62, 75
 Dixon, Robert, Kittery, 82
 Dixon, Thomas, Kittery, 82. Dixon volunteered to attack the Island Battery.
 Dodson, Sergt., Jonathan, (Dotson,) 61, 78
 Dolley, Richard, Kittery, 68, 81, 83
 Dollinson, Robert, 79
 Donhew, Ichabod, 84
 Donnell, James, Ensign, (Donnel) 66
 Donnell, Capt. Nathaniel, York, Lieut. Col., 61, 66, 72
 Dorman, Jesse, Arundel, 60, 75, 77, 84. He was a Lieut. in Preble's regiment at Lake George in 1758. He was a Captain in Col. James Scammons' Regiment of Foot in 1775.
 Dothinson, Robert, 72
 Dotson, Sergeant, 61
 Dowdell, George, 73, 80
 Downing, Davis, Kittery, 69, 81
 Downing, Dennis, 61
 Downing, John, 73, 79
 Downing, Packfry, 78
 Downing, Tho., 78
 Dowty, David, Daniel, Falmouth, (Douty), 70, 74, 85
 Due, Robert, 68, 83
 Dumaresque, Philip, Capt., 64
 Dunham, Ichabod, Wells, 59, 62, 69, 75
 Durant, Ebenezer, 73, 79
 Dyke, Rahio, (Robin) 73, 79
 Easterbrooks, Benj., Lieut., 65
 Ebbon, James, (Ebborn) 72, 78
 Edwards, Abraham, Ensign, Captain, 65, 71
 Eldred, Samuel, Lieut., 68
 Eldridge, John, Wells, 59, 62
 Ellis, Edward, Major, 66
 Ellis, Samuel, 72
 Ellis, Simon, 79
 Elthrop, John, (Elethrap) 72, 78
 Emerson, Corp., Jonathan, 70
 Emerson, Corp., Joseph, Falmouth, 85
 Emery, Simon, Kittery, 68, 76, 81, 83
 Ennell, Aaron, 72
 Erwin, John, 78
 Evans, Edward, Wells, (Evens) 59, 62, 68, 75, 76, 84
 Evans, Thomas, 73, 79
 Everleth, William, 86
 Fairbanks, Joseph, Ensign, 66, 73, 80, 86
 Fairfield, Jabies, 69
 Fairfield, Lieut., John, Wells, 59, 62, 63, 68, 75
 Fairfield, Nathaniel, 60
 Fanton, Thomas, 72
 Farman, Caleb, (Farnum) 73, 79
 Farn, Isaac, 86
 Farn, James, (John) 72, 78
 Farn, Ebadijah, (Obadijah) 72, 78, 86
 Farrington, Sergt., Theo., (Farrington) 78, 86
 Farrington, Sergt., Thomas, 72

- Farwell, Cato, Kittery, (Farewell, French, William, 73, 79
 Fairwell) 68, 76, 81, 83
 Fay, Joseph, Kittery, 81
 Felt, Nath., 78
 Fernald, John, Capt., 82
 Fernald, Moses, Kittery, (Furnald, Frost, Andrew P., Brevet Lieut.,
 Firnald) 61, 69, 81 Kittery, 82, 85
 Fernand, Thomas, Kittery, (Fer- Frost, Charles, 2d Secretary,
 nald) 69, 81 Kittery, 82
 Fenix, Richard, Kittery, (Phenix, Frost, John, Kittery, 80, 82
 Finnix, Finix) 69, 81 Frost, Stephen, 74
 Fennix, Benjamin, Kittery, (Fin- Frothingham, Joseph, 73, 80
 nix) 69, 81 Fry, James, Capt., 65
 Fenton, Tho., 79 Fry, John, Kittery, 1st Lieut., 65,
 Fickett, Samuel, Scarboro, (Figget, 82
 Fickett, Figuit) 88 Fuller, Daniel, 78, 86
 Field, Lieut., Daniel, 88 Fuller, John, 72
 Fitts, John, 73, 80, 86 Furber, Richard, Kittery, 82
 Figget, John, 86 Furbish, John, Kittery, 61, 81
 Fitzgerald, Richard, Kittery, 82 Furbish, William, Kittery, 61, 81
 Flag, Capt., Daniel, 71
 Fletcher, Joseph, 73, 80
 Fletcher, Pendleton, Corp., 59, 62
 Flynn, Nathaniel, (Flinn) 70, 77
 Fogg, Daniel, Capt., 64
 Fogg, Seth, Scarboro, 87
 Foss, Thomas, Scarboro, 88
 Foss, Walter, Scarboro, 88
 Foster, Benjamin, in Company Garney, John, 68
 from Scarboro. Louisburg, Gary, John, York (Gerry, Garey,
 surrendered on Mr. Foster's nine- Gairy) 70, 76, 77, 83, 84
 teenth birthday. He was after- Gatin, Ebenezer, (Gustin) Fal-
 ward Col. Benjamin Foster, and mouth, 74, 85
 was one of the leaders of the band George, Josiah, 61
 of patriots that captured the Getchell, Samuel, Berwick, (Getch-
 British armed cutter Margareta, el, Gitchell) 60, 61, 74
 in Machias Bay, June 12, 1775
 Foster, Joseph, 85
 Fowle, John, Falmouth, 73, 80, 85
 Fowle, Joshua, 74
 Francis, Lewis, 73, 79
 Frank, Thomas, Ensign, 71
 French, Thomas, Ensign, 65
 French, William, 73, 79
 Frost, Andrew P., Brevet Lieut.,
 Kittery, 82, 85
 Frost, Charles, 2d Secretary,
 Kittery, 82
 Frost, John, Kittery, 80, 82
 Frost, Stephen, 74
 Frothingham, Joseph, 73, 80
 Fry, James, Capt., 65
 Fry, John, Kittery, 1st Lieut., 65,
 82
 Fuller, Daniel, 78, 86
 Fuller, John, 72
 Furber, Richard, Kittery, 82
 Furbish, John, Kittery, 61, 81
 Furbish, William, Kittery, 61, 81
 Garney, John, 68
 Gary, John, York (Gerry, Garey,
 Gairy) 70, 76, 77, 83, 84
 Gatin, Ebenezer, (Gustin) Fal-
 mouth, 74, 85
 George, Josiah, 61
 Getchell, Samuel, Berwick, (Getch-
 el, Gitchell) 60, 61, 74
 Gerrish, George, Lieut., 64, 70, 76
 Gerrish, James, (Garish, Gairish)
 Berwick, 60, 61, 70, 77, 83, 84
 Gerrish, Joseph, Ensign, 66, 72, 78
 Gerrish, Richard, 74
 Gibson, James, (Gebson) 68, 75, 76, 84
 Gilkey, James, Falmouth, (Gikey)
 70, 74, 76, 85
 Gilman, Edward, 85
 Gilpatrick, James, Wells, 60, 62, 75
 Gilpatrick, James, Jr., 75
 Gitchell, John, 74
 Gleason, Sergt., David, 72
 Glover, Sergt., David, 78
 Goldthwait, Benj., Capt., 64, 71
 Goldthwaith, Adjt., Joseph, 64, 71
 Gooding, James, 68, 76
 Gooding, Nathaniel, 60

- Gooding, Samuel, (Goodings) 77
 Goodwin, Adam, Berwick, 60, 74
 Goodwin, James, Kittery, 61, 68, 81, 83
 Goodwin, John, 74
 Goodwin, Joseph, 74
 Goodwin, Nathan, Berwick, (Gooden) 60, 69, 74, 83, 84
 Gorman, Armorer, John, 64, 71
 Gould, Jeremiah, 73, 79
 Gould, John, 73, 79
 Gould, Moses, Falmouth, 70, 85
 Gowell, George, 2d Lieut., Kittery, 64, 68, 80
 Gowell, Parker, Kittery, 61, 81
 Grace, Nicholas, Kittery, 82
 Graffum, Jacob, Falmouth, (Graffam) 74, 85
 Grant, Alexander, 74
 Grant, Daniel, 78
 Grant, Lieut., Dexter, 69
 Grant, Elias, Berwick, 60, 61, 74
 Grant, James, Capt., 66, 72, 78, 81, 86
 Grant, Lieut., Peter, Berwick, 60, 64, 83
 Grant, Samuel, Berwick, 60, 61, 69, 77, 83, 84
 Grant, Samuel, (possibly same as on 69) 70, 74
 Grant, William, 74
 Graves, Samuel, Falmouth, (son of John) 74, 85
 Gregg, ———, 87
 Green, Andrew, Kittery, 61, 81
 Green, Samuel, Kittery, 82. Volunteered to attack Island Battery
 Greenleaf, Joseph, Kittery, 68, 80, 82
 Greenough, John, Ensign, 64
 Greenough, Samuel, Lieut., (Kittery) 82
 Griffis, David, 78
 Griflis, Richard, 73, 79
 Grossee, Sam, 79
 Gunnison, David, Ensign, Lieut., Kittery (Gunnerson) 64, 69, 76, 80
 Haines, Timothy, Scarboro, 88
 Hale, Daniel, Capt., 64, 71
 Halford, William, 72
 Hall, Ebenezer, 85
 Hames, John, 85
 Hammond, Edward, Kittery, 61, 68, 81, 83
 Hamor, John, Arundel, 60
 Hanscom, Henry, Kittery, 81
 Hanscom, Uriah, Kittery (Hanson) 61, 68, 82
 Hanscom, Zimrie, Kittery, (Zimariah, Zimariah, Simery, Hunscome, Hanscon, Hanson) 61, 68, 76, 81, 82
 Harding, Stephen, Arundel, 60, 75, 84
 Hardy, Amos, Wells, 60
 Hardy, Thomas, Ensign, 1st Lieutenant, 61, 64, 70
 Harman, Benj., Lieut., (Harmon) 63, 69
 Harman, Capt., John (Harmon) York, 63, 69, 83, 84
 Harrington, Caleb, 73, 80
 Harris, Amos, 60
 Harrison, Lieut. Charles, 65, 71
 Hart, Elias, 74
 Hartshorn, Jonathan, Lieut., 66, 73
 Hastings, Enoch, 69
 Hatch, Sergt., Benj., Wells, 60, 62
 Hatch, Estes, Capt., 66, 73, 80
 Hays, James, York, 83
 Hayward, Ephraim, Capt., 65
 Hearne, Nicholas, Scarborough, Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. 3, p. 212

- Hearsey, John, Ensign (Hersey) 66, 73
Henderson, Nathaniel 72, 79
Henry, Ezekiel, 86
Hicks, Nathaniel, Kittery, 61, 81
Hide, Michael, (Vide) 72, 78
Hilborn, Corp., William, 72, 78
Hill, Tho., 86
Hodskins, Moses, Falmouth, (Hodgkins, Hodkins, Hodskins) 70, 74, 76, 85
Hodgkins, Sergt., Philip, Falmouth (Hodgskins, Hodskins) 70, 74, 76, 85
Hodskins, Samuel (Hodgskins, Hodskins), 70, 74, 76, 85
Holbrook, Elisha, Kittery, 69, 81
Holeman, Hugh, Ycrk, 83
Holford, Wm., 78
Holland, James, 73, 80, 86
Holmes, Samuel, Berwick, 60, 74
Holton, Corp., John, 72, 78
Homer, John, 75
Honewell, Israel, Berwick, (Hunniwell) 60, 74
Honewell, Richard, (Hunniwell) 88
Hooper, Benj., 78
Hooper, John, Kittery, 82
Hooper, Nathaniel, Kittery, 68, 76, 81, 83
Hooper, Samuel, Kittery, 61, 69, 81
Hovey, Ezekiel, 74, 80
Howard, David, 79
Howard, Israel (Izrael) 72, 78
Howard, Jeremiah, 73, 79
Hubbard, Jonathan, Capt., 65
Humphrey, Tho., 80
Humphty, Thomas, 73
Hunnewell, Josiah, Scarboro, 74, 85, 88
Hunniwell, Roger, Scarboro, 87
Hunt, Edward, 72, 79
Hunt, Samuel, 70
Hunt, William, Major, 64
Huston, John, Wells, 59, 62, 65, 75
Huston, Joseph, 75.
Hutchins, Caleb, Kittery, (Hutchens) 69, 81
Hutchings, David, Arundel, 60, 81
Hutchins, Enoch, 61
Hutchins, Levi, Arundel, 60, 81
Hutchins, Samuel, Arundel, 60, 81
Ilsley, Isaac, Falmouth, 74, 85
Ilsley, Joshua, Sergt., Ensign, Falmouth, (Insley) 64, 70, 85
Isley, Thomas, 76
Ingersoll, Nathaniel, Falmouth (Nathan) 70, 74, 85
Irish, John, Falmouth, (Uncle of Gen. James Irish) 74, 85,
Jacobs, Benjamin, Wells, Kittery, 59, 62, 81
Jacques, Richard, Capt., 64, 71
Jeffs, Thomas, 81
Jelleson, John (Gellason) 77, 84
Jellison, Corp., Benj., Wells, (Jellyson, Gellsion) Kittery, 59, 62, 68, 76, 82, 84
Jellison, Ichabod, Wells, Kittery, (Gallison, Gellsion) 59, 62, 68, 76, 81, 84
Jellison, Jesse, Kittery, 70, 82
Jelson, Ebenezer, 74
Jenkins, John, 72, 79
Jenkins, Joseph, Kittery, 69, 81
Jenkins, Thomas, Kittery, 69, 81
Jenkins, William, 73, 79
Jennison, Joseph, 69
Jennison, Samuel, 69
Jephson, Lieut., Christopher, 64
Jepson, James, Wells (Jypson) 59
Johnson, Elisha, 73, 79
Johnson, John, Kittery, 73, 80

- Jones, John, 73, 79
 Jones, Samuel, Berwick, 60, 69, 77,
 83, 84
 Jones, Samuel, (possibly the same
 as on 69) 70, 74
 Jones, William, Kittery, 81
 Joris, Samuel, Kittery, 81
 Joye, Ephraim, (Joy) Berwick, 60,
 61, 74
 Jugerson, Nathaniel, Kittery, 82

 Keef, John, 73, 79
 Keller, Thomas, 73, 79
 Kelloch, ———, Warren, 87
 Kelley, John, (Kelly) 73, 80
 Kenedy, Adam, 79
 Kenne, John, Wells (Keene, Kene)
 59, 62, 75, 84
 Kenney, Samuel, 69, 76
 Kidd, Alexander, 73, 79
 Kieg, Timothy, 73
 Kilgoo, Benj., 79
 Kimball, Caleb, (Caleb C.) 59,
 Kimball, Caleb, Jr., Wells, 60, 62,
 75
 Kimball, John, 68
 Kimball, Corp., Joshua, (Josa)
 Wells, (died at Louisburg) 59, 62,
 68, 75, 76, 84
 Kimball, Moses, 75
 Kimball, 2d Lieut., Nathaniel,
 Wells, 59, 62, 64, 75
 King, Capt. Charles, 66, 72, 78
 Kingsbury, John, 86
 Knight, George, Kittery, (died
 there) 61, 64, 68, 76, 81, 83, 85
 Knight, George, Falmouth, Lieut.,
 70, 74
 Knight, Richard, Kittery, 82
 Kreg, Timothy, 79

 Labere, Peter, Clerk, 78
 Laffit, Joshua, 68

 Lemercier, Jr., Lieut., Andrew,
 (Le Mercier) 66, 72, 78
 Lane, Sergt. Daniel, 74, 80
 Lane, John, Lieut., 66
 Larken, William, Lieut., 66, 72, 73,
 79
 Larrabee, Samuel, Scarboro, 88
 Larrabee, Thomas, 88
 Lassell, Allison, (Alleson, Aleson,
 Lasdell) Arundel, 60, 75, 85
 Lasell, Joshua, Wells, (Lassell,
 Lasdiil) 59, 62, 84
 Lathe, Joshua, 75
 Lawless, John, Kittery, 81
 Laws, John, 69,
 Leach, Benj., Corp., Kittery, 61,
 68, 76, 80, 83
 Leach, Ebenezer, Kittery, 61, 69, 81
 Leach, Samuel, Kittery, 69, 81
 Leara, James, 70
 Leardon, Elizer, (Leasdon) 70, 76
 Leava, John, 77
 Leavitt, ———, (in Capt. Nathaniel
 Donnell's Co.), 61
 Leavitt, Joseph, (Levett) 73, 80
 Lemmon, John, Ensign, 65
 Lessenby, Thomas, (Lesinby) 70, 76
 Lester, John (Lister) 72, 78
 Lewis, John, Ensign, Berwick, 60,
 64, 69, 74, 81, 83
 Lewis, Jonathan, 69
 Libbee, James, Scarboro, 88
 Libby, Lieut. John (Libbee) Scar-
 boro, 65, 88. Capt. Fogg's Com-
 pany, Waldo's Regt. In 1747 he
 was a Lieut. in Capt. George
 Berry's Company. In 1758 he
 was a Capt. in Preble's Regt. at
 Lake George.
 Libby, John, 88
 Libbee, Noah, Scarboro, 88
 Lidon, Nicho, 79

- Lincoln, Ebenezer, Falmouth, (Linkhorne) 71, 76, 85
- Lindsay, Matthew (Linsey) Wells, 59, 62
- Lindsey, James, (Linzey, Lindzey) 72, 78, 86
- Linscot, Sergt., John, 78
- Linch, Richard, 60
- Little, Joshua, 75
- Littlefield, Ebenezer (Eben) 59, 62, 75
- Littlefield, James, Wells (Died at Louisburg) (Littlefield) 59, 62, 68, 75, 76, 84
- Littlefield, Jr., James, Wells, 60, 62
- Littlefield, Joseph, 68
- Locke, John, 75
- Lock, Jr., John, 75
- Lollens, Patrick, Kittery, (Loller) 61, 81
- Look, Sergt., John, Wells, (? Locke) 59, 62
- Lord, Aaron, Kittery, Wells, 59, 62, 75, 81, 84
- Lord, Jonathan, Ensign, 65, 71
- Lord, Nathan, Kittery, 60, 61, 81
- Lord, Nathaniel, Kittery, 74, 81
- Lord, Nathan, Jr., Kittery, 74, 81
- Lord, Samuel, Kittery, Berwick, 60, 61, 81
- Loud, 3d, Samuel, 74
- Lovewell, Samuel, Falmouth, (Lowell) 74, 85
- Lunt, Job, Falmouth, 61, 69, 74, 85
- Lunt, Jr., Corp., Samuel, Falmouth, 74, 85
- Lydstone, Daniel, Kittery, (Ludstone) 61, 81, 83
- Lydstone, John, Kittery, (Ledston, Lydston) 61, 68, 76, 81
- Lynn, Francis, Kittery, 81
- Lyon, Josiah, 72, 79
- Mac MacClalling, James, 84
- Mace, Reuben, Kittery, 69, 81
- Mackene, Isaac, 88
- Magenry, John, 86
- Magery, James, 72, 78
- Mahony, Corp., Thomas, 60
- Malcomb, John, Ensign, 65
- Malony, Daniel, 74
- Manenow, George, 68
- Manutford, Nathaniel, Commissary, 71
- March, Benjamin, (Kittery) Wells, 59, 81
- March, John, 2 Lieut., 65
- Markwell, James, 74
- Marriner, George, Kittery, (Marriner) 61, 68, 76, 81, 83
- Marshall, Christopher, Capt., 66, 72, 79
- Marston, John, Lieut., 66, 72, 78
- Martin, Abraham, 60
- Martin, Nathan, Wells (Marten) (Nathaniel) 60, 70, 77, 84, 85
- Mattocks, William, 73, 80
- Mauries, Cuthe, (Cuff Mannis?) 73
- May, Gideon, Berwick, 60, 61, 74
- McCarrid, James, (McCarriel, McCarrill) 69, 70, 77, 83
- McCluker, Sergt. John, 78
- McDaniel, John, Wells, (McDaniel) Kennebunkport; about 1750 moved to Gorham, 59, 62, 78
- McEffee, Daniel, 60
- McClenachan, Rev. William. Me. Hist. Coll., 1st Series, Vol. VIII, pp. 110, 131, note. Probably chaplain of Waldo's regiment.
- McLellan, Hugh, (McClanan, McCane, McClanen) 61, 68, 76, 83
- McMarron, Daniel 2d (McMarrow) 60
- Mecarel, James, Berwick, 60

- Melody, John, 72, 79
 Merryfield, Simeon, Wells, 59, 62
 Mesharvey, Ensign, Daniel, 65, 71
 Miles, Henry, 61
 Miller, Joseph, Lieut., 66, 73, 80
 Miller, Marshal, 72, 79
 Milliken, Samuel, Scarboro, 87
 Millitt, Andrew (Millett) 72, 78
 Millett, Samuel, 70, 97
 Molan, Sergt. Daniel (Molen) 73, 79
 Moodey, Capt. Samuel, 64, 71
 Moody, Daniel, Scarboro, (Mudy) 88
 Moody, Joshua, (Moodey) 74, 85,
 Moody, Parker, 73, 80
 Moody, Rev. Samuel, York, Chaplain of Pepperrell's regiment, 25, 43, 62
 Moore, John, Lieut., 65
 Moore, Robert, Kittery, (More) 61, 69, 81
 Moore, William, Kittery, 78, 82
 Morgridge, Benj., Kittery, (Mar-gridge, Mugridge), 73, 80, 82
 Morrison, David, 61
 Morse, Edmund, Ensign, 65, 71
 Mory, John, 69
 Moses, Theod, 88
 Moulton, Jeremiah, Col., 65, 72
 Moulton, John, 78
 Mountford, Nath'l, Commissary, 65
 Mugridge, Samuel, Corp., Kittery, (Muggeridge, Margridge), 70, 76, 82
 Munnis, Cuffe, (Cuff) 80, 86
 Munson, Robert, Scarboro, 88
 Mumford, Capt., Richard, 68, 81
 Murphey, John, Ensign, Arundel, 65, 71
 Murrey, James, 70
 Murray, John, (Murrey) 74, 77, 83, 84
 Muzzey, John, 69
 Myrick, John, Scarboro, 88
 Napp, Ebener, 78
 Nason, John, Kittery, 60, 74, 81
 Nason, Joshua, Berwick, 74, 81.
 He was a Captain in the Revolution and was at the surrender of Burgoyne. Bradbury's History Kennebunkport
 Nason, Noah, Kittery, 60, 74, 81
 Newhall, Ebenezer, Lieut., 66
 Newhall, Joseph, Ensign (1st Lieut.,) 65, 71, 73
 Newhall, Richard, 72, 78, 86
 Newhall, Samuel, 70, 77
 Newmarch, John, 86
 Newmarch, Thomas, Lieut., Kittery, 82
 Nichols, Charles, 70, 77
 Nichols, John, 73, 80
 Nichols, Samuel, 73, 80
 Noble, Arthur, Capt., Lieut. Col., 64, 71
 Noble, James, Lieut., Capt., Major, son of Lt. Col. Arthur Noble, died in Louisburg, Sept. 26, 1746, aged 18 years, 64, 65, 71
 Noble, Nathan, New Boston, killed at Saratoga in Oct. 1777. Goold's Portland in the Past, p. 373
 Oakley, William, 74, 80
 O'Brien, Morris, 52, 81. He was from Scarboro and served in Capt. Peter Staples' Company. He removed in 1765 to Machias with his two sons then of age, Gideon, and Jeremiah, and four minor sons, John, William, Deunis and Joseph. He was prominent in planning and organizing the expedition that

- captured the British armed cutter Margaretta in Machias Bay, June 12, 1775, and his six sons were in that party of patriots.
- Oidin, Samuel, 79
- O'Lehlers, Patrick, 69
- Osmint, William, 73, 80
- Owen, John, 74
- Owen, Jr., John, Falmouth, 85
- Palmore, Benjamin, Wells, 60
- Passer, Lewis, 79
- Pariman, John, 61
- Parker, Gideon, Kittery, 69, 76, 81
- Parnel (Barnol) Benj., 78
- Paul, Brian, (Bryant Paule) Wells, 60, 70, 77, 84, 85
- Payson, Nathan, Lieut., 64
- Pearson, Jeremy, Lieut., 65
- Pearson, Capt. Moses, Falmouth, (Pierson) 60, 63, 70, 74, 76, 85
- Peenis, Noah, (Penass, Peenis, Pennice) York, 70, 77, 83, 84
- Pendergrass, Peter, 60
- Pepperrell, William, Lieut., Gen., Kittery, 57, 58, 59, 63
- Perkins, Eliphalet, Arundel, 60, 75, 84
- Perkins, Elisha, 70
- Perkins, Thomas, Capt., Arundel, 60, 63, 70, 75, 77, 83, 84, 88. He was also in the Minas Expedition of 1746 and was shipwrecked at Mt. Desert. See Me. Hist. Soc. Coll., 1st Series, Vol. 8, p. 128.
- Perry, Richard, Arundel, 60, 75, 81, 85
- Perry, William, Kittery, 60, 81
- Pettigrew, William, Kittery, (Pettegrou) Pettegrew, 68, 76, 81, 83
- Pettingall, Nathaniel, 2d Lieut., 65
- Phenix (see Fenix, Fennix)
- Phillips, Benj., 74, 80
- Phippen, Benjamin, Lieut., (Pip-pin) 66, 72
- Phippen, Jona, 79
- Pickerell, George, 73, 79
- Pickett, Francis, Sergt., 79
- Pierce, Israel, Berwick, 60, 61
- Pierce, James, Wiscasset, Drake's History of the French and Indian Wars
- Pierce, John, Kittery, 60, 82
- Pierce, William, 74
- Pinkim, John, 68
- Pitman, Nehemiah, 85
- Porter, Israel, Ensign, 66, 72
- Porter, Samuel, 72, 78
- Posser, Lewis, 73
- Pote, Elisha, Falmouth, 74, 85
- Pote, Gamaliel, Corp., Falmouth, (Gamalel) 70, 74, 85
- Pote, Jeremiah, Falmouth, 74, 85
- Powers, Jeremy, Ensign, 65
- Preble, Jedediah, Wells, 62
- Preble, Zebulon, York, 30, Drake in his History of French and Indian Wars
- Prescott, Peter, Capt., (Prescot) 66, 72, 79
- Proctor, Charles, Lieut., 64, 71
- Provinder, Isaac, 78
- Pugsleigh, John, (Pugsley, Puggsley, Puddsleigh, Ruggsley) 61, 68, 76, 83
- Putnam, Nathaniel, 72, 79
- Putnam, William, (Pitman) 74, 85
- Pynes, Sergt. Thomas, (Pyue) 73, 79
- Ramsdell, Ebenezer, (Ramsdel) 72, 78
- Ramsdill, Joshua, York, 83
- Rand, Jonathan, 73, 80
- Ranken, John, (Ranking, Rankin) 68, 76, 83
- Raynes, Francis, York, 86

- Read, James, Wells, (Reed) 59, 62, 68, 75, 76, 84
 Reed, William, Falmouth, 74, 85
 Reith, Richard, 78
 Remick, William, Kittery, (Remish) 68, 76, 81, 83
 Rhodes, Samuel, Capt., 66, 73, 79
 Rice, Josiah, Ensign, 64
 Rich, Peter, Wells, 59, 62, 75
 Richard, Sergt. Francis, 73
 Richardson, Capt. Jeremiah, 64, 71
 Richardson, Nathaniel, Ensign, 66, 72, 79
 Richardson, Richard, 70, 77
 Roach, Paul, York, 83
 Robert, Sergt. Alex., Falmouth, (Alexander), Lieut., 70, 85, 88
 Roberts, John, Falmouth, 71, 74, 85
 Robinson, Matthew, Wells, died at Louisburg, (Robertson) Robison, Robson, 59, 62, 68, 75, 76, 84
 Robison, John, Falmouth, 74
 Robinson, Nehemiah, (Nehema) 73, 80
 Robinson, William, Wells, (Robinson) 59, 62, 75
 Rogers, John, Kittery, 81
 Romoril, Corp. Thomas, (Romouil, Rommerrill) 70, 76
 Roper, Benjamin, 70, 77
 Rose, Solomon, Kittery, 61, 69, 81
 Ross, John, 60
 Ruby, Edmund, 70
 Ruby, John, 77
 Russell, Isaac, 75
 Russell, John, Ensign, 65, 71

 Sabine, Peter, 72
 Sacklar, John, 75
 Samoss, Moses, York, 83
 Sampson, James, Arundel, (Samson) 60, 70, 77, 84
 Sampson, William, 73, 80
 Sanders, Capt. Thomas, commanded the sloop Massachusetts
 Sawyer, Benj., 80
 Sawin, Benjamin, 75
 Sawyer, Abraham, Falmouth, 74, 85
 Sawyer, David, Scarboro, 88
 Sayer, Daniel, Clerk, Wells, 59, 62, 75
 Sayward, Jonathan, 61, 86
 Sedebin, Jethro, 79
 Semple, Richard, 85
 Sequent, an Indian, 85
 Sewell, Thomas, 69
 Shaw, John, Sergt., Lieut., 64, 65, 73, 79
 Shenedy, Adam, 72
 Shepard, Jeremiah, 73, 79
 Shillgrass, Benjamin, 72
 Shipman, John, 73, 79
 Shores, John, Kittery, (Shorey) 81
 Sidon, Nathaniel, 72
 Silsbee, Lieut., John, 71
 Silver, John, 79
 Simeon, James, 70
 Simmons, Robert, 70, 77
 Simpson, John, 78
 Simpson, Joshua, Falmouth, (Simson, 70, 85
 Simpson, Nathan, 15, evidently not the same as Nathaniel
 Simson, Jer'h, 76
 Sinkler, John, Wells, (Sinklar) 62, 75
 Smith, Charles, Kittery, 69, 81
 Smith, Elder, 74
 Smith, Jonathan, Capt., 65
 Soule, Capt. Cornelius, (Soul) 60
 Spenser, Moses, Berwick, (Spencer) 60, 74
 Spinney, David, Kittery, (Spiney) 68, 81, 82
 Spinney, George, Kittery, 78, 82

- Spinney, James, Kittery, (Spiney) 61, 68, 69, 78, 82
- Spinney, Jeremiah, Kittery, (Spinney) 76, 81, 83
- Spring, Jedediah, 68
- Springer, Ens., James, Falmouth, 64, 70, 74, 85
- Springer, Jeremiah, Arundel, 60, 74, 75, 84
- Springer, Jr., Jeremiah, Falmouth, 74, 85
- Stanley, James, 74, 80
- Stansbury, Benj., Lieut., (Capt.) 66, 72, 79
- Staples, Peter, Capt., Eliot, 61, 63, 68, 76, 80, 82
- Starbird, Jethro, Scarboro, 88
- Stebbins, John, 73
- Sterns, John, Capt., 65
- Stevens, Enoch, Kittery, 61, 69, 76, 81
- Stevens, Jacob, Capt., 64, 71
- Stevens, John, Kittery, 82
- Stevens, Joseph, private, Lieut., 64
- Stevens, William, Kittery, 69, 81
- Stinson, James, 60, 61, 74
- Stone, Robert, 73, 79
- Stone, Samuel, 72, 78
- Strong, Elisha, 2d Lieut., 65
- Strout, Edward, 75
- Storer, John, Lieut. Col., Wells, 59, 62, 63, 68, 75, 76, 86
- Stuart, Edward, Wells, 60, 84
- Stubley, Thomas, (Stubly) 72, 79
- Sullivan, Sergt., Cornelius, 73, 79
- Sumner, Ebenezer, Ensign, (Lieut.) 66, 73
- Swan, Lewis, 73
- Sweetsir, Benj., Falmouth, (Sweetser) 74, 85
- Symond, John, 79
- Tay, Joseph, 69
- Taylor, David, (Tayler) 72, 79
- Taylor, James, 68
- Taylor, Joseph, Wells, 59, 62, 69, 75, 76, 84
- Taker, John, 69
- Telfare, Alexander, 73, 79
- Teneris, Stephen, 86
- Thomas, James, 70
- Thomas, Jonathan, Kittery, (Jonathan) 61, 68, 76, 81, 83
- Thomas, John, 77
- Thomas, Richard, 72, 78
- Thompson, John, (Tompson) 61, 68, 76, 81, 82
- Thompson, Jonathan, Arundel, 60
- Thorn, Jonathau, 70
- Thorn, Joseph, Falmouth, 85
- Thorn, Jr., Joseph, 85
- Thorne, James, Drummer, 70, 76
- Tibbets, Ichabod, Berwick, (Tibbits, Tibbitts, Tibbits) 60, 69, 70, 74, 77, 83, 84
- Tileston, Benjamin, (Tellson) 75
- Tileston, Ichabod, (Tellson) 75
- Titcomb, Benjamin, Ensign, 64
- Temple, Richard, Falmouth, 74
- Tobey, John, Kittery, 61, 69, 81
- Towle, John, 86
- Tray, Philip, 73, 80, 86
- Trevitt, John, Adjt., 66
- Tripe, Robert, Kittery, 81
- Trott, John, Kittery, 73, 82
- Trow, Bartholomew, Capt., 66, 73, 80
- Troy, Joseph, 61
- True, Jacob, Falmouth, 74, 85
- Trumbal, Jona, Lieut., 65, 71
- Try, John, 61
- Turner, Benjamin, 75
- Turner, Seth, 75
- Tyng, Capt. Edward, Falmouth, 22

- Vaughan, Lt. Col. William, 11, 12, 21, 28, 29, 52
 Vincent, Arthur, 73, 79
- Wakefield, Jediah, Wells, 60
 Wakefield, Jr., John, Wells, 60
 Walcom, Cornelius, (Clow) 72, 78
 Walcutt, Samuel, 73
 Waldo, Joseph, 1st Lieut., 65
 Waldo, Samuel, Brig. Gen., 63, 64, 71
 Waldo, Samuel, Jr., Capt., 65
 Waldron, Thomas, Lieut., 65
 Walker, John, Kittery, 69, 81
 Walker, Solomon, Berwick, 60, 61, 74
 Walker,——, (Warren) 87
 Ward, Tho, 79
 Waters, James Benit, 79
 Watkins, Andrew, Lieut., Capt., Kittery, 63, 65, 71, 82
 Watson, Shadrach, Arundel, 60
 Watters, John, 73, 80
 Watts, John, Capt., 64, 71
 Weakly, Joseph, 69
 Wealth, Edward, 75
 Webb, James, 69
 Webb, Thomas, 72, 79
 Webber, James, Kittery, 61, 82
 Webber, Sergt., Joseph, York, 59, 62, 68, 70, 75, 77, 78, 83, 84,
 Webster, Stephen, Lieut., 65, 71
 Webster, Sergt., William, 72, 78
 Weeks, Jos., Ensign, 64, 69, 81
 Welch, Edmund, (Edward) Wells, 60, 62, 65, 76, 84
 Welch, John, Kittery, 82
 Welch, Luke, 72, 79
 Welch, Morris, 72, 79
 Wells, John, York, 70, 77, 79, 83, 84
 Wellson, John, 73
 Wentworth, Ezekiel, Berwick, 60, 61
- Weytoor, Ezekiel, 74
 Wheeler, Sergt., John, (Wheeler) 72, 79
 Wheeler, Simon, 70, 85
 Wheelright, Thomas, Wells, 60, 62
 Wherrin, Isaac, Kittery, 82
 Whittam, Job, (Whittum) 73, 79
 Whittemore, Joel, Ensign., Lieut., (Whittymore, Whitmore,) Kittery, 64, 68, 76, 80, 82
 Whittemore, Samuel, 72, 79
 White, Charles, Wells, 59, 62, 68, 75, 76, 84
 White, John, (James) 72, 78
 White, Joseph, 60, 61
 White, Nathaniel, 75
 White, Thomas, 78
 Whittum, Eleazar, (Withum, Witham) 78, 82
 Wilcut, Sam., (Wilcott) 80, 86
 Willey, James, 69
 Williams, Benjamin, Lieut., 65
 Williams, George, Falmouth, 74
 Williams, George, Jr., 85
 Williams, John, 73, 79
 Williams, Joshua, 79
 Williams, Matt'w, 77
 Williams, Nathaniel, 70
 Wilkins, Benjamin, 74, 80
 Wilson, Daniel, private, Ensign, Kittery, 61, 64, 68, 76, 80, 82
 Wilson, James, Kittery, (Died at Louisburg) 59, 62, 78, 82
 Wilson, John, 79
 Wilson, Michael, Wells, 62
 Winkley, Joseph, Kittery, 81
 Winne, John, (Winn) 60
 Winston, Nathan, 85
 Withum, Bartholomew, Kittery, (Witham, Whittom, Whittum, Wittum) 61, 68, 76, 81, 83

- Witham, Peter, Kittery (Withum) 61, 81
Witham, Thomas, Kittery, Berwick, (Withum) 60, 81
Woodman, Corp. David, Falmouth, 70, 85
Wood, John, 72, 79
Wood, Joseph, 86
Wood, Samuel, 73, 79
Woodman, Corp. David, Falmouth, 76
Woodman, John, Kittery, 82
Woodman, Micah, 69
Woodson, Joseph, 74
Woodson, Michael, (Micah) (Woodsen), Woodsome, 69, 70, 74, 77 83, 84
Yeates or Yates, James, 87
Yorses, James, 74
Young, Daniel, York, 83
Zouberbhuler, Sebastian, Captain, 65, 87

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