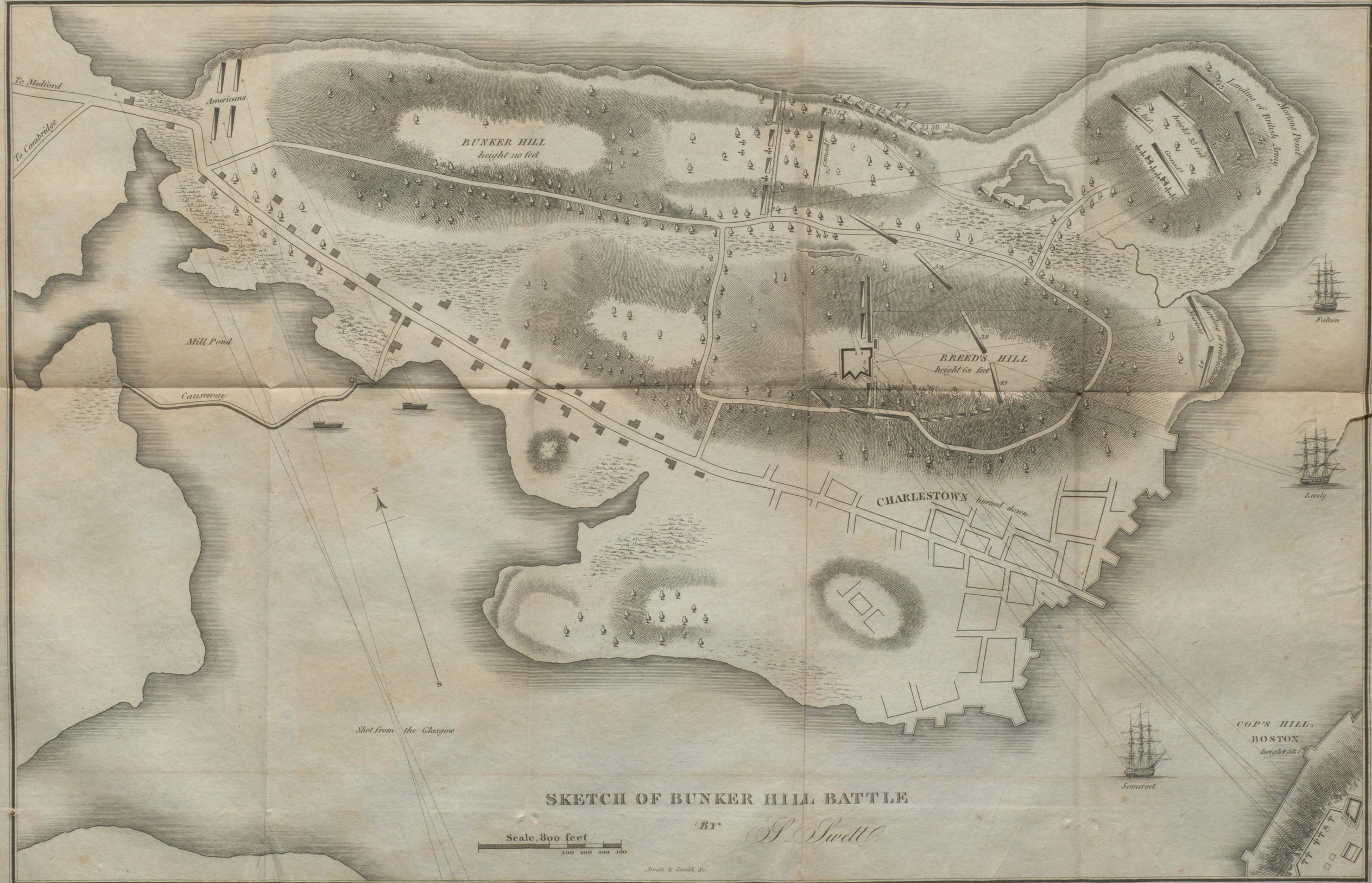

SKETCH OF BUNKER HILL BATTLE

BY S. Swett

NOTES

TO HIS

SKETCH

OF

Bunker-Hill Battle.

By S. SWETT.

BOSTON:

MUNROE AND FRANCIS, 128 WASHINGTON,

CORNER OF WATER STREET.

Dec. 1825.

NOTES

TO THE

SKETCH OF BUNKER-HILL BATTLE.

Note A.

Conduct of Gen. Putnam during the battle.

Gov. Brooks's statement. The author being in the staff of Gov. Brooks and enjoying his friendship, received every assistance from him he could desire in writing an account of the battle. This battle was probably never understood by any one better than by him. Meeting the troops who went on, over night, at the neck; continuing with them on duty as a field officer till the forenoon following, when he was despatched to head-quarters at Cambridge, where he arrived at 10 o'clock and was retained till permitted to rejoin the troops at the neck on the last of the retreat; solicitously inquiring at the time, and ever after, into the occurrences, nothing important could have escaped him: and the author is without apology if, with the information derived from him, he has committed a single mistake of the slightest consequence.

Gov. Brooks stated,* he was informed by Col. Webb, a distinguished Connecticut officer, who signalized himself in Bunker-Hill battle, that Gen. Putnam (whose Aid he was afterwards) on the retreat, remained in the rear by a cannon, with a serjeant, the only man he could persuade to stand by him, till the enemy were just upon them with their bayonets, when the serjeant was shot down and he was compelled to retire. Gov. Brooks, going to Cambridge in the forenoon, met Gen. Putnam riding toward Bunker Hill.

* This, and every other statement referred to by the author, were taken down in writing at the time; any person who pleases may have copies taken of any documents in his possession.

The following testimony is from the Boston Centinel.

As the original documents have long been lost from the Boston Athenæum, we can only say, the copies in the Centinel and N. A. Review are known to have been made by two gentlemen of as high honour and integrity as our country ever produced.

JUDGE GROSVENOR says, under the immediate superintendence of Gen. Putnam, ground was broken and a redoubt formed. The next day Gen. Putnam was extremely active and directed principally the operations. After the British landed, a detachment of four Lieutenants and 120 men of Gen. Putnam's Regt. under Capt. Knowlton were by the Gen. ordered to take post at a rail fence on the left of the breastwork. The Gen. inspired confidence by his example; of the officers the most active were Putnam, Prescott, and Knowlton.

ABNER ALLEN, of Western, deposes before a Judge of the Supreme Court:—was in Grosvenor's company; went on the night before the battle; Putnam was then and there called Gen. and acted as such. I was at the rail fence, and do know that Gen. Putnam was in the engagement. I saw him on horseback urging the men *to fight* with great earnestness; he was as much exposed as any man engaged.

JOSIAH HILL, Tyringham, Putnam's Regt. testifies: "I know that Gen. Putnam was in the battle, took part in the engagement, and was as much exposed as any body in the battle."

The Rev. ARMY CHAPLAIN.—Gen. Putnam did all that man could do to induce the men to go on to the Hill. He led on Capt. Knowlton with part of a Connecticut Regt. [After adding some other facts,] I was the intimate friend of Col. Prescott and Lt. Col. Robinson, and from the mouths of those heroes I had this account.

He adds in his letter, which we have,

Thos. Cooke, Esq. member of Mass. Congress, signer of *sword in hand* money, says: he went to one of the neighboring hills to view the battle; saw Gen. Putnam, who did all that man could do to get on the men to Breed's Hill; he appeared firm, resolute, thoughtless of personal danger; his praise was in the mouth of every one at that time, he never heard a disrespectful word against him.

REUBEN KEMP, Brooklyn, Con. Stark's Regt. testifies: "arrived at the high grounds over the neck; were furnished with intrenching tools and began to throw up a breastwork; in ten or fifteen minutes the drums beat to arms, and we were marched immediately. Gen.

Putnam seemed to have the ordering of things. He charged the men not to fire till the enemy came close to the works, and to take good aim and make every shot kill a man. A few pieces were discharged before the order, Gen. Putnam passed along the lines quickly and threatened to stab any one who fired without order. The enemy got pretty near the works, we were ordered to take good aim and fire. At this time Gen. Putnam was constantly passing backward and forward from right to left."

Isaac Bassett, Killingley, Gen. Putnam's Regt. deposes: was at the redoubt and breastwork just as the action commenced; saw Gen. Putnam there with his sword drawn, encouraging and animating the troops. My father was going off with a wounded man, Gen. Putnam stopped him, pricking his arm with his sword, and told him not a soldier should leave the ground. I saw Gen. Putnam in the hottest of the fight, calling on the men to stand their ground; I am sure he was at the same post when the enemy scaled the walls of the redoubt.

Ebenezer Bean, Conway, Stark's Regt. at the Redoubt, about 12. Gen. Putnam was there and very active, was urging the men on, giving orders, riding from one end of the line to the other as far as I could observe, and continued active through the action; in my opinion fought with great bravery.

Judge Advocate Tudor: soon after the arrival of Gen. Washington, courts-martial were ordered for trial of officers for misbehavior 17th June. In the inquiry which those trials occasioned, I never heard any insinuation against the conduct of Gen. Putnam.

Pres. Adams, senior. "This I do say without reserve, I never heard the least insinuation of dissatisfaction with the character of Gen. Putnam during his whole life."

Capt. John Barker, formerly of Pomfret, "knew Putnam perfectly; between the first and second attacks he came on foot to about the centre of ours (Reed's N. H. Regt.), warmly praised the men for their bravery and encouraged them to fight well should the enemy come again.

Major Elihu Lyman, Greenfield, a Lieut. in the battle, deposes: well remembers, Gen. Putnam was present directing the retreat, riding backward and forward between us and the British, and appeared cool and deliberate, frequently speaking to the men. He continued with us till we were out of the reach of small arms. I now perfectly remember, that I then expected every moment to see Gen. Putnam shot from his horse. I knew Gen. Putnam perfectly, was in the army with him in the French war, and 5 years in the revolutionary war.

Anderson Miner, Maj. Lyman's company: saw Gen. Putnam riding through the American ranks amidst showers of balls undaunted, with his sword drawn, exhorting the troops 'in the name of God' to form and give the British one shot more, and then they might retreat.

Gen. Keys, many years adjutant-general of Conn. 1st Lieut. Putnam's Regt.: saw Putnam after the repulse of the enemy near the field-pieces deserted by Callender, as I was going towards the Redoubt, very active, found our troops giving way and immediately retreated.

Abiel Bugbee, Pomfret, Putnam's Regt.: posted on left of the line behind rail fence; Gen. Putnam was riding backward and forward encouraging the men during the fight; when we retreated, Gen. Putnam was on horseback within ten rods of the enemy, and ordered us to take some tools as we retreated.

John Dexter, Pomfret, Vt. Putnam's Regt.: knew him well; saw him on the hill the night before the action; heard him tell the officers they must exert themselves, for the British would fire as soon as light appeared. Saw him there again in the morning. One of the centinels jumped from his post on the fort; he ordered another to be placed there who was not a coward. The fire from the British was very severe, the Gen. appeared unintimidated, as if they had not fired a gun.

Alexander Davidson, Edgecombe, Ford's company, deposes: Putnam ordered our company to carry the cannon, deserted by Callender, to the rail fence; he accompanied the pieces himself, saw to the placing them and *until they commenced firing them.* I well recollect his expression at the second firing of one of the pieces, it was loaded with cannister and seemed to make a lane through them. What time Putnam left our company I cannot say, but he was with us at the rail fence when the battle began, animating the men and telling us not to fear.

Eben'r. Bancroft, Esq. Tyngsborough, Capt. in Bridge's Regt., Lieut. with Putnam when a Maj. in the French war, together several campaigns: has seen him often in the midst of danger; his courage could not be doubted, nor his character impeached.

Was at the laying out of the works on Breed's Hill, the lines were marked out by Putnam. A party of Connecticut men under the direction of Gen. Putnam formed the rail breastwork, and lined it. Cannon were used on both sides. I loaded one piece myself twice; we received from the field pieces of the enemy several shot through our gateway at time of the retreat.

He remarks, I believe (in a lost letter) that Col. Prescott and some of his officers informed some southern gentlemen, that in time of the action Putnam placed himself on the top of the hill where he could see the whole of the action.

JAS. CLARK, Capt., Gen. Putnam's Regt.: commanded 100 men, arrived at rail fence ten minutes after the action began, and before Charlestown was burnt. On the retreat saw Gen. Putnam for the fourth time that day, actively engaged in managing the retreat. Whenever I saw him on Bunker Hill, he appeared like a good soldier, firm, composed, vigilant, active, undaunted, in the discharge of the important duties of his station.

17th June last, he says, he was ½ mile from the Hill when small arms began.

Major JOHN BURNHAM, Londonderry, Lieut. in Little's Regt.: when arrived near the rail fence, saw Gen. Putnam. He appeared busily engaged in giving directions to the troops as they came up. He ordered my Capt. to get to the fort if he could; passed by the fort and went to the *south* of it till we saw enemy's left flank; Webber of my company was there with me and wounded.

A Committee of Mass. Congress report: we applied to Gen. Putnam and other officers who were in the heat of the engagement for further intelligence. Gen. Putnam informed us, as he was riding up Bunker Hill, he met an officer in the train drawing his cannon down in great haste; he ordered the officer back, who replied he had no cartridges. The Gen. dismounted and examined his boxes, and found a considerable number of cartridges, upon which he ordered him back; he refused until the Gen. threatened him with instant death, but soon deserted his post and left his cannon. Another officer, who had direction of another cannon, conducted much in the same way. Gen. Putnam declared one of these officers ought to be punished with death, and that unless exemplary punishment was inflicted he would assuredly leave the army. That on the defect of these officers, the reinforcements ordered up the Hill could not be prevailed on to go; the plea was, the artillery was gone, and that they had no chance for their lives, declaring they had no officers to lead them.

Col. Putnam informed me,* that about this time his father offered to lead them on himself, entreated, threatened, and broke his sword over them knocking down a non-commissioned officer.

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* His letter.

The following statements were published in the Patriot, by Gen. Dearborn.

GEN. M. M'CLARY, Epsom, was in the battle from beginning to end; on the retreat saw Gen. Putnam on top of Bunker Hill with a spade in his hand; has no recollection of seeing him in the battle.

GEN. PEIRCE, Hillsborough, Ford's company, went on to the Hill about 11; Putnam requested our company to drag Callender's cannon down Bunker Hill; at Capt. Ford's persuasion, drew them to rail fence; thinks he saw Gen. Putnam at that place, looking for some part of his sword; did not hear him give any orders or assume any command except on top of Bunker Hill.

17th June last he says, he thinks Putnam was as brave as any man.

In a letter to Alden Bradford, Esq. he adds,

He thinks the action began a little before 1; thinks 15 or 1600 men were in Redoubt; there was but one N. H. Regt. in the engagement, of which Poor was a field officer with Stark and M'Clary; this Regt. left Medford at 10, and was on the battle ground one hour or more before action.

We need not say how worthless his recollections are.

Capt. S. R. TREVETT, Marblehead, Capt. Art.—About 1, the 17th, left Cambridge; saw Putnam riding toward Cambridge, and back toward Charlestown in 10 or 15 minutes; when arrived at the N. W. side of Bunker Hill,

[*This was some time after the battle commenced, and after the first retreat of the British, as Capt. Trevett has very often informed me.*]

saw Gen. Putnam dismounted and several others; went to select a station for my pieces, saw Gen. Putnam on my return, the engage- was then going on; arrived at rail fence when retreat commenced; descending N. W. side of Bunker Hill, again saw Gen. Putnam in the same place putting his tent on his horse, asked him where I should carry my field piece, he said to Cambridge.

Maj. CALEB STARK, son of the Col.: arrived at top of Bunker Hill, saw Gerrish, and Putnam I was told it was, standing together. Gen. Putnam performed no part in the operations at Breed's Hill,

his station was Bunker Hill. The battle commenced about the middle of the afternoon.

I believe Col. Reed was not in the action.

[Witnesses to prove Putnam was not in the action, because they did not see him in a line of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile ! Could not see Col. Reed, who was fighting and commanding beside them, as well known and as easily proved as that Col. Stark was there !]

According to Dr. Snow [Bost. Centinel], there was the same rivalry and jealousy between Reed and Stark, as appears on the side of Stark and his officers against Putnam ; the latter, Judge Advocate Tudor attributed to Gen. Putnam's interference with the irregularities of the N. H. troops, particularly some violence committed by Stark and his Regt. against Col. Hobart, the N. H. paymaster, on which a court was held under Gen. Green, which reported unfavorably to Col. Stark ;* but the matter, I believe, was adjusted by the parties.

Rob. K. Wilkins, Concord, [*after a ridiculous peregrination*]—saw Putnam and Gerrish about a hundred rods from our line, as I was going to rail fence, before firing with small arms commenced ; just before the retreat of the enemy from the fort, passed on to Bunker Hill, where I found Putnam and Gerrish again.

Rev. Wm. Bentley. Col. Stark said : " My Chaplain—Had he [Gen. Putnam] done his duty, he would have decided the fate of his country in the first action." He then described the " pen," as he called the inclosed works, and *the want of judgment* in the works."

Was this all he blamed Putnam for ?

Abel Parker, Esq. Jaffrey. At the breastwork till wounded by the enemy, who flanked it ; then went into the fort ; remained till Prescott ordered a retreat. Has no hesitation in declaring Col. Small's story totally unfounded.

Hon. Thos. Kittredge, surgeon. About 11, going off, saw Putnam at the foot of Bunker Hill ; heard him request some of the men to go the fort and see if they could get some of the intrenching tools.

Rev. Dan'l Chaplin, D.D. Groton, and Rev. John Bullard, Pepperell. Were intimate with Col. Prescott ; he told us repeatedly, that when the retreat was ordered and *commenced*, and he was *descending* the Hill, he met Gen. Putnam and said to him, " why did you not support me, General, with your men, as I had reason to ex-

* Gen. Ward's Ord. Book.

pect according to agreement?" Putnam answered, "I could not drive the dogs up." Prescott pointedly said to him, "if you could not drive them up, you might have led them up."

It is well known, as Hon. Mr. Webster observes in N. A. Review, that Putnam and Prescott were on terms of respectful friendship as long as they lived.

Deacon LAWRENCE, Groton. Gen. Putnam was not present either while the works were erecting, or during the whole battle. I continued in the redoubt during the whole of it; I could see distinctly the rail fence and the troops stationed there during the battle, but Gen. Putnam was not present as I saw. I saw Warren shot, and from that time till he expired.

This gentleman's memory is so impaired, that he has stated Col. Prescott to have been in a blue coat, and Warren in a blue coat and killed in the redoubt.

The following evidence is from the statements taken down in writing by Gen. Sullivan and other Directors of the Bunker Hill monument, assisted by Judge Thacher and one or two other gentlemen, at the request of the Directors, from surviving soldiers of the battle present at the celebration the 17th June last.

JOSHUA YEOMANS, Norwich, Gen. Putnam's Regt.—Helped build the fort the night before the battle, led on by Gen. Putnam. Was well acquainted with Gen. Putnam; saw a great deal of him in the action encouraging the men. I saw Gen. Putnam split a field-piece in the fort; he could not get the ball into the piece. He went to his saddle-bags [haversack] and took a canvas bag of musket balls [grape], loaded the cannon, and fired it at a number of officers who were consulting under a row of trees. I then went to rail fence; there saw Gen. Putnam riding along the whole line and crying out, "stick to your posts, men, and do your duty;" he was greatly exposed.

RICH'D GILCHRIST, Dublin, Stark's Regt. At the rail fence the whole action. Putnam rode up as we went on, said, "push on, Col. Stark, the enemy have landed and formed." I saw Gen. Putnam several times on foot encouraging the men.

BENJ'N MANN, Capt. in Reed's Regt. Was stationed at rail fence; was at dinner when the alarm was first given, and orders to march.

In the latter part of the engagement I saw Gen. Putnam on my right, toward the redoubt.

Israel Hunt, Dunstable, Bridge's Regt. Gen. Putnam and Capt. Ford brought an iron field-piece to the rail fence, and fired it a number of times.

Joseph Trask, Billerica, Gardner's Regt. Gen. Putnam ordered us down to right of fort; rode back of our Regt. and said, "if any one offered to desert, run him through."

Francis Davidson, Londonderry, Ford's company, at rail fence. The enemy marched toward us under a heavy fire from their ships and their field pieces. We were ordered to lie down till the enemy were near enough to be within good gun shot; this order was given by Gen. Putnam, who was near us at the time.

Job Spafford, Berlin, a Serjeant, Gen. Ward's Regt. We went to the rail fence. Gen. Putnam was employed in different places; but the first time I remember distinctly to have seen him was about the time the retreat was ordered. He ordered us to retreat, by speaking, and by motion of his sword. He seemed to have the chief command on the hill and where we were.

Jesse Smith, Salem, *(a respectable Merchant,)* was at rail fence; fired 16 rounds: went off to get his musket fixed. Going up Bunker Hill saw Col. Gardner wounded, and saw Gen. Putnam on his horse riding about frothing at the mouth, urging the men there down to the line of battle; returning to the line, retreat began.

A. Dickerson, Amherst, Woodbridge's Regt. This and Col. Brewer's Regt. were led on by Gen. Putnam as a reinforcement.

Wm. French, Dunstable. By order of Putnam and Pomroy, we carried tools to neck; heard British were coming; some slunk off, a number went on. I went to rail fence, and was there all the action. I saw Gen. Putnam a number of times.

Russell Dewey, Westfield, went on just after action commenced; saw Gen. Putnam urging the men into the action with his drawn sword.

Benj'n Bullard, Hopkinton, Capt. in Brewer's Regt. was in fort; heard Putnam say, "Gods curse you," and saw him riding up and down; knew him in French war.

Enos Lake, Ringe, Reed's Regt. Went on just as battle began; fired all my cartridges; was at rail fence; saw Putnam behind me once.

Wm. Low, Gloucester. Putnam ordered us to carry off intrenching tools; our company went, followed him in Indian file down the Hill; the shot flew as thick as hailstone. Putnam was as cool as ever man was. News came the British were landing; Putnam then said it was too late, ordered every man to take a rail on his back, took one himself, went to the other rail fence, and we worked at doubling it. Fired 18 out of my 19 cartridges.

Philip Bagley, *(a respectable Dep. Sheriff at Newburyport, for nearly 30 years past,)* Frye's Regt. Went over night; fought at the breastwork till they turned the corner of the rail fence and began to rake the whole breastwork. Saw Putnam pass up and down the line on horseback during the battle, encouraging the soldiers. The shot were very thick where he was; he had a very calm, encouraging look. Knew him because I had seen him at Cambridge.

Thos. Davis, Holden. Saw Gen. Putnam on Bunker Hill; he told a negro he would cut him down if he attempted to run; he tried to get past, and Putnam struck him down with his sword.

John Holden, Leicester, Doolittle's Regt. Capt. afterwards in the army. In his statement and letter to the treasurer he says:—Early in the morning Putnam came to our Regt. stationed the night before near Prospect Hill, and ordered it on to the Hill by 9 o'clock. We went, and soon took post on left of Col. Stark by rail fence. During the action I often saw Gen. Putnam come up to our Regt.; he appeared very actively engaged in the action. One of the Regt. got down behind a haycock; Gen. Putnam rode up and cried, "Gods curse him! run him through if he won't fight!" gave him one or two blows with his sword and drove him into the ranks.

Sam'l Jones, Sudbury, Doolittle's Regt.

[*This gentleman, and the next witness of E. Sudbury, are well known by Dr. Bigelow the distinguished Botanist*, as witnesses of the highest respectability.]

Was at the rail fence; saw Gen. Putnam and spoke with him, he encouraged us very much, and rode up and down behind us, his horse was all of a lather, and the battle was going on very hotly at the time.

Mr. Jones has since informed me,

Our cannon were brought down behind the rail fence; "I recollect with perfect distinctness they were fired a number of times."

Nathaniel Rice, E. Sudbury. Was in the fort; fired a musket I took from the British at Concord 26 times. Saw Putnam riding round, encouraging the people to the utmost, before the battle and during the battle.

Josiah Cleveland, of Canterbury, Conn. in '75, Putnam's Regt. Helped build Redoubt; fought at rail fence. [In a detailed statement before Wm. Stevenson, Esq. he says:] Went night of 16th; halted at neck by Gen. Putnam and ordered to load with 2 balls; to march in profound silence; Gen. Putnam at our head. There was a consultation of officers on Bunker Hill. Gen. Putnam was advanced to front; suppose he led us to Breed's Hill. Saw him soon after arriving there. He ordered out a guard to the shore; I went; returned at daylight; found Putnam and others directing the works. He was doing this most part of the time till enemy landed; he then ordered Conn. and part of Mass. troops to make the breastwork at rail fence. Before fire of muskets began, Putnam ordered us to lie down, and not to fire till we saw their buttons An old soldier wanted to go off, he said, for water. Gen. Putnam told him, he depended on him as one of his best soldiers; he persisted, and Gen. Putnam ran his sword through or into his arm and made him return to his duty. Fired 40 cartridges, borrowed 3 more. British had several pieces of field artilllery; one of our pieces was used at the rail fence. Knew Gen. Putnam very well.

Simeon Noyes, Salem, Little's Regt. was in the fort. He deposes before B. Merrill, Esq. Salem:—The bell was ringing, I know not whether for 1 o'clock, or the alarm. Adjutant Jenkins rode up and hallooed, "Turn out! the enemy's all landed at Charlestown." Col. Little and our Capt. went into the fort. Gen. Putnam rode up on his old white horse, and said to Lieut Whitmore, the Capt. being out of hearing, "Draw off your men here (pointing to the rail fence,) and man the rail fence; the enemy are flanking us fast." I was an eye-witness of this. Gen. Putnam was not in the fort during the engagement; he was riding to and fro in all parts of the line, encouraging the men, pressing them forward, and giving orders to the officers. He did not stop long in any one place. I saw him several times during the battle. When we were retreating, he rode up to us with his tent and tent-poles on his horse, and asked why we were retreating. He said, we had been wishing to have the enemy come out, and now we had retreated, and had left the tools for them to fortify with;—that we ought to be ashamed of such conduct. But our officers thought he was too fiery, and refused to go back as he wished.

Wm. Marden, Portsmouth, Gerrish's Regt. deposes before N. A. Haven, Esq. On reaching the top of Bunker Hill, saw Gen. Putnam on horseback, riding backward and forward, urging the men onwards to the charge, and presently saw him ride down the hill toward the enemy. Before we reached breastwork, retreat commenced.

The statements of the two following witnesses were taken by the Author.

Amos Foster, Tewksbury. Putnam came and ordered some men to take tools, and he took some and went to Bunker Hill to fortify. The enemy's fire was so hot to the top of the hill, they had to leave and retreated to us. While we were firing at the enemy, heard Putnam tell us, to fire low. He was on horseback. I was at the rail fence; near breastwork. Two of our field-pieces were near me and fired a number of times. Hill, a British deserter, said we fired too high. The pieces were lowered; he said, with an oath, "you have made a furrow through them." He watched British field-pieces, and, when they were about to fire, we all laid down. One man was burned very badly by a cannon cartridge. I knew Putnam soon after Lexington battle.

Col. Wade, of Ipswich, Treasurer of Essex county, Capt. in Little's Regt. "The British field-pieces fired a great deal before small arms. I was at the rail fence. I saw Putnam, while we were engaged with the enemy, riding down Bunker Hill toward the rail fence. He was the only officer I saw on horseback. He seemed busily engaged bringing on troops. One of our cannon, deserted by Callender, was fired a number of times at rail fence very near me; two men in our Regt. Halliday and Dutton, of Newburyport, fired one of the cannon 3 or 4 times and hurraed very loud. On the retreat, I saw Putnam on Bunker Hill; there were intrenching tools there, and he tried to stop our troops to throw up works there. He said, 'make a halt here, my lads, and we can stop them yet.'"

The following statements were made at Adj. Gen. Sumner's office.

John Stevens, Andover, Frye's Regt. went over night. Was in the fort. Saw Putnam in the fort before small arms fired; told them, not to fire till they saw the white of their eyes. Threatened to kill some who fired too soon.

George Leach, Salem, Whitcomb's Regt. Our company detached to the hill in the evening. Was at rail fence. Saw Putnam

repeatedly during the march to the Hill, urging and directing the men where to station themselves. In the height of the action, saw Putnam again at the fence encouraging the men.

DAVID BREWER, Framingham. Our Captain, afraid to go on, was marching off, when Putnam met us at the neck, and turned us back on to the hill.

Jos. TRASK, Billerica, Gardner's Regt. Putnam ordered them to make a breastwork on Bunker Hill, which they commenced. A short time afterwards, Putnam came back, and ordered the Col. to march and take a position. Saw Putnam repeatedly at the fence during the action, encouraging the men and officers, calling out to the officers to drive the men up, and not let them flinch. Knew Putnam well; for some time one of his guard.

Before publishing the Sketch, the Author received the following testimony.

A Certificate from THOMAS DAY, Esq. Secretary of the State of Connecticut, that, from the records of that State, it appears, Gen. Putnam was in April, 1775, appointed by the General Assembly of Connecticut, Brigadier-General, Colonel of the second Regt. and Capt. of the first company of that regiment.

ELIJAH JOURDAN, Bucksfield, *deposes before a very respectable Magistrate, Sam'l F. Brown, Esq. who certifies, with another person, that Jourdan possesses an unblemished character:*

"Helped build the intrenchments, and fought within the intrenchment till the British took possession of our fort; during which time, I perfectly well remember that Gen. Putnam was in the said intrenchment [breastwork] very frequently during the engagement, giving orders as commander in chief; and I perfectly recollect, that he was in the fort* when the reinforcement of the British came up. While we were waiting for the British to come up the Hill, orders were given to us not to fire till we could see the whites of their eyes; and this order, I was then told, came from Gen. Putnam; but I did not hear it from him. I knew Gen. Putnam's person perfectly well at that time, having frequently seen him before."

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* This was a little before the battle; during the battle the distinguished hero and patriot Col. Prescott had the entire and uncontrolled command in the Redoubt.

Col. J. Page, of Atkinson, stated before John Vose, Esq. :
" Was in the action. Saw Gen. Putnam, before the action commenced, conducting cannon to the fort ; saw him after the firing commenced. Well recollects he thought Putnam did not want courage."

Aaron Smith, Shrewsbury ; statement before S. D. Ward, Esq.
" I assisted in preparing the intrenchment at the rail fence, under Putnam's orders ; and was, during the whole battle, at that place. Putnam was active, so far as I saw, in discharge of his duty. Though I served a considerable length of time, never heard that he was chargeable with any misconduct. He appeared to me to have, and I always understood he had, the command of the troops."

Ezra Runnels, Middleborough, deposes before Wilkes Wood, Esq.
" I belonged to Capt. Gridley's artillery company. Went on to the Hill with the company, and 2 small pieces, the evening before the battle ; and was at and near the redoubt during the battle, until our party retreated. I well remember of seeing Gen. Putnam at the breastwork during the battle. Before that time, residing in Groton, Connecticut, was personally acquainted with him. I repeatedly saw him during the action walking upon the breastwork and animating the men to exert themselves. Capt. Gridley, having received some cartridges which were too large for our pieces, said that nothing could be done with them, and left his post, and our company was scattered. General Putnam came to one of the pieces, near which I stood, and furiously inquired where our officers were ? On being told our cartridges were too big, and that the pieces could not be loaded, he swore, and said they could be loaded, taking a cartridge, he broke it open, and loaded the pieces with a ladle, which was discharged ; and assisted us in loading two or three times in that manner."

Col. Jos. Whitmore, Newburyport, Lieut. in Little's Regt. well known as a most respectable witness, a native of Charlestown, brought up as an apprentice by Richard Devens, Esq. stated before a Magistrate, Hon. Ebenezer Mosely. " Went with part of his company down to the left of Redoubt, near some trees which were standing, and there received the attack. On the retreat, Col. Whitmore was wounded in his thigh. The Col. states, that, at the very moment he was wounded, Gen. Warren fell, and was within six feet of him. As it respects Gen. Putnam, Col. Whitmore states, that he knew Gen. Putnam perfectly well ; that he was well acquainted with him in the

old French war; that he saw Gen. Putnam on Breed's Hill when he went on with his company, and also on the retreat soon after he was wounded, on the side of the Hill. He says, that, well knowing Gen. Putnam and the Gen. knowing him, he said, "General, shan't we rally again?" Gen. Putnam said, "Yes, as soon as we can, are you wounded?"

PHILIP JOHNSON, Esq. of Newburyport, same company, states before same Magistrate:

Was at the rail fence. While there, just before the action began, he saw Gen. Putnam on horseback very near him, and distinctly heard him say, "Men, you know you are all marksmen, you can take a squirrel from the tallest tree. Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes." Immediately after the first retreat of the British, Gen. Putnam rode up and said, "Men, you have done well, but next time you will do better, aim at the officers." The British entered the redoubt without much firing, and the retreat commenced. Just as Mr. Johnson left his place at the rail fence, about half a gun shot from the redoubt, General Putnam rode up, his horse covered with foam, aud said something, he does not distinctly know what, and rode off. "The balls were flying as thick as peas." More unexceptionable witnesses than these two never testified.

COL. SMALL. Col. PUTNAM, son of the General, states, that, soon after the battle, Col. Small sent a present to his father by a flag, with warm acknowledgments for the great obligation he was under. Col. Putnam requesting an explanation, his father said, he had long been an intimate friend of Small, and loved him as a brother. That, after the enemy were repulsed from the left and centre where he was, the firing continued brisk on the right, to which he rode quickly; the enemy were just retreating. The smoke and dust clearing off, the first thing he saw was Small, standing alone, close to the breastwork, deserted by his men. An American drew up his piece to level at him; Putnam prevented him, and hallooed aloud to those near who were preparing to fire: "don't fire, he's a friend of mine." He was obeyed, and Small, thanking him, escaped.

Small, in a subsequent billet, invited Putnam to meet him. By Washington's advice, he complied; received pressing invitations to join the British, and promise of high rank and emolument for himself and sons if he would. These offers were spurned, and communicated to Washington, who advised him, as the times were jealous, to say nothing of it.

Col. afterwards Gen. Small, and Governor of the Island of Guernsey, declared to Col. Trumbull and Maj. Garden, at different times that Gen. Putnam was in this situation, and in this manner saved his life. Col. Small stated this as a motive, which should have induced him to attempt, as he afterwards did, to save the life of his friend Warren. He stated to Dr. Jeffries of Boston, a surgeon in the British army, that, when he entered our redoubt, he saw Warren retiring, and called to him, for God's sake, to stop, and save his life. Warren looked and seemed to recognize him, but kept on, and was killed by a ball through his head. These facts Dr. Jeffries related to the Author, referring to his journal in confirmation of them. That Warren fell in this situation we know from Gen. Dearborn's statement to Wilkinson, Gen. Winslow, Col. Whitmore, Col. Bridge, Dr. Jeffries, and many others. We learn from the Dr. and Hon. Perez Morton, that he and Small were very intimate.

Small and Putnam were likewise intimate friends. Gov. Brooks informed the author, that when they met at Charlestown, on the exchange of prisoners, they ran into each other's arms and kissed each other, to the great diversion and astonishment of the country people of the army.

Samuel Bassett, Stark's Regt. His deposition, lost, was, we believe :—His company left Medford later than the rest, was at Ploughed hill about ½ past 2, a little before the fire commenced. In about 15 minutes, Gen. Putnam came on the gallop, and said, " up, my brave boys, for God's sake ! we drive them."

Deacon Millar, of Charlestown [we have his written certificate,] states, he was in Gardner's Regt. and just over the neck at the foot of Bunker Hill when the musketry fire began, and did not see Gen. Putnam till he was half way up Bunker Hill, when he ordered them to carry on intrenching tools.

Though this statement can be reconciled with the numerous witnesses, who saw Putnam at the American line when the battle began, supposing, while Millar's Regt. marched up to the tools, Putnam left the lines and rode back to this Regt. about ¼ of a mile, the ride of a minute for him, yet Deacon Millar is mistaken, and did not see Putnam till the action was half over. We offer the statement of Mr. Enoch Baldwin, of Milton, at Gen. Sumner's office, and more particularly taken by his son Aaron Baldwin, Esq. and myself :

" Was in the same, Gardner's Regt. and serjeant of the leading company. Marched to corner of road to Lechmere's Point to a fort

where Patterson's Regt. was posted. Gen. Ward's Aid D. C. came some time after battle commenced with orders for us to march to Bunker Hill. Passed the Neck by files; helped drag some cannon to the top of the Hill. Gen. Putnam rode up to the Col. full gallop, and advised him to let his men carry on some intrenching tools; and said, we should not have any more fighting, as the British had been beaten twice and had retreated the second time. Near top of the Hill, we found large stacks of tools, and took some; but action re-commenced, and the Col. said, drop the tools and push on. When about a rod from the Redoubt, retreat commenced."

JUDGE WINTHROP* says, he was coming off, the last of the battle, and met this Regt. which did not display. [The Col. being wounded, the right did not.]

JOHN HOPKINS, Templeton, in his statement, 17th June last. Same Regt. Came upon the Hill just as they left the Redoubt.

Mr. THOMPSON, of Charlestown, same Regt. Heard the small arms long before we arrived at Bunker Hill, and near Milk Row; they sounded, compared to the cannon, like the crackling of fagots.

WM. DICKSON, same town and Regt. Before we took up our march for Bunker Hill, and before we reached Prospect Hill, I am sure I heard the musketry fire. Battle began a great while before we reached Bunker Hill. The musket balls flew very thick where Putnam was, nearly or quite on top of Bunker Hill. He did not seem to mind it. The balls pierced a cartridge-box, a hat, and breech of a gun. Putnam had his sword in his hand, and hallooed to us to drive up.

Maj. DAN'L JACKSON, of Newton, Serjeant then in Foster's artillery company, kept a written journal. On the 17th June, '75, he entered :—" Bunker Hill fight was this day. Capt. Foster's company " was ordered down; but they did not get there time enough to " do the good they ought, nor Col. Gardner's Regt." [They were together.]

Capt. FRANCIS GREEN, one of the Boston Assessors, of the highest respectability, was a Serjeant in the same Regt. afterward a Capt. in the army. " The battle was nearly over when we arrived at the rail fence. It began, I think, when we were at Patterson's station. One of our men was wounded by a musket-ball on top of Bunker Hill. On our retreat, saw Putnam on Bunker Hill; he was in danger from the balls flying there; he tried to stop us, and to make us take up intrenching tools, as I understood him to throw up a breastwork there."

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* An. Rev.

[N.B. There is no difficulty in reconciling the foregoing testimony, as to Putnam's being at the Breastwork when the action began there, as it did first, and at the rail fence when it commenced there, afterward, if they were 40 rods apart; but if necessary, to reconcile witnesses, we may suppose, with Stedman and other high authorities, that the rail fence and breastwork approached very near each other, and were even in contact.

Note B.

The hot fire to the top of Bunker Hill.

The musketry fire appears sufficiently from the evidence immediately preceding, though we have more; and from Col. Gardner's mortal wound from a musket-ball, when Capt. Trevett states he was beside him, on top of Bunker Hill. We know that British muskets, elevated, will carry near a mile, from our own experience; and, from the opinion of Gen. Millar, Gen. Boyd, and Maj. Brooks, the distance here was little more than $\frac{1}{4}$.

The formidable cannonade is asserted by Benj'n Butman, Postmaster of Dixmont, Amos Foster, before mentioned; Capt. Trevett lost a gun carriage and one of his men by it. Dr. Dexter says, this fire kept the top of the Hill clear of troops after 12 o'clock.

Note C.

Gen. Putnam's command in the Battle.

No orders for the conduct and command of this expedition can be found. Gen. Ward's orderly book is silent in regard to it. They must be gathered from circumstantial evidence and parol testimony. Gen. Putnam's papers were destroyed by his son emigrating to the western country. The only orderly books I find of his troops commenced directly after the battle.

Putnam, according te the official certificate of Mr. Day, Secretary of the State of Connecticut, was appointed Brig. Gen. by that colony in April, '75. He came to Cambridge immediately after Lexington battle. 27th April. '75, Col. Huntington, of the Conn. troops, writes Gov. Trumbull, from Cambridge (Mass. Hist. Lib.), "Gen. Ward being at Roxbury, Gen. Putnam is Commander in Chief at this place." His son, who was then with him, states, he had a separate command of 3 Regts. near the place where the British landed pre-

vious to Lexington battle. Maj. Daniel Jackson, the 16. June, '75, made the following entry in a journal kept by him at the time :— " Gen. Putnam with the army went to intrench on Bunker Hill."

Capt. Trevett, senior Capt. of artillery, on the day of the battle inquired officially of his commanding officer, Maj. Gridley, then in command of all the artillery at Cambridge, and whose father, Col. Gridley, was inferior to no one in the councils of war, " who had command of the troops ?" and was informed by him, " Gen. Putnam ;" he observed at the time, " then there is nothing to fear." He consequently applied to Gen. Putnam for orders, and received them.

Doctor Aaron Dexter, in a statement from written memoranda, made at the time and preserved by him, says : That, the day after the battle, he was at Gen. Ward's quarters, and was informad by the officers there, that Gen. Putnam had command of all the troops which were sent down over night, and which might be ordered there the next day.

Col. Humphreys, in his life of Putnam, says, Gen. Warren went to Breed's Hill over night, and had the command. We learn from Col. Putnam, that all the biography of his father, during our revolution, was written at Mount Vernon, without any communication with Gen Putnam on the subject, and without his knowledge. An account of Gen. Putnam's life, preceding the revolution, was communicated to Col. Humphreys, by Dr. Waldo, a man of genius, who obtained his information from the Gen. at Col. Humphreys' request.

On the statement of Col. Humphreys, the Rev. Mr. Whitney, in a note to his funeral discourse on Gen. Putnam, remarks. " The true " state of the case was this : The detachment was at first put under " the command of Gen. Putnam ; with it he took possession of the " Hill, and ordered the battle from the beginning to the end. These " facts Gen. Putnam himself gave me soon after the battle, and also " repeated them to me after his Life was printed."

Gen. Putnam made these same declarations to his son. In support of his declarations we have his unsuspected honor and scrupulous religious principles. The Rev. Mr. Mosely states, he was one of the main pillars of Mr. Whitney's church ; on account of the profanity he had committed during the war, he made a public confession and humiliation before the whole church and congregation, though his pastor deemed it needless.

The only tittle of evidence we know of, in opposition to this testimony, is, that Col, Scamman published in a newspaper the report of a Court Martial, held on him, and to the very unfavorable testimony of Col. Whitcomb, as he is called by the Court, (who remark that the witnesses call him Gen.) Scamman, undoubtedly, if not, the printer, by way of revenge annexes the following " N. B. *Col. Whitcomb* " *acted as a Gen. Officer, and as there was no Gen. Officer who com-*

*"manded on Bunker Hill, was it not his duty to have been there?"**

It appears from the witnesses in this trial, under oath, that Col. Scamman, while the battle was going on, *sent to Gen. Putnam at Bunker Hill* to see if he was wanted, (his Serjeant swears he was thus sent, and it is not denied,) and that the Regt. went to the top of Bunker Hill; "after which Gen. Putnnm came up and ordered "the Regt. to advance, within hearing of Col. Scamman."

We can only say, 3000 of our ancestors would never have gone out to battle without some one to command the whole.

The conduct of Gen. Putnam the night before the battle, and during the engagement, has been sufficiently detailed and proved.

Note D.

The number of the British was about 5,000.

This is stated in the Pennsylvania Packet, July 3d, '75, from a number of authorities; the N. H. Gazette, June 27, '75, from a number of authorities. In a letter from Capt. Job Bradford, a near relative of Alden Bradford, Esq. 19th June, '75, published in those papers, he says: he came out of Boston the 18th, and the British troops, which went over the day of the battle, were 5000. The corps of the enemy sent over can't be estimated at less; they can be ascertained from various sources, especially De Berniere's plan of the battle, of the highest authority. His high standing appears from Gen. Gage's employing him, (with another distinguished officer, Capt. Brown, son-in-law of the patriot James Otis, afterwards wounded in the battle,) on the dangerous and difficult service of reconnoitring Suffolk and Worcester counties, preparatory to hostilities. His opportunities for gaining information from the battle ground, and other sources, were the best which existed.

Note E.

Duration of the Battle an hour and a half or two hours.

Penn. Packet, June 26, '75: "An express says, the battle lasted about two hours. This account is from Elijah Hyde, a spectator of the battle the whole time from Winter Hill." N. H. Gazette, 27. June, '75: "Bore as heavy a fire as was ever known of musketry and cannon, for 2 hours." Capt. Mann, 17. June last, states: Battle began about 3, and retreat about 5. Gen. Winslow

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* Scamman met Whitcomb early in the day, near Lechmere Point. Perhaps he knew that Putnam was absent from the Hill at that time, and meant Whitcomb ought then to have been there.

stated, the reinforcement arrived a little before 3. [battle began soon after.] Gov. Brooks met the troops retreating about 5.

Note F.

No Battery in Mystic River.

Gov. Brooks ; also Dr. Dexter, who was very advantageously situated on Chelsea marshes to view the engagement, is confident of this. We might add a multitude of names ; but this point is almost the only one on which witnesses disagree, except as to the time of the clock when any thing occurred, in respect to which the mistakes of the soldiers are almost ludicrous.*

There are authorities, perfectly decisive and satisfactory against the presence of a battery in the Mystic. In a very valuable work, " Detail and Conduct of the American War under Sir Wm. Howe," &c. praised in the Monthly Review, and which rapidly passed to a third edition, it is adduced as gross neglect, in the British commander that no such battery was placed there. The same charge is repeated in the history of Stedman, a British officer. There was not any, or the Mass. Cong. would have mentioned it, in their official account. The mistake arose from the profusion of balls which flew in so many directions, and from a floating battery's going up the river directly after the battle.

Note G.

Cannon were employed a great deal on both sides.

Although this has been formally denied, it would be as ridiculous gravely to prove a fact so notorious, by accumulating the vast mass of uniform testimony on this point, as to show that the breastwork did not point up toward Cambridge, but ran down toward the Mystic. We might dwell on the emphatic declarations in the official accounts of both belligerents, the indisputable testimony of De Berniere, Stedman, and the mass of evidence preceding ; we merely add, Capt. Ford himself stated to Professor Stearns of the University, that Putnam gave him orders concerning Callender's cannon ; his men carried them to the rail fence ; and that he fired one of them a number of times himself.

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* They were very much in the situation of the king of Prussia's serjeant, who wore a bullet for a watch, and when his majesty who had learnt this, asked him the time of day by his watch, he answered that his only reminded him that he was to be ready to die at any time in his Majesty's service. The king presented him his own watch ; our ancestors gained a greater reward.

Gen. Winslow stated to me, he was informed by the British officers that the mistake as to the oversized cannon balls was rectified, and a new supply sent over before the engagement. From subsequent evidence, however, it appears that they were not there in season to be employed on the first attack.

Dr. Jeffries informed me, that the mistake in sending over cartridges too large for the British cannon was committed by a young son of Master Lovell, who received his appointment in the ordnance department from old General Cleveland the head of it, who was in love with his sister. This mistake perhaps, which rendered the first attack by their field pieces faint, was decisive of our success on their two first attacks, and secured to us all the advantages of a victory throughout the engagement. The very authentic and satisfactory work we quoted above, "the Conduct of the War by Gen. Howe, &c." observes on this subject, "The wretched blunder of oversized "balls came from the dotage of an officer of rank in that corps, who "spends all his time with the schoolmaster's daughters. God knows "he is old enough; he is no Samson, yet he must have his Dalilah."

Note H.

We related in the first edition of our Sketch, a remarkable anecdote of a Clergyman, who was on the battle-ground at Bunker Hill, and extremely desirous of saying prayers over the body of Asa Pollard, the first victim who fell. We did so on the authority of Col. Prescott himself, and one of his Capts. as reported to us by Hon. Wm. Prescott, of Boston, the only son of Col. Prescott, and who has ever worthily supported the honour of his name. To those, who have taken trouble to peruse the newspapers of that period, it is perfectly well known, that the Clergyman, who was present and highly distinguished himself in Bunker hill battle, by valiantly fighting the foe, was the Rev. John Martin.* He was justly rewarded for his gallantry by a chaplaincy in a Rhode Island Regt.; and soon after the battle he preached a discourse from the following very appropriate text. Neh. 4. 14. "And I said unto the nobles, and to the rulers, "and to the rest of the people, Be not ye afraid of them: remember "the Lord *which is* great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, "your sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses." This text and chapter were selected with peculiar happiness for the occasion, and the application was peculiarly congenial with the taste of our ancestors.

P. S. The minute occurrences of Bunker hill battle have never been published. This will be done by the author, if the Public can tolerate any further notes on the subject.

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Note K.

Robert Steele (of Dedham) drummer, beat yankee doodle on the day of the battle, was drum major during the war, instructed by Steuben, received two badges of merit, and had the honour of carrying every flag while the army were opposed to Burgoyne. On 17th June last, he had the satisfaction of beating the same tune, on the same spot, for the procession which laid the corner stone of a monument to commemorate the engagement, and of meeting 200 of his surviving companions in the battle on the same day, who all declared it the happiest of their lives. Parks, (of Cambridge) who blew the ear-piercing fife for Gardner's reg., afterwards fife major in the army, says yankee doodle was first employed at this time, being introduced by the British to ridicule the yankees. Parks' talents are still in requisition as an accomplished fifer, and by labour and industry he has honorably educated and maintained his family of 25 children.

Note L.

Frost says, we fought behind some stones we threw up, on the shore of the Mystic; I received a ball through the hip, and could not retreat, but crept in among the British wounded. In the morning I was discovered, and an officer ordered me to be carried to the fort; the soldiers damned me and threatened to run me through if I did not rise and walk, but I was too stiff to move. They hauled me about till I became more limber, I took hold of their shoulders, hopped to the fort, was confined in Boston jail, and carried to Halifax; in about a year, broke jail and went to R. Island to enlist again, but they would not accept me on account of my lameness.

Note M.

Gen. Winslow stated, a contribution was made in the army for Salem and he was presented to Washington as having slain Pitcairn, who was killed on the British left, according to all authorities. De Berniere places his marines there opposed to some houses near the redoubt and the "Conduct of the war, &c." says he was shot from some Charlestown houses. Four balls were lodged in him. He was much beloved in Boston, and the English papers contain the highest eulogies on him as a gentleman, soldier, husband and father. When slain, his son in agony exclaimed "I've lost my father," his soldiers ceased firing, and responded with that most eloquent eulogy "we've all of us lost a father." His family were pensioned, and his son promoted before his turn in his father's corps.

Many northern blacks were excellent soldiers, but southern troops could not brook an equality with negroes. Nov. 15, 1775, Washington prohibited their enlistment. Besides Salem, Cuffee Whittemore fought bravely in the redoubt. He had a ball through his hat on Bunker Hill, fought to the last, and when compelled to retreat, though wounded, the splendid arms of the British officers were prizes too tempting for him to come off empty handed, he seized the sword of one of them slain in the redoubt, and came off with the trophy, which

n a few days he unromantically sold. He served faithfully through he war, with many hair-breadth 'scapes from sword and pestilence.

It was not till the 29th June, that some other coloured allies joined the Americans, principally out of respect to Putnam, some Indian warriors from Canada; but they were unmanageable and soon dismissed.

Col. James Reed, a highly respectable officer, was stationed at Ticonderoga, in '76, and took the small pox, by which he lost his eye-sight for life. Col. Stark was dissatisfied at Col. Poor's being promoted to a brigadier gen. over him, and his letter to congress, complaining of it, not being noticed, he left the service, joined the N. H. militia as Brig. Gen. marched with these troops to protect the frontiers, independently of the national army, and gained his famous victories. Congress had resolved that the instructions which he had received were destructive of military subordination, but they now inquired of him why he did not inform them of his success. He answered that his correspondence with them was closed, as they had not attended to his last letters; they presented their thanks to him, his officers and troops, and promoted him to a Brigadier General.

The excessive variations in the military career of Col. Nixon are scarcely paralleled; those only of Col. Morgan perhaps can be compared with them. We believe, when he first entered service, a mere lad, he was tempted by two other soldiers much older than himself to desert, they were taken and condemned to be shot, but on account of his youth the platoon was ordered to fire at the two others only, and spare him. He fell senseless at the shock, and was afterward a brave Brig. Gen. But in the new organization of the army, at the latter part of the war, was left out of service.

Putnam's Capt., now Col. Clark, having been promoted, is the oldest surviving soldier of the battle, being 95, his bodily and mental powers are in astonishing preservation, he was one of the most lively of those at the celebration in June last, and his son, 64, was kept away by old age.

The oath for Off. and men was to serve faithfully in the Mass. army for defence and security of estates, lives and liberties of the good people of this and sister Colonies against ministerial tyranny, and to all other enemies and opposers, &c. to adhere to rules and regulations of army, obey officers over them, and disclose to said officers any conspiracies, attempts, &c. against said army or colonies.

Besides the N. H. troops already mentioned, a large company, 110, went from Exeter the day after Lexington battle, and staid at Cambridge 10 days, till recalled to guard the seaboard. John T. Gilman, afterward in the continental congress, and for 14 years Governor of N. Hampshire, went with these troops.

Gov. Brooks's declaration, page 23, line 5, was not taken in writing.

Wounded and made Prisoners. Serjeant Robt. Phelps, Phineas Nevers, Oliver Stevens, Danl. M'Grath, John Perkins, Amasa Fisk, Daniel Sessions, Jona. Norton, Philip J. Peck, Benj. Bigelow, Benj Wilson, Archibald M'Intosh, David Kemp. John Deland, Lawrence Sullivan, Timothy Kettle, Wm Robinson, Benj. Ross, John Dillon, Wm. Kench, Jas. Dodge, Wm. Rollinson, John Lord, Jas. Milliken, Steph Foster.

[*Mass. Officers, probably in the battle, from a list on files of Congress endorsed as of those commissionated 19 May '75, probably a very few officers were added before 30th June, when the Com. of Cong. certify they delivered commissions to those on the list.*]

GEN. WARD'S Regt.

Capts.	*Lieuts.*	*Ens. or 2d. Lieuts.*
Josiah Fay		
Seth Washburn	Jos. Livermore	Loring Lincoln
Job Cushing	Ezra Beman	Asa Rice
Danl. Barnes	Wm. Morse	Paul Brigham
Jas. Millan	Abel Perry	Aaron Abby
Luke Drury	Asaph Sherman	Jonas Brown
Jonas Hubbard		Wm. Gates
Saml. Wood		Thos. Sever
Moses Wheelock		Obadiah Mann
——— Smith	Moses Kellog	Elisha Lyman
		Jas. Hart

Adjt. Wm. Boyd, Qr. Mr. Ed. Flynt.

PRESCOTT'S.

Henry Farwell	Levi Whitney	Benj. Ball
Hugh Maxwell	Jos. Stebbins	
Jno. Nutting	Nathl. Lakin	Jno. Mosher
Josh. Parker	Amaziah Fasset	Thos. Rogers
Asa Parker	Ebenr. Spalding / Jos. Spaulding	
Saml. Gilbert	Jos. Gilbert	
Ol. Parker	Ephraim Corey	Jno. Williams
Jos. Moors	Zaccheus Walker	Thos. Spaulding.
Abijah Wyman	Joshua Brown	Jos. Baker
Samuel Patch		
Reuben Dow		

Jno. Goss, a N. Hampshire Company.

FRYE'S.

Benj. Ames	David Chandler	Isaac Abbott
Jno. Davis	Nathl. Herrick	Elipht. Bodwell
Wm. Pearley,	Jno. Robinson	Benj. Pearley
Thos. Stickney	Eliphalet Hardy	
James Sawyer	Timo. Johnson	Nathl. Eaton
Jona. Evans	John Merrill	Reuben Evans
John Currier	Wells Chase	Theoph. Gould
Benj. Varnum	Samuel Johnson	Cyrus Marble
Wm. H. Ballard		

Capts.	*Lieuts.*	*Ens. or 2d Lieut.*
Jona. Richardson	Josha. Reed	

Adjt. Daniel Hardy, Qr. Mr. Benj. Foster.

BRIDGE'S.

Benj. Walker	John Flynt	Ebenr. Fitch
John Batchelder	Ebenr. Dammon	James Bancroft
Ebenr. Bancroft	Nathl. Holden	Samuel Brown
Peter Coburn	Josiah Foster	Ebenr. Varnum
John Ford	Isaac Parker	Jonas Parker
John Rowe	Mark Pool	Ebenr. Cleaveland
Charles Forbush	Daniel Silver	Benj. Blanchard

Adjt. Joseph Fox, Qr. Mr. John Bridge.

LITTLE'S.

Jacob Gerish,	Silas Adams	Thomas Brown
Nathl. Warner	John Barnum	Daniel Collins
Nathl. Wade	Jos. Hodgkins	Aaron Parker
Abraham Dodge	Ebenr. Low	Jos. Lord
John Baker	Caleb Lamson	Daniel Dresser
Ezra Lunt	Moses Kent	Nathl. Montgomery
Benjamin Perkins	Jos. Whittemore	Wm. Stickney
Gideon Parker	Jos. Eveley	Moses Trask
Jos. Roby	Shubael Gorham	Enoch Parsons
Timo. Barnard	Paul Lunt	Amos Atkinson

Stephen Jenkins, Adjt. Thomas Hodjkins, Qr. Mr.

BREWER'S.

Isaac Gray	Thos. Willington	——— Wilson
Edward Blake	Abrm. Tuckerman	John Eames
John Black	Benj. Gates	John Patrick
Aaron Haynes	Elisha Brewer	
Daniel Whiting	Zebediah Dewey	
Benj. Bullard	Aaron Gardner	
Thaddeus Russell	Nathl. Maynard	Nathl. Reeves

GARDNER'S.

Joshua Harris,	Bar. Trace	Thomas Miller

NIXON'S.

	Silas Walker	Edwd. Richardson
Abisha Brown	Daniel Taylor	Silas Mann
	John Heald	John Hartwell
Micajah Gleason	James Kimball	Wm. Ryan
Moses M. Farland	David Bradley	Jacob Quimby

Capts.	*Lieuts.*	*Ens. or 2d Lieuts.*
David Moore	Micah Goodenow	Jona. Hill
Thomas Drury	Wm. Maynard	Joseph Mixer
Samuel M. Cobb	Benj. Pattie	John Riggs
Ebenr. Winship.	William Warren	Rich. Buckminster

Adj. Abel Holden. Qr. Mr. John White.

WOODBRIDGE'S.

Reuben Dickinson	Zaccheus Crocker	Daniel Shays*
Noadiah Leonard	Josiah Smith	Samuel Gould
Stephen Pearl	Aaron Rowley	Abner Pease
David Cowden		
John Cowls		
Ichabod Dexter,	Itha. Goodenough	John Mayo
John King	Wm. Smith,	Oliver Hagget
Seth Murray		
Asa Barnes	Caleb Smith	Timo. Reed

DOOLITTLE'S.

Joel Fletcher	John Wheeler	Jonas Proctor
Adam Wheeler	Elijah Stearns	Adam Maynard
Jona. Holman	John Bowker	David Pair
John Jones	Saml. Thompson	
Robert Oliver	Thomas Glover	Abraham Pennel
Abiel Wilder	Jonas Allen	Daniel Pike
John Leland	Saml. Burbank	[Oliver Work]

WHITCOMB'S.

	Jona. Guild	Timo. Boutelle
	Ebenr. Wood	——— West

Gerrish has no Capt. Bayley on record, our informant probably mistook the name, see p. 41.

Connecticut Officers appointed April '75, from the State Records.

Capts.	*1st Lieuts.*	*2d Lieuts.*	*Ensigns.*
Gen. Putnam	Jona. Knight	Th. Grosvenor	Elij. Loomis
Lt. Col. Storrs	Jas. Dana	Ebenr. Gray	Isc. Farewell
Maj. Durkey	J. Huntington	Jacobus Dellet	L. Bingham
Maj. Johnson	Eph. Lyon	Mills Clipp	Isc. Hill Jr.
T. Knowlton Jr.	Reub. Marcy	John Keyes	Dan. Allen Jr.
James Clark	Dan. Tilden	And. Fitch	Thos. Bill
Eph. Manning	Steph. Lyon	Asa Morris	Wm. Frissell

* Leader of the Insurgents.

Jos. Elliot Benone Cutler Danl. Waters Comfort Day
Ebenr. Mosely Steph. Brown Mel. Bingham Nath. Wales
Isr. Putnam Jr. S. Robinson Jr. Amos Avery Caleb Stanley
John Chester Barnab. Dean Step. Goodrich Ch. Butler 2d
Wm. Colt Jed. Hide Jas. Day Wm. Adams Jr
Rev. Abiel Leonard, Chap. John Spalding, Surg

New Hampshire Officers from the State Records in service before the Battle, and according to pay rolls, till after it.

REED'S Regt.

Capts.	*Lieuts.*	*Ens. or 2d Lieuts.*
Hez. Hutchings	Amos Emerson	John March
Jacob Hinds	Isaac Stone	Geo. Aldrich
Levi Spaulding	Joseph Bradford	Thomas Baffe
Ezra Towne	Josiah Browne	John Harkness
Jona. Whitcomb	Elijah Cleyes	Stephen Carter
William Walker	James Brown	Wm. Roley
Philip Thomas	John Harper	Ezekiel Rand
Benj. Mann	James Brewer	Saml. Pettingale
Josiah Crosby	Danl. Wilkins	Thomas Maxwell
John Marcey	Isaac Farwell	James Taggart

Adjt. Steph. Peabody. Qr. Mr. Isaac Frye.*

* Parker Hills, John Dane, David Carlton, David Scott, Jona. Lovejoy, Geo. Carlton, Isaac Adams, Ebenr. Blood, Jos. Blood, John Cole, James Hutchinson, Jos. Farwell, privates killed.

STARK'S Regt.

Geo. Reid	Abraham Reid	James Anderson
	Amos Morrill	Michael M'Clary
Dan. Moore	Ebenr. Frye	John Moore
Joshua Abbott	Saml. Atkinson	Abiel Chandler
Gordon Hutchins	Joseph Soper	Danl. Livermore
Aaron Kinsman	Ebenr. Eastman	Samuel Dearborn
Elisha Woodbury	Thomas Hardy	Jona. Corliss.
Saml. Richards	Moses Little	Jesse Karr
John Moore	Thos. McLaughlin	Nathl. Boyd
Isaac Baldwin	John Hale	Stephen Holt

Adjt. Abiel Chandler. Qr. Mr. Henry Parkenson.†

† Wm. Mitchell, Geo. McShannon, John Manuel, Moses Poor, Thomas Collins, Caleb Dalton, privates killed.

Rev. David Osgood was N. Hampshire Chaplain.

GAGE'S OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.

An alarm was given at break of day, on the 17th inst. by a firing from the *Lively* ship of war; and advice was soon afterward received that the rebels had broke ground, and were raising a battery on the heights of the peninsula of Charlestown, against the town of Boston. They were plainly seen at work, and, in a few hours, a battery of six guns played upon their works. Preparations were instantly made for landing a body of men to drive them off; and ten companies of the grenadiers, ten of light infantry, with the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proportion of field artillery, under the command of major general Howe, and brigadier general Pigot, were embarked with great expedition, and landed on the peninsula without opposition, under the protection of some ships of war, armed vessels, and boats, by whose fire the rebels were kept within their works. The troops formed as soon as landed; the light infantry posted on the right, and the grenadiers upon their left. The 5th, and 38th battalions drew up in the rear of those corps, and the 43d and 52d battalions make a third line. The rebels upon the heights were perceived to be in great force, and strongly posted. A redoubt was thrown up on the 16th, at night, with other works, full of men, defended with cannon, and a large body posted in the houses in Charlestown, covered their right flank; and their center and left were covered by a breast-work, part of it cannon-proof, which reached from the left of the redoubt to the Mystick or Medford river. This appearance of the rebels' strength, and the large columns seen pouring in to their assistance, occasioned an application for the troops to be reinforced with some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the 47th battalion, and the 1st battalion of marines; the whole when in conjunction, making a body of something above 2000 men. These troops advanced, formed in two lines, and the attack began by a sharp cannonade from the field pieces and the howitzers, the lines advancing slowly, and frequently halting to give time for the artillery to fire. The light infantry was directed to force the left point of the breast-work, to take the rebel line in flank, and the grenadiers to attack in front, supported by the 5th and 52d battalions. These orders were executed with perseverance, under a heavy fire from the vast numbers of the rebels; and notwithstanding various impediments before the troops could reach the works, and though the left, under brigadier general Pigot, was engaged also with the rebels at Charlestown, which, at a critical moment, was set on fire, the brigadier pursued his point, and carried the redoubt.

The rebels were then forced from other strong holds, and pursued till they were driven clear off the peninsula, leaving five pieces of cannon behind them. The loss the rebels sustained must have been considerable, from the great numbers they carried off during the time of action, and buried in holes, since discovered; exclusive of what they suffered by the shipping and boats; near 100 were buried the day after, and thirty found wounded, in the field, three of which are since dead. I inclose your lordship a return of the killed and wounded of his majesty's troops. This action has shown the superiority of the king's troops, who, under every disadvantage, attacked and defeated above three times their own number, strongly posted and covered by breast-works.

The conduct of major general Howe was conspicuous on this occasion, and his example inspirited the troops, in which maj. gen. Clinton assisted, who folfollowed the reinforcement. And in justice to brig. gen. Pigot, I am to add, that the success of the day must, in great measure, be attributed to his firmness and gallantry. Lieut. cols. Nesbitt, Abercrombie, and Clarke; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairn and Short, exerted themselves remarkably; and the valour of the British officers and soldiers in general, was at no time more conspicuous than in this action.

Killed and wounded. 1 Lieut. col., 2 majors, 7 captains, 9 lieutenants, 15 serjeants, 1 drummer, 191 rank and file, killed. 3 Majors, 27 captains, 32 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 40 serjeants, 12 drummers, 700 rank and file, wounded.

MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESS ACCOUNT.

In obedience to the order of the general congress, this committee have inquired into the premises, and, upon the best information obtained, find, that the commanders of the New England army had, about the fourteenth ult. received advice that general Gage had issued orders for a party of the troops under his command to post themselves on Bunker's hill, a promontory just at the entrance of the peninsula at Charlestown, which orders were soon to be executed; upon which it was determined, with the advice of this committee, to send a party, who might erect some fortifications upon the said hill, and defeat the design of our enemies. Accordingly, on the 16th ult., orders were issued that a detachment of one thousand men should that evening march to Charlestown, and intrench upon that hill. Just before nine o'clock they left Cambridge, and proceeded to Breed's Hill, situated on the further part of the peninsula, next to Boston, (for by some mistake this hill was marked out for the intrenchment instead of the other.) Many things being necessary to be done preparatory to the intrenchments being thrown up, which could not be done before, lest the enemy should discover and defeat the design, it was nearly twelve o'clock before the works were entered upon. They were then carried on with the utmost diligence and alacrity; so that by the dawn of day they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. At this time a heavy fire began from the enemy's ships, a number of floating batteries, and from a fortification of the enemy's, upon Copp's Hill, in Boston, directly opposite our little redoubt. An incessant shower of shot and bombs was rained by these upon our works. The Americans continued to labour indefatigably till they had thrown up a small breast-work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, but were prevented completing it by the intolerable fire of the enemy. Between twelve and one o'clock, a number of boats and barges, filled with the regular troops from Boston, were observed approaching towards Charlestown; these troops landed at a place called Moreton's Point, situated a little to the eastward of our works. This brigade formed upon their landing, and stood thus formed till a second detachment arrived from Boston to join them; having sent out large flank guards, they began a very slow march towards our lines. At this instant, smoke and flames were seen to arise from the town of Charlestown, which had been set on fire by the enemy, that the smoke might cover their attack upon our lines, and perhaps with a design to rout or destroy one or two of our regiments who had been posted in that town. If either of these was their design, they were disapp inted; for the wind shifting on a sudden, carried the smoke another way, and the regiments were already removed. Our troops, within their intrenchments, impatiently awaited the attack of the enemy, and reserved their fire till they came within ten or twelve rods, and then began a furious discharge of small arms. This fire arrested the enemy, which they for some time returned, without advancing a step, and then retreated in disorder and with great precipitation to the place of landing, and some of them sought refuge even within their boats. Here the officers were observed by the spectators on the opposite shore, to run down to them, using the most passionate gestures, and pushing the men forward with their swords. At length they were rallied, and marched up, with apparent reluctance, towards the intrenchments; the Americans again reserved their fire until the enemy came within five or six rods, and a second time put the regulars to flight, who ran in great confusion towards their boats. Similar and superior exertions were now necessarily made by the officers, which, notwithstanding the men discovered an almost insuperable reluctance to *fighting in this cause*, were again successful. They formed once more, and having brought some cannon to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breast-work, from one end of it to the other, our troops retreated within their little fort. The ministerial army now made a decisive

effort. The fire from the ships and batteries, as well as from the cannon in the front of their army, was redoubled. The officers in the rear of their army were observed to goad forward the men with renewed exertions, and they attacked the redoubt on three sides at once. The breast-work on the outside of the fort was abandoned; our ammunition was expended, and but few of our troops had bayonets to affix to their muskets. Can it then be wondered that the word was given by the commander of the party to retreat? but this he delayed till the redoubt was half filled with regulars, and our troops had kept the enemy at bay some time, confronting them with the butt end of their muskets, the retreat of this little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, had it not happened that the flanking party of the enemy, which was to have come upon the back of the redoubt, was checked by a party of our men, who fought with the utmost bravery, and kept them from advancing farther than the beach; the engagement of these two parties was kept up with the utmost vigour; and it must be acknowledged that this party of the ministerial troops evinced a courage worthy of a better cause: all their efforts however were insufficient to compel their equally gallant opponents to retreat, till their main body had left the hill; perceiving this was done, they then gave ground, but with more regularity than could be expected of troops who had no longer been under discipline, and many of whom never before saw an engagement.

In this retreat the Americans had to pass over the neck which joins the peninsula of Charlestown to the main land. This neck was commanded by the Glasgow man of war, and two floating batteries, placed in such a manner as that their shot raked every part of it. The incessant fire kept up across this neck had, from the beginning of the engagement, prevented any considerable reinforcements from getting to our troops on the hill, and it was feared it would cut off their retreat, but they retired over it with little or no loss.

With a ridiculous parade of triumph, the ministerial generals again took possession of the hill which had served them as a retreat in flight from the battle of Concord. It was expected that they would prosecute the supposed advantage they had gained, by marching immediately to Cambridge, which was distant but two miles, and which was not then in a state of defence. This they failed to do. The wonder excited by such conduct soon ceased, when, by the best accounts from Boston, we are told, that of 3000 men who marched out upon this expedition, no less than 1500 (ninety-two of whom were commissioned officers) were killed or wounded; and about 1200 of them either killed or mortally wounded. Such a slaughter was perhaps never before made upon British troops in the space of about an hour, during which the heat of the engagement lasted, by about 1500 men, which were the most that were at any time engaged on the American side. The loss of the New England army amounted, according to an exact return, to 145 killed and missing, and 304 wounded: thirty of the first were wounded and taken prisoners by the enemy. Among the dead was major general JOSEPH WARREN, *a man whose memory will be endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valour shall be esteemed among mankind.* The heroic colonel Gardner, of Cambridge, has since died of his wounds; and the brave lieutenant colonel Parker of Chelmsford, who was wounded and taken prisonor, perished in Boston gaol. These three, with major Moore, and major M'Clary, who nobly struggled in the cause of their country, were the only officers of distinction which we lost. Some officers of great worth, though inferior in rank, were killed, whom we deeply lament. But the officers and soldiers in general, who were wounded, are in a fair way of recovery. The town of Charlestown, the buildings of which were large and elegant, and which contained effects belonging to the unhappy sufferers in Boston, to a very great amount, was entirely destroyed, and its chimnies and cellars now present a prospect to the Americans, exciting an indignation in their bosoms, which nothing can appease but the sacrifice of those miscreants, who have introduced horror, desolation, and havoc into these once happy abodes of liberty, peace, and plenty. We wish for no farther effusion of blood, if the freedom and peace of America can be secured without it; but if it must be otherwise, we are determined to struggle. We disdain life without liberty.

Oh Britons! be wise for yourselves before it is too late; and secure a friendly intercourse with the American colonies; disarm your ministerial assassins; put an end to this unnatural war, and suffer not any rapacious despots to amuse you with the unprofitable ideas of your *right to tax and officer the colonies*, till the most profitable and advantageous trade you have is sacrificed. Be wise for yourselves, and the Americans will contribute to and rejoice in your prosperity.

J. PALMER, *per order.*