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Journal of an Expedition Against Quebec, in 1775, under Col. Benedict Arnold

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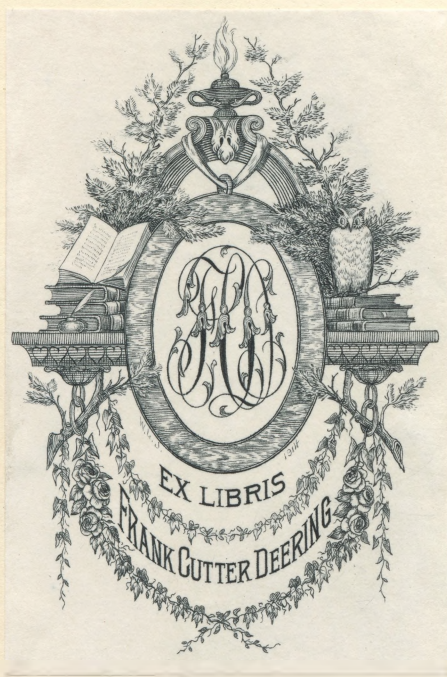
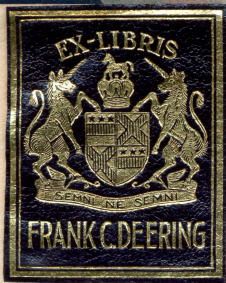
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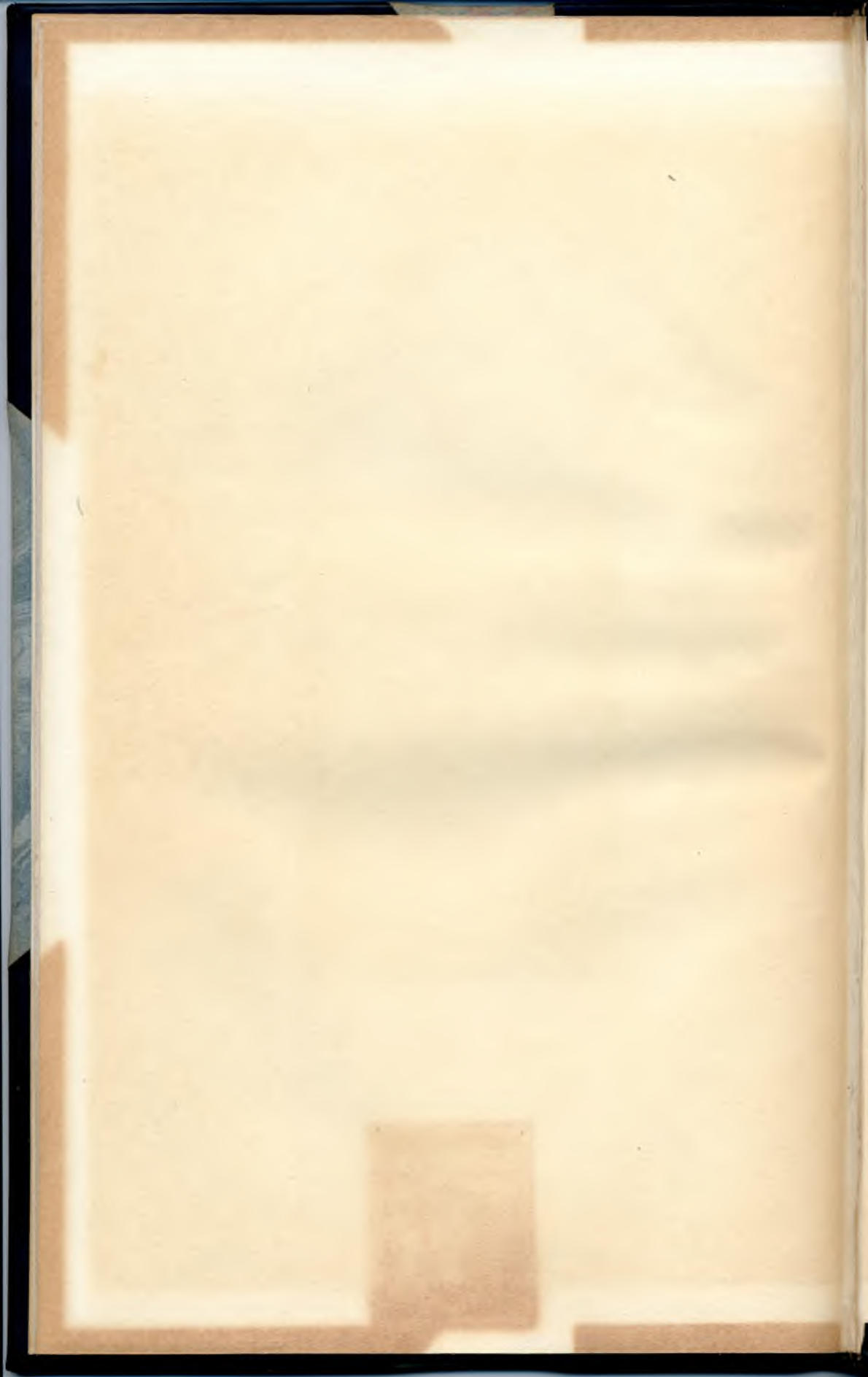
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1852







EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC.

[Journal kept by JOSEPH WARE, of Needham, Mass., with a short Genealogy of the Ware Family annexed.]

A JOURNAL of a March from Cambridge on an Expedition against Quebec, in COL. BENEDICT ARNOLD'S Detachment, Sept. 13, 1775.

Sept. 13th. Marched from Cambridge in the evening and encamped at Malden that night.

14th. This morning marched very early, and encamped that evening at Beverley. This day marched 25 miles—the weather very sultry. Nothing material.

15th. This morning marched briskly along, and got into Newburyport at 8 o'clock at night, where we were to make a stay for some days.^{1*}

16th. In Newburyport, waiting for the vessels, getting ready to carry us to Kennebec.

17th. This day had a general review, and our men appeared well, and in good spirits, and made a grand appearance, and we had the praise of hundreds of spectators, who were sorry to see so many brave fellows going to be sacrificed for their country.

18th. Had orders to embark in the evening; our fleet consisted of eleven sail of vessels,—sloops and schooners; our number of troops, consisted of 1300 and 11 companies of musketmen and three of riflemen. We were all embarked this evening and lay in the river all night.²

19th. Early this morning weighed anchor with a pleasant gale, our colors flying, drums and fifes a playing, and the hills all around covered with pretty girls weeping for their departing swains. This night had like to have proved fatal to us, for we were close aboard of the rocks, before we knew anything about it. We were immediately all called upon deck, expecting every moment to be dashed in pieces against the rocks, but the wind fortunately freshening, we got clear after several tacks, to the great joy of us all.

20th. Arrived at Kennebec river, rowed and sailed up against the wind and tide.

21st. Arrived at fort Weston, where we halted for some days, and here we were furnished with bateaux and provisions, for carrying us up the river.³ Continued here the 22d, 23d and 24th.

25th. Embarked on board our bateaux and arrived at Fort Halifax in the evening of the 26th.

27th. Carried over Ticonic falls our bateaux and provisions, 40 rods land carriage, and then pushed up three miles.

28th. Pushed up eight miles, the water so bad that the bateaux men were obliged to drag the boats up over the shoals, and in many places were up to their chins in water.

29th. Pushed up to the second carrying-place, called Cohiggin falls.

30th. Carried over 60 rods and pushed up 3 miles.

October 1st. Pushed up over rocks and shoals, where we were many times over head in water, pulling the bateaux over, and arrived at the third carrying place in the evening.

2nd. This day carried over Norridgewalk falls, one mile and a quarter and then encamped very uncomfortably this night after carrying our boats over roots, and rocks and mud.

3d. Pushed up 11 miles on our way. Capt. Hendrick's company of

* (1) See this and other notes at the end of the Journal.

riflemen shot a young moose which weighed about 200 lbs; but we had none of it, they being before us. This day we left all inhabitants, and entered an uncultivated country, and a barren wilderness. The timber for the most part is birch, pine, and hemlock. Some places on the river side, there are pieces of ground, where large sugar trees grow.

4th. Pushed up eight miles to Tintucket or Hell Gate falls, and carried over forty perches.

5th, 6th, & 7th. Pushed up to the head of Kennebec, where we carried out into a pond. These three last days we came about 20 miles.

8th. This day we pushed on very briskly, it being Sunday, the foremost company lying still on account of heavy rains, but we marched all day, it being very wet and cold, and we suffered a good deal from the inclemency of the weather, and came up with some of them at night.

9th, 10th, & 11th. Carried to the first pond 3 1-2 miles land carriage, crossed the pond two miles.

12th, 13th. Carried to a second pond 3-4 of a mile, crossed the pond one mile over, then carried 2 miles to a 3d pond and crossed the pond two miles over.

14th, 15th. Carried into Dead River three miles and went up one mile, then encamped at night. This river runs so still, that it can scarcely be perceived which way it runs; it is black water, about 4 rods wide and runs S. E.

16th. The water now being deep and dead, we betook ourselves to our barge and rowed up six miles.

17th. Rowed up (after carrying over a small carrying place, about 10 rods) 16 miles.

18th. Rowed up 20 miles, and carried over a small carrying place.

19th. Carried over 4 carrying places, and rowed up about five miles this day.⁴

20th, 21st, & 22d. Were detained in our tents by heavy rain.

23d. The water being shallow, we were obliged to lay by our oars, and take our setting poles; we pushed up 10 miles.

24th. Our provisions growing scanty, and some of our men being sick, held a council and agreed to send the sick back, and to send a Captain and 50 men forward to the inhabitants as soon as possible, that they might send us some provisions. Accordingly the sick were sent back, and Capt. Handchit with 50 men sent forward. Before this Col. Enos, with three captains and their companies turned back and took with them large stores of provisions and ammunition, being discouraged, (as we supposed) by difficulties they met with.⁵ This day got forward nine miles. The water very rapid and many of our boats were upset, and much of our baggage lost and provisions and guns.

25th. Snowed all night; very cold this morning, pushed over two carrying places, and got forward 8 miles this day.

26th. Pushed up 4 ponds and carried over two carrying places, one of them a mile over. The ground covered with snow.

27th. Crossed a pond 1-2 mile over, and carried 15 rods to another pond, 2 miles over, to the Great Carrying place, 4 miles and 50 perches over. Here it was agreed to leave most of our bateaux, being greatly fatigued by carrying over such hills, rocks and swamps, as were never passed by man before.⁶

28th. After carrying over the Great carrying place, we encamped by a small stream, running into Chaudiere Pond; dealt out to each man four pints of flour and what little meat we had, which was about 4 oz. a man.⁷

29th. Early this morning set out for the head of Chaudiere river. This day we suffered greatly by our bateaux passing by us, for we had to wade waist high through swamps and rivers and breaking ice before us. Here we wandered round all day and came at night to the same place, we left in the morning, where we found a small dry spot, where we made a fire, and we were obliged to stand up all night in order to dry ourselves and keep from freezing. We continued so till next day when a bateaux came up and took us across the river.

30th. At noon were relieved from our miserable situation and we made the best of our way through the woods for Chaudiere.

31st. Pushed on for Chaudiere with all speed, in hopes of overtaking our bateaux in order to get some flour, for ours was all expended; but to our great grief and sorrow, our bateaux were stove and the flour was lost, and the men barely escaped with their lives; now we were in a miserable situation, not a mouthful of provisions, and by account 70 miles from inhabitants, and we had a wilderness, barren and destitute of any sustenance to go through, where we expected to suffer hunger, cold and fatigue. Here the captain with the ablest men pushed forward, in order to get provisions to send back for the sick.⁸

Nov. 1st. This morning started very early and hungry and little satisfied with our night's rest. Travelled all day very briskly, and at night encamped in a miserable situation. Here we killed a dog and we made a very great feast without either bread or salt, we having been 4 or 5 days without any provisions, and we went to sleep that night, a little better satisfied. Our distress was so great, that dollars were offered for bits of bread, as big as the palm of one's hand.⁹

2d. This morning when we arose, many of us were so weak, that we could hardly stand, and we staggered about like drunken men. However we made shift to get our packs on, and marched off, hoping to see some inhabitants this night. A small stick across the road was sufficient to bring the stoutest to the ground. In the evening we came in sight of the cattle coming up the river side, which were sent by Col. Arnold, who got in two days before. It was the joyfulest sight that ever I beheld, and some could not refrain from crying for joy. We were told by the men, who came with the cattle, that we were yet twenty miles from the nearest inhabitants. Here we killed a creature, and we had some coarse flour served out, straws in it an inch long. Here we made a noble feast and some of the men were so hungry, before the creature was dead, the hide and flesh were on the fire broiling.¹⁰

3d. Marched this day 20 miles, wading several small rivers, some of them up to our middle and very cold. In the evening came in sight of a house, the first we had seen for 41 days.

4th. Last night had a plenty of beef and potatoes, but little or no bread to be had.¹¹ Snowed most of the night. In the morning marched down the river to inhabitants thick settled.

5th. Continued our march down the river. The people very hospitable, provisions plenty, but very dear, milk one shilling sterling per quart, and bread a shilling per loaf, weighing no more than 3 pounds. Came this day twelve miles.

6th. Came up with Col. Arnold, and the advance party. Marched off together at 2 o'clock and marched till 12 o'clock at night. Roads excessively bad, most of the way mid leg deep, with mud and water. Marched 17 miles.

7th. Marched three miles, then halted till night, when a lieutenant and 20 men were sent forward, to see if our way was clear. Accord-

ingly they marched till near 2 o'clock in the morning, and when we halted we were in sight of Quebec, the river St. Lawrence between us and the town.¹²

8th. Took up our quarters along the river side, until our troops behind could come up: here we stayed till the 13th. By this time all the men alive were come up, several having perished with hunger in the woods. During our stay here, we took a midshipman, belonging to a frigate in the harbor, who came on shore with some others in a boat to carry away flour from a mill on our side of the river.¹³ The river is about one mile or some better wide. At the city one 28 gun frigate and a sloop of war, with some merchant men in the harbor.

13th. Crossed the river at night in long boats and canoes. Some of the canoes over set in the river, but none of the men lost, only some few guns and some clothes. Got all over against morning at a place called Wolf's cove.¹⁴

14th. This morning were fired upon by the frigate, but received no damage; took up our quarters in some good houses near the town, which were forsaken by the owners. Here we remained till the 20th. During which time we were informed that there were not more than 100 regulars in the city, with a number of sailors and other new recruits, in all not exceeding four hundred under arms. The first day we came over the river, we passed close by the walls of the town, and gave three cheers without being molested by the enemy, who fired a few shots from their cannon, but did us no harm.¹⁵

21st. Marched up the river 20 miles to Point Aux Tremble, our ammunition being almost expended, and too scanty to attack the town with. Here we were joined by Genl. Montgomery with the York forces from Montreal, who had taken St. John's fort, Chambles and Montreal. In these places they took a great quantity of provisions, clothing, ammunition and cannon, with 950 prisoners. Remained here till the 5th December, when we marched back to Quebec, and laid siege to the town. Continued the siege until the 29th, during which time we took several prisoners and cannonaded and bombarded each other both day and night.¹⁶ During these transactions the two men who had been left with Lt. M'Clelland, came to us and informed us that they had buried him at the first inhabitants, after he had been brought down the river by two Indians, hired by Capt. Smith for that purpose.

29th. This night prepared to storm the city in two different places, Gen. Montgomery with the York forces on one quarter and Col. Arnold on the other hand. Accordingly about 5 o'clock in the morning began the attack; they could not get to the wall, but retreated back to their quarters; their General and two leading officers being killed by the fire from the enemy. Col. Arnold with his party carried on the attack in his quarter, and got possession of their two-gun battery, and took 70 prisoners. Our colonel being wounded in the beginning of the attack, was carried back. The captains themselves then took the lead, and drove the enemy until overpowered by numbers, and surrounded, we were obliged to surrender ourselves prisoners of war. During the attack, Capt. Hendrick and Capt. Hubbard, with Capt. Morgan's first Lieutenant were killed.¹⁷

Sunday, Dec. 30th & 31st. It began to thicken up towards night, and snowed very much. We were ordered to be in readiness, and at 2 o'clock at night, we were mustered, and got all fit for scaling the walls, and marched near to the city, some with ladders, some with axes, and some with saws. Gen. Montgomery with his forces, on the one quarter, and Col. Arnold on the other hand. Gen. Montgomery was to throw

three sky rockets into the air for a signal for each party to strike together. Accordingly, about 5 o'clock, in the morning, began the attack; but they could not get to the walls, but retreated back to their quarters, Gen. Montgomery and two leading officers being killed by the fire from the city. There were three or four false flashes made, for a signal to retreat, but Col. Arnold did not receive them, but carried on the attack on his quarter, and got possession of their two gun battery, and took 70 prisoners. Our colonel being wounded in the beginning of the attack, was carried back, and the captains themselves then took the lead, and drove the enemy, until overpowered by numbers and surrounded, we were obliged to surrender ourselves prisoners of war. During the attack Capt. Hendrick and Capt. Hubbard, with Capt. Morgan's first Lieutenant, were killed. Likewise they set St. Roche all on fire. We were all put in the French convent, and there they gave us a gill of rum to drink and hard bread to eat.

The following is a list of the killed, wounded and taken prisoners of the American troops at Quebec, on the 31st December 1775.¹⁸

<i>Officers taken prison'rs</i>	Joseph Ashton, Sergt	CAPT. DANIEL MOR-
Lt. Col Green	Robt. Baird	GAN'S COMPANY.
Major Meggs	Robt. Barwick	
Major Bigelow	James Arvin	<i>Killed.</i>
Adj't Febezer	John Ashfield	Lt. Humphrey
Capt. Mathew Duncan	Gasper Steyman	Wm. Rutledge
	Moses Brackit	Cornelius Norris
	George Carpenter	David Wilson
<i>York forces killed.</i>	Thomas Winter	Peter Wolf
Genl. Montgomery	Jacob Bennit	John Moore
Capt. Jacob Cheeseman	Joseph Spencer	Matthew Harbinson
Aid-de-camp Mc'Pher- son	Thomas Thorp	Rich ^l Colbert
	John Conet	
	Joseph Dean	<i>Wounded.</i>
1st Battalion, 8 killed and one wounded.	Benj. Vandervert	Benj. Cackley
3d Battalion, 2 killed	John Martin	Solomon Fitzpatrick
	John Fisher	Daniel Anderson
	<i>Listed in the King's service.</i>	Spencer George *
CAPT. JOHN LAMB'S COMPANY.	James Patten	Daniel Durst
<i>Killed.</i>	John Poalk	Hezekiah Phillips
Solomon Russel	John Wilson	Adam Hizkill
Martin Clark.	Thomas Dey	John McGuire
	William Whitwell	Jesse Wheeler *
	Thos. Morrison	<i>Prisoners.</i>
<i>Wounded.</i>	David Stone	Capt. Morgan
Capt. Lamb	John Kelley	Lt. Wm. Heath 2d
Barth ^o Fisher	John Johnston	Lt. Bruin 3d
Thos. Oliver	John Lucox	Wm. Fickhis serg't
Ely Gladhill	Wm. McLieu	Charles Porterfield do
Barns Burns	John Ritters	John Donaldson do
	Peter Fenton	John Rogers corp
<i>Prisoners.</i>	Shelly Holland	Benj. Grabb do
Lt. Andrew Moody	Peter Nestle	John Burns
Capt. Lockhart, vol.	David Torrey	John Conner

* These asterisks are suffixed in the original, though no signification is given

Solomon Veal
 Jacob Sperry
 Adam Kurts
 John Shoults
 Charles Grim
 Peter Locke
 John Stephens
 David Griffith
 John Pearce
 Benj. Roderick
 Thomas Williams
 Gasper de Hart*
 Benj. McIntire
 Jeremiah Gordon
 Rowland Jacobs
 Daniel Davis
 Jehu Brown
 John Oram
 John Maid
 John Harbinson
 Jedediah Phillips
 Jacob Ware
 Absalom Brown
 Thomas Chapman
 Charles Secests
 Jeremiah Riddle*
 William Flood
 William Greenway
 Rob't Mitchell

*Listed in the King's
 service.*

John Cockran
 Curtis Bramingham
 Timothy Feely
 Edw. Seedes
 Patrick Dooland
 Christopher Dolton
 Robt. Churchill

CAPT. WM. HENDRICK'S
 COMPANY.

Killed.

Capt. Hendrick
 Demis Kelley
 John Campbell

Wounded.

John Henderson
 John Chesney
 Abraham Swaggerty
 Philip Baker

Prisoners.

Lt. Francis Nichols
 Thomas Gibson
 Wm. M'Coy
 John Chambers
 Robt. Steele
 John Blair
 Rich^d M'Cluer
 James Reed
 John McLin
 Henry McGown
 Edward Roddin
 Daniel North
 Mathe^w Taylor
 Daniel Graham
 Tho. Anderson
 George Morrison
 John Ray
 W^m Kirkpatrick
 W^m Gammel
 Henry Crone [Sergt.]
 Jacob Mason

*Listed in the King's
 service.*

Henry Turpentine
 Joseph Greer, Sergt.
 Barnabas McGuire
 Mathe^w Cuning
 Daniel Carlisle
 Richard Lynch
 Philip Maxwell
 Peter Burns
 Thomas Witherup
 Thomas Murdock
 Francis Furlow
 W^m Shannon
 Edw^d. Morton
 Roger Casey
 W^m Snell
 George Morrow
 Daniel M'Cleland
 James Ireland
 Daniel O'Hara
 Michael Young
 John Hardy
 James Greer
 Peter Frainer
 James Hogge
 William Burns
 Wm. O'Hara
 Alexander Burns
 Joseph Caskey
 John Cove
 Arch'd McFarlin

Thomas Greer
 William Smith
 Joseph Wright
 John Carswell
 John Gardner
 Thomas Lisbe

CAPT. SMITH'S COMP'Y.

Killed.

Alexander Elliot
 Henry Miller
 Ingrahart Mortworth
 James Angles

Wounded.

Lt. Rich'd Steele
 John Miller
 Thomas Silborne
 Peter Carbough

Prisoners.

Robt. Cunningham
 Thomas Boyd sergt.
 Sam'l Carbough
 Philip Newhouse
 Conrad Meyers
 Conrad Sheyers
 Valentine Willey
 John Shafer
 Michael Shoaf
 Anthony Lebant
 John Henry vol.
 Edw. Egnaw
 Patrick Campbell
 Joseph Dockerty
 Nicholas Nogle
 Thomas Gunn

*Listed in King's ser-
 vice.*

Joseph Snodgrass sergt.
 Henry Herrigan corp.
 Henry McAnalley
 Michael Fitzpatrick
 Edward Cavener
 Timothy Conner
 William Randolph
 Robt. Richmond
 Alexander McCarter
 John Anderson
 Hugh Boyd
 Thomas Walker
 Joseph Higgins
 Daniel Crane

Henry Taylor
Thomas Pugh

CAPT. HANDCHITT'S
COMPANY.

Killed.

Lt. Sam^l Cooper
Nath^l Goodrich
Wm Goodrich
Peter Heady
Spencer Merwick
John Morriss
Theophilus Hide

Wounded.

David Sage

Prisoners.

Capt. Oliver Handchitt
Lt. Abijah Savage
Benj. Catlin, Quart^m
Peletiah Dewey, serg^t
Gabril Hodgkiss, do
Gershom Wilcox, do
Roswell Ransom, corp
Jedediah Dewey, do *
John Ridden
Samuel Biggs
Samuel Bliss
Rich^d Brewer
Sam^l Burroughs
Nath^l Coleman
Stephen Fosbury *
Isaac George
Isaac Knapp
Edw^d Lawrence
Joel Loveman *
Elijah Marshall
Daniel Rice
David Sheldon
Ichabod Swaddle
Jonathan Taylor
Solomon Way *
Noah Whipple
Abner Stocking
Moses White
Simon Winter

*Listed in the King's
service.*

John Basset, Drum^r
Patrick Newgent.

CAPT. TOPHAM'S COM-
PANY.

Killed.

Charles King

Caleb Hacker
Hugh Blackburn

Wounded.

Joseph Kenyon
Baker Garlin

Prisoners.

Capt. John Topham
Lt. Joseph Webb
Lt. Edw. Sloakum
Matthew Cogshall, serg^t
John Finch, do
Reuben Johnson, do
Stephen Tift
Philip Rollins
John Darling
Oliver Dunnel
Wm. Underwood
Wm. Thomas
Isaac Beatey
Charles Sherman
Benj. Trim
Benj. Durphy
Wm. Pitman
Wm. Clark
John Bentley
Jeremiah Child*
Thomas Price
Samuel Geers
Anthony Salisbury

*Listed in King's ser-
vice.*

Dan^l Booth serg^t.
Michael Clansey
John Linden
James Green
Patrick Kelley
Tobias Burke

CAPT. THAYER'S COM-
PANY.

Killed.

Daniel Davidson
Patrick Tracy

Wounded.

John Rankins
David Williams *
Peter Field

Prisoners.

Capt. Simon Thayer
Lt. Humphreys
Silas Wheeler

Thomas Law
James Hayden
James Stone
Silas Hooker *
Jonathan Jacobs
Stephen Mills
Daniel Lawrence
Elijah Fowler
Bannister Waterman
Jonathan Scott *
Cornelius Hagerty
Benj. West
Jesse Turrell
Samuel Ingolds
Andrew Henman *

Listed in King's service

Thomas Page, serg^t
Moses Hemmingway
John Robinson
Wm. Dixon
Wm. Clements
Edw. Conner
Patrick Harrington

CAPT. GOODRICH'S COM-
PANY.

Killed.

Amos Bridge

Wounded.

Noah Cluff
Nath^l Lord

Prisoners.

Capt. Wm. Goodrich
Lt. John Cumpton
Ashley Goodrich, serg^t.
Augustus Drake, do
Festus Drake
Daniel Doyle
Jabez Chalker
Benj. Buckman
Samuel Buckman
Paul Doran
John Parrot
John Lee
David Pettes
Caleb Northrup
Roswell Ballard *
Rowell Foot
Oliver Avery
Elijah Alden
Benj. Pearce
Abner Day

John Taylor	<i>Listed in King's service.</i>	Lt. Amos Andrews	
Josiah Root	Charles Harkins	Lt. Joseph Thomas	
Rich ^d Shackley		John Flanders	
CAPT. WARD'S COMP'Y.	CAPT. HUBBARD'S COM- PANY.	Jona. Perkins	
		Caleb Edes	
<i>Killed.</i>	<i>Killed.</i>	Jona. Fogge	
Bishop Standley	Capt. Hubbard	Wm. Taylor	
Thomas Shepherd	Sergt. Weston	Wm. Preston	
John Stephens		Eben ^r Tuttle	
	<i>Prisoners.</i>	Moses Kimball	
<i>Wounded.</i>	Lt. Sam ^l Brown	Joseph Smith	
Eng ^r James Tisdell	Jonathan Ball, serg ^t .	James Melvin	
Nath ^l Brown, corp.	Minath Farmer, Serg ^t *	James Beverley	
Jabez Brooks	Luther Fairbanks, do.	Jonathan Smith	
	Thomas Nichols	Samuel Sias	
<i>Prisoners.</i>	Oliver Smith	Thomas Holmes	
Capt. Samuel Ward	Simon Fobes	Moses Folsby	
Lt. John Clark	David Patch*	Charles Hilton	
Lt. Sylvanus Shaw	Thomas McIntire*	John Morgan	
Amos Boynton, serg ^t .	Benj. Phillips*	Encs Reynolds	
John Sleeper, corp.	Timothy Rice*	Eliphas Reed	
Samuel Halbrooks *	Joseph White	Robert Heath	
John Goodhue	Aaron Heath	Elkanor Danforth	
John Shackford	Wm. Chamberlain	Nath ^l . Martin	
Moses Merrill	Anthony Jones	Jonathan Norris	
Nath ^l Babson	Russel Clark	John Dobbins	
Enoch Foot	Paul Clap	John McCalm	
Jacob True	Joseph Parsons	Charles Budget	
Josiah George	Samuel Bates	Samuel Hewes	
Ebenezer Tolman	Luke Nobles*	Aaron Serjant	
Thomas Gay	Joseph Burr		
John Stickney	Oliver Edwards		
Elijah Dole	George Mills	Total killed,	35
Elijah Hayden *		Wounded,	33
Jeremiah Greenman	<i>Listed in King's service.</i>	Prisoners,	372
Enos Chillis	Charles McGuire		
Gilbert Caswell	Morris Hayward	Total,	440
John Gridley	John Hall		
Wm. Dorr		<i>York forces.</i>	
James Rust	CAPT. DEARBORN'S COM- PANY.	Killed,	13
Joseph Pool		Wounded,	1
Israel Barrit	<i>Prisoners.</i>		
Bartholomew Foster *	Capt. Henry Dearborn	Total killed, wounded and taken,	454. ¹⁹
Joseph Ware	Lt. Nath ^l Hutchins		
Thomas Fisher			
Joseph Osburn *			

January 9^e 1st, 1776.

Our allowance of provisions is one pound of bread and a half pound of pork, and one gill of rice for a day, and 6 oz. of butter for a week.

2d.

In prison. This day we had a cask of porter sent to us by some gentlemen of the town.²⁰

3d & 4th.

The general sent for a list of our names, of the old countrymen in particular by themselves, that were with us, and they chiefly listed in the king's service.²¹

5th to the 8th.

The prisoners petitioned to have their packs sent in to them, whereupon they sent out a flag, and received them for us.

8th to 15th.

The general sent for a list of the occupations of the prisoners. The small pox is very plenty with us.

15th to 19th.

Capt. Hubbard died with the wound he received a coming in.

19th to 22d.

Five of those that listed out of prison, and five others deserted the garrison in the night. There were two men put in irons for attempting to break out of prison.

22d to 25th.

There were three vessels and a house burnt by our people. The enemy went into St. Roche after plunder. There were two of our people taken a going to set fire to the shipping.

25th to 29th.

There were eight men deserted the garrison. The people go out into St. Roche every day, and fetch in the remains of the buildings that were burnt.

29th to 31st.

Two men of Capt. Ward's company died with the small pox. The men are getting well, some of them.

February 1st to the 5th.

There were 2 men deserted, 7 of our men died with the small pox, and one man died with the pleurisy. He was sick but 4 days.

5th to the 9th.

Three men deserted. Forty men lay sick in prison.

9th to 12th.

Very snowy. The storm very heavy. Three men were stifled to death in the night on duty.

12th to 16th.

This morning 60 men went to the hospital with the small pox. The men have it very favorably.

16th to 20th.

Six of the old countrymen, that listed out deserted, and the remainder of them put into prison again, because those deserted.

20th to 24th.

Five men died with the small pox. The enemy made an attempt to go out after our people's cannon, and got drove back. There was a continual firing after them.

24th to 31st.

Nothing remarkable,

March 1st to the 6th.

Three men deserted.

6th to 10th.

One of the prisoners was put in irons for talking with one of the sentries. We hear that Boston is taken by our people.

10th to 13th.

There was an alarm in the city at 10 o'clock at night. A large picket was set around the prison, and a field piece before the door.

13th to 18th.

The "emigrants" are moved into the artillery barracks, and the rest of us into a stone gaol and are locked up at 7 o'clock at night.²²

18th to 25th.

Nothing remarkable.

25th to 30th.

In the night one of the prisoners got out of prison and run to our people. We are in a miserable condition, having no wood, we almost freeze.

30th to 21st.

Most of the prisoners consulted together to break out of prison, to try their best to take the town, but as one of the persons was cutting away some ice at the cellar door, in order to have it handy to open at a moment, to go out at, the sentry standing nigh, and hearing the cutting, acquainted the officers of the guard, who acquainted some other officers, and they coming in, inquired who was cutting at the door, and what they were [about]. On which, one of the prisoners informed them of all the transactions that were going forward. The officers searched all the rooms in the prison, and every man's pack, to see if they could find any arms or ammunition, for they supposed some of the people in the town had supplied us with arms and ammunition; but they could not find any such thing with us. At this we were put all into strong irons.²³

April 1st to 14th.

Our people having a battery across the river, at Point Levi, they threw shot into the town very merry. The officers of the guard are very particular with us. They call a roll and count us morning and evening.

14th to 27th.

It is very sickly with us. The scurvy and lameness rage very much, occasioned by living on salt provisions.²⁴

27th to 31st.

The town was alarmed in the night.

May the 1st to the 6th.

Nothing strange; but in great distress and despair.

6th.

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

7th & 8th.

The general ordered the irons to be taken off the prisoners. The general likewise gave the "Emigrants" their liberty again. This morning two ships came in. - The ships have gone up the river, and a number of troops by land, for Montreal.

9th to 14th.

Three ships and three brigs came in. There were six prisoners put in with us,²⁵ taken strolling about. One company set out for Montreal.

14th to 19th.

Two ships went out. One of them a packet for England.

19th to 23d.

One ship and a number of small craft came in. Thirteen prisoners listed into the king's service. One ship sailed out.

23d.

Our allowance is one pound of soft bread and one pound of beef.

24th to 26th.

The militia have laid down their arms. One of those men that went out of prison was put on board a 50 gun ship; but he did not incline to enter on board, and they put him in irons, and threatened to hang him, but he was taken out of irons and put into prison again in the evening. Robert Beard was taken out of prison and has got his liberty. He is going home by water to Ireland.

26th to 30th.

One ship went out, and twenty came in. There were 8 or 9 prisoners taken out to work; they stayed out 1 or 2 days, and were required to swear allegiance to the king, that they would not take up arms against him, and to make known all experiments against him.

30th & 31st.

Four ships came in; one brig and two ships went out.

June ye 1st to the 5th.

Eighteen ships came in with Gen'l. Burgoyne. There are six thousand Hessians and Hanoverians come to assist the king's troops. Five hundred marched up the river for Montreal.

5th.

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

June ye 6th, A. D. 1776.

A copy of an answer sent to Gen'l. Carlton.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

We, the prisoners in His Majesty's gaols, return your Excellency our most happy and unfeigned thanks for your clemency and goodness to us whilst in imprisonment. Being sensible of your humanity, we give your Excellency thanks for your offer made us yesterday, and having a desire to return to our friends and families again, we promise not to take

up arms against His Majesty, but remain peaceable and quiet in our respective places of abode, and we further assure your Excellency that you may depend on our fidelity.

So we remain your Excellency's humble servants.

Signed in behalf of the prisoners.²⁶

June 7th to 12th. Thirteen of the prisoners were taken out to go a fishing. Two ships sailed. Gov^r Carlton has gone up to Montreal. One regiment has set out for the same place. The French are obliged to send a number out of every parish.

12th to 17th. Two of the prisoners that were out at work, run away.

17th to 21st. A child killed with lightning. Two ships came in.

21st to 25th. Nothing strange.

25th to 30th. The soldiers are cut short of their allowance of bread—half a pound a week; likewise the prisoners the same. A company marched for Montreal. One ship came in.

July 1st to 7th. Five ships came in, and three schooners. Two prisoners were put in with us, that were taken up at Montreal by the Indians.

7th to 14th. Nothing remarkable.

14th to 19th. Col. McLean came from Montreal.

19th to 21st. A ship came in. One of the prisoners that were taken last, was taken out and confined in close prison in irons for talking saucy to the provost.

21st. This day a number of the prisoners that went out to work, ran away through the woods. The general has sent them.

22d. The general has come down from Montreal.

23d to 27th. One ship came in and one went out. One of the prisoners taken crazy.

27th to 29th. One ship sailed. Two officers came into prison, and enquired if there were not some of us, that wanted shirts. They were told there was a number of us that had none. They told us we should all have shirts, that wanted. They likewise told us, we should be sent home in ten days.

29th to 31st. Our officers have the liberty of the town.

August 1st to 3d. Nothing remarkable.

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

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

6th. This day expected to embark, but were disappointed.

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

8th. This day our provisions are pork, peas and hard bread. The wind in our favor, but waiting for orders to sail. At night removed from the Mermaid to the John Christopher.

9th. This day our provision is fresh meat and soft bread. The wind in our favor, but no orders to sail.

10th. Last night a brig came down the river with 28 prisoners. At little Wolf's Cove, the wind blows up the river.

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

12th. This morning the signal was given. We weighed anchor and beat down the river about 11 miles, and came to an anchor, the wind being strong against us.

13th. This day we lay by waiting for the wind.

14th. This morning weighed anchor with a pleasant gale of wind. Sailed down the river about 15 miles, and came to an anchor. Then hove up, and with a brisk wind, sailed down the river to the Isle Obeeck, 50 leagues from Quebec.

15th. Having a prosperous gale of wind, we made sail. In the afternoon passed by a frigate, lying in the river, to see if there was no fleet coming up except their own.

16th. This day we had a very brief wind.

17th. The wind breezed up in our favor.

18th. Left Gasey and made St. John's Island.

19th. St. John's Island being eleven leagues long, we sailed by it most of the day: Hove in sight of Cape Breton Island, before we left Saint Johns. Espied a ship in distress, cast away on the end of the island, her foremast, mizzenmast and bowsprit carried away. A barge was sent on board from our convoy, but we have heard no return.

20th. We were detained by beating round the island to get letters ashore to the Governor of the island, concerning the wreck, that was run ashore.

21st. This day, we had a small breeze of wind against us. At night came to an anchor, in order to send a boat ashore with letters to the Governor.

22d. This morning the boat went ashore and returned about sunset. Then hove up with a brisk wind. Sailed all night.

23d. This day went thro' Canso Gut into Chebucto Bay. Left it this night and came in to the open ocean.

24th. It was our misfortune to have the wind ahead, so that we drifted from our course, and made little or no head way this day.

Sunday, 25th. The wind still ahead. Changed our course N. W., and made Cancer Shore that night.

26th. This day the wind got about almost fair, and breezed up a very brisk gale about dark.

27th. The wind held fair and strong till about 2 o'clock this afternoon.

28th. The wind died away and there was a large swell.

29th. This morning the wind quickened up, and the captain of the ship took an observation and found us to be in latitude 42° , which is Boston latitude.

30th. A light breeze, but very fair, and continued so this day.

31st. We were told, by the second mate, that we were abreast of New York, and were afraid to put in for a harbor, for fear our Privateers would give them a basting.

Sunday, Sept. 1st. Were this night informed, that we were south of Pennsylvania.

2d. This day kept our course S. W. until the morning, the wind being yet a head.

3d. This morning we were almost up with the Virginia Cape. We about ship and ran upon the other tack.

4th. About 3 o'clock this morning, blew up a squall and a heavy shower of rain. We were obliged to shorten sail, and stand before it.

5th. Fortune yet frowning in regard to the wind, we look up within two points.

6th. We were informed by the shipmen, according to reckoning, that we were in the latitude of Philadelphia. Latitude 39° North⁵⁷.

NOTES,

ON THE PRECEDING JOURNAL, BY MR. JUSTIN WINSOR, OF BOSTON.

The journal, which is here printed entire, bears on one of its leaves, "Joseph Ware, his book." This person will be found one of the privates in Capt. Ward's company.

The winter encampment at Valley Forge, and this expedition under Arnold, through the trackless wilderness of Maine, will long attest the indomitable spirit, and great privations of the American Revolutionists. More intense suffering has seldom been endured than the patriotic band under Arnold's direction experienced.

The object of these notes is merely to annotate upon such points as need elucidation. Mr. Henry, of Pennsylvania, accompanied this expedition, as a private in Smith's rifle-men, and has given the world a published narrative of events, which embraces nearly the same ground of the present journal. It is entitled, "An accurate and interesting account of the hardships and sufferings of that band of heroes, who traversed the wilderness in the campaign against Quebec, in 1775. By John Joseph Henry, Esq., late President of the Second Judicial District, of Pennsylvania. Lancaster: Printed by William Greer, 1812."

Henry, mentions that Sergeant M'Coy, of Hendrick's company, while in confinement at Quebec, gave to Major Murphy, of the garrison, a correct copy of a journal he kept through the wilderness. This may possibly be in existence.

1. Henry's account differs. "This little army in high spirits marched from Prospect Hill, near Cambridge, on the 11th September, 1775, and arrived at Newburyport, on the following day.

2. Henry still differs. "Here, [Newburyport,] we remained encamped five days. On the afternoon of the sixth day, we embarked aboard of ten transports, sailed in the evening, and at dawn of day, descried the mouth of the Kennebec river."

3. Fort Western is opposite the present town of Augusta. Henry still differs. "We ascended the river to Colonel Cobonnis ship-yard; here we left our vessels and obtained bateaux, with which we proceeded to Fort Western." Here Arnold sent forward Archibald Steele, of Smith's company, at the head of some men. (Jesse Wheeler, George Merchant, and James Clifton, of Morgan's; Robt. Cunningham, Thomas Boyd, John Tidd, John M'Konkey, and Henry, himself, of Smith's,) to reach the paths and carrying places for the army's march, and to discover the course of the Chaudiere. They had two bark canoes, and two men, Jeremiah Getchel, and John Horne, as guides. They arrived at Fort Halifax, on the 23d; and on the 8th October, they crossed "the height of land," which divides the Semees of the Maine and Canadian rivers, and reached the head of the Chaudiere. They returned to the van of the army on the 17th, having been absent twenty-five days, and having suffered great privation by want of provisions.

4. Henry being with the van, writes: "Oct. 19th and 20—Here we lay encamped for several days, waiting the arrival of the rear of New England troops. They come up hourly."

5. "Oct. 29. It first became generally known, that Enos had returned from the twelve mile carrying place, with 500 men, a large stock of provisions, and the medicine chest. Enos was afterwards courtmartialled and acquitted. Henry.

6. Henry mentions several women, wives of the soldiers, who accompanied the expedition, heroically following in the path of the army.

7. They had now crossed "the height of land." Some of the companies carried over one boat each. "Morgan on the other hand, determined to carry over all his. It would have made your heart ache, to view the intolerable labors, his fine fellows underwent. Some of them, it was said, had the flesh worn from their shoulders, even to the bone." Henry.

8. Henry says of the Chaudiere, "that for 60 or 70 miles, it is a continual rapid, without any apparent gap or passage, even for a canoe. Every boat we put in the river, was stove in, one part or other of it. Capt. Morgan lost all his boats, and the life of a much valued soldier."

9. Such was their extreme hunger, that the roots in the ground were often fought for when discovered. On the 2d of November, Henry says, "Came up with some of Thayer's and Lapham's men. Coming to their fire, they gave me a cup of their broth. A table-spoonful was all that was tasted. It had a greenish hue, and was said to be that of a bear. This was instantly known to be untrue, from the taste and smell. It was that of a dog. He was a large black Newfoundland dog, and very fat." Henry's companions tried the expedient of boiling their moose skin mocassins, but they could not make them palatable. Henry.

10. Henry says they discovered the cattle on the third. His company was, at that time, in the rear of the N. E. companies. "The Frenchmen told us," he writes, "that those who preceded, had devoured the very entrails of the cattle. One of the eastern men, as we came to the fire, was gorging the last bit of the colon, half-rinsed—half-broiled."

11. At this period, several died, and many sickened, by excessive indulgence following so suddenly in their previous famine. At this place the army was joined by an Indian, named Natanis, and his brother Sabatis, and seventeen other Indians, who proceeded with them. Natanis had been represented to Arnold as a spy, and orders had been given to take him, dead or alive. They had now reason to consider him a friend. He was wounded in the attack on Quebec, and taken prisoner, but soon released. This is said to be the first employment of the Indians against the English in the Revolution.

12. On this day the army formed in more compact order for the march.

13. A detailed account of his capture is given by Henry. The enemy were ignorant of the presence of the Americans, and he was sent in the boat from the sloop of war to procure some spars at the mill. After he had landed, he ordered his boats crew to push off, and obtain a better landing. While doing this, they were fired at, when they made for the ship, leaving the officer on shore, who attempted to escape by swimming: but on being fired at, he returned to the shore and surrendered. Sabatis was prevented from scalping him, as he landed, by Morgan and Humphreys.

14. The English had received all the boats from the south-side of the river. With difficulty twenty fine birch bark canoes were procured, and put under the command of Steele. Between the hours of 10 and 11 on the night of the 13th, the embarkation commenced. Their numbers required several passages. On the third passage, Steele's own canoe burst with the weight, and his men taken up by the other boats; while Steele himself, reached the shore greatly benumbed by trailing from the stern of another boat. Had their scaling ladders been upon that side of the river, they would have tried the walls that night. Where Arnold ascended there is now, and was then, a good road leading up the bank. It was not so in 1759, when Wolfe scaled a rugged precipice.

15. On the 15th one of Morgan's lieutenants with a party, reconnoitered the walls. Henry states that Arnold had only 350 effective men. Lt. Gov. Caldwell's well furnished farm-house in the suburbs, was occupied by the troops. Arnold formed his line without musket range in front of the walls, and kept them in position, while a thirty-six pounder of the enemy's opened upon them, and which they answered by huzzas. Henry relates that this caused much dissatisfaction in those, who thought the conduct of Arnold sprung from a vain desire to parade his power before those, who had formerly contemned him as a "horse jockey,"—for Arnold had in previous years traded with the inhabitants in horses. This parade gave Henry "a contemptible opinion of Arnold." Gordon, the historian, applauds the manœuvre. Anwell, the British historian, says their commander killed several. Henry says, all the blood spilt that day, flowed from Lt. Gov. Caldwell's fattened cattle.

16. Montgomery joined Arnold, at this point, on the 1st of December. Henry says they began their march back on the 2d, and came that day within three miles of the city. The snow lay three feet deep on the ground, and Arnold's men had only the rags of their summer clothing for protection from the cold. Some of them supplied their wants by plundering the houses of the Tories in the vicinity. Under cover of the buildings, and the risings of the land, some would advance near the walls and shoot down the sentinels. Capt. Lamb's York artillerists threw up in one night a battery of ice, and snow within six or seven hundred yards of the fortress, but were obliged to abandon it the next day, after several men had been killed by the enemy's fire. Montgomery's whole force now amounted to about eleven hundred men. Many of them were on the sick list, and it was said the enemy had artfully introduced the small pox into the American camp.

17. Montgomery had planned an attack as early as the 20th or 21st, but no favorable opportunity occurred to carry it out. It is said the men were exercised with scaling ladders. He was anxious that it should be done before the 1st of January, as the terms of service of many of the New England men expired on that day. A thick snow storm at night now offered him a fitting opportunity.

On Arnold's side the men followed at a rapid rate, close under the fire of the musketry from the walls. Arnold was in the van, leading the forlorn hope; then came Lamb's artillerists. Morgan followed with his riflemen: after whom came Steele with Smith's company. Hendrick and the New Englanders brought up the rear. Facing a piercing snow storm, covering their gun locks with the lappets of their coats, these men advanced in single file and knee-deep through the snow drifts, to sustain the fortunes of their commanders. At the first barrier, Arnold was wounded and borne to the rear. The battery was, however, carried, and the guard of thirty men were either taken or fled. The

Americans supplied themselves with the captured arms, and advanced to a second battery. In the mean time Montgomery's division had fled from the attack on the opposite side of the town, and the forces, which had been opposed to him, now joined their companions against the assaults of Arnold's party. Still the Americans pressed on, to be swept away, rank after rank, as they mounted the barrier before them. The enemy's marksmen had posted themselves in the houses which lined the street, within the battery, and poured a constant and well directed fire on the assailants. Lt. Humphreys with some rangers, made a last great effort to carry the breast work; and Morgan was among them, exampling all by his bravery, which amounted even to temerity. He soon saw the attempt was futile, and as day was now breaking to give greater surety to the enemy's aim, he ordered his men to seek the cover of the neighboring houses. Humphreys had just fallen in the street, and soon after entering the houses, Capt. Hendrick received a struggling ball in his heart through a window. Lt. Cooper, of Connecticut, fell also here. Two hundred of the enemy now sallied from the Palace gate, and most of the Canadians, and Indians of the American party, and many others, made their escape across the ice of the St. Charles. The rest finding themselves surrounded, surrendered at about 9 o'clock.

On the St. Lawrence side of the town, General Montgomery led the attack himself, along the foot of the precipice, which the citadel walls crowned. He first encountered a strong stockade of posts, thickly set, and strongly bound together, fifteen or twenty feet high. Four of the posts were soon sawed asunder, and a column four abreast, entered, with their chieftain at their head. A few paces on they reached a second. Montgomery himself sawed down two of the pickets, and led in a double file, close by the foot of the precipice, and without the range of the cannon in a block house which stood a few rods on. The guard had not yet been alarmed, and many of them were partially intoxicated: but as the Americans advanced, they were discovered, and the guard retreated. While the Americans pushed on with cheers, a drunken sailor, who was in the rear of his retreating companions, applied a match to his gun, which raked the first ranks of the advancing column, and killed their General with his two aids. In the darkness of the night, Campbell on whom the command had now fallen, thought he was opposed by a greater force, and ordered a retreat without the range of the cannon, when in a council of his officers, it was decided to abandon the attack. *Henry.*

18. Capt. Lamb's company were the York artilleryists. Morgan's were the celebrated Virginia Rangers. Smith's and Hendricks were from Lancaster and Cumberland Counties, in Pennsylvania. Henry thus describes their dress. "Each man of the three companies bore a rifle barrelled gun, a tomahawk, or small axe, and a long knife usually called a scalping knife, which served for all purposes in the woods. His under-dress, by no means in a military style, was covered by a deep ash-colored hunting-shirt, leggins, and moccasins, if the latter could be procured. It was a silly fashion of those times for rifle-men to ape the manners of savages." George Merchant, belonged to *Morgan's* company. Lt. McClelland, belonged to *Hendrick's*. Of *Capt. Matthew Smith's* company;—Sergeant Dixon, was wounded during the siege, Nov. 17. It was the first bloodshed in the attack;—Alex. Nelson, was killed in the assault of the first barrier; John M. Taylor, was made purveyor and Commissary, by Arnold.

Lt. Archibald Steele, was made on the march an Aid-de-Camp, to Arnold. Sergeant Thomas Boyd, was killed in the R. I. expedition. Cavener and Conner, enlisted in the English service for the purpose of escaping, which they did. *Handchit's* company was from Connecticut.

19. Henry's estimate of the American loss is six killed and five wounded of the Commissioned officers, and of the Uncommissioned officers, and privates, at least one hundred and fifty killed and fifty or sixty wounded: while of the enemy, the killed he numbers at forty or fifty, and the wounded, at many more.

20. Henry says that the merchants obtained General Carleton's leave to make them a New Year's present. It was a large butt of porter, with a due quantity of bread and cheese. They shared more than a pint a man!

21. On the 3d, Carleton conducted the funerals of Montgomery and his officers, with becoming parade. On the 4th, Col. McLean visited them and took their names and places of nativity. Those of British birth were threatened with a voyage to England, to be tried as traitors, unless they enlisted in the "Emigrants," a new regiment, and McLean's own.

22. This was the Dauphin Prison, where they found better accommodations. Henry says his company had been reduced to scarcely more than thirty, when they had ascended the plains with sixty-five. Less than twenty-five of Morgan's company reached home. They had not been inoculated and the small pox made sad ravages.

23. The prison was 300 yards from St. Johns gate. The guard were Canadian militia, whose station was on the opposite side of the street. Some iron hoops, which they found in the building, furnished the prisoners with spear heads and sword blades. They had secreted a few knives and hatchets. Ashton was chosen leader, with a full display of under officers. They were divided into two detachments, one to attack the guard house, the other the gate, when they were to turn the cannon upon the town. They intended to make the sally by the cellar door, and the officers had planned that the ice should be removed silently with their long knives on the night of their rising. One of their number escaped to the army without, and gave notice to them to act in concert. By artifices they had procured a small supply of powder from the sentries, for matches, &c. Every thing was arranged, when two young New Englanders, ignorant of the plan of the chiefs, one day descended to the cellar, and commenced chopping the ice, and by the noise, revealed the conspiracy. The person who gave the whole secret of the plot, was an English deserter, who had joined the camp at Cambridge. *Henry.*

24. They at last obtained permission that an Irishman, one of their number, should be allowed to obtain vegetable food for them in the city. They soon became more relieved.

25. These belonged to Simpson's party, and were taken on the retreat. The withdrawal of the American army, brought an abundance of fresh provisions and relief to the prisoners.

26. Henry repeatedly bears testimony to the kind hearted and benevolent conduct of Sir Guy Carleton.

27. The following is the parole:—

"We, whose names are underwritten, do solemnly promise unto his Excellency, Gen^l Carleton, that we will not say or do any thing against his Majesty's person or Government, but repair whenever his Excellency, Gen^l Carleton, or any other, his Majesty's commander-in-chief, shall think fit to call for us."

Henry states that this parole was signed on the 7th August. He viewed by permission the city fortification before he left, and has recorded his opinion, that had the two detachments of the American army effected a junction, their efforts to take the upper town, must have been futile, on account of the great strength of the approach. He can not believe that Montgomery's project extended further than to capture the lower town, burn it, and the shipping, and then prepare for an assault on the upper town; for the plunder, they would thus acquire, would induce the men, whose terms of service had expired, to remain longer. The prisoners embarked on the 8th, and sailed on the 10th of August, and arrived at New York on the 11th of September. There is a good account of the expedition in *Lossing's "Field book of the Revolution,"* I. 193.

Appended to this journal in the autograph of the latter part of it, is an account of the distances of the various portages on the Kennebec, Dead and Chaudiere rivers. There seems to be two different accounts, slightly varying. This is the summing up of one account.

	Number of Carrying Places.	Rods.	Miles.	Rods.	Miles.
On the Kennebec,	4	99	1		
To Dead River,	4		10 1-3	3	3 1-4
On Dead River,	16	125	8	7	28 1-3
On Chaudiere,	3	7	1-2		
Total,	27	294	19 5-6	10	31 7-12

GENEALOGY OF THE WARE FAMILY.

Prepared by W. B. TRASK, of Dorchester.

Robert¹ Ware, husbandman, settled in that part of Dedham, Mass., now called Wrentham; was one of the original proprietors of lands in Dedham, granted 6. 12. 1642; made freeman, May 26, 1647; was member of the ar. co. 1644; and died, April 19, 1699. We have but little information concerning him. He was one of the six individuals mentioned, who were "*impressed* by virtue of a warrant from ye Major," in Dedham, to serve in King Philip's war. On the Town Records, he is styled, "Robert Ware the aged." His name stands, second, also, in

point of wealth, on the tax list of that period. His will was made, Feb. 25, 1698. An abstract of it, with the autograph, is here annexed.

Robert Ware, of Dedham. Unto wife *Hannah*, the use & improvement of the East end of my Dwelling house, the North end of my Barne, halfe my Orchard, one third part of my pasture Land near my house, and at the North end of the Island planting field; one third part of my Lot that I purchased of *John Keelum* that is fenced in particular; halfe my broad Meadow that lye betwixt the Lands of *John Eaton*, and the Widdow *Kingsberry*; one horse beast; as much household Stuff as She Stand in need of, for her use all the terme of her natural life, and Twenty pounds of money. Son *Samuel* to provide her Wood fit for the fire at all times what she shall need, and he to be paid out of my Estate what is just. Also unto my Wife the improvement of two acres of Land that is broken up, where *Samuel* have a part, near Magus hill. Each of my children to have equal portions in my Estate, Excepting Son *John*, who is to have Twenty pound more than a Single portion.—Most of my Lands I divide amongst my three Sons in Dedham;—what they have more than their equal portions they must make payment for to my Executors, within the Space of four yeares after my and my Wives decease.—Unto Son *Samuel* the West end of my Dwellinghouse; the South end of my Barne, new Barne, Shop, halfe my Orchard, two parts of three of all my pasture Land near my house, *Greens Lott*, two Thirds of all my Land at the North end of the Island Planting field, two parts of three of the Land purchased of *John Keelum*, a quarter part of my broad Meadow, my foule Meadow, all my Swamps near my house and about *Greens Lot*, my Swamp near South plain, and my Land at the Clapboard Trees. More, five acres of Wood land near to Medfield way as it abuts on *Joseph Wights Lot*. I give unto him halfe of that Land I bought of *Mr. Dwight* near to Magus hill, abutteth on Lands of Widow *Metcalfe* West and *John Eaton* East; one third part of my Land at the Stamping place, and one third part at Chestnut hill; halfe my Land at Magus hill within fence, and halfe on the North Side of my fenced Land. After the decease of my Wife, *Samuel* my Son, is to have all my housing and Orchard; all the Lands near my house, Uplands and Swamps, *Greens Lot*, all my Swamps about it; all my Lands at the Northerly end of planting field, Meadow and Upland, as it abutteth on the East on Charles River, and the pond North: all my Meadow and Upland that is fenced in with *Eleazer Kingsberrys* Land, near Vine rock; halfe my broad Meadow and four Cow Common rights. I give unto my son *Ephraim*, that Land I purchased of *Mr. Dwight*, that abut on his house Lot East; halfe my Land near Magus hill within fence, halfe my Land on the North side of my Land fenced in, all my Small parcels of Meadow near it, one third part of my Land at the Stamping ground, one third part of Land at Chesnut hill, and three Cow Common rights; one fourth part of broad Meadow, and after the decease of my Wife one third part.—All my Children shall have equal share in my Lot at the great Cedar Swamp.—Unto son *Ebenezer*, all my Land as it lyeth abutting upon *Daniels* Swampy Meadow East, *Samuel Parker*, North. More; one parcel of Land a little distant from his house Lot towards the East by *John Woodcocks* Land. One third part of my Land at the Stamping ground and Chesnut hill; after my Wives decease, a third part of my broad Meadow and three Cow Common rights.—Unto my Children at Wrentham, their portions to be equally divided betwixt them; all Moveables, cattle and household Stuff what my Wife can Spare, my Cloaths, all Debts due to me, eight acres of Land I purchased of *Henry Brock* and *Lambert Ginery*, as it lyeth in the Island planting field; three acres of Land I purchased of *Thomas Eames*, abutting on *John Woodcock*. After the decease of my Wife, the household Stuff she have to use be equally divided amongst them. It is my Will that my houses and Lands near home may be low prized. The Lands in planting field, being poor Leacs require much fencing.—Sons *John*, *Robert*, and *Samuel*, Executors.—Friends Deacon *Thomas Metcalfe*, Deac *Wm Avery*, and Deac *Joseph Wight* Overseers. I have hereunto Set my hand and “Seal the date aforesaid, &c.

In presence of us

Thomas Battelle, Hannah Alderidge, Thomas Fuller.

Will Proved May 11, 1699.

Inventory of his Estate, taken May 3, 1699. Apprized by Elazer Kingsbury, Thomas Fuller, Amos Fisher, £250. 2. 10.

ROBERT¹ WARE, m. Margaret Hunting, children,
(2.) I. JOHN,² (9.) b. Oct. 6, 1648; settled in Wrentham—had 3 wives.

*Robert
Ware*

- (3.) II. NATHANIEL,² (16.) b. Oct. 7, 1649 or 1650. d. in Wrentham, July 1, 1724—left 5 sons, 3 daus.
- (4.) III. ROBERT,² b. Aug. 1, 1653, m. Elizabeth White 1709, had Elizabeth,³ Robert,³ Joseph,³ Timothy,³ Henry,³ Jonathan,³ Thomas,³ Ichabod,³ Jemima.³ ROBERT,² died, Sept. 16, 1724.
- (5.) IV. ESTHER,² b. Sept. 28, 1655. m. Rev. Samuel Mann, of Wrentham, May 13, 1673. d. Sept. 3, 1734, had 6 sons, 5 daus.
- (6.) V. SAMUEL,² b. Sept. 30, 1657. d. at an advanced age, in Dedham, left one son who was drowned.
- (7.) VI. EPHRAIM,² b. Nov. 5, 1659, d. at Needham, aged 94, left 2 sons, 3 daus.
- (8.) VII. EBENEZER,² b. Oct. 28, 1667, d. at Needham, aged 98, had 5 wives, 1 son, 6 daus.
JOHN,² (2.) had
- (9.) I. JOHN,³ b. 1670, m. 1696, d. 1719, had 3 sons, 3 dau^s.
- (10.) II. A SON,³ b. 1676, m. 1701, d. 1750, had 3 sons, 3 dau^s.
- (11.) III. ABIGAIL,³ b. 1681, m. 1702; 1 son, 2 dau^s.
- (12.) IV. JOSEPH,³ (19.) b. 1682, m. 1709, d. in Sherburne, had 2 sons, 3 dau^s.
- (13.) V. MARY,³ b. 1684, m. Nicholson, d. 1740—childless.
- (14.) VI. HANNAH,³ b. 1686, m. Fairbanks, d. 1730, of a cancer in her breast—left 3 sons.
- (15.) VII. BENJAMIN,³ b. 1688, d. 1744, left 1 dau. who m. Seth Brewster. NATHANIEL,² (3.) had wife Mary, children,
- (16.) I. JOSIAH,³ (24.) b. in Wrentham, March 21, 1707.
- (17.) II. MARY,³ b. March 2, 1708.
- (18.) III. HEZEKIAH,³ b. April 17, 1711.
JOSEPH,³ (12.) had children.
- (19.) I. ZIPPORAH,⁴ m. Goulding; had Joseph, John, Eleazer, Mary, Zipporah, Hannah.
- (20.) II. HEPZIBAH,⁴ m. Prentiss, had Benj., Stephen, Hannah, Hepzibah, Sarah.
- (21.) III. HANNAH,⁴ m. 2^d Hill, d. childless.
- (22.) IV. JOHN,⁴ (34.) m. Martha Prentiss, of Cambridge, June 16, 1743.
- (23.) V. BENJAMIN,⁴ m. d. childless.
- JOSIAH,³ (16.)—went to Needham, soon after reaching the age of 21; purchased a tract of uncultivated land, where he commenced farming, and there continued till the time of his death in 1798; m. 1st Lydia Macintire, Jan. 7, 1741, children,
- (24.) I. JOSIAH,⁴ * (44.) b. in Needham, Sept. 15, 1742, moved when young to Wrentham, m. Lois, dau. of Elisha & Phebe Ware of W., June 8, 1770. He died, Oct. 23, 1836.
- (25.) II. ELIJAH,⁴ b. Feb. 7, 1744, d. young.
- (26.) III. LYDIA,⁴ (51.) b. 1745, m. Solomon Flagg, of Needham, Sept. 4, 1766.
- (27.) IV. ELIJAH,⁴ (57.) b. Sept. 30, 1747, m. Rebecca Woodward. He died in 1817.
m. 2^d, Dorothy Dewen, April 13, 1750, had
- (28.) V. ASA,⁴ (58.) b. March, 5, 1751, moved early to Wrentham, m. Phebe, dau. of Elisha and Phebe Ware of W.—lost his left hand at the battle of Monmouth under Gen^l Lee—was Deac. of the church near 40 years, and died May 9, 1832.
- (29.) VI. DOROTHY,⁴ b. May 16, 1752, m. Josiah Hall of Wrentham; no issue. She died in 1815.

* He was a worthy and industrious farmer, and one of the building Committee for erecting the first church in N. Wrentham.

- (30.) VII. JOSEPH,⁴ (65.) the author of *the journal*, b. Oct. 15, 1753, m. Esther Smith of Needham. She was born Jan. 16, 1756. He was a farmer, and followed that occupation till the commencement of the Revolution, when he entered the army; served through the war; was at the battles of Concord and Ticonderoga; acted as orderly sergeant and recruiting officer; * d. Nov. 12, 1805. His widow d. Aug. 1834. *Joseph Ware*
- (31.) VIII. DANIEL,⁴ (72.) "Esq." b. May 19, 1755, m. Abigail Newell. He passed two terms of service, of 3 months each, as orderly sergeant, in the army, and filled, afterward, various public offices in Needham.
m. 3^d, Mehitable Whitney, Oct. 13, 1757, had
- (32.) IX. MEHITABLE,⁴ b. Aug. 3, 1758, m. Whitney of Stow. She d. in 1835.
- (33.) X. WILLIAM,⁴ b. 1760, d. young.
m. 4th, Sibel Robinson, April 19, 1764; no issue.
- JOHN,⁴ (22.) had children,
- (34.) I. MARTHA,⁵
- (35.) II. ELIZABETH,⁵ m. Peter Bullard, had 7 sons & 7 dau^s.
- (36.) III. MARY,⁵ m. Jonathan Holbrook, had 2 dau^s.
- (37.) IV. JOSEPH,⁵ b. April 30, 1751, m. Grace Coolidge. He lost an arm at the battle of White Plains, and, notwithstanding his mutilation, continued, like his father, to lead the active life of a farmer. He was father of Hon. Ashur Ware, U. S. District Judge for the State of Maine. Two of the brethren of Joseph⁵ served in the Revolutionary war. One of them was at the battle of Bunker's Hill, when only 14 years of age. Had 3 sons, 2 dau^s.
- (38.) V. JOHN,⁵ b. July 4, 1753, m. 1st, Hannah Leland; 2^d, Zeraiah (?) Brown.
- (39.) VI. MARTHA,⁵ m. Joel Coolidge, had 4 sons & 4 dau^s.
- (40.) VII. BENJAMIN,⁵ b. Jan. 8, 1759, m. Mehitabel Leland, had 2 sons, 3 dau^s.
- (41.) VIII. PERSIS,⁵ b. Aug. 12, 1761, m. William Adams, had 4 sons, 3 dau^s.
- (42.) IX. HENRY,⁵ D.D. (78.) b. April 1, 1764, entered Harvard University at the age of 18, graduated in 1785, ordained in Hingham Oct. 24, 1787, elected Hollis Professor at Cambridge, 1805; held that office till 1840, died July 12, 1845. He m. 1st, Mary, dau. of Rev. Jonas Clarke of Lexington, 1789. Mrs. C. was a grand. dau. of Rev. Thomas Hancock of L., who was grandfather of the celebrated John Hancock.
m. 2^d, Mary, dau. of James Otis, and widow of Benjamin Lincoln Jr. Feb. 1807. She died at Cambridge Feb. 17, 1807, aged 43.
m. 3^d, Elizabeth, dau. of Nicholas Bowes, in Sept. 1807. Mr. B. was formerly an eminent bookseller of Boston.
- (43.) X. AZARIAH,⁵ b. Jan. 12, 1769, m. Sarah Babcock, had 1 son, 2 dau^s.
- JOSIAH,⁴ (24.) and Lois had
- (44.) I. RHODA,⁵ d. young.

*The family had in their possession, less than twenty years ago, a book, which cannot now be found. It contained, with other matters of interest, the names of all the men whom Sergeant Ware enrolled.

- (45.) II. EUNICE,⁵ m. Daniel Cook.
 (46.) III. JOSIAH,⁵ m. Mehitable Richardson of Franklin.
 (47.) IV. ELISHA,⁵
 (48.) V. LUCY,⁵ m. Benjamin Rockwood.
 (49.) VI. DARIUS,⁵
 (50.) VII. LOIS,⁵ m. Josiah Coddling.
 SOLOMON and LYDIA,⁴ (26.) Flagg had
 (51.) I. ELISHA,⁵ b. Nov. 10, 1767.
 (52.) II. LYDIA,⁵ b. July 8, 1771.
 (53.) III. SOLOMON,⁵ b. Feb. 18, 1774.
 (54.) IV. SIBEL,⁵ b. Oct. 20, 1776.
 (55.) V. SALLY,⁵ b. Oct. 2, 1780.
 (56.) VI. POLLY,⁵ b. June 1, 1784.
 ELIJAH,⁵ (27.) and Rebecca had
 (57.) I. LUTHER,⁵ II. CALVIN,⁵ III. REBECCA,⁵ IV. SALLY,⁵ V. PATTY,⁵
 ASA,⁴ (28.) and Phebe had
 (58.) I. HANNAH,⁵ b. May 20, 1781. (59.) II. ASA,⁵ b. June 16, 1783.
 (60.) III. CALEB,⁵ b. Nov. 10, 1788. (61.) IV. THEODORE,⁵ b. March 2,
 1792.
 (62.) V. PHEBE,⁵ b. Nov. 22, 1794. (63.) VI. CHLOE,⁵ b. July 6, 1797.
 (64.) VII. SILAS,⁵ b. June 3, 1800.
 JOSEPH,⁴ (30.) and Esther had
 (65.) I. JOSEPH,⁵ b. Nov. 9, 1778, m. Nancy Smith, now living.
 (66.) II. WILLIAM,⁵ b. Aug. 5, 1784, in Natick, m. Abigail Williams,
 Jan. 1, 1812, still living. She was born in Roxbury, April 23,
 1791. He died Nov. 30, 1839.
 (67.) III. GEORGE,⁵ b. June 25, 1787, unm. d. May, 1820.
 (68.) IV. POLLY,⁵ b. June 10, 1789, d. April 5, 1796.
 (69.) V. ABIGAIL,⁵ b. Sept. 10, 1791, (living.) m. 1st, John Seaverns.
 2^d, Thomas Russell Shepard—living.
 (70.) VI. RALPH,⁵ b. July 19, 1793, d. March 20, 1800.
 (71.) VII. MARY,⁵ b. April 12, 1795, m. John Whittemore, both living.
 DANIEL,⁴ (31.) and Abigail had
 (72.) I. DANIEL,⁵ b. Sept. 22, 1785. (73.) II. DOROTHY,⁵ b. Feb. 9, 1788.
 (74.) III. REUBEN,⁵ b. June 12, 1790. (75.) IV. REUEL,⁵ b. Sept. 24,
 1794.
 (76.) V. DEXTER,⁵ b. Oct. 27, 1797, killed in the fall of 1851, by the
 cars, at Grantville depot.
 (77.) VI. NABBY,⁵ b. Feb. 24, 1800. (78.) VII. & VIII. LUCINDA,⁵ and
 LOUISA,⁵ b. April 17, 1804.
 HENRY,⁵ (42.) and Mary (Clarke) Ware had
 (78.) I. FANNY,⁶ (79.) II. JULIA,⁶ both died in infancy.
 (80.) III. LUCY CLARK,⁶ m. Rev. Joseph Allen, D. D. of Northborough.
 (81.) IV. MARY COTTON,⁶ m. Jarius Lincoln, Esq., of Northborough.
 (82.) V. HENRY,⁶ D. D. b. at Hingham, April 21, 1794, grad. of H. U.
 1812; ord. Pastor of the Second Church, in Boston, Jan. 1, 1817,
 m. Oct. following Elizabeth Watson Waterhouse, dau. of Dr. Ben-
 jamin W. of Cambridge. She died Feb. 9, 1824, aged 30. He m.
 2^d, Mary Lovell Pickard, dau. of Mark Pickard, Esq., formerly a
 merchant of Boston, June 11, 1827. Mr. W. dissolved his pastoral
 connection in 1830; was afterward Professor of Pulpit Eloquence
 at Cambridge, and died Sept. 22, 1843.
 (83.) VI. JOHN,⁶ M. D. bap. at Hingham Dec. 27, 1795, grad. at Har-
 vard 1813—the well known physician in Boston.
 (84.) VII. WILLIAM,⁶ b. 1797, grad. H. U. 1816; settled over the

First Unitarian Church and Society in New York; afterward at West Cambridge, Mass.; author of "Zenobia," "Probus," &c. He died in Cambridge, Feb. 19, 1852, aged 54.

- (85.) VIII. MARTHA,⁶ d. aged 3 1-2 years.
 (86.) IX. HARRIET,⁶ m. Rev. Edward B. Hall, D. D. of Providence, R. I.
 (87.) X. MARTHA ANN,⁶ d. in infancy.
 Children of HENRY,⁵ and Elizabeth (Bowes) Ware.
 (88.) XI. ELIZABETH ANN,⁶ m. Rev. George Putnam, D. D. of Roxbury, Mass.
 (89.) XII. FREDERIC AUGUSTUS,⁶ d. in infancy.
 (90.) XIII. CAROLINE REBECCA,⁶ m. Edward Warren, M. D. of Newton, Mass.
 (91.) XIV. CHARLES ELIOT,⁶ M. D. grad. of H. U. 1834; physician in Boston.
 (92.) XV. EDWARD PROCTOR,⁶ drowned in Charles River, aged 10 years.
 (93.) XVI. CHARLOTTE LOUISA.⁶ (94.) XVII. GEORGE FREDERICK,⁶ grad. H. U. 1838.
 (95.) XVIII. THORNTON KIRKLAND,⁶ grad. H. U. 1842. (96.) XIX. ANN STORROW.⁶

NOTE. In reference to the Journal of Mr. Ware, it is evident that, he placed several facts under the 29th of December, which occurred on the 31st, as may be seen on pages 132 and 133 of this Periodical.

