HISTORY

OF

Bunker Hill Battle.

WITH A

PLAN.

BY S. SWETT.


MUCH ENLARGED WITH NEW INFORMATION DERIVED FROM THE SURVIVING SOLDIERS PRESENT AT THE CELEBRATION ON

THE 17TH JUNE LAST.

AND NOTES.

BOSTON:

Munroe and Francis, 128 Washington-Street.

1826.
DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

BE it remembered, that on the ninth day of September, A.D. 1818, in the forty-third year of
the Independence of the United States of America, Samuel Swett of the said District, has
deposited in this Office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words
following, to wit:

Historical and topographical Sketch of Bunker Hill Battle, with a plan. By S. Swett.

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, "An act for the
encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors
and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act,
entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning,
by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such
copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of
designing, engraving and etching, historical and other prints."

JOHN W. DAVIS,
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.
PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

PREBLE, Ward, Pomeroy, Thomas, Heath, and Whitcomb, were appointed by the Mass. Congress generals of the militia, some detachments of which, having defeated the enemy at Lexington and driven them into Boston, could no longer be retained in quarters. Only five days after the battle, Gen. Ward writes Congress, that, unless they furnished him with enlisting orders immediately, he should be left entirely alone. The day before, however, that body had resolved, that an army of thirty thousand was necessary; that Massachusetts would raise thirteen thousand six hundred of the number; and that the other New England States should have notice given them, and be requested to furnish their respective proportions. But the battle of Lexington was a beacon fire to the neighbouring states. The hardy yeomen, whom rage supplied with arms, did not wait to be summoned by the tardy process of legislation; they seized their hunting pieces, and flew to join their brethren at the scene of danger.

The Committee of Safety, elected anew by Congress at every session, were the real executive of Massachusetts.† They were empowered generally to watch over the safety of the commonwealth, and advise Congress of such measures as they thought beneficial, and expressly commissioned:

"To assemble such and so many of the Militia and them to dispose and place where and detain so long as said Committee shall judge necessary, and discharge said Militia when the safety of the Colony will admit. And the officers of the said Mi-

* Father of Com. Preble, who did not accept.
† The members were now John Hancock and Benjamin Greenleaf, who never took their seats; John Pigeon, and Enoch Freeman, seldom present; and Joseph Warren, chairman, Benjamin Church, Benjamin White, Joseph Palmer, Abraham Watson, Samuel Holten, Azor Orne, Nathan Cushing, and Richard Devens.—Secretary, Jonathan Hastings.
liam are enjoined to obey the orders and directions of said Committee of Safety. And also to direct the army of this Colony to be stationed where said Committee of Safety shall judge most conducive to the defence and service of this Colony, and the general and other officers of the army are requested to render strict obedience to such orders of said Committee; but Congress have power to control any order of the Committee of Safety. Also to nominate persons to Congress to be commissioned officers in the army and to give enlisting orders to such persons as they think proper. And if any officers be ready to be commissioned agreeable to the resolve of this Congress during the recess of the same the Committee shall fill up and deliver to them commissions to be furnished said Committee in blank for that purpose."

This committee distributed enlisting orders to those whom they thought qualified to raise recruits. The number of a company was reduced from one hundred to fifty-nine; any one who enlisted this number was entitled to a captain’s commission; and he who procured ten companies to serve under him commanded the regiment. Mass. Congress issued an eloquent address to the people, recruits came in with spirit, and by the middle of June the New England army of citizen soldiers, enlisted for a few months,* amounted to about fifteen thousand.

Of these about ten thousand were of Massachusetts; animated with the same love of liberty which inspired the whole, they were the most thoroughly instructed in the rectitude of their cause by Otis, who led the forlorn hope of the revolution, Jno. Adams, Quincy, Hancock, Sam'l Adams, and others. They were fighting battles peculiarly their own, in defence of their wives, children and homes, and had that warlike reputation to support, which they and their fathers acquired from continued triumphs over ferocious savages, and recent success at Nova Scotia and Louisbourg over European troops.†

* Conn. and R. I. to Dec.; Mass. to Jan.

† MASS. REGIMENTS AND FIELD OFFICERS.

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At

Cambridge

Roxbury

Cambridge

Roxbury

Cambridge
Mass. Congress, on the 10th May, ordered, a regiment of artillery to be raised, it was scarcely organized yet; the train consisted of one six, two brass,* and six iron three-pound cannon. Col. Richard Gridley, Lt. Col. Wm. Burbeck, Majors David Mason and Scarborough Gridley, were the field officers.†

Rhode-Island had sent a regiment to Massachusetts imbued with the determined spirit of civil and religious liberty, which the founder of their state maintained through every peril. Colonel Green was their commander, one of the most promising heroes of the revolution. The elements of a soldier were so mixed in him, that his elevated rank among distinguished warriors was already anticipated. Under him were Lieut. Col. Olay and Maj. Box,‡ an experienced English soldier. An artillery company with four field-pieces was attached to the corps.

The hardy yeomanry of New Hampshire, beneath whose strokes the lofty forests and their savage inhabitants had been levelled with the dust, who had been used to little control but

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A number of companies, belonging to regiments at Roxbury, were at Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, and other parts of Plymouth county.

* The Hancock and Adams, so adroitly taken by stratagem from a British guard in Boston. The two other pieces, taken near the same time and carried to Roxbury, were doubtless in Gen. Thomas' camp.
† Capt. Callender, Burbeck, Seescott, Pierce, Chadwick, Gridley, Popkin, Crafts, Foster, and Badlam.
‡ Appointed Brig. Maj. by Washington.
what the God of Nature imposed, were moved with indignation at approaching tyranny. They flocked as volunteers to the neighbourhood of Boston, and chose Col. Stark, Lieut. Col. Wyman, and Maj. M'Clary their leaders. Their colonel was worthy to command this formidable band; he had been a distinguished captain of Provincial Rangers received into the service of the crown, was at Quebec under Gen. Wolfe, and enjoyed half pay as a British officer, an offering he made with other sacrifices for the good of his country.—Their major also was a favourite officer. Nearly six feet and a half in height, with a Herculean form in perfect proportions, a voice like Stentor, and strength of Ajax; ever unequalled in athletic exercises, and unsubdued in single combat, whole bodies of men had been overcome by him, and he seemed totally unconscious that he was not equally unconquerable at the cannon's mouth. His mind and character were of the same grand and energetic cast with his person; and though deficient in the advantages of finished education, he had been a member of the state legislature, and his mercantile concerns were extensive.

Colonel Sargent, driven from Massachusetts by the enmity of Governor Hutchinson, resorted to Amherst, and brought a small regiment from that part of New Hampshire. And, on 15th June, another small regiment from New Hampshire, arrived under Col. Reed, Lieut. Col. Gilman, and Maj. Hale.

Republican Connecticut, the secure asylum of the regicide judges, was behind none of the provinces in determined hostility to Britain, for not only civil but religious liberty, paramount with her to all earthly considerations, was in danger. In her vocabulary the British were the Philistines, and Putnam, the American Samson, a chosen instrument to defeat the foe; and fortunately she inspired her confidence into all her sister states. With her usual sagacity, however, this province, notwithstanding a confident reliance on supernatural aid, employed all human means to secure it. Her State constitution and establishments were unchanged, her troops the best armed, disciplined, and provisioned, in the army.

* Col. Sargent's L ett.

So completely had almost every circumstance relative to the battle been permitted to sink into oblivion, that the author could not in 1818 discover to what province this whole regiment belonged, but presumed to Massachusetts, where the Col. did; what renders it more striking, Gen. Dearborn, of the N.H. troops, seems to have forgotten it; he mentions two other regiments only as coming from New Hampshire.

† N. E. Chron. Aug. '75.
On the first news of the battle of Lexington, Putnam mounted his horse, rode night and day till he arrived at Cambridge, and attended a Council of War on the 21st April, when the parole was Putnam.* His troops soon followed him; Storrs was Lieut. Col. and Durkee, who had served with him through the whole war of '56, with distinguished reputation, the Maj. of his regiment. Brig. Gen. Spencer, Lieut. Col. Willis, and Maj. Mayo, Col. Waterbury and Col. Parsons came also with the Connecticut troops, in all about three thousand. Capt. Coit, who had lost an eye, was next to M'Clary in stature and intrepidity; he commanded an independent company of New-London mariners, and Chester another independent company from Weathersfield, the elite corps of the army. As such it was selected, on the 6th June, to escort Gen. Putnam and Warren, President of Congress, to Charlestown, on the exchange of prisoners with the British.

The scene of their meeting was hallowed by the flag of truce which waved over it, and sacred to the rites of hospitality and friendship. The officers on both sides were personal friends, though arrayed against each other in public hostility. Between Putnam and the British officers, especially, these ties had been cemented by the mutual perils and intimate associations of the camp, during the long war of '56, and their present opposition served only to make their affection glow with a more genial warmth. These rugged sons of Mars, from the impulse of feeling, rushed into each others' arms; bravery proved its natural alliance with the finer feelings of the human heart; the fell spirit of civil war was softened. The British were entertained by Putnam and Warren as their guests.

The army was under the command of Artemas Ward, commissioned the 21st of May, as general and commander in chief of the Massachusetts forces. His general orders were copied and obeyed by all the troops in Massachusetts to whatever Province they belonged, and the officers were ordered on courts martial, and the usual routine of duty without any distinction whatever.* Mass. Congress also resolved, on the 23d of May, that a Lieut.Gen., two Maj.Gens., four Brig., two Adj. and two Qr. Mr. Gens. should be appointed.

Gen. Ward was a gentleman of liberal education, vigorous understanding and distinguished probity. He had been a member of the council, speaker of the assembly, and chief justice of one of the courts in Massachusetts. He professed the rigid

* Ord. Book.
tenets of New England religion, and his rank and character commanded an extensive influence in the country. He had also served with reputation in the war of ’56, was a lieut. col. at the storming of Ticonderoga, under Gen. Abercrombie, and soon after commanded the regiment. He had also been a Col. of militia, an office from which Gov. Hutchinson relieved him on account of his being too true a patriot.

Gen. Thomas received the appointment of Lieut. Gen. which he accepted the 27th of May. As a gentleman of honor, superior talents and education, a pure patriot, a gallant, enterprising soldiery, his character commanded universal confidence. He had served in the former war with reputation, and already distinguished himself in this. Being in command at Roxbury with a feeble force, Gen. Gage had determined to drive him from that important post. But his vigilance detected the design, and by a ruse de guerre he defeated it, manoeuvring his troops in sight of the enemy, he gave them the appearance of much greater numbers than he possessed, and the enemy relinquished the enterprise.*

The veteran Gen. Pomeroy of Northampton continued with the new levied troops under his old commission, not having yet received a new appointment, and assisted in organizing the army. He was a hardy intrepid adventurous soldier, a keen and celebrated hunter, an honest, open hearted man. He had acquired a distinguished reputation in the war of ’56, when military fame was the reward of individual prowess and private enterprise, and left the service a laureled captain of provincials. He commanded a company under Sir William Johnson in the celebrated engagement when the French and Indians, under the Baron Dieskau, were defeated. To our captain the honor of having slain the Baron was awarded over rival claims, and the baron’s watch was bestowed on him as a trophy to be transmitted with his fame to posterity.† He was in fact the natural military chieftain of his neighbourhood, and may well be styled the Putnam of Connecticut river.

Gen. Whitcomb bore a close resemblance in history and character to Pomeroy. He appeared with the militia at Lexington battle, but was too old for service. He received the appointment of Muster Master, with Col. Benjamin, and on 12th June of Maj. Gen. which he declined.

On the 14th of June, Joseph Warren‡ was elected a major general of Massachusetts. In his character the heroism of an

* Gordon.
† It is yet retained in his family.
‡ “Un des ces hommes, dont la nature est avare.”
An accomplished scholar; gifted with distinguished genius, his mind was stored with the treasures of classic erudition. A model as an orator; ardent, elegant, and impressive, selected twice to address his fellow citizens in public, his eloquence burst asunder those strong ties by which nature bound them to the mother country. A patriot, pure and without reproach; his favourite maxim was "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." An eminent physician; his superb character soared far beyond the narrow limits of his profession. In person handsome, in manners elegant and accomplished, he was the favorite of the drawing room, and qualified to shine in the highest circles of fashion. But the cause of liberty, of his country, and mankind, summoned him to a destiny by far more exalted. Chairman of the Committee of Safety, and President of the Provincial Congress, he remembered that, in the simplicity of ancient republics, the most distinguished legislators were also the most devoted warriors. As a volunteer he accompanied Gen. Putnam to one of the islands, where, in a warm engagement, the enemy were defeated and one of their vessels destroyed; and his head had been grazed by a ball from the enemy at the battle of Lexington.

Gen. Ward’s quarters were at Cambridge, with about 8,000 Massachusetts troops, and 1000 from Connecticut. The latter, with Sargent’s and Patterson’s regiments, were under the immediate command of Gen. Putnam, in a central and advanced position near Inman’s farm, where the enemy landed previous to the battle of Lexington. Some slight breastworks were thrown up by these troops, and a considerable redoubt erected near the Charlestown road, a mile and a half from Cambridge, where Col. Patterson’s regiment was stationed. Four companies of artillery with, and one without field pieces, were also at Cambridge.

The right wing of the army, consisting of about 2000 Massachusetts, 2000 Connecticut, and 1000 R. I. troops, was at Roxbury, under command of Lieut. Gen. Thomas, who had with him three or four companies of artillery, with small field pieces, and one or two large cannon. He extended a portion of his troops towards the seaboard in Dorchester.

At Medford were about one thousand New Hampshire troops under Colonels Reed and Stark, and a detachment of the same
troops with three companies of Gerrish’s regiment at Chelsea, forming the left wing of the army. A large guard, part of Little’s and other regiments, were stationed at Lechmere point on the evening of 16th June.

All these troops were hardy, brave, and athletic. Almost every soldier would rival Tell as a marksman, and aim his weapon at an oppressor with as keen a relish. Those from the frontier had gained this address against the savages and beasts of the forest; the country abounded with game, all were familiar with hunting; and the amusement universal throughout New England was the trial of skill with the musket. These troops were also religious, and their respect for the opinions of the clergy unbounded. But the religion of their clergy was republican in its nature; they had the most lively antipathy to church establishments, and dread of royal oppression. To avoid the expense of chaplains, the clergy in the neighbourhood of the camp were invited by Congress to perform divine service, thirteen of them every sabbath; a request they punctually complied with. Three or four chaplains, however, were attached to the army,* and prayed with the troops every morning on the common.

The confidence of the army in their officers was implicit and, as it appears from the characters already described, richly merited. But, besides their superior officers, many of the subordinate officers and privates had served in the army in the war of '45 or of '56.

Their confidence was at present elevated to an excess by the recent and unexpected conquests, which their arms had accomplished. Besides the victory at Lexington, and successful skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Boston, they had just learned, that Arnold,† who had received a colonel’s commission and troops from the Committee of Safety of Massachusetts, had, in alliance with other New England forces, achieved the important conquest of Crown Point and Ticonderoga. These troops were also sensible that they were fighting in their own cause, and were exalted into heroes by an ardent love of liberty, a maddening, indignant sense of oppression. This indignation burned with new fury from a recent proclamation of Gov. Gage, denouncing them all as rebels,

* Rev. Jos. Thaxter of Edgartown was one of them, who made an audible and eloquent prayer before an assembly of 20,000 at the celebration on 17. June last.
† Arnold came to Cambridge immediately after Lexington battle with an Independent Conn. company, and offered his services for any dangerous enterprise, to the Com. of Safety.
and especially the proscribed patriots Hancock and Adams, their abettors, adherents, and associates.

Excepting these characteristics, however, they were deficient in almost every important requisite of an army. Their arms were wretchedly defective, and the bayonet almost universally wanting. They were strangers to discipline and almost to subordination. Though nominally organized into regiments, these were deficient in numbers, many of them only skeletons, and their respective ranks not ascertained. Some of these troops were yet serving as minutemen,* and the officers in a number of regiments were not commissioned. Tents were not provided, the commissariat, quarter-master’s department, and staff were yet unorganized.† The several towns sent sufficient provisions to their troops, but with irregularity and waste.

Colonel Gridley was appointed chief, and Wm. Burbeck second engineer; but the latter was attached to the ordnance department, and Gridley had no assistant engineers. It was impossible for him to supply this defect, and he was almost too old for service; but, if military science, skill, and experience could have overcome these difficulties, there was not an officer in America more capable of accomplishing it.

He was born in Boston, 1711, and brother of J. Gridley, "the giant of the law." Uncommon genius, improved by superior education, prepared him for an elevated standing. Apt and learned in every branch of mathematics; of romantic honor, chivalrous ambition, and adventurous bravery, nature made him a soldier; and art could not make him a merchant. The attempt was relinquished, and, like Washington, he employed himself as a practical surveyor and civil engineer. After the decease of his brother, who held the office, he was elected Grand Master of Masons. Military science he studied with enthusiasm and acquired with facility, and in ’45 he commenced his military career.

Massachusetts raised an army of three thousand two hundred men, New Hampshire added three and Connecticut five

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* Minute men were raised, by advice of a meeting of Boston patriots, as early as ’72, and 29 Oct. ’74 Mass. Congress enjoined the militia to choose company officers, these field officers, the latter to enlist at least of their respective companies, and form into companies of not less than 60, who shall equip and be prepared at the shortest notice, officer themselves in the manner of the militia, the company officers to form battalions of 9 companies.

† John Pigeon was appointed Commissary; no deputies were appointed till 1 July. The first Adj. Gen. appointed was Wm. Henshaw on the 27th June. Sam'l Brewer was Adj. Gen. to Thomas.
hundred, to conquer the Island of Cape Breton. In this army he received the appointment of engineer and commander of the artillery. Under the instruction of Bastide, a distinguished engineer, he became at once an adept in his profession, and, like Archimedes, acquired celebrity in the war of sieges. With scientific accuracy he pointed the mortar which, on the third fire, threw a shell into the citadel of Louisbourg, one grand cause of its surrender, and the conquest of Cape Breton. He was rewarded by a captaincy in Gov. Shirley's regiment on the British establishment; peace left him on half pay, and in '52 he attended the governor to the Kennebeck, and erected forts Western and Halifax.

In '55 he again entered the service as chief engineer and colonel of infantry. In '56 he was commander of the provincial artillery, under Gen. Winslow, in the expedition against Crown Point, and proceeded to Lake George, where he erected fortifications. In '57 he sailed for Halifax, intended for Louisbourg, but the expedition was arrested by the French fleet. In '58 he revisited his earliest field of glory, and was at the second taking of Louisbourg, under Gen. Amherst. He had the superintendence of the ordnance stores, and was so distinguished in the siege, as were all the New England troops, that the general tendered him the valuable furniture of the governor's house, a present which, from chivalrous delicacy, he declined.

At the siege of Quebec, he enjoyed the distinguished honor of commanding the provincial artillery under the immortal Wolfe.* Gen. Amherst found it impossible to join the expedition; notwithstanding which, the audacious commander, seconded by Gridley and his other officers, determined to achieve the conquest without him. In the glorious battle, which ensued, Gridley proved himself worthy to fight by his side. Gridley's services were acknowledged and rewarded. The Magdalen islands with an extensive seal and cod fishery, and half pay as a British officer, were conferred on him. At the commencement of the revolution his British agent, by order of government, enquired to what party he devoted his services. His

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* With the utmost difficulty two pieces only could be raised to the heights of Abraham; the grape shot from these made great havoc among the enemy. Knox's Camp. in Amer.

The respectable intelligent children of Col. Gridley, from whom we derived most of our information concerning him, stated from recollection that he commanded these pieces.
BUNKER HILL BATTLE.

A BUNKER HILL BATTLE.

magnanimous answer was, "he never drew his sword but in " the cause of justice, and such he considered to be his coun-
"try's." His half pay ceased, and the arrears already due he had too much spirit to receive.

The British army in Boston, at the time of Lexington battle, were about four thousand, under Gen. Gage, the governor of Massachusetts. He had served with eclat in Europe and America, had married an American lady, was popular in the country, and disposed to moderate expedients, until he sacrificed his own judgment to the advice of violent partizans. By the last of May, large reinforcements arrived, and the whole consisted of the following regiments: the 4th, 5th, 10th, 14th, 3 companies of the 18th, 23d, 35th, 38th, 43d, 47th, 52d, 59th, 63d, 2 companies of the 65th, and the 67th. These amounted to about 10,000 troops, under Gens. Gage, Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, Pigot, Grant, and Robinson, Lords Percy and Rawdon; Col. Abercrombie, Williams, and others; the most distinguished officers and choicest troops of the British empire. The 52d, Royal Irish, and the 23d or Welsh fusiliers, had been the most signalized. There was also a squadron of cavalry, for whose use a house of God† was sacrilegiously assumed.

The light infantry were encamped on the heights of West Boston; there was a strong battery for cannon and mortars on Copp's Hill, facing Charlestown, and strong lines and batteries across the neck on the side of Roxbury; a battery at the northern extremity of the town, another on Fort hill, one at Fox hill on the common, where the marines, artillery, and 6th Regt. were encamped, 3 on the western shore of the common facing Cambridge, where the Royal Irish were stationed, and there were troops at Barton's point.

The British were equally sanguine, and as confident of success as their enemy, for whom, as soldiers, they entertained a sovereign contempt. This opinion was nourished by their officers who had served with those of the provincials, when they were degraded below British officers of similar commissions, and the generals were allowed no rank with those of the mother country. They were confirmed in the same opinion from the ordinary arms and uncouth dress of the American troops, worn by them unchanged from the plough or the workshop,

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* Prince of Wales's Regt. From a tradition that a former Prince had ridden to England on a goat; one, with gilded horns, was maintained by the corps, and they celebrated the anniversary of the feat.
† Old South.
‡ Many soldiers wore leather aprons on parade.
and the want of discipline and subordination which signalized their camp. They were also enthusiastic admirers of their government and constitution; king and parliament they considered omnipotent, and the Americans ungrateful, unnatural rebels, on whom they burned to inflict exemplary punishment.

Their narrow quarters galled their pride; Burgoyne declared they would have elbow room, and Gen. Gage proclaimed his mortification "that the Americans affected to hold the British army besieged." Notwithstanding the superior and increasing numbers of the foe, they determined to leave the town, and take Charlestown and Dorchester heights. The busy preparation had commenced to possess themselves of the latter on the 18th of June,* but the Americans before that provided other occupation for their arms.

The Americans were impatient to be led against the enemy. They were unable to appreciate the necessity of discipline, or to understand the unorganized state of the army in every department; but the hardships and expense of service they sorely realized. Many of the officers were favourable to the wishes of the men. They had been used to the loose service of rangers, and could not weigh the requisitions of a regular army, and the country was growing dissatisfied with their inaction. Gen. Putnam, Col. Prescott, and other veterans, demanded that advantage should be taken of this disposition of the men. The utility of the frequent and successful skirmishes they had already engaged in was immense. They promised themselves still higher advantage from an affair more important, but short of a general engagement. They knew, that, could the enemy be induced to engage a formidable detachment, their inferiority with the musket would make them deeply rue any advantage they might gain, while it would convert our army into soldiers; and these beneficial results would be doubled, could the Americans be covered by intrenchments. Putnam urged his favourite maxim, "the Americans are not at all afraid of their heads, though very much afraid of their legs; if you cover these they will fight forever." Before the Council of War, in continual session, these arguments were under consideration.

The same momentous question had been debated in the Committee of Safety. They received information, from their emissaries, that the enemy intended to advance into the country, and possess themselves of the commanding heights of Charlestown and Dorchester. The necessity of anticipating them in a project so fatal to America for the purpose of pre-

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* Burgoyne.
venting their advance into the country, destroying their shipping, and rendering the town too hot for them was strongly urged.

But this course was opposed by formidable, and almost insuperable difficulties. The army seemed called on to keep themselves rigidly on the defensive till they were better disciplined and prepared for battle; and what was still more important, they had not gunpowder. There were eleven barrels only in the public deports, and but sixty seven in Massachusetts. These heights completely overlooked the town, and it was impossible for the enemy to suffer the Americans to keep them without the most desperate efforts; and a general engagement. This and the cannonade they would be compelled to maintain to answer that of the enemy, (for if omitted it would betray their secret deficiency of powder) were entirely beyond their means. Gen. Pomeroy, however, took council of his courage, and with unbounded confidence in the skill of his countrymen "would fight the enemy with but five cartridges a piece. He was "practised in hunting, and always brought home two, and "sometimes three deer, with but three charges of powder; the "men had generally supplied themselves with powder as militia, and the public could easily make good their deficiency."

To Ward and Warren's objection, that the enterprise would lead to a general engagement; Putnam answered, "we will risk only 2000 men, we will go on with these and defend ourselves as long as possible, and, if driven to retreat, we are more active than the enemy and every stone wall shall be lined with their dead, and at the worst, suppose us surrounded and no retreat, we will set our country an example of which it shall not be ashamed, and teach mercenaries what men can do determined to live or die free." Warren walked the floor, leaned on his chair, "almost thou persuadest me, Gen. Putnam," said he; "but I must still think the project rash; if you execute it, however, you will not be surprised to find me by your side." "I hope not," said Putnam, "you are young, and your country has much to hope from you in council and the field; let us who are old and can be spared begin the fray, there will be time enough for you hereafter, it will not soon be over."

To encourage discipline and emulation, and brave the enemy, Putnam marched in face of them with all the troops from Cambridge to Charlestown, about the 10th of June. And about the same time, to support the policy of engaging the enemy in an

* Gen. Putnam's statement to his son.
affair, he reconnoitred the country with other officers. A position perfectly suited to their purpose, which does honour to their coup d’ceil and military skill, they found in the fields of Charlestown, and examined minutely.*

By the direction of Gen. Ward, Col. Gridley and Col. Henschaw, accompanied by Mr. Devens, had examined this part of the country in May, and reported in favour of fortifying Prospect Hill first, Bunker Hill next, and lastly Breeds Hill.†

The settlement of Charlestown and the fields are situated on a peninsula, with Charles River on the south, and Mystic river on the north. It is eleven hundred yards across from north to south, and one mile forty three rods in length from east to west, at which extremity the two rivers approach each other, and form a neck of land but one hundred and thirty yards over. Breed’s Hill, 62 feet high, is long, the eastern end rather steep, the western sinking gradually; the south side is very steep, and at the bottom of it was Charlestown. The north side is steep, and protected at the bottom by a small impassable slough; beyond this, north, is a tongue of land, 20 feet above Mystic River, which bounds it on the north. This tongue of land runs east parallel with Breed’s to within two hundred and fifty yards of Morton’s Hill. Morton’s Hill, 35 feet in height, lies northeast from Breed’s. The ground between the tongue of land and Breed’s Hill, and beyond the eastern end of it and Morton’s Hill was low and marshy. On part of this low land, however, were a number of brick kilns, and a sluice way by which the whole might be inundated at high tide, which on the 17th June was at 4 past 9. The tongue of land at its western extremity terminates in Bunker Hill, which on this side has a considerable slope, and on all its other sides is exceedingly steep. It is 110 feet high, bears northwest from Breed’s, which it completely commands; their summits being distant from each other one hundred and thirty rods only. A narrow road ran from the neck over Bunker Hill, between the tongue of land and Breed’s Hill, and entirely round Breed’s Hill, approaching very near its summit on the south.

Even the daring enterprise of Warren hesitated at the difficulties, apparently insurmountable, which opposed our taking and maintaining possession of the heights of Charlestown. But the Committee of Safety, of which he was chairman, and in which he opposed the measure, and the Council of War, adopted a different opinion. Like a genuine patriot, his own opinion

* Stephen Codman Esq. and Col. Putnam.
† Col. Henschaw.
was forgotten, and he joined heart and hand with his brethren to command success.

On the 15th of June, the Committee of Safety passed the following votes:

"Whereas this Committee lately applied to the Hon. the Congress of this colony, for an augmentation of the army now in the vicinity of Boston, and as some circumstances have since taken place, which strengthened the arguments then used in favour of the said augmentation; particularly that many of the then expected reinforcements for Gen. Gage's army are arrived; that Gen. Gage has issued a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the inhabitants of Massachusetts are, in the most explicit manner, declared rebels; and various accounts have been brought to this Committee of the movements of Gen. Gage's army, and that he intends soon to make another attempt to penetrate into the country: From the consideration of all which premises, together with that of our army, Resolved, that the good and welfare of the colony requires that there be an immediate augmentation of said army, that such soldiers in the army as be destitute of arms be immediately supplied therewith, that such regiments of militia as be destitute of officers be immediately filled up, in such manner as the Honourable Congress may direct; and that all the militia in the colony be ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march, on the shortest notice, completely equipped, having thirty rounds of cartridges per man; all which is earnestly recommended to the immediate consideration of the Honourable Congress, now sitting in Watertown. To which the Committee would beg leave to add a general recommendation to the people, to go to meeting armed on the Lord's day, in order to prevent being thrown into confusion." On the same day they passed the following vote, which, for secrecy, was not recorded until the 19th of June:

"Whereas it appears of importance to the safety of this colony that possession of the hill called Bunker Hill, in Charlestown, be securely kept and defended, and also some one hill or hills on Dorchester Neck be likewise secured, therefore resolved unanimously, that it be recommended to the Council of War that the above mentioned Bunker Hill be maintained by sufficient force being posted there; and as the particular situation of Dorchester Neck is unknown to this Committee, they advise that the Council of War take and pursue such steps respecting the same, as to them shall appear to be for the security of this colony."
ordered, "thral Captain Benjamin White and Colonel Joseph Palmer be a committee to join with the committee from the Council of War, to proceed to the Roxbury camp, there to consult with the general officers on matters of importance, and to communicate to them a resolve this day passed, in this Committee, respecting Bunker Hill in Charlestown, and Dorchester Neck." The Provincial Congress prepared an eloquent and energetic answer to Gov. Gage's proclamation, to be issued on the 16th of June, in which Gov. Gage and Admiral Graves are excepted from the general amnesty; to respond to the proscription of Hancock and Adams; but this paper contest was forgotten in the bloody battle which ensued.

THE BATTLE.

ON the 16th of June '75, the sun fell with its full force on the American camp,* the earth was parched up, but the vigorous frames and patriotic spirit of the soldiers were proof against its influence. With the advice of the Council of War, General Ward issued orders to Col. William Prescott, Col. Bridge, and the commandant of Frye's† regiment, to be prepared for an expedition, with all their men fit for service, and one day's provisions. The same order issued for one hundred and twenty of Gen. Putnam's regiment, and Capt. Gridley's company of artillery with two field pieces.

With these troops Col. Prescott was ordered to proceed to Charlestown in the evening, take possession of Bunker Hill, and erect the requisite fortifications to defend it. His orders were to be kept profoundly secret, and provisions and refreshments were to be sent in the morning, with as many more

* Gen. Ward's camp was the town of Cambridge and vicinity; the soldiers were quartered in Colleges, and whatever buildings they could find to shelter them for a mile or two around, especially the country seats of refugees. The Episcopal church was used for barracks, and the organ pipes melted into bullets; to our ancestors the whizzing of a ball against the enemy was more agreeable music than the profane strains of a church organ, they had quite as little respect for Episcopal churches as the enemy had for puritanical meeting houses.

† Col. Frye was ill with gout, Pres. of a Court Martial, and a much older officer than Prescott.
troops as should be necessary to reinforce him. Three of Bridge's companies did not join the detachment, but one or two small fatigue parties from other regiments joining, the whole amounted to about 1000 men.

They were assembled early in the evening and attended a solemn prayer on Cambridge Common, offered up by the Rev. President Langdon, of Harvard College.

Not an officer in the army could have been selected better deserving the honor of the appointment, or more able to execute the arduous enterprise, than Col. Prescott. In this veteran, age already began to display its ravages; but the fire of his youth was undamped. He was of Pepperell, and early left in affluence by the decease of his father. He soon received a commission in the provincial army, and, with many of his neighbourhood, who enlisted, joined the forces under Gen. Winslow, and assisted in the conquest of Nova Scotia. His military talents attracted admiration, and he was urged by the British officers to accept a commission in the royal army. But he would not consent to be separated from his brave soldiers and countrymen, and returned to his estate. The soldiers, who had served under him, still continued to consider him their head. Like the chief of a feudal clan, he received them all with open doors at his hospitable mansion, and in the habits he had acquired in camps his property was expended for their relief, comfort, or entertainment, as freely as they were ready on every occasion to shed their blood under his command. He was now a member of the Mass. Congress.

His figure was tall and commanding, and his countenance grave, ardent, and impressive as his character. With this presence, and his formidable sword, he needed no uniform to distinguish him as a leader. In a simple calico frock he headed the detachment which left camp at dark, and proceeded to Charlestown. Col. Prescott led the way with two sergeants, having dark lanterns open only to the rear, about six paces in front of the troops.

Gen. Putnam, having the principal direction and superintendence of the expedition, and the chief engineer, Col. Gridley, accompanied the detachment. Putnam's eldest son was a Capt. under him; his youngest, only 16 years old, a volunteer, tells us, "At sunset my father said to me, 'you will go to Mrs. Inman's to-night as usual; stay there to-morrow, and if they find it necessary to leave town, you must go with them.'—From this order, and attending circumstances, I knew there was to be a military movement, in which my father would par-
My imagination figured him as mangled with wounds, and no one to aid him; and I earnestly entreated permission to accompany him. "You, dear father," I said, "may need my assistance much more than Mrs. Inman, pray let me go where you are going." "No, no, Daniel, do as I have bid you," was the reply, which he affected to give sternly, while, his voice faltered and his eyes filled, as if entering into my feelings, he added, "You can do little, my son, where I am going, and there will be enough to take care of me." His son reluctantly obeyed.

Profound mystery hung over the object of the expedition till they crossed Charlestown neck and found the wagons loaded with intrenching tools, fascines, gabions, and empty hogsheads.

The officers were hastening to order arms to be stacked, and the fortifications commenced, when a most serious confusion arose as to the point to be fortified. None of the heights excepting Bunker's were yet distinguished by name, and this was expressly designated as the one to be fortified; though the most commanding and defensible position, it was too far from the enemy to annoy their army and shipping; Breed's Hill was far better adapted to the important objects of the expedition, and better suited the adventurous spirit of the commanding officers. Their most invaluable moments were wasted without coming to a conclusion, though the wary and scientific engineer again and again urged them to determine at once on the ground, or it would be impossible to complete the requisite fortifications.*

Breed's Hill was at length concluded on, and Gridley laid out the works immediately with skill which would honor any engineer in the highest advance of military science. The redoubt on the summit of the hill was about eight rods square. The strongest side, or front, in form of a redan, faced Charlestown, protecting the south side of the hill. The eastern side commanded a very extensive field, and a breastwork ran in a line with it north down to the slough; between the south end

* Gov. Brooks's statement.

Mass. Congress, in the hurry of the times, say, Breed's Hill was taken by mistake. There could be no mistake. Tuton, as we know from his son and Stephen Codman Esq., and Gridley, as we know from Col. Henshaw, had previously reconnoitred the ground. That Bunker Hill was ordered to be fortified is certain from Gov. Brooks and the vote copied from the records of Cong. on our 17th page. Congress meant to say, delicately, the order to fortify Bunker Hill was not complied with.
of the breastwork and the redoubt was a narrow passage way
or sally port, protected in front by a blind, and an open passage
way in the north side of the redoubt. It was determined, at
the same time, that a work should be erected on Bunker Hill
as a new post and rallying point to resort to, should the enemy
drive them from the first, and for the protection of the rear.

A large guard, Capt. Maxwell and his company, some Con-
necticut and other troops were detached to the shore of
Charlestown to observe every movement of the enemy.*

The works marked out, tools were distributed to the men;
but midnight arrived before the first spade entered the ground.†
These brawny yeomen, however, were working for their lives
as well as their liberties, and performed prodigies of labour.
They were instructed and stimulated by Putnam, Prescott, and
other officers, among whom was Maj. Brooks, distinguished by
the well deserved confidence of the army. Just entered on
manhood, he relinquished a lucrative profession, commenced
his military career at the battle of Lexington, as Maj. of
Bridge's regiment, and received the same rank in the army.
He had been called home by sickness in his family, and receiv­
ed no order to march with his regiment; but the danger of his
fellow soldiers was a sufficient summons, and he hastened to
join his corps, which he overtook at the neck.

It was clear starlight, and the proximity of the enemy de­
manded vigilant observation. Col. Prescott proceeded to the
shore with Maj. Brooks to reconnoitre them. Everything was
quiet; they distinctly heard the enemy relieving guard, and
were rejoiced at the welcome cry from the sentries, however
unfounded, "All's well!"

The men quietly at their labours, Gen. Putnam repaired to
his camp to prepare for the anticipated crisis, by bringing on
reinforcements, and to be fresh mounted; his furious riding re­
quired a frequent change of horses.

Watchful as Argus, Prescott could hardly imagine that the
enemy were so negligent of military caution, as to suffer his
powerful force to approach their very threshold unobserved.
He advanced anew to examine their situation; again all was
quiet, and the guard from the shore of Charlestown was or­
dered in.

The blazing sun, however, began his approaches, and the
grey of the morning was dissipated. The veil was lifted

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* The countersign this night was "Domingo."
† Mass. Cong.
from the astonished eyes of the British, but they would hardly credit their senses on perceiving their daring enemy above them, overlooking their position, with formidable works, which had sprung up as if by enchantment. The cannon of the Lively opened on the Americans, and roused their countrymen from secure repose, to participate in the same surprise and astonishment.

Gen. Gage was thunderstruck at the unwelcome information, and sent an immediate summons to his officers to meet him in a council of war.*

Some other frigates, floating batteries, the Somerset line of battle ship, a formidable battery of the heaviest pieces, and a mortar on Copps Hill, opened a tremendous fire on the Americans, sufficient to appal even veteran troops.

This fire was for some time without effect, but the men venturing in front of the works, one of them was killed by a cannon shot.† A subaltern informed Col. Prescott, and inquired of him what should be done. "Bury him," he was told. "What," said the astonished officer, "without prayers!" A chaplain, who was present, insisted on performing service over this first victim, and collected many of the soldiers around him, heedless of peril. Prescott ordered them to disperse; but religious enthusiasm prevailing, the chaplain again collected his congregation, when the deceased was ordered to be taken and buried in the ditch. At this time a number of the men went off and never returned.

To dispel the terror which this death occasioned, Prescott mounted on the works, and directed the labor. Heedless of all the fire of the enemy, he was wrought up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and transferred his own exaltation into every private under him. Owing to the oppressive heat, and the vehemence of his address, his bald head was exposed entirely uncovered, waving his sword, he sometimes upbraided his men in anger, and sometimes encouraged them with approbation and humour. Perfectly understanding his countrymen, they were entirely under his control; the great Suvarrow was never more negligent of his personal appearance, and never inspired his faithful followers with a confidence more implicit or better deserved.

Gen. Gage, reconnoitring the enemy, handed his telescope to Willard, a mandamus counsellor, and inquired of him, "who

* In the old State House.
† Pollard, of Billerica.
“is that officer commanding?” He instantly recognized his brother-in-law, Col. Prescott. “Will he fight?” asked Gage. “Yes, sir, depend upon it, to the last drop of blood in him, but I cannot answer for his men,” was the reply.

When the patriotic priest found that his professional services were out of place, he bravely buckled on the armor of flesh, volunteered as a soldier in the ranks, and fought with distinguished bravery.*

The sufferings of the men were great; the heat was excessive; during a sleepless night they had unremittingly labored, without even water, and their small stock of provisions was exhausted. Their officers felt for them, and wished Col. Prescott to send to Cambridge a request to be relieved. He convened a council of war, but instantly crushed the slightest hope of a relief. “The enemy would not dare attack them, and if they did would be defeated. The men who had raised the works were the best qualified to defend them. They had already learned to despise the fire of the enemy. They had the merit of the labor, and should enjoy the honor of the victory.” With renewed ardor the men continued their labors.

Capt. Nutting with some troops was ordered into Charlestown, near the ferry, by Col. Prescott, to guard against the enemy’s approach on that side.

Gen. Gage met his officers in council. They did not hesitate as to the indispensable necessity of driving the enemy from their formidable position, but found it impossible to agree on the mode of attack. Gen. Clinton and Gen. Grant advocated attacking the enemy in rear. “Their men could embark at the bottom of the common in boats, land at Charlestown Neck, under protection of a fire from the floating batteries and frigates, and would have the enemy in their power;” and this appeared to be the prevailing opinion. But Gen. Gage would not adopt a measure so adventurous. It was perhaps opposed to well founded military rules and the dictates of prudence. They would have exposed themselves between two armies, one of them superior to their own in number, and the other strongly posted and fortified; they might have been attacked in front and rear, and been completely surrounded indeed, without the possibility of a retreat being secured to them in case of disaster. It was finally determined to land and attack the enemy in front.

* Rev. Jno. Martin, see note H.
At daybreak Putnam directed Lieut. Clark to send to Gen. Ward for a horse. The lieut. went himself, but the general's impatience could not await an answer. On his return he found him mounted and departing. The summons from the Lively had frustrated his intention of carrying on the reinforcement himself; he reminded Gen. Ward, however, that the fate of the expedition depended on his being reinforced immediately, according to the preconcerted plan, and flew to join his men on the hill.

The result of Gage's council of war soon became apparent. The enemy were observed moving with rapidity through the streets of Boston; a corps of dragoons, manœuvring within view of the Americans, suddenly galloped off their parade ground; the rattling of artillery carriages and wagons was heard, and every note of preparation for a military movement. Prescott, then believing the enemy would hazard an attack, was delighted; "Now, my boys, we shall have a fight, and shall beat them too," he observed. Fearless himself, he thought the world so too, and his confidence was too implicit in the raw troops and inexperienced commanders just collecting only, and hardly to be considered an army.

It was nine o'clock; the men were exhausted from hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep. Putnam had again repaired to Cambridge to procure provisions and a reinforcement become indispensable, but neither one nor the other had arrived. Col. Prescott called another council of war; he refused, as before, to hear a word about displacing his men, but consented to send again for refreshments and a reinforcement. Maj. Brooks was selected to proceed to Cambridge and wait on Gen. Ward for this purpose. For greater expedition he was directed to take one of the artillery horses, but the order was vehemently opposed by Capt. Gridley, who feared for the safety of his pieces. Prescott then directed him to proceed on foot, with as much despatch as possible. He arrived at head quarters about 10, and made known his instructions to Ward. The general hesitated as to the policy of sending reinforcements to Charlestown, and doubted whether the intention of the enemy was to make his attack on that point. The scanty depots of ammunition, ordnance stores, and materiel of every species belonging to the army, on which the salvation of the country depended, were at Cambridge and Watertown, and he presumed the enc-

* The site of the present Hospital.
my designed to seize the present opportunity to make an attack at head quarters and gain possession of these stores.

The Committee of Safety were sitting at the same house* in which the general quartered, and he communicated to them the information and request brought by Maj. Brooks.—Richard Devens,† of Charlestown, was one of the committee; from deep anxiety for the success of the expedition and the protection of his native town from the inroad of the enemy, his importunity with the general and the committee for an ample reinforcement was impassioned and vehement, and his opinion partially prevailed; the committee recommended a reinforcement, and the general consented that orders should be despatched immediately to Cols. Reed and Stark, at Medford, to join Prescott's detachment with the New Hampshire troops.

Gen. Warren, Chairman of the Committee of Safety, was present. The day before he had officiated as President of Congress at Watertown, and had passed the night there in the accumulated concerns of the public. His friend, Hon. Elbridge Gerry, having learned the determination to occupy and fortify Bunker Hill, remonstrated with him against the glaring impropriety of the enterprise, with our feeble resources. "We had not powder sufficient to maintain the desperate conflict which must ensue, and should all be cut to pieces." Warren confessed he entertained the same opinion; but it was determined otherwise, and he was resolved to share the fate of his countrymen. His friend conjured him not to expose his invaluable life where his destruction would be useless and inevitable. "I know it," said the hero, "but I live within sound of the cannon, and should die were I to remain at home while my fellow citizens are shedding their blood for me." "As sure as you go, you will be slain," repeated Gerry. Warren's final answer was, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."‡ He arrived at Cambridge by daylight, sick with nervous headache, and threw himself on the bed. On receiving information that the enemy were coming out, Ward sent to notify him. He arose immediately, declared "his headache was gone," and after meeting with the Committee of Safety, mounted his horse, and with his fusil and sword repaired to the post of danger.

At eleven, the New Hampshire troops received orders from Cambridge; but not being provided with ammunition, were quite

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* Now Dr. Holmes's house.
† Devens, afterward commissary general, mounted an officer's horse, and used his pistols to press teams to carry on provisions, but the British cannon prevented their arriving.
‡ Senior Pres. Adams.
unprepared to obey them. Every man was immediately supplied with two flints, and a gill of powder with fifteen balls to form into cartridges, but nearly all of them were destitute of cartridge boxes, employing powder-horns only; and scarcely any two of their guns agreeing in calibre, they were obliged to hammer their balls to a proper size for the pieces. The companies posted at Chelsea, were immediately recalled.

About noon, at the long wharf in Boston, twenty eight barges were filled with the principal part of the first detachment of British troops, consisting of the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions of infantry, ten companies of grenadiers, and ten of Lt. Infantry. Some of these troops were taken from the transports, and were to land now for the first time since their voyage, not like Antæus to gather new strength from the earth, but to shed their life's blood on her bosom. The barges formed in two parallel lines of single files, six resplendent pieces of cannon, and howitzers in the bows of the leading boats, with the gorgeous uniform, and brilliant armour of the troops, throwing back the splendour of the sun, as if in rivalry: they move in exact time and perfect order, and about one, land at Morton's point; the novel and alarming spectacle filling the Americans with dismay.

Immediately on landing they discovered a disastrous mistake, most of the cannon balls sent over, were too large for the pieces; they were immediately sent back, and a new supply obtained. At the same time, Gen. Howe, the commander, discovering on his near approach the formidable nature of the enemy's position, their present numbers and the troops marching on, requested a reinforcement of Gen. Gage. These first troops, while waiting for the remainder of the detachment, were entirely unmolested, and very quietly dined, most of them for the last time, from their crowded and cumbersome knapsacks. About two, the remainder of the forces leave Winnisimit ferry, in the same formidable array of barges, and land at Morton's Point; and soon afterward the reinforcements, a few companies of grenadiers and light infantry, the forty seventh battalion, a battalion of marines, except a few of this corps who were preparing to embark, land under the eastern end of Breed's Hill, at Madlin's shipyard, the present navy yard. All these troops cannot be estimated at less than five thousand; if the corps were but half full, there were four thousand three hundred and fifty. While the enemy were landing, Putnam ordered Capt. Knowlton, with the Connecticut troops, to take post behind a rail fence, which ran across the tongue of land, from Mystic river to the road, about two hundred and fifty yards. In front of this line of fence, were some
apple-trees, and a few also in the rear. These troops pulled up the neighbouring fences, and placing them near the one at which they were posted, threw in the new mown grass between. A small part of this fence, had stones under the rails, to the height of two feet; the whole formed only the shadow of a protection. This rail fence was 190 yards in rear of the breastwork, and 80 yards in rear of the slough, leaving a very extensive opening between the breastwork and rail fence, by which the left flank of the troops at the breastwork was exposed to the enemy's fire, and about 100 yards between the slough and rail fence, open to the advance of infantry; the only defence being a few standing trees, stones, or whatever could be found on the spot. This was the key of the American position.

The detachments in Charlestown were now recalled by Prescott, and took post at a cart way, which ran from the road to the southeastern angle of the redoubt. They placed the fences together, and threw in grass, as was done on the left.

The thundering cannonade of the enemy soon spread the information of an approaching engagement. The Americans in the neighbourhood flocked to the scene, and the soldiers voluntarily ran to arms, and entreated to be led against the foe. Col. Little's regiment had lately arrived from Essex and the officers were not commissioned; without awaiting orders, they left their quarters in Menotomy and Cambridge, marched to Gen. Ward and tendered their services. The Connecticut troops were equally anxious to join their general; they were all under arms, and sent to headquarters for orders. But Ward informed them, they had already the post of honor, as the British were expected to land near Inman's farm, their present position. The brave New Hampshire troops, at the same post, under Col. Sargent, were also as earnest to be led against the enemy, and the Col. sent the most pressing requests to Ward for permission to conduct them on.

Capt. Callender with his artillery company was ordered to the Hill, and, for greater caution, Gardner's Regiment was marched to Patterson's station, at the opening of the road to Lechmere Point, there to wait further orders. Doolittle's Regiment had been stationed on the Charlestown road the night before, and was a little in advance of them.

Prescott had stretched the endurance and exertions of his detachment to the utmost of the human constitution. They had thrown up a defence good against muskets, and most of it against artillery. But the commanding summit of Bunker Hill, of vital importance in case of a retreat, was not yet fortifi-
ed, though Putnam, mortified at the neglect of a position on which his success and reputation depended, had been incessant and unwearied in his efforts to have it accomplished; but in vain, as no reinforcements arrived. At length he ordered off a large detachment from the Redoubt with the intrenching tools to break ground there. From experience, under the most distinguished masters of the day, he perfectly comprehended the importance of intrenching, seemed to have seized intuitively the learned maxims of Caesar, and to anticipate the result of such modern defences as Jackson's. Most of the detachment, ordered off with the tools, never returned to the lines.

Putnam, on perceiving the preparations of the enemy for an attack, again hastened to Cambridge for reinforcements, and had to pass through a galling enfilading fire of round, bar, and chain shot, which thundered across the neck from the Glasgow frigate in the channel of Charles River, and two floating batteries hauled close to the shore. He learned from Gen. Ward the orders which had been sent to the New Hampshire troops at Medford, and immediately returned to his post.

At last, the New Hampshire troops arrived; it was the policy of Stark to march his men slowly, observing, that "one fresh man in battle is better than ten fatigued ones." Putnam reserved a part of this force to throw up the work on Bunker Hill, and ordered the remainder to press on to the lines as quick as possible, and join the Connecticut troops at the rail fence. Stark encouraged them by a short, spirited address, ordered three cheers to animate them, and they moved on rapidly to the line.

The intention of the enemy being now clearly pronounced by their landing in Charlestown, Gen. Ward, reserving still his own regiment, Putnam's, Sargent's, Patterson's, Gardner's and part of Bridge's, from his excessive caution lest an attack should be made at Cambridge, despatched the remainder of the troops* as a reinforcement to Charlestown. The enemy directed a schooner, with 5 or 600 men on board, to the Cambridge shore, as if aware of this tender point; but the wind and tide proving unfavorable to this landing, they returned.†

Near five thousand British troops had now landed, under the immediate command of Gen. Howe, distinguished, like all his

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* Gen. Ward had a hogshead of rum before his quarters, which was served to the soldiers before they left the common. By a resolve of Mass. Congress, spirit could be allowed the men by a Gen. officer only, and on extraordinary occasions.

† Col. P. D. Sargent.
family, for undaunted bravery. Under him were Gen. Pigot, Col. Nesbit, Abercrombie, Clarke; Majors Butler, Williams, Bruce, Spendlove, Smelt, Mitchell, Pitcairn, Short, Small and Lord Rawdon, all officers of renown. The troops were in columns, waiting the signal to advance. They and the enemy opposed to them, were in a vast amphitheatre of nature, formed by those lofty hills which rise from Boston bay and surrounded them. These towering heights overlooked both armies, and were covered by Americans, who had been brought from a distance, by their anxious curiosity, to witness a scene so sublime, and learn the event of a contest, on which the fate of a new world depended; and many of them from a deeper interest in the fate of a parent, a brother or husband engaged. The heights and the steeples in Boston were crowded in the same manner, by the inhabitants and the British military; and many a soldier's wife witnessed the events, with a melancholy foreboding that she was left a widow, and her home three thousand miles across the ocean. The prospect was rendered still more terrific by a tremendous cannonade and bombardment from Boston, which opened on the camp at Roxbury to contain the Americans at their post, who were there under arms. This, added to the continued roar of the batteries and shipping on the side of Charlestown, and the battle was commencing. The whole formed a scene beyond the reach of the human imagination.

The British artillery on Morton's Hill opened on the Americans; Col. Prescott ordered the men to keep under cover of the works, but Lieut. Spaulding standing by his side, had his head completely shattered by a ball. Gridley's pieces which had fired a few useless shot from the redoubt against Copps Hill and the shipping, were now ordered out; there were no embrasures, and the slight platform was broken. They were carried with Callender's to the space between the breastwork and rail fence, and returned the fire of the British, which served at least the important purpose of keeping the enemy in respect, who secured themselves under the eastern side of Morton's Hill. The artillery companies were just enlisted from the infantry, and grossly ignorant of their duty; this arm requires science, experience, and knowledge of position. The officers complained that their cartridges were unsuitable for the pieces; Gridley drew off his to the rear, one of them being already disabled in the unequal contest with the British batteries and field pieces; and Callender was marching off over Bunker Hill to a secure place for preparing his ammunition in
safety, when Putnam met him and was fired with indignation at this appearance of a retreat. He ordered him instantly to his post; Callender remonstrated, but Putnam threatened him with instant death if he hesitated, and compelled him to return. His men, however, were disgusted with a part of the service they did not understand; most of them had muskets, and mingled with the infantry; the pieces were entirely deserted and left on Bunker Hill, from which position they were fired a few times on the enemy.

Col. Little arrived with his troops; Putnam ordered them to their posts, Captain Warner's company to the rail fence on the right of the redoubt, Captain Perkins' to the exposed position between the breastwork and rail fence on the left, the remainder found their places in the line. Col. Jonathan Brewer, who had been a ranger in the French war; Col. Nixon, who had served in the same war; Col. Woodbridge; and Maj. Moore of Doolittle's Regiment, the Col. and Lieut. Col. being absent,—brought on their troops, each about 300 men. Col. Woodbridge sent a detachment off to the right, in the main street of Charlestown, and carried orders to Maj. Moore to do the same, who accordingly sent one under Capt. Wheeler. Col. Reed sent a detachment also, under Capt. Crosby.

Col. Scammans, with a large Regiment from Maine,* was ordered by Gen. Ward to go where the fighting was; he accordingly marched to Lechmere point, understanding from some one on the Charlestown road that the enemy were landing there. On his arrival, he was undeceived by Gen. Whittlecomb, who advised him to march to the Hill. From an egregious error, or deficiency of spirit, he went to Cobble Hill instead of Breed's, and took post in that perfectly useless position.†

The veteran Gen. Pomeroy heard the pealing artillery, which seemed to invite him to battle; he was a soldier too brave, and a patriot too ardent, to resist a summons so agreeable. He requested a horse of Gen. Ward, to carry him to the field; delighted at an aid so important, one was instantly supplied. With his musket, he repaired immediately to the

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* Whom he called "Yorkshire Boys." He came from Saco, but, before this, had belonged to Haverhill.
† Jer. Hill, Esq. of Saco, heard the order.
‡ Lieut. Morgan Lewis belonged to this Regt. since then a Gen. of the army in the late war, and Gov. of the State of New York.
neck; inquiring of a sentry posted there, and viewing the ground and the tremendous fire across, he was alarmed, not for himself but for the horse he had borrowed; he delivered him to a sentinel, and coolly marched across. He advanced to the rail fence, his approach gave new confidence to the men; they received him with the highest exultation, and the name of Pomeroy rang through the line. In early life he had been an ingenious mechanic, and many a soldier was supplied with arms of his manufacture. Had Vulcan supplied the Greeks with armor, and appeared in their ranks, they could not have been more certain of victory.

The British now formed their columns, with their field train in centre, ready to advance on the American line.

Capt. Ford arrived with his company. He served under the veteran Lieut. Col. Parker and Maj. Brooks, had learned the duties of a soldier, and signalized himself in Lexington battle by killing five of the enemy. He was proceeding down Bunker Hill, when Putnam met him and was delighted with an aid so opportune; Callender's deserted cannon were on the hill, and he ordered Capt. Ford with his company to draw them to the line. The captain remonstrated that "his men were entirely ignorant of the discipline and management of artillery." But the general persisting in his order, he obeyed; his company moved with the cannon, accompanied by the general himself, to the rail fence.

Putnam was now joined by Warren, to whom he observed, "I'm sorry to see you here, Gen. Warren. I wish you had left the day to us, as I advised you, from appearances we shall have a sharp time of it; but since you are here, I'll receive your orders with pleasure." Warren replied: "I came only as a volunteer; I know nothing of your dispositions, and will not interfere with them; tell me where I can be most useful." Putnam, intent on his safety, directed him to the redoubt, observing, "you will be covered there."— "Don't think," said Warren, "I come here to seek a place of safety; but tell me where the onset will be most furious."— Putnam again pointed to the redoubt; "that," said he, "is the enemy's object, Prescott is there, and will do his duty, and if it can be defended, the day is ours; but, from long experience of the character of the enemy, I think they will ultimately succeed and drive us from the works, though, from the mode of attack they have chosen, we shall be able to do them infinite injury, and we must be prepared for a brave and orderly retreat when we can maintain our ground no longer."
Warren assented to his opinions, and, promising to be governed by them, went to the redoubt. The soldiers received him with loud hurras. Prescott offered him the command; but he had not yet received his commission, and tendered his services to the Col. as a volunteer, observing, "He was happy to learn "service from a soldier of experience."*

The field-pieces of the enemy opened furiously† on the works, the signal for their army to move. Their columns advanced slowly, and halted at intervals, to give the artillery an opportunity to render a passage over the works practicable.‡ Howe, remarkably tall, and a prominent mark, advanced two hundred yards in front of the troops to reconnoitre.||

The American drums beat to arms. Putnam left his works, commenced on Bunker Hill, and led the troops into action. The tune of the Americans at Bunker Hill was Yankee Doodle, it was now first employed by them, but was to become their favourite national air, and the far-famed harbinger of victory on the land, the lake, and the ocean.‡

Capt. Walker,§ one of the bravest of the brave, beat up for volunteers to accompany him down into Charlestown to hang on the left flank of the enemy. He had been detailed for guard duty the day before, and his company had been sent on without him under the Lieut. The picket guard, of which he was the commander, had not been relieved on the day of the battle, and he could not brook the misfortune of being drawn for a place of safety, when his country required his services in the place of death. He made use of the most earnest persuasions with his Lieut. by repeated messengers, to exchange places with him, till at length he succeeded. He now collected about 50 kindred spirits, whom he led down as a forlorn hope on the enemy's left, and gave them five or six rounds with the most deadly execution. But the little desperate band were soon driven in with severe loss. The Capt. however escaped, and was determined to tempt fate again by another daring attack on the opposite flank of the enemy. He had the sagacity to discover the danger of their turning our left, by the shore of the Mystic, and changed his attack to that quarter; but was wounded and taken prisoner with Frost, one of his company,

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* This conversation we have from Col. Putnam, and most of it likewise from Dr. Jeffries, to whom it was related by Lieut. Col. Parker, dressed by him at the redoubt, the next day, on a fascine.
† Stedman, Marshall, Gage, and all authorities.
‡ Note K. || Dr. Jeffries. § Of Chelmsford.
who was very badly wounded at the same time. They were
carried to Boston jail, where the Capt. died of his wounds;
but Frost has escaped through all his perils, and yet lives to
tell us.*

The British right wing, consisting of the fifth regiment, one
of grenadiers, and another of light infantry, move under cover
of the tongue of land, at the foot of it display, and advance in
front toward the rail fence; excepting nine of the light companies,
who move by the right flank on the shore of the Mystic to turn
the American left. This attack was led by Gen. Howe.†

The left wing, composed of the fifty-second regiment, thirty-
eighth, thirty-fifth, forty-seventh, three grenadier and three
light companies, and the marines, under cover of Breed's Hill,
display, and are led by Gen. Pigot against the redoubt and
breastwork.

On a sudden, as they were advancing, the fire from their ar-
tillery ceased; Howe sent to inquire into the cause of this ill-
timed remission, and learned, that owing to a fatal blunder, the
cannon-balls sent over, were too large for the pieces; but that
they had grape-shot; and he ordered them forward to maintain
their fire with grape.‡

The British lines soon opened to view, and the American
marksmen are with difficulty restrained from firing. Putnam
rode through the line, and ordered that no one should fire till
they arrived within eight rods, nor any one till commanded.
"Powder was scarce and must not be wasted. They should
"not fire at the enemy till they saw the whites of their eyes,
"and then fire low, take aim at their waistbands. They were
"all marksmen, and could kill a squirrel at a hundred yards;
"reserve their fire, and the enemy were all destroyed. Aim
"at the handsome coats, pick off the commanders." The
same orders were reiterated by Prescott at the redoubt, by
Pomeroy, Stark, and all the veteran officers.

* Col. James Varum, now of Dracut, a sergeant in Colburn's company, was
one of the volunteers with Walker on his first attack, and had the top of his
hat shot off, and two bullets through his jacket. See Note L.
† De Berniere, Conduct of the War by Howe, and all authorities.
‡ At this time, in front of the cannon, the air was filled with innumerable swal-
lows. Another sight at this time was most tantalizing to the parched lips of
the Americans—the enemy were supplied with large tubs of drink to prepare
them for the onset.
§ Conduct of the War, by Howe, p. 13.
Putnam now, with the assistance of Captain Ford's company, opened his artillery upon them. He had on this day performed every species of service, and now turned cannonier, with splendid success, and to the highest satisfaction of his countrymen. Each company of artillery had but twelve cartridges, and these were soon expended. He pointed the cannon himself, the balls took effect on the enemy, and one case of canister made a lane through them. As in Milton's battle, "Foul dissipation followed and forced rout."

With wonderful courage, however, the enemy closed their ranks, and coolly marched on to the attack.

The enemy were within gunshot of the redoubt; a few of the sharp shooters could not resist the temptation and fired. Prescott was indignant at this contempt of his orders; waving his sword, he swore instant death against the first who should disobey; appealed to their well-known confidence in him, and promised to give them orders at the proper moment. His Lt. Col. Robinson, who, with Col. Buttrick, had gallantly led the troops at Concord, ran round the top of the parapet, and threw up the muskets.

The enemy now at eight rods distance only, the deadly muskets were levelled. Prescott commanded his men to take good aim, be sure of their mark, and fire. He was effectually obeyed. Nearly the whole front rank was swept away, and many a gallant officer laid low.

As the cloud of smoke passed away, the ground was seen covered with dead, and the wounded and dying exerting their last, feeble remains of strength to crawl out of the line, many on their hands and knees, to save themselves. The enemy, however, were countrymen of those who gave the fire, and received it with the same cool courage with which it was given. Rank succeeded rank, and returned the fire, but the odds was fearful; the Americans were well protected by the works; the efforts and courage of the enemy were in vain, and with surly reluctance they were at last compelled to retreat, as they were commanded to do by Gen. Pigot himself.*

Warren animated and encouraged the men, and with the rest of the officers, set them an example with his musket; there was scarcely an officer of any rank, excepting Putnam and Prescott, without one.

The British right wing arrived, about the time of this attack on the redoubt to within one hundred yards of the Americans. They were throwing down a fence,* when a few marksmen fired on them. Putnam was enraged at this disobedience of an order on which the salvation of the army depended; he rode to the spot, with his drawn sword threatening to cut down the first who dared to fire again without orders. The discharge from these few muskets, however, drew the fire from the enemy's line,† which continued moving on, and when about eight rods from the fence, the fatal order was given; the fire of the Americans mowed them down, with the same terrible severity, as at the redoubt, the officers especially fell victims to their deadly aim.

During this tremendous fire of musketry and roar of cannon, McClary's gigantic voice was distinctly heard, animating and encouraging the men as though he would inspire every ball that sped, with his own fire and energy.

The British fired their heaviest volleys of musketry with admirable coolness and regularity, but without aim, at the Americans, and almost every ball passed harmless over them. Their artillery had stopped in the marsh near the brick kilns,‡ and produced little effect. This wing of the army having covered the ground with their dead, were at length compelled to retreat; and the hurra of victory re-echoed through the American line. So thorough was the defeat of the enemy, that many of them repaired to their boats. Fortunately for the Americans, the enemy neglected to charge with the bayonet; if, instead of displaying and firing, they had filled the intervals between their columns with light troops to keep the Americans under the works by an incessant fire, and rushed on at the charge, they must have secured an easy victory, especially as the Americans almost to a man were destitute of the bayonet.

General Ward had by this time despatched reinforcements from Cambridge, but many of them did not reach the field. The fire across the neck wore an aspect too terrific for raw troops to venture in it. Putnam flew to the spot to overcome their fears and hurry them on before the enemy returned. He

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* The fences were a formidable obstacle to the enemy's advance, a very great portion of the housekeepers in Charlestown having separate pastures here.
† Dr. Dexter.
‡ These were numerous, for the sake of employing the poor of Boston and Charlestown, and doubtless prevented the advance of the cannon.
entreated, encouraged, and threatened them; lashing his horse with the flat of his sword, he rode backwards and forward across the neck, the balls threw up clouds of dust about him, and the soldiers were perfectly convinced that he was invulnerable, but were not equally conscious of being so themselves.* Some of these troops, however, ventured over.

The battalion of artillery under Maj. Gridley had proceeded but a few hundred yards down the road to Charlestown when they were halted, and this officer determined not to proceed to the hill, but wait and cover the retreat, which he considered inevitable. He was young, inexperienced, and totally inadequate to the important command which had been conferred on him in compliment to his father, Col. Gridley. He was confounded with the dangers and difficulties of his situation, and never recovered his self possession during the day. With his two famous brass pieces, which alone had horses attached to them, he advanced farther down the road. While the artillery was halted in this situation, Col. Frye, (who was absent from his regiment on duty the day before, but the battle approaching, had found his way to the field,) riding from Charlestown galloped up to them, and demanded of the senior captain,† "why this unseasonable halt!" He was astonished at the reply, and ordered them instantly to the field. This veteran also animated their courage by the glorious recollection "this day thirty years since, I was at the taking of Louisbourg when it was surrendered to us; it is a fortunate day for America, we shall certainly beat the enemy."

The artillery proceeded. Gridley joined them; but his aversion to entering into the engagement was invincible, and he ordered them on to Cobble Hill to fire at the Glasgow and floating batteries. The order was so palpably absurd, with their three pounders, that Capt. Trevett absolutely refused obedience, ordered his men to follow him, and marched for the lines. Gridley was sensible his artillery would be hazarded without infantry to cover them. Col. Mansfield had been ordered with his regiment to reinforce the troops at Charlestown, but being peremptorily commanded by Gridley, whom he considered high military authority, to cover his pieces, he complied in violation of his orders.

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* The principal fact here is proved by the deposition of Mr. Samuel Basset; the other circumstances by oral testimony.

† Capt. Trevett, from whom we have this account.
Putnam left the neck for Bunker Hill, to bring up the reinforcements. He there found Col. Gerrish with part of his regiment and other scattered troops. Gerrish had been a captain in the provincial army of '56, and was unwieldy from excessive corpulence; the fatigue from his oppressive march, and active exertions to carry on his troops, was too great for the faintness of his military ardour to overcome; he declared that he was completely exhausted, and lay prostrate on the ground. The men were disorganized and dispersed on the west side of the hill, and covered by the summit from the fire. Putnam ordered them on to the lines; he entreated and threatened them, and some of the most cowardly he knocked down with his sword, but all in vain. The men complained they had not their officers; he offered to lead them on himself, but "the cannon were deserted and they stood no chance without them."
The battle indeed appeared here in all its horrors, the British musketry fired high and took effect on this elevated hill, it was completely exposed to the combined fire from their ships, batteries, and field pieces, and their attention was forcibly attracted to it from a strong apprehension of its being fortified.
The British General had now rallied and reorganized his heroic troops, who with undaunted bravery and firm unwavering step appeared again before the murderous lines which had already compelled them to retreat. They had nearly the same obstacles to overcome as before, their cumbersome knapsacks, arms and accoutrements of 125 lb weight,* tall unmown grass, and the sun blazing in front of them, they had to contend against, as well as an enemy their equals. One new obstacle, they had to pass, the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, which covered the ground; but this served rather to stimulate them to still more daring efforts to revenge their fall, and some of them, with terrible desperation, piled up these dead bodies into a horrid breastwork to fire from.†

Maj. Small, who had been sent to Boston for the purpose, returned with the last of the reinforcements, a few companies of the Marines, and was accompanied by an eminent surgeon Doct. Jeffries.
The Americans were now more confident and perfect than before in a manoeuvre which had been crowned with success. It was indeed perfectly simple, but equally fatal to the foe.

* Stedman.
† This fact is unquestionable; we have it from a most respectable eye witness, Mr. Smith, of Salem.
They received orders to reserve their fire till the enemy approached still nearer than before. At six rods only they were permitted to return the fire. The British artillery approached by the narrow road between the tongue of land and Breed’s Hill, within three hundred yards of the rail fence,* and almost in a line with the redoubt, and opened on the lines to prepare a way for their infantry.

To add new horrors to the scene, vast columns of smoke were now observed over Charlestown, and passed to the north over the American lines.† General Howe on his first advance had sent word to General Burgoyne and General Clinton on Copps Hill, that his left flank was annoyed by musketry from Charlestown, and desired them to burn it down. A carcass was fired, but fell short near the ferry way; a second fell in the street, and the town was on fire. The conflagration was completed by a detachment of men who landed from the Somerset. The whole town was combustible. The flames ascended to heaven on the lofty spire of the church, and resembled the eruptions of a vast volcano in solemn grandeur and sublimity. The advance of the enemy, however, was not obscured by the smoke from Charlestown; they were in full view of the Americans, who suffered them to approach still nearer than before. They soon commenced a regular and tremendous volley by platoons, and their fire became general. But unfortunately for them, though perfect in drill discipline, and regular movements of parade, they were as grossly deficient in what was a thousand times more important, a knowledge of their weapons. Their aim was too elevated, and the enemy were hidden behind the works. Some of their balls however took effect, and a number of the privates fell victims. Col. Brewer was wounded, and Col. Nixon very badly wounded, and carried off. Lt. Col. Buckminster was crippled for life by a ball through the shoulder, and the brave Maj. Moore received a ball through his thigh, and as he was carried to the rear by his men, another ball through the body which proved mortal; faint from loss of blood, and with the terrible death thirst upon him, which is ever the consequence, not a drop of water even could be found for him nearer than Charlestown neck, to which place two of his youngest men were immediately despatched.

The Americans were at length permitted to throw in their murderous blaze of fire on the foe, it fell on them like lightning,

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* Stedman’s map and others.
† Gen. Winslow, Capt. Bullard.
prostrating whole ranks of them, officers and men, in promiscuous heaps. The British bore the fatal fire with astonishing fortitude, but it could be withstood by man but a few moments only, their most daring efforts were in vain against the insuperable difficulties they encountered.* Nearly a thousand of their number had fallen, with an incredible proportion of the bravest officers.

The undaunted Howe still led on his men in the hottest of the battle. His aide de camp Balfour’s life was saved only by the ball which passed through him, being slightly diverted by his canteen. His volunteer aid, Gordon, and Capt. Addison, a descendant from the author of the Spectator, were slain, and almost every other officer of his staff or near him was shot. Mortified and indignant at so much blood wasted in vain, he seemed to court an honourable death to hide him from the disgrace of a second defeat by an enemy he despised as peasants and rebels. But his life seemed charmed, and he was compelled to follow his army, who again retreated, and yielded their enemy a second time the joys of victory.

The gallant Maj. Small was left standing alone, every one shot down about him. The never-erring muskets were levelled at him, and a soldier’s fate was his inevitable destiny, when Putnam at the instant appeared. Each recognized in the other an old friend and fellow soldier; the tie was sacred; Putnam threw up the deadly muskets with his sword, and arrested his fate. He begged his men to spare that officer, as dear to him as a brother. The general’s humane and chivalrous generosity excited in them new admiration, and his friend retired unhurt.

Col. Little in the redoubt was covered with blood from one of his men shot by his side.

The exultation of the Americans was glorious and well deserved, but alas, short lived. They had leisure to realize the entire hopelessness of their situation. Their ammunition was expended, and they were as destitute of every offensive weapon

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* The history of this reserved close fire is remarkable; it was employed by Gen. Wolfe, and probably taught the Americans by his provincial officers. De Berniere, sent by Gage to reconnoitre the country in the spring of ’75, satirically describes the earnestness with which it was enjoined on the Yankees. It has ever since been their favourite and successful mode of fighting by sea and land. De Berniere says, “at Framingham a company of militia came and exercised under our windows, one of their commanders spoke a very eloquent speech, recommending patience, coolness, and bravery, (which indeed they much wanted) particularly recommended to them to charge us coolly, and wait for our fire, and every thing would succeed.”

† Story of Ipswich.
as the naked savages, their predecessors. Prescott found a few artillery cartridges, which he distributed to his men, and they determined to show a resolute front to the enemy, to club their muskets, and even employ the stones thrown up with the parapet against them. Their only hope, however, was from a want of fortitude in the foe, who had already twice proved any such expectation absolutely groundless.

Ward was without staff officers to bear his commands, excepting one aid and a secretary, who were the whole day on full speed between Breed's Hill and head quarters. Loss and neglect of orders were the inevitable consequence. Gardner's regiment and others who had been left between Cambridge and Charlestown, to wait further orders, were overlooked. The battle was raging, and no orders arrived. The colonel was a gentleman of rank, had been a member of the legislature, and commanded a regiment of militia, which, marching to Lexington to join in the engagement there, suddenly opened on the British artillery; being entirely void of cover they dispersed. His gallant soul felt their conduct as a stigma on himself, and he resolved on the earliest opportunity to wipe the spot from his escutcheon. A glorious opportunity was before him, and he panted to embrace it—to reap the honour of victory, or death and lasting fame. The latter fate was decreed him. He called his officers together, and offered to lead them into battle; they consented to follow him with about 300 men. The Col. marched them on to Bunker Hill, where they were met by Putnam, whose anxiety concerning this neglected post, never slept for a moment, he ordered them to take up the intrenching tools and complete the works he had commenced there, declaring, however, his conviction that the enemy would not rally again, they had been twice so thoroughly beaten.

Col. Scammans still remained inactive on Cobble hill, and contented himself with sending a serjeant and other messengers to Gen. Putnam, to see if he was wanted in the battle.

The detachment of Gerrish's regiment from Cambridge marched down and ascended Ploughed hill, under Mighill the oldest Captain, but the Adjutant Ferbiger, a Danish soldier of experience, assumed the command, called on the men to follow him, and marched for the lines.

Charlestown being burnt, the detachment there perceiving the enemy could not march up on that side, quitted their post, and joined the troops at the lines.

Howe gave his men orders to prepare again to advance. Some of the officers remonstrated, that it would be mere butch-
ery to lead them on again, but the generals, and nearly every officer, were indignant at the most distant suspicion of their yielding the victory to these rebels, an undisciplined rabble, of inferior numbers, against whom they had poured out every epithet of contempt. To conquer or die was their resolve.

Bloody experience at last opened their eyes to their egregious errors. Their overweening confidence was laid aside, and a deliberate and judicious plan of attack adopted. The overloaded knapsacks were relinquished; firing with musketry was prohibited, and a charge with the bayonet resorted to. The attack was to be more concentrated; while the troops at the rail fence were amused by a show of force, the grand effort was to be against the redoubt and breastwork, and especially on the right flank.

The accomplished and chivalrous Gen. Clinton now joined his countrymen, bringing his splendid talents into the council, and his distinguished gallantry into the field. Immediate and inconceivable was the sensation his appearance produced at this moment of deep despondence. From Copps Hill he had observed, with shame and indignation, the double rout of his countrymen, and particularly that the two celebrated battalions, the marines and forty-seventh, were staggered and wavering. Without waiting for orders, he threw himself into a boat, passed over, and soon breathed into them his own exalted heroism.

Howe again commanded a forward movement to scale the works, and rush on the enemy with the bayonet. He came to the left to lead on to the redoubt himself. Clinton joined Gen. Pigot and the marines on the left to turn the right flank of the enemy. Howe at last discovered the most vulnerable point, and the key of the enemy's position; the artillery were ordered to advance still farther than before on their old route, and turn the left of the breastwork, to enfilade the line.

The Americans made every preparation possible to repel this last desperate effort of the enemy. Putnam again rode to the rear, and exhausted every art and effort to bring on the scattered reinforcements. Capt. Bayley, only, of Gerrish's regiment, reached the lines. The General ordered Colonel Gardner's Regiment into action, the Colonel commanded his men to throw down the intrenching tools, and rush on, viewed unconcerned the battle scene before him, terrible as Sinai, and was just descending into the engagement, when a musket ball entered his groin, which proved mortal. He gave his last solemn injunction to his men, to conquer or die; and a detachment were just carrying him off the ground, when he was met by his
son, 2d Lieut. of Capt. Trevett, marching on, a mere youth of nineteen, and the interview which ensued between them, was melancholy and heart-rending, though at the same time heroic. The affectionate son in agony at the desperate situation of his father was anxiously desirous to assist him off the field, but was prohibited from doing this by his father, who notwithstanding he was conscious that his wound was mortal, yet encouraged his son to disregard it, reminding him that he was engaged in a glorious cause, and whatever were the consequence, must march on, and do his duty. The distracted son obeyed his parent’s last command, and in the battle, now raging, proved himself worthy of him, by a fearless imitation of his example, and afforded him his highest consolation in the hour of death.

In consequence of the loss of the Col. his Regiment did not reach the lines. Capt. Harris’s company only with a few others of the troops on the left, went to the rail fence. Capt. Trevett who had lost one of his pieces on Bunker Hill, by a cannon shot, marched to the rail fence with the other.

The enemy stripped off their knapsacks, and many of them their coats; the artillery pushed on by the road on the north, the forty-seventh and marines near the road on the south side of the hill, and the remains of the royal Irish and other regiments, and part of the grenadiers and light infantry in front. Their past efforts had exhausted the strength and spirit of many of the soldiers who lingered in the rear, and their gallant officers were compelled to urge them on with their swords. Some of the less resolute fired their pieces, but the great masses obeyed their orders, and with firmness moved on to the charge.

They arrived under the fire of the Americans, who improved to advantage their last opportunity for vengeance. Every shot took effect. The gallant Howe at last received a ball in the foot,* where only like Achilles he seemed to be vulnerable, but continued to animate his men.

The distinguished Col. Abercrombie, who commanded the grenadiers, Majors Williams and Spendlove† were slain; and to the noble heart of Abercrombie, Putnam was so dear as a soldier, patriot, and friend, that dying he remembered him, and enjoined it on his surrounding countrymen, “If you take Gen. Putnam alive, don’t hang him, for he’s a brave fellow.”‡

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* Dr. Jeffries.
† Much distinguished for 40 years in the 47th Reg. and 4 times in the Gazette for wounds in America, from Wolfe’s battle to the present.
‡ From a Lond. paper, see N. E. Chron. Nov. ’78.
Near the top of Breed's Hill were a few houses, which escaped the general conflagration of the town; these were judiciously manned by the Americans, who, from this cover, annoyed the British extremely on their advance, and made great havoc on their left flank, before they were able to surround the redoubt.

The artillery advanced toward the open space between the breastwork and rail fence; this ground was defended by some brave Essex troops, covered only by scattered trees. With resolution and deadly aim they poured the most destructive volleys on the enemy. The cannon, however, turned the breastwork, enfiladed the line,* and sent their balls through the open gateway or sally port, directly into the redoubt, under cover of which the troops at the breastwork were compelled to retire.

The enemy bravely bore the deadly fire, and continually closing his broken ranks, deliberately advanced on every side of the redoubt except the north. They were now under the eastern side of the redoubt and covered from the fire. The Americans retired to the opposite side to take them as they rose. Lieut. Prescott, nephew of the colonel, received a ball through the arm; it hung broken and useless by his side. The colonel ordered him to content himself with encouraging his men. But he contrived to load his piece, and was passing by the sally port to rest against the enemy, when a cannon ball cut him to pieces. A few only of the Americans had a charge of ammunition remaining. They had sent for a supply in vain; a barrel and a half only were in the magazine. They resorted next to stones, but these served only to betray their weakness, and lent new energy to the foe.

Young Richardson, of the royal Irish, was the first to mount the works, and was instantly shot down; the front rank which succeeded shared the same fate. Among the foremost of the leaders was the gallant Maj. Pitcairn, who exultingly cried "the day is ours," when Salem† a black soldier, and a number of others, shot him through and he fell. His agonized son received him in his arms and tenderly bore him to the boats. It was he who caused the first effusion of blood at Lexington. In that battle his horse was shot under him, while he was separated from his

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† Note M.
troops; his pistols* were taken from his holsters, and he was left for dead, when he seized the opportunity and escaped.

The heroic but diminutive Pigot ran up the southeastern corner of the redoubt, assisted by a tree left standing there, and desperately led on his men. Troops succeeded troops over the parapet, and Prescott exhausted every resource to repel them, even with the buts of his guns.

But he had now his last great victory to achieve, to which all his past toils, dangers, and privations, were nothing. He had twice conquered the enemy; he had now, a more difficult task, to conquer himself, to bend down his lofty soul, and turn his back to the enemy. Perfectly careless of his own life, he had no right to trifle with the lives of his men. It was a sacred deposit they had entrusted to his honor, a bond which he never forfeited. Instead of an useless waste of life, with a "nil desperandum," he quelled his revolting spirit, and ordered a retreat.

It was not till the battle was near over, that Gen. Ward ordered down his own regiment, Putnam's, and Sargent's, to assist their countrymen at their utmost need; but before they could arrive, the battle ended. Capt. Clark, of Putnam's regiment, had, before this, joined in the battle, and Durkee's impatience had brought him mounted to the field, to join his old commander and comrade of former wars.† Putnam's imagination had already inscribed the victory of Bunker Hill on his coat of arms, when the retreat of the right wing burst upon him, and his hopes were blasted.

The veteran Gridley now received a ball through the leg, and was carried off. He had served all night at the entrenchments, and assisted all day in defending his own works, and proving their excellence. Prescott's troops fought their way through the surrounding enemy. The veteran Capt. Bancroft was charging his piece, a British soldier leaped from the parapet, touching him as he came to the ground, and levelled at him, they fired together, the captain tore him to pieces and escaped unhurt. One of the men without ammunition perceived Lieut. Prescott's loaded musket by its deceased owner;

* These with the initials on them, belonged afterward to Putnam, and are yet in his family. Gage says the horse was shot, the other facts come from the man who brought in the pistols.
† In the journal of the famous Ranger, Maj. Rob. Rogers, is recorded an instance of the adventurous bravery of Putnam, his capture by a party of savages, and the desperate resistance of Durkee, who, though mangled with a number of wounds continued fighting till he conquered. Lond. 1765, p. 118.
one of the enemy opposed his passage; seizing the musket he brought his antagonist to the ground. Col. Bridge, who came with the first detachment, was one of the last to retreat, and was twice severely wounded, in the head and neck by a broad sword. His lieut. colonel, the veteran Parker, who had escaped through the whole war of ’56, in which he had signalized himself, especially at the desperate siege of Fort Frontinac, received a ball in the thigh, and was left mortally wounded in the redoubt.

Moore's soldiers found no one at the neck to supply them with drink for him; they entered a store, the owner was in the cellar to secure himself from the cannonade, and refused to come up, finding spirit and water however, they hastened back to witness only that all their efforts were labor lost, the enemy being in the redoubt, and Moore in the last extremity; his men made every effort to remove him, but he ordered them to leave him, and save themselves, as he had but a moment to live; they were immediately compelled to do this by the enemy, in the midst of whom, they saw him for the last time, as they retired, on the ground.

*On the bare earth exposed he lies,  
With not a friend to close his eyes.*

The British now enjoyed the satisfaction of responding to the hurras of victory, which had been twice enjoyed by the enemy, and expressed their melancholy exultation by a feeble hurra.

The chivalrous Warren lingered to the last. His exalted spirit disdained as a disgrace a retreat the most inevitable. He animated the men to the most desperate daring; and when hope itself had fled, he still disdained to fly. With sullen refection he slowly followed his countrymen, and seemed to court death from the enemy, to hide him from shame.

As he left the redoubt he was recognized by his friend Maj. Small, who honorably repaid the debt of gratitude he owed the enemy, he called to Warren for God's sake to stop and save his life, Warren turned and seemed to recognize him, but still continued on. Small ordered his men not to fire at him, and threw up the muskets with his sword, but in vain, the fatal ball had sped; eighty yards from the redoubt Warren received a musket ball through the head, which killed him instantly, securing to him immortal fame, and the eternal gratitude of his country.*

*Putnam remarked on the similarity of Lord Howe's fate, who fell by his side 17 years before, and Gen. Warren's, both he had entreated in vain to keep out of the engagements in which they fell.
Col. Scammans arrived at last on Bunker Hill with part of his Regiment, the remainder yet kept aloof under Maj. Wood, Putnam ordered these troops into action, but it was too late, and they joined in the retreat.—Col. Whitcomb's men under Maj. Sawyer yet remained in the rear. Capt. Foster arrived on the top of Bunker Hill with his field pieces, but rapidly retreated to save them from the enemy.

Gardner's Reg. had now approached near the fort; Major Jackson, who had served in the former war with the British, and was well acquainted with their officers, being in advance was immediately recognized by one of them as they issued from the redoubt, who indignantly accosted him with "what, you damn'd Rebel are you here," and levelled his piece at him, Jackson at the same instant levelled at his antagonist, and they fired together; the ball passed through Maj. Jackson's side, though his life was preserved by his sword belt, which partially glanced the ball, but nothing could save a British officer, fairly pitted against an American as a marksman, he was slain.

The British came on, exhausted by their desperate efforts, under a blazing sun, and broken by the well directed fire. They had not force to employ the bayonet, and were too much broken and mingled with the enemy to fire their pieces. Their right and left wings were indeed facing each other, with the Americans between; their fire would have cut down both friend and foe. While they formed themselves anew, the Americans collected, and made a brave and orderly retreat. Putnam put spurs to his foaming horse and threw himself between the retreating force and the enemy, who were but twelve rods from him; his countrymen were in momentary expectation of seeing this compeer of the immortal Warren fall. He entreated them to rally and renew the fight, to finish his works on Bunker Hill, and again give the enemy battle on that unsailable position, and pledged his honor to restore to them an easy victory. Lieut. Col. Ward reached the rail fence with a few troops, while some of his companies under Capts. Cushing, Smith, and Washburn, between Bunker and Breed's Hills, courageously covered the retreat by a brave and well directed fire, they were joined by Capt. Lunt of Little's Regiment, just arrived, Capts. Chester and Coit with fresh troops, and other soldiers, whose ammunition was not expended. This desperate devoted rear guard, effectually kept the enemy at bay, but the laurels gained by them, were by no means bloodless, a great number of these troops were killed or wounded.
The Americans had retreated about twenty rods before the enemy had time to rally and pour in a destructive fire on them, which destroyed more than they had lost before during the day. Prescott's adjutant was shot and crippled, his Capt. Maxwell, Dow, and Farwell, badly wounded, the latter carried off for dead; Lt. Fawcett mortally wounded and fell into the hands of the enemy. Capt. Bancroft had a part of his hand carried off and his Lieut. Brown was wounded.

The American left wing were congratulating themselves on their victory, when their flank was opened by the retreat of the right. The enemy pressed on them, and they were in their turn compelled to retire. Putnam covered their retreat with his Connecticut troops and others just arrived, and, in the rear of the whole, dared the utmost fury of the enemy, who pursued with little ardor, but poured in their thundering volleys, and showers of balls fell like hail around the general. He addressed himself to every passion of the troops, to persuade them to rally, to throw up his works on Bunker Hill, and make a stand there, and threatened them with the eternal disgrace of deserting their general. He took his stand near a field-piece, and seemed resolved to brave the foe alone. His troops, however, felt it impossible to withstand the overwhelming force of the British bayonets; they left him. One serjeant only dared to stand by his general to the last; he was shot down, and the enemy's bayonets were just upon the general, when he retired.

Gen. Pomeroy continued to animate the men, and cut down the enemy himself, till a well hove ball shattered his musket. The retreat having commenced, he disdained to turn from the enemy; but with backward step and lowering front shouldered the fragments of his piece, and carried off his men, encouraging them to pour in their formidable fire on the foe.

Capt. Trevett, like Callender, was deserted by his men. His lieutenants, Swasey and Gardner, stood by him, with but seven others, one of whom was Moses Porter, already a promising artillerist. He persuaded about thirty of the infantry to join in saving one of his pieces. He was compelled to abandon. A British company noticed the piece, and determined to seize the prey; they pursued, on the top of Bunker Hill were within thirty yards of them, levelled their muskets and fired. The captain gave up all for lost, when but one dropped dead, and another wounded, the remainder rapidly descended the hill, and carried off with honor the only piece saved out of six taken to the field, Putnam ordered it to Cambridge.
The Charlestown company of Gardner’s regiment was the last to retreat. They were fighting at their own doors, on their own natal soil. They were on the extreme left, covered by some loose stones thrown up on the shore of the Mystic, during the day, by order of Col. Stark. At this most important pass into the country, against which the enemy made the most desperate efforts, like Leonidas’ band, they had taken post, and like them they defended it, till the enemy had discovered another.

One piece of cannon at the neck opened on the enemy and covered the retreat.* But these were in no condition, and discovered no inclination to renew the engagement, or pursue their advantage, except by a formidable fire from their field pieces on Bunker Hill,† where they remained, and lay on their arms during the night. The same was done by most of the Americans on Prospect Hill, directly in the face of the enemy, and by Reed’s and Starks’ troops on Winter Hill.

Maj. Brooks was retained at Cambridge by Ward, till the last reinforcements were sent to Charlestown, when he marched with the two remaining companies of his regiment, and met at the neck the Americans retreating. Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford, attended him as a volunteer. He was assisting the army by his mathematical learning, his estimates and surveys, but had solicited an appointment in vain, and had made great but fruitless interest for the commission in the artillery which was bestowed on Maj. Gridley.‡ For this gross injustice done to his distinguished merit, his country suffered well deserved punishment in the misconduct of his rival, and by the final loss of his services, except what they received, in common with all mankind, from his splendid philosophical discoveries, his glorious and beneficent political labors.

Henry Knox, afterward the distinguished General, assisted Ward, as a volunteer, in reconnoitring the enemy’s movements during the day.

McClary, as attentive to the wants of his men as desperate in fighting them, galloped to Medford, and returned with dressings for the wounded. He ordered Capt. Dearborn to advance toward the neck with his company, while he crossed over to reconnoitre the enemy. He was returning with Lieut. Col. Robinson and others, and observed that the shot commissioned to kill him was not yet cast, when a cannon ball from the Glas-

* Gov. Brooks. † Dr. Dexter. ‡ Gov. Brooks.
gaw tore him to pieces. No smaller weapon seemed worthy to destroy the gigantic hero.

The veteran Col. Gridley entered his sulky at Bunker Hill to be carried off. The enemy shot the horse, and riddled the sulky with balls; but their rage was impotent; meeting some obstruction in the road, he had left the carriage a moment before.

Prescott repaired to Cambridge, furious as a lion driven from his lair, foaming with indignation at the want of support when victory was in his grasp—a victory dearly purchased with the precious blood of his soldiers, family, and friends. He demanded but two fresh regiments of Ward, and pledged his life with these to drive the enemy to their boats. He had not yet done enough to satisfy himself, though he had done enough to satisfy his country. He had not indeed secured final victory, but he had secured a glorious immortality.

Two young men in Boston were employed in taking the wounded from the boats to the hospitals; and a young lieutenant, shot through the body, was carried by them in a chair to his encampment, passing the streets, pale and faint with loss of blood, he attracted the humane and generous compassion shown by the inhabitants to the wounded; enmity forgotten, they were all at their doors with refreshing drink for them. At the encampment they met Capt. Pitcairn covered with blood. Struck with the appearance, the lieutenant inquired of him the cause, but his grief was too big for utterance, "vox faucibus haesit." A sergeant informed him, the captain's father was shot at the breastwork, and carried by his son to the boat, where he died in his arms. The hospital they found was established in a different place,* to which they repaired, and witnessed a scene to melt the most obdurate enemy. Not only the hospital but the yard was overloaded with wounded, praying in vain for the surgeons to arrest the current of life, fast ebbing from their wounds, which, from their numbers, it was impossible, for a long time, to dress.

Loud and melancholy wailings for the dead, from widows of the common soldiers, were heard in every street, and struck on the heart of the passenger.

The American surgical department was quite unorganized,†

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* In the old factory opposite the granary.
† The hospital was in the house now A. Bigelow, Esq.'s. Soon afterward it was removed to Mr. Fairweather's, and put under the superintendence of the poet and traitor, Dr. Church, who in one of his intercepted letters attributes the loss of the battle, to the cowardice of the clumsy Col. Gerrish and Col. Scammans.

The above account of Maj. Jackson p. 46, is from Mr. Baldwin see Notes p. 13.
Doct. Foster, of Charlestown, was principal surgeon; many of the wounded were carried to a place of safety on the backs of their comrades, and the best litter for the highest officer was a blanket and rails. Doct. Eustis,* of the artillery, Doctors Thos. Kitteridge, Walter Hastings, Thos. Welsh, David Townsend, and Jno. Hunt, were in attendance this day, principally at a house under the western side of Bunker Hill; they were joined by Lieut. Col. Brickett† a physician, who came off with the first of the wounded. Doct. Welsh was afterwards near Winter Hill, by which route the troops, who went to Cambridge, retreated; he and Sam'l Blvdget assisted in arresting the retreat of the N. Hampshire troops. Col. Gardner was overtaken here by the flying soldiers, which roused him to make his last effort for his country; with his feeble remains of strength he raised himself up by the rails on which he was carried, and beckoned them back to the fight.

The number of the Americans during the battle was fluctuating, but may be fairly estimated at 3500 who joined in the battle, and 500 more who covered the retreat.‡ Their loss was one hundred and fifteen killed and missing, three hundred and five wounded, and thirty captured, in all four hundred and fifty.§ The following was the estimated loss of the respective corps:

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<tr>
<th>Regiments</th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
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<tr>
<td>Colonels Stark and Reed</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>Colonel Scammans</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>Gerrish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whitcomb</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>Brewer</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Little</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardner</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gridley</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
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* Afterwards Secretary of War, Minister to Holland, and Gov. of Mass. of urbane manners and respectable talents.

† It is said Warren, as he went on, obtained his arms from him.

Dr. John Warren, brother to the General, hearing a rumor of an approaching engagement, came from Salem to join the army as a soldier on the day of the battle, was engaged as Hospital Surgeon, and much distinguished as such during the war.

‡ The average numbers in a Regt. according to the returns of 17 the author has, were 460. Great allowance must be made for those unable, and those unwilling, to go on; the men went on or off as they pleased, and when they pleased.

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General Putnam's regiment, 15 30
Captain Cott, and
Captain Chester's companies,

General Ward 1 6
Colonel Bridge 16 29
Prescott 42 28
Frye 15 31
Nixon 3 10
Woodbridge 1 5
Doolittle 0 9

Providence newspaper, July 15, 1775.

The British loss was about 1500,* Gage acknowledges but
1054 † including eighty-nine officers; two hundred and
twenty-six killed, including nineteen officers, and eight hun­
dred and twenty-eight wounded, seventy of them officers. The
52d regt. lost 5 officers, four of them the highest in the regi­
ment; their only complaint was that they were wounded in the
back. The marines lost six, and Howe's aid-de-camp; and
had 12 wounded. The grenadiers of the Welsh fusileers
were reduced to eight, and twenty-two out of thirty-nine gren­
diers of the fifty-second regiment were killed. All the grena­
diers of one company were shot storming the works except five,
and these were led on by the oldest soldier.‡ Lord Rawdon,
afterwards Earl of Moira and Marquis of Hastings, led on a
corp of grenadiers, and escaped with a ball or two through his
cap.§

Stark's Capt. Baldwin, who had been in twenty actions,
Nixon's Capt. Moses, and Lieuts. Dix of Gerrish's, West
of Whitcomb's, and Bailey of Bridge's regiments, were killed;
Scott, † and Little's sergeant afterwards Lieut. Pearson, wounded.
Capt. Warner carried on but 23 men, 17 of them were killed or
wounded. He received a ball through his hat, another through
his waistcoat pocket which destroyed his knife handle, one
through his coat, and, by a fourth, lost his gun, easily replaced
now from those which had lost their owners. Capt. Coburn
had two balls through his jacket, and five through his shirt;
and Capt. Bullard's clothes were cut as remarkably, both were

* Mass. Cong.
† His crafty expression that he sent over, something above 2000 has de­
ceived many.
‡ Gentleman's Magazine for 1775 p. 397.
§ Burgoyne says, "he behaved to a charm, his name is established forever."
‖ Not called Lieut. on record, but doubtless the same who was taken prisoner.
BUNKER HILL BATTLE.

unhurt. After the event, Col. Sargent was slightly wounded by a cannon ball, which carried off Lieut. Col. Ward's cartridge box and knocked down a subaltern. Many were injured, and Capt. Bancroft lost an eye, from the percussion of the air by cannon balls. Col. Nixon's life was saved by a dollar in his pocket, Judge Winthrop and James Swan, Esq. volunteered in the battle, fought valiantly with their muskets, and the former was wounded.*

Thirty-one Americans, taken prisoners, were confined, officers and men, in Boston jail. Washington complained to Gage of their treatment, who declared they fared as well as the British, though destined to the cord by the laws of the country; but that, not acknowledging rank unless derived from the crown, he made no distinction in favour of officers.

In this battle the British gained a nominal victory, but the Americans the only prize contend for; they destroyed entirely the physical and moral force of the British army, imprisoned them within their narrow limits, and prevented their excursions. The enemy never after recovered their enterprise and confidence in America, and by this single battle the final success of the American revolution was secured.

The Rev. Doct. Saml. Macclintock of Greenland, Chaplain of Stark's Reg. and in the war of '56 Chaplain of Goffe's Reg. was in the battle of Bunker Hill, intrepidly by "his exhortations prayers and example encouraging and animating them to the unequal conflict."

* Philip Johnson, Esq. then of Little's regiment, was wounded. His Capt. Perkins, finding it waxed warm when they arrived at the neck, threw away his wig, and led his men over at single file, the mode generally adopted.

Mr. Abbot, now postmaster at Andover, received a ball through his leg; Mr. Barker carried him off a mile on his back. A ball passed through the body of one man and wounded another in the knee; the first recovered, the latter died. Bradlish received a ball in the back of his head or neck, which came out through his forehead, was cured, and served again. Gate's jaw was broken by a ball; he served a year or two, till sent home as disabled, and has been compelled to dress his wound every day for 50 years. Another has worn a bullet in his leg the same length of time. The heart of Pollard, the first killed, continued beating for some time after it was cut out of him by the cannon ball.

Capt. Wheeler, going on, a 24-pound cannon shot passed between his legs on top of Bunker Hill, threw him into the air, prostrated him, and broke his waistband string; his leather smallclothes secured him from further injury.

Fear fastened on Capt. ** like nightmare; heartily inclined to fight in the cause, and deeply mortified, it was impossible for him to break the spell. He honestly confessed his weakness; a sergeant led on the company; and, against their unanimous wish, he resigned.

† Boston suffered extremely from want of fresh provisions; owing to which many of the prisoners and British died. A present, from Putnam to Gen. Gage's lady, of a quarter of veal, was of consequence enough to be recorded in the newspapers. The respected Master Lovell was imprisoned, and afterwards carried to Halifax, on account of his letters found on Gen. Warren.

The Americans used no colors, and the British neither colors nor music.
SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

Ward was appointed by the National Congress first major general and second in command of the army. He assumed the command of the right wing at Roxbury on the arrival of Washington, 2d July, by whom his disposition of the troops around Boston was approved. From ill health he resigned his commission in April '76, but continued in command at the request of Washington and Congress till March '77. He was afterwards in Congress under the old confederation and present constitution, and died in 1800, aged 73.

Thomas was appointed first Brig. Gen. under the United States; in '76 Major Gen. and on the death of Montgomery repaired to Canada to command the army before Quebec. He found their situation desperate; but was too adventurous to relinquish the enterprise without one attempt to secure the favours of fortune. He endeavoured to burn the enemy's naval force before the city by a fire ship, designing to attack the place during the conflagration; the fire ship miscarried, he was compelled to retreat, and died of the small pox at Chamblee.

Pomeroy expressed his strong sense of the blindness of fortune, that, of the two volunteer generals in the battle, Warren, the young and chivalrous soldier, the eloquent and enlightened legislator, should fall, and he escape, old and useless, unhurt. From age he declined the honourable appointment of first Brig. Gen. of the U. S. army, and retired from service. But, like the veteran war horse, when the echoes of his majestic Connecticut rang with the clarion of battle, he spurned the peaceful retreat which his long life and long services demanded. He preferred even a regiment to inaction, and as a colonel marched to join the kindred spirits who composed our army in the Jerseys. His exposures produced a pleurisy, which proved

† Two days after the battle he informed Mass. Congress, that spears might have saved the redoubt, the army were immediately supplied with them; and they were kept greased to prevent their being effectually grasped by the enemy. Ward's Aid de camp was Saml. Osgood, his Secretary Jos. Ward, afterwards a highly respected Muster-master-general during most of the war under Washington.
fatal at Peekskill in New York, where his country owes him a monument, and bravery and patriotism perennial fame.

When Putnam* was ordered on what may well be styled a forlorn hope, to land with a detachment at Boston, in face of the army and batteries of the enemy, Prescott solicited of him the honor of participating the desperate enterprise, which was arrested however by a hurricane, and the enemy were expelled from a different quarter. The Col. continued in service, accompanied Washington to New York, and on the disastrous retreat through the Jerseys, was the only officer able to keep his men in the ranks. They proved worthy the hero of Bunker Hill, and kept the enemy in respect; Washington applauded them as an example to the army, and tendered his thanks to the Col. in general orders. In '77 he joined Gen. Gates with a corps of volunteers, and continued with him till the capture of Burgoyne.

On the return of peace he again entered the state legislature, and distinguished himself in '87 as a magistrate, as he did in '75 as a warrior. From the miseries and poverty produced by war, many of the sufferers in Massachusetts were driven to an armed opposition to government; this enlightened patriot employed his powerful influence to stay the torrent of insurrection; he collected his friends and proceeded to Concord armed to protect the court there against the insurgents. He was religious and died, 1790, in the 70th year of his age.

Immediately after the battle, the rank of major general was conferred on Gridley. America commenced her revolution with but four pieces of cannon, and to his mechanical science and ingenuity she was indebted for the first mortars and cannon ever cast in the country. After being confined some months by his wound, he repaired to Cambridge and superintended the fortifications erecting round Boston. On the 4th March, '76, he was again engaged in erecting fortifications in the night, and the address, science, and prodigies of labour, displayed at Dorchester Heights, were perhaps never exceeded, except on Breed's Hill. These works compelled the enemy to evacuate Boston, the heights and the islands of which, were fortified by Gridley. Washington urged him to accompany the army, but his advanced age forbade, and he retired on half pay. In '95 he assisted in laying the corner stone of the state house, as in laying that of the state in '75, and lived to the age of 86, a

* Putnam commenced the fortifications at Prosperi Hill, and after Washington's arrival, at Lechmere Point likewise, and Cobb Hill, the work at the last place was named Putnam's impregnable Fort.
BUNKER HILL BATTLE. 55

model of courtliness, beneficence, and hospitality, as well as military excellence.

Stark will be recognized as the hero of Bennington, where he practised an ingenious deception to strike a panic into the enemy. He had one iron cannon, but neither powder sufficient for it, nor balls; he ordered an officer to load it, who objected the want of balls; "no matter," said the colonel, "load it " with blank cartridge, and let the discharge be the signal for " all the troops to rush on." The Hessians were panic-struck at the thundering report, his troops rushed on with loud hurras, and the victory was complete.*

The veteran Col. Jos. Frye, brother to James, had served with reputation in the wars of '45, and '56, commanded all the Mass. forces in '57,† was captured at fort Wm. Henry, stripped naked, and gashed with tomahawks‡ in the subsequent massacre; was appointed Maj. Gen. by Mass. Congress, 21 June '75, served some time afterwards, and died very old at Fryeburgh, named after his family.

Col. Gardner lived a few days after the battle, being asked if he was well enough to see his son, "yes," answered the hero, "if he has done his duty." He had the satisfaction to see him, and learn that he bravely distinguished himself.

The life of Brooks since the battle of Bunker Hill has been far too distinguished in the military and political history of America to be noticed satisfactorily in a supplement. His regiment, when Washington arrived at Cambridge, was distinguished for its superior discipline, and Gates pronounced him one of the first disciplinarians in service. He was appointed first inspector of the army under Steuben, and afterwards Adj. Gen. for the army on the North River, and was distinguished in nearly all the important battles of the revolution. He was in the battle on Long Island with the reinforcement, and in that of White Plains; history has recorded him among the most distinguished commanders in the army which captured Burgoyne; and he was in the battle of Monmouth as Adj. Gen. From their earliest acquaintance, he was a favourite of Washington, enjoyed his uniform friendship, and was honourably distinguished, from being selected by him as one of the general officers, to serve with him again in '98. During the last war he had the su-

* His statement to Hon. Tim. Bigelow.
† Minot 2. 16.
‡ He was opposed to the surrender, and his officers presented him a piece of plate for his courage and conduct on this occasion.
perintendence of the militia of Mass. and secured the country from inroads of the enemy. For many years he was elected governor and commander in chief of Massachusetts, to the universal satisfaction of all parties. Over the liberties and free constitutions he established as a warrior, he presided as a legislator with distinguished ability. In 1823 he declined a reelection, and died in '25 universally lamented.

The brave Knowlton, from the first moment of the battle to the last of the retreat, showed himself worthy the honour of being selected as the first among the Connecticut captains. He was promoted, and on the night of 8th of Jan. went, in command of 200 men, directly under the enemy's batteries, and burned some houses left standing near the neck, killed or captured the British in them, and came off without loss under a heavy fire. He was afterwards Lieut. Col. and at the battle of Harlem heights, was sent by Washington to gain the enemy's rear; a bloody action ensued; Knowlton and his men fought the whole force of the enemy, of vastly superior numbers, before the Americans could attack in front, and gained the advantage. By this gallant affair, he restored to the army, a glorious moral force, nearly extinguished by disasters; but at the expense of many of his brave men in the unequal contest; his Major Leitch was slain, with three balls through him, and the victory was dearly purchased with his own invaluable life. Washington paid due honour to his memory in general orders, declaring, "he had died a glorious death, which every soldier ought to wish for, and would have been an honour to any country on earth."

The indignation felt by Prescott, at the loss of the battle, was general, in the army and throughout the country; a scrutiny, severe and unrelenting, was instituted into the conduct of every one who could be suspected. Even the dangerous and honourable wounds of Bridge were insufficient to secure him from passing the ordeal of a court; from whose relentless severity he narrowly escaped condemnation, on the charge of keeping under cover too cautiously in the redoubt.

Notwithstanding this severe inquisition, and the great number of Americans engaged, most of them for the first time, five only were discovered guilty of misconduct. Of these, Maj. Gridley was tried for neglect of duty, Gen. Green presiding, the court "find him guilty of breach of orders, and there-fore dismiss him from the Massachusetts service; but on ac-
"count of his inexperience and youth, and the great confusion "which attended that day's transaction in general, they do not
"consider him incapable of a Continental commission, should "the general officers recommend him to his Excellency.""

Mansfield was obviously guilty of an error only, arising from inexperience; he was cashiered. Col. Gerrish evinced certainly a want of military ardor and activity, but this was in part a constitutional defect. He was not accused before the committee of Congress by Gen. Putnam, and in the opinion of the highly respected judge advocate of the court was far too harshly treated.†

A complaint was lodged against him with Ward immediately after the battle, who refused to notice it on account of the unorganized state of the army. He was stationed at Sewall's point, which was fortified; in a few weeks a floating battery made an attack on the place, which he did not attempt to repel, observing, "the rascals can do us no harm, and it would "be a mere waste of powder, to fire at them with our 4 "pounders;" it was evening, the lights were extinguished, and all the British balls flew wide of the fort. For his conduct on this occasion, and at Bunker Hill he was arrested immediately, tried, found guilty of "conduct unworthy an officer," and cashiered.

Capt. Callender apparently guilty of cowardice is a glorious instance of the buoyancy of genuine heroism, and the redeeming efficacy of the "mind conscious of rectitude." The furious denunciation of Putnam, the sentence of court, and thundering proscription of Washington, would have crushed any one forever, not armed with a panoply so divine. A committee of Congress appointed to inquire into the truth of a report, that some officers of the army had been guilty of misconduct; report, that they had made inquiry of Gen. Putnam and other officers who were in the hottest of the battle, and that the general charged Capt. Callender and another artillery officer, with infamous cowardice, one of the principal causes of the defeat, and informed them that he would quit the service if these officers were not made an example of, and that one of them ought to be shot. The court martial condemned Callender, and Washington approved the judgment, "not only from the particular guilt of Capt. Callen" der, but the fatal consequence of such conduct to the army, "and to the cause of America in general."

Notwithstanding this, our hero resolved to compel the world to acknowledge, by his future conduct, that his past had been mistaken. He continued with his corps as a volunteer, and desperately exposed himself in every action. The brave and beneficent Knox extended to him his friendship. At the battle on Long Island, the Capt. and Lieut. of the artillery company, in which he served, were shot; he assumed the command, and refusing to retreat, fought his pieces to the last;
the bayonets of the soldiers were just upon him, when a British officer, admiring his chivalrous and desperate courage, interfered and saved him. Washington expressed the highest approbation of his conduct, gave him his hand and his cordial thanks; ordered the sentence of the court martial to be erased from the orderly book, and restored him his commission. He held this during the war, and left service at the peace, with the highest honour and reputation.*

Capt. Dearborn was afterwards distinguished during the revolutionary war for his bravery and enterprise. He volunteered at the head of a company of men, selected from the regiment to accompany Arnold, in the winter of '75, through the trackless wilds, to Quebec; an enterprise, which, in daring hardihood and courage, is not surpassed by Hannibal's passage of the Alps. He commanded a battalion of Lt. infantry at Saratoga, and his services were acknowledged by Gates in the highest terms of approbation. Cilley's regiment in which he was Lieut. Col. was highly distinguished in the battle of Monmouth, and the salvation of the army was owing to their courage. Washington acknowledged the service, and sent to inquire what regiment it was. "Full blooded yankees by... sir," was the answer of the commander. Dearborn was afterward secretary at war under Jefferson; and during the last war first major general and senior officer of the army.

Porter, who stood by his captain and cannon to the last, rose through every grade of office, to be a distinguished Gen. in the army. He was intrusted with the command at Norfolk, the last war, and in 1818 was at Boston in command of the district which in '75 as a private he so bravely defended.

Howe, notwithstanding his wound, remained on the field the whole night, watching the movements of the enemy; supporting himself against some hay, he ordered his attendants to prevent him from falling asleep.

In the morning young Winslow† of Boston, recognised the body of Warren, and announced the fact. Howe would scarcely credit the account; it was so improbable that the president of Congress was in the battle. Dr. Jeffries was on the field dressing the British wounded, and the wounded American prisoners, with his usual humanity and skill. Howe inquired of him if he could identify Warren; he recollected that he had lost a finger nail and wore a false tooth, and informed the general that Warren had five days before ventured over to Boston in a canoe to get information, invited Jeffries to join the Americans as surgeon, and informed him that he was himself to receive a commission in the army. Warren was instantly recognised, and the enemy declared this victim alone was worth five hundred of their men.

* Lt. Woodward was also found guilty of misconduct. † Gen. Winslow.