

# OLD YARMOUTH'S SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION

# by Jack Duggan

"....he always behaved as becometh a good soldier."

An excerpt from the discharge papers of Ebenezer Thacher, an orderly sergeant in the 14th Massachusetts Continental Line Regiment, March 31, 1780<sup>1</sup>

# **Prologue**

Imagine, if you will, an early 19th century scene outside the Barnstable County courthouse. The weather is pleasant. The air is full of the voices of older men; some are talking intensely, laughing. Others simply engage in quiet conversation with old friends as they gather at the court prior to applying for Revolutionary War pensions or to give depositions on behalf of their old comrades in arms. John Reed, a former Congressman and Yarmouth lawyer who has represented many local veterans, arrives joining in one of the conversations. He is accompanied by an elderly woman whose husband recently passed away and whom he will help secure her survivor's pension benefits.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thacher (1754 - 1831) served for a total of five years, seven months in the Continental Army and the Barnstable County militia over several different enlistments. He was present at the surrender of General Burgoyne's army at Saratoga in October 1777, was at the battles of Monmouth in June 1778 and Stony Point in July 1779 and survived the cruel winter at Valley Forge in 1777-1778 where so many of his fellow Yarmouth soldiers died.

Thacher returned home to marry Tamsen Taylor in June 1785. Together they raised several children. We do not know how he made a living but it's probable, that like other Cape Cod men, Ebenezer had a maritime career. Due to infirmity and reduced circumstances, he applied for and received a veteran's pension in 1818.

Yarmouth was a small town back then.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that as youngsters these men were well acquainted with each other — cousins, friends, schoolmates, neighbors — before serving in the same company or regiment. Now they are growing old together. It's pleasant to visualize them conversing outside the court while they waited to conduct business.



A Pensioner of the Revolution by John Neagle (1830) This painting of a veteran of the Revolutionary War is something different—a somber and arresting image of a poor man that hints at the struggles many soldiers of the Revolution faced in old age. In applying for a pension Yarmouth men often declared their difficulties as reflected in this representative quote from a Continental Line veteran who was present in Yorktown when General Cornwallis surrendered; "I am now in reduced circumstances in life and stand in need of the assistance of my country for support." (The American Revolution Institute of the Society of the Cincinnati)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Readers should keep in mind that during the Revolutionary War years "old" Yarmouth was made up of two precincts (East and West) which today are the towns of Dennis and Yarmouth. In 1793, citizens from both precincts voted overwhelmingly to let the East Precinct become its own town, which was named in honor of the precinct's first minister, the Reverend Josiah Dennis.

Oh, the stories these veterans could have told about their soldiering in the Continental Army or the Barnstable County militia. Yarmouth men were present at notable battles and countless skirmishes across the duration of the War. They suffered from diseases and malnutrition during the grueling Valley Forge winter of 1777 - 1778 where a dozen of their comrades perished. Old men now, they most certainly still carried memories of their lives as soldiers: cold days and nights, hot summer sun, rain, snow, forced marches, smallpox vaccinations, off duty "frolics", night sentry duty, payless pay days, foraging for food, gossiping about their officers, boredom, anger, excitement, fear, fatigue, sickness and, above all, the lack of adequate food. "That faithful companion, hunger, stuck as close to us as ever" declared Private Joseph Plumb Martin, a Connecticut Continental Line soldier whose service took him to many of the same places and events experienced by Yarmouth men throughout the war. <sup>3</sup>

But, alas, these Yarmouth veterans did not leave behind much of a written record of their service. Significant nuggets about the war time experiences of local men are emerging from close examinations of individual pension application files. Many Yarmouth men lived long enough to receive military pensions and more in-depth research in the pension archives is likely to fill existing gaps in our knowledge.

• We are fortunate that a handful of letters between Captain Joshua Gray and his wife Mary have survived to shed light on some of the experiences of Captain Gray's Yarmouth militia company on duty on the siege lines around Boston just prior to the British evacuation of the city in March 1776.<sup>4</sup> In addition, Doctor James Thacher, who was born in Barnstable, published a detailed account of his service as a surgeon and surgeon's mate in two Continental Army regiments which included about a dozen Yarmouth soldiers.<sup>5</sup> These narratives aside, no detailed accounts of military service by Yarmouth soldiers have come down to the present in written form or as oral history tales told and re-told by the family fireside.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Joseph Plumb Martin, *A Narrative of a Revolutionary War Soldier* (Signet Classics edition, 2010) Page 156. Martin's reminiscences, which were originally published anonymously in 1830, have come to be regarded by historians of the Revolution as an authoritative account of the war as seen through the eyes of an ordinary soldier.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Gray letters are available <u>online</u>, Joshua Gray of Yarmouth, Massachusetts, and His Descendants - Julia Edgar Thacher - Google Books.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> James Thacher, *An Army Doctor's American Revolution Journal, 1775–1783,* (Dover Publications, 2019). Thacher received his medical training in his hometown of Barnstable, Massachusetts, before joining the Army in 1776. His journal recorded everyday military life through the eyes of an officer who was present throughout the war years from Ticonderoga to Yorktown serving under Massachusetts Continental Line Colonels Asa Whitcomb and Henry Jackson.

 But happenstance can sometimes produce breakthroughs and that was the case just before this article was completed when a Yarmouth resident shared with us a detailed first person account of the service of Lot Hall, a Marine lieutenant in the Continental Navy, who had been captured by the British in September 1776 and held prisoner in Scotland. Hall was ultimately released from custody to find his own way home which he did via an excruciatingly circuitous sea and land route that took him from Glasgow, Scotland to the Isle of Man to Whitehaven, England, back to Scotland again to Ireland to the Caribbean (the Barbados, Antigua, Sint Eustatius) and then the coast of southern Virginia. It was there on December 28, 1777, near Hampton Roads at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, that Hall was again taken prisoner, this time by the HMS St. Albans, a British Navy man-of-war. But good fortune intervened when through the intervention of Virginia Governor Patrick Henry, he was released within ten days via a prisoner exchange. Once freed, Hall "waited on his excellency in person," sharing the story of his odyssey with Governor Henry who was apparently so impressed that he provided Hall with a horse and money to return home which he did, arriving February 22, 1778 almost 22 months since leaving Yarmouth to join the Continental Navy.<sup>6</sup> Preliminary research indicates that after Hall (1757 -1809) got back to the Cape he became a lawyer and relocated to Vermont where, among other things, he was elected to the state legislature and served as a judge.

### Yarmouth on the Eve of the Revolution

In the years leading up to the Revolutionary War citizens of Yarmouth developed deeply negative views of British interference in governing the colony of Massachusetts — especially the closure of the port of Boston and the military occupation of that city. Living on the distant edge of a sprawling empire and accustomed to many aspects of self-government, local feelings of resentment took on new form and action in April 1775 when British troops and colonial militia clashed at Lexington and Concord. Over the next eight years a steady stream of Yarmouth men volunteered for military service, most of whom saw duty on land rather than at sea in the War for Independence.

## "I was now, what I had long wished to be, a soldier"7

Joseph Plumb Martin

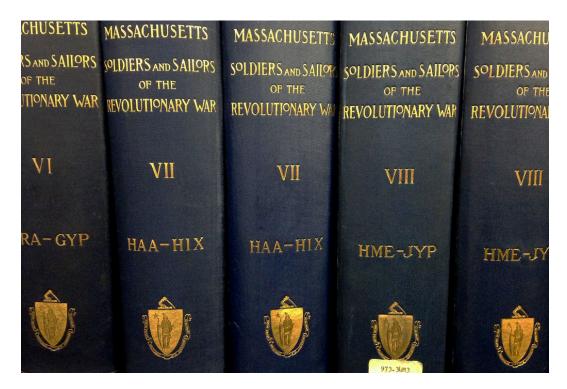
Two hundred and seventy-nine Yarmouth men<sup>8</sup> served in the state militia or Continental Army during the Revolutionary War (1775 - 1783), according to records drawn from the massive 17 volume series, <u>Massachusetts Soldiers</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 26th Congress, First Session, House of Representatives, Document Number 58., Petition of Polly Hall, Widow and executrix, and the heirs of Lot Hall, deceased, for remuneration for revolutionary [sic] services and prize money. February 5, 1840. Referred to the Committee on Revolutionary Claims (19 pages).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Martin, ibid, page 17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Appendix A for an alphabetical list of names of these veterans.

<u>& Sailors of the Revolutionary War.</u> A small number of additional names are also included based on information that surfaced from other reliable sources during my research. Some of these men served in both the militia and the Army at different times during the War.



The 17-volume "Soldiers & Sailors" military records series is a great place to start searching for Massachusetts veterans of the Revolutionary War. It can be found in selected local libraries as well as online at the FamilySearch genealogical site (<a href="https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/213956?">https://www.familysearch.org/search/catalog/213956?</a> availability=Family History Library).

The total number of Yarmouth veterans is almost certainly an undercount that will grow as research continues. The Dennis-Yarmouth Revolutionary War Recognition Committee members are at work on this task as are David and Pauline Schafer who are compiling a list of veterans buried at the Ancient Cemetery in Yarmouth Port as part of the historic preservation work performed by the non-profit Friends of Ancient Cemetery. <sup>10</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War; A compilation from the Archives...Prepared and published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth in accordance with Chapter 100, Resolves of 1891... Boston; Wright & Potter Printing Co, State Printers; 1896 - 1908...The names of the Massachusetts veterans in the "Soldiers & Sailors" listings were compiled from a comprehensive collection of original documents such as muster rolls, payrolls, uniform & equipment distribution accounts, enlistment bounty payments, etc. A "Scope and Content Note" describing the guidelines on how this list of Yarmouth veterans was created is available upon request.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Friends of Ancient Cemetery <a href="https://www.friendsofancientcemetery.org/">https://www.friendsofancientcemetery.org/</a>

 The Recognition Committee hopes that as we move forward nurturing interest in Yarmouth's Revolutionary history, family descendants of town veterans may come forward to share documents and stories that will shed more light on the service of individual veterans as well as on town life during the War of Independence.

The Solders & Sailors volumes are a fine starting point to begin identifying Yarmouth veterans, but a thorough mining effort requires repeated examinations of all seventeen volumes given multiple surname spellings and, more important, the fact that "enlisted for the town of Yarmouth" indicators were often absent in the original source documents. Pursuing other avenues of research such as in-depth examination of pension files and going back to the original documents that serve as the basis of the Soldiers & Sailors summaries will be necessary to accurately collect the names of as many Yarmouth servicemen as possible.

There are few sailors on our Yarmouth veterans list to date because original records covering maritime service are not as numerous as they are for the Army and the state militia. Some of this knowledge gap is explained by the likelihood that Cape men served onboard privateers versus the newly formed Continental Navy and the short-lived Massachusetts Navy. <sup>11</sup> Ongoing Recognition Committee research is likely to identify more naval service veterans from Yarmouth.

#### Militia Service was Common

Over two hundred Yarmouth men and boys performed militia service of varying lengths of enlistment or deployments over the course of the war years. Boys as young as sixteen could join the militia and they did. The Soldiers & Sailors records reveal that at least one youngster under sixteen enlisted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Excerpt from Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors, Ibid, Volume 1 Preface, pages iii - vi "It is to be regretted that the records of naval service during the Revolution in the possession of the Commonwealth, should be so meagre and incomplete as compared with those of military service, inasmuch as history records that the service rendered by the men of Massachusetts afloat was equally as creditable and meritorious as that rendered by the land forces. By far the greater part of such service was performed by privateers, and, these being matter of private enterprise, no official returns of officers or crews were required. Save the records of commissions granted to commanders of privateers, an occasional crew list sworn to on clearance before naval officers is all that is to be found among the state archives to furnish proof of privateer service. Such records of naval service as there are consist mainly of rolls of state armed vessels, as they were called, made up for pay due officers and men for service performed during each cruise or term of engagement. But even these records do not show continuous service of such vessels in commission and are fewer in number than might be expected."

- One of Yarmouth's three militia companies was a Minuteman company led by Captain Joshua Gray. Minuteman companies were composed of better-armed and trained soldiers with a higher state of battle readiness than regular town units.
- In the spring of 1775, Gray's Minuteman company consisted of 31 men (the captain, three sergeants, a drummer and 26 privates, all of whom received credit for two days of active duty for marching on "the Alarm of April 19,1775"). One of those Minutemen, Samuel Hallett, later joined the Continental Army and died at Valley Forge in January 1778. Hallett, who rose to the rank of sergeant major, appears to be the highest-ranking non-commissioned officer among Yarmouth enlistees in the Continental Line.

## Reexamining an Old Assumption

Nineteenth century Cape Cod historians seemed to presume that Yarmouth militia companies responded to the news of the clash with British troops at Lexington and Concord by quickly marching off to Boston on April 20, 1775 to join the battle. <sup>12</sup> That assumption held that when word reached them at Marshfield that the fighting west of the city was over, the Yarmouth companies turned around and went home. <sup>13</sup>

A more than plausible alternative scenario posits a different destination for the Yarmouth militia and that destination was Marshfield itself, a south shore town with strong loyalist sympathies which had housed a small British garrison of about a hundred troops since late January of 1775. Boston newspapers, which circulated on the Cape, had since early 1774 or possibly earlier, carried stories about Marshfield loyalists which probably increased local resentment of Massachusetts Tories who were seen to support British "meddling" in colonial affairs. The fact that the royal governor had recently sent a military detachment to Marshfield was almost certainly public knowledge in Whig circles across the Cape during the winter and early spring of 1775.

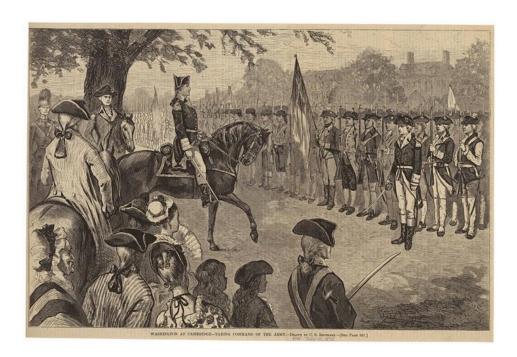
With this as background, attacking the British garrison at Marshfield may well have been on the minds of some Yarmouth officers when they marched off on April 20th, but no documentary evidence has surfaced about what local leaders were thinking as they absorbed early reports of the fighting at Lexington and Concord. Nor do we know if specific orders had come from county level commanders to head toward Marshfield to drive off the British troops there.

<sup>12</sup> Charles Swift ("...started for the scene of hostilities...") and Simeon Deyo ("...the town's militia started out for the scene of operations..."). Charles Swift, Edited by Charles Holbrook, History of Old Yarmouth: Comprising the Present Towns of Yarmouth and Dennis, (Historical Society of Old Yarmouth, 1975) Page 163 and Simeon Deyo, History of Barnstable County, (Reprinted by Higginson Book Company, 1970, originally published 1890, Blake, New York) Page 466.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The captains of the Yarmouth militia companies, totaling 108 men, were Micah Chapman, Jonathan Crowell and Joshua Gray.

Looking back almost 250 years to those hectic days immediately after the Lexington and Concord clash and the bloody fighting along the British retreat to Boston, it would not be surprising that confusion reigned in Plymouth and Barnstable counties as militia officers attempted to cut through the fog of war to decide what to do next. In the absence of clear evidence of the <u>intent</u> of Yarmouth's militia captains, however, it is best to stick with the established fact that town soldiers had reached Marshfield before returning home.

It might well be that some Yarmouth soldiers arrived in the Marshfield/ Duxbury/Plymouth area in time to join with militias from surrounding towns looking for a fight with the British garrison in Marshfield but, whatever the case, by that juncture on the afternoon of April 21, British naval vessels dispatched from Boston had already withdrawn the garrison from Marshfield along with a number of Tory sympathizers.<sup>14</sup>



Washington at Cambridge - Taking Command of the Army (C.S. Reinhart, 1856) — Many Yarmouth men, principally a militia company led by Captain Joshua Gray, served under Washington during his command of American forces in Massachusetts in 1775 -1776. This print is one of several 19th century depictions of Washington's arrival in Cambridge Massachusetts on July 3, 1775 to take command of America's new army. Few American artists were present during the war years to capture contemporary scenes. Much popular art created in the mid 1800s is more symbolic than a precise depiction of the moment such as when Washington first reviewed his troops the day after arriving in Cambridge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Various sources — J.L. Bell's "Boston 1775" blog entries for July 2016 especially July 15, 2016 "When Minutemen Marched into Marshfield" "The Almost Battle" of Marshfield" from SAR Magazine, Spring 2021 by National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. "The Almost-Battle of Marshfield", by Patrick Browne, January 24, 2015 "A Tea Party, Tories and Redcoats in Marshfield" by Patrick Browne, January 10, 2011.

## Typical Militia Duties

Most Yarmouth militiamen served in town-based companies attached to Barnstable County regiments, but some Yarmouth men also saw duty in other County militia companies. Most performed their service on the Cape or the Elizabeth Islands. Others ventured further from home to take part in the Siege of Boston (1775 - 1776) and then the defense of the city after British troops evacuated. A few Yarmouth men served in Boston units guarding British prisoners captured at the American victory at Saratoga. Still others were in militia units sent to Rhode Island to reinforce Continental Army troops at various times during the war.

- Yarmouth militiamen generally saw short stints of duty of a few days to up to a month in nearby locations. Early in the war, a number of Yarmouth men served six month militia enlistments on the Cape "in defence of the seacoast" in an attempt to discourage British raiding parties in search of food and other supplies for occupying forces besieged in Boston.
- Captain Gray led a Yarmouth militia company which was called to duty in early 1776 during the Siege of Boston. Gray's men were present during the fortification of Dorchester Heights, General George Washington's successful strategic maneuver that forced British troops to abandon the city on March 17, 1776.

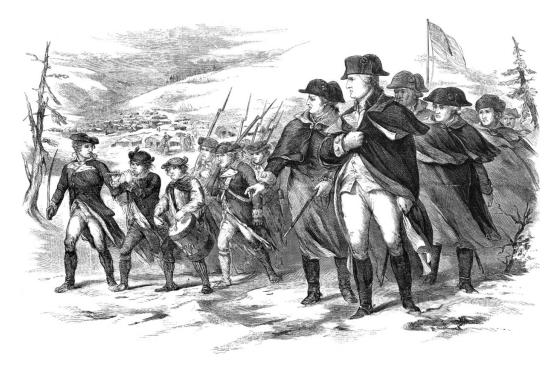
As in any army, most who served were privates and that was the case with Yarmouth militia soldiers. And also in a perfectly normal development, most Yarmouth men who ascended to the officer and noncommissioned officer ranks were militiamen. One Yarmouth officer, Lieutenant Colonel Enoch Hallet, was also a political figure, participating in town and county meetings to discuss how to cope with onerous Parliamentary regulations imposed from London that undermined representative provincial government. In addition to his rank as a senior Barnstable County militia regimental officer, Hallet served as the county sheriff with a heightened interest in monitoring real or imagined loyalist activities in parts of the Cape.

 Over the course of the war, according to the Soldiers & Sailors records, 20 Yarmouth men served as militia company captains or lieutenants and 17 were sergeants or corporals.<sup>15</sup>

### A Militia Clash with British Forces at Great Island?

The British navy was active in local waters, especially in the early years of the Revolution, including putting raiding parties ashore to forage for food, hay and livestock. The Royal Navy's presence in Massachusetts waters throughout the War put a damper on local maritime trade and fishing, contributing to an economic downturn across Cape Cod.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> In the Continental Line, only Lieutenant Joshua Miller made it to the rank of officer. Five Yarmouth men were noncommissioned officers; four sergeants and one corporal. Two of those sergeants were brothers, Samuel and Shubel Taylor from present-day Taylor-Bray Farm in Yarmouth Port.



Many Yarmouth soldiers endured the winter of 1777 - 1778 at Valley Forge; the majority of them serving in Colonel Bradford's Regiment, which was largely made up of men from Barnstable and Plymouth counties (the 14th Massachusetts Continental Line). This illustration is a detail from a print of Washington reviewing the troops at Valley Forge made in 1856 by John Andrew. A noteworthy accomplishment during that harsh winter was the work of a Prussian officer, Baron Friedrich von Steuben, who is credited with instituting a new system of training and discipline that began paying dividends almost immediately after the Army broke camp for the 1778 campaign season.

 It is likely that British ships patrolling off Nantucket Sound on the south side of Yarmouth and Cape Cod Bay shores on the north side of Yarmouth would have drawn the attention of town militia but there is meager evidence to demonstrate this. One account of a hot skirmish on Great Island surfaced in a Revolutionary War pension application file asserting that Yarmouth militia drove off a British raiding party, but, so far, the story lacks sufficient corroborating information from other sources.<sup>16</sup>

### Yarmouth Men join the new Continental Army

The Second Continental Congress authorized the creation of a national army in June 1775 and shortly thereafter General Washington began to turn this concept into a functioning organization to fight a successful war for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> In August 1832, Ebenezer Taylor, a Yarmouth militia private, gave a deposition on behalf of a pension applicant named William Hall. In his sworn statement, Taylor declared "I was also...in the company with said (William) Hall at a place called Great Island on the South side of Yarmouth (words illegible) saw where the enemy had landed in pursuit of cattle. We were engaged in firing with the enemy the most part of one afternoon & thereby prevented them from taking possession of any." Taylor gave no date for this skirmish with raiding British troops other than it occurred "some years after" 1775.

independence. Many Yarmouth men responded by enlisting in the new Continental Army.

According to the Soldiers and Sailors records, 81 men enlisted in the Continental Army for the town of Yarmouth. Of that total number, 36 patriotic citizens also served additional tours of duty in the state militia during the War. One of those men, Solomon Hallett, had eight total military enlistments. Hallett served a year in the 4th Massachusetts Regiment of the Continental Line, five Massachusetts militia tours and two naval stints, one as a Marine on board the Continental Navy sloop of war *Providence* and another as "Master of Arms" on the Massachusetts Navy brig *Active* which was lost during the ill-fated Penobscot Expedition in the summer of 1779. Solomon was born in Yarmouth in 1754 and died eighty-five years later in Kennebec County, Maine where he relocated after the war. His pension application file contains a treasure trove of information including a long friendship with fellow veteran Samuel Taylor of Yarmouth.<sup>17</sup>

 Almost half of Yarmouth's Continental Line soldiers served in the 14th Massachusetts Regiment commanded by Colonel Gamaliel Bradford from Plymouth County, MA. The remainder served in at least a dozen different Continental regiments.

# Rest in Peace

Significant numbers of Yarmouth men died during their Revolutionary War service. According to the Soldiers and Sailors records, sixteen deaths occurred among the town's Continental Army soldiers.

- Lemuel Baxter and Samuel Baxter were killed on two different days in August 1777, probably in the Bennington/Saratoga area as American troops battled General Burgoyne's forces invading from Canada.
- Based on the given dates of death and the likely locations of their Continental Line regiments, twelve of the remaining fourteen deaths probably occurred as a result of disease and malnutrition during the Army's 1777 - 1778 winter encampment at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

<sup>17</sup> Hallett and Taylor might well have known each other in Yarmouth before the War, but it would be fair to speculate that their friendship grew during 1776 when both men served a consequential year in Captain Peter Harwood's Company of the 4th Massachusetts Regiment in the Continental Army (also known as Colonel Learned's and Colonel Shepard's Regiment). Although we lack details on their specific service in that year, we know considerable detail of the Regiment's duties in 1776 which included their presence at the Siege of Boston. Men from the 4th Massachusetts were among the first troops General Washington ordered to enter the city after the British evacuated because they had been inoculated against smallpox or had previously contracted the disease. The Regiment was also involved in a fierce and successful rear-guard fight with a much larger British force at Pell's Point, New York and later participated in the key battles at Trenton and Princeton.

Ongoing research in town and other military records reveal that two, possibly three, other Yarmouth men were casualties of the War.

- Nineteen-year old Barnabas Sears died in a freak occurrence in the harbor at Newport, Rhode Island on January 18, 1777 when he was killed by an accidental shot from a nearby British vessel while awaiting a prisoner exchange.
- Jeremiah Bray, who served in the state militia and as a sailor on the Massachusetts Navy brig Active, was reported in town records to have died on a British prison ship in New York on July 8, 1782.
- Abner Taylor, a Yarmouth militiaman, died on February 8, 1782 on a
  British prison ship in New York, according to two secondary sources<sup>18</sup>
  but so far no primary documents have been found to confirm this death.

The Yarmouth casualty count could well grow as our group's research efforts get more granular and, we hope, descendants of Yarmouth veterans share family stories with us and local historical societies.

Deaths of Yarmouth Revolutionary War Soldiers						
NAME	CONTINENTAL REGIMENT/ COMANY	DESCRIPTION	DATE	NOTES		
Baxter, Lemuel	Bradford/Russell	"killed in battle"	August 3, 1777	Possibly related to the Battle of Bennington. Lemuel Baxter was "slain by Indians" according to a deposition given by Sergeant Ebenezer Thacher who was in the same regiment as Baxter.		
Baxter, Samuel	Bradford/Russell	"reported killed"	August 24, 1777	Probably occurred during the fighting at Bennington/Saratoga.		
Burges, Jonathan	Bradford/Lamont	"reported died"	March 3, 1778			
Downes, Benjamin	Bradford/Lamont	"died"	February 12, 1778			
Ezra ('Negrow')	Bradford/Lamont	"reported died"	March 3, 1778	A mystery soldier without a formal last name or other identifying data.		
Hallet, Ezekiel	Shepard/Webb	"reported dead"	April 13, 1777			
Hallett, Samuel	Jackson/?	"reported died"	January 28, 1778			
Matthews, Elisha	Bradford/Lamont	"reported deceased"	June 6, 1778			
Robbins, John	Bradford/Russell	"reported died"	March 8, 1778			
Rumble, John	Bradford/Russell	"reported deceased"	April 1778?			
Sears, Silas	Bradford/Russell	"reported died"	January 22, 1778			
Thacher, Joseph	Bradford/Russell	"reported deceased"	Date not given (possibly late 1778)	"Reported sick at Kings Ferry" (NY?)		
Thomas, Richard	Bradford/Russell	"reported died "	January 29, 1778			
Whitney, Samuel	Bradford/Russell	"reported died"	April 28, 1778			
Whitney, Shubael	Bradford/Russell	"reported died"	April 28, 1778			
Wrist, Thomas	Shepard/Webb	"reported deceased"	March 14, 1778			

**SOURCE** - Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War; A compilation from the Archives...Prepared and published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Boston; Wright & Potter Printing Co, State Printers; 1896 - 1908.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Swift, Charles, Edited by Charles Holbrook, *History of Old Yarmouth: Comprising the Present Towns of Yarmouth and Dennis*, (Historical Society of Old Yarmouth, 1975) page 171; Freeman, Frederick, *The History of Cape Cod: The Annals of the Thirteen Towns of Barnstable County, Volume II* (Geo. C. Rand & Avery, Boston, 1862) page 226.

OTHER DEATHS	UNIT	DATE	NOTES
Bray, Jeremiah	Militia/MASS Navy	July 8, 1782	Died on a British prison ship in New York
Sears, Barnabas	Militia	January 17, 1777	Killed accidentally in Newport RI during a prisoner exchange with the British.
Taylor, Abner	Militia	February 8, 1778	Died on a British prison ship in New York

## Hardship and Homesickness

Continental Army enlistments mostly involved duty further from home than County Militia service. Indeed, once the Siege of Boston ended, most Yarmouth Continental soldiers left New England for the Middle Atlantic states, with some deployed as far south as Virginia.

Continental soldiers suffered from the fumbling performance of the new national army's Quartermaster and Commissary commands<sup>19</sup> and their imperfect collaboration with an equally inexperienced national Congress scrambling for money to fund an unprecedented American military effort. Commissary and quartermaster units constantly came up short supplying food, clothing, shelter, weapons and ammunition. And to make matters worse, the Army regularly failed to meet payrolls in a timely fashion.

 The performance of the Continental Army's Quartermaster and Commissary Departments was so bollixed up in the winter of 1777 -1778 that George Washington lamented that if supply matters got any worse his Army would "starve, dissolve or disperse." Conditions improved with the passage of time and better leadership, but transportation and supply problems persisted throughout the War as Joseph Plumb Martin's reminiscences so poignantly document.

Continental Line men from Yarmouth generally served longer terms of enlistment than their militia counterparts with three year tours a fairly common occurrence. To fill pressing needs to fully man depleted regimental commands, the Army also offered shorter enlistment periods to induce more men to join. Pension application files make regular reference to Yarmouth soldiers as "six month men" and "eight month men." Some extended their original enlistments for varying periods of time with the Solders and Sailors records reflecting total service of five or more years for several Yarmouth veterans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> For readers unfamiliar with Quartermaster and Commissary duties, here is an oversimplified description of their responsibilities — Quartermasters are principally tasked with transportation and providing camp supplies such as tents...Commissaries (often civilians) are charged with purchasing and distributing food and clothing.



Detail from a seven-foot long panoramic watercolor of the area around West Point, New York, showing American encampments along the Hudson River where many Yarmouth soldiers were stationed during the war years. The painting was done in the fall of 1782 by French-born Continental Army engineer Pierre Charles L'Enfant, who later designed the street plan of Washington DC. The view is from the east bank of the river looking west. (<u>Library of Congress and the Museum of the American Revolution</u>)

## Elite Light Infantry Service

Most Yarmouth Continental Army enlistees served as privates in regular infantry regiments. As the war dragged on, however, General Washington, recognizing the need for more mobile units, ordered each regiment to create an elite light infantry company made up of younger, more fit and battle-tested men with the stamina to deploy rapidly in combat situations — sometimes with orders to attack with bayonets only. Fragmentary evidence collected from muster rolls suggests that individual Yarmouth soldiers rotated in and out of these light infantry companies as field conditions dictated, often returning to their home regiments when winter encampment season rolled around.

Although we do not yet have a complete picture of how many Yarmouth soldiers served as light infantrymen, once again, pension application files have contributed important data that shows at least nine Yarmouth soldiers integrated into light infantry companies. Four of those men — Private Cornelius Baxter, Private Ebenezer Baxter, Sergeant Samuel Taylor and Sergeant Ebenezer Thacher — were part of General "Mad Anthony" Wayne's light infantry brigade that captured the British garrison at Stony Point on the Hudson River in a daring "bayonets only" night attack on July 16, 1779. The Stony Point battle was an important morale booster demonstrating the increasing prowess of the Continental Army versus veteran British troops.

#### **Battle Hardened Soldiers**

Yarmouth soldiers served in Continental regiments present at notable battles and other encounters throughout the War. These engagements included:

- The Siege of Boston Summer 1775 to March 1776
- The Defense of New York Summer/Fall 1776
- Pell's Point, NY October 18, 1776
- Trenton, NJ December 26, 1776
- Princeton, NJ January 2, 1777
- Bennington, VT August 16, 1777
- Saratoga, NY September/October 1777
- The Siege of Philadelphia October to December 1777
- Monmouth, NJ June 28, 1778
- Stony Point, NY July 16, 1779
- Penobscot Bay ME (then part of MA) July/August 1779
- Springfield, NJ June 28, 1780
- Yorktown, VA September/October 1781

## Stories, Factoids and Other Evocative Moments

Interesting and unexpected bits of information fall out of any long-term research project and that was the case with this effort to collect as many names as possible of Yarmouth soldiers of the Revolution. Some of these "bits" are half-stories waiting, hoping for gaps to be filled. Others are quirky factoids that surprised this author.

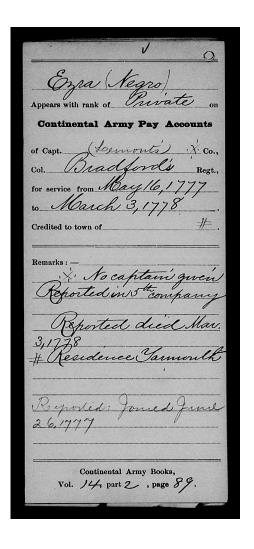
Here is a sampling from the disparate data points that accumulated over the course of almost two years of research.

### "Ezra"

Probably the most intriguing story to come out of the research to date is the man with no last name. Here is his verbatim entry from Volume 5 of the Soldiers and Sailors series.

• "Ezra, Yarmouth. Return of men raised to serve in the Continental Army from Col. Nathaniel Freeman's (1st Barnstable Co.) regt., dated Sandwich, June 10, 1777; residence, Yarmouth; engaged for town of Yarmouth; joined Capt. Lamont's co. Col. Bradford's regt.; term, 3 years; also, list of men mustered by Joseph Otis, Muster Master for Barnstable Co., dated Barnstable, May 31, 1777; Capt. James Davis's co., Col. Bradford's regt.; mustered May 20, 1777; also. Private, 5th co., Col. Gamaliel Bradford's regt.; Continental Army pay accounts for service from May 16, 1777, to March 3, 1778; reported died March 3, 1778; also, Capt. John Lamont's co. Col. Bradford's (12th) regt.; return of men in service on or before Aug. 15, 1777; enlisted May 16, 1777; joined June 26, 1777; reported a negro."

This index card from the military archives contains a summary of Ezra's Continental Army service including his date of death on March 3, 1778 while his regiment was at Valley Forge. Note that in this record format Ezra still is not afforded a last name.



Although the above service record for this African-American Continental Line soldier carries no last name, a December 1777 Valley Forge muster roll from Captain Lamont's company contains the name "*Ezra Negrow*". Other Army records show that he enlisted for a three year term in the spring of 1777. He died on March 3, 1778, probably at a military hospital near Valley Forge, near the end of his first year of service.

Other black men from Cape Cod served in the Continental Army, but Ezra appears to be the only one without a last name.

Black soldiers — enslaved and free men — served in New England colonial militias throughout the 18th century and this was true when the Revolution began in 1775, but the newly formed Continental Army initially dismissed soldiers of African descent. General Washington, however, soon relented allowing the enlistment of free men of color and then, facing manpower shortages, ending the Army ban on enlisting slaves.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> For an overview of the Revolutionary War service of patriots of color in Massachusetts, see this webpage published by The Robbins House, Concord's African American History Museum. *Patriots of Color in Revolutionary New England (1775 - 1790)* <a href="https://robbinshouse.org/wp-content/uploads/PatriotsofColor-web.pdf">https://robbinshouse.org/wp-content/uploads/PatriotsofColor-web.pdf</a>. For a closer look at the lives of the thousands of African Americans who joined the Revolutionary cause, see Judith Van Buskirk's in-depth study of that subject which draws heavily on Revolutionary War pension files. Judith L. Van Buskirk, *Standing in Their Own Light: African American Patriots in the American Revolution*, University of Oklahoma Press. 2017

 Rhode Island recruited a Continental regiment of all enslaved men led by white officers in 1778, but this was an exception since New England Continental Line units readily integrated blacks into their ranks.

While Ezra's military record is well documented, we are still left pondering the question of who this man was. We need to learn more about Ezra starting with his last name; was he ever enslaved, and if so, where & when; who was his family; how he came to reside in Yarmouth and when.

 A few clues have surfaced suggesting Ezra may have been born in Truro, MA around 1760, but more probing investigative work will be required to answer our questions.



"Soldiers in Uniform" This watercolor from the American War of Independence is by Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger (1762-1851), a French artist who himself fought in the war as a sub-lieutenant in a French regiment and who kept an illustrated journal of his experiences in the war. The watercolor, which appears in the journal, shows the variety of soldiers fighting for American independence, depicting, from left to right, a black soldier from the First Rhode Island Regiment, a New England militiaman, a frontier rifleman, and a French officer. An estimated 5,000 African-American soldiers fought in the Revolutionary War. Although most black soldiers from New England fought in integrated regiments, the First Rhode Island was an exception--it was made up of 197 black men commanded by white officers. (Library of Congress Digital Collection)

#### The New Town of Dennis

In 1793 the East Precinct of the town of Yarmouth was spun off to create the new town of Dennis. With very few exceptions individual Soldiers & Sailors service entries do <u>not</u> take note of whether Yarmouth residents came from the East or West Precincts of the old colonial town. The challenge of identifying which precinct each of the soldiers on the Revolutionary War veterans list called home is outside the scope of this particular essay.

Nancy Thacher Reid's comprehensive history of Dennis contains an annex titled "Men Who Served in the Revolutionary War from the East Precinct of Yarmouth 1775 - 1783." That list contains 138 names, but does not reflect the author's sourcing.<sup>21</sup> The author also maintains that "Over half of the eligible men of the town were enrolled in the army or away as privateers."<sup>22</sup>

#### Fathers and Sons

Early research produced two interesting immediate family groups of veterans with the names Taylor and Hallet. Individual members of these two particular groups may also be among the town's oldest and youngest soldiers.<sup>23</sup>

 More in-depth examination of the names of veterans drawn from the Soldiers and Sailors volumes and other reliable sources will almost certainly reveal additional groups of veterans made up of immediate family members.

A **Taylor family group** comprised of a father and three of his sons served in both the Continental Army and the state militia for an estimated total of about eleven years.

- The father, Reuben Taylor (1729 1785), was 47 years old when he marched off to Fort Ticonderoga in 1776 as part of Colonel Aaron Willard's regiment. He also served briefly in Captain Elisha Hedge's Yarmouth militia company in September 1778 when the unit responded to an alarm at Dartmouth MA.
- Reuben's son, Shubel Taylor (1762 1792), was not yet fourteen years
  of age when he began a five month stint in a militia company stationed at
  Castle Island in Boston Harbor in June 1776. Not long after that
  experience, a now fifteen-year-old Shubel enlisted for a three-year term
  in the 14th Massachusetts Continental Line Regiment. When he
  mustered out of the 14th, he was an eighteen-year-old sergeant who, no
  doubt, had acquired qualities of wisdom far beyond his years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Nancy Thacher Reid, *Dennis, Cape Cod: From First Comers to Newcomers 1639 - 1993,* Dennis Historical Society, 1996. pages 853 - 855

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Ibid, page 236

ibia, page 200

- Hezekiah Taylor (1758 ????) was not yet eighteen years old when he was a member of Captain Gray's Yarmouth Minuteman company in 1775. He later served several separate enlistments in the Army and militia between July 1775 and September 1777.
- Samuel Taylor (1755 1841), who after the war went on to a successful
  maritime career as a blue water ship master, served in Continental Army
  and state militia units for a total of about five years. On Christmas Day
  night in 1776 Private Samuel Taylor's Continental regiment was part of
  Washington's forces which crossed the icy Delaware River on their way
  to what turned out to be an American victory in the Battle of Trenton.



Samuel Taylor's Home and Gravesite— Visitors to Yarmouth can tour the ancient farmhouse that Samuel Taylor (1755 - 1841) built sometime in the mid 1780s when he returned home from the War a penniless veteran about to begin a maritime career that would see him rise to the rank of ship master and make some 30 voyages across the Atlantic. The house is located at the town owned Taylor-Bray Farm in Yarmouth Port, MA ( <a href="https://www.taylorbrayfarm.org/farmhouse/">https://www.taylorbrayfarm.org/farmhouse/</a>). Samuel Is buried at Ancient Cemetery in Yarmouth Port alongside his wife Lucretia (1761 - 1853) and daughter Betsey (1797 - 1833).



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The *Hallet family group* also consisted of a father and his sons; in this case, four sons. Their service included state militia and Continental Army enlistments totaling about seventeen years.

- Lieutenant Colonel Enoch Hallet (1731 1788), the father of this group, served as a senior Barnstable County militia commander throughout the war. His Soldiers and Sailors record shows active duty on "sundry alarms" on the Cape and in nearby locations in response to British Navy raiding parties. He also probably put in considerable time with administrative tasks, while tending to his concurrent responsibilities as the county sheriff.<sup>24</sup>
- Sergeant Major Samuel Hallet (1756 1778) died in the line of duty. Samuel began his service in April 1775 as a private in Captain Joshua Gray's Minuteman company and ended it on January 28, 1778 when he died, most likely in a Lancaster, Pennsylvania military hospital that treated soldiers from the nearby Continental Army encampment at Valley Forge.
- Barnabas Hallet (1757 1795) served as both a militia and Continental soldier. In 1776/1777 his Massachusetts militia units were stationed in Rhode Island. Then in June 1777 he enlisted in the Continental Army for a three-year term, serving mostly in Colonel Henry Jackson's regiment. His widow Bethiah, who had remarried in 1799, successfully applied for the survivor's benefit of Barnabas's pension in 1843 after her second husband died.
- Young Heman Hallet's (1762 17??) militia and Continental Army service records suggests he was one of the youngest of all Yarmouth soldiers of the Revolution. But confirming his age is a bit tricky because genealogical data on his age and Army records conflict. Putting this inconsistency temporarily aside, Heman may well have begun his almost five total years of soldiery in 1776 as a 14-year-old serving in the Elizabeth Islands "in defence of the seacoast".
- In July 1780, when he was sixteen years old, **Abner Hallet** (1764 1797) enlisted in the Continental Army as a "six month man". He probably served this time in the Hudson River Valley north of British-occupied New York City.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> In Amos Otis's Yarmouth family history series, Otis described Enoch Hallet thusly — "...He resided in the house which was his grandfather's... Though one of the most prominent men in the County — a man of good business capacity — a man of influence and highly respected, yet he was satisfied to reside in a house that neither the joiner, the plasterer, nor the painter ever entered, and in which the four winds of Heaven might contend for the mastery."

# The Continental Army's "Corps of Invalids"

General Washington created a "Corps of Invalids" in 1777 to accommodate the continuing enlistment of soldiers who were impaired by disease or wounds but could still carry out light duties serving at hospitals, as guards at weapons magazines, etc. At least two Yarmouth men from Colonel Bradford's 14th Massachusetts Continental Line Regiment — Benjamin Lumber and Joseph Nickerson — served in Boston in this capacity, according to military records.

#### How Tall are You?

It is said that at six feet, two inches General Washington stood head and shoulders above the height of the average Continental Line soldier.

 According to in-depth academic studies, the average height of a Continental Army soldier was 5' 8", about two to three inches taller than the average British soldier in those days.

So how did Yarmouth veterans fit into a "tallest/shortest soldier" category?

- We can answer the question by using a selection of physical characteristics data — including height — from the service records of the Yarmouth "six month men" who enlisted in the Continental Army in 1780.
- Stephen Homer was the tallest at 6'2". Apparently the height gene was well established in the Homer family as noted by the Reverend Timothy Alden writing in the year 1797 about Stephen Homer's father and his male children: "Mr Stephen Homer, about five years ago, had nine sons living. Seven of which, having arrived at the years of manhood, are each of them six feet and three inches in height. Some of them were six feet and six inches high. Several of them have since deceased." <sup>25</sup>
- The shortest Yarmouth soldier was Judah Thatcher at 5'2".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Alden, Timothy, Memorabilia of Yarmouth, 1797, (Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Boston, Samuel Hall, 1798), Page 58; also available <u>online</u>.

## Strike up the Band



The Soldiers & Sailors records show that four Yarmouth veterans served as military drummers and another four were fifers (only one of these men was in the Continental Line). Additional research is needed to learn more about this group, especially their ages.

- Conventional wisdom (think of the famous "Spirit of 1776" painting) has it that young boys and older men were military musicians. Perhaps that was true for some fifers but a military snare drum, while relatively light, was awkward to carry because of its size. An 18th century British military officer observed that boys "much under fourteen, unless they are remarkably stout, are rather an incumbrance to a regiment (especially on service) as they are in general unable to bear fatigue, or even carry their drums on a march." <sup>26</sup>
- Drummers traditionally were responsible for another duty unsuitable for boys — applying punishment lashes ordered by courts-martial.<sup>27</sup>

### Yarmouth's Oldest Veteran Passes

Ansel Taylor, a Yarmouth Revolutionary War militiaman, died on July 11, 1850 "at the advanced age of 101 years, eight months", according to the *Yarmouth Register*. The newspaper reported that Mr Taylor never applied for a pension on the grounds that he was paid for his service at the time and had no further claim for compensation. <sup>28</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Caroline Cox, *Boy Soldiers of the American Revolution*, University of North Carolina Press 2016, pp 37 - 42. Cox makes excellent use of pension application files as a principal source of this study.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid, pp 43-44

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Yarmouth Register, page 2, July 18, 1850

## **Common Surnames**

It will come as no surprise that familiar Yarmouth surnames like Baker, Crowell, Hallet, Howes, Matthews, Taylor and Thacher make up a large portion of the town veterans list.

Some orderly sergeants who kept the muster rolls got an "A" in penmanship. Others did not. They all, however, earned high grades for creativity when it came to spelling as in the eight variations of "Hallet" and the fourteen versions of the name "Taylor." But the hands-down winner of the oddball spelling derby was "Matthews" with over twenty variations of this family name.

 Matthews — This name also appears in Soldiers & Sailors under the form of Mahews, Masthews, Mathers, Mathes, Matheus, Mathew, Mathewes, Mathews, Mathis, Mathues, Matthuis, Matthew, Matthaws, Matthes, Matthew, Matthewes, Matthis, Matthues, Matthus, Matthws, Mattis, Methes, Mothews.

# **Epilogue**

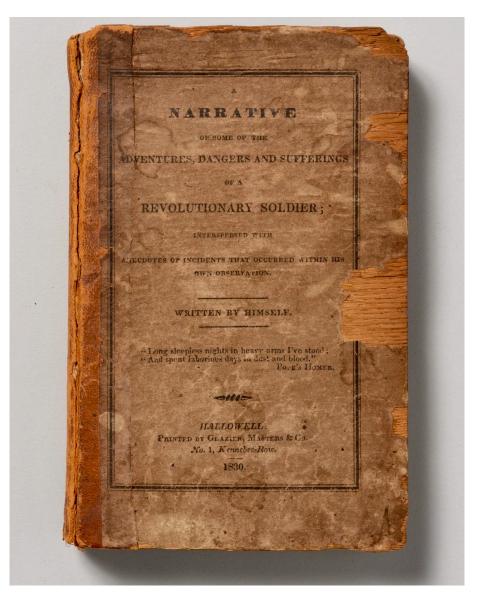
On June 11, 1783, Private Joseph Plumb Martin ended his years of service in the Continental Army. The war for independence was finally over.

Martin described a scene in which "the old man", the company captain, arrived to personally hand his men their discharge papers. It was a bittersweet moment for Martin who shared these parting thoughts that may well have been echoed by Yarmouth veterans as their time in the service of their new country ended. <sup>29</sup>

"I confess, after all, that my anticipation of the happiness I should experience upon such a day as this, was not realized; I can assure the reader that there was as much sorrow as joy transfused on the occasion. We had lived together as a family of brothers for several years (setting aside some little family squabbles, like most other families), had shared with each other the hardships, dangers and sufferings incident to a soldiers [sic] life, had sympathized with each other in trouble and sickness; had assisted in bearing each other's burdens, or strove to make them lighter by counsel and advice; had endeavored to conceal each other's faults, or make them appear in as good a light as they would bear.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Martin, *ibid*, page 85......Martin has a knack for capturing the privations of ordinary soldiers as in this marvelously written passage describing the end of a forced march somewhere north of Philadelphia in late 1777; "We again turned into a wood for the night; the leaves and ground were as wet as water could make them; it was then foggy, and the water dropping from the trees like a shower. We endeavoured [sic] to get fire by flashing powder on the leaves, but this and every other expedient that we could employ, failing, we were forced by our old master, Necessity, to lay down and sleep if we could, with three others of our constant companions, Fatigue, Hunger and Cold."

In short, the soldiery, each in his particular circle of acquaintance, were as strict a bond of brotherhood as Masons, and, I believe, as faithful to each other. And now we were to be (the greater part of us) parted forever; as unconditionally separated, as though the grave lay between us. This, I say, was the case with the most, I will not say all; there were as many genuine misanthropes among the soldiers, according to numbers, as of any other class of people;...... but we were young men and had warm hearts. I question if there was a corps in the army that parted with more regret than ours did, the New Englanders in particular, Ah! it was a serious time."



As an elderly man, Joseph Plumb Martin wrote a detailed memoir about his service in the Continental Army from 1776 to 1783. First published anonymously in 1830 under the title *A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier*, Martin's book came to be recognized as a classic first person account of the War. Reading his story is one best ways to learn about the life of common soldier at Valley Forge, Monmouth, Yorktown and all the places in between.

### **Author's Note**

A big thank you goes out to my colleagues on the Dennis-Yarmouth Revolutionary War Committee for their encouragement, support and feedback as I worked my way through this research and analysis effort. Although care was taken in collecting data from original and secondary sources, especially the comprehensive "Soldiers & Sailors" series, any omissions or errors are mine.

#### **APPENDIX A**

### YARMOUTH SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION

**Scope and Content Note** — The names on this list are primarily drawn from the Soldiers & Sailors series.<sup>30</sup> A small number of names have been added based on information that surfaced from other reliable sources during the course of my research.

 When the same name appears more than once, it signals the likelihood that we are looking at different people with the same given name and surname.

The Recognition Committee intends to publish a second edition of this list containing the full Soldiers & Sailors service summaries for each veteran along with explanatory notes that supplement that data for selected veterans.

- 1. Anderson, Jean
- 2. Andrias, James
- 3. Baker, Barzillai
- 4. Baker, David
- 5. Baker, Edward
- 6. Baker, Eleazer
- 7. Baker, Heman
- Baker, Isaiah
   Baker, Judah
- 10. Baker, Paul
- 11. Baker, Peter, Jr.
- 12. Baker, Reuben
- 13. Baker, Reuben, Jr.
- 14. Baker, Richard
- 15. Baker, Samuel
- 16. Baker, Seth17. Baker, Seth, 3d
- 18. Baker, Shubael, Jr.
- 19. Baker, Silvanus
- 20. Baker, Theodore (Theophilus)
- 21. Baker, Timothy
- 22. Bangs, Allen

- 23. Bangs, Jonathan
- 24. Basset, Joseph, Jr..
- 25. Basset, Lot
- 26. Basset, Samuel
- 27. Bassett, Ebenezer
- 28. Bassett, Elisha, Jr.
- 29. Bassett, John.
- 30. Baxter, Cornelius
- 31. Baxter, David
- 32. Baxter, Ebenezer
- 33. Baxter, Lemuel
- 34. Baxter, Malachi
- 35. Baxter, Prince
- 36. Baxter, Samuel
- 37. Baxter, Thomas38. Berret, James
- 39. Berry, Isaac
- 40. Betteskotey, John
- 41. Blassom, Thomas
- 42. Bray, Jeremiah
- 43. Briggs, Jonathan
- 44. Burges, Benjamin

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War; A compilation from the Archives.....Prepared and published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth in accordance with Chapter 100, Resolves of 1891.... Boston; Wright & Potter Printing Co, State Printers; 1896 - 1908... 17 volumes.

45. Burgees, Jonathan 106. Griffeth, Joseph. 46. Burges, Samuel 107. Hall, David 47. Burgess, Ariel 108. Hall, Ebenezer 48. Burgess, Seth 109. Hall, Enoch 49. Cash, Elisha 110. Hall, Enoch 50. Chace, Ebenezer 111. Hall, Ezra 51. Chapman, John 112. Hall, Isaac 52. Chapman, Micah 113. Hall, Josiah 53. Chapman, William 114. Hall, Lot 54. Chase, Abner, 115. Hall, Nathan 55. Chase, Joseph. 116. Hall, Nathaniel, Jr. 56. Chase, Joseph, Jr. 117. Hallet, Charles 57. Chase, Lot 118. Hallet, Enoch 58. Chase, Nathan 119. Hallet, Ezekiel 59. Chase, Richard 120. Hallet, Heman 60. Chase, Reuben 121. Hallet, John 61. Chase, Thomas 122. Hallet, Nathaniel 62. Cobb, Jonathan 123. Hallet. Peter 63. Crosby, James 124. Hallett, Barnabas 64. Crowel, Aaron, Jr. 125. Hallett, Benjamin 65. Crowel, Ansel 126. Hallett, Ebenezer 66. Crowel, James 127. Hallett, Haws (also given Howes) 67. Crowel, John 128. Hallett, James 68. Crowel, John 129. Hallett, Jon'a 69. Crowel, Jonathan, Jr., 130. Hallett, Joseph 131. Hallett, Samuel 70. Crowell, Jonathan 71. Crowel, Lot 132. Hallett, Solomon 72. Crowel, Michael 133. Hallett, Stephen 73. Crowel, Oliver 134. Hallit, Abner 74. Crowel, Shubael 135. Hallit, George, 75. Crowel, Shubael, Jr. 136. Hamblin, Joseph 76. Crowel, Solomon, Jr. 137. Hawes, Joseph 77. Crowel, William 138. Hedg, Andrew 78. Crowell, Abner 139. Hedge, Elisha 79. Crowell. Ebenezer 140. Hedge, Isaac 80. Crowell. Edward 141. Hedge, John, 81. Crowell, Elisha, 142. Hedge, Thomas 143. Hillerd, George 82. Crowell, Elkanah 83. Crowell, Hezekiah, 144. Hocker, Peleg 84. Crowell, Jeremiah 145. Homer, Chapman 146. Homer, Stephen, Jr. (also given 85. Crowell, Levi 86. Crowell, Nathaniel Stephen, 2d) 147. Hovey, Allen 87. Crowell, Reuben, 148. Hovey, Joseph 88. Crowell, Sylvanus 89. Downes, Benjamin 149. Howes, Abner 90. Eldridge, Barnabas 150. Howes, Amos 91. Ezra 151. Howes, Elisha 92. Freeman, Elisha 152. Howes, Enoch 93. Fuller, Joseph, Sandwich 153. Howes, Enos 94. Gage, Benjamin 154. Howes, Isaac 95. Gage, Ebenezer 155. Howes, Isaiah 96. Gage, Edward 156. Howes, Jeremiah 97. Gage, Heman 157. Howes, John 98. Gage, Reuben 158. Howes, Josiah 99. Gage, Stephen 159. Howes, Judah 100. Garrick, William 160. Howes, Lemuel 101. Gotham, Isaac 161. Howes, Levi 102. Gorham, John 162. Howes, Nathaniel 103. Gotham, Joseph 163. Howes, Paul 104. Gray, Joshua 164. Howes. Samuel

165. Howes, Simeon

105. Gray, Samuel

166. Howes, Stephen 167. Howes, Sturgis 168. Howes, Sylvanus 169. Howes, Thomas 170. Howes, William 171. Howes, Zachariah 172. Kelley, Shubael 173. Kelley, "Venny" 174. Knowles, Abiathar 175. Knowlton, Robert 176. Lilley, David 177. Lines, Laban 178. Lines, Laban 179. Lucas, Bela 180. Lues, John 181. Lumber, Benjamin 182. Maker, Burton 183. Mathews, Jonathan 184. Mathews, Josiah 185. Mathews, Nathaniel 186. Matthewes, David 187. Matthews, Atkins 188. Matthews, Barnabas 189. Matthews, "Bem's" (Benjamin) 190. Matthews, Edmund 191. Matthews, Elisha 192. Matthews, Isaac (also given Isaac, Jr.) 193. Matthews, James 194. Matthues, Joseph 195. Matthues, Thomas 196. Mayo, Asa 197. McLoud, Angu't (also given Ang'st) 198. Merchant, Reuben 199. Miller, Elisha 200. Miller, Josiah 201. Myrick, John 202. Nicholson, Eleazer 203. Nicholson, Israel 204. Nicholson, Josiah 205. Nicholson, Shubael 206. Nickerson, James 207. Nickerson, John 208. Nickerson, John 209. Nickerson, Joseph 210. Paddock, Reuben 211. Parker, Thomas 212. Pearce, John 213. Rider, Abner 214. Rider, David 215. Rider, Edward 216. Rider, Enoch 217. Rider, Paul 218. Rider, Peter (also given Peter, Jr.) 219. Rider, Reuben 220. Rider, Thomas 221. Rider, William 222. Robbins, John (also given John, Jr.) 223. Robbins, Timothy 224. Robins, James

225. Robins, Richard

226. Rogers, Joseph 227. Rumble, John 228. Ryder, Barnabas 229. Sears, Barnabas 230. Sears, Ebenezer 231. Sears, Joseph 232. Sears, Joshua 233. Sears, Lot 234. Sears, Micajah 235. Sears, Silas 236. Sharp, James 237. Smith, Jeremiah 238. Smith, John 239. Snow, Thomas, Jr. 240. Studley, Edward 241. Studley, Simeon 242. Taylor, Abner 243. Taylor, Ansel 244. Taylor, Asa 245. Taylor, David 246. Taylor, Ebenezer 247. Taylor, Hezekiah 248. Taylor, Isaac (also given Isaac, Jr.) 249. Taylor, John 250. Taylor, Joshua 251. Taylor, Joyce 252. Taylor, Reuben 253. Taylor, Samuel (also given Samuel, Jr.) 254. Taylor, Shubel 255. Taylr, Benjamin 256. Thacher, Ebenezer 257. Thacher, Joseph 258. Thacher, Thomas 259. Thatcher, Joseph 260. Thatcher, Josiah 261. Thatcher, Judah 262. Thatcher, Lewis 263. Thatcher, William 264. Thayer, Peter 265. Thomas, Richard 266. Tobey, Ammon 267. Tobey, Samuel 268. Tucker, William 269. Vincent, Joshua 270. Warren, William 271. Welch, John 272. Wheldin, David 273. Whildin, Jonathan 274. White, Joseph (also given Joseph,

275. Whitemore, Edward 276. Whitney, Samuel 277. Whitney, Shubael 278. Wright, Joseph, Jr. 279. Wrist, Thomas

Jr.)