

VOL. XXXVI No. 2

---

VERMONT  
*History*



Spring, 1968

---

The PROCEEDINGS of the  
VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY



## Jonathan Carpenter and the American Revolution: The Journal of an American Naval Prisoner of War and Vermont Indian Fighter

By JOHN K. ALEXANDER

JONATHAN CARPENTER, JR. was born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts in 1757.<sup>1</sup> Rehoboth remained his home until 1780. After receiving "a Common Education," he "worked at [the] farming business" until he was seventeen. He was then apprenticed to his uncle, Nathaniel Carpenter, in December 1774 to learn the joiner trade.

During the early 1770's, the young Carpenter supported colonial resistance to British rule. When fighting began and his uncle formed a company of volunteer soldiers in December 1775, Carpenter said that "nothing would do but I must go." From December 1775 to October 1777 he was in five different volunteer companies serving for a total of about eleven months. Carpenter's discussion of his services as a soldier are very brief, but he did see action during the New York City campaign of 1776. In December 1777, after deciding to try his luck as a privateersman, he joined the crew of the *Reprisal*. His luck was none too good; the *Reprisal* was captured in February 1778. For the next year and a half Carpenter was a British captive. In July 1779 he was exchanged to France where he entered on board the privateer, *General Mifflin*. His cruise home was highly profitable; he received at least £150 in prize money. Arriving in Boston in November 1779, Carpenter soon decided "to travil to the Northward County to [Vermont to] Seek my fortune." Carpenter had to fight more than the wilderness to find his "fortune." During the last half of 1780, he and many of his fellow Vermonters had to battle Indians led by Tories. In November 1780, after fighting for his nation for a large portion of five years, Carpenter was finally able to lay down arms. In 1783 he settled near Randolph, Vermont, where he lived until his death at the age of eighty in 1837.

1. The following summary of Carpenter's life is taken from his journal (see below, p. 77) and from the *Vermont Historical Gazetteer: a Magazine*, edited by Abby M. Hemenway (5 vols.; Burlington, Vermont: A. M. Hemenway, 1868-1891), II, 1050.

Carpenter kept a journal of his experiences which he entitled: "Jon[athan] Carpenters, Book[:] A Short Journal or Account . . . of the Life & Transactions of Jonathan Carpenter Jun[ior]." The journal is now in the possession of the Vermont Historical Society, and the Society has graciously given permission for portions of the manuscript to be here reproduced.<sup>2</sup> The first section of the journal that follows recounts Carpenter's life as a prisoner of war. This narrative is especially interesting to naval historians of the Revolution, because Carpenter was one of the few men who spent time both on prison ships and in England. By comparing Carpenter's comments on the prison ship *Clibborn*<sup>3</sup> with his views on Forton Prison in England,<sup>4</sup> we see how different the two places of confinement were. The second section contains his discussion of the 1780 Indian raids into Vermont. This portion of the journal is important as it is one of the few extant contemporary accounts of the raids.

There are some irregularities in the diary that should be noted. Carpenter and Timothy Connor, who was also at Forton Prison, were involved in a plagiarism.<sup>5</sup> Because similar entries about a single event might have been merely a coincidence, it is hard to put exact time limits on the borrowing. But in several cases the phrasing is so similar that there can be no question that plagiarism occurred. These entries have been marked with an asterisk so that they can be compared to the Connor entries if desired.

The facts of the case make it hard to determine positively who did the literary pilfering. Carpenter's diary has far fewer entries. He averaged only about two entries per month whereas Connor usually made daily entries. In addition, Carpenter's comments are often less detailed than those of Connor. However, for the period from January 12 to June 30, 1779, Connor wrote nothing while Carpenter continued to write at his normal pace in his normal style. It may be significant that while Carpenter wrote only two entries in his diary during his first two weeks at

2. Carpenter's manuscript is available at the Society's library in Montpelier, Vermont.

3. For contemporary comments on British prison ships see e.g. Ebenezer Fox, *The Adventures of Ebenezer Fox in the Revolutionary War* (Boston: Charles Fox, 1847) and *Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship; Taken and prepared for publication from the Original Manuscript of the late Captain Thomas Dring, of Providence, R. I. One of the Prisoners*, edited by Albert G. Greene (Providence: H. H. Brown, 1829).

4. For a general study of Forton Prison see John K. Alexander, "Forton Prison During the American Revolution: A Case Study of British Prisoner of War Policy and the American Prisoner Response to that Policy," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, CIII (October, 1967).

5. Timothy Connor, "Journal," edited by William Cutler, *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XXX (1876), 174-77, 343-52; XXXI (1877), 18-20, 212-13, 284-88; XXXII (1878), 70-73, 165-68, 281-86; XXXIII (1879), 36-41. The entries that should be compared to Carpenter's accounts are in XXXI, 212-13, 284-88; XXXII 70-73, 165-68, 281-85. Hereafter this source shall be cited as Connor.

Forton, as soon as the plagiarism started, he made three entries in a week. Because of Carpenter's renewed activity once the plagiarism began and because his diary is less detailed and shorter in length, my guess is that he is the borrower.

A second problem centers around the tone and dating of some of Carpenter's notations. The entry which discusses the signing of the Declaration of Independence is dated July 4, 1776, but Carpenter could not have known by that date that the signing had occurred. Other famous events are similarly dated when they occurred and not when Carpenter might have learned of them.<sup>6</sup> Since notations concerning these and other events are painted in glowingly patriotic terms, it raises the question: was Carpenter writing long after the fact and merely posturing for history? Added to the plagiarism, it is possible to ask if the diary was a fake. On all counts I think the answer is no.

The entries about famous events were probably written shortly after the events once Carpenter read of them in newspapers. Carpenter may have copied the date of the event as listed in the newspaper. Perhaps Carpenter dated entries this way merely to be able to remember their proper date (not all events were as famous as the Fourth of July). The patriotic comments, I believe, represent his true feelings. Carpenter was only a boy of eighteen when he volunteered to be a soldier. It seems that youthful exuberance rather than an eye to future readers is the most logical answer for his chauvinism. Finally, plagiarism was a very common practice among American prisoners of war in England.<sup>7</sup> Since both Connor and the official records of the British Admiralty state that Carpenter was at Forton, there is no reason to suspect that his diary is a forgery.<sup>8</sup>

The physical properties of the diary itself support this judgment. The diary is approximately  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $4\frac{7}{8}$  inches and  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch thick. In addition the book can be squeezed and bent slightly so that the dimensions noted above could be reduced. The diary could thus be easily carried in a coat or large pants pocket. Most important, the varied spacing of both words and entries combined with the fact that more than one pen was used indicates that the account was written over time.

6. Although not included in the edited diary, a further example is the fact that Carpenter discussed Burgoyne's surrender under an entry dated October 17, 1777. Since that is when the surrender occurred, he again could not have known of it on that date.

7. See e.g., John K. Alexander, "American Privateersmen in the Mill Prison During 1777-1782": An Evaluation," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, CII (October, 1966), 322-27.

8. Connor, XXXIII, 38 and pardon of Forton prisoners dated May 31, 1779 in original letters and records of the Lords of the Admiralty preserved at the National Maritime Museum in the volume designated Ad/M/404.

Because the journal was, as Carpenter said, "jumbled together with Disorder & Confusion," some changes in form have been necessary. Occasionally Carpenter would write about the events of a few weeks in one entry. Wherever possible entries for different dates have been separated. Wherever raised letters were used, the word has been rendered in its full form. Except for insertions within brackets, no changes in grammar have been made. The spelling of the original has not been altered. Carpenter's capitalization has similarly been retained as far as possible. The text will be more readable if Carpenter's dashes are read as periods.

### *A Short Journal*

1774 Sept. ye 27th The Kings troops begin to fortify on Boston neck and use the Inhabitents with Severity, which causes great uneasyness in town & Country concerning the Governments and Duties the British King and Parliment are about to inflict upon the Colonies in America—and ye bad Success that Detested article Tea has met with, by which they thought (by making us pay a Duty upon it) to Binde on the Chain they have a long time ben preparing to bring America under everlasting Slavery to Great Briton—but the duty was deny'd them and the Tea destroy'd in Boston harbour—and the Inhabitents are resolute and ready to Defend their owne rights and Libertyes even to Blood if Cause Should require, which by Circemstances cannot long be avoided as [it] is Generally thought the Despute must end by force of Armes—

1775 January ye 9th A Town meeting and Election of officers & at Rehoboth—about this time inlisted a Company called Minute-men to Stand ready (well prepared) to march at a Minutes warning to protect the Glorious Cause of Liberty

1776—July ye 4th this Day is one of the most Memorable Aeras that ever took Place in America. Then to the most universal joy of the Inhabitents of this Country The Thirteen United States were Declared free and Independant

---

1777. December ye 11th I & E Read & C Carpenter Set out for Boston determined to take a cruise in a Privateer this winter

[December] the 13th Day we arived at Boston and went to work on board ye Brigg Reprisal<sup>9</sup> (in fixing her out as we intended to go out in her) for which we had 2 Dollars pr Day & boarded

9. Under the date February 10, 1778, Carpenter wrote "a List of the Brigg Reprisel's crew Mounting ten carriage guns & 6 Swivels" The list is as follows: James Brown Capt.;

January ye 1: 1778. I went to board at Mr Thomas Harrises &c. .  
[January] ye 25th We got ye Brigg nearly fit for Sea & haul'd off  
in the Stream & we went to live on board of her

February ye 13 in a hard gail of wind we were drove down to ye  
Castle &c and lost one of our Anchors & cable &—

Ye 15th we put to Sea & having a fair wind we clar'd off the craft  
pretty fast—

ye 19 having got acrosst the gulf Stream at Day light we saw a sail  
which our Capt. imprudently chased for near tow [*sic*] hours but finding  
his mistake put about but She came up with us at 12 o'clock which  
proved to be The Unicorn a 20 Gun Ship in ye Service of the Tyrant  
King of Great Briton Commanded by John Ford—but we are no longer  
our own men but have a New Master and one of [John or James]  
Bowars's Masters I think.ha:ha:<sup>10</sup>

[No date] now we must go on bord of a new Ship [i.e., the *Unicorn*]  
and be put in irons & crouded Down betwizt Decks half Starv'd like  
Poor devils (or Rebels) as they caul'd us—in this Languishing condition  
we were obliged to Stay Suffering all that those Devils on earth (or  
rather Hell a float) could inflict until the 7 of March when we were  
brought into Rhodeisland harbour and put on bord the *Clibborn* a  
Prison Ship riding at Anchor

[March 7 to April 16, 1778] now we enter another Scene which is  
not much better [than the *Unicorn*] for our allowance [on the prison  
ship] is very short [and] Poor in Quality as well as quantity [viz.]<sup>11</sup>

[There are] 150 men in a small ship & light horse<sup>12</sup> without number  
[here on the *Clibborn*]—but in hopes of seeing a carteel from Providence  
every hour—But being loth to Die & by the help of kind Providence  
we tuff'd it out until the 13th of April when we were got to be very  
Sickly but all that were able [were] taken & distrabuted on board a  
fleet of 24 sail of Marchent ships destined for England[.] I was not well

Nathaniel Braly 1st. Lieut.; Stutley Williams 2ed. Lieut.; Issac Dunton Master; Peter Richards Prize Master; French—Doctor; Peter Maulbone Masters Mate; Jonathan Hays Capt Marines; Francis Boreco Boatswain; Thomas Chacee Gunner; Joshua Jay Stuard; James [?] Jay Qtr Master; James Bolin B. mate; James [?] Wheaton M[aster] at Arms; Thomas Bangs Carpenter; Elect Murry; Elisha Gunison; Amaziah Peck; Caleb Carpenter; Daniel Smith; Epraim Read; Jonathan Carpenter; Asa Martin; Benjamin Ingals; Simeon Wheeler; John Kelton; Charles Wheaton; Joremiah Thurber; Ephraim Burr; Benjamin Nash; James Lake; Jeremiah Knott; John Evens; George Puffer; John Husbands; Ellict Sheldon; Tobe Jacobs; & 6 French-men.

10. I cannot determine the meaning of the reference to "Bowars's Masters." It probably was an esoteric joke.

11. Carpenter referred his readers to the chart that appeared four pages beyond this entry in the manuscript. For easier reading, the chart, dated March 23, 1778, has been inserted here. The comments on the quality and quantity of food originally appeared with the chart. Again for easier reading, I have placed them in the diary text.

12. I cannot decipher the meaning of the phrase "light horse." It is highly unlikely that the term refers to the branch of the cavalry that bears the name light horse.

Allowance for 6 Men on	Rum	Bread	Pork	Beef	Peas	Flour	Raisens	Molasses	O[at]meal	Vineger
	qt	lb	lb	lb	qt	lb	lb	pt	qt	pt
Sunday's	1	4	4		1					
Monday	1	4						1	2	1
Tuesday	1	4		4		3	1			
Wednesday	1	4			1			1	2	
Thursday	1	4	4		1					
Fryday	1	4						1	2	
Saturday	1	4		4		3	1			
6 man pr. Week	7	28	8	8	3	6	2	3	6	1
1 man pr. Week	1 1/6	4 2/3	1 1/3	1 1/3	1/2	1	1/3	1/2	1	1/6
1 man pr. Day	gill 1 1/3	oz 10 2/3	oz 3	oz 3	gil [illegible]	oz	oz 1,4	gil ,28	gil 1 1/7	gil 1/10

but nothing would do but I must go & finally [I] went on bord the Myrtle [commanded by] Capt. Goldenbottom[,] my friend Cabel Carpenter & one Thompstone of Virginia were with me; 3 being the Compliment for each Ship

April ye 16 [and following:] we Sailed for Portsmouth in England where we arived the 12 Day of May after a Prosperous Pasage of 28 Day—but I was sick almost all our Pasage but by the blessing of him who rules by Sea & land I got my heath again not by any favour or Attendance from ye bold britons as they stile themselves &c.

May ye 13 we haul'd into the harbour at Portsmouth in the County of Hampshire in Great Briton

[June 4, 1778?] after Shuffeling me about from one Ship to another (to make me enter on board a Kings Ship) till they were weary [by] ye 18th[,] they put me on board of the Princis Amelia a 20 Gun Ship lying as a guard Ship at Spithead where I staid until next Day we were Sent on Shore at Hasler hospital (a very fine building) where there was upwards of 1700 men belonging to ye Shipping<sup>13</sup> & Staying there till ye 4th of June we were Sent back to ye guard ship again

ye 19 of June we were again Sent on Shoar where we were Examined

13. Hasler was the principal naval hospital in the South of Great Britain. It was located just south of Gosport.

tryed & committed to Prison (at Fortin near Portsmouth<sup>14</sup>) as Rebels & Pirates taken on the high Seas<sup>15</sup>—it being my birth Day the very Day I Should have had my freedom, but to get clear from cruel masters I rejoiced at an Oppertunity to go to Prison where I found 175 Prisoners[.] Some of them had ben there a year and were in good heart but expected a long imprisonment &c.<sup>16</sup>

June ye 25th 1778 Jeremiah Thirber[?] (one of our Privateer's crew from Rehoboth) Died at Hasler Hospital with the Small Pox—

1778 July ye 6 there was 64 more committed to Prison taken in the Angeleco out of Boston—but 6 weeks past also there is great talk of our being exchanged by ye way of France very Soon which we call good News if it be true—likewise we hear that the British troops have evaquated Philadelphia & retired to N. York—there are 27 Sail of ye Line lying at Spithead waiting for a fair wind to put to Sea their Distination unknown

July 10th we hear Lord North has Sent to France to know the number [illegible] Prisoners in order for an Exchange[.] Admiral Keepels fleet Sailes to Day [and] there is great expectation of a War with France—

\* July ye 13 Admirel's fleet retured in again having seen a fleet in the Channel big enough to eat 'em. ha, ha[.] now the Press is very hot in the country so that a man is not Safe in his bed for robbers and Press gangs<sup>17</sup>

\* July 24 This Day 10 of our officers made there escape & got off[f] clear—both fleets are out [and] we expect soon to hear of a battle—Admiral Keepels fleet consists of the Victory of 100 Guns & 5 of 90 guns [and] 18 of 74 guns [plus] 7 of 64 guns[,] making 31 Sail of ye line & 6 Frigates—ye French have 32 Sail of the Line & 15 frigates

July ye 30 about 12 o'clock at night we were Discovered in our

14. Carpenter constantly misspelled Forton. Portsmouth harbor was the primary British naval installation on England's southern coast. Forton was located approximately two miles northwest of the city. The first American prisoners entered Forton in June 1777 and the last Americans left sometime after the spring of 1783. From June 1777 to November 1782 there were, at various times, 1200 Americans in Forton. (See John Howard, *The State of the Prisons* [4th ed.; London: J. Johnson, C. Dilly, and T. Cadell, 1792], p. 187.)

15. 17 Geo. III, c. 9 passed in March 1777 said Americans taken in arms on the seas were guilty of "piracy" and were to be committed to prison as criminals for "the crime of high treason." This act was continued each session until the prisoners were designated as prisoners of war in March 1782 by 22 Geo. III, c. 10.

16. Carpenter here referred his readers to an entry dated June 25, 1778 that appeared later in the manuscript. I have placed this entry in its proper chronological order.

17. The impressment of men to man the Royal Navy was a long established practice. For an excellent short discussion of impressment see L. Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar vs. John Bull," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Yale University, 1962), pp. 21-51.

work which was diging a hole to make our escape which would have ben done in 2 hours [as] we had dug about 15 feet under ground—it is reported in the Newspaper that the fleets in the Cannel have had a Battle [and that] Admiral Keeple Lost 350 men killed & twice that Number wounded when both fleets retired[,] ye French into Brest & English disabled Ships into Plymouth &c. &c.

\* Sept ye 8 last night there was a breach made out of ye Prison into the high way by undermining about 35 feet underground by which about 50 officers got off, but 20 of them taken up & Put into the black hole<sup>18</sup> &c & the rest got over to France—we was kept locked up till noon & broke the dore lock & the Devil to pay & no Pitch hot [or hat]—<sup>19</sup>

December ye 10 Last night 5 of our men made their escape[;] joy go with 'em They tell us we shall soon be exchanged but I sopose they Lie as they used to do—our [subscription] Money is Reduced to 1s pr Week[;] we have had 2/[i.e. 2s.] heretofore ever since I have bin in this troublesome Scene<sup>20</sup> in high Life below Stairs—

December 17 the Men of War's officers came and took away the men they had inlisted in the yard being 15 only<sup>21</sup>

1779 Jan. 1st. this morning there is ice as thick as window glass[;] all the frozen weather we have had was 1 week

Jan: 9th Mr. Newsham our agent<sup>22</sup> tells us that he received a Letter from the Admiralty which Says our Exchange will be in a few Days (I hope they dont Lie as the[y] used to do) And also one from Mr. Greenleaf who run from this Prison who tells us that the Cardeel has ben agreed upon this 3 months & it Lies wholly with the English Ministry when the time shall be &c.

Jan: 12 we hear to Day that 130 of our fellow Prisoners have made

18. The black hole was "a very small room [with] neither bed nor bedding to lie on, but the soft side of a good plank." (See Connor, XXX, 345, 347.) A recaptured escapee had to spend forty days in this close confinement on half rations. The black hole—called "closer confinement" by the British—was used to punish various offenses. See George Thompson, "Diary," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXVI (July, 1940), 238–40.

19. I cannot determine the meaning of the phrase "no Pitch hot."

20. The prisoners began to receive money raised by subscription in January 1778. Although the amount received declined, the fund continued to provide some assistance into 1781. Carpenter noted (p. 85 below) that he was given £3, 2s., 3d. during his time in Forton. Thus from subscription he averaged about 1s. 2d. per week.

21. The British continually tried to talk the American prisoners into joining the Royal Navy. Timothy Connor, who was in Forton when Carpenter was there, kept a list of the men in Forton. Connor noted that from June 1777 to the spring 1779 only 23 men entered the British Navy. (See Connor, XXXIII, 36–41.)

22. John Newsham was the chief British official at Forton. His title was Keeper and Agent.

their Jacks by giving Leg bail to Mill Prison at Plymouth<sup>23</sup> where there is upwards of 300 to whom Heaven send Deliverence in Due time

Feb: [18 or 19]th 20 more Prisoners joined our core making in all 255[.] by kind Providence we are very healthy [as] we have not lost but 9 men Died in this place since the first Prisoners were committed which is almost 2 years<sup>24</sup> but upwards of 100 has broke Prison and got clear<sup>25</sup>

March ye 1st I was Inoculated with the Small Pox & 26 more being all that never had it—

[March] ye 12 I broke out with the pack & went into ye Hospital &c

March 25 Bartholemew White[,] a prisoner in the yard[,] was Shot through the boddy by a Corporal of ye Guard which consists of 60 of the Westminster Militia—he died in 24 hours after[,] The Corporal was tryed by a Jury and Cleared[; it was] Proved (but very falsly) to be an accident<sup>26</sup>

Mar. 27th I came out of ye Hospital clens'd of ye Small Pox—also we have a Letter from Mill Prison which says that 100 of them have actually imbarked on board ye Carteel Ship for France &c. and [they] expect 100 to go from this place next which is joyfull news for I am almost tired of Imprisonment—we have had but 6d per week for 8 weeks past which will Scarcely admit of paper to write & Cypher to keep ourselves out of Idleness

April ye 5. we receiv'd a letter from Plymouth which tells us that the Carteel Ship Saild from there 25 of March with 100 men for [the French port of] Nantz Likewise Mr. Hertly one of the Parliament<sup>27</sup> was here & tells us that the Carteel Shall come to this place for the next Draught &c.

April ye 14th we had half of this Day's allowance of Provisions

23. Mill Prison was the other principal interment camp for Americans in England. The only general study of Mill is Howard L. Applegate, "American Privateersmen in the Mill Prison During 1777-1782," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XCVII (October, 1961), 303-20. Applegate's study is, unfortunately, seriously marred by lapses in research technique and must be compared with my article cited in Note 7.

24. Connor's records for the years 1777-1779 show that 2.65 per cent of the men in Forton died. The records printed by the prison reformer, John Howard, reveal that from June 1777 to November, 1782, 69 of the 1200 men who were at various times in Forton died. (See Connor and John Howard, p. 187).

25. Connor's list notes that 112 out of a total population of 415 in Forton from June 1777 to July 1779 escaped. (See Connor.)

26. For other prisoner comments on this killing see Thompson, p. 227; Nathaniel Fanning, *Memoirs of . . . an American Naval Officer*, edited by John S. Barnes (New York: De Vinne Press, 1912), pp. 11-12; Caleb Foot, "Reminiscences of the Revolution," edited by Caleb Foote, *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXVI (March, 1889), 110.

27. David Hartly, M.P., was a close friend of Benjamin Franklin who helped arrange the exchange of prisoners. Throughout the war, Hartly worked to make the life of American prisoners more enjoyable. For a good short summary of Hartly's efforts see Connor, XXX, 349, n. 1.

stopt by the Agent to pay for Damages done the Prison in trying to make our escape &c.<sup>28</sup>

April 15 last night 22 Prisoners made shift to git off through a hold which we have had in hand about 2 months but not geting it compleated till Day light was the ocation of no mor's going—afterwards all brought back but 2—

[April] ye 19th 9 more American's Committed to Prison—nothing Strange

April ye 26. this Day 24 more American Prisoners committed &c. no news of ye Carteel yet

1779 May ye 7 to Day Some of the [British] Countrymen brought in 7 french Gentlemen Prisoners which ren away from this place which bred a Disturbance between the Soldiers & Some of the Frenchmen at whom the Sentinel fired his piece & shot 2 of them—

May 8 today we have a letter in the yard from Mill prison which Says they are very Sickly in that Prison [and that] they have no news of the Carteel but expect her every day

May ye 10 this Day we had a general washing & clensing [of] ye Prison

May ye 18 Mr. Wren<sup>29</sup> came & paid us our 6d. as usual and told us that we had news from france that the carteel Ship had saild for this port—God send a fair wind

1779 May ye 20 I went out in my turn betwizt the Gates to tend Market &c.<sup>30</sup>

May 22 last night 7 Prisoners broke Prison from the grand Lobster guard at Fortin &c. ha ha ha

[May] ye 25th The Guard is releav'd today by the Lincolnshire Melitia of 100 men—Thomas Haly died with ye small pox—

ye 28th The Guard is relived by the Surry Melitia—

ye 29th Our [British] agent tells us that he expects the carteel in every Day (which I sopose is only to content us that we may not try to run away) also he has sent our Names to London for his Majestie's Pardon, on which commenc'd a Dialogue [viz.]

Prisoners—Pardon; D[am]n his Majesty & his pardon too [;]who

28. Such punishment was part of the standing rules of the prison. See rule number three cited by Thompson, p. 238.

29. The Reverend Wren administered the subscription fund at Forton. He also brought the men the latest news, obtained clothing for some of them, and helped escapees get to France. See e.g., Fanning, pp. 18–19 and Thompson, pp. 232–33.

30. Standing rule number eight (Thompson, p. 239) said: "The prisoners will be Indulged between the hours of Nine and Two O'Clock in the day time, to purchase at an open Market at the Gate, Such Articles. . .they May be able to purchase with redy Money."

wants any of his pardons [and] what murder or treason have we done  
Prey

Agent—Why; you impudent Rogues don't you know that you are Rebels and were committed to Prison as pirates for Murdering & plundering his Majestys Subjects (& if we should subdue America) The Laws of ye Nation would Swing every dog of ye, and without his Majesties most gracious Pardon you would never step a foot from this place except it was to Tiburn or Execution-Dock which you Deserve rather than an exchange

Prisoner—Overpower & Subdue America—ah thats the least of my concern. You have not done it yet nor won't till the D[evil]'s blind & his eyes an't sore [?] yet and if we wait here for that our heads will be as grey as woodchucks & then twill be as great Shame for you to hang us as it was for your Troops to run through with their bayonets our inofenceve aged Grand Fathers & grand Mothers who could not get out of their beds and romes but lay at your mercy beging their Lives—

Agent—when was that done

Prisoner—when your Troops went out to Concord in April 1775, Sir and likewise your officers or Comander in Canada gave a bounty on Scalps to incourage ye Indians & hessions &c. to kill our harmless women and Children—this is ye bold Britons, Sir. Turnkey, you lye D[am]n ye—exit Agetn [sic].

[Turnkey:] You look as much like woodchucks as any Beast I know of, ha, ha, ha,

Prisoner; not more than you do like an Owl—

Sailor [to Turnkey:] dont call People beasts, for, you dont know how soon you may be a Hog your Self ha, ha, ha, Spectators huzza

May ye 30th 5 of the men that run away last time was brought back and put into the black hole &c. .

June ye 14th 1779. today we receiv'd a letter from Plymouth which tells us that ye carteel arived at that Place ye 6th of June but they can not tell wheather She comes here for the next Draught or not—also 2 men went out of ye yard on bord Ship Viz. John Arther & James[?] Bonny<sup>31</sup>

June ye 18th. We hear that ye Fleet under the Command of Admirel Harely at St. Hellens under Sailing Orders, was Counter ordered to Day by an Express from London which says that the Spanish fleet hath join'd ye french in the Channel &c. the Spanish fleet consists of 28 line of battle Ships & the french 26[,] in all 54 Ships of the Line besides a

31. That is, these two men entered the Royal Navy.

number of frigates—the English fleet consists of 31 Sail of the Line & a number of Frigates

1779 Saturday June ye 19th. We hear the English fleet hath Sailed— And this day is the Annuation of my imprisonment & birth day &c. but [I] hope I Shall not Stay here much longer—

June ye 21st. It is in the Newspaper to day that the Carteel Ship arived at Spit-head last night which we hope is true—

ye 25 the Capt. of ye Carteel came to se us & tells us that he shall be ready to receive us on bord in about 5 or 6 Days which is very agreeable News—cash I recev'd in this yard from Subscription is £3. . 2. . 3 Sterling<sup>32</sup>

June ye 29 [1779:]<sup>33</sup> this day is 24 French Prisoners brought to this place & Put into another Prison Prepar'd for that porpose—and comitting them here by Small Parties as they are taken in Mirchant Ships &c. Until ye 18th of Dec 1778—having about 900 frenchmen in Prison they began to march them away to Winchester Castle by Small parties—and likewise bringing more to fortin

June ye 30 1779—Total french Prisoners comitted to

Fortin Prison— — 2730

At Different times sent to Winchester 1530

remaining at Fortin 1200

1779 Wednesday June ye 30th 120 of our names were called and order'd to keep ourselves in readyness to go on bord ye carteel which will be in a short time

\* Fryday July ye 2nd. this morning we were called to be in readiness and in the afternoon march'd off through Gosport, and went on bord the Milford carteel Ship laying at Spit-head &c. . The day long wished for is come at last Huzza—I having ben in Fortin Prison one year & 12 Days

\* July ye 7 we weigh'd anchor at Spit-head & set sail for ye river of Nantz &c.—

\* [July] ye 8th fair weather small brease, we make but little way ahead being off at Portland at 2 P.M.

[July] ye 10 Day fair weather & calm . . at 3 o'clock AM. came to anchor in Plymouth Sound &c— —

\* Monday July ye 12. Took a Gentleman & Lady on bord & at 6 O'clock this morning we got our anchor on our bows and maid sail

32. See note 20 above.

33. This entry and the one that follows it did not appear in this sequence in the manuscript. Carpenter clearly intended them to be entered here because he referred his reader to them by a note.

for nantz but ye wind being Contrary at 8, O'clock] a calm

[July] ye 14 fair weather a small brease of wind at N E by N[,] Left the Lizard at 8 o'clock last night crouse[?] SSW run about 3 knots &c—

\* July 17 fair weather & fresh gails of wind at NW bade Bellisle at 6 A.M. and at 8 P.M. came to anchor at St. Lazea in Nantz river &c—

\* 1779 July 18 at 6 Oclock this morning we weigh'd anchor & at 9 AM. came too again at Pen-beef (3 leagues from St. Lazea) and 7 Leagues below Nantz &c—after a passage of 11 Days from Portsmouth—it is about ye heigh of wheat harvest in these ports

\* July 22 we are Dismiss'd from the Carteel & set on Shore at Penbeef at our Liberty which Seems very agreeable, but Strange to walk the streets at Pleasure I having ben in Captivity 17 months & 3 Days— — And in ye afternoon enterd on bo'rd the General Jiflen<sup>34</sup> an American Privateer of 20 Guns George Wade Badcock Commander bound on a cruice towards America for about 3 months &c—

[ND] Come messmates now we are at Liberty let us Sing a Song over a bottle or two of wine—

Come now my jolly hearts of Gold  
Now from Prison we are free'd  
Come fill us up a flowing bowl  
That we may drink with Speed  
And let us now the bumpers flow  
for we've obtain'd our Liberty  
Success unto our Allies now  
That live here o'er the Atlantic Sea  
Likewise to all that for their rights  
Do now oppose our British foe.  
For to Maintain those 13 Stripes  
Which makes so grand a Show  
In Supporting of the thirteen States  
For which we indured Captivity  
The Motto now that cures all fates  
For me, is Death or Liberty  
Come now let's take our thundering arms  
And follow that Magnanimous Son  
We are no strangers to alarms  
Nor he whose name is Washington

34. This ship was undoubtedly the *General Mifflin*. Carpenter, in an entry dated August 13, 1779, calls it the "General Miflin."

And let's be resolute and brave  
O! se how just our cause appears  
For Independence we will have  
If we fight for it fifty Years—  
----- Finis ----- J C ----

---

[Having returned to America, Carpenter traveled to Vermont to seek his "fortune."]

[May] ye 13, [1780] Then I & David Carpenter Bargain'd for & bought a lot of 100 acres of Land (for 12s pr acre) of John Winchester Dana Esq. of Pomfret having travil'd about 416 miles in 21 days.

May ye 15 we began to chop and made the first stump on our land.

---

Ye 20th.

On our wild land we've wok'd a week  
have built a house that's strong & neat  
and it will serve tho' it is Low,  
for kitchen, hall, & Palace too—  
Planted Potatoes corn & beans  
which some may take for foolish schemes

---

July ye 10th it begins to be warm weather. People are  $\frac{1}{2}$  hilling I corn—have chop't about 8 acres of own land in 6 weeks Successively which has almost tired me of that fun no wonder neigher ha.

also we had a training at Pomfret inlisted 25 men (minute-men) which will start in one Days time in case of an Invation (which is some expected from ye Indians)

---

August ye 10th this morning at 1 o'clock we were alarm'd with news that ye Indians had come into Bernard & had taken 3 Men & Plunder'd ye houses (who were 20 Indiens & toryes) and went off were followd by 50 men from Bernard but could not overtake them—<sup>35</sup>

Aug't 15th I ingaged to go into ye Service (for ye town of Pomfret) for 3 months

35. Barnard was, at this time, also spelled Bernard. For further comments on the August 9, 1780 raid on Barnard see Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont* (Burlington, 1842), Part III, p. 7 and Evelyn M. W. Lovejoy, *History of Royalton, Vermont with Family Genealogies 1769-1911* (Burlington, 1911), p. 92.

Thursday ye 17th. we march'd for Barnard, for Pomfret Esq'r Danas to Do.

P. Perrins . . . . .	5
Ye 18th Stebines Barnard, . . . . .	4
Ye 19th To camp, at a Bicknels at Barnard . . . . .	3

[miles] . . . . . 12

Aug ye 20 I went out on a Scoute for 2 Days up White R. as far as Rochester, thro' Stockbridge (about 20 miles) choice Land on ye River but very Mountainy back from ye river—made no Discovery of the Enemy

Ye 25th I went out on a Scout for 4 Days in company with 14 men of Bernard in Serch of some tories that have ben Sculking about & have taken 2 men from Weathersfield. we went up ye south Branch of White R. & over heighths of Land to Pitsford fort on Ottercrick about 30 Miles Course West, some good land on ye crick and in Chittendon east of Pittsford, & came home ye 28. ye Prisoners are retaken with 2 tories at Weathersfield—

Sept. ye 21. two men were taken from their work at Bethel, by ye Enemy I had a furlow for 3 Days to go to Pomfret & came back ye 24 Our fort being finished nothing Remarkable.<sup>36</sup>

Ye 25. I went out on Scout up white R. on ye West Branch for 3 Days nothing Remarkable—

Oct. ye 3 A light snow fell about 3 inches deep, but soon gone—frost about this time which soon Strips the trees &c— —

1780. Oct. 16. This morning we were alarm'd by intelligence that the enemy were burning & Plundering at Royalton<sup>37</sup> and it was Supposed that ye woods were full of them I went out in a Scout round ye north part of Bernard about 10 Miles & in again but Discovered nothing by this time some of ye Inhabitents had come into the Garrison & a Party went to meet the enemy (or at Least to look for them)—at about 12 O'clock at Night I went out in a party of 11 men, with Lieut Green, with 4 Days provisions we march'd (by night) to bethel fort from whence upwards of 100 men had just gone under Capt. Safford to Royalton—<sup>38</sup>

36. Apparently only one man, David Stone, was captured at Bethel. See Zadock Thompson, Part III, p. 24.

37. The attack occurred on the sixteenth of October. For a short discussion see *ibid.*, Part II, pp. 69–71; a lengthier recounting can be found in Benjamin H. Hall, *History of Eastern Vermont, from its Earliest Settlement to the Close of the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols.; Albany, 1865), II, 383–95. Zadock Steele's *The Indian Captive or a Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Zadock Steele* (Montpelier, 1818) is invaluable but must be compared with Lovejoy, pp. 138–77.

38. Under a separate entry dated "Camp at Barnard Oct. ye 16—1780," Carpenter wrote "a List of Capt. Coxes Company." The list read: Benjamin Cox, Capt.; Beriah

Ye 17th form thence we march'd to Colonel Woodward's at Middlesex [now Randolph] about 15 miles from Bernard fort & 8 from Bethel fort,<sup>39</sup> (it snowed almost all Day) there we were join'd by 10 more & sot off towards ye height of Land in hopes of coming across our main boddy, & coming to a house in Middlesex, burning which we judged to have ben fired by the Enemy about 4 hours<sup>40</sup>—we took their [trail] & follow'd into Brookfield & finding our men didnot follow, we incamped that night but ye Middlesex men returned, back but ye next morning ye 18th we follow'd on about 4 miles further onto ye heighth of Land & finding we should not be join'd by more men, & our party but 14 which we thought to small a number to ingage whom we judged to be 300 by ye parth they made which was very easy to follow in ye night—we left ye chace & return'd that Day to colonel Woodward's, (back again)—having march'd over as fine level a tract of Land as I have seen in this Country. we went thro Brookfield Dearfield & into Northfield (light timber'd with maple Beach Birch &c.) at Colonel Woodward's we heard that the Enemy had burnt and Destroy'd Royalton, & some houses in Sharon & Middlesex &c and have taken off upwards of 20 prisoners and killed 7, Notwithstanding they were fired upon by ye advance guard of upward of 400 men, which indeed put them to great Confusion but they killed 2 prisoners & fled while the Cowardly Colo' House was forming his men, hooting with a mock pretence of having a field fight with Indians in the Bush, which gave them time to get off (they were commanded by one Colonel Peters a Tory)

1780. Oct. ye 19—we returned home in peace, some moving off over Connet River, and our savage Enemy gone with flying Coulers into Canida which is a poor story for a Whig to tell.

Ye 20th We hear that the aforesaid enemy were atached [i.e., detached] for Cowas after Major Whitcome, &c. but find their Mistake, took it in their heads to Plague us—also that there are 1500 Indians landed from the Lake on the other side of ye Mountain and have taken fort ann &c.—

Breen Lieut—; Adam Howard & Julen Foster, Serjants; Edward Church, Robert Burch, John Ellis all Corporals; Daniel Pearkins fifth; and [privates] Jeremiha Bishop, Natham Bowman, Asor[?] Call, Benjamin Carpenter, Adin Dike, Samuel Fuller, Robert Green, Velina Hoifington, Timothy Knox, Jacob Salsburg, Reuber Smith, Elkanah Sprughe [?], Daniel Sertwell, Andrew Stephens, Mathew Smith, Daniel Spencer, Lothrop Thomson, Abraham Taylor, J[onathan] Carpenter, Joseph Lull.

39. Fort Defiance was located at Barnard and Fort Fortitude at Bethel. On the physical process of building the forts see Lovejoy, pp. 92-96 and Hall, II, 382-83. For a drawing of Fort Defiance, see Lovejoy, page facing page 97.

40. For the attack on Randolph see Zadock Thompson, Part III, p. 146 and Hemenway, II, 977-89. The Hemenway account contains lengthy excerpts from Zadock Steele's *Narrative*.

Ye 20 Part of ye Companies from Windsor & Woodstock Melitia  
join'd us for 10 Days

Ye 27 Cool ye Sun Eclips'd &—

Ye 29 Melitia Dismis'd &c—

Nov. ye 1 Snow fell about 4 inches D.

Ye 2nd the fort at Barnard was Christned by ye Name of Defiance  
we had a false alarm how the Enemy were at Grape brook, &c Ye  
Melitia of Rockingham Dmiss'd—

Nov 5th I went out on a Scout up S. branch of white R. for 2 Days

Ye 11 Cold frozen weather. Moon Eclips'd &.

Nov: 15. I was Dismis'd from fort Difiance at Barnard, & sot off for  
Pomfret.

---

Orestes Brownson believed that the typical Vermonter, when travelling outside the state of Vermont, "holds a fellow-Vermonters dear as his brother." Brownson told this story to illustrate his point: "A Georgian and a Connecticut man are fighting in Georgia; the Connecticut man looking on will wish his countryman to get the better of his Georgian opponent, but will not interpose till he has inquired into the cause of the dispute and ascertained on which side is the law. A Georgian and a Vermonter are fighting under the same circumstance; the Vermonter comes up, looks, knocks the Georgian down, rescues his countryman, and investigates the cause and the law afterwards."

—from *Brownson's Works* (Detroit, 1882-1887), Vol. XIX, p. 535-536.

---