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CONCORD MILFORD  
FIGHT *Print*



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# CONCORD FIGHT

*Mass. Fight.*

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*Being so much of the  
Narrative of Ensign JEREMY LISTER of the  
10th Regiment of Foot as pertains to his services  
on the 19th of April, 1775, and to his  
experiences in BOSTON during the  
early months of the Siege*

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(See also page 100-101)



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"The brief narrative of Jeremy Lister (was), written late in 1782 ...  
Extracts from his narrative first appeared in the London telegraph in  
December, 1928."—Introd.

Serial Case

(Continued on next card)

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INTRODUCTION

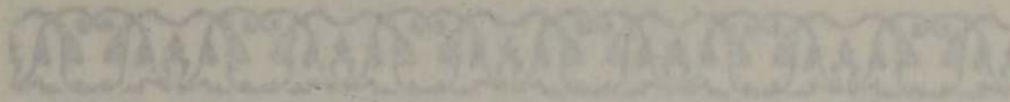
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# INTRODUCTION

DURING the last few years our knowledge of the events of the 19th of April, 1775, has been substantially increased through the newly discovered diaries and letters of British officers who were in the field on that eventful day. Many years ago, indeed, extracts from the diaries of Lieutenant John Barker and Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie appeared respectively in the *Atlantic Monthly* and in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, but they were not published in full until 1925 and 1926. Mr. Clements, through his purchase of the Clinton Papers, acquired the statement of Lieutenant William Sutherland, and in 1926 the Club of Odd Volumes published it in a book that also included the recollections of Richard

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## INTRODUCTION

Pope, who appears to have been a private in the 47th Regiment, and whose manuscript is in the Huntington Library. To these we can now add the brief narrative of Jeremy Lister written late in 1782. Lister was an ensign in the 10th Regiment of Foot in 1775 and participated in the action of Concord and Lexington. Extracts from his narrative first appeared in the *London Telegraph* in December, 1928, and were called to the attention of Mr. Richard J. Eaton of Concord, Massachusetts, who immediately took steps to learn more of the manuscript. In this quest he was inspired and in a measure assisted by his neighbor, that experienced investigator, Mr. Allen French. Armed with letters and good advice from the British Consulate in Boston, Mr. Eaton at length found himself in pleasant negotiation with the owner of the coveted manuscript, Mr. John Lister of Shibden Hall in the borough of Halifax in the West

## INTRODUCTION

Riding of Yorkshire. Arrangements were made for photostating the complete document at the British Museum, and the rights were also secured for publication in America.

From information furnished by Mr. Lister, it appears that Ensign Jeremy, the author of the Narrative, was born at Shibden Hall in August, 1752, being one of the younger sons of Jeremy Lister, then the owner of the family estate. Young Jeremy married and had several children, but they all died without issue. Although, as a younger son, he never inherited Shibden Hall, it did come to his daughter Anne, through the will of her uncle. The elder Jeremy, father of the ensign, had a brother Thomas, who went to Virginia and died there in August, 1740. It is from this brother that Mr. John Lister, the present occupant of the Hall, is descended.

It was late in 1782 that Lister, then a captain, wrote the first lines of his nar-

## INTRODUCTION

rative. "I think I cannot employ my time better," he says, "than by collecting together such circumstances and transactions in life as I have met with, at least so far as comes within my Memory and Recollection. . . . As few circumstances out of the common way happened to me (at least not at present within my Recollection) prior to my going into the Army, I therefore shall begin my narrative from that period. I being then Eighteen years and about four Months old." There was the merriest of merry Christmases at Shibden Hall in 1770, for on that day his commission as ensign in the 10th Regiment of Foot was delivered at the house. A month later he left home for London, where he was received into the family of Colonel William Faucitt of the 3d Regiment of Foot Guards, where he "was very merry" and spent his time "most agreeably." He remained in the Colonel's family for nearly three months, during

## INTRODUCTION

which time he fell a victim to the charms of a young lady whose name he does not disclose. That there was little of Lochinvar about him in his twentieth year is shown by his comments on this affair. He regarded the lady as highly placed in life, and says "considering my own years just entering into the World, I thought it most prudent to conceal my own feelings within my brest, seeing then no prospect of any happiness ensuing from their being divulged." He seems to have been a lad of prudence and self-restraint—qualities that, linked with courage, may account for the esteem in which he was held by Colonels Faucitt, Smith, and Jones. Before the close of April he had embarked to join his regiment in Canada, and on the 23rd of June, 1771, he landed safe in Quebec.

The greater part of Lister's narrative deals with his service in Canada. As this service was uneventful and restricted to

## INTRODUCTION

the routine of peace duty, and as he was of an imperturbable and unimaginative temperament, this part of his story is far from thrilling, and has been omitted from the present publication. Throughout the narrative his spelling is fantastic, to say the least, and yet that Lister could spell correctly if he would is plain enough from his letters to his father, two or three of which are reproduced in the appendix. His style is stiff and dull, but when he recounts his experiences in Boston, his narrative becomes not only important but interesting in spite of his small gift as a writer. His pen becomes no more facile, but he is describing events of great moment in American history. His account of the exhaustion and confusion in Smith's detachment on its arrival at Bunker Hill on the evening of the 19th of April is indicative of the fate that would have befallen it earlier in the day but for the protection afforded by Percy's brigade.



## INTRODUCTION

His recital of events at his quarters at Boston, where he arrived on the same evening, the solicitude of the ladies of the army over his wound and the possible fate of their husbands, his blundering remark about Sutherland and the swooning of that officer's wife, of whose presence he was unaware, surpass in real human interest anything that we find in the pages of *Lionel Lincoln*.

Lister was a volunteer in Smith's detachment that marched to Concord on April 19, 1775. He was not impelled by the love of adventure that inspired Sutherland of the 43rd and Adair of the Marines. He was evidently not of the Light Infantry, but for the honor of his regiment offered himself in place of Lieutenant James Hamilton, who, he says plainly, feigned illness on this interesting occasion. As Hamilton appears in the Army List for 1775, but not in that for 1776, it is possible that his short-

## IN INTRODUCTION

coming on that day cost him his commission. What Lister has to say of the tragedy on Lexington Common is disappointingly meagre, but he repeats the assertion of all his colleagues that the first shots came from the American side. Ever since the publication of Gage's report in 1775, the world has been aware that one British soldier was wounded by these shots and that Pitcairn's horse was also hit. Lister not only confirms this assertion, but supports it with fresh detail; he says the horse was injured in the flank, and that the name of the wounded soldier was Johnson! As Gage says that the man was of the 10th Regiment, it is almost certain that he was in Lister's company, and that after seven years his name still stuck in the officer's memory. As both horse and man evidently went on to Concord, the injuries of which the British made so much were probably trivial.

only Lister's narrative brings out the con-

## INTRODUCTION

fusion on the return march more clearly than any other document that we have. It would be interesting to have Barker's comment on Lister's assertion that the Light Company of the 4th Regiment at Concord disintegrated after the firing at the bridge and became temporarily mingled with the narrator's command. The strapping of wounded men to horses on the way back to Boston, and the dangers of riding under the fire of that day are made vivid; both Smith and Lister finally preferred to abandon their mounts and, wounded as they were, to limp back along the dusty country road.

Lister's elbow was shattered at Concord Bridge. From the moment that he received his injury until he was invalided home in the fall to take up recruiting duty, he appears to have been not only in pain, but in constant apprehension of losing his arm. His letters show that he was not only an optimistic, but an insubordinate

## INTRODUCTION

patient, and they give us a hint how surgery was practiced in the army in 1775. He dwells as much on his hoped-for promotion as on his physical suffering. It is pleasant to know that his lieutenant's commission came in the fall of 1775, although the news did not reach Boston until after he had departed for England.

Perhaps the most important feature in Lister's narrative is his account of the Concord fight. In 1925 the town of Concord, celebrating the 150th anniversary of the battle at the North Bridge, re-enacted in pageantry that important event. Mr. Allen French, a competent student of eighteenth-century military tactics, decided that the street-firing formation would have been the proper one for the British to adopt for the defence of the bridge, and he credited Laurie with sufficient sagacity to do the right thing. So the red-coated impersonators of the British were trained in the street-firing

## INTRODUCTION

tactics of one hundred and fifty years ago, and their performance at the pageant did credit to their instructor.

And now comes Lister with the confirmatory statement that "tho our Companies were drawn up in order to fire street firing" etc. His testimony would be conclusive as to the formation adopted by the British were it not in disagreement with Barker and Sutherland, whose statements, of course, cannot be disregarded. Barker declares that "the three companies got one behind the other so that only the front one could fire." He thought that it was a bad formation, but whatever it was, his description, so far as it goes, is not unsuggestive of street-firing tactics. In contradiction to Barker, Sutherland says that Laurie's orders were "to form a line to the right and the left of the bridge," and that he leaped the hedge into "a meadow just opposite to the Enemy" and called upon the soldiers to follow him.

## INTRODUCTION

Only three men obeyed his order, and he returned with them as soon as the firing began. It is possible, but highly improbable, that Sutherland misunderstood Laurie's order. It is more probable that Laurie may have attempted the street-firing formation and then at the last moment changed his mind and tried to form the line. Perhaps Barker is right in saying that Laurie did not give himself time to complete any proper disposition of his force. At all events, two things seem clear: first, that there was unnecessary confusion among the British at the bridge-head on the 19th of April, and, second, that the good people of Concord have excellent authority for continuing that picturesque formation of street firing whenever they attempt in pageantry to revive the historical scene at the North Bridge.

H. M.

## INTRODUCTION

Only three men received instructions in relation with them as soon as the time began. It is possible that might have

Laure's story. The name of the vessel was

# THE LISTER NARRATIVE

moment of preparation being  
form the first of the season being  
C saying that on board of some of the  
learned to bump at and said to Aswagat-  
cha-wetere, the embark'd and made the  
boat of nar way in there to Montreal  
we crossed among few days and then pro-  
ceeded in the same way down the River  
to require the good embark'd early in  
Septene-Walls Cove with our baggage  
articles thence embark'd over Abraham  
plunderer Quebec. We had just got our  
servants the historical scene and found our  
M being on a proper plan imagining we  
should remain the Winter, when an Elder

1. A square-rigged vessel much like a brig.

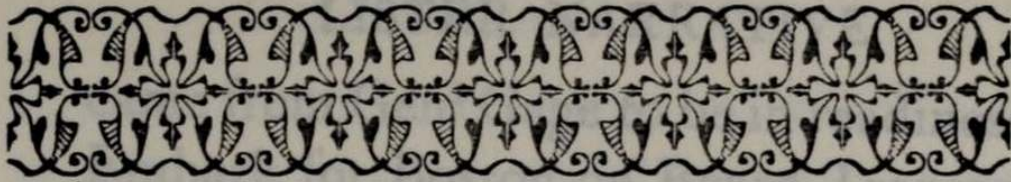
INTRODUCTION

General Introduction  
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been mentioned in the text of the book.

THE  
LISTER  
NARRATIVE

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been mentioned in the text of the book.





NARRATIVE OF  
ENSIGN JEREMY LISTER

**A**FTER necessary preparations being made and our Embarcation being Completed on board a snow<sup>1</sup> we took leave of Niagara and Sailed to Aswagatchia we there disembarck'd, and made the best of our way in Boats to Montreal, where we halted a few days and then proceeded in the same way down the River to Quebec. we disembarck'd early in Sept. at Wolfs Cove with our Baggage, and from thence march'd over Abrahams plains into Quebec. We had just got ourselves settled in Lodgings and found our Mess upon a proper plan imagining we should remain the Winter, when an Order

1. A square-rigged vessel much like a brig.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

came from Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage to be in readiness to Embark for Boston on Board Transports which was then coming round for that purpose along with the 52<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> of foot accordingly on the 6<sup>th</sup> of Oct<sup>r</sup> we Embark'd and the 8<sup>th</sup> Set Sale. We had a very ruff passage as wd naturally be expected at that season of the year some little irregularities at Quebec I believe was the cause of some simtoms appearing on Board of the Malady I before hinted at which was not perfectly cured till the beginning of March following. the blowing Weather did not abate our Mirth aboard for we was all very happy in the comp<sup>y</sup> of M<sup>rs</sup> Thwaites who was aboard the ship with me, but the dirt and nastiness was almost insupportable owing to M<sup>rs</sup> S . . . . . who would not permit the Cabins or any part of the Ship to be Cleand but when she could not possibly avoid it she said for fear of catching cold, but I believe it was more to gratify her

## LISTER NARRATIVE

natural fondness for nastiness, which appear'd very plain from all her actions on Shoar as well as on Ship board. the third of Nov<sup>r</sup> we arrived at Boston, but did not disembark till the 27<sup>th</sup> when the Reg<sup>t</sup> March'd into Barracks the Officers had private Lodgings, I come now to that part where I experienc'd the chief part of my difficulties and distresses. we instituted several amusements which helped the Winter to pass tolerably, tho. not without being in eminent danger every Evening of being insulted by the Inhabitants the worst of Language was continually in our Ears often dirt thrown at us they even went so far as to wound some officers with their Watch Crooks Capt<sup>n</sup> M<sup>c</sup>Ginny<sup>r</sup> of the 28<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> was one of those unfortunate gentlemen amongst many more, We constituted a Club of Yorkshire Officers which went by that Name and was one Night oblig'd to sally out to rescue

1. Hugh Maginnis.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

an Officer L<sup>t</sup> Mires<sup>r</sup> of 38<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> from the hands of the populace, who had nothing to lay to his charge only he was walking in the Streets alone therefore thought him an easy pray. the consequences was very near being dreadful indeed but however the mob which was rais'd happily subsided without further mischief. The 5<sup>th</sup> of March this year 1775 happen'd on a Sunday therefore the annual oration was the day following just about the conclusion the 43<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> who had been a few miles in the Country return'd when opposite the Church the[y] halted a few Minutes the Congregation imagin'd they was going to fire into the Church or at least take them all prisoners, jump'd out of the Windows as fast as possible and was quite in confusion the Reg<sup>t</sup> then March'd forward. to be shure the seen was quite Laughable this Evening was intended to have been a grand exhibition representing

1. William Myers.

2. James Pettigrew.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

the Massacre in the year 1769<sup>1</sup> by the 29<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> as the Boston people term'd it. but Gen<sup>l</sup> Gage represented to the Select Men, he should deem it an Insult to his Majesty himself, and the Army then at Boston, therefore if they persisted in their intentions, he should take proper steps to prevent them being put in execution, Consequently the Army had orders to be in readiness to be under Arms at a Moments notice, it was generally expected there would be some work that Night, but fortunately nothing particular happened. things begun now to draw near a Crisis and we expected daily coming to blows, which was soon the case for on the 18<sup>th</sup> of April in the Evening there was a detachment ordered under Armes to go on a secret expedition, under the command of L<sup>t</sup>. Col<sup>l</sup> Smith of our Reg<sup>t</sup> the detachment consisted of the Light-Infantry and Granadiers of the Army, L<sup>t</sup> pettigrew<sup>2</sup>

1. A mistake; the year was 1770.

2. James Pettigrew.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

being one of the Lieut<sup>ts</sup> of our Grandiers and Lodging in the same House with me, and being anxious to know the reason of this Order with the destiny of this Armament, I went with him down to the parade, when I met Capt<sup>n</sup> Parsons<sup>1</sup> of our Comp<sup>y</sup> of Light Infantry who seem'd rather uneasy at L<sup>t</sup> Hamiltons<sup>2</sup> not coming after being repeatedly sent for, who sent word at last he was sick. I immediately offered myself a Volunteer in the Room of Hamilton and was excepted of when I immediately returnd to my Lodgings to equip myself for a March, and met the Comp<sup>y</sup> on their way through the Town in order to embark in Boats to cross the bay above Charlestown, when we was just embarking L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Smith wish'd me to return to Town again and not go into danger for others particularly Hamilton whose Illness was suppos'd by everybody to be feign'd which twas clearly prov'd to be

1. Lawrence Parsons. 2. See Introduction, p. 9.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

the case afterwards but wishing much to go, for the Honor of the Reg<sup>t</sup> thinking it would be rather a disgrace for the Comp<sup>y</sup> to March on an expedition, more especially it being the first, without its Compliment of Officers, therefore my offer was excepted. we got all over the bay and landed on the oposite shore betwixt twelve and one OClock and was on our March by one, which was at first through some swamps and slips of the Sea till we got into the Road leading to Lexington soon after which the Country people begun to fire their alarm guns light their Beacons, to raise the Country however to the best of my recollection about 4 oClock in the Morning being the 19<sup>th</sup> of April the 5 front Comp<sup>ys</sup> was ordered to Load which we did, about half an hour after we found that precaution had been necessary, for we had then to unload again and then was the first Blood drawn in this American Rebellion. it was at Lexington when

## LISTER NARRATIVE

we saw one of their Comp<sup>ys</sup> drawn up in regular order Major Pitcairn of the Marines second in Command call'd to them to disperse, but their not seeming willing he desired us to mind our space which we did when they gave us a fire then run of to get behind a wall. we had one man wounded of our Comp<sup>y</sup> in the Leg his Name was Johnson also Major Pitcairns Horse was shot in the Flank we return'd their Salute, and before we proceeded on our March from Lexington I believe we Kill'd and Wounded either 7 or 8 Men. we Marchd forward without further interruption till we arriv'd at Concord, tho large bodies of Men was collected together and with Armes yet as we approach'd they retired, L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Smith remaind at Concord to destroy Military Stores collected there but detatchd Cap<sup>t</sup> Parsons forwards with 5 Comp<sup>ys</sup> <sup>1</sup> of Light

1. All the other authorities say that there were six companies.



## LISTER NARRATIVE

Infantry in order to do the same business at another place the Name I don't now recollect<sup>1</sup> Capt<sup>n</sup> Parsons left one Comp<sup>y</sup> the 43<sup>d</sup> at Concord-Bridge two Comp<sup>ys</sup> viz 4<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> upon two Hills to Command the road he had to go, then proceeded with the other two Comp<sup>ys</sup> viz 23<sup>d</sup> and 52<sup>d</sup> to execute the purpose of his detachment. we had not been long in this situation when we saw a large Body of Men drawn up with the greatest regularity and approach'd us seemingly with an intent to attack, when L<sup>t</sup> Kelly<sup>2</sup> who then Commanded our Comp<sup>y</sup> with myself thought it most proper to retire from our situation and join the 4<sup>th</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> which we did, they still approachd and in that force, that it was thought proper by the Officers except myself to join the 43<sup>d</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> at Concord Bridge Commanded by Capt<sup>n</sup> Laurey,<sup>3</sup> my reason for objecting

1. Colonel Barrett's house.

2. Waldron Kelly.

3. Walter Sloane Laurie.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

the joining the 43<sup>d</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> was we had to go down a steepish hill, and just in a manner under the Mussels of the Rebels pieces, therefore if they chose to fire upon us which was expected they might have cut us off almost to a Man without our having it in our power to return a shot with the smallest probability of doing execution but however I was over ruild, tho there was a good Wall which I pointed to as a good cover or Brest Work if we would avail ourselves of it. luckily for us we joint the 23<sup>d</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> and not a shot Fired, I then was not sorry at my situation, Capt<sup>n</sup> Laury of 43<sup>d</sup> then Comanded the three Comp<sup>ys</sup> he sent L<sup>t</sup> Robertson<sup>r</sup> of his Comp<sup>y</sup> to L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Smith to beg a Reinforcement might be sent immediately the answer brought back was L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Smith thought 3 Comp<sup>ys</sup> must be equal to the defence of the Bridge but he would see this message had no sooner arrivd than the Rebels

1. Alexander Robertson.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

begun their March from the Hill we before had retired from with a[s] much order as the best disciplind Troops, I proposd destroying the Bridge, but before we got one plank of they got so near as to begin their Fire which was a very heavy one, tho. our Comp<sup>ys</sup> was drawn up in order to fire Street fireing, yet the weight of their fire was such that we was oblidge'd to give way then run with the greatest precipitance at this place there was 4 Men of the 4<sup>th</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> Killd who was afterwards scalp'd their Eyes goug'd their Noses and Ears cut of, such barbarity exercis'd upon the Corps could scarcely be paralelld by the most uncivilised Savages.<sup>1</sup> there was a good number Wounded amongst which was a L<sup>t</sup> Hull 43<sup>d</sup> through the Right Brest, of which with other Wounds rec<sup>d</sup> that day he died three or four days after. L<sup>t</sup> Gould<sup>2</sup>

1. An exaggeration of course. Only one man suffered any such barbarity. Owing to the decision of the Provincial authorities to admit nothing, Lister, seven years after the battle, was still ignorant of the truth.

2. Edward Gould.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

4<sup>th</sup> and L<sup>t</sup> Kelly 10<sup>th</sup> also L<sup>t</sup> Sunderland a Vountier Wounded, fortunately for us in consiquance of the Message sent to L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Smith he had considered to send the 47<sup>th</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> of Granadiers to our assistance, tho two late to be of any service at the Bridge yet they serv'd as a Cover for us to draw up our scattered Comp<sup>y</sup> again, we then retired in reagular order to Concord, I mean the 10<sup>th</sup> and 43<sup>d</sup> Comp<sup>ys</sup> with the 47<sup>th</sup> Granadiers. I don't know that the 4<sup>th</sup> Comp<sup>y</sup> was collected again that day, some of them join'd our Comp<sup>y</sup> and was permitted to remain some time,<sup>1</sup> after we had got to Concord again my situation with the remains of the Comp<sup>y</sup> was a most fatiguing one, being detatched to watch the Motions of the Rebels, we was kept continually running from hill to hill as they chang'd their position, but

1. Barker and Gould were the only officers of the 4<sup>th</sup> at Concord Bridge. The wounding of Gould left Barker the only commissioned officer with the company.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

however after some hours Capt<sup>n</sup> Parsons returnd, after execuiting the purpose of his Command and tho. there was a large Body of Rebels drawn up upon the hill we had left when we retired to Concord Bridge yet they let him pass without firing a single shot, tho they might undoubtedly have cut his 2 Comp<sup>ys</sup> off to a Man. On Capt<sup>n</sup> Parsons joining us begun our March toward Boston again from Concord. the Light Infantry March'd over a Hill above the Town the Granadiers through the Town, immediately as we desended the hill into the Road the Rebels begun a brisk fire but at so great a distance it was without effect, but as they kept marching nearer when the Granadiers found them within shot they returnd their fire just about that time I rec<sup>d</sup> a shot through my Right Elbow joint which efectually disabled that Arme, it then became a general Firing upon us from all Quarters, from behind hedges and Walls we return'd

## LISTER NARRATIVE

the fire every opportunity which continued till we arriv'd at Lexington which from what I could learn is about 9 Miles, we was then met by a Reinforcement of 4 Batalians under Lord percie to our great joy our amunition being then nearly expended there was also two field Pieces, but our great Commander of Artilery<sup>r</sup> to his disgrace be it said, only sent 7 Rounds of Amunition for each Gun, had we had plenty of that commodity they would have been of the greatest use to us on our March which was then 13 Miles to Bunkers Hill, under a continual fire from all Quarters as before but however there was not much of the Amunition return'd to his Majestys Stores, Lord Percies with this reinforcement meeting us at Lexington causd a little holt when I got M<sup>r</sup> Simes Surgeons Mate to 43<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> to examine my

1. Colonel Cleveland's defence was that he had planned to send a larger quantity, but that Percy, fearing that he might be delayed by baggage, limited the supply of ball to what could be carried in the side-boxes.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

Arme when he extracted the Ball it having gone through the Bone and lodg'd within the Skin. from our long fateagueing March and loss of Blood for 9 Miles want of provisions having not had a Morcel since the day before, I begun to grow rather faint, seeing L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Smith borrow a horse from an Officer of Marines, he having been wounded some time before in the Leg, I apply'd to him to lend me his Horse which he did, seeing almost immediately after a Soldier eating a little Bisquet and Beef I beg'd to partake with him he generously comply'd and gave me half what he had which was about a Mouth full of each —when we proceeded on our March, I beg'd of a Granadier of our Reg<sup>t</sup> to give me a little Water in my Hat out of a Horse pond which he did and refresh'd me a good deal, When I had Road about 2 Miles I found the Balls whistled so smartly about my Ears I thought it more prudent to dismount and as the Balls

## LISTER NARRATIVE

came thicker from one side or the other so I went from one side of the Horse to the other for some time when a Horse was shot dead close by me, that had a wounded Man on his back and three hanging by his sides, they immediately beg'd the assistance of my Horse which I readily granted, and soon after left him wholly to their care, when we got to Charlestown neck the Rebels fire ceas'd they not having it in their power to pursue us any further in their skulking way behind hedges and Walls, We then March'd upon Buncars Hill and was ordered to draw up, on halting I begun to grow very faint again, when a Serj<sup>t</sup> of the Comp<sup>y</sup> came to me and inform'd me he had but 12 Men and could not find any other Officer of the Comp<sup>y</sup> L<sup>t</sup> Kelly I have said before was wounded at Concord Bridge and therefore concluded Capt<sup>n</sup> Parsons must be in the same situation, I told him he must be very attentive to the directions of the



## LISTER NARRATIVE

Commanding Officers and do the best he could with what Men he had, for in my situation it was not in my power to be of the smallest use, soon after I saw Capt<sup>n</sup> Horsfall<sup>r</sup> of 23<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> who at my request sent one of their Musitions with me down through Charlestown to a Boat to be conveyd over to Boston where I met Capt<sup>n</sup> Parsons, who I believe was then in a worse situation than myself from a contusion on his knee also L<sup>t</sup> Sunderland who I mentioned before being Wounded at Concord Bridge in his Brest L<sup>t</sup> Sunderland complained very much I believe he was in Violent pain, and did not expect long to survive, On Landing at Boston I met our Reg<sup>t</sup> just ready to Embark in Boats to go as a reinforcement to the Troops just returnd, I then proceeded through the Town to my Lodgings where I arriv'd about 9 oClock after a March in the whole of about 60 Miles in course of 24 Hours,

1. Christopher Horsfall.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

about 24 Miles after I was Wounded and without a Morcel of Victuals except what I have before mentioned, on my arrival at my Lodgings Mr<sup>s</sup> Miller the M<sup>rs</sup> of the House I desired to get me a dish of Tea, which she immediately set about but M<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>rs</sup> Funnel who was drove in from the Country by the Rebels and Lodging in the same House, with a good deal more Comp<sup>y</sup> that was with them that afternoon and chiefly my acquaintance came to ask me how I did, pronounc'd me light Headed in asking for Tea, I ought instantly to go to Bed, but persisting in having some Tea before I left the place, it was brought. the Imagination may conceive, tho. it is beyond the power of Words to express the satisfaction I felt from that Tea, notwithstanding I was interrupted with a Thousand Questions. till I was ask'd whether I had seen L<sup>t</sup> Sunderland of 38<sup>th</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> when I reply'd I had and supposd by that time he was

## LISTER NARRATIVE

dead, his Wife being just behind my Chare immediately drop'd down in swoon, which then diverted the Comp<sup>ys</sup> attention a little from me, which I was not at all sorry for as I then got my Tea with a little more quietness, it was represented to me I should not have given that answer I said they ought not have ask'd me the question I did not know his Wife was there, and I imagin'd from the situation he appear'd to me to be in when I saw him last and from his speeches, I suppos'd by that time he was no more. after I had finished my Tea I had my Glove cut off from my Richt Hand which was quite at the stretch what with Blood and swelling of my Hand, I then went up Stares and prepaired for Bed, where I was very soon, when a Surgeon of the Town was sent for, who put a little fresh lint to the Wound and a bandage about my Arme then left me, also the Comp<sup>y</sup> soon after thinking I might get a little Sleep, but God knows

## LISTER NARRATIVE

none fell to my share for a long time after. In the Morning 20<sup>th</sup> April, I was Visited by Mr Edwards our Surgeon with several others amongst which was a Mr Mallet to whom I am under the greatest obligations for his dayly attendance on me afterwards during my Confinement On examining my Wound, and several small Bones being extracted, finding the joints was broke to pieces the Ball having gone exactly through it, Mr Mallet thought it best to lay my Arme in such a posture as it might be most useful, provided an Amputation should not be necessary, which was then very doubtfull My Arme as is natural to suppose begun now to be very painfull which kept increasing for some days, when it begun to abate a little it was dress'd twice a day, and I took Jesuits Bark every two hours day and Night to prevent a Mortification, After I was at the same dieted and was allow'd to take nothing except Broth Water Gruel or Tea

## LISTER NARRATIVE

with a little Bisquet without any Butter, Broth or Water Gruel I could not take, consequently a small Basin of Tea with a little Bisquet, Morning and Evening was what I had to support Nature except little simples to moisten my Mouth. After I had been confin'd to my Bed a fortnight finding myself as I thought tolerably well, I insisted on getting up and walking out and sent for a Taylor and had my Coat and Waistcoat altered so that they tied on with strings. I paid L<sup>t</sup> Col<sup>l</sup> Smith a Visit, but return'd soon and got to Bed very much fateagued tho I had not been an hour from it, the day following I got up again and paid my hostes M<sup>rs</sup> Miller a Visit down Stares, but was not able to support myself half an hour before I was oblidge'd to return to Bed again, where I then remain'd except a few Minutes every day till it was made, till the 9<sup>th</sup> of May, when a large number of the Faculty Visited me at the usual time of

## LISTER NARRATIVE

my Arme being dress'd, when it was loos'd down and every one had mad their observations, it was loosly tied up and they withdrew to deliberate what would be most proper to be done. I had my suspicions therefore immediately on their return I ask'd them whether they had determind my Arme should be Amputated they answered me in the negative. I immediately reply'd that should that be the case, I insisted on being inform'd the day before, in reply I was told a very few Minuits would be time sufficient to acquaint me before the operation if it should be judg'd necessary, I instantly said that my sufferings had been such that I was sufficiently prepar'd to undergo the operation of my Arme being amputated whenever it should be judg'd absolutely necessary. tho, at the same time I peremptorally Insisted on being informd the day before such an operation should be perform'd. I was then told I might

## LISTER NARRATIVE

make myself quiet easy respecting that matter for very probably I might not loose my Arme, I reply'd I had wholly made up my mind on the matter as was perfectly reconciled to my fate be it what it might with this proviso that I was acquainted the day before an event of such moment to me was put in execution, I was some time afterwards inform'd that it had that Morning been determin'd to take off my Arme immediately, imagining it the only means to save my Life, but Mr Mallet said so young as I was it would be a pitty to take of my Arme so long as there was the smallest probability of saving it and tho. I was then very much reduced and weakened yet he thought the day following I still might be able to undergo the operation if it should be then thought absolutely necessary, therefore thought it best to put it of another day which was agreed to. consiquently to him I am indebted for my Arme at this day,

## LISTER NARRATIVE

the day following the 10<sup>th</sup> of May when my Arme was examin'd, it was thought not to be in a much worse state than it had been the day before, tho. they thought me weakened much, and some rather wish'd they had put their resolution the preceeding day into execution but however it was then determined to lay it open to the Bone immediately, which was done and which operation gave me most ex-crutiating pain which was a circumstance I was then very well accustom'd to therefore bore it patiently there was then not much alteration with my Arm tho I kept growing weaker every day, till the 21<sup>st</sup> of May when my Arme was again laid open to the Bone in another place, the pain was not so acuit as the first time the faculty having taken the precaution to lay a stuit<sup>1</sup> upon it the Night before indeed I was then in so weak a state it was sup-

1. Did Lister intend to write "strut," a brace, or perhaps "stupe," a surgical dressing?



## LISTER NARRATIVE

pos'd I should not have been able to have undergone so painfull an operation as the first was, from this I found a good deal of ease and the Night following I got about an hours Sleep which refresh'd me much it was the first sleep I had had since I was Wounded, I still kept growing weaker and weaker till the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>d</sup> of June when it was with the utmost difficulty I could with the help of my servant get from the Bed a few Minuits till it was made, several of my Friends paid me a Visit who have since told me they took as they thought a final leave of me expecting to see me no more, amongst whom was my Surgeon who I told I believed I had got my last time out of Bed till I should be carried out, tho it was with difficulty I could speak, he gave me such an answer as is common for the faculty, it was absolutely the want of Victuals was the cause of my being in so weak a state, having before mentioned my diet, but how-

## LISTER NARRATIVE

ever M<sup>rs</sup> Miller my hostes prevaild with him to allow me to have a little pudding every day, I exceeded this privilidge a little by getting a very 'small morsel of Flesh Meat and instead of a Lemon squee's'd in a tumbler of Water I had a Spoonfull of Madeira Wine, after this change in my diet I begun to recover very fast in course of a Week I could bear out of Bed most of an hour a day and could walk tolerably over the Room several times, as I got strength I increas'd my new method of diet without saying any thing to the faculty, for a second Week when I could bear out of Bed most of the day. the 17<sup>th</sup> of June then happening when the Engagement at Buncars hill happened, M<sup>rs</sup> Thwait's and M<sup>rs</sup> Kelly of our Reg<sup>t</sup> din'd with me. L<sup>t</sup> Kelly was at the Engagement, L<sup>t</sup> Thwait's<sup>1</sup> was expected to go with the Battalian of our Reg<sup>t</sup> as a reinforcement that the situation of

1. George Thwait's.

## LISTER NARRATIVE

those two Ladies may easier be conceiv'd than express'd, in the afternoon seeing a great many of my acquaintance come in Wounded I could not avoid the rash step of going down to inquire the fate of the day, I soon heard L<sup>t</sup> Kelly was wounded and suppos'd Mortally, I was the sad messenger of the news to M<sup>rs</sup> Kelly, who for some time sat motionless with two small Children close by her. so soon as her grief gave the least vent she took her leave and went home to meet her Husband who was brought home scarcely alive, he after a long time recover'd again, M<sup>rs</sup> Thwaites soon after left me, from that time I walk'd out every day, tho desir'd not by the Surgeons, for fear of a relaps which they look'd upon as almost certain if I did not keep the House a little longer, but however I still persisted, till I was told a few days would put a period to my existance if I did not immediately confine myself to the House, I then beg'd for that

## LISTER NARRATIVE

day, and the day following I kept my Room the 19<sup>th</sup> of August begun to find myself not well and continued to grow worse and worse, so bad I could not keep up for some days my Arme begun to be in such a state it was thought it could not have been prevented from a Mortification after a Months confinement I was permitted to walk out again the 19<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> but not without the greatest precaution. I continued at Boston till the 16<sup>th</sup> of Dec<sup>r</sup> when I Embarck'd for England being appointed L<sup>t</sup> to the additional comp<sup>y</sup> consiquently ordered on the Recruiting Service, after a very disagreeable passage, being a Continual Storme and short of Provisions we arrivd at the Island of Scilly the 15<sup>th</sup> of Jan<sup>y</sup> 1776.

APPENDIX

QUEBEC Sep<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1774

HONOURED FATHER

APPENDIX

I am sorry to acquaint you, that I was this day, obliged to draw on the Agent, (Mess<sup>r</sup> Cox & Mair) for Twenty Guineas, which Sum, I hope you will Remit to the Agents, When I writ to you last, I did not think, I should have been obliged to draw, so soon for Money more than my pay, as I expected to have Wintered here, but to our great Misforton, after so long a March from the Upper Posts, here, and having just got settled in Quarters, arrived an Express from Boston, with orders, for the Tenth and Fifty Second Regiments, to Embark immediately, for Boston, on the arrival of Transports, which are on their way, for this plase, and Hourly expected.

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## APPENDIX

It is here reported, that the Bostonians had got a large Magazine of Powder in the Country a little way from Boston, which General Gage thought proper to send for, it being refused him, he sent a party of Soldiers to take it by force; which the Bostonians resisted, and drive back, with the loss of Six Men kild on each side, and that one Putnet,<sup>1</sup> who was formerly a Col<sup>l</sup>, in the New England Provintials, has sent General Gage a Chalenge to meet him, and fifty Thousand Men, but whether there has been an engagement or not, is not here known for Certain, some people seeme to think has, therefore to what lengths they intend to carry their Quarrel it is impossible to know, but I hope it will be setled amicably otherwise it will be a very disagreeable Service we are now going upon, but I hope they will be brought to some reasonable terms before next Summer. You will acquaint

1. Putnam?



## APPENDIX

Col<sup>l</sup> Faucitt<sup>r</sup> that I should have writ to him, to lett him know the Winter Quarters we are to have, had I time, but our Embarcation being hourly expected I have scarce a Minute to Mys<sup>e</sup>lf. You[r] next you may expect from Boston where I hope I shall have a little more time on my hands —

From Honoured Father with best respects to you and all Friends at Shibden Hall

Jeremy Lister

Saturday the 17<sup>th</sup> Instant there was a smart action on Charles Town Hill facing this Town and about a Mile and a halfe distance, where the Rebels had taken post, to dislodge them the Grenadiers and Light Infantry Companies supported by six Regiments attacked them Entrenched to their Chins flanked by strong redoubts,

1. William Faucitt, Captain and Lieut.-Colonel of the 3<sup>d</sup> Foot Guards.

## APPENDIX

carried them putting the Rebels to flight with great slughter and consternation, for further particulars refer you to what you may see in the publick papers, the fate of Battle fell hard to the share of the 52<sup>d</sup> Rgements Officers and men behaved remarkably well, and gained immortal Honour tho' with Considerable loss, as will be seen by the Killed and wounded return, The rest of the Army that had no share in the action the sailors on Board ships of War, and Transports were spectators as well as the Inhabitants from rising Ground Windows and the Tops of Houses beheld with astonishment True British Valour Saw the Rebels when forced from Cover run in a most Cowardly manner not daring to look behind, leaving Charles Town [in] Flames when Houses and their cover could no longer shelter them I have seen many actions but the solemn procession preparative to the last, in Embarking the Troops into the Boats

## APPENDIX

the order they Rowed a Cross the Harbour, their alertness in makeing good the Landing and Instantly forming in the front of the enemy and Marching on to action was a Grand and intristing sight to all concerned —

Let such as enquire after me know that I am in perfect good Health, & present them with my Compliments — I am with great Regard

Your most obedient & most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Val Jones <sup>1</sup>

BOSTON 19<sup>th</sup> June 1775

p.s. Ensign Lister is in good Spirits. his Wound recovers but Slowly, he is not only a good, but a brave young Soldier that deservedly merits Esteem — <sup>2</sup>

1. Lieut.-Colonel of the 52<sup>d</sup> Regiment.

2. This letter, which has been printed before, is here given complete, both because it is an eyewitness's account of the battle of Bunker Hill, and because it makes appreciative mention of Lister.

## APPENDIX

BOSTON June 24<sup>th</sup> 1775

HONOURED FATHER

Col<sup>l</sup> Smith having recommended me to Gen<sup>l</sup> Sandford<sup>r</sup> as a purchaser for the Quarter Mastership of our Reg<sup>t</sup> in case the Gen<sup>l</sup> has no object — to me, I hope you will be kind enough to advance the Money. I hope in a short time to recover the perfeck use of my hand, as I find it geting stronger every day, the recovery of my elbow will be a work of time, the Ball having pass'd through the joint. As my inability prevents me writing the particulars that has hpen'd here this Spring, I must refer you to the papers where I make no doubt you will have a true account of every thing that has hppened.

1. Edward Sanford, Colonel of the 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment, of which Francis Smith was Lieut.-Colonel.

## APPENDIX

remember me to relations & Friends  
I am your affectionate Son

Jer<sup>y</sup> Lister  
turn over

I rec<sup>d</sup> my Brothers Letter dated Feb<sup>y</sup> last  
& another dated two years ago

BOSTON July 15<sup>th</sup> 1775

HONOURED FATHER

It is with great pleasure, I can now acquaint you that my Arme is geting stronger every day tho the Wounds in my Elbow are not yeat healed up, and am affraid will not till the fall of the Year. I hope by next Summer, to have the perfect use of my Hand, but have given up all hopes of ever being able to bend my Elbow, as the joint was shattered all to pieces, there has been seven or Eight pieces of Bones taken out, and the Surgeons says, there will a good many more work out in a little time, two or three of the Bones taken out of my Arme are as

## APPENDIX

large as a large Hazelnut. When this comes to Hand, you will probably have heard of the Engagement, we have had with the rebels at Charles Town, the 17<sup>th</sup> of last Month, where we had only betwixt seventeen and Eighteen Hundred Men in Field, who drove rebels from a redout and Brest work, tho at a very great expence as we had about a Thousand Men, kild and Wounded, ninety of which was Officers, It is said the rebels had betwixt five and six Thousand Men, in the field and behind their works besides as many more, coming to reinforce them; but found they was about five Minuits too late; what Numbers the rebels lost we do not know, as we buried more of their Men than they say they had kild, and there was great numbers seen carryed of in Carts before they gave up their Redouts, and in their flite. We also burnt Charles Town to the ground, The rebels almost every Night keep firing at our Centuries, and

## APPENDIX

sometimes continue firing till eleven or Twelve O'Clock in the day, but at such a distance, they have not been able to do us any damage, except killing one Man. We know look upon ourselves as beseiged in Boston, as the Rebels have a Chain of Fortifications all round us, except towards the Sea, which is guarded by the Men of War in the Harbour. Col<sup>l</sup> Washington join'd the Rebels about a Week ago, with two Thousand Men all? from Virginia, and it is said Six Thousand Men is expected in about a fortnight from Pensilvania to reinforce the Rebels.

We are now reduced to live upon Salt pork and peas as fresh provisions are not to be got for Money. I had intended to have got leave of Absence, to go to England this Summer, the Surgeons of three Reg<sup>ts</sup> having given it as their opinion, I should not be fit for Service this Campaign but two Officers of the fifth Reg<sup>t</sup> (who are in the same situation as myself)

## APPENDIX

being refused lieve of absence, I gave up all hopes of seing England this year.

Our Quarter Master died about forth-night ago, therefore I am affraid Col<sup>l</sup> Smith recommendation of me to Gen<sup>l</sup> Sandford as a purchaser will be too late, and I have not the least hopes of geting that Commission for nothing.

I am now oldest Ensign in the Tenth Reg<sup>t</sup> and in all probability will be a Lieut<sup>f</sup> very soon, as the rebels are not yeat tired of fighting.

Pray give my best respects to my Grandfather, Brothers, Sisters, Uncle and Aunts —

From sir your most affectionate and ever dutiful Son

Jer<sup>y</sup> Lister



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