

Chit Chat Essay of May 9, 2017

By D. Warner North

Daniel Warner – Learning about My Namesake, Who Lived Two Centuries before Me

I arrived on March 12, 1941. My parents had no boy's name, as they were convinced I would be a girl. My parents each had three sisters and no brothers. I was a small baby with a low birth weight.

What to name me was not resolved for about six weeks. My grandfather on my mother's side offered a family heirloom if I would be named for an ancestor of his wife (my grandmother). The family heirloom was a powder horn from Daniel Warner, my five-times-great grandfather, dating from the French and Indian War.¹

The inscription on the powder horn reads: "Daniel Warner, Cape Briton, July 26, 1758." It also has some splendid folk art carving.

With the powder horn came a cardboard sign from an exhibit at a church near Glens Falls, New York, about 40 miles south of Fort Ticonderoga, at the south end of Lake Champlain. The text reads:

Daniel Warner Powder Horn

Daniel Warner, a 17 year old boy who marched by the site of this Church in May, 1758, Colonial War.

Serving in Abercrombie's Army, wounded at Ticonderoga July 7,
1758

Captured by the French and confined at Cape Briton till peace was declared between England and France.

This was the information available from my childhood. My grandfather died when I was seven.

¹ It is also called the Seven Years War. I use the American terminology.

A cousin,² and later, my mother, did research on the family tree, so I knew that Daniel Warner settled in Swanzey, New Hampshire, and his daughter Susanna married Abijah Whitcomb, siring a line of Whitcomb descendents leading through my grandmother, Ida Ewing Peters, to me. All lived in New Hampshire – Swanzey, and then Claremont, about forty miles north of Swanzey. Through records and pictures of gravestones, my mother established that, as a direct descendant of a man who fought in the Colonial Wars, she was entitled to membership in the Colonial Dames of America. This organization is similar to the Daughters of American Revolution, which it predates. Membership requires proof that an ancestor fought in a Colonial War or held public office in that period. (My mother lost interest in the Colonial Dames soon after she became a member.)

In recent years and with the advent of internet search and digitized historical records I decided I would like to learn more about my ancestor, Daniel Warner.

My first efforts located information from the New Hampshire militia records. Via some optically scanned receipts I found out Daniel Warner from Swanzey had joined the militia early in the Revolutionary War, and marched to Boston in the months preceding the Battle of Bunker Hill. I was not able to find any records of his military service in 1758 or his time as a prisoner of war, but I did find records of his service in the New Hampshire militia in 1775.

For this essay I accessed the full online text (nearly 600 pages!) of the *History of Swanzey* to find out what I could about his military service in the Revolutionary War and his life in Swanzey.³ Swanzey is located about thirty miles north of the Massachusetts border, on a tributary of the Connecticut River, the Ashuelot, flowing in from the east. Though first settled in 1734-38, the area was dangerous wilderness until the Indian attacks ceased by about 1762, at the end of the French and Indian War. In the years following there was a large increase in the population, “largely made up of young men who came and established permanent homes.”⁴ Daniel Warner was one of them. His name is not listed not among those attending what might have been the first town meeting in 1771, but records on the birth of his children suggest he came to Swanzey about 1767. He is listed as one of those settling in the town between 1762 and 1777.⁵

² Janet Wright, daughter-in-law of my mother’s sister, Gladys Peters (Wright) Griffin, and married to her son Jim Wright.

³ A genealogy and many references to Daniel Warner are found in the 1893 *History of Swanzey*, reference 1. The genealogy is on page 481. This entry lists Daniel Warner’s birth year as 1741 and his date of death as May 9, 1805.

⁴ *History of Swanzey*, p. 63.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 64. The five sons of Joseph Whitcomb are also listed. So is John Rugg, who is probably Susanna’s brother.

On Oct 30, 1765 Daniel Warner married Susanna Rugg.⁶ Ten years later in 1775 they had four living children.⁷ The youngest was born April 19 - the day of the "Incidents"⁸ at Lexington and Concord! Two days later on April 21, Lieutenant Daniel Warner marched to Cambridge near Boston with a militia company from Swanzey, commanded by Captain Joseph Hammond, in the run-up to the Battle of Bunker Hill, which took place nearly two months later, on June 17, 1775.

The Whitcomb family were among the town's leaders and had the ability to recruit multiple companies of soldiers in the militia, with the father and older sons as officers.⁹ The fifth Whitcomb son, Abijah, born in 1751, was an enlisted soldier in Captain Hammond's company. He is of special interest, because sixteen years later he married Daniel Warner's daughter Susanna. He lived until 1847, attaining the age of 96. He is my direct ancestor.¹⁰

A story from the *Whitcomb Family History* (ref. 9) illustrates what could happen with officers and enlisted men from the same family serving together in the colonial militia.

While our great-grandfather (Col. Jonathan Whitcomb) was at Cambridge, Mass., in 1775, he (Col. Jonathan) was entertaining some of his military friends, and spoke to his brother Abijah to bring in some rum. Abijah, being the only one of the five brothers without a commission, felt the slight keenly of Col. Jonathan not introducing him to the officers, thinking, naturally enough, that it was some honor to be a brother of a

⁶ Rugg is another common surname in Lancaster, going back to its early history. Susanna's father was John Rugg, 1705-1790, born and passed away in Lancaster. His father was Daniel Rugg, 1675-1758, also born and passed away in Lancaster. Ancestry.com has a lengthy list of the many children (as many as 12!) in their families. Reference 2, p. 13, has the record of the marriage of John Rugg, 1635-1695 to Hannah Prescott, 1638-1697, on May 4, 1660. John Rugg was born in Lancashire, England. Hannah Prescott was born in Barbados, and her father, Ralph Prescott was from Lancashire, England, born in May, 1604.

⁷ Daniel Warner's children are: 1. Susanna, born Aug. 19, 1766, who married Abijah Whitcomb on Feb. 6, 1791 (his second marriage). She died Dec. 10, 1825. 2. Daniel Warner, born Oct. 12, 1767 and died in Feb., 1803. 3. Lucy, born May 7, 1769, later married to John Reed. She died in 1846. 4. Abel, born Oct 21, 1773 and died March 22, 1796, 5. Philemon, born April 19, 1775 and died Aug. 10, 1777. 6. Anna was born Mar. 26, 1777 and later married to Joseph Kimball. (Source: *History of Swanzey*, p. 481. Most of these check with the entries on Ancestry.com.)

⁸ One of my Chit Chat colleagues, Alan Jones, of British origin, has persuaded me to use this term rather than "battles."

⁹ Captain Joseph Whitcomb, 1706 (or 1700) -1792; Captain (later Col.) Jonathan P. Whitcomb, 1739-1792; Lieutenant Elisha Whitcomb, 1742-1814, Philemon Whitcomb, 1752-1824. Elisha Whitcomb continued in the militia and was a Lieut. Col. in 1796. (Ibid., p. 146.) Philemon Whitcomb was a major general in 1810. See Appendix 2 for Whitcomb genealogy.

¹⁰ The line to me is Abijah Whitcomb, Jr., 1791-1872, who moved from Swanzey to Claremont NH; Benjamin Franklin Whitcomb, born in Swanzey, 1820-1907, Clinta Whitcomb, 1851-1928, married to David Ewing, 1851-1877, an Irish immigrant who died in an accident at a woolen mill. Their daughter Ida Ewing Peters, 1876-1961, was born in Claremont. She married Charles V. Peters, 1874-1948. They had four daughters, the youngest of whom was my mother, Margaret Peters North, 1910-2013. My candidate name, had I been born female, was Nancy Nichols, the name of Benjamin Franklin Whitcomb's wife. Her dates are 1826-1892. She was my grandmother's grandmother.

commissioned officer, so he bawled out: "Which will you have, brother Jonathan, Old England or New England?"¹¹

The *History of Swanzey* notes that "Nearly all the men in the town rendered some sort of military service for the revolutionary cause during the years 1775-76-77. Men that were too old for military service and had the means hired men for the army or loaned to the town to enable it to hire soldiers."¹² Daniel Warner returned to his family in Swanzey after ten days, well before the Battle of Bunker Hill, and paid a soldier to take his place. Abijah Whitcomb stayed on and fought in the Battle of Bunker Hill. So did two of his brothers, Jonathan and Elisha.¹³

Daniel Warner's superior officer, Capt. Joseph Hammond, had, like Daniel Warner, returned to Swanzey on June 17, the day of the battle. A delightful poem on Capt. Hammond's hurried ride to check on his son is attached as Appendix 1.

On December 18, 1775, the *History* records a town meeting vote: "... that it is the opinion of this town that [Lt.] Col. Joseph Hammond, Maj. Elisha Whitcomb, Capt. Joseph Whitcomb, Jr., Capt. Jonathan Whitcomb, Mr. Thomas Hammond, Mr. Benjamin Brown, and Lieut. Daniel Warner be chosen a Committee of Safety agreeable to the advice of the Continental Congress, and we acknowledge them a Committee of Safety for this town, and we approve of what they have acted in that capacity."¹⁴

Daniel Warner's military service also included a march to the area near Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain: "On the evening of the 2nd day of May 1777, dispatches were received that the garrison at Ticonderoga was in danger of being taken by the enemy:" the British army under General Burgoyne. "The militia was called to march at once, and responded with alacrity." But: "Ticonderoga was evacuated before they had time to get there, and they returned in about thirteen days." The men from Swanzey were led by Lt. Col. Joseph Hammond, with Lieut. Daniel Warner among them.¹⁵

On March 4, 1777 a new Committee of Safety replaced the old one, and Daniel Warner no longer served on it. The *History* goes on to say, "The Committee of Safety was composed of some of the most influential and enterprising men of the town, and to them were confided

¹¹ *Whitcomb Family History*, Ref. 9, page 403. The interaction of officers and enlisted men in the militia is a theme explored in ref. 8.

¹² *History of Swanzey*, p. 65.

¹³ *Whitcomb Family History*, Ref. 9, p. 411-13.

¹⁴ *History of Swanzey*, p. 66.

¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 111. "Of all the Swanzey men who took an active part in the Revolutionary cause, Lieut. Col. Joseph Hammond may be properly considered as having held the most prominent rank." He retired from military service in 1779. *Ibid*, p. 116-117. See also p. 144-45.

matters of great public interest.¹⁶ Also in 1777, Daniel Warner became a deacon of the Congregational Church.¹⁷ And beginning in 1772 Daniel Warner was part of a process that apportioned the town into school districts and raised money for the schools.¹⁸ In 1772, 1774, and 1779 he was one of three Selectmen, the town officers.¹⁹ He was Town Treasurer in 1783.²⁰ He was clearly “a prominent man in the early history of the town.”²¹

On February 16, 1778 there was a “legal town meeting” to choose a committee of seven men to receive the accounts of those who served or procured a substitute in the war, and to apportion payment. Chosen for this Committee were Captain Joseph Whitcomb, Captain Jonathan Whitcomb, and Lieut. Daniel Warner. The committee reported back on February 23, with a lengthy list of the men and their proposed payments, which were subsequently approved.²²

Daniel Warner’s listing is for 10 days at Cambridge, 1775, 12 days to Lake Champlain (Otter Creek), and 9 months “in Continental service by hire.” His future son-in-law Abijah Whitcomb is listed for “8 months at Cambridge, 1775.”²³

The *History* notes that farming was the main occupation in Swanzey. “In 1800 many of the farms were large and productive and the owners in affluent circumstances. Large houses had been built and were surrounded by commodious buildings.”²⁴ With his daughter Susanna married to Abijah, a member of the prominent Whitcomb family and wealthy from his land holdings and his work with his father, building a grist mill and a saw mill,²⁵ Daniel Warner had much cause to be happy. He lived another 14 years, enjoying his three grandchildren from Abijah and Susanna.

I will add a more information on my relationship to this geographical area. I regret that I have never visited Swanzey, but after returning east from California in 1954, I spent three years at Deerfield Academy in the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts, on a tributary flowing from the west into the Connecticut River. In the early eighteenth century Deerfield was the westernmost frontier settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and today much of this historic town is preserved as a museum. The farm houses from Deerfield match the description

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 66.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 159.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 185-87, 189.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 211.

²⁰ Ibid, 213.

²¹ Ibid, p. 564.

²² Ibid., p. 118.

²³ It was 8 months for Jonathan Whitcomb, and may have been 8 ½ months for Abijah. Ibid., p. 122; Ref 9, p. 414.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 80.

²⁵ Abijah married Susanna in 1791, two years after Abijah’s first wife (Mary Seaver) died. Abijah may have then taken over managing Daniel Warner’s farm. “Dea. Daniel Warner lived about midway between V. I. Marcy and A.G. Read places.” Ref. 1, p. 564. There is a reference to “Deacon Warner’s place” as where Abijah moved after the “exchange“(mill interest for farm) with his brother Philomen; Ibid., p. 566.

in the *History of Swanzey* – and most are relatively unchanged since the 18th century. One of the Deerfield museums has a fine collection of powder horns, many much more elaborate than the one I inherited. Artisans often carved and decorated powder horns for soldiers in need of one.

I also have a connection to Ticonderoga, NY. During the summers of 1952-1954 I attended Camp Dudley, the nation's oldest YMCA camp for boys,²⁶ in Westport-on-Lake Champlain, which is about 30 miles north from the town and fort at Ticonderoga. Later I spend several summers in Schroon Lake, about 20 miles west of Ticonderoga, at a summer training program for singers.²⁷ The main business for the town of Ticonderoga in the 19th century was making pencils.²⁸ I have visited the abandoned mine that was the source of the graphite for pencil lead. And I have visited "Fort Ti" many times, and in my youth, saw the 1953 3-D movie of that title.²⁹ On my last visit I spent an afternoon with a historian at the Fort Ticonderoga Library, trying to find records of my ancestor Daniel Warner's military service in 1758-1760. I resolved I would try again later when I could spend a good deal more time.

I needed more information on Daniel Warner's youth and parentage. A friend³⁰ with an interest in genealogy helped me with a bit of crucial information: Daniel Warner, the Whitcombs, and the Ruggs, Daniel's wife's family, had come from Lancaster, Massachusetts.

Let me summarize the new information: First, Daniel Warner's age given on the cardboard display sign seems to be wrong by a year. The record shows he was born April 2, 1742, not in 1741. Second, his birthplace was Lancaster, Massachusetts, north of Worcester, about fifty miles west of Boston. Lancaster was once part of Leominster, a few miles further north. Daniel Warner married Susanna Rugg, 1742-1796.³¹ She was born in Lancaster. Daniel's father is listed

²⁶ <https://campdudley.org/dudley/>.

²⁷ The Seagle Music Colony <https://seaglecolony.org/> was founded by my great uncle, Oscar Seagle, in 1915. I was a student there in the summers of 1959 and 1960. I attended its 100th Anniversary in 2015.

²⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dixon_Ticonderoga_Company.

²⁹ <http://www.essexonlakechamplain.com/entertainment/fort-ticonderoga-the-movie/>;
<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0045784/>

³⁰ Thank you, John MacAllister, long-time friend.

³¹ Susannah is the daughter of John Rugg, who was born in Lancaster, Mass in 1705 and lived to 1790, passing away in Lancaster. John Rugg had a son named John Rugg, born July 10, 1749, death date presently unknown to Ancestry.com The name John Rugg appears in the *History of Swanzey* in the military records, and I find a record of his birth on p. 74 of the *Lancaster Register*, Ref 2. The name John Rugg also appears in the *Annals*, p. 66. The *History* listing on page p. 122 suggests that this presumed brother-in-law of Daniel Warner died while on military duty in Canada, as the town of Swanzey in 1778 gave a cash settlement to his heirs for 12 days in the militia in Cambridge and 10 months in the army to Canada, 1776. Ref. 1, p. 122.

as John Warner, born 1716, and his mother Hannah, born 1720. Death dates for both and Hannah's maiden name and place of birth are unknown.³²

I decided to look up John Warner in the *Military Annals of Lancaster*, reference 3. I found him and his history, including his death in 1745.

John Warner, Joseph Whitcomb,³³ and William Hutchins were fellow officers of the Fourth Regiment, about 500 men, under Colonel Samuel Willard. These three officers from Lancaster participated in the Siege of Louisbourg, in King George's War, between England and France in 1744-1749.

Louisbourg was a massive fortress built on Cape Breton Island, which the French called Île-Royale³⁴ (see maps). Located northeast of Nova Scotia, it commanded both the access to the French settlements up the Saint Lawrence River and to the cod fishery and shipping lanes vital to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Under leadership from William Shirley, who served as Governor of Massachusetts from 1741 to 1757, men from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire were assembled to lay siege to Louisbourg. The expedition sailed from Boston March 24, 1745 and the siege took place from April 13 to June 17, 1745. Quoting from the *Annals*,³⁵

...less than four thousand men, unused to war, undisciplined, and that had never seen a siege in their lives, landed on a dangerous coast in the face of the enemy, with Herculean labor dragged siege guns over rocky hills and through morasses, girt the fortifications about with batteries, and by sheer audacity compelled surrender on the seventeenth of June, 1745 — the day made yet more memorable in the calendar thirty years later at Bunker Hill. The English admiral, Peter Warren, was present with his fleet to claim large share in the honors, and grasp all the prizes of victory, but he did not fire a gun during the siege, and the real glory of the wondrous achievement belonged to the men of New England.

³² During the early preparation of this essay I tried searching on my cell phone for "Daniel Warner, 1742-1805, Swanzey NH." To my surprise ancestry.com came up, with the family tree, from John Warner, Daniel's father, down through to my grandparents. I signed up from a trial membership in late April and have used it extensively in preparing this essay. But it did not give me all I sought. I learned more from references 2 and 3. I have not yet found Daniel's mother Han[n]ah in ref. 2 excepting in the birth record for Daniel Warner on p. 68. Page 38 has the declaration of intent to marry of Daniel Warner and Susannah Rugg, on March 20, 1765. Their marriage followed in October. Susanna Warner was born in Lancaster on Aug 19, 1766. The next child, Daniel Warner, Jr., was born in Swanzey in 1768. The family's move to Swanzey was therefore about 1767.

³³ This was the same Joseph Whitcomb who moved to Swanzey about 1760. Joseph Whitcomb had fought earlier alongside William Hutchins in 1725. John Warner lacked this previous experience. *Annals*, reference 3, p. 18.

³⁴ Maps showing the location of the Louisbourg Fortress and the campaign in 1745 can be found at i1.wp.com/militaryhistorynow.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Screen-Shot2016-01-03-at-7.28.12-PM.png and www.emersonkent.com/images/siege_of_louisbourg.jpg.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

Captain John Warner participated in this successful siege of Louisbourg and then died there in fall of 1745, leaving Daniel Warner in Lancaster at age 3 without a living father.³⁶ A letter to Governor Shirley from the commanding officer of the 4th Regiment, Abijah Willard, asks for his help going home. "Grant me the favor of going home with my father and also John Warner, son of Capt. John Warner who died in the place about a month ago. He is a lad of about twelve years of age."³⁷ Abijah Willard, age 21, son of Col. Samuel Willard, had been promoted to captain-lieutenant of the first company on July 31, shortly after the French surrender. The date of the letter appears to be Oct 12, 1745. Governor Shirley wrote back, granting the request.³⁸

The Louisbourg fortress was returned to the French as a provision of the 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Imagine the disappointment to the men who fought this engagement - and the heirs of those who died there!

Daniel Warner no doubt grew up knowing that his father was a military hero who had helped win the great victory at Louisbourg - "Cape Briton" for British and Colonials! - over the French in 1745. His mother Hannah probably remarried, but I have not been able to locate any record of it. Daniel Warner probably heard a great deal about his father's example, and about the need for Colonials to take the initiative and protect the Massachusetts Bay Colony from the French.

Now let us turn to July, 1758, thirteen years later. Daniel Warner would be sixteen, and we might expect he is still living in Lancaster. I shall now describe what happened at the Battle of Ticonderoga (called Carillon by the French).

The previous year, 1757, the French had come down through Lake Champlain and successfully besieged Fort William Henry on Lake George, taking control of this route connecting the St. Lawrence River Valley to the Hudson River Valley, and threatening Albany. (James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans: A Narrative of 1757* provides a fictionalized account). In the spring of 1758 the British assembled a large army to retake this important corridor. A poor harvest and fear of the English Royal Navy caused the French to have a much smaller force to defend the fortification they had built in 1755, to protect the strategic portage, where a river from Lake George drains into the south end of Lake Champlain. General Abercrombie's Army, camped on Lake George, had 15,000 men, the largest military force deployed in North America

³⁶ "The rigors of the climate and the toil of the siege told severely on the hearty yeomen of New England, and he victims of disease far outnumbered the killed and wounded. Among those who died in hospital was Captain John Warner." *Ibid.*, p. 22.

³⁷ I presume this John Warner to be an older brother of Daniel Warner, and his birth year is presumably about 1732 to 1734. His father would have been about 17 when he was born. My search of ancestry.com and the *Register*, ref. 2, has turned up no birth record of a John Warner sibling for Daniel Warner in Lancaster. A John Warner shows up in the *Annals*, p. 27, as a soldier defending against Indian raids in July 1748. *Annals*, p. 27. Extensive entries for a John and Prudence Warner and their many children are in the *Lancaster Register*.

³⁸ *Annals*, p. 22.

up to that time. It included 6,000 regulars, plus provincial militias from Massachusetts (7,000 men in 24 regiments!) and three other colonies, plus Native American allies. Perhaps the large contingent from Massachusetts included young Daniel Warner. But I have not found his name listed among the many soldiers from Lancaster.³⁹

The French under the Marquis de Montcalm had only 3,600 men. But they used the short time after their arrival June 30 to erect fortifications – felled trees with sharpened branches pointed downhill on the hill between the portage and the Fort.

On July 5 the large British force embarked by boat from their camp near the remains of Fort William Henry to the north end of Lake George, about thirty miles. They landed unopposed on July 6. Brigadier General Lord Howe, an experienced and savvy commander, led an advance party up the portage route from Lake George. “A column of Massachusetts provincials” cut off retreat for a French patrol, with desperate fighting among several hundred on each side. Unfortunately for the British, General Howe was hit by a musket ball early in the engagement and died instantly.

General Abercrombie was an elderly, obese man who held his position from family influence. He ordered a reconnaissance of the French position on July 7. The result of the reconnaissance was a military disaster on July 8. Abercrombie, far back from the battle area, ordered a frontal attack up the hillside the French had fortified with sharpened stakes and fallen trees. The advancing troops fought with muskets, with no support from artillery. The French inflicted massive casualties on those who managed to scale over the obstacles. Military historians have described this battle, the bloodiest of the war, as a classic example of tactical military incompetence. One wrote, “no military campaign was ever launched on American soil that involved a greater number of errors of judgment on the part of those in positions of responsibility.”⁴⁰ The British took 2,000 casualties, especially among the 42nd Regiment, the “Black Watch,” and retreated back down Lake George in disarray and humiliation. Abercrombie, referred to as a “military imbecile” and “Mrs. Nabby Crobie” in the *Annals*, never

³⁹ John Whitcomb, a Lt. colonel, and his brother led a company of 98, 36 credited to Lancaster, 26 to Bolton, and 13 to Shrewsbury. Their service was March to December 1758. *Annals*, p. 65. A Silas Warner is also mentioned, *Annals*, p. 66. . (There are few Warners, as opposed to Whitcombs and Ruggs, in Ref 2 and 3, the *Registry* and *Annals* from Lancaster.) In the regiment of Col. Timothy Ruggles was Captain Joseph Whitcomb of Lancaster. Joseph Whitcomb, Jr. is also listed. They are Abijah’s father and brother, respectively. This regiment is listed in the *Annals* during the time of the Battle of Ticonderoga as a rear guard at the saw mills, and then in rebuilding and improving the military roads between Saratoga and Albany, *Annals*, p. 67. In Col. Willard’s regiment, April-December 1759, a John Warner shows up as a “sergt.” serving under Lieut. Thomas Beaman. ” *Annals*, p. 77. In September 1759 Thomas Beaman is promoted to the command of the company, and John Warner is promoted to be Ensign in the company of Captain Elijah Smith. *Annals*, p. 77, further down.

⁴⁰ Lawrence Henry Gilson is the source quoted in the Wikipedia entry from which I have drawn this description of the battle: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Carillon.

led another military campaign. He was replaced by Lord Jeffrey Amherst, who arrived in the area in October, 1758.

What was Lord Jeffrey Amherst doing in July 1758? He was leading a British/Colonial army and fleet laying siege to the fortress at Louisbourg, thirteen years after British diplomats had given it back to the French. The French forces surrendered to him on July 26, 1758 -- the date on Daniel Warner's powder horn!

The date on the powder horn, July 26, and the text and date of July 7 on the cardboard sign had led me to believe, all my life, that Daniel Warner had a long and dreary confinement in prison at "Cape Briton" – presumably the fortress on Cape Breton Island, north of Nova Scotia. But the date carved on the powder horn is the date this fortress fell to the British in the second siege, after Daniel Warner's father played a role taking it in 1745!

I conclude the date on the powder horn celebrates the 1758 victory at Cape Breton, with the surrender of the French Fleet and more than 6,000 men. The British then were in position to overcome the remaining French forces in the Maritime Provinces and go on to conquer French Canada. General Amherst came to New York in October of 1758, and led an army occupying Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1759. In 1760 the campaign resumed. The *Annals* list many men from Lancaster who were involved. Daniel Warner name is not among them until the renewal of the campaign in the spring of 1760. His name is listed in a company⁴¹ that served from April to December under the command of Colonel Abijah Willard, the same man who had arranged to take young John Warner home from Louisbourg after his father, Captain John Warner, died there in a hospital in 1745.⁴²

Daniel Warner would have taken part in this 1760 campaign, going up Lake Champlain on foot or by boat toward Montreal with his powder horn as part of his military equipment. Montreal fell to the British army in September on September 8, 1760, a conclusive victory for one superpower, the British, over another, the French!

Also In 1760, British engineers reduced the Louisbourg Fortress to rubble. The British - and the Colonials in Massachusetts - did not want to have to take Louisbourg again. Bu this time the

⁴¹ *Annals*, page 80: "The Lancaster soldiers of Captain Beaman's company were: Captain Thomas Beaman, and Lieut. Sherebiah Hunt, and Sergt. Daniel Warner."

⁴² Abijah Willard of Lancaster had a fascinating career, including the siege of Louisbourg in 1745 (see previous note), the 1759-1760 campaign at Fort Edward and Lake George, and the 1760 campaign up Lake Champlain to capture Montreal as part of the force under Brig. Gen. William Haviland's command. In the Revolutionary War he was a Tory. He settled after the war in Canada. See references 4 and 5. About November 1st, 1759, about two hundred soldiers under Col. Abijah Willard decided to return home after their term of service had ended. In spite of efforts by their offices to keep them on duty at Fort Ticonderoga, they left and walked back to their homes in Massachusetts. See Ref 7, p. 191-3 and 253.

British did not give it back to France, as part of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 that ended the Seven Years War, of which the French and Indian War was the North American portion.

Might Daniel Warner have been at Ticonderoga in July 1758? I tend to doubt it. But how did he suddenly become a “Sergt” in 1760? Did he have prior military experience that is not evident in the *Annals*? Was it because he had an experienced older brother, John Warner, or a long-standing close relationship to Colonel Abijah Willard? Even if Daniel Warner had been in the debacle at Ticonderoga July 5-8, 1758, he might have preferred to have his powder horn reflect the glorious victory on July 26 at “Cape Briton” – a duplication of the triumph of his father’s time, 1745.

Might he have participated in the second siege of Louisbourg in 1758? That seems unlikely, as the *Annals* do not mention participation by Massachusetts men, but rather that this assault was done by British naval and land forces, including 500 men from Rogers Rangers.⁴³

It appears that much of what my grandfather put on the cardboard sign is wrong. The date and the words “Cape Briton” have other significance. I have found no evidence that Daniel Warner was present at the Battle of Ticonderoga, that he was wounded, or that he was ever taken prisoner. But “absence of evidence” is not “evidence of absence.” There may be more to learn.

Why do I go by the name, Warner? I had an older cousin named Daniel.⁴⁴ As I lost my childhood nickname “Nipper,” (same as the dog listening to “his master’s voice” on RCA Victor/EMI ⁴⁵) I chose to be called by my middle name, preferring a New England patriot over “man’s best friend.”

In the last several years, thanks to internet and help from some friends, I have investigated further the life of the ancestor for whom I am named – and I have reflected on differences between his lifetime experience and mine.

Daniel Warner carried on a dream from his father, of earning freedom from oppression and fear. He helped create a local community that started as little more than wilderness, and he helped it become a prosperous town. He knew his neighbors, and he was an exemplary citizen and community leader.

⁴³ *Annals*, p. 64. See also the Siege of Louisbourg Wiki (1758), reference 6. Rogers Rangers were an elite group that fought at both the Siege of Louisbourg and the Battle of Ticonderoga. They came primarily from New Hampshire and Vermont. It seems unlikely that Daniel Warner at age 16 from Lancaster would have served in this elite ranger unit instead of in the militia. If he had done so, why would he not have continued with Rogers Rangers in 1760?

⁴⁴ Dan Griffin, stepson of Gladys Peters Wright Griffin. He was a career pilot with the U.S. Air Force: During the Nixon Administration he flew Air Force Two. He had first claim on the names Dan and Daniel.

⁴⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/His_Master%27s_Voice.

I, Daniel Warner North, never had to march into physical combat with French, Indians, British regulars, or anyone else. I received a military deferment to study science and math. That has enabled me to fight against ignorance and inept decision making – intellectual endeavors without privation and physical danger. I have helped to create an international intellectual community in risk and decision analysis, which is not local but national and international. I know few of my neighbors, and my friends and colleagues are dispersed across the Bay Area, the nation, and the world.⁴⁶

I hope if we two meet in a life to come, we can share the pride in our accomplishments, and those of our fathers, our mothers, and the others in our shared family history.

Daniel Warner, my namesake, I salute you and your memory. And I thank the Chit Chat Club for the motivation to research and write this essay.

⁴⁶ A profile on my career in risk and decision analysis was published in the journal *Risk Analysis*, 37(3):402-407, March 2017.

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2. *The Birth, Marriage, and Death Register: Church Records and Epitaphs of Lancaster, Massachusetts, 1643-1850*. Edited by Henry S. Nourse, Clinton, Mass. W.J. Coulter, Printer, Courant Office, 1890. Abbreviated as *Register*. Full text available online at: www.mesarfhc.org/books/Lancaster,%20MA%201643-1850/974.43-L3%20V2b.pdf.
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7. Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years War*, University of North Carolina Press, 1984. (This book has many first-person accounts of soldiers' experiences, including in the Battle of Ticonderoga, and a good description of the differences between the regular British Army and the Massachusetts Colonial Militias.)
8. *Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military commander in America, 1731-1760*. National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Macmillan Co, 1912. Full text available (free) on Google books. https://books.google.com/books/about/Correspondence_of_William_Shirley.html?id=5

[XIOAAAYAAJ](#). These letters provide extensive background on the 1745 campaign against Louisbourg. It is clear from this correspondence that Louisbourg was used for British and Colonial prisoners of war prior to 1745. See p. 161-204 and following. (Page numbers are from Google copy, not original.) The campaign is described, p. 204-252, and p. 277-283 is an account written by Gov. Shirley in October after his visit to Louisbourg. The correspondence concerning Captain John Warner and his son John in the Lancaster *Annals* (ref. 2) is not in this volume, which contains mainly letters to and from senior officials in England and the Colonies.

9. *The Whitcomb Family in America: a biographical genealogy with a chapter on our English forbears "by the name of Whetcombe"*, by Charlotte Whitcomb, 1904. Full text is online at:

https://archive.org/stream/whitcombfamilyin00whit/whitcombfamilyin00whit_djvu.txt.

Appendix 1

The Poem about Col. Joseph Hammond's Ride to Boston after the Battle of Bunker Hill.

It is claimed that he started in the morning and rode through the day, a distance of about ninety miles, and returned the next day. (Source: *History of Swanzey*, p. 106-108.)

His son Joseph Hammond, Jr. enlisted or reenlisted through the winter of 1775-76.⁴⁷

"Says old Colonel Hammond I'd like to know
The fate on the morrow of my son Joe;
I learn by the herald that rode by to-night
The unwelcome news of the Bunker Hill fight.
Nor doubt I a moment my son Joe was there
In fighting our foe men to fight his full share;
And I have resolved and approved of the plan,
To go on the morrow and learn what I can.

So wife in the morning the breakfast prepare,
While I catch and curry the old red mare.
Till then let us sleep, 'tis needful we rest,
And dream what we may. We will hope for the best.
The Colonel rose early and early prepared
To start on his journey as he had declared;
And soon in the door-yard the old mare was tied,
All saddled, all bridled, all fit for a ride.

The Colonel's cocked hat he pat on his head,
His spurs on the heels of his boots, as he said.
Wife, now my blue coat and my doublet of buff,
And I shall be rigged for the ride well enough.
The sun got up some minutes before
The Colonel was ready to step from the door,
And say to his lady good morn or good bye,
Then thinking of Joseph a tear in her eye,
He reached for the bridle when started the mare,

⁴⁷ *History of Swanzey*, p. 108. He is later listed as a school teacher in Swanzey. *History*, p. 195. He later served as town clerk (*Ibid.*, p. 209), and in partnership with Everson Cook, built the hotel on the west side of the river in 1840.

And snorted, the Colonel looked so militaire;
He patted her neck as he stood by her side,
To calm her a wee ere he got up to ride.
Then sprang to the saddle w'thout further delay,
And like a knight errant he galloped away.

From Swanzey, New Hampshire, thro' Fitzwilliam sped,
Swift strode the red mare and strong was her tread,
And onward and onward and onward she pressed,
No sign that she was weary that she required rest.
Tho' sweltering the heat, and oppressive the dust,
She turned not; she stopped not to half quench her thirst.

And ere Sol his car to the zenith had run.
The Colonel's long journey was more than half done;
When looking ahead, lo! the Colonel espied
An inn-stand, inviting, close by the road side;
To this he reined up for a little respite,
And called for refreshments as would a bold knight;
'Some oats for my mare, and a drink at the spring
And as for myself, I'll a bumper of sling!'
(For all liquored up in those days, you will find,
To strengthen their courage and cheer up the mind.)

But short was his tarry, and proud of her load.
The old mare was prancing along the high-road;
On! on through old Concord she gallantly sped,
And onward she galloped through Lexington's town,
A place on the road of fame and renown,
And drew up at Charlestown, at Bunker Hill's side.
Before it was sunset, where ended his ride.

And glad was the Colonel when Joseph he found.
His limbs and his wind and his body all sound.
And early next morning the red mare was seen
Her head up, her tail up, just leaving the green;

Her strength like an engine with fleetness combined;
(The Colonel on forward and Joe on behind)
So lightly she cantered and turned up the road.
Not caring a 'flip' for the weight of the load.

She started for home with the Colonel and son.
And ere it was sundown her day's work was done.
And how felt the mother when meeting with Joe,
There's none but a mother can feel or can know;
And what think ye, reader, hadn't we here
As goodly' a rider as Paul Revere?"

(The reader might wish to compare to *Paul Revere's Ride*, by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1807-1882)

<https://www.poets.org/poetsorg/poem/paul-reveres-ride>

Appendix 2

Whitcomb Genealogy

This is a summary from Refs 1, 2, and 9, the Whitcomb Family History, plus ancestry.com. There are thousands of Whitcombs, and Whitcombs were one of the principal families, first in Lancaster and then in Swanzey. Keeping them straight is not easy. I have done my best to give a consistent record down to father Joseph, Abijah, and his four brothers, and their activities in the latter portion of Daniel Warner's life. See footnote 10 for my lineage from Abijah, Daniel Warner's son-in-law. The Lancaster Whitcombs (sometimes Whetcombe in early records, especially in England) are descended from John Whitcomb 1559-1597 of Dorchester, England. His son John Whitcomb, born in Taunton, England 1587, settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts, 1632, and died in Lancaster in 1662. His son Josiah, born in Dorchester 1637-1683 (born 1638 according to Ref. 9, p. 27 and 395) was father to David Whitcomb, born 1671 in Lancaster and passed away 1730 in Concord. David died intestate without surviving records, but Ref. 9 has evidence (p. 399) that he was father to Joseph (sometimes referred to as Josiah) Whitcomb, 1706-1792, from Lancaster (Ref 9, p. 399, states his birth year as 1700). Joseph married Damaris Priest, 1702-1770, on Jan 20, 1725. (Ref.3, p. 19) They were early settlers in Swanzey, beginning about 1760 to 1762. (*History of Swanzey*, Ref. 1, p. 222.) Joseph Whitcomb of Lancaster shows up as a Captain for the Crown Point Expedition, 1755. *Annals*, Ref. 3, p. 36. The children of Joseph and Damaris included Joseph Whitcomb, Jr., Jonathan Whitcomb, Elisha Whitcomb, Philemon Whitcomb, and Abijah Whitcomb. All these sons were born in Lancaster or Leominster, Massachusetts. Joseph Whitcomb and his son Joseph, Jr. were involved in building a saw mill and a grist mill starting about 1760. Joseph the father is referred to as Captain while the son is referred to as a "prominent businessman." (Ref. 1, p. 222.) Joseph Jr. later moved to Grafton, Vt. (Ref. 1, p. 8; 565-6.) Abijah Whitcomb helped his father build a grist mill on the west side of the river in 1771. Abijah received a one-half share on March 3, 1788, before he married

Susanna Warner. His brother Philomen bought the grist mill from Captain Joseph Whitcomb and Abijah in 1790. Ibid. p. 222. Captain Joseph and Abijah may have started to build a saw mill as well, and they bought hundreds of acres of land in 1770-1773. Ibid, p. 223. The mill properties went to Philomen in 1790. Ibid, p. 224.

