

SARA: 009
CRBIB # 012936
374 / 133062

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Narrative Report

for

March, April and May

of

F. F. Wilshin
Junior Historical Technician

June 10, 1941

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Introduction

Introduction

In accordance with a previously established policy an appendix has been added to the monthly reports of March, April and May covering the research in the New England Libraries during the period of March 25 - April 9 inclusive. Thus presented the report serves as a permanent record, readily available for reference, and useful as a guide to the acquisition of source material.

Review of Research Procedure

Unlike the Civil War areas, the Revolutionary areas have no such storehouse of published primary source material as is found in the numerous volumes of the War of the Rebellion Records. Research therefore in Revolutionary areas must of necessity cover very widely scattered fields. The application of the policy of exhaustive historical and archaeological research, however, would seem to furnish the only sound policy upon which the development of this area should be based.

Fortunately at Saratoga means have been available to permit a systematic approach to the location and acquisition of primary source material. So far examination has been made of the Burgoyne material in the following libraries: The Library of Congress and the U. S. Signal Corps, Washington, D. C.; The New York Historical Society and the New York Public Library, New York, N. Y.; the W. L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.; the Burton Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan; West Point Military Academy, West Point, N. Y.; the Newburgh Historical Museum, Newburgh, New York; the Bennington Historical Museum, Bennington, Vermont; the Department of Archives and History, Albany, N. Y.; Fort Ticonderoga Museum, Fort Ticonderoga, N. Y.; the American Antiquarian Society and the Worcester Historical Society, Worcester, Mass.; the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Boston Public Library, the Massachusetts State Archives, the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts; and the Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Research in these widely scattered libraries has revealed extensive collections of unpublished source material, most prominent of which are: The Gates Papers, the Schuyler Papers, the Sir Henry Clinton Papers, the Germain Papers, the Heath Papers, the Knox Papers, and the Sparks Papers. Smaller collections of Papers so far examined include: The Peters Papers, the Stevens Papers, the Morgan Papers, the Emmett Papers, the Wilkinson Papers, the Lossing Papers, the Lincoln Papers, the Glover Papers and the Livingstone Papers. In addition to the main collections of papers, an effort has been made to locate wherever possible all orderly books, diaries, journals, memoirs, maps and military correspondence pertaining to the campaign.

Among the orderly books relating to the area, the following have been located, the majority of which are unpublished: Orderly Book of a Battalion of the British Brigade of Grenadiers kept by Lieut. Poole England of the 47th Regiment; Orderly Book of the Battalion under Lt. Col. Joseph Storer of Gen. Patterson's Brigade; Orderly Book of a Mass. Regiment in John Patterson's Brigade; Orderly Book of Major Ebenezer Stevens' Independent Battalion of Artillery; Orderly Book of a Mass. Regiment in John Patterson's Brigade at Van Schaicks Island; Orderly Book of Philip Schuyler; Orderly Book of Henry Brockholst Livingston; Orderly Book of Thaddeus Cook; Orderly Book of Timothy Bigelow; the Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson relating to the Oriskany Campaign.

Diaries naturally represent an invaluable source of information essentially necessary in the reconstruction of the intimate details of the campaign. Here research efforts have been particularly fruitful for in addition to the ten or twelve well known diaries approximately fifty others have been located. A detailed list of these is contained in a report of the writer of August 6, 1940. Probably nothing has more significantly contributed to the development of the area than the discovery of five manuscript maps which are invaluable in the information they contain relating not only the location but to the character of the British and American fortified positions. These include the W. C. Wilkinson Map, the Rufus Putnam Map, the Champlain Canal Map, the Gerlach Map from the Riedesel Papers and the Jared Sparks Map. In addition to these manuscript maps there was found the rough but informative sketch of the American position contained in a letter of Richard Varick to Gen. Schuyler written from the field September 12, 1777. From these maps and other documentary sources considerable new light has been thrown on the location of the American floating bridge, Arnold's headquarters, Morgan's headquarters, position of the American cavalry and stables and the location of the grave of Brig. Gen. Fraser. In addition to these a number of rare maps have been found which together with the well known published maps gives the park probably the best collection of maps to be found anywhere dealing with this area.

For the military correspondence of the campaign, insofar as the American sources are concerned, a systematic effort is being made to examine the files of the War Department, the Journals of the Continental Congress and the archives of the various states such as Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Vermont and New York which participated actively in the campaign. Research has revealed that here is to be found a rich source of information that should be carefully examined. Easily the most comprehensive, available source for the military correspondence of the British officers is the Haldimand Collection in Ottawa, Canada. It is hoped that in the near future an opportunity will be presented to examine this invaluable collection.

From contemporary newspapers and broadsides an intimate picture can be obtained of the temper of the times. Here in published letters and editorials are to be found a surprisingly accurate evaluation of the progress and significance of the Burgoyne Campaign. The American Antiquarian Society is particularly rich in its rare newspaper collections - The Massachusetts Spy published by Isaac Thomas being particularly valuable for this area. This weekly publication reports with considerable accuracy the progress of the campaign. Frequently in its pages are found extracts of letters from prominent figures in the political, military or civil life which report in considerable detail various significant phases of the campaign. Probably the most valuable of all of these accounts was the detailed report of the capture of Ticonderoga from Burgoyne's Journal. Here is to be found an excellent picture of the nature and extent of the fortifications of Ticonderoga together with a detailed list of the captured military and commissary supplies.

In personal letters and other fragmentary accounts bits of information are being gleaned which oft times materially contribute to the final synthesis. Particularly valuable information in reference to the immediate field itself is oft times to be found in the reports of travellers who visited the battlefield during the latter part of the 18th and the early part of the 19th centuries. Frequently clues are given here which serve as useful guides in research in contemporary deeds.

In view of their value in museum display and lantern slide presentation a thorough search is being made for such pictures, paintings and rare prints as relate to the Burgoyne Campaign. Oddly enough, no source so far examined contains as many as are to be found in the U. S. Signal Corps, Washington, D. C.

In addition to the location of documentary material a careful effort is being made to locate all relics in private hands, public museums are governmental agencies which immediately relate to the Burgoyne Campaign. The most significant discoveries in this field are the thirty odd original Burgoyne cannon which are widely scattered throughout the country and in many instances inaccessible to the public. Negotiations are being made looking towards the transfer of many of these famous pieces to the Saratoga National Historical Park. Among numerous other significant finds are the swords of Burgoyne and Gates found in the New York Historical Society. Probably nowhere in the country is there to be found such a complete and varied collection of Revolutionary relics as is to be found at the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, Fort Ticonderoga, New York. In numerous instances collections of relics have been examined and carefully listed with the assurance of the owner that upon the construction by the Service of a fireproof museum they would be donated to the park. In other instances a list of Burgoyne relics would be most useful in obtaining temporary loans.

As a guide both to the location of documentary material and relics, an effort is being made to personally interview as many as possible of the leading scholars and historical novelists in the Revolutionary field. Such interviews have proved valuable from numerous standpoints. Not only do they frequently furnish valuable clues to additional source material but they build good will, raise the prestige of Park Service research and furnish a measuring rod for the work so far accomplished. Notable examples so far encountered were the interviews of the writer with Mr. Randolph Adams, Director of the W. L. Clements Library, Mr. Clarence Brigham, Director of the American Antiquarian Society, Mr. Allyn Forbes, Director of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Mr. Bruce Lancaster, well known novelist, author of Guns of Burgoyne. From Mr. Adams knowledge was first obtained of the existence of the Balcarres Papers in the possession of the Earl of Crawford of Haigh Hall Wigan Yorkshire, England. Not only did he inform us of the existence of these papers but offered us every cooperation in obtaining access to them. From Mr. Brigham came the suggestion to use the volumes of Book Prices Current in an effort to determine as nearly as possible the existence and location of each separate document relating to the campaign. From Mr. Forbes was learned the existence of a privately owned collection of Benjamin Lincoln Papers in Boston. In view of the prominence of Gen. Lincoln in the campaign these papers might well prove of value. From Mr. Lancaster was learned the existence of two Burgoyne cannon in the government arsenal in Frankfort, Kentucky. Mr. Lancaster was warmly enthusiastic in regards to our work and offered to serve as a "clearing house" for any research we might request of him in any of the libraries in Cambridge or Boston. Furthermore, he is well acquainted with Mr. Allen French, author of "The First Year of the American Revolution" and numerous other works, and kindly offered to arrange an interview with him. Wherever such contacts are formed we not only build up sympathetic support of our program but also provide an excellent means of keeping abreast of the new material that comes to light.

In addition to personal interviews efforts are being made through correspondence to reach other scholars in the Revolutionary field, acquaint them with our work and request their assistance in locating additional material. A notable example of this approach is Professor Samuel Patterson, Hunter College, New York City, who for the last eight years has been working on a biography of Gates which is to be published this spring. Through correspondence Professor Patterson and the writer have exchanged numerous leads to valuable source material. From him we first obtained knowledge of the existence of the Sparks Collection which examination proved to be invaluable to us. Correspondence is also being carried on at the present with Dr. Robert E. Pike, Great Bend, Pennsylvania, and Mr. Howard P. Moore; New York, N. Y., both of whom are writing a Life of John Stark. Mr. Moore was informed of our work through Mr. Allen French who had in turn been informed by Bruce Lancaster. Examination will also be made of the WPA Historical Records Survey Report as relates to the states which actively participated in the Campaign. Here it is quite possible leads may be found to new material recently unearthed.

Highlights of the New England Research

The recent trip of the writer to various New England Libraries, March 25 - April 9, proved to be a very profitable one not only from the standpoint of new source material found but of new contacts made. The high points of the research may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

(a) Orderly Books

Here were found a number of orderly books of officers actively participating in the Campaign namely; Philip Schuyler, Henry Brockholst Livingston, Thaddeus Cook and Timothy Bigelow.

(b) Contemporary Newspapers

Few libraries in the country have a better collection of early American newspapers than the American Antiquarian Society. Particularly valuable to this study was the file of the Massachusetts Spy which reports the progress of the Burgoyne Campaign in considerable detail. Probably most important item concerned notes from Burgoyne's Journal.

2. Massachusetts Historical Society

(a) Heath Papers, Knox Papers, Livingston Papers

Here was found the extensive collection of the Heath Papers containing volumes of unpublished source material. In view of the fact that Heath was commander of the Eastern Department his papers are particularly valuable in that they contain numerous reports of various Massachusetts officers with Gates' army. Most valuable of these are the reports of John Nixon and John Glover on the Battles of Bennington, Oriskany and Saratoga which contain detailed information not found elsewhere. This is particularly true in the question of numbers engaged and casualties.

Here was also found an extensive collection of the Knox Papers. Only scattered papers in this collection, however, immediately relate to Saratoga. Considerable material relating to Morristown are found in these papers.

In the Livingston Papers a number of valuable items were found pertaining to Saratoga. These include letters of Henry Brockholst Livingston, Aide to Arnold, to his father and sister relating news of the army in various phases of the Burgoyne campaign.

3. Boston Public Library

(a) Original Parole of Honor

The most interesting single item found in the Boston Public Library was the original Parole of Honor signed by 185 officers of Gen. Burgoyne's army and 95 officers of Gen. Riedesel's command dated Cambridge Dec. 13, 1777. The purpose of this parole which was signed upon the insistence of Congress despite bitter protest was to assist in readily identifying any of the officers that might be tempted to otherwise break their parole. Bad faith of the British was given by Congress as the reason for its failure to live up to the terms of the Convention signed by Gates and Burgoyne Oct. 17, 1777.

(b) Channing Collection

Here was found a scrapbook collection of material on the Burgoyne Campaign. Among other things it included an interesting collection of portraits of officers of the campaign.

(c) Knox Papers

Here was found quite an extensive collection of Knox Papers one of the most interesting items of which dealt with the spectacular removal of the guns of Ticonderoga to Boston.

(d) Burgoyne's Mistress

In the correspondence file of the library there was found an interesting study of this subject by Mr. Zoltan Haraszti, Keeper of Rare Books, prepared for Kenneth Roberts. Apparently Mr. Roberts became considerably confused in the interpretation of Mr. Haraszti's findings.

4. Massachusetts State Archives

Here were found a number of reports of field officers to the General Assembly the most interesting item of which was Arnold's detailed list of the killed, wounded and missing of the battle of September 19th.

5. Widener Library

(a) Sparks Collection

(1830) It was in the Sparks Collection that the most exciting finds were made. In the ms. Journal of Jared Sparks there was found a detailed account of his visit to Saratoga on August 24, 1830. What gives particular value and significance to this visit is that Sparks, a scholar of considerable ability, was taken over the battlefield by Ezra Buell and John Neilson both of whom had not only actively participated in the campaign as guides to Gates' army but had lived on the battlefield in the interim between the event and Spark's visit.

In his Journal Sparks records in his own hand the night of August 24th the story told him by these two participants of the campaign, both of whom were in full possession of their faculties. The story records considerable fascinating detail nowhere else found.

From John Neilson's own statement confirmed by Ezra Buell we learn that the Neilson House, now standing on the field, was Arnold's and Poor's headquarters. Considering the significant part played by Arnold in the campaign and particularly in the engagements of September 19th and October 7th, it is fortunate from the standpoint of interpretational interest that his headquarters still stand. Further confirmation of this as Arnold's headquarters is found in the sketch of the American position by Richard Varick in a letter to Schuyler dated Camp at Stillwater September 12th, 1777.

Not only did the Sparks Papers establish the identification of Arnold's headquarters but also of Morgan's headquarters. John Neilson in 1777 owned two houses one of which was occupied by Arnold and Poor as above described, the other by Daniel Morgan.

Interestingly enough the house foundation of Morgan's headquarters still remains though archaeological research is necessary to fully reveal it. This site in relation to the historical base map is located in 14 D.

Another interesting phase of the picture which no other source recounts, so far as is known, is the location of the American cavalry and stables on the high ground west of Morgan's headquarters in the area encompassed in 12 A, B, C, 13 A, B, C of the historical base map.

Sparks's Map, approximately $8 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size, though roughly sketched throws interesting new light as to the character of the American line of defense. In the first place he shows the American left which ran in a southwesterly direction from Neilson's barn to have been the most heavily entrenched section of the line, and he remarks that it consisted of logs, rails and earth. The wisdom of a greatly strengthened left flank is well substantiated by Burgoyne's strategy both on September 19th and October 7th, which had as its objective the turning of the American left flank. In the sector of the American line running southeasterly from Neilson's barn to

the river redoubts he shows no entrenched position. This seems rather difficult to account for in view of the overwhelming evidence to indicate that there was a defense line in this area though it was more in the nature of a breastwork of logs and abatis than an entrenched line.

Sparks serves to clear up the question of the entrenchment which ran from the bluffs to the river blocking the river road in the vicinity of Bemis's Tavern. In view of the doubt as to the location of this work, it was felt that it would be better to await further investigation before showing it on the historical base map. The policy adopted in the historical base map preparation was that only that should be shown that could well be justified. In this particular instance such a work was shown on neither Putnam's map, Wilkinson's map nor Varick's sketch, all three of which were contemporary sources. This of course did not necessarily rule it out, for in view of the rapid changes in the nature of the fortifications what was true of one day might not be of another - hence the importance of the date of the map or plan. Since with the exception of Varick's sketch they were undated it was impossible to determine just what phase of the American defense plan they represented. In view of its position deep in the American defense area, it can easily be understood how Wilkinson, W. C., the British engineer, could have been unaware of its existence. It was not until the finding of Spark's map that anything other than a general written confirmation of the existence of this work could be found so far as contemporary accounts are concerned. In the light of John Neilson's and Ezra Buell's statement it is felt that its position has been sufficiently well established to show it on the 1942 Master Plan.

It was of particular interest to note that Sparks supported by Neilson and Buell shows the American floating bridge to have been just south of the Bemis Tavern and not in front of it as has been generally accepted as its location. This serves to further substantiate the conclusions in reference to the location of this bridge incorporated in the 1941 Master Plan.

It was also noted that Sparks map defines the nature of the American river bluff defenses in the same manner as shown on the historical base map. Here again is justification for a departure from the generally accepted conception of these works as shown by Charles Neilson, Lossing, Stone, Brandon, Nickerson and others.

In view of the extent to which dependence has been placed upon the Wilkinson maps it was particularly gratifying to find Sparks stating that as he carefully examined the battleground under the guidance of Ezra Buell he had a copy of Wilkinson's map in his hand and found it to be remarkably accurate. It is quite likely that this copy on which Sparks made various notations is now to be found in Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. It is hoped that in the near future it will be possible to examine this collection of Sparks material. In the index of the Sparks collection, the following views and designs were noted:

Ruins of Ticonderoga, Lake Champlain,
Fort Ticonderoga, Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga;
Near Skeenesborough on Lake Champlain;
Ticonderoga, Saratoga; Plan of the Battle
of Bennington, on a branch of the Hoosac;
Sketch of Burgoyne's Head-Quarters, Burgoyne's
Surrender; Plan of Battles of Stillwater and
Saratoga with Burgoyne's Head-quarters and
Camp, the Hudson; Surrender of Burgoyne (rude
engraving)

(Note: This material was not found at Harvard
but is believed to be at Cornell University.)

Further confirmation was given by Sparks of the location of Fraser's grave as shown on the his-
torical base map. Sparks states that in 1930 the outlines of the redoubt in which Fraser was buried were clearly visible. This serves to further increase the value of the Champlain Canal Map of 1819-20 which locates and outlines the redoubt. The engineer in his delineation was guided by the actual physical remains. In his description of the burial of Fraser, it was evident that Sparks had fallen under the spell of Fraser and the singular beauty of the setting wherein his body was interred. (1230)

Of considerable interest and value was Sparks description of the storming of the Breymann Redoubt not only as to the action but as to the nature of the fortification. Of further interest he records additional details of the wounding of Arnold and of Arnold's statement at the time he was wounded.

Sparks stated that he stopped at Ensign's Tavern, a place which reputedly was where Lady Acland had stayed.

Sparks states that in 1831 in company with Gen. Morgan Lewis, Quartermaster of Gates' army, and a number of others he again visited the battle-field and that Gen. Lewis told him that he had accompanied Kosciuszko on his inspection of the ground for the location of the American encampment and that Kosciuszko prepared in the field a sketch of the proposed plan of the American encampment.

- ² Not only does Sparks introduce much color and interest into the account of the stirring events of Saratoga but of many other interesting phases of the campaign including Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Skenesborough, Fort Ann, Fort Edward and the Battle of Hubbardton. In many instances he went over the grounds as at Saratoga with men who had actively participated in the campaign. It was interesting to note that he included an eye-witness account of the murder of Jane McCrea. His numerous sketches of the various forts on the campaign route are of considerable interest and value.

In view of the pertinent value and significance of the Sparks Collection it is difficult to understand how apparently historians have so long remained in ignorance of its existence. It is interesting to note what importance has been generally attached to Benson Lossing's Field-Book of the Revolution when here is an account by a scholar who antedates Lossing by 18 years. What an addition the account of this visit would have been to W. L. Stone's Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds. From it Brandon and Nickerson could have learned much. Such a find as this serves simply to increase the determination to exhaust as nearly as possible all primary source material, relating to the campaign and thus avoid many of the pitfalls that blind acceptance of the secondary accounts entails.

Acquisition of Source Material

In the absence of a library of published accounts, an effort is being made to obtain by microfilm or photostat methods a large collection of both primary and secondary sources. So far considerable progress has been made towards this end. Much material has been micro-filmed from the Sir Henry Clinton, the Germain Papers, the Gates Papers, the Schuyler Papers, the Emmett Papers and many of pertinent primary sources. Most of the main primary published

accounts have been micro-filmed including quite a large collection of rare diaries. In addition to the collection of both unpublished and published primary sources an extensive collection of secondary sources has been obtained in micro-film form.

An order is now being prepared for considerable more material recently located in New England libraries. In each of the libraries visited an effort is made to so correlate the various separate documents found as to permit the placing of a sizeable order for micro-filming thus avoiding wastage of film.

Once the material has been obtained in micro-film form it is then planned to develop positive copies and assemble, bind and file them in accordance with accepted library procedure. Such an approach has definite practical value in that it presents the material in a more readily usable form, makes available more copies, permits a more desirable classification, anticipates film deterioration and reduces eye-strain. The machine which is best suited for this work is the Recordak manufactured by Eastman Kodak. It is hoped that permission may be obtained to purchase one of these machines from the 1941 fiscal funds.

Valuable Source Collections Unexamined

1. Haldimand Collection, Ottawa, Canada.

The following item alone will serve to establish the value of this collection.

"1778 - Feb. 9. Copies of all instructions and other papers relative to the expedition from Canada under Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne; and copy of such instructions given Gen. Howe as relate to any intended cooperation with Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne. Sixty papers. Titles listed in Library of Congress.

Also in this collection is a map pertaining to the engagements at Saratoga. By far the majority of this material is unpublished.

2. St. Clair Papers, 1763 - 1818
Ohio State Library
Columbus, Ohio

(In view of the fact that St. Clair was in command of Fort Ticonderoga at the time of its fall to Burgoyne on July 6, 1777 his papers throw considerable light on a significant phase of the campaign.)

3. Lossing Papers
Huntington Library
San Mareno, California

(Here are found the manuscripts of Lossing's historical writings - 50 separate works and about 1000 drawings.)

4. Sparks Papers
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

(Though the main collection of Sparks Papers are at Harvard University quite a number of them are at Cornell University.)

5. Balcarres Papers
Earl of Crawford
Haigh Hall
Yorkshire, England

(This collection of papers only recently found might well prove invaluable to our study. Mr. Randolph Adams, Director of the W. L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, has kindly offered to assist us in obtaining access to these papers.)

Application of Source Material

This systematic collection of source material provides an invaluable, practical guide to an authentic development and interpretation of the area. It furnishes the essential information for the Master Plan, developmental treatment, the guide to archaeological research, the marking of the field, the museum development, type restorations, the publication of park literature, and the general interpretation of the area.

If the present policy can be continued, the park library should eventually contain, at a relatively small cost, a collection of Burgoyne source material the equal of which cannot be found elsewhere.

Narrative Report

Junior Historical Technician's Narrative
Report for the Months of March and April

I Research and Survey

During the months of March and April chief research activities were devoted to the examination of the source material in the New England libraries and the preparation of a report on the same so that orders might be placed for the acquisition of the material in micro-film form.

Research efforts were also devoted to the location and acquisition of additional illustrative material for the 16-page illustrative booklet and two-fold leaflet. During this time a review was also made of the revised text for both of these publications.

Assistance was furnished Mr. Harland J. Bascom, President of the Whitehall Rotary Club, in research on early Whitehall history. Mr. Bascom is sponsoring a movement to erect suitable markers which will properly identify points of historic interest within the city. An effort has been made to encourage Mr. Bascom to erect markers only after careful research has been made.

III Educational Activities

Considerable time has been devoted to the selection and training of a CCC guide staff. Not only has an effort been made to thoroughly acquaint them with the battlefield area but with some of the surrounding areas as well. Intensified study has been made of the campaign in general and of the field in particular. Once they have been drilled in fundamentals then they will be assigned a regular course of collateral reading.

IV Public Relations

Three lectures were given during this period, one to the Saratoga Rotary Club, a return engagement which is evidence of the Club's interest in following the progress of the park's development, one to the Saratoga Lions Club and one to the Greenwich Lions Club. On every hand enthusiastic support is to be found for the park and its program.

V Other Activities

Field Inspection of the British Lines

In company with Junior Archaeologist Robert Ehrich field inspections have been made of areas in vicinity of the British Lines. With the Wilkinson maps in hand a careful reconnaissance was made of the terrain in order to spot more accurately not only the main British Line but the various outposts as well. Considerable progress is being made in this work.

Field Inspections of the Proposed Central Tour Loop

In company with Superintendent Hamilton and members of the other technical branches field inspections have been made with reference to the proposed central tour road. An effort was made to work out a feasible alignment which would incorporate both Regional Office and field recommendations. It is felt that the changes suggested in Mr. Appleman's comment in reference to this section of the tour road insuring a connected visitation to the Balcarres and Breymann Redoubts could be satisfactorily worked out without eliminating the central loop. It is strongly felt that it would be a serious mistake in park planning not to retain the central loop.

Experience has shown that any tour road planning which does not provide alternate tours of varying lengths serves only to defeat itself. The great majority of the visitors to the field have only a limited time to spend in the park. If given no alternate other than the complete tour, they would in the majority of cases take no tour at all. With the central tour loop, which would require approximately an hour, the crux of the Saratoga story could be told, for the tour encompasses the immediate battlefield area of both September 19th and October 7th with stops at the Freeman Farm Overlook, the Balcarres Redoubt and the Breymann Redoubt. Here within this tour area the issue of the campaign was fought to a decision. Given the complete account of the two engagements here the visitor could forego the rest of the tour and still have received the crux of the Saratoga story. This does not mean of course that visitors would be encouraged to take only the shorter tour, rather it would provide those who had only a limited time to spend in the park an opportunity to view the main field of action and receive the essence of the battlefield story.

On April 10 in company with Superintendent Hamilton and Associate Landscape Architect Ewald, an inspection was made of the area of this proposed central tour loop with a view to working out a satisfactory solution of the problem. Careful study is being given this subject by the Administration and the technical branches concerned. A more complete report will be prepared on this later.

Miscellaneous

Inspection of Revolutionary Cambridge Houses Wherein Burgoyne's Officers were Quartered.

In company with Mr. Bruce Lancaster a three hour tour was made of points of historic interest within Cambridge particularly a number of the houses still standing where Burgoyne and his officers were quartered including the Wadsworth House (Heath's and Washington's headquarters), the Apthrop House (Burgoyne's residence) and the Vassall House (Burgoyne's officers chiefly quarters here).

Mr. Lancaster, who is quite familiar with the story of the Convention army, proved a very interesting and entertaining host. He related a number of anecdotes which add considerable human interest to the story.

Visit to Salem Maritime National Historic Site.

On Sunday, April 5, a visit was made to Salem Maritime National Historic Site where in company with Superintendent Small a thorough inspection was made of the area. It was indeed a pleasure to inspect the area in company with Mr. Small who showed the writer every courtesy.

VI Projected Work for Ensuing Month

During the period May 5 - 14 inclusive, it is planned to attend the Historian's Conference in Richmond, Virginia, visiting historical areas of the Service enroute.

Considerable time will be devoted during the month to a more thorough training of the guide staff and to the problem of providing adequate maps and interpretative facilities. In the immediate headquarters area within the American Line there are at least two signs which are recommended for removal. One is the one which designates the New England Period House as the site of Arnold's headquarters and the other is the one which designates Neilson's house as the headquarters of Morgan, Poor and Learned. This was in reality Arnold and Poor's headquarters. To allow these signs to remain serves to perpetuate an historical inaccuracy and to confuse the guide's story in the mind of the public. It is suggested that the marker at the New England Period House be removed and that a temporary marker designating the Neilson House as the headquarters of Arnold and Poor be erected.

Concentrated study will now be made in an effort to provide more adequate interpretational facilities for the area.

Supplement Report

A. Days spent in the field.....25
B. Days spent in the office.....24
C. Parks visited..... 2
D. Jobs Inspected..... 4
E. Review of job applications..... 1

Respectfully submitted,

F. F. Wilshin

F. F. Wilshin
Junior Historical Technician

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Saratoga National Historical Park
Stillwater, New York

June 10, 1941

JUNIOR HISTORICAL TECHNICIAN'S REPORT FOR THE MONTH OF MAY.

I. Research and Survey

During the month of May much time has been spent in preparation of orders for micro-filming or photostating source material on the Burgoyne Campaign. It is anticipated that orders will be placed with the following: The Library of Congress, U. S. Military Academy, New York Public Library, American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public Library, Widener Library and Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

On the occasion of the recent visit of Dr. Charles Porter a general review was made of the Saratoga research program. Questions involving the scope, techniques and facilities were discussed at some length. Among other things Dr. Porter suggested that: Leader cards be used, that full references be used on all cards, that historical and archaeological data be gathered together under the proper headings in the master file, that a typist be jointly assigned the historian and archaeologist and that equipment including 5 x 8 steel filing cases and flat steel map file be secured.

Archaeological Research

Cooperation has been given in field inspections in reference to the progress of archaeological research on the fortifications of the Balcarres Redoubt. Preliminary research in the area of this redoubt would indicate that sections of the fortified line have been found in a number of places including what would appear to be a gun position.

In one section of the fortification four skeletons have been found, two in one position and two in another. The bodies would appear to be Revolutionary soldiers. In some instances buttons have been found with the skeletons while in one instance a grape shot ball was lodged near the pelvis bone of one of the skeletons. It would appear that quite possibly research has revealed a trench wherein a number of bodies are buried.

Many of the accounts refer to the galling fire of grapeshot from this redoubt received by the Americans in their repeated but vain attempts to carry the position by assault on October 7th, 1777. It is just possible that the skeleton just unearthed with the grapeshot in his pelvis may be that of an American soldier who received a mortal wound as he desperately strove to scale the ramparts. Little or no information has been found in reference to the American use of grapeshot in their assault on this fortification. Apparently American reliance was chiefly upon the bayonet and the rifle.

When the buttons found with the skeletons have been cleaned it may be possible to more accurately determine the identity of the skeletons.

III. Educational Activities

Guides

Due to the arrival of a number of special groups and to the limited staff as the result of a number of resignations, more time than usual has been devoted to guide and contact service work.

Approximately half of the guide staff has been lost by recent resignations. Steps are being taken to secure and train replacements as quickly as possible.

During the month of May there were 31 guided tours given to 324 visitors. A number of large groups were included in these tours. Though the number of tours is small 450 orientation lectures were given to 2,357 visitors.

Museum

Museum services were furnished to 3,251 visitors.

IV. Public Relations

On May 29 a talk was given to the history class of the Stillwater High School on the Battles of Saratoga and their significance in world history.

On May 24 a large group from the Unity Life and Accident Insurance Co. in two large buses was given a personally conducted tour over the battlefield.

On May 25 a crowd well in excess of 500 attended memorial exercises in honor of the Polish patriot Kosciuszko culminating in the placing of a wreath at his monument.

V. Other Activities

Inspections

Frequent inspections have been made during the month in company with Washington Office and Regional Office personnel particularly concerning tour road alignment and archaeological research. These problems among others were reviewed on May 22 - 24 on the occasion of the visit of Drs. Porter and Kelly of the Washington Office and Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites Appleman.

On May 29 in company with Associate Engineer Curradi, Superintendent Hamilton and Senior Foreman O'Hearn an inspection was made of the proposed Central Loop as indicated on the proposed tour. The loop as now devised which represents a modification of the one shown in the 1941 Master Plan was favorably reviewed by Mr. Curradi. On May 31 in company with Mr. Curradi an inspection was made of the difficult terrain at the extreme ends of both the British and American lines.

Historians Conference

From May 5 - 14 the writer was absent from the Park in order to attend the Historian's Conference in Richmond, Virginia. The conference afforded a welcome opportunity to discuss various technical problems of research and interpretation pertaining to historical areas. Much benefit was derived from a comparative study of the methods of research and interpretation employed in the various areas visited enroute.

At Colonial National Historical Park in accordance with a request of Supervisor of Historic Sites Ronald F. Lee a conference was held to work out plans for a closer coordination of research in the National Historical Parks of Colonial, Morristown and Saratoga. Attending the conference were: Mr. Alvin Stauffer, Chief Research and Survey Section, Associate Historical Technician Pitkin, Assistant Historical Technician Weig and the writer.

As a result of the conference it was decided that an exchange should be made of the bibliographical information of each of these three areas. It was further decided that in case significant collections of material were found in some specific research which related to another area, that area would be notified at once.

VI. Projected Work for Ensuing Month

During the ensuing month work will be concentrated on the improvement of the interpretative facilities of the Park - the training of new guides, the preparation of interpretative maps and the rearrangement and relabeling of a number of museum exhibits.

| | |
|---|----|
| A. Days spent in the office..... | 10 |
| B. Days spent in the field..... | 15 |
| C. Parks Visited..... | 7 |
| D. Jobs inspected..... | 3 |
| E. Review of job applications and Master Plan..... | 0 |

Respectfully submitted,

F. F. Wilshin

F. F. Wilshin
Junior Historical Technician

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

Worcester, Massachusetts

Letter of Timothy Bigelow (original)
(United States Revolution
to Mr. Stephen Salisbury

Jefferson
Letters Receipts
& Miscellaneous
p. 117

"Camp at Stillwater Oct. 7

Sir

I arrived in Camp last Saturday nothing of importance has turned up since except a small skirmish that happend yesterday between our Piquet guard and the enemies when the latter was drove to their lines we had one man Mortally wounded three other slightly there is great desertions from the enemy not less than 8 or 10 for many days back mostly Germans, the Enemy are strongly fortifying their Camp. I am much pleased at finding such a perfect union amont the different Corps of officers, it is the happiest camp I ever was in, officers & soldiers put the greatest confidence in the General imaginable his treatment of the officers and soldiers is quit (quite) opposed to that of Schuylers. I should not have wrote to you before had something of more importance to communicate had it not been to ask the favour to buy some brown sugar

Saratoga Octr. 14 1777.

Since I wrote the Above we have almost been in one continual action with the enemy but not in very close order since the 7th instant, (the particulars of which I would refer you to Mr. Lincoln,) but in close pursute, we are now all around them & it is common to have 30-40 or 50 deserters and prisoners come in for several days part the Canadeans we are told by the deserters have mutinied and declined having any thing further to do in the matter & was promised by the General that they should go home in a few days, they lost General Frazer in the action of the 7th an officer of approved merit in whom they put the greatest confidence & give it as one reason we took the field, the early lose of that officer, upon the whole I hardly can realize that the Great Burgoyne is reduced to such a distressed situation as you may depend he is at present. how the scene may change I cannot fully determine, but from the present situation of things I expect to give you soon a further good account. what I wrote respecting sugar the other day I have not had time to think of since would only inform you that it is with great difficulty we can git any such thing hear so that if you can spare me a few pounds when my baggage is brought from Worcester it would be very acceptable in this place. Remember my love to Mrs. Bigelow and Children

Believe me to be with much
esteem your friend

Timo Bigelow

Gates, Horatio

1777

Sept. 17 To the Chairman of Committees West of the Connecticut River.

"Behmus Heights"

Movements of - Lts. Genl. (John) Burgoyne and call for reenforcements for the Continental Troops. 1 p.

U S R

4, 19

Stringer, Samuel

1777 Albany

Mar. 29 Inventory of all the stores belonging to the General Hospital at Albany. With the above are accounts of articles at the Ticonderoga hospital, at Fort George and "in different gentleman's hands"

April 1 Potts, Jonathan
To Samuel Stringer

Albany. Receipt for stores agreeable to above account.
ADS. In all 2 pp.

U.S.R.

I, 87

Smith, Hezekiah
to James Stewart

1777 Albany

Nov. 20 Sends letter by David McGee whose time of service is about to expire; (Lt. Genl. John) Burgoyne and his army sent to Cambridge; (Brig) Genl. (John) Nixon's brigade at Albany; brigades of (John) Glover, (Ebenezer) Learned and (John) Patterson gone southward; little news from Genl. (George) Washington; expects (Benedict) Arnold and (Benjamin) Lincoln to recover from their wounds; great protests in the army against high prices outside; the enemy can do nothing....

Nixon, Thomas

1777 A muster roll of the company of William

Jul. 30 Toogood in the Mass. regt. of Col. Thomas Nixon

Nov. 19 Same for Nov. 19, 1777 D.S. William Toogood
Ruben Lilley
Richard Varick
other rolls pp. 37 - 39
2 pp. each

USR

4 33-35

Ianig, Elijah

1777 Hunterdon Co. N. J.

Feb. 24 Declaration of Allegiance to the United States.
I, 89 D S 1 p

Hancock, John
to Philip Schuyler

1775 Philadelphia
Oct. 7

Two brigs laden with ammunition and stores en route from England to Canada; if Schuyler captures Montreal these brigs to be secured and all other stores possible; five additional regiments to be sent to America; British aim is to secure New York, Albany and the Hudson thus shutting off communications between East and south, retaining connection with Canada and by continual raids breaking the spirit of New England and depopulate that country; naval plans against America so far as heard; hard money being collected to send him; his letters of Sept. 25 and 28 received and read in Congress Oct. 6.
3 pp.

Saratoga, N. Y.

B-90 Fashionable tour in 1825. Excursion to the Springs
Niagara, Quebec and Boston. Saratoga Springs, 1825, 169 p.

Saratoga, N. Y.

L 15 How to see it By R. F. Dearborn
16 mo pp. 181 Albany 1873.

Saratoga, N. Y.

B-90 A Northern Tour being a guide to Saratoga,
Lake George etc. 18 mo. pp. 279 Phila. 1825

L-15 Saratoga and Kay-Ad-ros-se-ra historical
address By W. B. Sylvester 4 to pp. 52 Troy, 1876

Travellers own book to Saratoga Springs etc
by L. De Veaut.
16 mo. pp. 251 5th ed. Buffalo, 1844.

V 1663 Geological structure of the county of Saratoga By
J. H. Steel 4 to pp. 56 Saratoga, 1822.

Orderly Books

1777 Albany, Ft. Edward, etc. General Philip Schuyler
Orderly Book. June 29 - Aug. 18, 1777. 88 p. 12" X 7½"

1777 Stillwater, Colonel Timothy Bigelow
Orderly Book. Aug. 22 - Nov. 4, 1777. 96 p. 7 3/4" X 5 3/4".

- 1777 Ticonderoga, Stillwater, etc. Generals Philip Schuyler and Arthur St. Clair.
Orderly Book of Henry B. Livingston. June 13 - Aug. 19, 1777.
109 p. $6\frac{1}{2}$ " X 8".
- 1777 * Stillwater, Colonel Thaddeus Cook
Orderly Book. Sept. 6 - Oct. 6, 1777.
Weekly Returns of his Regiment, Sept. 13 - Oct. 21, 1777.
49 p. $8\frac{1}{2}$ " X $6\frac{3}{4}$ ".
- 1777 - 1780
Stillwater, Albany, Valley Forge and Highlands. Colonel Timothy Bigelow's Massachusetts Regiment.
Orderly Book. Oct. 10, 1777 - March 8, 1780.
(Also misc. Reports and Orders,) about 250 p. $8\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7".

NEWSPAPERS

American Antiquarian Society

Worcester, Massachusetts

Haswell's

Massachusetts Spy

Or American Oracle of Liberty

"Undaunted by TYRANTS we'll DIE or be FREE"

Vol. VII. Worcester, Thursday, August 21, 1777. Numb. 329

Contents: Notices of desertion, Congressional inquiry regarding evacuation of Ticonderoga, Letter of Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane to Lord Stormont with reply, Fishkill, Aug. 14. Extract of a letter from Albany, August 11 (concerning a description of the Battle of Oriskany - very good account) 4 pp. Get Photostat. Size 15 13/16" X 9 11/16".

Ibid August 29, 1777. Numb. 330

Contents: Extract of a letter from General Schuyler, dated Fort Edward, July 9, 1777 to Council of Safety of the State of New York (reference to fall of Ticonderoga), narrative of part of the transactions at and near Fort Stanwix since the investiture of that place by the enemy, given in Manuscript by Lieutenant-Colonel Willet of that Garrison (excellent account, much detail), account of the Battle of Bennington contained in a letter to the editor Aug. 16 from Rev. Mr. Allen of Pittsfield who was present at the action (full, detailed account), description of clothing worn by deserter - John ? Grigg an Irishman from Capt. Daniel Brans (?) Company in Col. Bigelow's regiment (this regiment was present at Saratoga) - "about 5 feet 5 inches high, sandy complexion, light brown hair, blue eyes, a well built fellow, about thirty seven years old. Had on when he went away an old striped waistcoat, old felt hat, a white tow shirt, a pair of white tow trowsers", clothing of another deserter from Bigelow's regiment described as: "a checked linen shirt, white Russia dress breeches, white stockings, and blue waistcoat." Get Photostat

Ibid Thursday September 4, 1777 Numb. 331

Contents: Extract of a letter from Paris to a gentleman in Pennsylvania, dated April 10, 1777 (quite detailed account of diplomatic activities being carried on with the French, German, Spanish and Dutch governments relative to financial and military aid,

letter of Gansevoort to Arnold describing the situation of affairs at Fort Stanwix Aug. 22; letter of Arnold to Gates "Mohaw River, 10 miles above Fort Dayton, Aug. 23^d, 1777, 5 o'clock P.M." (informs Gates of the flight of St. Leger, supplies captured, and his anticipated moves); printed copy of Burgoyne's instructions to Lieut. Col. Baum; extract of a letter from a gentleman at Albany, dated August 19 (excellent contemporary account of the Battle of Bennington); sample of a deserter notice:

"Twenty Dollars, Reward

Deserted from Capt. Benjamin Gate's company, in Col. Putnam's regiment, in the continental army, one Daniel Duncan jun.(?) of Petersham, in the State of Massachusetts Bay, a soldier about 30 years of age, 5 feet 3 or 4 inches high, light hair and eyes, fair complexion, a flat nose, his knees bend much backward, is remarkable for his frequent use of the word Sir, and repeating pieces of poetry. Whoever will take up said defense and return him to his regiment above Albany, or to the commanding officer of said regiment at Worcester, or the subscriber at Petersham, or confine him in any of the goals in the thirteen United States, and send word to the subscriber shall receive the above reward and all necessary charges."

Ivory Holland, Lieut
Petersham, August 21, 1777." Get Photostat

Ibid Thursday September 11, 1777. Numb. 332

- Contents:
1. Extract of a letter from General Stark, to the Council of the State of New Hampshire, dated Bennington, August 18, 1777. (full detailed account of the Battle of Bennington)
 2. Brief notices regarding movements of the enemies of Howe and Washington.
 3. Fish-kill, Sept. 4. Extract of a letter from Albany, Sept. 1. (describes flight of St. Leger and lists some of the captured supplies, including four royals, gun-carriages, waggons, ammunition, a number of tents, etc.

- Contents:
1. "To John Burgoyne, Esquire, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's armies in America, Colonel of the Queen's regiment of light dragoons, Governor of Fort William in North-Britain, one of the Representatives of the Commons of Great Britain, and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada etc. etc. Most high, most mighty, most puissant and sublime General!" (cleverly written satire on the benefits so-called that Burgoyne was to bestow upon the American people.)
 2. Copy of a letter of Burgoyne to Gates headed "Head Quarters of the King's Army upon Hudson's River, August 30, 1777." (complains of ill treatment of officers captured in the Battle of Bennington, requests that the captured officers have restored to them their baggage and servants.)
 3. Gates' reply headed "Head Quarters of the Army of the United States, September 2, 1777." (Is astonished that Burgoyne should mention inhumanity, nothing happened at Bennington but what is common when works are carried by assault, recounts inhuman treatment of civilians by scalping Indians with comment in some detail on the brutal murder of Jane McCrea.)
 4. "Copy of John Johnson's and Company's address to the Inhabitants of Tyron County, in order to dissuade them from taking up arms to relieve Fort Schuyler, while besieged. Camp before Fort Stanwix Aug. 13, 1777. To the Inhabitants of Tyron County."
 5. "In Congress, June 14, 1777.

Resolved, that the FLAG of the United States be Thirteen Stripes alternate red and white; that the Union be Thirteen Stars white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."
 6. Article describing the movement of Howe's army to the southward headed Fish-Kill, Sept. 11.
 7. Extract of a letter from General Washington to Congress, dated Wilmington, September 3, 1777 (describes encounter with Howe's force.)

Contents: 1. General Orders of Washington, dated Wilmington, September 5, 1777 (enemy's design is to capture Philadelphia. praises militia to the northward - "The militia to the northward have fought with a resolution that would have done honor to the oldest soldiers --- They bravely fought and conquered, and glory attends them. Who can forbear to emulate their noble spirits? Who is there without ambition to share with them the applause of their countrymen, and of all posterity, as the defenders of liberty, and preservers of peace and happiness to millions in the present and future generations!"...

"Here glory waits to crown the brave -- Peace and freedom and happiness will be the rewards of Victory --- Animated by motives like these, Soldiers fighting in the cause of innocence, humanity, and justice, will never give way; but with undaunted resolution push on to conquest - And thus the General assures himself is the part the American forces, now in arms will act; and thus acting he will insure them success."

2. Unsigned letter dated Wilmington, September 2, 1777. (describes the movements of General Howe in the vicinity of Phil. also relates reinforcements that are arriving for Washington.)
3. Passage of an Act by the Massachusetts assembly "to prevent the pernicious practice of distilling, into any kind of Spirit whatever, CYDER, WHEAT, INDIAN CORN, RYE, BARLEY and OATS, or either of them" (this was to take effect Sept. 25, 1777 and would serve to preserve needed grain for the army.)
4. Copy of General Orders issued on the 6th instant at Half Moon, previous to the army's marching to attack the enemy at Fort Edward (regards movement of the army from Van Schaicks Island to Stillwater.)
5. Extract of a letter dated Albany, Sept. 9. (states that on Sunday evening about 7 o'clock, a flag from Gen. Burgoyne arrived at Gates' Camp on business relating to the officers baggage taken at Bennington and the ill treatment of these officers...."At about 6 o'clock, the whole army moved, and last night encamped at Anthony's Kill, about three miles below Still-Water) where they were obliged to make a bridge. The riflemen and light-infantrymen proceeded on, Mr. Swait is

guide to one of the flanking parties. They had not proceeded far when they were ordered to stop, I suppose with an intention to keep the whole army together. They were this morning to proceed on, but since we have not heard from them. Dr. Potts with several of his surgeons, set out this morning to join the army. This seems to indicate Gen. Gates's intention to attack the enemy."

6. Extract of a letter from his Excellency General Washington, to Congress, Chester, 11th Sept. 12 o'clock at night. (regrets to inform them of the results of the Battle of Brandywine.)

Ibid Thursday, October 9, 1777. No. 336 (intervening copy missing)

- Contents:
1. Copy of a letter from General Burgoyne, to Major-General Gates, Sept. 6, 1777. (sending surgeon to Gates under flag for treatment of wounded soldiers from Bennington, replies to Gates charges about inhumanities of the Indians under his command and the killing of Jane McCrea.)
 2. Extracts of a letter from a Gentleman of distinction in Philadelphia, to his friend in this town dated Sept. 15, 1777 (long, detailed account of the Battle of Brandywine.)
 3. Advices from our Northern army sent by gentleman from Albany Sept. 29. (since engagement of Sept. 19 both armies occupying same ground. Lincoln has joined Gates. Relates successes of Brown on Lake George. The retreat of Burgoyne's army consisting of about 5000 men entirely cut off.)
 4. Extract of a letter from Albany, September 21. (Express arrived from General Lincoln, to General Gates, informing that our troops were in possession of Ticonderoga, and had taken 293 British prisoners, 18 gun boats, one armed schooner, 200 batteaux, 100 of our men retaken."

And upon its arrival at our camp, thirteen pieces of cannon were fired.

I congratulate you on the occasion and remain sincerely yours,

Mat Vischer")

Ibid Thursday, October 9, 1777 (Cont.)

5. Extract of a Letter from a General officer dated Camp at Stillwater, Sept. 25, 1777. -

"On Thursday the 18th instant marched about 4 miles at 5 o'clock a.m. in order to attack the enemy on the right flank on their march; but they not marching according to expectation, prevented our doing anything of considerable consequence.

"We attacked a small party about 60 or 70 rods from the enemy's front, killed some, said to be five or six, took and sent in that day, as I was informed after my return, 36 prisoners. We all returned about sunset, without the loss of one man killed or wounded.

"The next day (September 19) we were early alarmed, being informed the enemy were on their march towards our camp. Agreeable to a result of a council of war, the Riflemen and Infantry from the left of our army went and attacked the Enemy's right wing, or rather their front guard, about 5 minutes before one o'clock. The enemy gave way, we took some prisoners. The enemy reinforced which caused us to do the same; which was alternately done by the enemy and on our part of the army till the battle became General between the enemy and our division.

"I was ordered to send out one Regiment at first, and the rest in succession, except the last,--- I then received orders to march to the attack. We marched on briskly and came up with the enemy's right wing, which was endeavoring to surround our left.- A most severe fire lasted till the cover of the night Prevented further action. - We went back to our camp, and the enemy have encamped near the ground where the battle was fought. We are near neighbors. Our lines and those of the enemy are but about a mile and a quarter from each other. Both armies are fortifying, but time only can determine the further event. The effect of this battle is that we have lost 2 Lieutenant-Colonels killed, with a number of other officers of different ranks. In the whole our killed wounded and missing are about 318. By the best accounts the enemy's loss, killed and wounded, amounts to a thousand. These are facts. Capt. Wiley is wounded: Our army are in high spirits. We took eighty on the day of battle.!... (begins - "I have one minute to inform you, what New-England's GOD has done for America". Gives good description of the Battle of Oct. 7. States - "Good General Arnold received a wound in the leg."

Ibid Thursday, October 23, 1777. No. 338

- Contents: 1. Boston October 20. Extract of a letter from a general officer dated camp at Saratoga October 13, 1777. (enemy have burnt every house between last encampment and Saratoga Creek but one.)
2. Extract of a letter, dated Head-Quarters, Fish-Kill, October 12, 1777. (discusses movements of Washington, Howe and Clinton.)
3. Extract of a letter from a gentleman of distinction, dated camp 29 miles from Philadelphia, October 6, 1777. (quite detailed accounts of the battles between Howe and Washington.)
4. Extract of a letter from a Field-officer in the northern army, dated Saratoga October 12 - with two other extracts of October 14. (describes battle of Oct. 7 and present position of Burgoyne's forces "The enemy lost General Frazier in the action of the 7th, an officer of approved merit, who commanded the light troops, in whom they put the greatest trust, to whose fall they attribute the loss of the field.")

Thursday October 30, 1777. 339 (size of paper changes 14" X 8 9/16")

- Contents: 1. Articles of Convention between Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and Major-General Gates.
2. Extract of a letter dated Greenbush October 22.
("I sincerely congratulate you upon the compleat victory gained over the enemies in the northern department Gen. Burgoyne's grand army grounded their arms and surrendered themselves prisoners of war the 17th inst. at Saratoga, marched down to Stillwater, and crossed Hudson's river the 18th in order to march for Boston.
- | | |
|---|-------------|
| British troops by capitulation | 2440 |
| Foreign troops, ditto | 2198 |
| Canadians, volunteers, etc. sent to Canada | 1100 |
| Staff | 12 |
| Total included in the Capitulation | <u>5752</u> |
| Taken at different times | 400 |
| Sick and wounded | 528 |
| Deserters | 300 |
| Lost at Bennington | 1200 |
| Killed since 17th of September | 600 |
| Killed and taken at Ticonderoga | 413 |
| Amounting in the whole killed and Taken prisoners | 9213 |

3. "The famous Gen. Burgoyne and his army are expected in town tomorrow. May the enemies of America of every denomination, be reduced to the same humbling forms. The following toasts were drank at Cambridge, on receiving the important news, of the surrender of Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, and the army under his command, to Major-General GATES.

1. The brave Major-General Gates who with effect, said to the vaunting Burgoyne, hither shalt thou come and no further.
2. General Washington and his army.
3. Major General Heath.
4. General Starks and the New-England Militia.
5. The immortal Memory of those who gloriously fell in defending the cause of Mankind.
6. May every Minden General intruding upon American right and innocence, meet with the fate of Burgoyne.
7. May Tyrant princes submit to superior American Souls.
8. May the wisdom of Congress ever be superior to the policy of Britain.
9. The memorable 17th of October, 1777.
10. Complete establishment to American independence.
11. May American bravery and honor rise superior to Brittannic artifice and fraud.
12. May generous harmony for ever firmly unite the States of America.
13. Freedom to the whole World.

Ibid Thursday December 4, 1777. No. 344

Contents: 1. From the London Gazette Extraordinary Monday, August 25, 1777, Published by Authority. The following letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Lord George Germain was received the 23d, instant by Captain Gardner, first Aid-de-Camp, to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, who arrived in the Royal George armed transport from Quebec. Head-Quarters Skeensborough house.

July 11

My LORD

"I have the honor to acquaint your Lordship that the enemy dislodged from Ticonderoga and Mount-Independence on the 16th (6th) instant, and were driven on the same day beyond Skeensborough on the right, and to Hubbartown on the left, with the loss of 128 pieces of their cannon all their armed vessels and batteaux the greatest part of their baggage and ammunition, provisions and military stores to a very large amount.

This success has been followed by events equally fortunate and rapid. I subjoin such a detail of circumstances as the time will permit; and for his Majesty's further information, I beg leave to refer your lordship to Capt. Gardner, my Aid-de-camp, whom I have thought necessary to dispatch with news so important to the King's service, and so honorable to the troops under my command. Journal of the late principal proceedings of the army.

Having remained at Crown-Point three days to bring up the rear of the army, to establish magazines and the hospital, and to obtain intelligence of the enemy, on June 30, I ordered the advanced corps consisting of the British Light Infantry and Grenadiers, the 24th regiment, some Canadians and Savages, and 10 pieces of light artillery, under the command of Brigadier General Frazier to move from Putnam Creek where they had been encamped some days, up the west shore of the lake to four mile point, so called from being within that distance of the fort at Ticonderoga. The German reserve, consisting of the Brunswick Chasseurs, Light Infantry and Grenadiers under Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman, were advancing at the same time upon the east shore.

July 1. The whole army made a movement forward. Brigadier (General) Frazier's corps occupied the strong post called three mile point on the west shore; the German reserve the east shore opposite; the right wing of the line encamped at four mile point; the left wing nearly opposite on the east-shore. The Royal George and I (?) flexible frigates, with the gun boats, were anchored just without the reach of the enemies batteries. The rest of the fleet had been some time without guns in order to assist in carrying provisions over Lake Champlain.

The enemy appeared to be posted as follows: A brigade occupied the old French lines, upon the height northward of the fort of Ticonderoga. These lines were in good repair, and had several intrenchments behind them, chiefly calculated to guard the north west flank and they were sustained by a block house. To the left of their works about a mile, the enemy had saw mills, and a post sustained by a block house, and another block house, and an hospital at the entrance of Lake George. Upon the right of the French lines, and between them and the old fort, there were two new block houses, and a considerable battery close to the water's edge.

that he had taken Fort George. --
with 2 Capts. 9 Subⁿ Officers11
Non-Comm'd. Officers and privates of the British.143
Canadian prisoners119
Retook upwards of 100 of our Prisoners with
200 Batteaux, 17 Gun Boats, 1 Arm'd Sloop -
Ammunition and some Cannon, and had taken possession
of the French Lines at Ticonderoga, and demanded a
surrender of the Fort when the Express came off

I am with Respect and Esteem
Sir, Your most Obed. Sert.
John Glover

(No. 266 Vol. 6) unpublished Get Photostat
1777, Sept. 22 Camp Bemus's Heights
Wilkinson to Heath
(reference to deserters from the army and to the engagement of Sept. 19)

"Early on the morning of the 19th the Enemy struck Camp and advanced towards our left, an Action ensued at half past twelve, and continued, and with little remission and; great warmth, till the close of Day, when our Party retired to Camp, and the Enemy a small distance in Rear of the Field. - Our Left Division consisting of Col. Morgans light Corps, and eleven R_egiments engaged the whole British Force, and a Division of Foreigners; General Burgoyne who Commanded in Person, we are credibly informed, received a Wound in his left Shoulder or Side, The 62nd Regt. was entirely out to pieces, and the Enemy suffered extremely in every Quarter where we engaged them. Our loss is two Lt. Cols., three Capts., three Subs, and fifty six Non Com^d. off; and Privates killed, with two hundred and forty eight wounded, among which are a proportionable Number of officers.

At this critical and important moment every succor should be industriously pushed forward, as the Armies are now Encamped within two miles of each other, and a General Engagement seems inevitable. The General presents his Compliments, and

I am with the utmost respect
Sir
Your most obd Servant
James Wilkinson."

(No. 269 Vol. 6)
1777 Sept. 22
Heath to Nixon
(Glad to receive Nixon's letter of 14th referring to the good spirits of the American Army, hopes soon to hear that they have driven Burgoyne back to Canada)

1777 Sept. 26 (No. 293, Vol. 6)
Mason to Heath

(relates information he has just received regarding the battle of Sept. 19 and of the success of Brown at Ticonderoga. Relates some interesting details.)

(No. 292, Vol. 6) Unpublished
1777, Sept. 28
Stevens to Heath

("I am desired by General Gates as he has much Business on his hands, to write your Honor to forward, with all dispatch to Albany, fifty reams of Musket Cartridge Paper; an Article greatly wanted in the Laboratory in order to supply this Army with that Necessity.

And you would please to order a Conductor to see it delivered there. Lead is another Article of which we have immediate need, and desire you to send Twelve Tons thereof with 50,000 Flints suitable for French Arms, and 1000 Pouches - under proper care to Albany, there to be delivered to the Commissary of Military Stores.

We have a very Numerous Army in this Department, and Reinforcements daily Arriving; the Men in Exceeding high spirits, a fine Train of Artillery, consisting of 24 Pieces - A full and immediate Supply of Military Stores is the only Requisite wanting to Extripate the Enemy from these Zones.

I have the Honor to be
Your Most Obt. Servt
Ebenezer Stevens
Commandt. of Artillery
N. Department"

(No. 297, Vol. 6)
1777, Sept. 29
Heath to Glover

(Surprised to learn that no State militia had yet joined Gates. Thinks the present most fortunate opportunity of destroying Burgoyne. Thinks it would have been better for Lincoln to have hung on the rear of flank of Burgoyne rather than to have joined Gates. Thinks Colo. Browns "is a very pritty affair".....)

(No. 298, Vol. 6)
Mason to Heath

(States that Burgoyne's strength as given by a captured Sergt. Major is but 6100, that in a captured express of Burgoyne to Carleton a request had been made for 5000 reinforcements...)

(No. 313, Vol. 6) printed
1777, Oct. 1, 1777 "Camp Bemus's Heights"
Nixon to Heath

("Dear Genl. I received your agreeable Letter of ye 22 Ulti. and am rejoiced to hear of the good Success Our Privateers meet with. It gives me Pleasure to Acquaint You of the High Spirits and Comfortable Circumstances Our Army is in at Present, and hope in a short time

It seemed that the enemy had employed their chief industry, and were in great force, upon Mount Independence, which is high and circular and upon the summit, which is table land, were a star fort made with pickets and well supplied with artillery, and a large square of barracks within it.

The foot of the Mount, which projects into the lake, was intrenched and covered with a strong Abbatis, close to the water. This intrenchment was lined with heavy artillery pointing down the lake flanking the water battery above described, and sustained by another battery about half way up the Mount.....

Note: Time did not permit the full copying of this account from Burgoyne's Journal. However, photostatic copies will be obtained of the whole. Among other things the account lists in detail the military and commissary supplies captured on July 6. From this extensive list an excellent idea can be obtained not only of the armament strength of the fort but of the severity of the blow its loss was to the American cause. In many instances regiments had to be almost entirely outfitted again to the extent of clothing and blankets.

December 4, 1777 No. 344

Contents:

1. Burgoyne's letter to Germain July 11 (copied elsewhere)
2. Continental Barracks

"The Committee appointed to build Barracks in the town of Rutland, for the reception of Prisoners, take this method to acquaint the public, that they have received late orders, to proceed to the completion of the whole, which are three in number; two of which are not yet undertaken. Said barracks are to be built each 140 feet in length, 40 feet wide, with a hip roof, two stories high, eight feet in the clear, the sides and the ends to be boarded and clapboarded, to have three long entries through, and a stair case in each of said entries, twelve rooms in each story, 20 feet square, with double floors and plank partitions, ten cabbins in each room, eight stacks of chimnies, four of which are to be double. The jams to be three feet deep, the fronts and backs four and a half feet each; two windows in each room containing twelve squares each ten by eight glass. The glass and nails, with every foot of iron necessary for said buildings, will be procured by said committee. If among the industrious and enterprising, there should be any person or persons, disposed to undertake either the carpenters work or masonry, separate from each other, they will be kind enough to make a cast for which they will undertake the same, and present it to said committee by the first day of January next: And said committee deeming it their duty to contract with such person, or persons, who will undertake upon the most reasonable terms, therefore have settled on that principle, provided they come sufficiently recommended.

John Frink)

Daniel Clap) Committee

Jonas How)

Rutland, Novem. 27, 1777

Ibid Thursday, January 1, 1778

Contents: From the New Jersey Gazette. Mr. Printer.

1. An amusing, satirical article in reference to the exchange of prisoners for Burgoyne. For each of Burgoyne's titles a certain number of American prisoners were to be exchanged.

Ibid Thursday, January 8, 1778 No. 349

Contents:

1. Worcester, January 8.
Copy of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Samuel Kirkland, Missionary and interpreter for the Six Nations; together with a Message from the Six Nation Chiefs, to Major General Gates, commanding the army of the United States in the Northern Department, dated at Oneida, October, 30, 1777.
(very interesting Indian reaction to Burgoyne's defeat and capture) Get Photostat.

Ibid Thursday, January 29, 1778. No. 352.

Contents:

1. Anecdote of Governor Skeene
"This Gentleman, it is said, married a lady of considerable fortune in Ireland, and by the death of some relation, a legacy was left her to be paid yearly "so long as her head should be above ground." The Governor's lady died some years since, and in order that he might not lose the legacy he caused her intestines to be taken out, and her body to be salted up, and put in a coffin, which he kept in a private room dedicated to that purpose, where it was found by our troops after he absconded from Skeene's borough, who had the humanity to give her a decent interment underground; by which means it is supposed, his Excellency is deprived of a considerable part of his yearly income."

Ibid Thursday, February 12, 1778

Contents:

1. Political Chronicle
From the New Jersey Gazette
From the original letters of Monsieur De Lisle translated into English
Fish Kill, State of New York, Nov. 20, 1778.
(long and interesting letter reviewing the Burgoyne Campaign and evaluating chief characters in it. Warm praise for Gates. Arnold referred to in Europe as "rage militaire.")

Ibid Thursday, February 19, 1778

Contents:

1. In Congress, January 8, 1777.
(long and interesting article dealing with infractions by Burgoyne in the Convention and outlining steps which should be taken in view of them.)

Contents:

1. York-Town May 4

On Saturday last Simeon Deane, Esq. arrived at Congress, express from the American Plenipotentiaries at the Court of France, and delivered his dispatches to the President - The important contents are, by a correspondent, thus communicated.

"The news of the defeat and captivity of General Burgoyne were received in France the beginning of December, with as much joy as if a victory by their own troops had been announced. (long, detailed account of the diplomatic negotiations that followed resulting in the French Alliance.)

The Continental Journal

and

Weekly Advertiser

Thursday September 18, 1777. Numb. LXIX

Boston: Printed by John Gill in Court-Street.

Contents:

1. The following Extracts from a manuscript Journal, kept by the Rev. Mr. Allen of Pittsfield during his stay at Ticonderoga, and on the retreat from thence, are inserted for the entertainment of our readers. (very full and detailed account, most interesting). Get Photostat. 1 page and last page.

Thursday October 30, 1777 Numb. LXXV

Contents:

1. Boston, October 30.

"Saturday last the Great and General Court or Assembly of this State adjourned to the 26th November next.

Many respectable Gentlemen met Wednesday Evening to celebrate the most signal, and by far, the grandest victory

as yet obtained over British Pride, the Surrender of General Burgoyne, and his whole Army, to the gallant and brave General GATES, backed by as respectable a Body of Freemen as ever composed an Army. It will reflect immortal Honor on the Commander and his Corps, it being as great a Victory as can possibly be inroll'd in the Annals of America.

The Day following, at Noon, the Fortress and Shipping in this Harbour discharged their cannon; and the Companies of Independents and Light Infantry, together with the Train of Artillery being persuaded in State-street, fired thirteen Times in Honor of the Thirteen United States. - In the Evening there were Illuminations, Bonfires, and other Demonstrations of Joy."

| | | |
|--|-------------|---------------------|
| 2. British Troops by Capitulation | 2443 | |
| Foreign Troops ditto | 2198 | |
| Canadians, Volunteers, etc. sent to Canada | 1100 | |
| Staff | 12 | |
| Total included in the Capitulation | <u>5752</u> | |
| Prisoners taken at different times | 400 | |
| Sick and Wounded | 528 | Get Photostat |
| Deserters | 300 | <u>of this page</u> |
| Lost at Bemington | 1220 | |
| Kill'd since the 17th September | 600 | |
| Kill'd and taken at Ticonderoga | <u>413</u> | |
| Amounting in the whole, killed and taken Prisoners | 9213 | |

3. List of surrendered ordnance (same as Ebenezer Stevens)
4. Interesting jibe at Burgoyne with all of his titles pompous war aims.

Ibid. Thursday, November 27, 1777 Numb. LXXIX

Contents:

1. From the London Gazette Extraordinary
Monday August 25, 1777 (Published by Authority)
Whitehall, August 25, 1777.
(Note: These two papers contain the valuable information from Burgoyne's Journal in regard to operations around Ticonderoga. Get this copy for sure.)

Rivingston's
New York Royal Gazette

Saturday Oct. 18, 1777. No. 139

Contents:

1. Copy of a letter from Captain Lutwidge to Capt. Pearson, dated on board the Royal George, off Skeræsborough, July 7, 1777.

Rivingston's New - York

Royal Gazette

November 22, 1777. No. 144.

Contents:

1. "From Loudon's Rebel Paper:
Fish-Kill, October 23

Last Thursday one Taylor a spy, was hanged at Hurley, who was detected with a letter to Burgoyne, which he had swallowed in a silver ball, but by the assistance of tartar emetic he discharged the same. Copy of the letter was in our last paper.

The Royal Gazette

New York Published by James Rivingston
Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury.

Printed by Hugh Gaine, Printer, Bookseller and Stationer,
At the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-Square.

HEATH PAPERS

Massachusetts Historical Society

Boston, Massachusetts

See: Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society

Seventh Series - Vol. IV.

Published at the Charge of the Appleton Fund

Boston

Published by the Society

1924.

Note: Entire collection of papers, numbering 45 volumes was presented to the Mass. Hist. Soc. in May 1859 by Mr. Lawrence through Mr. Livermore. In 1878 the numerous letters of Washington to Heath were printed as part of a volume of Revolutionary papers. They were used by Mr. Deane in his exhaustive paper read before the American Antiquarian Society on the Convention of Saratoga and the treatment of Burgoyne's army. Gen. Heath published some of the most important of the letters in his "Memoirs" in 1798. Papers have been rearranged in order of time into 26 folios. In addition there are 17 vols. of newspapers and pamphlets. There are more than 300 letters from Washington, many of which are written confidentially. Heath's correspondence includes letters from: John Adams, Samuel Adams, Hancock, Jay, Hamilton, Laurens, Morris, Trumbull, The Clintons, Livingstons, Thompson, McKean, Lee, Gates, Greene, Putnam, Knox, St. Clair, Sullivan, Lincoln, Wayne, Stark, Mifflin, Stirling, Schuyler, Prescott, Paterson, McDougall, Arnold, Lafayette, D'Estaing, Rochambeau, Steuben, Kosciusco, Armand, Villefranche, Viomenil, De Ternay, Gouvion, Chastellux, Burgoyne, Phillips, Hamilton, Campbell, Tarleton, Reidesel, Specht, Dalrymple, Pigot and others.

Collectively these letters are invaluable for the light they throw on the Revolutionary period.

Major-Gen. Heath was born at Roxbury, Mass. March 2, 1737 and died Jan. 24, 1814. A farmer, publisher he was appointed Brig. Gen. in Mass. Dec. 1774. In Aug. 1776 he was appointed Maj. Gen. in the Continental Service. During the siege of Boston he had the command at Roxbury. At the close of 1776 he was stationed in the Highlands. Transferred early in 1777 to the command of the Eastern Department and served in this capacity for two years. He rejoined the army in June 1779 and was given the command of the posts on the Hudson. When Washington left for Yorktown, Heath was given the command of the Department of New York.

After the war was elected State senator and later served as judge of probate. See portrait which is a reproduction of an engraving by J. R. Smith of a portrait by H. Williams.

Heath, William, Papers

1777
Sept. 1 (Letter to General Nixon about the course of the war.)
VI. 176

1777
Sept. 1 (Letter to General Gates about deserters)
VI. 177

1777
Sept. 2 (Letter to Samuel Adams about the northern army)
VI. 179

1777
Sept. 4 (Letter to Colonel Baldwin about deserters)
VI. 186

1777
Sept. 4 (Letter to General Warren about duck for tents)
VI. 187

1777
Sept. 4 (Letter to Massachusetts Council about repairing roads
VI. 188 to the Northern army)

1777
Sept. 4 (Letter to Colonel Cheever about Continental arms)
VI. 190

1777
June 6 (Letter to Henry Laurens about colors of Convention troops)
X. 38

1777, March 28
Letter, Heath to Washington
(... "Brigadiers General, Nixon and Glover with Colonels Greaton,
Sheppard, Nixon, Putnam, Wigglesworth, Alding, Bigelow and late
Pattersons Regiments I have ordered to Peek's-Kill, Brigadier
General Patterson, with Colonels Marshall Brewer, Bradford,
Grancis, Bailey, Wesson, and Jacksons Regiments to Ticonderoga."....

1777, March 26

Letter Heath to Col. Trumbull

("The Fifteen Battalions raising by the State of Massachusetts Bay for Continental Service are Destined to Ticonderoga, in order to Facilitate their march it will be necessary that Spring Stores of Provisions should be opened at different Stages on the Rout to that Place, I must therefore request that you would if it has not been already Done, open Stores, at Worcester, Springfield, Northhampton and, Bennington, as it is Impossible for the Troops to subsist on the Ration if received in money I am Confident that you will with me See the Utility of Opening the Stores and I Desire you would do it as Soon as Possible as the Troops are now on their March - I congratulate you Sir on the Safe arrival of the French Store Ship; we Daily expect the arrival of others I am Dr. Sir

Yours Sincerely
W. Heath.

No. 114 Vol. 6, 1777

A Return of Ammunition and Ordnance Stores taken at Camp before Fort Schuyler August 21, 1777. - viz.

4 Royals 4 Inches o/s - Diameter
128 Shells for Do.
3 Travelling Carriages damaged
2 Damaged Limbers for **Ditto**
135 Three pound Shot
20 Six pound Shot do.
72 Three pound Shot Flannell Cartridges
4 Tube boxes (illegible word)
60 Tubes
11 Cannisters
1 Set of Mens harness
1 Do. of Horse harness
4 Sponges
3 Ladles
3 Wad hooks
18 Boxes musket ball
2 powder Horns
2 Lanthorns
4 Handpikes
3 Haversacks
1 Druging box
2 Lintstocks,
2 Portfires
1 Apron
1 Pair good Limbers
27 Oil Cloths
2 Hair Cloaths
1 Coil Rope

A Large quantity of Junk
A Quantity of Wollen Yarn
17 Three pounds Boxes damaged
Flannell Cartridges
4 Six pound Do. Good
2160 Musket Cartridges
A large number of Do. Damaged
30 Copper Hoops

Unsigned

(No. 135, Vol. 6) printed
1777, Aug. 25 Greenbush
Nixon to Heath 4 pp.
("Dear Genl

I have received your favour of the 16th Inst. for which I esteem myself under great Obligations to You, and shall endeavour from time to time to communicate to your Honor all Occurrences.

As to the Action up Mohawk River which you mentioned may be relied on; Fort Stanwix was invested with the Enemy, the Garrison consisted of about 700 Continental Troops commanded by Colo. Gonsivort, The Militia of Tryon County assembled and march'd to their Assistance under the Command of Genl. Herkiman to the number of about 7 or 800 but several Miles short of the Fort, they fell into an Ambuscade upon which about 200 of the Militia retreated the Rest stood their Ground, repulsed the Enemy and remained Masters of the Field, the loss on both sides was considerable, the Enemy likewise attempted to Storm the Fort but was repulsed with considerable Loss, Lt. Col. Willit sallied out with about 200 men upon Sir John Johnson's Camp, drive them off with considerable loss on the Enemy's side, and on his Return to the Fort was Way laid by a Body of Regular Troops but soon dispersed them and got safe in without having One Man either kill'd or wounded.

On the 16th Inst. Genl. Starks with the New Hampshire Militia, the Militia of the Grants and some from the Bay, attack'd a Body of the Enemy consisting as I'm inform'd of 1500 who was intrenched within about 7 miles of Bennington, carried their Lines drive them from their Baggage and took 4 Brass Field Peices a Medicine Chest etc. Taken, kill'd and wounded of the Enemy is as follows viz.

Taken Prisoners
1 Colo.
1 Major
5 Capts.
12 Lieuts.
4 Ensigns
2 Cornets

| | |
|---------------------|------------------|
| 1 Judge Advocate | |
| 1 Barron | Lost on our side |
| 2 Canadian Officers | |
| 3 Surgeons | 33 kill'd and |
| 37 British Soldiers | 50 wounded |
| 398 Hessians | |
| 38 Canadians | |
| 151 Tories | |
| 200 Kill'd | |
| 80 Wounded | |
| <u>936</u> Total | |

We hear a Number of the Enemy has been brought in since this Account came off.

Genl. Learnard is marched with his Brigade for Fort Stanwix; Genl. Arnold is likewise gone to take the Command of the whole.

I am inform'd this Moment that an Express is arrived from that Quarter who brings a dvice that upon the approach of Genl. Arnold the Enemy withdrew in the greatest precipitation leaving their tents standing, and the greatest part of their Baggage behind them, they retreated by the Way of Wood Creek towards Oswego, and that Genl. Arnold was in pursuit of them and it was supposed he would be soon up with them. I will send you the particulars as soon as I can obtain them.

As to the strength of our Army I can't at present give it (to) you exactly, but will endeavour to do it in my next: We have four Brigades of Continentals here, of which mine is One of the strongest, according to my Return of the 16th Inst. I had present fit for Duty 664 Rank and File, and by our Details for Duty you may in some measure judge the strength of the rest -

| | Rank and file |
|----------------|---------------|
| Nixon..... | 107 |
| Poor..... | 100 |
| Patterson..... | 79 |
| Glover..... | 117 |

We have had no Militia join us at our Post as yet. Col. Morgan's Regt of Rifle Men are on their Way to join us from the Southward, whō I flatter myself will be very useful to our Army by way of Scouting: We are ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to march on the least Notice, which I make no doubt will be towards the Enemy, and I am firmly of the Opinion that could the Militia be prevailed upon immediately to turn out with Spirit and Resolution and come to our Assistance. We should be able very soon, with a common blessing to render the Publick a very pleasing Account of Mr. Burgoyne and the greater part of his Army as we have Him in a very good position to attack Provided we have a suitable Number of Troops to do it with.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint You of Genl. Gates's Arrival at Albany last Monday and that He proceeded the next day to Camp and relieved Genl. Schuyler agreeable to the Order of the Hon.^{bl} The Continental Congress. Genl. Schuyler is retired to Albany, and it is supposed will soon repair to Congress agreeable to their Orders.

Please to make my Compliments acceptable to your Lady and Family and all the Gentlemen of my particular Acquaintance

I have the Honor to be with the greatest Esteem
Your Hon^{rs} most Obedient,
Humble Severant
Jno. Nixon"

(No. 135)

1777 Aug. 25 (An important letter describing the Battles of Bennington, Oriskany and skirmishes around Fort Stanwix. Gives no. captured at Bennington as 936 but states that others have just been brought in. Gives the strength of his forces.) Get photostat

(No. 136 Vol. 6)

1777 Aug. 25

Resolution of Mass. Assembly in reference to the captured troops at Bennington. It was recommended that they be transferred to Boston and that they be provisioned on the way from Continental Stores.

(No. 142 Vol. 6)

1777 July 1

A Return of the 7 Regiments together with Major Stevens's Train of Artillery that marched by the 1st of July last from the State of Massachusetts Bay to join the Northern Army, and the Arms and Accoutrements Held them. -

| Regiments | No. of men marched Including Officers |
|---------------|--|
| Col. Bayley | 460 |
| " Wesson | 378 |
| " M. Jackson | 340 |
| " Marshall | 441 |
| " Francis | 430 |
| " Bradford | 419 |
| " Brewer | 215 |
| Majr. Stevens | <u>180</u> |
| Total | |

(No. 239 Vol. 6)

Note: Baldwin was from North Brookfield, Mass.

1777, Sept. 14 "Camp three miles above Stillwater"
Baldwin, Jeduthan to Heath

(Writing in referent to the departure of the artificers apparently at will particularly at a time when their services are most wanted; wishes to know what can be done about it.)

Note: See Baldwin, Jeduthan. Baldwin's diary. Extracts from the diary of Colonel Jeduthan Baldwin, Chief Engineer of the Northern Army, July 6th 1776 to July 5th, 1777. (Edited by Stephen H. P. Fell.)

Map. (In the Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum. January, 1938. vol. IV no. 6 pp. 10 - 40)

Note: Baldwin was born in Woburn, Mass. Jan. 13, 1732. Died June 4th, 1788.

See: Baldwin, Jeduthan. The Revolutionary Journal of Col. Jeduthan Baldwin, 1775 - 1778. Edited with a memoir and notes by Thomas Williams, Baldwin. Banjor Me. 1906.

(E257 Mass. See particularly pp. 89 - 128 covering the period from Hist. Soc.) Jan. 6 - Dec. 1, 1777. Note excellent account.

(No. 236 Vol. 6) 3 pp.

1777, Sept. 14 Camp 3 Miles from Stillwater
Nixon to Heath

(Informs him of the arrival of Gates' Army two days previous, in "greatest Spirits", of the arrival the night before of "Genl. Starks Party" of seven or eight hundred men though Stark was not with them, feels confident of success.)

(No. 264

1777, Sept. 21 Camp 3 miles above Stillwater (very imp. get photostat)
Glover to Heath

("Dear Sir

I have just time to inform that the 18th Inst. we march'd out with 3000 men to attack the Enemy, who were Encamp'd on the Heights about 2 miles from us. found it impracticable, as they had taken an advantageous Post. However we drew up in Line, in full sight of them with a Design to draw them out, and there tarried till Dark, without doing anything more." The next day (Friday ye 19th) sent out large scouting parties, some of which fell in with those of the Enemy. A brisk firing came on - this happened about 1 o'clock. We Reinforc'd till we had about 3000 engag'd the Enemy Reinforc'd till they brot. their whole Force into Action, consisting of 7000 Genl. Burgoyne at their Head, who was wounded thro' his shoulder.

The Battle was very hot till half past 2 o'clock, ceas'd about half an hour, then renewd. The attack, both Armies seemed Determined to Conquer or die.

"One continual Blaze, without any intermission till dark, when by Consent of both parties it ceased - during which time we several times drove them, took the Ground, passing over great numbers of their dead and wounded, took one Field piece, but the Woods and Brush was so thick and being Closely push'd, by another part of the Enemy coming up, was Oblig'd to give up our Prize.

The Enemy in their Turn sometimes drove us. They were bold, intripid and fought like Heroes and I do assure you Sir Our men were equally Bold and Couragious and fought like men fighting for their all. We have taken about 70 - Prisoners, among which are two officers.

By three Deserters this moment came in, we are inform'd the Enemy sufferd much, having two Regiments - almost cut off - and that their Kill'd Wounded and missing were 700 among which is a great Proportion of Officers.

We have 202 wounded. Kill'd and missing 101., among which is Lt. Col. Coburn and Adams, Lt. Thomas, Capt. Allen and Ensⁿ Fostere kill'd. (Capt. Bell mortally wounded) A considerable Number more were killed whose Names I have not been able to get - The scene was truly shocking to a Humane, tender mind, to see the Amputating of Limbs, of the dying, wallowing in their Gore. - "This always was and ever will be the fate of War" - We sent off all our Wounded to Albany Yesterday, some of which died before they got there. - At the same time sent all our Tents and Baggage 4 miles in our Rear keeping nothing to Incumber us but our Clothes on our Backs.

"The Enemy are quiet at present, about one mile from us, how long they will remain so, is uncertain - "We are making every necessary preparation to receive them, by falling trees, and Abeteeing the passes between the North River and Saratoga Lake about 6 miles distance. The duty at present is very hard, to day on Fatigue, to morrow on Guard, and on Picquet next day. - "Notwithstanding our Men are healthy and in fine spirits, "Who would not be a soldier" to return home with Life and Laurels.

"We have not been join'd yet, with any Militia from the Massachusetts, tho' so often requested - "We hear Genl. Lincoln has about 2000 with him. Genl. Gates has order'd him to join us - "Wish he may get in before it's too late.

I Congratulate you on the success of our Arms. - under the Command of Col. Brown, which we this day receiv'd by Express from Genl. Lincoln, and is as follows - Viz -

to give a good Account of Mr. Burgoyne: An account of the late action I trust you have received before this, and believe Mr. Burgoyne is something sick of his last Tryal for Albany. As they are pretty still at present Deserters are daily coming in who give an Account of the dissatisfaction of the Hessians, and Aversion to fighting, by Account, the Morning of the Action, they beat up for Volunteers, in which Five Turn'd out, Two of whom were kill'd and three Wounded.

The 62d Regiment of British, march'd Three Hundred and Eighty in to the Field, and brought of One Hundred and One, the rest kill'd wounded and missing, Two other Regiments suffer'd much the same loss - The loss on our side amounts to three hundred and seventeen Kill'd, Wounded and Missing. Viz "Sixty four Kill'd Officers included, Thirty six missing and Two Hundred and seventeen wounded.

I hope e'er long to have it in my Power to transmit to you Accounts more agreeable,

In the meantime I shall rest your

Most Obedt. Humb. Sert.

John Nixon"

(No. 332 Vol. 6) Unpublished
1777, Oct. 5 "Camp near Stillwater"
Greaton, John to Heath
(Dear Genl.

Sensible of the many Obligations I am under to you for past favors, I would not be unmindfull of my Promise when I left Boston -

This makes the third letter I have wrote you since I left home, and have not Receiv'd one line from your honor, As to news Genl. we have not any at Present, but I believe we shall have news enough soon; Our army and Burgoyne is very near Neighbors, not more than one Mile a part; by what I can find out we shall have upwards of Three Thousand men at Fort Miller, which is right in their Rear by Tomorrow Morning, which I hope will hinder them from making a Retreat. I am in hopes we shall be able to give a good Acct. of the Whole soon - Deserters come in every day they complain very much of their Provision; as to their bread I saw some of it myself, it was as black as your Shoe, and very sower, as to Meat they draw but ten oz. of Pork pr. day, the Prisoners say they have not eat one Mouthfull of fresh Provision since they left Cannada, and that the greatest part of the Germain Troops will Desert the first Opportunity they have.

We are this Moment order'd to draw three days provision and cook it Immediately without the least delay (I believe the Genl. thinks Burgoyne is about Retreating. -

As to my health Genl. I have Recover'd it finely, I am better then ever I expected to be, though not quite so strong - Please to (give) my best Regards to your Lady and family Maj. Keith Pollard and Loring, and Believe me to be your

Affectionate Friend and Most Obedient

Humble Servt -

John Greateon

NB. Mrs. Greateon has complained to me that she cannot get Bread Flour or Wood. I should take it as a great favor, if you'll be so kind as to help her if it lies in your Power, for it is hard for me to be here and know that they want any of the Comforts of life -

Yours J. G."

(No. 349, Vol. 6 (printed)

1777, Oct. 9 "Camp 3 Miles above Stillwater."

Glover to Heath

(Dear Genl.

This will Acknowledge the Rect. of Yours of the 29th Ulto. and will inform you that on Tuesday last the Enemy advanc'd from their Right with a Design to take Post on our Left. Our Scouts were drove in - "They Continued Advancing" -

Three Regiments were Ordered out, who met them a Mile from our Lines, a small Eminence being between them, each push'd hard for it "Our Troops gain'd it. - The Attack began at 4 o'clock P.M.: Continued till dark, without any Intermission, during which we drove them two Miles; & at last enter'd their Works sword in hand. - In the Action and in their Works were taken two Brass 12 pdrs. and six 6 pdrs., 3 Ammunition Waggon, about 300 tents, a great Quantity of Baggage, with - upwards of 30 Horses, Waggon etc. etc.

It now became very dark, could not persue them any further, nor was it safe or Practicable, the Woods being very thiek. - We halted about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in the Rear of them. There remain'd the whole Night with our Arms in our hands, not a man slept - About 4 in the Morning they began to move. We push'd on till they were drove into their strong Works on the River Road - Skirmishing parties were sent out the whole day; some Prisoners taken, some kill'd and wounded on our side - Among the wounded is the good Major Genl. Lincoln shot thro' the leg. Wish he may save it, but it's much doubted. "The Brave Genl. Arnold was wounded in the Action the day before. --

As we have not been able to get in Returns cannot give you a particular Account of our loss however it's very inconsiderable - I believe I may Venture to say not more than 30 kill'd - nor more than 100 Wounded - The Enemy loss on Tuesday must be great,

Genl. Frazier wounded (since dead). - taken Prisoners 3 Field Officers, 6 Capts., 10 Sub^m, 1 Q. Mas: Genl, 190 Privates - taken in the Hospital on Wednesday about 300 sick and Wounded with some Medicines, 200 Barrls. flour, with many other Articles - Besides these upwards of 100 now lays dead on the Ground, which we have not been able to Bury.,- Much Honour is due to our Officers and Men, who fought like Heroes - The Enemy began their Retreat 11 o'clock at night breaking up all the Bridges otherwise spoiling the Roads in their Rear.

Thursday Morning 300 men servd with 3 days Provision, began their march, to hang on their left Flank (the River being on their Right) and (blotted) Brigades on the River Road in their Rear, but could not proceed as it set in full of Rain and so Continues. -

Shall push on immediately on it's clearing when I hope to give you a further Accot. of them.

Till then, I am

Yr. Hon^{rs}(?) most Obed. Sert.
John Glover B. General

(No. 383, Vol. 6) Unpublished
1777, Oct. 22 Greenbush
Nixon to Heath

("Dear General,

I sincerely congratulate You upon the compleat Victory gained over our enemy in the Northern Department, Genl. Burgoyne's grand army, grounded their Arms and surrendered themselves Prisoners of War the 17th Inst. at Saratoga march'd down to Stillwater and crossed Hudson's River the 18th in Order to March for Boston.

| | |
|--|-------|
| British Troops by Capitulation..... | 2,442 |
| Foreign Troops ditto | 2,198 |
| Canadian Volunteers (illegible) sent to Canada | 1,100 |
| Staff | 12 |
| Total included in the Capitulation..... | 5,752 |
| Prisoners taken at different times..... | 400 |
| Sick and wounded..... | 528 |
| Deserters..... | 300 |
| Lost at Bennington, /..... | 1,220 |
| Kill'd since the 17th Septr..... | 600 |
| Kill'd and taken at Ticonderoga..... | 413 |
| Amounting in the whole kill'd and Taken Prisoners | 9,213 |

The wonderfull goodness of God in delivering so many of our Cruel unnatural Enemy into our Hands and with so little loss on our side, I hope every Heart will be suitably affected therewith, and may that God who has granted us such Signal Successes here, Vouch-safe to grant similar success to our Arms in the Southern Department.

Peices of Ordinance taken from the Enemy

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| Brass 24 Pounders..... | 2 |
| Brass 12 Pounders..... | 4 |
| Brass 6 Pounders..... | 18 |
| Brass 3 Pounders..... | 4 |
| Total | <u>28</u> |
| Brass Royal Howitzers..... | 5 |
| Brass Eight Inch Mortars..... | 2 |

We have taken in all in this Department - including those taken at Bennington 37 Pieces of Ordinance - 4 Members of Parliament among the Prisoners. -

Our Troops are now encamped on Albany Heights and hourly expect Orders to proceed to the Southward.

I have the Hon^{rs} to be with the greatest Esteem
Your Most Obedt. and Humb^l Servt.
Jno. Nixon"

(No. 384, Vol. 6)
1777 Oct. 22, Boston
Heath to Washington

(... "We have this momement received the agreeable news of General Burgoyne's Surrendering himself and Army Prisoners on the 17th Instant to General Gates, on this Happy Event I beg leave most Heartily to Congratulate your Excellency"....)

LIVINGSTON, HENRY BROCKHOIST PAPERS

Massachusetts Historical Society

Boston, Mass.

Livingston, Henry Brockholst Papers

1777 Ticonderoga

June 20, 25

B. 97, 101

(Letters to Governor Livingston about military activities and rumors.)

1777 Ticonderoga

June 30

July 3

B. 106b, (A Letter to Governor Livingston about the progress of Burgoyne's invasion.)

1777 Ft. Edward

July 17 (Letter to Susan Livingston)

1777 Fort Edward

July 17

21, 24

B. 118-a (Letters to Governor Livingston about the progress of Burgoyne's invasion.)
123a, 121

1777 Moses Creek

July 28

B. 284b (Letter to Governor Livingston about Burgoyne's Invasion)

1777 Saratoga

Aug. 4 (Letter to Susan Livingston)

1777 Stillwater

Aug. 6 (Letter to Susan Livingston)

1777 Stillwater

Aug. 6, 11

B. 129a, 284a (Letters to General Livingston about Burgoyne's invasion)

1777 Stillwater

Sept. 14 (Letter to Susan Livingston)

1777, Sept. 11, Stillwater
Matthew Clarkson to Miss Susan Livingston

(... "The Defeat of the Enemy a Bennington brought you by your Brother being the Compleatest Victory gain'd this War. Raising the Siege of Fort Schuyler effected by my General being of Great Importance to this state must be rank'd among the first of our successes. In a very few Days you may expect to hear what is superior to them all - The finishing stroke The Defeat of Burgoynes Army, as it appears from ev'ry Intelligence that he intendes Fighting us. - Tomorrow morning we make another movement towards him - since our first we gain'd halfway. One Week more depend upon it desides it. The General who sits on my right Hand is now writing his will I shou'd do the same but God knows I have Nothing to leave. - Your Brother has join'd our Family. -

Matthew Clarkson."

1777, Sept. 21 "Camp three Miles above Stillwater"
Clarkson, M. to Susan Livingston (original) Unpub.

(Dear Cousin,

On the 19th Inst. Gen. Burgoyne with near his whole Force advanc'd within three Miles of our Camp, the alarm was immediately given and our Division was order'd to March to oppose their progress we soon fell in with them when a very hot engagement ensued which lasted from one o'clock till quite dark with very little intermission We drove them four different times and believe shou'd have completed their Business had not Night intervent'd - Our Men behav'd with the greatest Bravery and Intrepidity nothing cou'd have exceeded their Valour - I must stop till we have given them another drubbing as they making their appearance - The Alarm was a false one. - Our loss on the occasion was 63 killed and 248 Wounded among the former are two Lt. Colonels. I had the Honor of being engag'd for upwards of four hours with Col. Morgans Battalion who did himself great honor by his resolute and determin'd behaviour - Your Brother was engag'd on our left. - The loss of the Enemy was upwards of a thousand besides 80 Prisoners.

Genl. Lincoln some time since detach'd Col. Brown and Col. Johnson with about 500 men each on different expeditions. We have just receiv'd a Letter from Col. Brown who informs that he has succeeded in his expedition and has taken 293 Prisoners besides releasing upwards of an hundred of our own 200 Batteaus and 23 arm'd ones has fallen into his hands Cannon and several other things he has taken Ticonderoga will soon be in his possession an - Depend upon it in a short time we rout Burgoyne.

My Compliments to all -

Matt^w Clarkson"

1777, Oct. 5, "Camp three Miles above Stillwater"
Clarkson, M. to Susan Livingston

(Affairs in the American Army very prosperous, since his drubbing Burgoyne has made no move forward though he had greatly strengthened his fortifications. New recruits daily arriving, numerous deserters from the enemy especially The Germans. Little information can be obtained from German prisoners apparently they are kept in ignorance. "The total expulsion of the Enemy appears pretty evident from this Quarter."

1777, Dec. 31, Courtlandt Manor
Livingston, Henry B. to Susan Livingston (sister)

(...I am on my way to New York with Major and Lady Harriet Ackland who are going to that place on Parole - I shall not trust myself in the City, even under the Sanction of a Flag - I well know how odious the name is to a British officer, and I shall not add to their perfidies by putting myself in the way of being detained by them. I shall therefore go no further than Fort Independence or Kingsbridge and then return - It is at Genl. Schuylers particular request I have escorted Lady Harriet on this Journey - She is a most amiable character thro' her intercession I am in hopes of procuring some articles from New York which in my indigent State, I am in the utmost distress for -"

CHANNING COLLECTION

Boston Public Library

Boston, Massachusetts

Burgoyne Campaign (Channing)

Ch E 7
34-75

1. E7 37 - General Burgoyne Addressing the Indians
(rare engraving H. Warren J. Armytage.)
2. E7 35 - Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Engraved from and original
miniature by J. Chapman. London Published as the
Act directs July 1st, 1797 by H. D. Symonds
Pater-noster Row
3. Jardin de Kosciusco
Vanderburch del Lemaitre dir
4. The tomb of Kosciusko
W. H. Bartlet R. Wallis
5. Picture of Riedesel
Herzogl Braunschweigscher General-Lieutenant E.7 40
6. Original letter of Riedesel dated Nov. 19th, 1777
to Heath (?) regarding desirable method of heating
the barracks for German soldiers. Ch E 7 40.
7. At Jacob Tilton's At the Sign of the Marquis of
Rockingham, Portsmouth, New-Hampshire
victuals, Lodging, wine, Punch, Porter, Flip,
Toddy Drams, Hay Oats.
Note: Has across the top the signature
of Capt. Joseph Gilley. E 7 42
8. Picture of Enoch Poor
Brigr. General Revolutionary Army
From a drawing by Thad. Kosciuszko E 7. 44
9. Eccha. for 60 Dollars, at five Livres Tournois p.
dollar Numb. 2175
United States of America, 15th, Day of April - 1782

At Thirty Days Sight of this Third Bill, First, Second
and Fourth not paid, pay to Mrs. Martha Poor -
or Order, Sixty Dollars, in Three Hundred Livres
Tournois for Interest due on Money borrowed by the
United States.
To the Commissioner or Commissioners of the
United States of America, At Paris. M. Hillegas
Treasr.
Countersigned Nich. Gilman
Commissioner of the Continental Loan Office
Z B. in the State of New Hampshire E 7. 44

10. Joseph Brant Thayendanegea (picture)
The Great Captain of The Six Nations
Engraved from an original Painting in the Collection
of the Right Honble the Earl of Warwick, by A. Dick. E7. 46.
11. Letter of Joseph Brandt to D. Fonda Esq. Niagara, March
1798 in reference to the sale of his horse and of claims
by Canadian Indians that his tribes have been selling
their lands, that the claim is entirely unfounded. E7. 46.
12. Picture of Jos. Brandt Thayendanegea
Painted by G. Cutlin from the original of E. Ames. E.7 49
13. Major Benjamin Lincoln engraved by T. Illman.
Painted by J. Herring from the original
By Col. Sargeant in the collection of the
Massachusetts Historical Society.
14. I Thomas Reed do acknowledge the United States of America
to be free, independent and sovereign States and declare that
the People thereof owe no Allegiance to George the Third
King of Great Britain - And I renounce, refuse and abjure
any Allegiance or Obediance to him: And I do swear, that
I will to the utmost of my Power, support, maintain and
defend the s^d. United States, against the s^d King George
the 3d his Heirs and Successors and his and their Abettors,
Assistants and Adherents and will serve the sd United
States in the Office of Deputy Pay Master Genl., which
I now hold with Fidelity according to the best of my skill
and understanding.
- So help me God
Thos. Reed D Q.M. Genl.
- Personally appeared Thomas Reed D QM Genl. and took the
above Oath by him subscribed before me. E7. 51
- B. Lincoln M.G. (Original)
15. Letter of Phillips to Heath Cambridge April 3, 1778
(requests permission to forward three private letters
to Burgoyne) original E.7 52
16. Receipt of Balcarres for supplies for Convention Army E 7. 55
"Received from Jonathan Clarke Esqr. Commissary General of
stores and Provisions for the army under Convention.

Picture of Joseph Cilley E. 7. 54

Receipt of Balcarres, Lt. Col.

("Received from Jonathan Clarke Esq. Commissary General of Stores, and Provisions for the Army under Convention, Nine Thousand Two hundred and eighty seven Rations of **Provisions** of all species, for the use of the 24th Regt. of Foot under my Command commencing the 17th Octr. and ending 6th Novr. 1777 following both days inclusive, for which I have signed three receipts of this Tenor and date.

Balcarres
Lt. Colo."

Enoch Poor (picture) E 7 56

Lady Harriett Acland 60

Major Gen. Benedict Arnold (excellent picture)
(Engraved by H. R. Hall Printed by W. Pate. 62

Gen. H. Dearborn 64

Brig. Gen. Glover (J.G.)
H. B. Hall Printed by W. Pate. 66
(Fascimile of a pencil drawing from life by
Col. J. Trumbull

Daniel Morgan
(Drawn by J. Herring from Col. Trumbull's Sketch
Engraved by J. F. E. Prudhomme

"Contingent Account of the pay due to the following
Gentlemen appointed Commissaries during the March from
Cambridge in the Province of Massachusetts Bay to
Virginia."

Albermale in Virginia
31 January 1779
Errors Excepted 70
Jon:^b Clarke
Assist. Commissary Genl."

Note: Signed by Major Gen. Phillips

BURGOYNE'S MISTRESS

Boston Public Library

Boston, Massachusetts

1932, Sept. 18

Kenneth Roberts to Mr. Haraszti

(..."I think you are perfectly correct about Mrs. Foy. I had overlooked the phrase in the Hadden Appendix in which Carleton refused to release Foy. I had figured that Mrs. Foy was the type that Burgoyne would naturally pick, fond --- according to Baroness R.--- of her liquor, and that her husband was a commissary of musters. Baroness Riedesel was so quick to name persons of whom she disapproved that the very fact of not naming the wife of the commissary seemed to me to point to Mrs. Foy. That is, she had named Mrs. Foy repeatedly during her early narrative, and the sudden failure to name names indicated to me that she didn't dare to go so far as to accuse an acquaintance of long standing of actual adultery. However, your reasoning is without doubt right. It seems to me singular that all historians --- and I do not pretend to be an historian --- have failed to get at the bottom of this "wife of the commissary" accusation. Fonblanque, Huddleston and all the rest of them seem to accept Riedesel's statement, but don't try to clear it up. Your research into the matter is extremely interesting. It seems to me to indicate that our historians have been unfortunate in not having you to turn to."

(Note: This above extract was in reply to Mr. Haraszti's letter to Roberts dated Sept. 2, 1932.

Haraszti's deductions in reference to Burgoyne's mistress.

"I do not believe, Sir, that "the wife of the commissary," of whom Baroness Riedesel speaks as being Burgoyne's mistress, was Mrs. Harriet Van Horn Foy. In an appendix to Hadden's Journal, pp. 384-5, Horatio Rogers wrote Edward Foy, among others:

"He accompanied the Brunswick troops from Germany to England, and thence to Quebec, where he arrived June 1st, 1776, having gone to Canada as commissary of the troops there. His service as commissary was very brief, however, as he was appointed deputy adjutant-general to the army in Canada June 3, 1776; and, soon after, commissary of musters, which latter position he resigned when promoted to adjutant-general, June 6, 1777, on Lieut-Col MacLean's becoming a brigadier, Gen. Burgoyne wished to have Foy join him upon his expedition, but Sir Guy Carleton, who had asked to be relieved of his command and was preparing to return to England, could not then spare his adjutant-general, and so wrote Burgoyne August 16, 1777.

"Capt Foy felt that the important position of adjutant-general should be filled by an officer of higher army rank than he held, and as he had failed, though aided by Sir Guy Carleton, in securing the deserved rank, he resigned the office and accepted the position of barrack master general, Oct. 11, 1777...."

From all this it is obvious that Captain Foy did not take part in Burgoyne's expedition, and so it would seem that his wife could not have gone with Burgoyne's army, while he himself stayed in Quebec. This alone I regard as proving to a certainty that Mrs. Foy was identical with "the wife of the commissary". Further,

I also believe that if she had been the woman, the Baroness Riedesel would have mentioned her by name - and with plenty of reflections added to it. Excessive discretion was not among the faults of this German lady.

Who was then "the wife of the commissary" or "the wife of a commissary" - "die Frau eines Commissars" as the original has it? I believe that she was really just that: the wife of one of the commissaries. Now in the Orderly Book of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, edited by E. B. Callaghan and printed at Albany in 1860, there is a list of the British officers captured at Saratoga. There one may read that the Commissary General was Jonathan Clarke, and that there were five Assistant Commissaries, namely: J. Rousseau, Andrew Foster, L. Cromanteau, Nathaniel Collyer, and John Powell. I think, we can discard at the outset Jonathan Clarke, for if the woman had been his wife, Baroness Riedesel would have mentioned her by name; the Commissary General was too important a person to refer to him as "a commissary." The question comes down to this: which of the five assistants was meant by the Baroness.

In Hadden's Journal we find, p. 198, under the date June 20, 1776, this entry: "Mr. Rousseau is appointed Quarter Master to the Commander-in-Chief at Head Quarters, and is to be obeyed as such." Horatio Rogers adds this note: "Assistant Commissary J. Rousseau was included in the Saratoga Convention and signed the Cambridge Parole. He was exchanged Sept. 3, 1781" In the Orderly Book of Burgoyne I found this single reference to Rousseau, in the order for July 10, 1777, p. 35: The General Officers will send an Account to Mr. Rousseau, Commissary to the Staff, of the number of Rations they would chuse to be daily supplied with."

We have established then that Rousseau was the Commissary to the Staff and we also know that the Staff formed a separate unit in the Army. They usually were located together, had their meals - and drinks - together. What is more likely than that on the night in question, October 9, Burgoyne was amusing himself in company of the wife of the commissary, who was staying anyhow in his lodgings - in the ample mansion that belonged to General Schuyler?

His drinking with the wife of any other Commissary, located perhaps with an outlying regiment, would have been too conspicuous even for John Burgoyne.

Well, of course, this theory can be true only if J. Rousseau had a wife. At present there is no fact in my hand to show it - except the narrative of Baroness Riedesel.

Or, rather, there are a few more scraps which I shall quote for your convenience:

In the Campaign of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, printed at Albany in 1877, William L. Stone writes, pp. 87-8:

"Burgoyne, however, would not think of a further advance that night; and while his army were suffering from cold and hunger, and every one was looking forward to the immediate future with apprehension, 'The illuminated mansion of General Schuyler,' says the Brunswick Journal, 'rang with singing, laughter, and the jingling of glasses. There Burgoyne was sitting with some merry companions at a dainty supper, while the champaign was flowing. Near him sat the beautiful wife of an English Commissary, his mistress. Great as the calamity was, the frivolous General still kept up his orgies. Some were even of the opinion that he had merely made that inexcusable stand for the sake of passing a merry night. Riedesel thought it his duty to remind his general of the danger of the halt, but the latter returned all sorts of evasive answers."

I wish to mention that the "Brunswick Journal" here mentioned consisted of a number of unpublished letters and journals written by Hessian officers and soldiers. In 1891 William L. Stone published several of them in a volume Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers

In Hadden's Journal p. LXXXI, there is this passage by Horatio Rogers:

The London Chronicle for Dec. 20 - 23, 1777, says, - 'There were many women and children in Gen. Burgoyne's camp when he surrendered, all of whom were ordered to be provided by Gen. Gates. The women at a whole ration, the children at an-half.' A "Return of the British Troops who draw Provisions, Prospect Hill 22 Nov., 1777", found among the Heath Papers, gives 215 women; while a Provisional Return of the German troops, about the same time, gives 82 women; making 297 women, besides officers' wives, and servants, with Burgoyne at Cambridge, a month after his surrender."

The wife of the commissary - whom I believe to be the wife of J. Rousseau - was undoubtedly among the latter.

This much more: J. Rousseau was exchanged, together with other British and German officers, on Sept. 3, 1781. (The Remembrancer, vol. XIII, p. 64) When his wife left (if he really had any), I do not know. Maybe with Burgoyne, on April 14, 1778, sailing from Newport. I have hunted in contemporary Boston and Rhode Island newspapers for a description of Burgoyne's departure, hoping that in such an article the persons who accompanied him would be mentioned. So far I have not found any. I intend to write to the Rhode Island Historical Society for information."

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Boston, Massachusetts

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"Gates's Camp at Stillwater A.

The Hudson River is on the left, and the shaded lines parallel with the River represents the Heights.

The dotted lines are roads:

- a - Genl. Gates's Head Quarters
- b - A House occupied by Genls. Arnold & Poor
- c - House occupied by Morgan
- d - Morgan's Corps
- e - Connecticut troops, on low ground.
- f - Cavalry, on high ground.
- g - Stables for the Cavalry
- h - Massachusetts troops under Col. Nixon
- i - New York Troops, under Col. Graham.
- k - A strong Breastwork extending from the foot of the Heights to the River.
- n - Behmus's House
- m - Bridge of Boats

- s - House on a small hill, where Cilley was ordered to take post at the beginning of the action of the 19th of September; but mistaking it he marched onward.
- v - Where Morgan's advance guard first met with Burgoyne's flanking party, and the first firing commenced.
- x - Where Cilley's advance guard met the advance guard of Frazer's Division, and had a slight skirmish.
- t - Freemans House
- z - Where the action commenced with Scammel's Regiment
- y - Morgan's Corps at the commencement of the action.

The progress of the action seems to be as accurately drawn by Gen. Burgoyne as the nature of the thing would admit.

This plan of Gen. Gates's Camp has not been taken from actual measurement, but from the judgment of the eye, after walking over it in several directions, and with the aid of the Nelsons, who then resided on the spot, and has lived there ever since. He owned the houses in which Arnold and Morgan had their quarters. His knowledge must therefore be accurate.

The distances are sufficiently correct for the purposes of understanding the positions and movements of the army, though they cannot be presumed to be exact. They will agree tolerably well with the scale affixed to the drawing. Mr. Buel was in the camp during the whole time it was occupied, and he went over the ground with me, and pointed out different objects.

Aug. 25th, 1830.

See: Rough Sketch map entitled - "Gates's Camp"
Get photostat

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Papers of Benjamin Lincoln

Lincoln, Gen. B.

Sept. 29, 1777

To Gen. Fellows at
 Falls Mill
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Catalogue of the Library of Jared Sparks....

Cambridge, 1871. Riverside Press.

Note:

2716 Views and Designs, 88 mounted. 7 in. by 10. Half
Turkey morocco.

1. Ruins of Ticonderoga, Lake Champlain, Fort Ticonderoga;
Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga; Near Skeenesborough on Lake
Champlain; Ticonderoga, Saratoga; Plan of the Battle of
Bennington, on a branch of the Hoosac; Sketch of Burgoyne's
Head-quarters, Burgoyne's Surrender; Plan of Battles of
Stillwater and Saratoga, with Burgoyne's Headquarters
and Camp, The Hudson; Surrender of Burgoyne (rude engraving)

Note: Collection in Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

SPARKS COLLECTION

Widener Library

Harvard University

Visit of Sparks to Saratoga 1830

Sparks Journal Ms. Sparks 141G

August 24 Set off early in the stage coach for the Battle ground in Saratoga, & arrived at Ensign's Tavern near the River, & on the spot of Burgoyne's encampment before his retreat. The house was then standing, and belonged to the present occupant's father. The people say also, that it was the residence of Lady Harriet Asland while Burgoyne's Army remained here. I was informed that Major Buel was the usual guide to strangers visiting the Battle Grounds. He lives about a mile down the River. I went to see him, and he agreed to conduct me tomorrow morning over the field of action.

Major Buel gave me the following account himself. He is now 84 years old. He was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, and came to live at Stillwater in 1771, a few miles below his present residence. He thought little of the war, or its consequences or causes, till after the Battle of Lexington, when many of his friends in Stillwater set up a liberty pole and entered with great enthusiasm into the cause of the Congress. At first he doubted, on the ground of the apparent impossibility, that the colonies in their weak state, without arms or preparations, could successfully maintain their opposition to the British Power. On reflection, however, he joined in the general feeling, and entered warmly into the views & objects of the party for liberty. Allen and Arnold soon after took possession of Ticonderoga. He first learned of this by a person, whom he met coming directly from Ti, & who said that reinforcements were wanted as speedily as possible. Buel rode immediately to give notice to several of the inhabitants in the neighborhood, and a body of 25 volunteers, of whom he was one, went off the next day for Ti, where they arrived six days after its capture.

Here he met Arnold, whom he had known at Norwich when a boy. He says Arnold's father was a trader in Norwich, & went sometimes to the West Indies, and that Arnold was frequently with him, and thus became acquainted with naval matters. While a boy Arnold was disliked by other boys, & never sustained a good character. He had not seen him for several years till he met him at Ti, where Arnold recognized him. Arnold had a quarrel there with Ethan Allen, & Buel says pushed or kicked in a passionate rude manner.

For two years before he came to Stillwater, Mr. Buel resided in Wyoming, and says he had seen Morgan there with hams and other provisions, which he had brought from Virginia to sell to the settlers at Wyoming. Some of his officers had also been there on the same business, and Buel recognized them all when he met them in Gates's camp at Stillwater.

Mr. Buel, at the time Gates's army lay on the Islands at the mouth of the Mohawk, took up the business of a sutler, and sold rum to the soldiers. When the army was about to march back to Stillwater he was selected as a guide, being well acquainted with the ground in that quarter. Such an offer was made to him, as he thought proper to accept, & he gave up his occupation of Suttler. He and two other of his neighbors were the guides used by genl. Gates from that time till the capitulation at Saratoga. When the army came to Stillwater it encamped on the plain near the river, & he was employed with the engineers three days in travelling the country, & fixing on the site of the camp, which was at length established on the Heights back of Behmus's house. Mr. Buel was present in both the actions of Sept. 19th & Oct. 7th and acted in his capacity of guide. He was out on several scouts.

After this campaign he became a lieutenant in the army, and was for some time under Col. Warner in the Newhampshire Grants. He was there after sent out on scots, and acquired much skill in expeditions of that sort. One day the scout was ready, and waiting, & the lieutenant was absent. The soldiers were inquiring, "where is the Lieutenant? where is Lieutenant Buel?" Upon which Warren, who was present, replied, "He shall be no longer lieutenant; hereafter he shall be Major Buel". From this circumstance he derived a title, which never forsook him, and he is now universally known as Major Buel. The veteran related this anecdote to me with much apparent satisfaction, and seemed quite as proud of Warner's jocular appointment, as if he had received a commission from higher authority. He says his title caused him a little inconvenience for a time. After the war he was chosen captain of a militia company. His brother officers always called him major, except on parade ground, where the rules of discipline required them to address him as captain. Some ludicrous blunders occurred by an occasional misnomer.

Towards the close of the war Lieutenant Buel was on service at Fort Stanwix. On one occasion he had a severe lameness in his foot, when it was his turn to go out on a tour of duty. The party was to go out & procure wood. His superior gave him notice of the duty, but told him if his lameness prevented, he might procure a substitute.

A friend offered his service, but Buel rather insisted on going himself, as he had never yet failed to execute his tour of duty. His friend insisted, & Buel gave way. The whole party was out off by the Indians.

After the war Major Buel came back to his farm in Stillwater, where he has lived ever since. Having thus been continually on the ground from the time the events occurred, his recollections are unquestionably precise and accurate, in all things which at the time came under his personal knowledge; & in fact, he does not pretend to give information in anything else, and this of itself is a strong proof of the fidelity of his statements. He is a remarkable man for one of his years. He mounts a horse with perfect ease; and he scaled fences, and walked through the bushes and over the ground with a speed quite as rapid as I was inclined to follow.

Mr. Buel remembers Braddock's defeat, the battle of Lake George, of Ticonderoga, and the defeat of Wolfe. He recollects the high praise bestowed on Washington for his conduct at Braddock's defeat.

Battle of Sept. 19th

August, 25th - The veteran guide and myself were early on horse-back to explore the battle ground at Freeman's Farm. We took a road that leads up the heights a little south of Frazer's grave. This soon brought us to the road, in which Burgoyne led his division of the army from the encampment near Sword's House to the field of battle. This road we pursued till we came to the spot on which stood Freeman's House, near which the action commenced. The guide first pointed out to me the ground on which Burgoyne drew up his men before the action. It was then covered with wood but has since been in part cleared away. He previously showed me the spot where the advanced guard of Morgan's corps met the left flanking guard of Burgoyne, & had a slight skirmish. This was in the midst of a thick wood in the ravine along the right margin of which the road passed, and more than half a mile from Freeman's House. The parties met by accident. Lieutenant Reed of Major Dearborn's Corps was killed in this rencounter. At first he was only wounded, & the soldiers attempted to bring him off, but were prevented by the approach of the enemy. When the party joined the main body, and said that they had left the lieutenant wounded, Buel proposed to return with some of them & bring him off. When they arrived at the place they found him dead. Buel took from the body a pair of silver shoebuckles, kneebuckles. These he gave to Major Dearborn upon a promise from him, that they should be forwarded to Lieutenant Reed's relations in New Hampshire.

After this encounter everything was for sometime quiet, till a firing was heard in the woods nearly a mile beyond Freeman's House. This proceeded from an encounter between the advanced guard of Frazer's Division, (which was now coming up another route from Swords House.) and the advanced guard of a regiment commanded by Cilley. The order to Cilley when he left the camp was, that he should march and take post on a small eminence between the Camp & the scene of action, but either not knowing the location of this eminence, or not inclined to stop so far in advance of the enemy, he marched on till his advanced guard met that of Frazer in the woods. He then inclined to the right, towards the main body of the American forces under Morgan & Scammel, that he might not unawares be brought in contact with a superior force.

Shortly afterward Buel was with Scammel, who ordered him to lead his regiment directly to the point where the first firing occurred with Morgan's advanced guard. Buel told him, that Burgoyne had drawn out his division of the army across the plain between him & the place in question, so that he could not conduct him as he desired. "Go forward," replied Scammel, "as far as you can." Scammel was then stationed between Gates's Camp & Freeman's House, several hundred yards from the latter. No enemy was then in sight, nor had there been any firing since the skirmish with Cilley's advanced guard. Morgan was at a small distance on the right of Scammel. A corporal & soldier were joined with Buel, and he was ordered to go ahead and lead the regiment in the direction required. They proceeded till they came into an open field, about a hundred yards from Freeman's House on an elevated ridge of ground, with thick bushes on their left. Suddenly three men sprang from these bushes, who looked like Indians, very near the guide & the corporal. They fired and killed one of the three. Very soon after this incident there was a heavy discharge of musketry from the bushes on the left along Scammel's whole line. The bushes had entirely concealed the enemy. Scammel immediately ordered his men to halt, wheel to the left and fire. The main action was now begun. Morgan and Cilley were soon engaged. The smoke and confusion were such afterwards till night, that the guide could only tell me on what grounds the hottest of the action raged, without pointing out the position of any particular Corps. The ridge, where Scammel was first attacked, was taken and retaken repeatedly by different parties. The fighting was principally to the west of Freeman's house, and extended more than a half mile in that direction. Frazer's division was in that quarter.

Toward the close of the action, a party among whom was Buel, was ordered to take possession of Freeman's house, which had been held by the enemy but was now supposed to be abandoned by them. Eight of the Americans went quickly across a narrow valley and ascended towards the House, but to their surprise saw it filled with the British, & muskets pointing out in every direction. They had gone too far to retreat, but rushed boldly forward, & commanded the party in the house to lay down their arms. This command was instantly complied with, as the party within supposed the house surrounded by the Americans. Each man went off with two prisoners, making fourteen in all. One of the Americans had been killed in approaching the house, as Buel believed accidentally by our own men firing at the house. At that moment the British were in force near the house, but the smoke was so thick, that they were not seen either by their own men or the Americans; yet, as the house was in possession of the British, the Americans knew a larger force must be near, & hurried away with their prisoners as speedily as possible.

We walked and rode over the Battle ground in different directions, with the drawing of the battle in my hand, which is contained in Burgoyne's Defence. The guide explained particulars, & we found this drawing in the main very accurate. I have marked several localities on the drawing.

We then rode down to Gates's Camp, over the same road in which the American army came out to action. Gates's Head Quarters were about a mile and a half south of Freeman's Farm.

Within the limits of Gates's old camp we found Mr. Nelson, who lived there at the time of his own farm, & was present in the encampment nearly the whole time it was occupied by the American army. He as well as Buel, recollected the location of several of the different corps of the Army & the Head Quarters of the Generals. Arnold, Poor and Patterson occupied Nelson's House, which is now standing and makes the kitchen of his present tenement. Morgan occupied another building of his, which has since been torn down. Gates's head quarters were nearby, a little to the south. The House went to decay, and was taken down the last year. These appear to have been all the houses within the encampment.

Nelson was within camp during the whole of the first action, and saw Genl. Gates constantly. He was walking about and conversing occasionally with some of the officers. He did not go out of the camp. Arnold was inactive, & took no part.

In fact there was no general officer in the action. At one time Buel says he saw Genl. Poor, with two or three other officers, quite in the rear of the American army, & taking no part in the action. The fighting was chiefly under the eyes of Morgan, Scammel and Gilley. - The guide described Morgan as a large, muscular, athletic man; Scammel, as tall, graceful, & handsome; Gilley, as a sea captain, rough in his exterior, but bold, open hearted, & popular in his address. Nelson says, that Gates's particular associate seemed to be Gen. Glover, with whom he saw him more frequently than with any other person.

Anecdote -- Nelson says, that in the midst of the action he saw an old man riding into camp, supported on each side by a soldier. He was terribly wounded in the knee, the side of the horse on which he rode was covered with blood, & his foot was dangling as if the joint & integuments were destroyed, which bound together the two extremities of his limb. As he passed along, some one said, "My good friend, you are badly wounded." Upon which he replied, with stoical nonchalance, "Oh yes, the rouges put balls in the guns, that they fired at me."

Another -- Nelson saw another old man coming into camp wounded, with his white locks hanging down to his shoulders. A spent ball had struck him in the forehead, and scathed along the top of the skull without producing any fracture. He was bareheaded, the balling having carried away his hat. Soon afterward he passed by with his head bound up in a handkerchief, making his way with all speed to the scene of the action. When asked why he went back, he answered, "I am going in search of my hat, & to teach the rascals better manners than to knock it off with so little ceremony."

Nelson related a curious fact respecting the balls found in trees on the battleground & in the vicinity. For many years after the events he saw trees marked with balls, & in one case he had himself cut fifty nine balls from a single tree. He said it was uniformly observable, that balls fired by the British struck the trees at a much higher point than those fired by Americans. This was particularly proved by the trees, that stood between the two lines, where there had been hard fighting. On the side towards the British, balls would be found in the trees to the height of forty feet, and seldom lower than five; whereas on the American side it was rare to find them much above the height of a tall man.

Buel and Nelson both describe Arnold as a man of short stature, well built, with a keen penetrating eye, and quick in his gestures and motions. Nelson was one of the volunteers, who went to Ti with Buel.

Gates's Camp

When the army marched from Van Schaick's Island, they halted at Stillwater, a little above the present village, & lay there three days. till the ground was surveyed for a fortified camp. At this time a breastwork was thrown from the heights near Behmus's house to the River. The place pitched upon for a camp was on the Heights directly back of Behmus's house, and partly on the lands owned by him. Gates's Head Quarters were about half a mile from the River on the Road leading up the hill at Behmus's house. His camp extended nearly half a mile further, embracing the cavalry, which perhaps was out of the camp, as they were beyond the fortified lines. The extent of the camp from north to south was about three quarters of a mile. On the Heights next to the River there were two or three redoubts or breastworks. Here were stationed the New York and Massachusetts Troops; at least in part. On the north, beginning at the plains near the river, the camp was defended by a deep ravine. On the north west, where it was most exposed to the attack of the enemy, a strong breastwork was thrown up, constructed of timber and earth. The Connecticut troops were stationed in low ground between this breastwork and the hill where the cavalry were posted. Morgan's Corps were stationed just within this breastwork, in the northwest corner of the camp. A ravine ran from the plain on the river up the center of the camp. Near the upper extremity of the Ravine was a hill, which was fortified with a redoubt. These localities were pointed out to me by Nelson and Buel. See the drawing, from which a better understanding can be derived, than from any description.

The camp was said to be on Behmus's Heights, because it included the high grounds on a farm owned by a man of that name, who lived near the River. The place is now owned by a Mr. Willard. The battle of September 19th has often been spoken of as the "Battle of Behmus's Heights," but it was fought at Freeman's Farm, a mile and a half from these Heights, nor does the name properly apply to any part of that region, except the Heights in Gates's Camp. The action of the 19th may with more propriety, be called the battle of Freeman's Farm; but this would hardly distinguish it from that of the 7th Oct. which was fought on nearly the same ground.

At the south extremity of the camp, just below Behunus's house, was a bridge of boats across the Hudson, which was the only communication with the other side of the River. Nelson says he was one day there when Genl. Greene passed the bridge in his carriage. Just before the Horses reached the shore, they walked over the side of the boat & plunged themselves & the genls. carriage into the river. The coolness and good humor of the Genl. on this occasion attracted the admiration of the bystanders. He told the men not to be in a hurry in cutting the horses loose, but to be deliberate & they would be the more successful. His baggage and papers were wet through. He took them out and had them dried, but was full of good nature & agreeable conversation. - Nelson insisted that this was Genl. Greene, but I have never before known that he was at anytime with Gates, & I still believe that Nelson may be mistaken in the person.

Gates & the officers were always expecting an attack from the British on the side of the River by scaling the heights in that quarter. The approaches of the enemy at the beginning of the two actions were considered as feints to draw the attention of the Americans that way, and then to make an assault by the River and heights. Hence Gates kept a large part of his army in camp for defense in case of such an assault. But it does not appear that Burgoyne meditated such a thing in either action. Indeed in his own reports he says, that he suspected a similar attack on his own camp from the Americans in the second action and left a large body in camp to guard against such an event.

In the afternoon I rode alone over the whole ground, which I examined in the morning with Major Buel, and inspected more minutely all the particulars of the battle ground of Gates's camp.

Fraser's Grave

A little before sunset I returned from my ride, and ascended the hill to the spot where Gen. Frazer was buried. The view from this place is exceedingly beautiful, and the effect was now heightened by the rays of the setting sun brightly gilding the distant hills, the quiet valley, and the waters of the Hudson, which are here seen for a long distance both to the right & the left as you look toward the east. Few spots combine a greater variety of pleasing objects, and a peculiar charm was thrown over the whole by the solemn, peaceful spirit of tranquility, that seemed to brood over mountain and dale. Burgoyne's graphic description

of the funeral procession, which was at this time of day & nearly at this season of the year, came strongly to my mind.

The Redoubt in which Frazer was buried is distinctly visible in all its parts. It is an irregular figure adapted to the form of the Hill, & at that time contained two cannon. The hill rises beautifully in conical shape from the plain, but is connected with the heights beyond by a ridge on a level with its summit. Trees had grown up in the Redoubt & around the edges of the entrenchment, but they have all recently been cut down, except two small pines & three or four of another kind, which stand near the redoubt on the east & north.

The tradition has been, that Frazer's bones have been dug up & carried away, but I have no faith in it. Major Buel, who has lived here since the time Frazer was buried, knows nothing about it, & it is impossible that such a thing should happen without his knowledge. It is true, people have dug for his bones within a few years, chiefly with the idle expectation of finding treasure. Two holes are still visible where such attempts were made, but it is well ascertained, that neither bones nor treasures were found. Some years ago the supposed spot of his burial within the redoubt was surrounded by a wooden railing, but this has long since disappeared. It was said to have been erected by some of Frazer's relatives in England.

Mr. James King of Albany tells me, that five or six years ago, Mr. Alexander Frazer, a lawyer in London, corresponded with him respecting the purchase of the ground on which Frazer's redoubt stands, and the erection of a monument. Mr. King conversed with the owner of the ground, as the price he would ask for it, that is, for two or three acres embracing the larger portion of the Hill, & the privilege of a road from the public road to the spot. His charge was six or seven hundred dollars. As the land is sterile, & worth very little, this was thought exorbitant, & Frazer's friend gave up the idea of purchasing it. One of the family has been an East India Merchant, and is very wealthy, & it is said he intended to pay the expense. If such was the case, it could hardly be supposed, that he would be deterred by a consideration of a few hundred dollars. Yet Mr. King tells me the correspondence was dropped upon his report of the terms of the owner of the land, & has not since been renewed.

The house in which Frazer died stood at the foot of the hill, a little to the north. It belonged to a man named Taylor, and was called Taylor's House. It was afterwards removed to the road, on the bank of the river, where it now stands. Additions have been made to it, but the room in which Frazer died still exists, in precisely the same condition, with the same windows and doors, (no the occupant told me) as at that time. It was two stories high, containing two small rooms on a floor, and was occupied by Madame Riedesel with her children. On the day of the second battle, Frazer and other wounded officers were brought there. The old cellar is still visible, and marks the former site of the House.

Battle of October 7th

August 26th - As soon as breakfast was over, Major Buel was again on his horse to accompany me to the battle ground with a view of examining the localities of the second action, which took place on the 7th of October. In riding to the ground we passed up an old road, & across the woods & fields, directly over the ground occupied by Burgoyne and his army as a fortified camp after the first action. This old road is the same, which is marked on Burgoyne's Plans, as the one pursued by Riedesel in leading the Germans into the action of Sept. 19th - It is now impassable except for a short distance.

The action of the 7th Oct. began nearly a mile to the southwest of Freeman's house, and not more than three quarters of a mile from the American Camp. The spot is now in sight of Nelson's house on the high ground in the camp, but at that time it was doubtless hidden by the intervening woods. When the firing commenced, Buel was at the River, but made all haste to the scene of action. On arriving there he found both armies warmly engaged on the spot near which Gen. Frazer was wounded. It must have been just at this time when Burgoyne says Gen. Frazer took his second position to prevent being outflanked by Morgan. The smoke was so thick, that Buel could not discover in what manner the armies were engaged, till he ascended a small eminence, which he pointed out near the road, and from which he saw the British line near at hand in close engagement with the Americans on his left, but with their right flank exposed. He saw at the same time at the foot of this hill in the rear an American Regiment, formed in the Bushes waiting for an opportunity to begin the attack. He immediately ran down & inquired of the Colonel if he wishes to go in action. "Yes", he replied, but it is impossible at present

without falling upon our own men." "If you will double that hill on your right," said Buel, you will immediately come in contact with the enemy's exposed left flank, and I will conduct you to the spot." The Colonel looked doubtfully at Buel, as if suspecting there might be some treachery in his proposal, till another officer near by told the Colonel, that he knew the man, & that he was one of the guides of the army, & that he might have perfect confidence in him. "Go forward, then," said the Colonel, & immediately gave the order of march to his regiment. They were quickly passed the point of the hill, & in the heat of the action on the enemy's left flank, in a position to do great execution. This was Colonel Brooks of Massachusetts, though Buel did not know the name of the officer till many years afterwards. He was explaining these things to a lady on the ground who said she had but a few days before heard Col. Brooks relate the same incidents. This was after he was governor of Mass.^{ts} & it was the first time that Buel knew he was the officer. From the time Brooks engaged, till the end of the affair, he and his regiment were in the hottest of the fight.

By the movement of Brooks the hill above mentioned was left in possession of the Americans. Three British cannon were placed on it, which were thus taken. Buel was near them, and saw Col. Stevens riding along, to whom he called out to come and swear the cannon true to the American cause. Stevens dismounted, turned the cannon to the enemy, and fired them off, at the same time procouncing them true to America.

By this time there was a complete rout of the British army, and the Americans were driving them in every direction towards their encampment beyond Freeman's House. The distance was more than half a mile, and Buel says the firing at this time was tremendous. It seemed to him like a continued sound of thunder, rearing and rumbling in every quarter of the heavens. The British were driven entirely into their camp, and the Germans were assaulted in their encampment. The guide pointed out the German Camp, & the place where Arnold was wounded in the assault.

Burgoyne's drawing of the action which I had in my hand, seems as accurate as the nature of the case would admit. By seeing the ground & comparing it with the drawing, a very good idea of the movements of the armies is obtained; though the rout and confusion were so great a large portion of the time, that is not easy to designate, much less to describe the localities and evolutions.

Sword's House

After leaving the Battle ground we took the road to Sword's House, in which Genl. Frazer led his division of the army to the action of the 19th Sept. - When Burgoyne came down the River, he turned up the Heights at Sword's House, and encamped his whole army on the plains, which border the road that runs in that direction, as drawn in the plan of the first action. He was here encamped on the 17th & 18th of Sept. - Riedesel & the Germans were encamped on the plain near the river. He marched to the action in three divisions, by three different roads, as will be seen on his drawing. I passed over these roads, & examined the above encampment.

As we came down from Freeman's Farm to Sword's House by the Road pursued by Frazer, Major Buel showed me the House in which the person lived, who was Frazer's guide. His name was Hillecker. He was a young man, and his father at that time owned a farm on this very road, and lived there, so that he conducted the army by his father's house. Buel was well acquainted with him before the war. He was a guide on other occasions. He afterwards went to Canada, where he still lives, as the Major believes, though he has not seen him since. - The neighborhood was full of Tories, & Burgoyne had no difficulty in procuring guides perfectly acquainted with the country.

Sword's House, as drawn on Burgoyne's plan, has for many years been pulled down. Its site is known, but no house now stands there - Sword, who lived there, had been an officer in the French war, but took no part in the Revolution.

Burgoyne's Camp

After the action of Sept. 19th Burgoyne took possession of the Heights between Freeman's Farm & the River, where he established his camp, & fortified it as well as he could. A few remains of the old breastworks are visible. They were formed of timber and earth. His division was posted nearest the River; Frazer's next; and then Balcarrass on the southern part of Freeman's Farm. The Germans were still further onward, and to the northwest of Freeman's House. All these localities are represented with great accuracy on Burgoyne's drawing of the second action.

Gen. Lincoln's Wound

Burgoyne evacuated his camp on the night of the 7th of Oct. - & took post in the plain. On the 8th the American officers were passing and repassing through the deserted camp & examining the ground. While riding in the southern part of Burgoyne's camp Gen. Lincoln was wounded in the leg by a cannon shot. Major Buel is confident, that this shot came from our own guns, stationed on the opposite side of the river, & firing all day into the British encampment on the plain. He showed me the spot of ground on which Gen. Lincoln was wounded, & assured me that no cannon shot from any position then held by the enemy could have reached that place, owing to the steepness of the intervening heights, whereas it was directly in the range of our guns, stationed at two miles distant, & firing into the British camp. A shot, which should pass over the camp sufficiently high to clear the Heights, would necessarily scour the plain on which Burgoyne's old encampment was established. On examining the localities & bearings from different points I was satisfied that this was a correct view of the subject. On Burgoyne's plan of the second action I have marked the position of the guns, & the spot where Lincoln was wounded, and it will be seen that they are in range. The Heights are so steep, that no cannon on the plain in the British Camp could have reached the place where Gen. Lincoln was at the time he was wounded. But cannon fired from either of the redoubts on the Heights, (in one of which Frazer was buried the same day) might possibly have produced the effect. But this is a bare possibility, & it would seem much more probable in my mind that it came from one of our own guns as above described.

The cannonade of Frazer's funeral procession, as mentioned by Burgoyne, was from the other side of the river, within the distance of a mile, and probably from the same cannon, which had wounded Lincoln.

Major Buel says, that he thinks the skirmish between Morgan's advanced guard & Burgoyne's flank guard took place between 10 & eleven o'clock: - and that there was no more firing till Scammel commended the engagement at 3 o'clock.

Capitulation

After finishing the examination of the Battle Grounds, & Gates's Camp, I proceeded to the scene of Burgoyne's capitulation at Fish Creek (New Schuylerville) seven miles up the river. We passed a place called Dovecote in Burgoyne's dispatches. I had a letter to Mr. Philip Schuyler, grandson to Gen. Schuyler, and who lives in the same house formerly occupied by his grandfather.

I passed the night with Mr. Schuyler, & he very politely went over the grounds with me, and pointed out every remarkable place, - Burgoyne's fortified camp, - the plain on which the British surrendered their arms; - the German encampment; - the position of Gates's army, & particularly of Morgan's Corps.

Burgoyne's drawing represents these particulars very accurately; except that the forces under Gen. Fellows, on the other side of the river, instead of being station at one place, were arranged along the heights for nearly two miles, with cannon so stationed as to command the plain, and the German encampment. Fellows troops were stationed on both sides of the Batten Kill. Gates's army was stationed on the Heights & in the woods on the south side of the Fish Kill; and the line was continued by Morgan's corps on the west quite round to the Hudson; so that Burgoyne was completely surrounded.

Burgoyne's fortified camp was on a commanding eminence a mile west of the Hudson. It was evidently selected by him on his way down the river, in case he shd. be compelled to retreat.

The house described by Madam Riedesel, in which she was obliged to conceal herself & children in the cellar to escape the cannon balls, is still standing, and in good repair. It is nearly opposite the mouth of the Batten Kill, and near the place where Burgoyne passed the river on a bridge of Boats, when he went down. The cannon fired at this house were on the opposite side of the river. We visited the house, and the occupant told us, that recently in shingling the house, he found several holes through the under covering of the Roof, which had been made by cannon balls. The house stands a little distance from the road, up a hill on the left, about a mile from Fish Kill.

The movements of the army in a fog, mentioned by Wilkinson, must all have been below the present site of the Bridge, and on the plain near the Hudson, where there was a ford. The ground above the bridge is too precipitous for any such movements. Wilkinson's description of the whole affair is unintelligible.

Mr. Schuyler thinks if Burgoyne had abandoned his artillery & heavy Baggage, and made a rapid march on the west side of the River, that he would have reached Glens Falls, & Lake George, & escaped to Ticonderoga. The country between Fish Kill & Glens Falls on the west side of the river is a pine barrer a large part of the way, & might easily have been passed. The distance is only eighteen miles.

We visited the Ruins of old Fort Hardie, which are still distinctly visible at the junction of the Fish Kill with ye (?) Hudson.

Fort Edward

It had high breastworks & deep trenches, and covered a space of six acres. It was a strong defense against musketry.

Mr. Schuyler is to send me an account of Gen. Schuyler's policy in his arrangements to resist Burgoyne, & particularly in taking post at Van Schaicks Island. -

Fort Edward

Aug. 27th - Proceeded to Fort Edward, having passed through the village of Fort Miller, I could not learn that any vestige of the old Fort remained - It was on the west side of the River, on a plain in a bend of the River. A field of corn now covers the spot.

Moses Creek, where the American Army under Schuyler stopped for three or four days after evacuating Fort Edward, is between Fort Miller and Fort Edward, and about five miles south of the latter.

Fort Edward stood directly on the east Bank of the Hudson, on a sandy plain. It is now in ruins. It is in the midst of the present village, & has been laid out into house lots, & more than half of the old Fort has been partially levelled & converted into gardens. The east & south sides of the fort are in a partial state of preservation, & the embankments fifteen or twenty feet high. But the owner is digging them down, & the whole structure will soon disappear. It seems originally to have been about 200 yards long and a hundred wide. It was built of timber and earth, no stones being used. - When evacuated by Gen. Schuyler, it was burnt, & nearly all the timber work destroyed. It was never repaired. - The murder of Jane McCrea by the Indians took place half a mile north of the Fort near the present road. Of this I shall speak more fully hereafter.

My next post was

Fort Anne

Twelve miles from Fort Edward. This was a scene of much fighting in the French war, & a battle in the revolution. The old fort was three quarters of a mile south of the present village, near Wood Creek. No vestige of it remains, except a hole, which was once a well. A Picket Fort was built at the Beginning of the

revolution on the bank of what was formerly called Clear River, but latterly Half Way Brook, and at a short distance from its junction with Wood Creek. The site of the Fort is now occupied by houses and stores at the upper end of the village. Remains of the old piquets are seen broken off just above the surface of the earth. This fort was evacuated and burnt by the Americans on the approach of Burgoyne's Army.

I was told that a mile and a half south of Fort Anne village, on the bank of Wood Creek, is the spot where Putnam had a contest with the Indians in the French war, & was tied to a tree, as related in his life.

A Piquet Fort was built of logs set perpendicularly, and about twelve feet long, sharpened at the top. Holes were cut through at certain places for the use of musquetry. The whole was surrounded by a side trench to prevent an escalade. Such was the construction of this fort, as told me by an old man, who was in it.

Battle of Fort Anne

When Burgoyne arrived at Skenesborough in pursuit of that part of St. Clair's army, who fled up the lake, he immediately dispatched the 9th regiment under Colonel Hill to pursue the retreating Americans towards fort Anne. The Americans gained the Fort before they were overtaken. Half a mile from the Fort, on the west side of Wood Creek, a steep rocky hill runs into an abrupt point, which approaches within a few feet of the creek. Beyond this point, there is a plain between the hill and the Creek, varying from 10 to 20 rods in width, & extending back more than half a mile. Col. Hill followed the Americans till he came to this point, when fearing to pursue any further, lest he should be met by a superior force near the fort, he stopped & in the night threw up a breast work reaching from the point of rocks to the Creek, a distance which at the most could not have been more than 12 or 15 feet. He immediately sent back to Burgoyne for reinforcements, saying that he would maintain his position till they arrived.

Meantime Col. Long, the commandant in the Fort, early in the morning dispatched fifty men to bring up a batteau which they had left on their way up the night before at a place called the narrows, about two miles below the fort.

As this body approached the point of rocks, and just as they passed a bridge over a small stream that emptied into Wood Creek, they discovered the breastwork & the enemy behind it. Captain Belcher said to his men; "look well to your looks, boys, see that every gun will go quick, we will have a crack at the red coats." The fire soon commenced, and was kept up warmly for some minutes. The moment the firing was heard a reinforcement of 100 regular troops was sent out to them from the fort. They ascended the rocky side of the hill near the breastwork, with a view to outflank the British on the right; - This induced the British to ascend the other side of the hill, and gradually to retreat to prevent being outflanked, and also to gain upon the left flank of the Americans. Thus the action was chiefly fought on the ridge of the hill, till the English had been driven about half a mile, where the shape of the hill varied, & they could incline towards the river again without hazarding their flank or rear. In this way the action continued two hours, being closely maintained by both sides. The Americans did not venture to pursue farther, because it was unknown that reinforcements might be at hand from Burgoyne's main body, & had they descended into the valley between the river and the hill, which had been left open by the movements of the British, they would have had the breastwork at the point of rocks in their rear, the river on one flank, & the hill on the other, and would thus have been exposed to a very easy conquest. Hence prudence required that they should relinquish the pursuit. Near the beginning of the action a reinforcement of 200 militia was also sent from the fort, making 350 the whole number engaged. The hill where the battle took place was steep, rocky, and covered with wood. A party of fifteen or twenty men went up on the east side of Wood Creek, opposite the plain held by the English; but they did little execution, as the enemy were soon out of their reach by ascending the Hill. On this side of the Creek the bank for a considerable distance was a perpendicular rock nearly twenty feet high.

The above account was related to me by Mr. Sault Vine, who was one of the party that fled from Ti, and was in the action. It was confirmed by Mr. Saml. Standish, who was also in the action, and one of the 50 sent after the batteau. He saw 20 English lying on the ground dead within compass of two rods square. Capt. Montgomery & several other British officers were brought into the fort wounded. There were between 20 & 30 Americans killed. He did not hear that there was a scarcity of ammunition. Capt. Belcher shot away all his cartridges, & then took Capt. Montgomery's gun & cartridges, because the balls would not fit his gun.

On the day of the action the Americans set fire to the fort, and everything in it, which they could not carry away, & then marched off to Fort Edward. On the same day the British took possession of a Blockhouse on the Halfway Brook, one mile above the fort. No attempt was made to dislodge them, as no object could be gained by it, since a retreat was necessary. It was probably an oversight not to have burnt it beforehand.

Murder of Jenny McCrea

I employed a person to take me from Fort Anne to Whitehall in a waggon. On the way he observed to me, that he knew an old man, who was present at the murder of Jane McCrea, and that he lived in Granville, eight miles from Whitehall. His name was Samuel Standish. I immediately engaged him to take me to see this gentleman. After stopping an hour or two at Whitehall we proceeded to Granville, where we found Mr. Standish, an active old man, seventy six years of age, in full possession of his faculties. He related to me the following narrative.

He was a native of Norwich in Connecticut, and was in the army as a soldier in Fellow's Regiment, and stationed at Fort Edward. One morning very early, when he was on a picquet guard under Lieut Van Vechter, he heard a firing very near him, & suddenly several Indians appeared in the bushes. He discharged his piece, & ran down the hill towards the fort, which was half a mile distant. No sooner had he reached the bottom of the hill, than three Indians sprang out of the bushes, fired upon him, & wounded him in the foot. One of them came up to him, caught him by the neck, threw him on the ground, & pinioned his arms. He then pushed him violently, & motioned to him to go up the hill with all speed. They arrived at the top of the hill at the place where he had stood sentinel, near a large pine tree & a spring of water. Several Indians were then gathered around the spring, and in a few minutes he saw Jenny McCrea and Mrs. McNeil walking up the hill with a party of Indians. They came near the spring and stopped. In a short time violent language passed between the Indians, & they got into a high quarrel, beating each other with their muskets. In the midst of the fray, one of the chiefs in a rage shot Jenny McCrea in her breast, & she fell & expired immediately. Her hair was long and flowing, and the same chief took off the scalp, cutting so as to embrace nearly the whole of that part of the head on which the hair grew. He then sprang up, tossed the scalp in the face of a young Indian standing by, brandished it in the air, and uttered a yell of savage exultation. When this was done the quarrel ceased, & the whole party moved off quickly, for the fort had already been alarmed. They went as soon as possible to Genl. Fraser's camp, wh (which) was three miles distant on the road to Fort Anne.

These particulars Standish related with great confidence, and affirmed that there could be no mistake, for he saw the whole most distinctly. He was standing prisoner within few yards of Miss McCrea, when she was shot. She stood at the moment near the spring but a little further up the hill. It has been said in the other accounts, that she was on horseback, & was tomahawked. Standish is positive that there was no horse in the party, & that she was shot. He knows not but she was tomahawked after her death, but is sure she was killed by a musket ball. He was acquainted with Miss McCrea, had seen her either two or three days at Mrs. McNeil's house, & knew her perfectly on this occasion. She was an interesting young lady. The Americans in the Fort had advised her to go down the river, but she said she had no fears. As she was taken while the Indians were pursuing Standish, he had no knowledge of the manner in which it had been done. He understood in camp, that the Indian Chief, who had murdered her, brought the scalp to Jones, her lover, who had employed the Indians to bring her into camp. The reward, which Jones had offered for bring her in, he always understood to be a barrel of rum. From the manner in which the chief produced the scalp to the young lady's lover, it is evident that he was not aware of the nature of his charge. He probably supposed her to be an enemy, whom Jones wished to be taken, dead or alive.

There were two chiefs in the party. Standish believes one was an Ottona, & the other a Caughnawaga. The quarrel was between them. There was a larger party of Indians, but he had no idea that there was more than one party. He saw no whites, but suspected at the time that some of them were whites disguised as Indians. He does not know at what time Lieut. Van Vechter was killed, but supposed it might have been at the first firing of the Indians. Van Vechter was posted 30 or 40 rods from him in the bushes. Standish's post was at the pine tree now standing near the spring.

Jones was a Lieutenant in Jesup's Corps.

When Standish arrived in camp, he was carried before Gen. Frazer, who questioned him about the American army and treated him kindly. He was then sent to Ti, whence he found means to make his escape in two months. He is a direct descendent of Miles Standish. His father owned Miles Standish's sword, which he gave to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Standish said he remembered his father's having it when he was a boy. I have seen it, and the old man described it accurately.

Standish says he saw Mrs. McNeil in Frazer's Camp the day after the murder, but does not know when she returned.

At Fort Edward I saw Mr. Eddy who told me he was well acquainted with Mrs. McNeil for many years after this affair. She said the Indians brought a letter to Miss McCrea from Jones, desiring her to accompany them. At first she was a little alarmed, but he never heard Mrs. McNeil say, that Miss McCrea manifested any reluctance to go with them. Other reports affirm, that she was taken away in a violent manner. Mr. Eddy's impression is, also, that the Indians stripped Mrs. McNeil of a large part of her clothing, and let her return. This is not probable, & Standish was positive that he saw her in Frazer's camp.

Jones had lived on the Hudson River near the residence of Miss McCrea, and they were supposed to be engaged in marriage, when he went to Canada, & joined the British army.

On the day of the murder, the bodies of Miss McCrea & of Lieut. Van Vechter were buried in the same place about three miles below the fort. In 1825 some of the inhabitants of the village of Fort Edward had the bones dug up, & deposited in the public burying ground in that place. No monument marks the spot.

Whitehall

This place was called Skenesborough in the time of the war, and is only interesting as the place to which a part of St. Clair's army fled, & were pursued by Burgoyne. Wood Creek here empties into the Lake. Just at the entrance is a fall, where there was formerly a carrying place of about 30 rods. To prevent the progress of the British Boats the navigation of Wood Creek was obstructed by falling trees into the stream. The road to Fort Anne was extremely rough and almost impassable. The distance is eleven miles. From Whitehall to the head of South Bay by water is seven miles.

Battle of Hubbardton

When St. Clair evacuated Ti, he fled into Vermont by way of Hubbardton & Castleton. At the former place, 20 miles from Ticonderoga, his rear divisions were overtaken by Frazer and Riedesel, and an action ensued. This was my last object of examination to complete the entire circle of events in Burgoyne's expedition.

On the ground I found an old man, by the name of Whelpley, who came there to live ten years after the battle, and was well acquainted with the localities, & other particulars as they have been described to him by persons engaged in the affair. The drawing in Burgoyne's book is very accurate.

The soldiers were slinging their knapsacks preparing to march, when Francis and Warner heard that the advanced troops of the British were near at hand. They had encamped three miles back during the night, in a valley near the present site of Hubbardton Meeting House, & by an early march had overtaken these rear divisions of Gate's army.

Firing was heard in the woods at the foot of the hill or rather across a ravine on the south of Warner's encampment. He and Francis immediately formed their men, & marched to the top of the hill on the side towards which the British under Frazer were approaching. The Americans retreated from the brow of the hill, and formed behind a log fence in a wheatfield, where the (they) stood till the enemy came up, & the action commenced. The firing was warm and well sustained on both sides. The British line was formed in the edge of a wood having the log fence in front. The two lines were stretched from north to south directly over the top of the hill having a road between them. Warner is said to have placed himself in a conspicuous place during the action, and to have animated his men by his language and his deeds. The Americans held their ground, till Riedesel came up with the Germans on Frazer's left. This made such a fearful odds in numbers, as they were entirely outflanked, that they soon broke & retreated down hill through the wheatfield into the woods. The British pursued.

A party of the Americans under Col. Hale, retreated up a steep Hill, half a mile from the battleground, pursued by the enemy. When he reached the top of the hill, he was encountered by another party of Provincials, Canadians, & Indians, who had not been in the action, & who were not known to be in this place. They had preceded St. Clair's army the day before, and committed depredations, & taken prisoners. The orders were that they should take all the men prisoners, whom they found from home. When St. Clair approached, they they had ascended this hill for concealment & defense. It was steep &, covered with thick wood, as it is in fact to this day. It was accidental, therefore, that Hale & his men were met by this party; but being thus unexpectedly brought between two fires he was obliged to surrender. In this way nearly all the prisoners were taken, that fell into the hands of the British on that day. Several of Hales men fled into the woods & escaped.

Such is Mr. Whelpley's account, wh (which) he says he has heard from many persons, who were in the action, but in no printed account that I have seen is this circumstance of Hale's capture mentioned. My present belief is that Mr. Whelpley's understanding of the matter is correct, for on

any other supposition it is not easy to account for the number of prisoners taken, as they were never outflanked. Capt. Sherwood is said to have commanded the party.

When the Americans gave way Warren & Francis walked deliberately off the ground together in the rear of the men. When they had got to the foot of the hill, three or four hundred yards to the southeast of the place of action, the enemy began to press close upon them. Francis proposed to quicken their step, to which Warner replied, that "he had never yet run from a Red Coat, & never would." Almost at that instant Francis was shot and fell dead. Warner escaped unhurt. The spot where Francis fell is pointed out.

After the action Frazer & Riedesel joined Burgoyne's main army at Skenesborough.

I have thus finished the examination of all localities of the Canada Expeditions, and Burgoyne's campaigns. It has not been my object to describe events or things with any degree of fullness, but merely to touch on such points, as are not explained in books, & particularly to impress on my own mind localities & other particulars, which will aid me in obtaining a perfect understanding of such papers as I have collected & shall hereafter collect. My records in this book, therefore, are only memoranda for reviving my recollection, & supplying me with hints for future use; and are of very little interest or value for any other person or purpose. The great advantage of my examination has been to see places, & thus to form an accurate idea of localities, and a correct judgment of the movements of the armies, plans and progress of campaigns, and whatever else may serve to illustrate the military operations in the regions I have visited. The rude sketches which I have made are intended for the same end.

Distances

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------|
| Quebec to Montreal----- | 200 mi |
| Montreal to La Prairie----- | 9 |
| La P. to St. Johns----- | 16 |
| St. John's to Chamblee----- | 12 |
| St. John's to Isle Aux Noix----- | 12 |
| St. John's to Crown Point----- | 100 |
| Crown Pt. to White Hall----- | 40 |
| Crown Pt. to Ticonda----- | 15 |
| Crown Pt. to Plattsburgh----- | 55 |
| Crown Pt. to Valcour Isld.----- | 50 |

| | |
|---|-------|
| Lake George to Fort Ticonda----- | 3 mi |
| Length of Lake George----- | 37 |
| Fort Ti from Mt. Indepce----- | 3/4 |
| Fort Ti from Mt. Defiance----- | 1 |
| Fort Ti from Mt. Hope----- | 1 1/2 |
| Fort Ti from Saw Mills----- | 1 1/4 |
| Upper to the lower fall by the course of the stream----- | 1 1/2 |
| Lake Geo. to Albany----- | 62 |
| Behmuss Hts. to Fishkill----- | 7 |
| Fishkill to Ft. Miller----- | 5 |
| Ft. Miller to Moses Creek----- | 3 |
| Moses Cr. to Ft. Edwd----- | 5 |
| Ft. Edw ^d to Ft. Anne----- | 12 |
| Ft. Anne to Skenesboro----- | 11 |
| Ft. Anne to Ft. Geo.----- | 16 |
| Ft. Anne to So. Bay----- | 8 |
| Ft. Geo. to Ft. Edward----- | 14 |
| Skenesboro to Head of So. Bay by water----- | 7 |
| Fishkill to Glens Falls on w. side of Hudson----- | 18 |
| Glens Fs. to Ft. Geo.----- | 9 |
| Ticonda. to Hubbtn.----- | 20 |

Spark's visit to Saratoga, 1831

August 5 Friday. - A party formed to visit the battle ground, consisting of Gen. Morgan Lewis, Mr. Prime, Mr. Davis, Mr. Apthorp, Smith, Rathbone, & Rufus Prime, & myself.- Genl. Lewis was quartermaster in Gates's army during the operations against Burgoyne, & in both the actions. It was highly interesting, therefore, to examine the localities in company with him, & hear his remarks on the events of that time. He is now 77 years old, and retains his faculties perfectly. - We rode first to Schuylerville. Met Mr. Schuyler on the way, who returned with us, & we all dined at the hotel in Schuylerville. We afterwards proceeded down the river to Bemis's heights, passed over Gates's encampment and the battle ground, and returned to the Springs across Fish Creek.

As I examined the battle ground thoroughly last summer and took full notes, I have nothing to add here except a few incidental remarks of Gen. Lewis. -

Gates and Arnold. - It is known that Gates & Arnold quarreled in camp. - Wilkinson gives a long account of the affair. Gen. Lewis says it originated with Wilkinson as follows. - W. - being adjutant general required Arnold, who commanded a division should report the state of his division directly to him, - whereas Arnold refused, and insisted that it was consistent with military usage for him to report to the adjutant of his division, and this adjutant report to

Wilkinson - on this point they divided, & it was referred to Gates, who decided in favor of W. As he was much under his influence. But this was evidently wrong, & Arnold was not disposed to comply, - and hence the quarrel. -

Frazer's death. - Reports went abroad that Frazer was shot on horseback by riflemen, instructed by some officer to aim at Frazer, & be sure to bring him down. - Gen. Lewis says this was false, - that Frazer was on foot when shot, and in the midst of the action, when the smoke was so thick, that he could not be seen, & must have been wounded by a random shot.

Kosciuszko. - Gen. Lewis says that Kosciuszko came to the Camp two days after the army reached Stillwater, bringing a letter to Gates from Congress, having been appointed at the head of the engineers. - Wayne was the only person in camp, whom he had known, Wayne & Lewis went with him to Gates, and soon after his introduction, Gates told him it would be necessary for him to commence his duties the next morning. Accordingly when the time came Lewis accompanied him, with some other officers to inspect the camp, which he said was in a very exposed condition, & must be removed. (Wilkinson had fixed it there). They then rode up the hill, & examined the grounds on Behm's heights, and Kosciuszko decided immediately that that was the proper position for a fortified camp. - He inquired of Lewis the Number of divisions and regiments in the Army and their names, - took a piece of paper from his portfolio, and drew in pencil the plan of the camp, and assigned the location of the several regiments, and in conformity with that plan they were speedily marched to the ground and then proceeded to erect breastworks and other fortifications. Gen. Lewis considers Kosciuszko the entire cause of the camp being established on Bemis's Heights.

Jenny McCrea. - On the morning of the death of Jenny McCrea the American army passed over the river from Fort Edward. Lieut Van Vechten & his party were missing and as firing had been heard, it was supposed they might have been attacked by Indians. - A party (of whom Gen. L. was one) was ordered to recross the river and search for them. They found only the two bodies of Lieut. Van V. and Jenny McCrea, both near the spring, and stripped naked. Gen. L. says he inspected Jenny's body & discovered nine(?) wounds, which appeared to him to have been inflicted by a knife. The bodies were removed across the river, and buried side by side three miles below the fort. (Standish told me she was shot, as will appear by my record. Gen. L. does not remember any musket wound, but in this he might easily be mistaken. The wounds were doubtless inflicted after Standish left the spot, and at the time the body was stripped. In other respects the two stories are consistent with each other.

Andre - Andre and Gen. Prescott were captured at the taking of Chamblée by Montgomery in 1775. They went to Philadelphia - Lewis knew Andre & says he was a most elegant and accomplished man. He believed they were both exchanged for Ethan Allen, but this seems to be doubtful, for I believe they were restored before Allen returned. But this must be investigated. Prescott was the same person, who was captured by Barton on Rhode Island.

Miscellaneous

Battle of Saratoga, Oct. 7, 1777. Storming of the Hessian Entrenchments. - Arnold. - "Morgan & Dearborn had united their corps in front of the German Camp, together with Weston's regiment and some other detachments. Arnold came up to Morgan & Dearborn, who were conversing on the propriety of a forward movement, and, clapping his hand on the shoulder of the latter, observed with great energy & zeal, "Within fifteen minutes we will carry these entrenchments. In reply to him, it was stated by Morgan & Dearborn, that the works appeared formidable against musketry, were well manned, & that their troops were much fatigued & nearly exhausted. Arnold replied with cheering confidence beaming in his countenance, "That the enemy were panic-struck, & would not fight; that he would take a small party and pass through the woods to the rear of the enemy's right, where there were no works; and when he opened a fire on the right it was to be a signal for them to advance in front, and storm the works." The necessary arrangements were promptly made, and when it was discovered that Arnold had gained the rear, the riflemen & infantry gave three cheers & passed forward with spirit & impetuosity. There were neither redoubts nor palisades in front of this work. There was one small passage into it near the center, with a traverse behind it, and two embrasures towards the right. The enemy gave but one fire, by which very few were killed or wounded, & the remainder ran out on the left, by the rear of Frazer's camp, near the Hudson River. The American entered rapidly, some through the sally-port, some the embrasures, & others by climbing over the breastwork, which was formed of small timbers, seven or eight feet high, supported by strong posts fastened together at the top, with an opening about nine or ten inches wide, at a suitable height for small arms. It was a very excellent cover against infantry, being of sufficient thickness to prevent musket balls from passing through.

"It was not more than twenty minutes from the time the project was formed, before the Americans were in full possession of the German works, with their tents, waggons, & baggage, together with a considerable number of prisoners."

"When General Arnold entered, on the right of the rear of the camp, he ordered the troops, which had suddenly faced about to receive him, to lay down their arms, but a platoon directly in his front fired, by which his horse was killed, & he wounded, in the same leg that was shattered at Quebec. The horse fell on the other leg, & Dearborn, having entered in front at the same moment, ran up and extricating him inquired if he was badly wounded. Arnold replied with great heat; "In the same leg that was wounded before; I never can go into action without being shot, - to be disabled at such a time! - I wish to God the ball had gone through my heart." He was speedily sent to his quarters, & Dearborn continued on the alert with his corps while the tents, baggage, & stores of all kinds were sent into camp, and until about 12 o'clock at night, when he was relieved by other troops that had not been in action." - Ms. Life of Gen. H. Dearborn, vol III ch. 2"

Burgoyne's Army -

After the surrender at Saratoga, Congress refused to ratify the convention. I asked Genl. Lafayette the reason. He says that there were two principal reasons, distinct from the nature or circumstances of the convention. The first was, that there was the strongest circumstantial testimony to prove, that the British did not intend to take the troops to England, but only to New York. It was fully ascertained, that the vessels prepared for their transportation were not supplied with provisions for a voyage across the Atlantic. 2^d. The commanding officers quarrelled with Heath, and insisted that the Convention was already broken by the Americans. Had the soldiers been released, after such an avowal on their part, they would have given this as a reason why the convention ought not to be complied with. From hints that were thrown out, also, Congress had reason to suppose, that the British government would refuse to comply with the terms of the convention, after the men were released, on the ground, they were not obliged to keep faith with rebels.-

MISCELLANEOUS

Miscellaneous

1. The original paroles of honor signed by 185 officers of General Burgoyne's Army and 95 officers of General Riedesel's command, after the surrender at Saratoga, on the 16th of Oct., 1777. Dated Cambridge, Dec. 13, 1777. Manuscript. Framed. Safe.

(Presented to J. W. Thornton by a grandson of Maj. Gen. Heath, and presented to the Library by its purchasers, Dec., 1864.)

Same. Photo lithographic fac-simile.

**4410.154 = *4410.155

Boston Public Library

2. Storming of the Breymann Redoubt
(Life of Rufus Putnam with Extracts from his Journal by Marc Cone, p. 51)
"The facts are as follows: In front of these works was a clear, open field, bounded by a wood at the distance of about one hundred and twenty yards. In the skirt of this wood I was posted with the fifth and sixth Massachusetts regiments. The right and left of those works were partly covered by a thin wood, and the rear by a thick wood. The moment orders were given to storm I moved rapidly across the open field and entered the works in front. I believe, at the same moment, the troops of Learned's brigade, in which Jackson's regiment was, entered on the left rear. I immediately formed two regiments under my command and moved out of the works, which were not enclosed in the rear, into the wood towards the enclosed redoubt on the right flank of their main encampment. General Learned, as soon as he had secured and sent off all the plunder taken in this camp, withdrew all the other troops without bidding me a good night. However, some time before morning, General Glover joined me with three regiments from the right wing of the army. Marshall's account of this affair is very different from mine"....
3. Lincoln Manuscripts
(Privately owned. See Roger L. Scaife
34 Beacon Street
Boston, Mass.
4. Lossing, Benson Papers
(Manuscripts of historical writings - about 50 separate works and about 1000 drawings.)
Henry Huntington Library and Art Gallery
San Marino, California

5. Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson, Nov. 5, 1776 to July 31, 1777 - Oriskany Campaign.
Henry Huntington Library and Art Gallery,
San Marino, California
6. Glover, John Papers.
Cornell University Library
Ithaca, New York.
7. St. Clair, Gen. Arthur Papers. 1763-1818
Ohio State Library
Columbus, Ohio.