

Saratoga Battlefield in 1777.

1741 Map
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Physical Aspects.

Situated on the right bank of the upper Hudson River the Saratoga Battlefield of 1777 comprised an area of rare scenic beauty and natural charm. Nestled in the foothills of the Adirondacks approximately 9 miles from Saratoga (Schuylerville) and about half that distance from Stillwater, the battlefield was characterized by sharply rising river bluffs, deep ravines, and heavily wooded rolling hills broken here and there by scattered farm clearings. It was around one of these farms owned by Isaac Freeman that the heaviest fighting occurred on September 19th and October 7th.

The battlefield was approached by three main roads namely the Saratoga-Albany Road, Quaker Springs Road and the Saratoga Springs Road. Of these three the Saratoga-Albany Road, which paralleled the Hudson River, was of chief significance. Numerous side roads traversed the area servicing the various farm houses in the vicinity. Preliminary studies would indicate that time has effected relatively little change in the streams, ravines, bluffs and general topography of the area with the exception of a section of the field in the vicinity of the main British Line, (8J - 9M) which has been altered by the removal of a considerable amount of molding sand.

Preparation of the Historical Base Map.

The survey of the Saratoga Battlefield prepared in 1939-40 by the National Park Service has served as the basis for the topographic delineation of the historical base map. Four contemporary maps two of which are in manuscript have largely served as the basis for the delineation of historical data. Three of these maps prepared by Lt. Wm. Cumb. Wilkinson of the 62nd British regiment, a participant of the battle, are remarkable for their accuracy and fulness of detail. The titles of these three maps are as follows:

- (a) The Encampment and Position of the Army under Lt. Cl. Burgoyne at Sword's and Freeman's farms on Hudson's River near Stillwater 1777. By W. Cumb. Wilkinson ms. col. 27X43 (1777) (Faden collection No. 69 $\frac{1}{2}$.)
- (b) Plan of the Encampment and Position of the Army under his Excellency Lt. General Burgoyne at Braemus Heights on Hudson's River near Stillwater on the 20th Sept. with the Position of the Detachment etc. in the Action of the 7th of Octr. and the Position of the Army on the 8th Octr. 1777. Drawn by W. C. Wilkinson Lt. 62 Regt. Asst. Engr. Engraved by Wm. Faden.
- (c) Plan of the Encampment and Position of the Army under His Excellency Lt. General Burgoyne at Sword's House on Hudson's River

near Stillwater on Sept. 17th with the Positions of that part of the Army engaged on the 19th Sept. 1777. Drawn by W. C. Wilkinson Lt. Col Regt. Asst. Engr. Engraved by Wm. Faden.

In addition to the Wilkinson maps reliance has been chiefly made upon a manuscript map prepared by Rufus Putnam, an engineer with Gates who following the war was appointed Surveyor-General of the U. S. by Washington. His map is entitled, An Orothographical View of the American and British Armies on 7th & 8th of October 1777. Though a rough sketch without scale the map represents the best primary source relative to the position and character of the American Line. One of the most valuable contributions of this map is its location of the American floating bridge approximately 400 yds. south of Bemis Tavern.

Another manuscript of value is a penciled sketch contained in a letter of Richard Varick to Schuyler dated Sept. 12, 1777. Other primary source material particularly valuable in its description of the American position is found in the following letters to Schuyler by Richard Varick and Henry Brockholst Livingston both of whom were aides to Arnold:

Varick to Schuyler	- Sept. 12, 1777
" " "	- Sept. 16, 1777
" " "	- Sept. 17, 1777
Livingston to Schuyler	- Sept. 11, 1777

The secondary maps that have proved of most value in this study are namely:

1. Neilson, Charles, Map of the Battle ground on Bemis Heights 19th Sept. and 7th Oct. 1777. The British and American Camps, including a part of the surrounding country as it was at the time.

Note: Though inaccurate in much of its topographical and historical delineation it is nevertheless of value.

2. Brandow, John H., Map of the American and British Fortified Camps. Also Showing the Saratoga Battlefields of Sept. 19 and Oct. 7, 1777.

Note: Considered by Hoffman Nickerson to best represent the topography and historical features of the battlefield area.

3. Stone, W.L., Map of the Battle Ground on Bemis Heights Sept. 19th and Oct. 1777. The British and American Camps, including a part of the surrounding country as it was at the time. Scale 6 inches to a mile Neilson's map revised.

Note: Useful for location of house sites and other historical features.

4. Map No. 2 The Champlain Canal, 1834. Drawn from surveys by Edwin P. Johnson in 1810-21.

Note: Especially valuable for its delineation of the Albany-Schuylerville Road, its location of the Taylor House in which Fraser died, and for its location of the grave of Gen. Fraser.

5. Voorman, Isaac, Map of the County's of Albany, Tryon, and part of Charlotte, made at the request of His Excellency George Washington Esq. General, and Commander in Chief of all Land and Naval Forces of the thirteen United States of America, Portraited and laid down from actual Surveys which are chiefly performed by me.

Note: A rare county map valuable to this study for its delineation of the route of Burgoyne's advance from Skenesborough to Stillwater.

The books that have been of chief assistance in this study are:

Primary

Anburey, Thomas, Travels Through the Interior Parts of America, by Thomas Anburey, Lieutenant in the Army of General Burgoyne; with a Foreword by Major General William Harding Carter in two volumes Boston 1823. English edition 1789.

Burgoyne, John, A State of the Expedition from Canada As Laid Before the House of Commons By Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and Verified by Evidence; with a Collection of Authentic Documents, and an Addition of Many Circumstances Which Were Prevented from Appearing Before the House by the Prorogation of Parliament. London Printed for J. Almon, 1780

Digby, William, The British Invasion from the North. The Campaigns of General Carleton and Burgoyne from Canada, 1776-1777, with the Journal of Lieut. William Digby of the 83rd, or Shropshire Regiment of Foot. Illustrated with historical notes, by James P. Baxter, N. Y. J. Munsell's Son's 1887

Hadden, James M., Hadden's Journal and Orderly Books. A Journal kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 and 1777 by Lieut. James

Fausch, George, Journal of Captain Fausch, Chief of the
Hansau Artillery during the Burgoyne Cam-
paign. Translation and annotated by Wil-
liam L. Stone. Introduction by Edward J.
Lowell. N.Y. Munsell's Sons--1886

Riedesel, Friederike Charlotte Luise, Letters and Journals
Relating to the War of the American Revol-
ution, and the Capture of the German Troops
at Saratoga. By Mrs. General Riedesel.
Translated from the original German, by Wil-
liam L. Stone. Albany. J. Munsell--1887

Wilkinson, James, Memoirs of my Own Times. By General James
Wilkinson. In three volumes. Philadelphia.
Printed by A. Small--1816

Secondary

Lossing, Benson, The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution;
or Illustrations by Pen and Pencil, of the
History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and
Traditions of the War of Independence. N.Y.
Harper and Bros.--1851-52 In two volumes.

Neilson, Charles, An Original, Compiled and Corrected Account
of Burgoyne's Campaign and the memorable Battles
of Bemis Heights, Sept. 19, and Oct. 7, 1777.
From the most authentic sources of information,
including many interesting incidents connected
with the same. N.Y. J. Munsell--1844

Hickerson, Hoffman, The Turning Point of the Revolution, or
Burgoyne in America. Boston and N.Y. Hough-
ton Mifflin Co.--1928

Stinson, F.J., My Story: Memoirs of Benedict Arnold. N.Y.--
1917

Stone, W.L., The Campaign of Lieutenant General John Burgoyne
and the Expedition of Lieutenant Colonel Barry
St. Leger. N.Y. J. Munsell--1877

Stone, W.L., Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds 1780-1880.
With an introduction and notes. Albany. J.
Munsell's Sons--1896

Note: For a detailed bibliography of the Burgoyne Campaign, see the
report of Junior Historical Technicians F.F. Wilshin for April
29, 1940.

In view of the fact that archaeological research is just being initiated at the park, historical research and field surveys have formed the basis of this study. Contemporary maps have been blown up to a scale of 400 feet to the inch to correspond to the Park Service topographical map thus permitting greater accuracy in the location of the historical features of the area. Once the historical features were located the map was then reduced to an 800 foot scale. Though numerous inaccuracies are found in the over all measurements of contemporary maps the topography is so distinctive as to permit ready identification of the physical and general historical features of the area.

Documentation of Physical Features

A. Roads

Other than the three major roads which entered the battlefield area namely the Saratoga-Albany Road, the Quaker Springs Road and the Saratoga Springs Road all of the other numerous unnamed roads which traversed the area have been treated in this study as minor roads.

A. Saratoga-Albany Road (See Roads and Trails Map)

(1) The river road from Saratoga to Albany entered the Saratoga Battlefield area in 5Q traversed 6Q, 6P, 7P, (crossed a bridge in 7Q) 7O, 8O, (crossed a bridge in 8O) 9O, 10O, 11N, 12N, 13N, 14N, 15N, 15U, (crossed a bridge in 15U) 15L, 16E, 15J, 16J, 16E, (crossed a bridge in 16H) 17H, 17O, 18O. This road was intersected by minor roads 7P, 8O (twice), 9O (twice), 15N and by the Saratoga Springs Road in 18O.

(2) This road was the principal thoroughfare between Saratoga and Albany and was employed as the main route of Burgoyne's advance. As the road approached Bemis Heights the bluffs so converged with the river as to produce a narrow defile whose strategic significance was readily realized by the Americans. Along the bluffs commanding this defile the Americans erected one of the main sections of their line of defense.

(3) Map references

Wilkinson, Wm. Cumb.	(a)	<u>op. cit.</u>
Putnam, Rufus		<u>op. cit.</u>
Voorman, Isaac	(4)	<u>op. cit.</u>
Champlain Canal Map	(4)	<u>op. cit.</u>
Neilson, Charles	(1)	<u>op. cit.</u>
Stone, W. L.	(3)	<u>op. cit.</u>
Brandow, John	(2)	<u>op. cit.</u>

(4) Book references

Burgoyne, John op. cit. pp. 14 & 15, p. 31, 46-47.

Anburey, Thos. op. cit. p. 241 frontispiece sketch of the burial of Gen. Fraser.

Wilkinson, James op. cit. pp. 235-236

Neilson, Charles op. cit. p. 86, 152-153

Lossing, Benson op. cit. pp. 45-46

Nickerson, Hoffman op. cit. p. 298, 303-304

B. Saratoga Springs Road (See Roads and Trails Map)

(1) The name Saratoga Springs Road cannot be dated since no contemporary reference has been found either in maps or other documentary material. It entered the battlefield area in 185, traversed 173, 167, 15E, 15D, joined the Quaker Springs Road in 14D and left the area in 14C.

(2) This road apparently served as one of the main thoroughfares to the area which is today Saratoga Springs. That portion of it within the battlefield area was undoubtedly of strategic significance in the movement of troops, ammunition and supplies within the American lines.

(3) Map references

Varick, Richard, letter to Schuyler dated September 12, 1777 containing a sketch of the American position.

Neilson's map (1) op. cit.

(4) Book references

Lossing, op. cit. p. 46

Nickerson, op. cit. p. 361

C. Quaker Springs Road (See Roads and Trails Map)

(1) The name Quaker Springs Road cannot be dated as there has been found no contemporary data referring to it by such a name. It entered the battlefield area at its junction with the Saratoga Springs Road in 14D, traversed 14E, 13E, 12E, 11E, 11D, 10D, 10E, 9C, 8C, 8D, 7D, 6D, 5E (where it twice forked with minor roads), 4D, 4C where after intersecting another road it left the area.

(2) This was one of the most important roads within the battlefield area in that it not only serviced the American line but served as an important medium for the maneuvering of troops and the transportation of supplies by both the British and American armies.

(3) Map references

Variok, Richard - Sketch contained in a letter to Schuyler dated September 12, 1777.

Neilson's map (1) op. cit.

Wilkinson's map (b) op. cit.

(4) Book references

Lossing, Benson op. cit. p. 46

Stone, W. L. Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds
p. 20

D. Minor Roads (interior roads of battlefield area)

(1) A minor road leading westward from the Saratoga-Albany Road entered the battlefield area in 2Q (intersected with a by-road), traversed 3Q, 3P, 3O, 2O, 2N, 2M, 2L, 2K, 2J, 2H, 2G (intersected with a branch road), 2F, 2E, 2D, 2C (intersected with a branch road) at the foot of what is now termed Fraser Hill.

(2) It was along this road that the major part of the British force moved on the morning of September 16th, 1777 as it advanced to execute the envelopment of the American left. At the intersection of 2G the forces of Fraser and Burgoyne separated Burgoyne taking the lower branch road to Freeman's Farm.

(3) Map references

Wilkinson, Wm. Camb. (a) Ibid.

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(1) Another minor road entered the battlefield area in 7P, traversed 6P, 6O, 6N, 4O, 4N, 3L, 3K, (intersected with a minor road).

(2) Probably utilized as a facility road by the British Army.

(3) Map references

Wilkinson, Wm. C. (a) Ibid.

(1) Another minor road entered the battlefield area in 80, traversed 8H, 7N, 7M, 6N, (intersected with a branch road), 6L, 6K, 6J, 6H, 6G, 5G (intersected with a branch road), 5F (intersected with a branch road), 5E (intersected with a branch road), 5D, 4D, 4C where it reached Fraser Hill.

(2) Used by the British as an important military road.

(3) Map references

Wilkinson, Wm. C. (a) Ibid.

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(1) Another minor road entered the battlefield area in 60, traversed 6N (intersected with a branch road), 6M (intersected with a minor road), 6L, 6K, (intersected with a branch road), 6J (intersected with a loop road), 6I, 6H, 6G, 6F, 6E (intersected with Quaker Springs Road) in vicinity of Freeman's Farm.

(2) One of the main military roads leading from the Great Ravine to Freeman's Farm. Extensively used by the British for the transportation of troops and supplies.

(3) Map references

Wilkinson, Wm. C. (a) Ibid.

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(1) Another minor road entered the battlefield area in 13N, traversed 13M, 12L, 12K, 12J, 12H.

(2) A minor farm road apparently utilized by either the American or British forces.

(3) Map references

Wilkinson, Wm. C. (a) Ibid.

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B. House Sites

a. Sword's House (just north of 2Q)

(1) Located beyond the proposed boundary of the park, it was occupied by Burgoyne Sept. 17-19 as field headquarters.

(2) Map references

Wilkinson, Wm. C. (a) Ibid.

(3) Book references

Burgoyne's Orderly Book p. 112-113

Nickerson, Hoffman, op. cit. p. 300

Brandow, John, op. cit. pp. 104, 123

Stone, W. L. Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds p. 200

b. Farm House (2F)

(1) House of unknown farmer, was likely a log cabin. Doubtless occupied by British troops who were in possession of this sector of the field from Sept. 19 - Oct. 7.

(2) Map references
Wilkinson, Wm. C. (a) Ibid.

c. McBride House (4E, 5B, 5W)

(1) History unknown, was quite likely occupied by British troops.

(2) Map references
Wilkinson, Wm. C. (a) Ibid.

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

d. Ensign House (Just west of 4J)

(1) Is located beyond the proposed boundary of the park in the center of a cultivated area. Owned by Mr. Ezekiah Ensign it was occupied and utilized by the British as a field hospital.

(2) Map reference
Wilkinson, Wm. C. (a) Ibid.

(3) Book reference
Neilson, Charles op. cit. p. 123

e. G. Coulter House (6C)

(1) Located at the edge of a cultivated field the house was owned by a farmer G. Coulter. Doubtless it was occupied by the British.

(2) Map references
Wilkinson, W. C. (a) (b) (c) op. cit.

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

f. J. Barber House (6D)

(1) Owned by a farmer J. Barber, was located in a clearing at the edge of a cultivated field within British occupied area.

(2) Map references
Wilkinson, Wm. C. (a) op. cit.

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

f. Lor Cabin (6E)

(1) Quite possibly the cabin of Thomas Leggett. Canadian Provincials occupied it on Oct. 7. The break through in this sector enabled Arnold to attack the Freyman Redoubt from the rear.

(2) Map references
Wilkinson, W. C. (a) Ibid.

(3) Book references
Neilson, Charles op. cit. pp. 176-177.
Nickerson, Hoffman op. cit. p. 366

h. Lor Cabin (6F)

(1) Possibly owned by Leggett. Also occupied by Canadian Provincials on Oct. 7.

(2) Map references
Wilkinson, W. C. (a) Ibid.

(3) Book references
Neilson, Charles op. cit. pp. 176-177.
Nickerson, Hoffman op. cit. p. 366

1. Freyman Farm House (6F)

(1) This farm house was owned at the time of the battle by Isaac Leggett and later by his son Ebenezer. Following the battle of Sept. 19 it was included within the fortification known as the Balzarrea Redoubt.

(2) Map references
Wilkinson, W. C. (a) (b) (c) op. cit.

(3) Book references
Stone, W. L., Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds
pp. 67-68 (See frontispiece for a
picture of Freyman's Farm.)

Burgoyne's Orderly Book p. 114

Neilson, Charles op. cit. p. 166

j. Taylor (Smith House) (6P)

(1) Variouslly known as the Taylor or Smith House it is notable as the house in which Gen. Fraser died following the receipt of a mortal wound in the battle of Oct. 7. From this building Fraser's body was borne to the Great Redoubt.

(2) Map references

Wilkinson, W. C. (a) Ibid.

Anburey's sketch, (see frontispiece in Anburey's Travels.)

No. 2 Champlain Canal Map (original and later site referenced in.)

(3) Book references

Stone, W. L., Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds
pp. 92-93, (Mrs. Dwight's visit, 1791),
pp. 110-111, (Professor Silliman's visit,
1819), p. 143, (Dwight's visit, 1820) p.
150, (Mr. Wirt's visit, 1821), p. 173,
(Stanbury's visit, 1821), pp. 188-199,
(Gen. Hoyt's visit, 1825)

Lossing, Benson, op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 64-65 (sketch)

Stone, W. L., Campaign of Gen. John Burgoyne (sketch)
pp. 72-73

k. Cabins of Freeman Farm Clearing (7D)

(1) These abandoned cabins of Freeman Farm were occupied by British pickets in the opening of the battle of September 19th. Around these cabins raged much of the hottest fighting in both the engagements of Sept. 19 and Oct. 7. Utilized by British as temporary hospitals.

(2) Map references

Wilkinson, W. C., (a) op. cit.

(3) Book references

Hadden's Journal op. cit. pp. 270-274

Burgoyne, John op. cit. p. 62

Nickerson, Hoffman op. cit. p. 308

Stone, W. L., Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds.
p. 119 (Silliman's visit, 1819)
p. 191 (Hoyt's visit, 1825)

l. Cabins (10M)

(1) Three cabins, owners unknown, located in a clearing south of the eastern extremity of the British Line.

(2) Map references

Wilkinson, W. C., (a) op. cit.

m. Cabin (11E)

(1) Owner unknown, located north of Fort Neilson near Quaker Springs Road. Probably utilized by American outposts.

(2) Map references

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

Stone, W. L., (3) op. cit.

n. J. Munger Cabin (12G)

(1) Located just north of an uncompleted American work it was probably occupied by American sentry outposts.

(2) Map references

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

Stone, W. L., (3) op. cit.

o. Fort Neilson (13E)

(1) A barn owned by John Neilson, was converted into a fort forming the strongest point of the American line.

(2) Map references

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

Stone, W. L., (3) op. cit.

(3) Book references

Lossing, Benson op. cit. vol. 1, p. 47

Nickerson, Hoffman op. cit. p. 301

p. Neilson's House (13E)

(1) Owned by a farmer John Neilson, served as the field headquarters of Gen. Enoch Poor. It was here that Major Asland of the British Grenadiers was brought severely wounded following the battle of Oct. 7. It was here he was nursed by his wife, Lady Asland. The original building still stands though it was moved a short distance from its former location.

(2) Map references

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

Stone, W. L., (3) op. cit.

(3) Book references

Lossing, Benson op. cit. vol. 1, pp. 45-47.

Stone, W. L., Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds
P. 158 (Wirt's visit, 1921).

q. Vandenburg House (15N)

(1) Little is known of the history of this house. Was quite likely utilized at different times by both armies.

(2) Map references

Wilkinson, W. C. (a) op. cit.

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

r. American Hospital (Woodworth barn) (15D)

(1) This barn which was owned by Capt. Ephraim Woodworth was utilized as an American hospital.

(2) Map references

Sketch of Varick in letter to Schuyler, Sept. 12, 1777

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

(3) Book references

Stone, W. L., Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds
pp. 184-185 (Gen. Hoyt's visit, 1825)

s. Gates Headquarters (Woodworth house) (15E)

(1) Owned by Ephraim Woodworth this building served as the headquarters of Gen. Gates.

(2) Map references

Sketch of Varick in letter to Schuyler, Sept. 12, 1777

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

t. Bemis Tavern (17G)

(1) It was the owner of this tavern Jotham Bemis (Benius) who gave the area its name of Bemis Heights. The tavern, the only one of any importance between Albany and Fort Edward, was reputedly burned by a raiding party of the British.

(2) Map references

Varick's sketch Sept. 12

Neilson, Charles (1) op. cit.

(3) Book references

Nickerson, Hoffman, op. cit. 289

Stone, W. L., Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds
pp. 319-324 (history of Bemis family)

Lessing, Benson op. cit. p. 44

C. Ground Cover

In general the battlefield area was thickly wooded except for a few scattered farm clearings. The thickness of the woods served as a distinct handicap to the British both from the standpoint of coordinated attack and use of artillery. The ground cover as indicated corresponds closely to that as shown by the Wilkinson, W. C. maps and substantiated by the following references: Burgoyne, op. cit. p. 16, p. 29-30, p. 31, p. 79; Wilkinson, James, op. cit. p. 235; Neilson, Charles, op. cit. pp. 115-116; Stone, W. L., Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds p. 69 (Chastellux's visit, 1780), p. 154 (Wirt's visit, 1821); Nickerson, Hoffman, op. cit. pp. 301, 306. It is known that the trees immediately in front of the American line were cut to form abatis. (See: Wilkinson, James, op. cit. p. 235 and Burgoyne, John, op. cit. p. 43 (testimony of Capt. Money who was taken as a prisoner to the American Lines); Madame Biedesel's Memoirs, op. cit. pp. 98-99.

D. Cultivated Fields

The cultivated fields as indicated are in general conformity with those shown on the Wilkinson, W. C. maps. The ones of chief military significance were those in and about the Freeman Farm Clearing. Other than the Freeman Farm Clearing probably the most important of these fields from the standpoint of their significance in the two engagements was the one encompassed in 7A, 7B, 8A and 8B. It was in this field of standing wheat or straw that the British were surprised while foraging Col. 7th. (Wilkinson, James, op. cit. p. 267.)

E. Place Names

a. Fraser Hill

This name does not appear in any of the contemporary maps or documents. Its use, which is of recent origin, is derived from the fact that for a time it was occupied by Gen. Simon Fraser's Corps. It is largely encompassed within 2B, 2C, 3D, 3E, 4B, 4C. It is located on the map of Wilkinson, W. C., (a) op. cit.

b. The Great Ravine

The Great Ravine terminates into what is otherwise known today as Wilbur's Basin. Though no contemporary maps carry the title Great Ravine it was so referred to by Burgoyne, John, op. cit. appendix XLVIII, Burgoyne to Germain Oct. 20, 1777, also so referred to by Wilkinson, James, op. cit. p. 236. Beginning in 4D, it traversed 4E, 4F, 5F, 5G, 5H, 5J, 5K, 5L, 6L, 6M, 7M, 7N, 8N, and 8O.

c. Mill Creek

This name does not appear on any of the contemporary maps or documents so far examined. Its two main branches are today known as the North Branch and the South Branch. It rises in 6D and is fed by branches in 7E, 9C, 11E, 11C, 13D, 13G and 14H, emptying into the Hudson River in 15M.

d. Freeman's Farm

A place name which appears frequently in both contemporary maps and documents. (See maps of Wilkinson, W. C., Burgoyne, John, *op. cit.* p. 62, Wilkinson, James, *op. cit.* pp. 236-237 and Madame Riedesel's *Memoirs*, *op. cit.* p. 99.) The main house of this farm was located in 6F while the Freeman's Farm Clearing, an oblong field, was located in 6D, 6E, 7D and 7E. The engagement of Sept. 19th has been frequently referred to as the Battle of Freeman's Farm.

e. Middle Ravine

This name does not appear so far as is known as a contemporary place name though a description of it is given by Wilkinson, James, *op. cit.* pp. 236-237. The ravine which is formed by Mill Creek traversed 8D, 8E, 8F, 8G, 8H and 8I.

f. Beaumont Heights

A contemporary place name applied to the heights back of Beaumont Tavern, so named from the farmer Jetham Beaumont who owned the tavern. (See official correspondence of Gates, Arnold, Wilkinson and Varick. Also see Wilkinson, James, *op. cit.* p. 232.) These heights include the area encompassed within the American Line, which traverses 17D, 16H, 15H, 15G, 14G, 14F, 13F, 13E, 14D, 14C, and 15C. The engagement of Oct. 7 has been frequently referred to as the Battle of Beaumont Heights.

F. American Entrenchments

Though further historical and archaeological researches are necessary in order to more accurately determine the exact delineation and character of the American Line, its general position and character have been well established. Archaeological soundings have already located sections of the line. The delineation of the river redoubts, 17G, 16H, 15H, 14J, and 14I is in close conformity with the maps of Putnam, Rufus, *op. cit.* and Brandow, John, (2) *op. cit.*, also with information contained in letters of Varick to Schuyler dated Sept. 12, 16, 17, 1777. The work in 17H is based on Putnam's map while the work in 16K, 17K, and 17J is based on Wilkinson's map (b) *op. cit.*

The location of outposts in 12G, 12E, and 13D are based on Putnam's map as is the work located in 16B and 17E. The unfinished work in 12C, 13C, and 13E is common to practically all maps of the area. The general delineation of the main American Line which begins in 18G and traverses 18G, 18H, 19G, 14G, 14F, 13F, 13E, 14E, 14D, 14C, and 15C is conformity with the maps of Putnam, Rufus, Ibid.; Brandow, John, (2) op. cit. and in part with the maps of Keilson, Charles (1) op. cit. and Wilkinson, W. C. (b) op. cit.

The book references include: Wilkinson, James, op. cit. pp. 235-236; Stimson, F. J. op. cit., (page reference unknown); Madam Riedesel, op. cit. pp. 98-99; Burgoyne, John op. cit. p. 43; Stone, W. L., Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds, pp. 66-67 (Ghastellux's visit, 1780); Nickerson, Hoffman, op. cit. pp. 289, 301-302. Also see article by Brooks, N. C., "The Fields of Stillwater and Saratoga", Graham's American Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art, September 1844.

The number of the guns shown on the American Line is based on a report by Ebenezer Stevens, Major Commandant of Artillery, "Return of Ordnance and Stores in Camp near Stillwater, September 24, 1777." The disposition is based on the map of Wilkinson, W. C. (b) op. cit. which located 21 out of 22 guns.

The American bridge of boats has been located approximately 400 yds. from Bemis Tavern. This location is based on Putnam's map op. cit. which has identified the bridge by unmistakable physical features including the bend of the river and a prominent stream bed located some distance south of the Bemis Tavern. It is realized that this location represents a distinct departure from all other non-contemporary maps and book references which have previously shown the bridge to have been located just east of the Bemis Tavern.

In support of Putnam's location of the bridge an examination of the terrain east of the Bemis Tavern reveals that the area is now and was then a swamp and furthermore that the river here is at approximately its widest point. These two physical handicaps would have made the location of the bridge at this point illogical. In contrast Putnam's location of the bridge is at a point where the river is narrow and the ground is firm. In further support of Putnam, Varick's sketch op. cit. of the American position shows no bridge to have been opposite the Tavern, though it does show both the Tavern and the River. Putnam's map shows a work to have been opposite the Bemis Tavern and it is believed that this has been incorrectly assumed to have been a bridge-head. One diary reference refers to the bridge as located just above Swart's. Had it been east of the Bemis Tavern the diarist would hardly have thus located it. Further research, however, will be made to establish new evidence.

G. British Entrenchments

The position and character of the British entrenchments here delineated are based upon the three Wilkinson, W. C. maps (a) (b) (c) op. cit., but primarily upon manuscript map (a). These entrenchments include:

a. Breymann Redoubt

Located in 4E and 5E. Here again distinctive topography permits ready identification of this redoubt. The situation of this work made it a key position on the British Line.

b. Balcarres Redoubt

Located in 6F, 7F and 7E. This knoll is so distinctive as to make the location of this redoubt unmistakable. This work was probably more strongly fortified than any other point on the British Line.

c. River Redoubts

Located in 5O, 6O, 6N (Great Redoubt), 7N. Located on each of three commanding hills these three positions may be readily identified. These works were necessary to protect the magazine, the provision batteaux, and the bridge of boats. The British hospital tents were located in 7O and 6O.

d. Burgoyne's Headquarters

Located in 8K and 8L. The general location here is unmistakable.

e. Main British Line

Located in 8J, 8K, 9L, and 9M. The general location of this line is believed reasonably accurate though its specific alignment will require considerable archaeological research.

The number and distribution of the guns on the British Line are based on the map of Wilkinson, W. C., (a) op. cit.

Miscellaneous

a. Burial Spot of Fraser

Few points on the Saratoga Battlefield possess for the visitor more intriguing interest than the location of the grave of Gen. Simon Fraser, a distinguished British officer who was mortally wounded in the Battle of Oct. 7. For years much speculation has existed as to whether he was buried on the first, second or third hill of the three British redoubts near the Great Ravine.

The recent discovery of the Champlain Canal Map op. cit. would seem to leave little doubt that Fraser was buried within

the redoubt of the second hill known as the Great Redoubt. This map, the survey of which was made 1819-1821 within the living knowledge of participants of the battles, references in the grave from two points on the canal to the redoubt on the top of the second hill. Silliman who visited the battlefield in 1819 (Stone, W. L., *Visits to the Saratoga Battle Grounds* p. 131) states that both the outlines of the redoubt and the grave were very distinct at the time of his visit. The fact that he had previously visited the area in 1797 makes his testimony all the more valuable.

For further verification of this redoubt as the location of the grave of Fraser see:

Burgoyne, John, op. cit. pp. 54-55 (Testimony of the Earl of Harrington); p. 62 (Testimony of Lieut. Col. Kingston); pp. 125-126 (Testimony of Burgoyne)

Anburey, Thomas, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 265 (See also Anburey's sketch)

Digby, Wm., Journal op. cit. pp. 292-293

Niederel, Madame, Memoirs op. cit. pp. 119-121