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A REPORT ON THE

GROUND COVER

at

SARATOGA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

OCTOBER 8, 1777

by: Charles W. Snell,
Park Historian,
Saratoga National Historical Park

(July 25, 1949)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Saratoga National Historical Park
Stillwater, New York

June 28, 1950

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region One

From: Superintendent, Saratoga NHP

Subject: "A Report on the Ground Cover at Saratoga NHP, October 8, 1777," dated July 25, 1949.

There are attached the original typescript and one carbon copy of Historian Snell's "A Report on the Ground Cover at Saratoga National Historical Park, October 8, 1777," dated July 25, 1949. Under separate cover there is being forwarded to you the "final Field Study, Historical Base Map, Saratoga National Historical Park, July 25, 1949," with subsequent revisions as suggested in Mr. Appleman's memoranda of April 7 and June 23, 1950. Listed below are the changes made in the "Final Field Study Map" and in the report.

1. The grid system has been altered in red pencil on the print to conform to the same grid system used on the 1941 Historical Base Map for Saratoga National Historical Park. This new grid is not accurate because of distortion in the print. When the Master Plan drawings and tracings are made up the grid should be adjusted to the topography and the monumented corners as shown on the topographic maps for this area.
2. The two copies of "A Report on the Ground Cover at Saratoga National Historical Park, October 8, 1777, dated July 25, 1949" have been changed according to the altered grid system with respect to location of sites and features.
3. The American encampment groups have been altered and three more groups added to the Final Field Study Map to conform with "A Report on the American Fortified Camp at Bemis Heights, September 12 to October 8, 1777," dated February 23, 1949.
4. The British encampment groups have also been altered:
 - A. One additional encampment symbol has been added to the map just north of the Great Ravine, between the Hudson River and the River Road.
 - B. The site of the Indian encampment has been indicated on the map and an additional symbol added to the Legend.
 - C. The positions of the British Artillery Park and the British Baggage Train should be reversed on the map. Red circles have been drawn about these positions and arrows drawn on the "final Study Map" to show that this should be done.

5. The Freeman Farm House has been specifically labeled as such in red pencil on the "Final Field Study Map."
6. The British fortifications just back (north) of Hamilton's Brigade have been altered in red pencil to indicate that these fortifications consisted of one large redoubt, flanked on either side by a small redoubt.

Mr. Snell has reviewed all previous correspondence on the subject, and it is believed that all necessary changes have now been made.

(Sgd.) IVAN L. ELLSWORTH

I. J. Ellsworth
Superintendent

Enclosure 2967590
In duplicate
cc: Director (2)
w/map (1)

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
REGION ONE
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

April 7, 1950

Memorandum

To: The Director
From: Regional Historian
Subject: Transmittal of Ground Cover Restoration Plan -
Saratoga National Historical Park

There are attached the following materials with respect
to the ground cover plan for Saratoga National Historical Park:

Historian Weig's (Morristown N. H. P.) memorandum
of April 19, 1949, for the Regional Director.

Superintendent Ellsworth's (Saratoga N. H. P.) memo-
randum of July 25, 1949, for the Regional Director.

Historian Snell's "A Report on the Ground Cover at
Saratoga National Historical Park, October 8,
1777," dated July 25, 1949, together with a
policy statement by Mr. Snell of the same date.

Historian Wilshin's (Fredericksburg N. H. P.) memo-
randum of October 10, 1949, for the Regional
Historian.

Historian Snell's memorandum of October 18, 1949,
for the Superintendent, Saratoga N. H. P.

Historian Weig's memorandum of December 14, 1949,
for the Regional Director

Regional Historian Appleman's memorandum of December
28, 1949, for the Superintendent, Saratoga N. H. P.

Superintendent Ellsworth's memorandum of January 20,
1950, for the Regional Director.

Under separate cover the following plans bearing on this subject are being forwarded to you:

Unnumbered print "Final Field Survey, Historical Base Map, Saratoga National Historical Park," dated July 25, 1949. (This date should be changed, as the map has been extensively revised since the original dating of it. In this connection, see Mr. Ellsworth's memorandum of January 20, 1950.) Scale 800 feet to the inch.

Rendered print NHP SAR-5307, "Freeman Farm Area on October 7, 1777." Data inserted by Mr. Snell, January 20, 1950. Scale 200 feet to the inch.

Overlay print NHP SAR-5307, "Freeman Farm Area on September 19, 1777." Data inserted by Mr. Snell, January 20, 1950

There were forwarded to you on April 6, 1950, copies of two research reports by Historian Snell, entitled -

"A Report on the Left Wing of the British Fortified Camp at Freeman's Farm, September 20 to October 8, 1777," dated February 28, 1950.

"A Report on the American Fortified Camp at Bemis Heights, September 12 to October 8, 1777," dated February 15, 1950.

These two reports should be studied in connection with review of the material in this submittal and the related maps being sent under separate cover. The material in these two above mentioned reports has been incorporated in the revisions of the ground cover plan as revised January 20, 1950. Later on in this memorandum I will make reference to a few discrepancies between the drawings incorporated in the two reports and the same features as shown in the ground cover plan, or historical base sheet.

(The terms "ground cover plan" and "base historical sheet" mean the same thing. They are interchangeable terms insofar as this memorandum is concerned. The sheet that started out to be a ground cover plan only, gradually evolved into something more and now may be considered also as a base historical sheet.)

A review of the attached materials will give you some idea of the work that has been done on the Saratoga ground cover study and base historical map during the last year. The submittal has been returned to Saratoga several times, with comments for revisions. I feel that now the study has progressed to the point where it may be submitted to your office for final review and approval. Principal credit for the advanced position which this study has now reached should go to Historian Weig (Morristown National Historical Park), who undertook initially the preparation of the plan, made considerable progress with it, and formulated the technique of correlating all the various data; and to Historian Snell (Saratoga National Historical Park), who has completed the work -- having carried on extensive research on many phases of the Saratoga operations and incorporated the results of this research in the final map.

It should be pointed out that this historical base sheet, in much of the data shown, is considerably different from the historical base sheet of 1941. The historical base sheet in the master plan for 1941 is inaccurate in many respects. The most glaring inaccuracy relates to the location, extent, and size of the Freeman Farm area, which was, of course, the critical feature in the First Battle of Saratoga, September 19, 1777. After careful study of the various submittals and revisions of the Saratoga historical base sheet, I am satisfied that the three maps being sent under separate cover represent a reasonably accurate delineation of the conditions shown.

There are a few questions still to be raised about the ground cover plan. I am commenting on them in this memorandum, indicating that these changes will be made here when the final drawing is made, instead of sending the drawing back to Saratoga again for another revision. A copy of these comments will go to Saratoga, and it may be expected that a reply will be received from Superintendent Ellsworth indicating whether he and Mr. Snell concur in them. In your review you will wish to notice them also.

- (1) The ground cover plan does not show the same American encampment groups and precise locations as given in Mr. Snell's report dated February 15, 1950, entitled "A Report on the American Fortified Camp at Denis Heights, September 12 to October 8, 1777." This report was submitted to the last revision of the map in the park, and is in more detail (two insert maps illustrate fortifications and encampment areas). I assume the report is more accurate in its details

than the ground cover plan. For instance, the ground cover plan shows 5 American encampments as of October 7, 1777; the report just mentioned shows in the insert drawings 7 American encampments, and with locations somewhat different from the relative encampments shown on the ground cover plan.

There is also shown in this report an encampment area for the Connecticut Light Horse, which is not indicated on the ground cover plan. In the final drawing, the ground cover plan will be made to conform to the encampment numbers and locations as shown in the report of February 15, 1950.

The fortifications and clearing delineations shown in the ground cover plan check with the data in the report of February 15, and does not need further revisions, so far as I know, with respect to the American encampment and fortified area.

- (2) The ground cover plan does not show the British encampment grouping in as much detail as is shown in the insert maps in Mr. Snell's report of February 28, 1950, entitled - "A Report on the Left Wing of the British Fortified Camp at Freeman's Farm, September 20 to October 8, 1777," but I do not believe that the details can very well be incorporated. The general indication appears to be satisfactory. The greatest discrepancy, so far as general delineation is concerned, relates to the area along the Hudson River north of the mouth of the Great Ravine. I believe that some general addition to the ground cover plan should be made here, based upon the insert map in the report just cited.
- (3) There appears to be a slight difference in the fortification symbols just back (north) of the Royal Artillery, in front of the Hamilton Brigade. The report of February 28 ("A Report on the Left Wing of the British Fortified Camp at Freeman's Farm") shows three redoubts close together here, while the ground cover plan shows one redoubt clearly with some slight indications of ground fortification on either side. Otherwise, the fortification data for the British encampment and fortified area appear altogether

satisfactory on the ground cover plan as checked with Mr. Snell's report of February 28, 1950.

- (4) I believe it might be well to add on the ground cover plan the location of the Indian encampment along the Hudson River and north of the Great Ravine, as shown in Mr. Snell's report of February 28, 1950, "A Report on the Left Wing of the British Fortified Camp at Freeman's Farm, September 20 to October 8, 1777."
- (5) The Freeman house should be specifically named in the ground cover plan. It is not so named at present. The Freeman house is the northern one of the two shown within the Balcarres Redoubt. (This house is named in Drawing 5307 -- Freeman Farm Area on October 7, 1777.)
- (6) There appears to be some discrepancy in the road delineation on the historical base sheet as compared with that on Drawing 5307, which is in greater detail (scale 200 feet to the inch). The road, square 3-C of the ground cover plan, running on a diagonal to the northwest and passing through the corner of the square, is shown with several bends. This road is located just west of the Balcarres Redoubt. In Drawing 5307, this road is shown as being straight and without bends. It connects with the Great Ravine road at a definite angle, whereas in the ground cover plan it merges with the other road in a curve. It will be noticed, also, that the ground cover plan shows this Great Ravine road as turning southwest after the merger of the two in a sweeping curve; whereas Drawing 5307 shows it taking off to the southwest at a definite angle for some distance beyond the point where the road mentioned above in square 3-C joins the Great Ravine road. I assume that the road indication in Drawing 5307 is more accurate, since it is at a larger scale, and that it should be so shown in the base historical sheet.
- (7) The fields and fences of the Freeman Farm area shown on the ground cover plan appear to check very well with the more detailed data shown in Mr. Snell's report of February 28, and apparently there is no correction needed here. As you will observe, however, from Superintendent Ellsworth's memorandum of January 20, 1950, it was necessary to make an

accommodation as to the extent and acreage of the Freeman Farm area, using the area shown on the Wilkinson map and the actual topography. The Freeman Farm clearing, therefore may not be exactly accurate, but at least it will be approximately so and will represent the best evidence we have at this time on this point.

- (8) Drawing 5307 shows a small redoubt across the road to the northwest from the northern tip of the Balcarres Redoubt. The ground cover plan shows this redoubt to the west of, and almost opposite, the northern tip of the Balcarres Redoubt. Apparently there is some small accommodation to be made in the final ground cover plan with respect to this feature. I assume that Drawing 5307 is more reliable.
- (9) In connection with the various comments made above where there appear to be some discrepancies between the ground cover plan and Mr. Snell's special reports of February 15, 1950 and February 28, 1950, I am of the opinion that the ground cover plan should be corrected to conform with the data as presented in these two reports. They are of a later date than the last revision of the ground cover plan in the park and represent in detail all that is known with respect to these features at the present time.
- (10) The present ground cover plan has a grid of 2-inch interval. Mr. Ellsworth's memorandum of January 20, 1950, in the last paragraph, proposes that this grid be changed in the final drawing to agree with the grid used in the 1941 base map. His recommendation is very sound, and the grid will be so changed in the final drawing. The grid used in the 1941 drawing is monumented and designated on the ground ~~as follows~~, and references to park surveys and precise locations will be much easier if the 1941 grid is used. This grid has not been changed, however, on the print that you will receive for review, nor has the text of Mr. Snell's report of July 25, 1949 been altered so as to make the necessary accommodations for a changed grid. The text and the grid will be changed so that each is reconciled when the final drawings are made.

- - - - -

I agree with the policy statement for the development of Saratoga National Historical Park with respect to ground cover as stated in Mr. Snell's memorandum of July 25, 1949 (attached to his report, same date, on ground cover plan). You will observe that Mr. Weig (Morristown National Historical Park) also agrees with this as a policy statement for establishing ground cover in the park.

The review here of all the data which has been discussed above and submitted to your office for final review and approval, leads naturally to the question of what is needed in the Saratoga master plan with respect to historical base sheets. It is obvious that one sheet will by no means be sufficient. I am in favor of incorporating the following historical sheets in the Saratoga master plan:

- (1) A ground cover plan, or historical base sheet, as represented by the drawing under discussion and submitted for review.
- (2) Historical sheet showing the American camp as of September 19, 1777.
- (3) Historical sheet showing American camp as of October 7, 1777.
- (4) Historical sheet showing Freeman Farm area as of September 19, 1777.
- (5) Historical sheet showing Freeman Farm area as of October 7, 1777.
- (6) Historical sheet showing tactical troop movements for Battle of September 19, 1777. (Five drawings representing these movements have already been submitted by Mr. Snell and are being held here in this office in connection with a report to be submitted in the near future.)
- (7) Tactical troop movements for the Battle of October 7, 1777.
- (8) Tactical positions of British and American armies at the surrender of Burgoyne's army - October 17, 1777.

These maps will not all be of the same scale. The general historical base map, for instance, will be at an 800 foot scale; the Freeman Farm area maps will be at a 200 foot scale.

It is realized that this is a large number of historical sheets to recommend for the Saratoga master plan, but I think they are justified. First, there were two separate battles fought, with much change in fortification and removal of ground cover taking place in the interval between the battles. Then, there was the retreat of Burgoyne northward, and the entirely changed situation at the surrender on October 17, 1777. The development and interpretive program for Saratoga is yet to be formulated in all of its detail. I think the series of historical sheets for the master plan which I have recommended above will aid greatly in formulating such proposals and in the intelligent review of them by various officials, who certainly will not have the time to study the numerous and extensive research reports which will be summarized by these respective historical sheets.

Following your review of this material, we will be in a position in this office to schedule the drafting of several of the historical sheets: namely, the general historical base sheet; the Freeman Farm area as of September 19, 1777; and the Freeman Farm area as of October 7, 1777. I think it will be possible to schedule the drafting of the American encampment area as of September 9 and as of October 7 with little additional work. This makes a total of five sheets for Saratoga that can be prepared in the foreseeable future.

Following your review, the data and sheets in question will be referred to Saratoga National Historical Park for final review by Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Snell before final drafting on the sheets is begun.

We would appreciate your review of this material at the earliest practicable time.

Regional Historian

Attachments-3

Attachments-3 (maps- under separate cover)

Copy to: Supt., Morristown N. H. P.
Supt., Saratoga N. H. P.

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

Saratoga National Historical Park
Stillwater, New York

January 20, 1950

Memorandum

To: Regional Director, Region One

From: Superintendent, Saratoga NHP

Subject: Tracing to Accompany the Study on Ground Cover Plan, Saratoga N.H.P.

The tracing to accompany the Study on the Ground Cover Plan, Saratoga National Historical Park, returned to this area with Mr. Appleman's memorandum of December 28, 1949, has been modified and corrected in accordance with Mr. Appleman's suggestions and is being transmitted under separate cover. The changes and additions have been made under Mr. Snell's direction and are as follows:

1. The west end of the Freeman Farm Field has been altered as suggested in Mr. Snell's memorandum of October 18, 1949. As Mr. Appleman has pointed out, the only contemporary evidence known, giving any data on the size of the Freeman Field are the maps of Lieutenant Wilkinson. All other statements on the acreage of the field come from secondary sources. In altering the tracing, Mr. Snell states that it has therefore been necessary to show the Freeman Field as large as possible, while keeping it within the topographic features that Wilkinson indicated as bounding the field.
2. A symbol for stump areas has been added and such symbols indicated on the map where cultivated fields were shown previously in front of fortified lines, following the Wilkinson Maps.
3. A symbol for worm fencing has been added to the tracing where it has been determined by Mr. Snell that fields were fenced in this manner, following the Wilkinson maps and contemporary evidence.
4. The American camp has been altered on the basis of a detailed research study just completed by Mr. Snell on the American camp at Bemis Heights. Six redoubts have been placed on the river bluffs and these connected up with a breastwork. The breastwork on the left flank has been extended further southward. The report on the American camp will be submitted as soon as it can be typed. To be included in this report are overlays (800 ft. to the inch) showing the American camp on September 19 and on October 7, 1777, together with the positions of the various brigades in the camp at those dates. As the American fortified camp was quite different in appearance on September 19th, it might be well to plan now on

a separate sheet in the master plan for both the American camp and the Freeman Farm area for the 19th of September. The control for a map of this character could be gathered from the Final Field Study Map of July 25, 1949 and the ground cover of the park and the American camp clearly shown for September 19, 1777, on this separate map. The 200-scale map showing the Freeman Farm area has been corrected by Mr. Snell and is being transmitted with the subject tracing.

On the 200-scale map the Freeman Farm area has been shown with historic roads, British fortifications, cultivated fields and cleared areas as Mr. Snell conceives it. Using as the basis of this work, the three maps of Lt. Wilkinson, the 200-scale map shows the Freeman farm area as it was on October 7, 1777. In addition to this he has included an overlay on this map which attempts to show the Freeman Farm area as it appeared on Sept. 19, 1777. This method, it is believed, will enable a fairly easy and accurate comparison of the Freeman Farm area on both dates. It should be added that the 200-scale overlay is based in large part on the two overlays that form a part of Lt. Wilkinson's map entitled "The Encampment Position of the Army Under His Excy. Lt. Cl. Burgoyne at Sword's and Freeman's Farm on Hudson's River near Stillwater, 1777, with two additional overlays showing the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th positions of the British forces on September 19, 1777," showing the British positions 1 & 2, and 3 & 4 on September 19, 1777. These two Wilkinson overlays show some features, such as the suggestion of a road just east of Freeman House, that do not appear on any of his other maps.

Commenting on the letter-size tissue sheet of paper on which has been drawn in color and pencil a detailed outline of the Freeman Farm; this map was drawn by Mr. Snell and was traced from a blown up version of the overlays of the Lt. Wilkinson map just mentioned above. He indicates that it is accurate in all details (an exact copy of the Wilkinson overlay) with the exception of the road running parallel and just to the east of the ridge on which the Freeman house stands. After examining the Wilkinson overlay more closely, it appears that this road ended in the field, and he has drawn a zigzag red pencil line through the portion of the road which is believed to be inaccurate. The drawing was made to accompany the material which was to be submitted to the Museum Branch Laboratory, Washington, D. C., to enable them to complete the Morgan painting (Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region One, dated September 6, 1949).

Mr. Snell comments on Historian Melvin J. Weig's memorandum of December 14, 1949, as follows:

"The grid system used on the Tracing to accompany the Report on the Cover Restoration - Saratoga N. H. P. - was not placed on the tracing until some time after the Report was submitted to the Regional Director. The grid system then placed on the map at the suggestion of the Regional Historian, differed considerably from the one used on the 1941 Historical Base map for this park. The simplest solution would seem to be correcting the notations in the text of the Ground Cover Report. Thus page 4 would read:

"A. Freeman Farm Area: September 19, 1777 (6F, Saratoga National Historical Park Base Map 1941 and "3C, 3D, 2D, 2C, 1949, Final Study Map.

"Page 7. Under 6. Hadden - "This field of Corn is at 3D on Final Field Study Map.

Under 7. Digby - "He mentions the same corn field east of the Freeman farm; (3D)."

"Page 8. Line 11 - change 6G to read 3D.

"Page 8. Line 21 - change 6G to read 3D.

"Page 12. Line 9 - change 6G to read 3D.

"Page 12. Line 20 added "or at 2C, 2D, 3C, 3D on the Final Study Map."

"Page 12. Line 22 added "or at 3B Final Study Map."

"Page 17. Third line from bottom, added "or at 5A, 5B Final Study Map."

"Page 29. Line 5, change 8K to read 4F.

"Page 30, Line 28, change 9N to read 5H.

"Page 30, line 7, from bottom of page, change 6K to read 3F.

"Page 31, line at bottom of page change 9N to read 5H.

"Page 47, line at bottom of page added "and at 3C on the new."

"Page 50, are listed 7 fields, to item 1 add "or 5A Final Study map."

item 2 add "or 5B."

item 3 add "or at 2C, 2D, 3C, 3D."

item 4 add "or at 3F."

item 5 add "or 4F."

item 6 add "or 5H."

item 7 add "or 3D."

"B. While it should be possible to add much of the information that Mr. Weig suggests to a map, the present tracing is on such a small scale that the addition of further information on this tracing would probably only serve to confuse the situation rather than aid in clarifying matters."

In reference to the above quotation, it is pointed out that much of the grid system used on the 1941 Historical Base Map is monumented and designated on the ground by grid numerals. In order to keep past as well as future grid references understandable, it is recommended that the accepted grid system be shown on the final tracing for the Historical Base Map.

(Sgd.) IVAN J. ELLSWORTH

I. J. Ellsworth
Superintendent

In triplicate
cc: Historian Snell



N

N

9th Reg

21st Reg

62 Reg

20th Reg

Roads

Forest

North Branch of Mill Creek

Forest

Girdled Trees

KNOLL

Freeman Farm

Field

Full of Weeds

Worm Fences

Road

KNOLL

Cabin or Hut

Freeman Farm House

Roads

Roads

Cultivated Field of Indian Corn

Worm Fences

KNOLL
Point From
which
Photos
Taken

KNOLL

RAVINES

Forest

Forest

Sept. 6, 1949
SNHP.

C.W.S.

Jan 20 1950

RAVINE

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Saratoga National Historical Park
Stillwater, New York

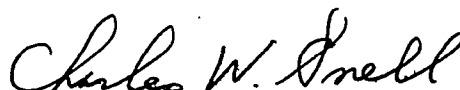
July 25, 1949

Memorandum

To: The Superintendent, Saratoga NHP
From: The Historian, Saratoga NHP
Subject: Plan of Ground Cover Restoration

I wish to state that I am in full agreement with the plan of ground cover restoration suggested on pages 4 and 5 of Historian Melvin J. Weig's memorandum of April 19, 1949. I believe that the ground cover of the area should be restored as closely as possible to its condition on October 8, 1777, the point when the area had been opened up to its greatest extent in 1777. Under this plan, only the cultivated fields of 1777, the camping areas of both armies and the fields of fire cleared before the fortified lines of both armies would be kept open. It is my opinion that the forest of 1777 was a major factor in the scene of the battles of Freeman's Farm, and that it was probably the decisive factor which aided the Americans first to check the British advance and then to defeat.

I have also found from experience that the present-day visitor receives an entirely erroneous conception of the Battles of Saratoga, simply because the region is so widely cleared today. Even after a careful explanation of the ground cover of the area in 1777, it is doubtful if the modern visitor has enough imagination or experience to envision the forest of 1777.



Charles W. Snell
Park Historian

A REPORT ON THE
G R O U N D C O V E R

at

SARATOGA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

OCTOBER 8, 1777

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UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
Saratoga National Historical Park
Stillwater, New York

A REPORT ON THE GROUND COVER

AT

SARATOGA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK ON

OCTOBER 8, 1777

by

Charles W. Snell
Historian
Saratoga National Historical Park

INTRODUCTION

The most important contemporary authority on the ground cover at Saratoga National Historical Park at the time of the Battles of Saratoga, September 19th and October 7th, 1777, is the three maps of Lt. Wm. C. Wilkinson, Asst. Engineer in Burgoyne's army in 1777. The three maps are entitled respectively, 1. "The Encampment Position of the Army Under His Excy. Lt. Gl. Burgoyne at Sword's and Freeman's Farm on Hudsons River near Stillwater, 1777, with two additional overlays showing the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th positions of the British forces on September 19, 1777"; 2. "Plan of the Encampment and Position of the Army under His Excellcy. Lt. General Burgoyne at Swords 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, engraved by Wm. Faden, Published at London, Feb. 1, 1780"; 3. "Plan of the Encampment and Position of the Army under His Excellcy, Lt. General Burgoyne at Braemus Heights on Hudson's River near Stillwater,

on the 20th. Sept. with the Position of the Detachment &c. in the Action of the 7th of Octr. & the Position of the Army on the 8th. Octr. 1777. Engraved by Wm. Faden. Published at London, Feb. 1, 1780." The British maps have also been supplemented by two contemporary American maps, namely, Colonel Rufus Putnam's "An Orthographical View of the American and British Armies on the 7th and 8th of October, 1777," and Richard Varick's "Sketch of the American camp and Position on Sept. 12, 1777, at Bemis Heights. It should be understood that the above-mentioned maps have formed the chief basis for the "Final Field Study Map for the Historical Base Map, Saratoga National Historical Park," July, 1949, on which the ground cover has also been indicated.

It is the objective of this report to correlate the material on the ground cover of the region to be found in all available contemporary diaries, journals, memoirs, and letters of participants in the two battles of Saratoga, 1777. By doing this we are given some check on the accuracy of the map work of the British engineer, Lt. Wm. C. Wilkinson, and are also able to fill in gaps in our information in many cases, even to the point of indicating the exact ~~corps~~ types of fences existing in the area in 1777, as well as the type of forest. To render this report as complete as possible, the writer has also included in each case, the treatment of the problem given by the chief secondary authorities on the subject.

I. GENERAL DESCRIPTIONS OF THE BATTLE, BRITISH AND AMERICAN ENCAMPMENT AREA, 1777.

Contemporary:

1. Col. Wilkinson; James Wilkinson, then a young Colonel and Adjutant to General Gates, has left the following general description of the ground cover of the region:

"The intermediate space between the adverse armies on the low grounds of the river was open and in cultivation; the high land was clothed in its native woods, with the exception of three or four small, newly opened and deserted farms, separated by intervals of woodland, and bordering on the flanks of the two armies, most remote from the river; the principal of these was an oblong field, belonging to a person of the name of Freeman....The intervening forest rendered it utterly impracticable to obtain a front view of the American position, or any part of the British except its left near the river." ¹

Secondary Accounts:

1. Silliman: Professor Silliman visited the battlegrounds in 1819 and left the following description of the area:

"A great part of the battlefield was occupied by lofty forest trees, principally pine, with here and there a few cleared fields, of which the conspicuous in these sanguinary scenes was called Freeman's farm...Such is nearly the present situation of these heights, only there is more cleared land; the GIGANTIC trees have been principally felled, but a considerable number remain as witness to posterity." ²

2. Neilson: Charles Neilson, the early local historian of the Burgoyne Campaign, writing in 1844, described the general region thus:

"The following is a description of the ground and its vicinity, selected by General Gates, for the encampment of the American Army. On the right bank of the Hudson, about three miles above Stillwater, and about 25 miles north of Albany, are extensive alluvial flats, about half a mile in width at the centre, and tapering towards their extremities, until they form a narrow defile of only about 30 rods in width, between the river and the river hills. In the rear of those flats, and even down to their margin, with the exception of here and there a small clearing, and those in the rough, was at that time a dense forest, and in many places for some distance back, the land was much cut up with deep ravines." ³

3. Lossing: Benjamin Lossing, a famous American historian, visited the battlegrounds in 1848 and gave the following description of the general ground cover:

"At the time of the Revolution, the whole country in this vicinity was covered with a dense forest, having only an occasional clearing of a few acres....Fronting the river, a high bluff of rocks and soil, covered with stately oaks and maples presented an excellent place on which to plant (American) fortifications to command the passage of the river and the narrow valley below. The bluff is still there, but the forest is gone...." ⁴

4. Nickerson: Hoffman Nickerson, in his account of the Burgoyne Campaign, written in 1928, wrote:

"In 1777 the alluvial bottom lands along the river were already clear of trees and for the most part under cultivation. The bluffs, on the other hand, and the plateau were covered with woods of pine, oak, and maple, broken only here and there by clearings whose owners have for the most part fled from their cabins at the approach of the invasion. Back from the river it was only in those clearings that the regular formation of European soldiers was possible. On the higher ground the soil was sandy. In the ravines it was a sticky clay." ⁵

The three British maps by Lt. Wilkinson and contemporary and secondary sources are thus generally agreed that ground cover of the battle area in 1777 was heavily forested, clearings being the exception rather than the rule.

II. DESCRIPTIONS OF SPECIFIC AREAS, CONTEMPORARY AND SECONDARY.

A. FREEMAN FARM AREA: September 19th, 1777 (6F, Saratoga National Historical Base Map, 1941 and 1949)

Contemporary American Descriptions

1. James Wilkinson: In a letter to General St. Clair, dated September 21, 1777, Colonel Wilkinson gives the following description of the Freeman Farm area: "The field was covered by a deep forest on all sides. It was an excellent trap..." ⁶

In his Memoirs, Wilkinson elaborates on his description:

"To shew me where the action commenced, he (Major Morris) leaped a fence into the abandoned field of Freeman, choked up with weeds, and led me to the cabin which had been occupied by the British picket...." ⁷

"The British line was formed on an eminence in a thin pine wood, having before it Freeman's farm, an oblong field stretching from the centre towards its right, the ground in front sloping gently down to the verge of this field, which was bordered on the opposite side by a close wood; the sanguinary scene lay in the cleared ground, between the eminence occupied by the enemy and the wood just described...." ⁷

2. Brigadier-General John Glover: In a letter to General William Heath, dated September 21, 1777, General Glover, in describing the battle area, remarks "but the Woods & Brush was so thick"* that it was impossible to carry off British cannon taken by the Americans.*8

3. Blake: Lt. Thomas Blake, serving in the First New Hampshire Regiment, wrote in his diary:

"Sept. 19, about 12 o'clock the first New Hampshire Regiment, marched out to meet the enemy. We met them about one mile from our encampment....In this engagement the enemy had two field pieces in a field, which we took three or four times, but as it was in the woods, they were not removed." 9

4. Dearborn: Major Henry Dearborn, commander of the light infantry attached to Morgan's Corp of Virginia riflemen wrote: Sept. 19: "I moved out of the woods to a cleared field," 10

5. Woodruff: Samuel Woodruff fought in the Battles of Saratoga and revisited the area in 1827. At this date he left an account of the battles and in describing the first battle wrote: "The ground on which this battle (of the 19th) was fought was principally covered with standing wood."11

6. Wakefield: Captain Wakefield's Diary: "I shall never forget the opening scene of the first day's conflict. The riflemen and light infantry were ordered forward to clear the woods of Indians. Arnold rode up, and his sword, pointing to the enemy emerging from a woods into an opening partially covered with stumps and fallen timber...."12

Contemporary British Accounts:

1. Lieutenant General John Burgoyne: In his letter to Lord George Germain, dated October 20, 1777, from Albany, Burgoyne gave the following account of the Freeman farm area:

(September 19th) "On the first opening of the wood I formed the troops. A few cannon shot dislodged the enemy at a house from whence the picquets had been attacked..."¹³

2. Forbes: Major Forbes, a participant in the Battle of September 19th, gave the following testimony in the House of Commons:

"3.Q. What command had you on the 19th of September?

A. I commanded the picquets of the British.

4.Q. Was you attacked on the march, and with what degree of vigour?

A. I was attacked with great vigour from behind railed fences, and a house, by a body of riflemen and light infantry.

6.Q. Do you remember General Burgoyne bringing up the English line to support you, and forming at the first opening of the wood?

A. I do.

AREA JUST NORTH OF FREEMAN FARM

8.Q. Where did Burgoyne post the 9th regiment?

A. As soon as they came out of the wood, they filed off to the right, and were drawn off at a small distance from the left of General Fraser's corps, with orders to occupy two houses, one company in each, and defend them to the last extremity."¹⁴

3. Earl of Harrington: The Earl of Harrington served as aide de camp to General Burgoyne, and gave the following testimony in the House of Commons:

"41.Q. Which column was first attacked? (On September 19th)

A. The advanced party, consisting of the picquets of the centre column, being sent forwards, under command of Major Forbes, to explore the way by which that column was to pass, fell in with a considerable body of the rebels, posted in a house and behind fences, ...but on finding that the woods quite round them were filled with the enemy,..."¹⁵

4. Earl of Balcarres: The Earl of Balcarres commanded the light infantry and was with General Fraser's column on the 19th of September. His testimony throws some light on the general area north of Freeman Farm:

"34.Q. Was the combination of the march such, as, that notwithstanding the passage of the ravines and the thickness of the woods, (Sept. 19th) that the column of General Fraser's march, and that of the British line, led by General Burgoyne, were in a situation to support each other...?

A. ...they arrived at their respective posts with great precision in point of time,..."¹⁶

5. Lamb: Sergeant Roger Lamb, a soldier in Burgoyne's army, wrote:

Sept. 19th "And in about an hour the advanced party, consisting of the picquet of the centre column, commanded by Major Forbes, fell in with a considerable body posted in houses and behind fences."¹⁷

6. Hadden: Lieut. James Hadden was with Burgoyne's column on the 19th of September and serving in the British artillery.

"About 2 o'clock in the afternoon the British Regiments arrived opposite Freemans House thro which I was order'd to fire a Shot...the Troops passed a small bridge (over a hollow way or large gutter apparently made by heavy falls of Rain) and took post at the skirt of a wood beyond it...

"The Enemy being in possession of the wood almost immediately attacked the Corps which took post beyond two log Huts on Freemans Farm...

"...Five companies of the 24th Regt. were advanced into the wood in their front..."

✓ "During this attack the 20th Regt. was thrown into the wood on the left of the corn field and repulsed the Enemy..."¹⁸ (This field of corn is 6G on "Final Study Map")

7. Digby: Lieut. William Digby of the 53rd Regiment of Foot was with Fraser's column on the 19th and on the 20th of September was camped on Freeman's farm field. He mentions the same corn field east of the Freeman farm: (6G)

"Sept. 20th...Contiguous to our ground was a fine field of Indian corn,..."

On the 19th he wrote: "We moved in 3 columns, ours to the right on the heights and farthest from the river in thick woods."¹⁹

8. Anburey: Lieut. Thomas Anburey was a young officer serving in the 24th Regiment, which was with Fraser's column; his company, with several others, was sent to aid Burgoyne's center column on the 19th of September. Anburey wrote:

"...Major Forbes, fell in with a considerable body of the enemy, posted in a house and behind fences,... but the woods being full of men, ..."²⁰

Contemporary German Accounts:

1. Pausch: Captain Pausch commanded the German artillery serving in Burgoyne's army. On the 19th of September, he was advancing with General Riedesel's column along the river bank. Pausch was then ordered to accompany the detachment that General Riedesel took to the relief of Burgoyne's column. After arriving near the scene of the battle, Pausch "descended a hill (ravine)" and was ordered by Burgoyne "to attack the enemy on the right flank... This we were prevented from doing both by the woods and the swamps behind which the enemy were hidden." As Pausch neared Burgoyne's column, Pausch wrote: "My wagon master.... was sent ahead to find a way through a cornfield,..." (This was the same field referred to by Digby and Hadden, field 6G on Final Study Map.) After driving the Americans "into the woods, we received orders to fall back and camp in a piece of woods in our rear (behind the Freeman Farm House), near a road which leads from the Hudson to Freeman's house and farm."

On September 20th the British began to fortify and Pausch again refers to the field of corn as follows:

"Farther to the right, and across a valley or ravine which divides our line, (that is, the German and British line regiments from Fraser's corps) begins the English camp (of Fraser). This extends farther to the right, in front of a piece of woods, and through a large field of Indian corn to Freeman's house." (Field 6G, again.) 21

2. Riedesel: General Riedesel commanded the German troops that accompanied Burgoyne's army. In a letter to the Duke of Brunswick, dated 21 October 1777 from Albany Riedesel wrote:

"On the 19th at 1 o'clock in the afternoon, as I was about to examine a bridge in a marsh, I heard all at once loud musket fire on my right, which was General Burgoyne's advanced guard, so the enemy had attacked in the marsh and right in the middle of the woods." Riedesel went to the aid of Burgoyne and wrote that the enemy "was driven from a hill through a valley and wood." 22

In his Memoirs, Riedesel wrote of the Freeman farm area:

"The enemy were posted on the corner of the woods, having on his right flank for defense a deep muddy ditch, the bank of which had been rendered inaccessible by stones, underbrush and barricades. In front of this corner of the forest, and entirely surrounded by dense woods, was a vacant space, on which the English regiments were drawn up in a line. The struggle was for the possession of this vacant space, on which...Freeman's Farm was situated."²³

Secondary Accounts of the Freeman Farm Area on September 19th.

1. Chastellux: In 1780, the French author, Francois Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, visited the battlefield and left the following account of the Freeman Farm area:

"If you descend again from this height, proceeding toward the north, you are presently in the midst of the woods near FREEMAN'S FARM and on the ground where the actions of the 19th of September and the 7th of October happened. I avoid the word FIELD OF BATTLE, for these two engagements were in the woods, and on ground so intersected and covered, that it is impossible either to conceive or DISCOVER THE SMALLEST RESEMBLANCE BETWEEN IT AND THE PLACE GIVEN TO THE PUBLIC, BY GENERAL BURGoyNE."

(William L. Stone's note to this remark, "This is not accurate. A person familiar with the ground, and with Burgoyne's maps before him, would have no difficulty whatever. If this is so in 1895, how much more in 1780.")²⁴

2. Silliman: (1819)

"This was on Freeman's farm, a field which was then cleared although surrounded by forest."²⁵

3. Hoyt: (1825) In 1825 General Epaphras Hoyt visited the battlefield and, guided over it "by one of the heroes of the battle of Oct. 7th," wrote:

"(After leaving the Breymann Redoubt) we passed on southerly over the ground where stood the two block houses...Turning easterly through a copse of wood, reached a road in the rear of Freeman's field. Along this road, still flanked by woods, Burgoyne formed the 9th, 21st (etc.)...on the 19th of September, while Major Forbes,... pressed into the field, was attacked by Morgan near Freeman's hut, and driven back to the British line in the woods, and Morgan, in turn, broken and forced back in the woods, south of the field..."

"Continuing southerly in the road, and crossing a small ravine, we entered Freeman's bloody field...At the time of the battle the field was an oblong of from seventy to eighty rods in length, east and west, by about thirty in breadth, inclosed by a worm fence, and surrounded by woods. Near the centre is an elevation extending from Leggert's house nearly at right angles across the field, upon which a hut and small barn were situated, near the latter the elevation terminated at a narrow ravine extending parallel to the field. South of this ravine are other elevations sloping off gently to level ground south, the whole then covered with woods in which the Americans were drawn up in the first part of the battle of the 19th of September."²⁶

4. Sparks: (1830) In 1830, the eminent historian Jared Sparks visited the Saratoga Battlefield. He was guided over the area by Major Ezra Buel, a participant in the battles, and left the following account of the Freeman Farm area:

"The guide (Major Buel) first pointed out to me the ground on which Burgoyne drew up his men before the action (Sept. 19). It was then covered with wood but has since been in part cleared away. He previously showed me the spot where the advance guard of Morgan's corps met the left flanking guard of Burgoyne...This was in the midst of a thick woods in the ravine along the right margin of which the road passed (this was the road Burgoyne followed to Freeman's Farm Sept. 19th), and more than half a mile from Freeman's House... firing was heard in the woods nearby a mile from Freeman's House. This proceeded from an encounter between Frazer's Division...and the advanced guard of a regiment commanded by Cilley...he (Cilley) met... Frazer in the woods...Burgoyne had drawn out his division across the plain...Scammel was then stationed between Gates' Camp and Freeman's House, several hundred yards from the latter (to the left of Morgan, and attempted to join Morgan). They proceeded until 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...there was a heavy discharge of musketry from the bushes in the left along Scammel's whole line. These bushes had entirely concealed the enemy... The fighting was principally to the west of Freeman's house and extended more than half a mile in that direction..."²⁷

5. Neilson: (1844)

"In front of Freeman's cottage was an oblong clearing, skirted by an open wood, about 60 rods in length from east to west, containing 12 or 15 acres, and sloping to the east and south."²⁸

6. Lossing: (1848)

"Freeman's farm, was a small cultivated clearing...The farm was an oblong clearing in front of the cottage, about 60 rods from east to west, skirted by thick woods and sloping south. (The battling regiments) were separated by a thick wood and a narrow clearing...The Americans were sheltered by the intervening wood, the British were within an open pine forest." 29

7. Stone: (1877)

William L. Stone, a famous student of the Burgoyne Campaign, left the following description of the Freeman Farm:

"Colonel Morgan,...owing to the dense wood, unexpectedly fell in with the centre column..."

"When he (Riedesel) arrived on the scene, the Americans were posted on a corner of the woods, having on their right flank a deep muddy ravine, the brink of which had been rendered inaccessible by stones and underbrush. In front of this corner of the forest, and entirely surrounded by dense woods, was a vacant space, on which the English were drawn up in a line...this clearing is known then, as it is to this day, as Freeman's Farm."

"The ground being mostly covered with woods..." 30

8. Brandow: (1919) John Brandow, author of The Story of Old Saratoga,

wrote:

"Burgoyne formed his line of battle in the woods on the north side of a clearing owned by one Isaac Freeman. It contained 12 or 15 acres and extended east and west about 60 rods."

"Fraser having formed his junction with Burgoyne, the chief struggle was now on Freeman's clearing and in the open woods just to the left. Woods...on the north side...woods on the south side." 31

9. Nickerson: (1928)

"Burgoyne chose to turn westward. The new direction led them up a steep draw draining into the Great Ravine, then along the flat and densely wooded strip of tableland which forms the watershed between the Great Ravine and the North Branch (Of Mill Creek). After marching about half a mile they halted. Some 500 yards to the southward across the North Branch their patrols came upon an abandoned clearing. A picket was posted on the empty cabin on its knoll. In the woods the main body formed in line to their left...."

"About 12 or 15 acres of the summit and of the lower shelf of the plateau to the eastward had been cleared by a farmer by the"

name of Freeman, whose empty cabin stood among the weeds of his abandoned farm. From east to west the clearing was not quite 350 yards across. In the closely wooded country...."³².

Summary:

On the basis of the above evidence, the Freeman farm area on the 19th of Sept. may be described as a worm-fenced oblong field stretching about 350 yards east and west, and containing between 12 and 15 acres. The two log huts or cabins on the farm and the field were abandoned, the field being full of weeds. To the east of the Freeman farm (at 6G on the Final Study Map) lay a large field of Indian corn. Just to the north of Freeman's farm lay an open pine forest, much as it is today, while the area to the west and south was densely covered with forest and underbrush. This evidence thus seems to fully substantiate the three maps of Lt. Wm. C. Wilkinson.

The most important point to be noted, however, is that the present field marked as the "Freeman Farm Clearing" at 6E, 6D, 7D, on the 1941 Historical Base Map for Saratoga National Historical Park, is not the Freeman field at all. The above evidence, the Wilkinson maps, and the secondary maps of Neilson, Lossing, Stone, Brandow, and Nickerson, all support this conclusion and indicate that the real Freeman field lay in 6F on Saratoga Historical Base Map 1941 or the Final Study Map. The Wilkinson troop movement maps, contemporary and secondary accounts of the battle of September 19th do not make sense if the field at 6E, 6D, 7D is assumed to be the Freeman field, as it would move the entire battle much too far to the left to correspond with either the evidence or logic. The Freeman field seems to have run east and west, crossing the northern end of the elevation on which the Balcarres Redoubt was to be later erected.

B. CHANGES IN THE GROUND COVER OF THE FREEMAN FARM AREA, September 20 to October 7th, 1777.

On the 20th of September the British army encamped and began to fortify their position and the Balcarres Redoubt was erected in the Freeman Farm area. Submitted below is the contemporary and secondary evidence pertaining to changes made in the ground cover at that time.

Contemporary American Accounts:

1. Colonel Wilkinson: Col. Wilkinson was in the vicinity of the Balcarres Redoubt at the time of the American attack upon it on October 7th and left the following account:

"I then proceeded to the scene of renewed action, which embraced Burgoyne's right flank defense, and extending to his left, crossed a hollow covered with wood, about 40 rods to the entrenchment of the light infantry (Balcarres Redoubt);... (fighting) between the enemy, behind their works, and our troops entirely exposed, or partially sheltered by trees, stumps, or hollows, at various distances not exceeding 120 yards."³³

Contemporary British Accounts:

1. Balcarres: The Earl of Balcarres testified as follows before the House of Commons:

"44.Q. Was not General Fraser's corps continually at work during the interval above-mentioned (Sept. 20-Oct. 7), in securing their own posts, and opening the front to oppose the enemy?

A. They were."³⁴

2. Lamb: Sergeant Lamb served in Fraser's corps and encamped in the Freeman Farm area Sept. 20 to Oct. 7, 1777.

"20th (of Sept.) The Army moved forward, and took post nearly within cannon shot of the Americans' fortified camp. Here the English strengthened their camp by cutting down large trees, which served for breastworks."³⁵

3. Digby: Lt. Digby also served in Fraser's corps and encamped in the

Freeman Farm area. (Note his reference to camping near a large field of Indian corn, Sept. 20. P. 7)

"Sept. 23. It was said we were to strengthen our camp..., and accordingly began to fell trees for that purpose."³⁶

Contemporary German Accounts:

1. Riedesel: General Riedesel wrote on Sept. 20th:

"At the same time for the defense of the right wing, a redoubt (the Balcarres) was thrown up on the late battlefield near the corner of the woods, that had been occupied by the enemy, this side of the ditch."³⁷

Secondary Accounts:

1. Hoyt: (1825)

"Passing the small ravine south of Leggett's barn (this barn stood on the elevation just north of the small ravine and was the site of the two Freeman huts. See Hoyt's account of that elevation, p. 10) we rose an elevation, the post with another knoll a little further west, strongly fortified, and the woods cleared off by Burgoyne after the battle of the 19th. These elevations were occupied by Lord Balcarras' light infantry...."

Hoyt also mentions an abattis before the Balcarres redoubt and states that:

"The grounds adjacent, at the time of the battles, were covered with wood."³⁸

2. Neilson: (1844) Charles Neilson follows Colonel Wilkinson's account of the American attack on the Balcarres redoubt Oct. 7th:

"This...contest was now carried on between the British behind their works, and the Americans entirely exposed, or partially sheltered by trees, stumps, or hollows at various distances...."³⁹

3. Stone: (1877) William L. Stone speaks of "an Abattis" before the Balcarres redoubt on the 7th of October.⁴⁰

4. Brandow: (1919) John Brandow, in describing the fortifying of the Balcarres redoubt, writes:

"Thousands of trees were cut to give free play to the artillery."⁴¹

5. Nickerson: (1928) Hoffman Nickerson follows Colonel James Wilkinson and Neilson in his account of the American attack on the Balcarres redoubt Oct. 7:

"The Americans continued a hot-fire fight at close range, sheltering themselves as best they could behind trees or stumps, or in the hollows of ground within a hundred and twenty yards of the enemy."⁴²

Summary:

The Wilkinson maps, contemporary and secondary accounts are agreed that, as a result of the British fortifying the Freeman Farm area, the original clearing was greatly enlarged and extended. Trees were felled before the British lines to open up cleared fields of fire, probably 120 yards before the works, also to construct the defenses and the abattises as well. The Final Study Map thus indicates the ground cover in the Freeman Farm area on || October 7th, the time when that area had been opened up to its fullest extent.

C. THE BREYMANN REDOUBT AREA, September 19th and October 7th, 1777.

Contemporary American Accounts:

1. Wilkinson: Col. Wilkinson has left the following general description of the area to the west and northwest of the Freeman Farm area on September 19th:

"These (American) regiments advanced through the woods, took ground on the left of Morgan,...our right being secured by thickets and ravines (in the Freeman Farm area)....If these columns (Learned's

and Fraser's, which had kept its ground to cover Burgoyne's right) had met at an earlier hour of the day, something decisive must have taken place, the ground being somewhat open and on the right flank of the enemy."

Col. Wilkinson was also an eye-witness of the American attack on the Breymann redoubt on October 7th and stated: "This right flank defense of the enemy, occupied by the German corps of Breyman...extended about 250 yards across an open field." 43

2. Colonel Putnam: Colonel Rufus Putnam was also a participant in the assault on the Breymann redoubt and left the following account of the ground cover:

"(Oct. 7th)...in front of these works was a clear open field bounded by a wood at the distance of about 120 yards. In the skirt of this wood I was posted....the right and left of these works were partly covered by thin wood and the rear by a thick wood. The moment orders were given to storm, I moved rapidly across the open field & entered the works in front....I...moved out of these works...into the woods towards the enemies' inclosed redoubt, on the right flank of their main encampment (the Balcarres redoubt). 44

Contemporary German Accounts:

1. Letter of a German Officer: In a letter home, a German officer serving in Burgoyne's army, wrote that on the 7th of October the Breymann redoubt was lost and "His corps (Breymann's) became dispersed, the greater part of them, however, retreating into the forest..."45

Secondary Accounts:

1. Chastellux: (1780)

"This action (at the Breymann redoubt Oct. 7th) was very brisk, to which the fir trees (Pines) which are torn by musquet and cannon shot, will long be as testimony."46

2. Hoyt: (1825) General Hoyt states that there were "woods in the rear" of the Breymann redoubt.⁴⁷

3. Sparks: (1830) Morgan Lewis, then Quarter-Master in Gates' army, told Sparks that Arnold "passed through the woods to the rear of the enemy's right, where there were no works."⁴⁸

4. Neilson: (1844) Neilson, again following Colonel Wilkinson, wrote: The Breymann redoubt "extended about two hundred yards across an open field."⁴⁹

5. Stone: (1877) William L. Stone wrote that the Breymann redoubt "extended two hundred yards across an open field."⁵⁰

Summary:

✓ The general area to the west and northwest of Freeman's farm, which was held by Fraser's column on the 19th of September, and occupied, in part, by the Breymann redoubt on October 7th, seems to have been much more open and cleared than the Freeman farm area. Colonel Wilkinson's account is substantiated by the British maps of Lt. Wm. C. Wilkinson. The Breymann redoubt had light forests on either flank and a heavy forest in the rear and north on October 7th.

D. BATTLE AREA, FIRST PHASE, October 7th, 1777.

On October 7th the British sent a flanking column of 1500 men and ten cannon to the southwest of Freeman's farm, reaching the vicinity of 8A, 8B, 8C on the 1941 ^{and 1949} Historical Base Map for SNHP. After reaching this area the British halted and were soon attacked by Gates' forces. The following are descriptions of this area:

Contemporary American Accounts:

1. Colonel Wilkinson: Colonel James Wilkinson was an eye-witness of the first phase of the battle of Oct. 7th and has left the following account on the ground cover of that area:

"I proceeded over open ground (in front of the left wing of the American camp),...and ascending a gentle acclivity in front of the guard, I perceived about half a mile from the line of our encampment, several columns of the enemy, 60 or 70 rods from me, entering a wheat field which had not been cut, and was separated from me by a small rivulet (the Middle Ravine)....Foragers then proceeded to cut the wheat or standing straw and I soon after observed several officers, mounted on the top of a cabin, from whence with their glasses they were endeavouring to reconnoitre our left, which was concealed from their view by intervening woods."

Colonel Wilkinson then returned to camp and recorded the following conversation with General Gates:

"What is the nature of the ground?...Their front is open, and their flanks rest on woods...their right is skirted by a lofty height."

Wilkinson then reports the following conversation with Colonel Morgan:

"They (the British) were formed across a newly cultivated field, their grenadiers with several field pieces on the left, bordering on a wood and a small ravine formed by the rivulet before alluded to; their light infantry on the right, covered by a worm fence at the foot of the hill before mentioned, thickly covered with wood; their centre composed of British and German battalions."

Wilkinson returned to the spot where the British were drawn up, and accompanied Dearborn, who was about to attack the British light infantry on the right of the British line:

"Dearborn at the moment, when the enemy's light infantry were attempting to change front,...leapt the fence...Yet headed by...the Earl of Balcarras, they...rallied and reformed behind a fence in the rear of their first position."

After driving in the right wing of the British force, Wilkinson reached

the area where the British left, the grenadiers, had been stationed. Here he found the wounded Major Acland leaning against a "worm fence." 51

2. Major Dearborn: Major Dearborn has left the following account of his part in the attack:

Oct. 7th "After ascending the woody hill to a small field about 500 yards to the right of the enemies main line, we discovered a body of the British light infantry, handsomely posted on a ridge 150 yards from the edge of the woods where we then were....The enemy gave way. Pursued which brought us into the open field in the rear of the right of the enemies main line.

"Morgan's corps passed into a skirt of wood and advanced towards the rear of the enemy's left wing while my corps advanced directly in the rear of his right wing and immediately came in contact with his field pieces covered by a body of Germans. I advanced and took possession of 2 12 pounders and 2 6 pounders.

"The Enemy, after passing through a skirt of woods, formed in a field. Here Fraser received a mortal wound...⁵²

3. Blake: Lt. Thomas Blake, of the First New Hampshire Regiment, wrote in his diary:

"Oct. 7th. A detachment of the enemy marched out upon the left of our army,...and posted themselves on a small height in a cleared field about a quarter of a mile from our advanced guard."⁵³

4. Woodruff: Samuel Woodruff fought in the battle of October 7th and fifty years later revisited the scene. In the following account he describes what seems to be the field on the British left:

"The principal part of the ground....October 7th is known by the name of Freeman's farm. It was then covered by a thin growth of pitch-pine wood without underbrush, excepting one lot of about six or eight acres, which had been cleared and fenced. On this spot the British grenadiers under...Major Acland...." (Thus it would seem that this field is probably the one on the left of the British line Oct. 7th, first phase, and not Freeman's field)⁵⁴

5. Matton: (1835) General Ebenezer Matton visited the battlefield in 1835. He served in the Battles of Saratoga in Captain Furnival's Artillery

Company and has left the following description of the British left:

"We advanced to a height of ground which brought the enemy in view, and opened fire. (The enemy artillery however was too strong.) We then advanced into the line of infantry....In our front there was a field of corn, in which the Hessians were secreted."⁵⁵

Contemporary British Accounts:

1. General Burgoyne: Burgoyne wrote of the battle of Oct. 7th:

"...it was judged advisable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to discover whether there were any possible means of forcing a passage should it be necessary to advance, or of dislodging him for the convenience of a retreat, but also to cover a forage of the army....I formed the troops within three-quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and Captain Fraser's rangers, with Indians and Provincials, had orders to go by secret paths in the woods to gain the enemy's rear,..."⁵⁶

2. Bloomfield: Captain Bloomfield served in the royal artillery and was stationed on the left centre of the British line in the first phase of the battle of October 7th. There he was wounded and taken prisoner by the Americans. The following testimony was given before the House of Commons:

"25. A. The ground on which the artillery was posted was a clear spot, in a great measure surrounded by woods, the skirts of which on our left was distant about two hundred yards where the attack first began. The two medium twelve-pounders were posted on a small eminence, nearly in the center of this cleared spot between the German picquets and a detachment of the Hesse-Hanau regiment. On the enemy's column approaching (the artillery opened fire)... notwithstanding which, they drew up along the skirts of the wood behind trees,...soon after this I heard firing on the right towards a cleared spot, separated from us by a wood on which the light infantry were posted on very commanding ground. On their retreating, as also the 24th regiment who was drawn up in the wood on our right, the enemy made their appearance on an eminence on our right, and cut off the retreat of the artillery."⁵⁷

3. Digby:

"...soon after (one o'clock) which, we gained an eminence within half a mile of their camp, where the troops took post;... About 3 o'clock, our heavy guns began to play, but the woods around being so thick...."⁵⁸

4. Pell: Joshua Pell, a British officer, fought in the second battle.

He recorded in his diary:

Oct. 7th. "Taking their (British) rout thro' the wood on the Right of Freeman's Farm."⁵⁹

Contemporary German Accounts:

1. Pausch: Captain Pausch was with the British flanking column on Oct. 7th, commanding 2 six-pounders. He was stationed on the British left flank. The following is his description of his march from the British entrenched camp to the first battle area Oct. 7th.

"Leaving the Brunswick entrenchment (the Breymann redoubt) on our right and finally behind us, we followed a road which led to a house and farm not far distant. This house we also left on our right, and at length reached some underbrush and bushes. Here, on the left of this road, we found an outpost composed of subalterns of the Grenadiers Battalion von Breymann, which we passed. We followed the road for fully half an hour, during which we halted several times (for scouting and building bridges)...we continued to march for the length of time above mentioned when we found ourselves in front of the extended left wing of the hostile army, of which, however, we could not see anything whatever, on account of the dense woods and the distance. Here we found a small cultivated and open field entirely surrounded by woods, and at one end of which stood a small habitation entirely deserted by its former occupants. Its roof had been converted into an observatory from which all the adjutants, engineers...were gazing through their glasses. Nothing, however, could be discovered....Meanwhile, on a piece of ground somewhat elevated and commanding an advantageous and clear position, I posted my two 6 pound cannon."

"At the same time," wrote Pausch, "word was sent into the entrenchments of Breymann and Fraser, and the foragers ordered to cut down the corn stalks yet standing in our rear." Soon after this the American attack began: "At this junction, our left wing retreated... thereby causing a similar rout among our German command, which was stationed behind the fence in line of battle....Each man for himself, they made for the bushes....They had all run across the road into the field and thence into the bushes, and had taken refuge behind the trees....Their (the German) right wing was thus in front of the house I have so often mentioned, but all was in disorder....In the meantime, on our right wing, there was stubborn fighting on both sides, our rear, meanwhile, being covered by a dense forest, which just before had protected our right flank. The road by which we were to retreat lay through the woods and was already in the hands of the enemy, who

accordingly intercepted us. Finding myself,...alone,...and with no way open but the one leading to the house where the two 12 pound cannon stood,...I had no alternative but to make my way along it with great difficulty if I did not wish to be stuck in a DAMNED crooked road."

"After safely reaching the house...I presently came across a little earth-work.....I still could see (from the earth-work) as far as the plain and clearing reached, the road, on which I had marched to this second position, open, and a chance, therefore, to retreat....I found the road occupied by the enemy....the bushes were full of them; they were hidden behind trees...Seeing all was irretrievably lost...I called to my few remaining men to save themselves, I myself, took refuge through (behind) a fence, in a piece of dense underbrush on the right of the road...."⁶⁰

2. General Riedesel: In his Memoirs, General Riedesel wrote:

"All crossed...the right flank in a large circuit through the woods. The first picket (American), which was met near Waisser's house, was driven in, and the eminence, on which it stood occupied. Toward three in the afternoon, the Yagers discovered near a house, that lay a little in advance and was separated from them by a ditch (Ravine), a small body of Americans."

"...finally at 4 PM they attacked his (Burgoyne's) left wing soon forcing the English grenadiers, who were stationed in the woods at this point, to retreat."⁶¹

In his letter of October 21st to the Duke of Brunswick, Riedesel wrote:

"We marched off to the right in 3 columns, drove the enemy from a retrenched house and took possession of a hill opposite a school-house, behind which on a hill their left wing was stationed. We formed our line as well as the lay of the land permitted, placing our columns on the hills. The English grenadiers stood on the left wing in the woods....The enemy...attacked the English grenadiers in the woods on the flank and rear....This command, however, made a good retreat into the woods...."⁶²

3. German Officer:

"Toward 3 o'clock in the afternoon the enemy were driven from several positions and the corps marched up to Weisser's House. The enemy meanwhile remained quiet, being hidden from view by woods...."⁶³

Secondary Accounts:

1. Hoyt: (1825)

"We continued our route across Nelson's farm on an eminence, in advance of Gates' camp, the frequent post of Morgan's riflemen, and passing a ravine and open field beyond, we reached a wood where his regiment was drawn up, on the right of Gates's line,..."

"The British line (Oct. 7th) extended from this point (crowning a height) westerly about a third of a mile, crossing two open fields and an intervening copse of wood, to some high ground within view.... On the south, in front of the line, the ground falls off to a rill, then covered with brush...."⁶⁴

2. Sparks: (1830)

"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...."⁶⁵

3. Neilson: (1844)

"One of Gates' aids proceeded about half a mile to a small rise of ground, (near Asa Chatfield's house) where he discovered them (the British), about 60 rods in advance, in a wheat field, and foragers in the act of cutting the wheat or standing straw; and several officers mounted on the top of a cabin (Joseph Munger's,) from whence, with their glasses, they were endeavouring to reconnoitre the American left, which was concealed from their view by the intervening woods."

"About 2 in the afternoon, the British line of battle was formed across a newly cultivated piece of ground; their grenadiers, under Major Ackland, and their artillery..., occupied a rise of ground on the left, bordering on a wood and covered in front by the head of the middle ravine; their light-infantry under Lord Balcarras, in a southwestern direction, and on their extreme right, and covered by a rail fence;.... (Germans in the center)."

"As he (Cilley) approached near a brush fence" on the British left, and on the British right Neilson also mentions another fence: "The British were rallied and reformed by the Earl of Balcarras behind a fence in the rear of their first position."⁶⁶

4. Lossing: (1848)

"He proceeded to a rise of ground covered with woods, half a mile from Fort Neilson (near the house of Asa Chatfield), where he discovered the British in a wheat field cutting straw, and several officers on the top of a cabin (Joseph Munger's) with a spy glass...."

"The grenadiers under Major Ackland, and the artillery, under Major Williams, were stationed on the left, upon a gentle eminence on the borders of a wood and covered in front by Mill Creek or Middle Ravine."⁶⁷

5. Stone: (1877) William Stone also follows Colonel James Wilkinson and Charles Neilson's account of the first phase of the action October 7th:

"The British advanced..., entered a wheat field 200 yards southwest of the site of the action of the 19th, deployed into line, and began cutting wheat...."

Stone also mentions a "brush fence" in this area.⁶⁸

6. Brandow: (1919)

"They (the British) moved towards the southwest about 2/3s of a mile and deployed in an open clearing and sat down while a detail of drivers...foraged in a wheat field. This place is the southern slope of a rise of ground just north of the middle ravine."

Brandow also mentions fences on the British right and left:

"Dearborn with his men leaped the fence and charged (Balcarras' men)."
"Balcarras rallied and formed them again behind a second fence."

Brandow quotes Col. Wilkinson's description of the position of the British grenadiers on the left flank, the wounded men being "propped up against stumps of trees" while Major Ackland lay "in the angle of a worm fence."

"The British in retreating to their defenses were hotly pursued through the woods by the Americans."⁶⁹

7. Nickerson: (1928)

"Here they (the British) halted on a gentle swell of land north

of the Creek (Middle Ravine), deployed into line with their left near the road, and sat down in a wheat field. The generals... mounted to the roof of an abandoned cabin, from which they peered at the woods in the vain attempt to see something of the rebel position...."

"The position of the 1500 was weak...they were dangerously extended, for the desire to hold a little rise on their right had strung them out over a front of more than a 1000 yards. It was true that this rise, like a similar hummock on which their left stood, had been cleared for cultivation and therefore gave a certain scope for artillery....Both flanks rested upon woods admirably calculated to shelter an advancing enemy."

Nickerson also mentions fences on the British left and right:

Major Acland "lay helpless in one of the angles of a zigzag rail fence."

"Balcarras, however, unlike Acland, was still standing and managed to rally them behind a rail fence a little to the rear."⁷⁰

Summary:

✓ The area from the Freeman farm area southwest to the battle area of October 7th, first phase, seems to have been largely in woods, crossed only by the crudest wagon tracks. In the area where the second battle began, just north of the middle ravine, lay two small open and cultivated fields, separated by heavy forest, and each field being entirely surrounded by dense woods. The two fields were fenced by worm fences, and the crop in the small field on the British left was wheat. Just south of the middle ravine, were several small fields and farm houses, but the rest of the ground between the middle ravine and the American left was densely forested, the British being unable to obtain any view of the American works on their reconnoitring expedition.

E. HEIGHTS JUST NORTH OF THE GREAT RAVINE, September 18th and October 8th.

Contemporary American Accounts:

1. Varick: On September 18, Richard Varick, Aide de Camp to General Arnold, went on a scouting expedition in the area just north of the Great Ravine. Varick wrote General Schuyler the following account:

"I joined the Genl. (Arnold) about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Camp in the Woods, from there we Marched to the West of Mr. Taylers House (the House where Fraser died), Where the left Division of our Infantry discovered a party of the Enemy of 32 or 33 digging Potatoes in a Corn Field about North West from Mr. Taylers House & South of an Encampment of theirs....As the Woods was thick & Very Brushy...he ordered his Troops to return on the Ground Where I found him---It is exceeding Good fighting Ground due West from the House where we had our Bricks from last Year.

About 400 of the Enemy came out about 2 o'clock to build the Bridge on this Side Mr. Taylers. We were in Hopes they would have proceeded down Where We should have surrounded them. They lay in full View of Us for 2 or 3 Hours-& had part of their Troops posted in the Line from Taylers House to the Road, but the Wood was too thick North Ward for Even an Attempt to surround them."⁷¹

2. Colonel Wilkinson:

"On the 8th (October) in the morning the whole army except the camp guards, moved forward and took possession of the enemy's abandoned camp....The heights on which Burgoyne had condensed his force were strong by nature and had been improved by art; the great ravine which now covered his front, ran parallel with the intrenchments of his late camp, and several small drains, covered with saplings and brushwood, emptied their waters into the great ravine from the rear of those entrenchments, the ground in front being an open pine plain...."⁷²

3. Putnam: Colonel Rufus Putnam noted on his Orthographic View of the American and British Camps in the area of the Great Ravine: "British Redoubts having in front a deep hollow ground full of Trees and Logs which prevented an attack on the British army that day (October 8th, 1777)."⁷³

4. Lincoln: General Benjamin Lincoln was wounded while scouting in the area north of the Great Ravine. In 1799 he wrote the following letter to General William Heath:

Oct. 8th "The right (American) accordingly moved; and on showing ourselves in front of their lines, they immediately abandoned their works, and retired to rising ground, covered with a thick wood, a little to the rear...."

"In attempting to execute this order, I fell in with a body of the enemy's troops, in a thick woods, detached to cover their right while I was absent at headquarters. I entered an open cart path, which led through the woods, rode in it some distance, and did not discover any troops till I passed an angle in the road."⁷⁴

Contemporary German Accounts:

1. General Riedesel: On the 19th of September Riedesel, with his division, was advancing along the river. They were repairing a bridge across the Wilbur basin stream, when they heard firing on the right. Riedesel then wrote:

"Not deeming it prudent to take the next way through the woods, he (General Phillips) rode back, and followed the track of the right wing or second column...the latter (German troops) occupying the heights around Taylor's house on the other side of the ditch and those in the wood on the cross road where Captain Fredersdorf stood with his two companies."⁷⁵

Secondary Accounts:

1. Nickerson: (1928)

"Oct. 8th Burgoyne's Tories and his German riflemen skirmished with the American outposts back and forth among the birches of the Great Ravine."⁷⁶

Summary:

The Heights just north of the Great Ravine, prior to the British occupation, appear to have been densely wooded. After the British occupation, during which time three redoubts were constructed in this area, and on October 8th when the British army withdrew to this place, the Heights, to some extent, were cleared. The greatest part of this area, however, even on October 8th, is still shown as being covered with forest on the maps of

Lt. Wm. C. Wilkinson.

F. PLATEAU JUST SOUTH OF WILBUR BASIN, WHICH FORMED THE LEFT WING OF THE
BRITISH CAMP. September 20th to October 7th.

Contemporary American Accounts:

1. Colonel Wilkinson:

Oct. 8th: "Several small drains...emptied their waters into the great ravine from the rear of those intrenchments (the British lines abandoned on the left wing in the morning of the 8th) the ground in front being an open pine plain...."⁷⁷

2. Warren: Captain Benjamin Warren served in the 7th Massachusetts Regiment of the American army and was stationed on the right wing. On the 8th of October he recorded in his diary:

"The General came and marched us up the (River) Road in the low land, till we came within fifty rods of the enemy's lines. Formed on a Great height; a small cannonade ensued on both sides. They being in their lines, and we in the open field."⁷⁸

Contemporary German Accounts:

1. Pausch: On September 19th Captain Pausch was advancing along the river bank with Riedesel's column. Pausch wrote:

"We came across a demolished bridge over a swampy ditch."

Shortly after repairing this, they came to another demolished bridge, soon firing was heard to the right. Pausch was then ordered up a hill to the right and to the front. A small detachment was sent to "a hill in our front, sparsely covered with trees and brushwood." Pausch was then ordered to accompany Riedesel, who was marching to relieve Burgoyne. Pausch wrote:

"...marched for about a quarter of an hour in the direction

of the firing. We then formed in line of battle, I placing the two cannon in the road which led into the woods. The fences, which lay to the left, I had already quickly thrown down...." (This seems to indicate that the small field shown on Wilkinson's map and the Final Study Map (8~~th~~) was fenced.)

On September 20th Pausch rejoined the left wing and was stationed on the river bluffs. He wrote at that time: "The left wing of our army, under Gen. Riedesel, rests on a mountain opposite the right wing of the enemy, and is also in a forest."

"Between our left wing and the enemy's right are a swamp and a very deep ravine, covered with heavy bushes and trees,..."

On September 21st Pausch notes that they are clearing fields of fire in front of the British lines:

"There was an alarm this morning among the men who were chopping trees in the woods for the purpose both of making a clearing in front of the army, and of opening up a communication between the pickets and outposts." 79

2. Riedesel: On the 19th General Riedesel marched from the river to the aid of Burgoyne's column. In his Memoirs the General noted "he (Riedesel) hastened as quickly as possible on a road, $1\frac{1}{2}$ English miles long, through the woods till he arrived on an eminence from the top of which he could see the engagement of the right wing." 80

In his letter of October 21st to the Duke of Brunswick, he also wrote: "I marched through the wood up the mountain and found to my greatest amazement that I stood right on the flanks of both armies." 81

The General described the fortified camp of the left wing of the British army as follows:

"The entire (left) front was protected by a deep marshy ditch,

with an undergrowth of wood along its sides, said ditch running close to the line in the centre and winding off around the right flank....To the left the ditch emptied itself in the valley near the declivity of hills, at the distance of 300 paces on the other side of the chain of sentries. Behind the ditch, palisades and barricades of immense trees, cut down, rose up, for trees were close at hand. In the valley about 400 paces beyond the other bridge No. 3, the angle of the forest extended along the Hudson, and ran up through the hollow so far as the declivity of the hill and behind said angle in the edge of the forest, the Americans had stationed their most advanced outposts."

"Near the water, about 400 paces from bridge No. 3, was a corner of the forest extending down the hills, behind which the enemy had his outpost."

On September 21st General Riedesel describes the construction of a road on the plateau before the left wing:

"At daybreak of the 21st, ordered 1000 working men, under the supervision of 2 engineers, to cut a road through the woods in the direction where the Americans were supposed to be encamped....The working party, after making a road, the left wing as far as the ditch, were attacked."

By September 23rd the troops were clearing a field of fire before the lines on the left wing: "Sept. 23; In front of the lines in the woods, trees were felled to within a distance of one hundred paces."

"At 9 in the evening of the same day (Sept. 28th) an outpost of the Hesse Hanau regiment near the river was surprised and driven by a party of 50 men who had come suddenly upon them through a field of corn (wheat!)." (This would be the field at 9N, Final Study Map.) 9M, 10M

"The Americans sent patrols around the right wing of the English, and even had the audacity to come up close behind headquarters in the centre. On the 1st of October, a few English soldiers, who were digging potatoes in a field 500 paces in the rear of headquarters, were suddenly surprised, the enemy, who suddenly issued from the woods...." 82
[This would be the field at 6M, Final Study Map.]
 In the letter of October 21st to the Duke of Brunswick, Riedesel wrote

of this period:

"As the greatest part of the army stood in the middle of a wood, all the trees were cut down and rows and layers of trees and earth made....the enemy was on all sides of us, in woods which were unknown to us." 83

3. German Officer:

"On the 20th of September we took up a position as near as possible to the enemy's intrenchment...being separated from them by forests and ravines."

"On the 21st the enemy decidedly objected to our hewing paths through the forest to our advanced outposts."

"Then we cut down several thousand trees, not only to give our cannon more play room, but also to increase the efficiency of their range." 84

Secondary Accounts:

1. Nickerson: (1928) Nickerson describes this area in connection with General Burgoyne's advance on September 19th:

"With the rest of his army Burgoyne proposed to attempt the difficult task of advancing through the woods....Having crossed the (Great Ravine) the centre column found itself upon a wagon track running east and west. To the southward extended a plateau on which the pinewood was thinner than that through which they had been marching, but over it no track led forward....Burgoyne chose to turn westward."

"On gaining the plateau (Sept. 19th), Riedesel saw at once that the white sandy track before him led through a pinewood thinner and more open than most of the near by woods." 85

Summary:

The plateau just south of Wilbur Basin and on which the British later constructed the left wing of their entrenched camp appeared to have been less heavily forested than the areas just north and south on September 19th, the plateau being described as being covered with "a thin pine forest." There were also several cultivated fields in this area; Pausch mentions passing fences on the 19th; the crop of this field is unknown, but it was apparently fenced. The crop of the field just north-west of Burgoyne's headquarters was at least in part potatoes; the field along the Hudson at 9N contained wheat.

9M, 10M

After the British began the construction of their fortified camp, the area was further opened up as trees were used in the construction of the fortifications and a field of fire at least 100 yards long was cleared before the lines. The area south of the plateau and Mill Creek, as well as to the southeast, was densely forested. The contemporary accounts of the fields, the building of a road, and the general forest cover, thus all substantiate the maps of Lt. Wilkinson in this area.

G. THE GENERAL AREA BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH CAMPS

Contemporary British Accounts:

1. Anburey: Lt. Anburey, camped by the Balcarres redoubt, wrote:

"The enemy, in front of our quarter guard, within hearing, are cutting trees and making more works." 86

2. Digby: Lt. Digby was also camped at the Balcarres redoubt:

Sept. 20th "...we could distinctly hear them (the Americans) in the wood between us felling trees;"

Sept. 29th "About day break our picquet was fired on from the wood in front,..." 87

Contemporary German Accounts:

1. Pausch: Stationed on the left wing of the camp, Captain Pausch wrote:

"One can see nothing of their (American) camp or entrenchments owing to the dense forests which hide them." 88

2. Riedesel: By a ruse of accompanying doctors to the American outposts, Riedesel wrote in his Memoirs, Captain Gerlach attempted to see the American position,

"but gained nothing, as a dense wood, prevented him from seeing

anything...although he had been 2000 paces beyond the outposts of the English. The same day General Riedesel went out reconnoitring on an expedition with the Yagers. His intention was to explore the course of the ditch (in front of the left wing), and he succeeded in gaining the other side, but the bank was so steep and covered with such dense thickets that nobody could get through."89

3. German Officer:

"...We took up a position as near as possible to the enemy's intrenchment...being separated by forest and ravines." 90

Contemporary American Accounts;

1. Col. Wilkinson:

Both armies encamped "and the forest resounded under the strokes of the axe."91

Secondary Accounts:

1. Neilson: (1844)

"The dense forest that intervened between the center of the (American) camp and the battlefield..."92

2. Brandow: (1919)

"These ravines (Mill Creek, Middle Ravine, etc.) being thickly wooded, filled with fallen timber and tangled brushwood, and with sides very steep, were practically impassable for large bodies of men equipped for battle, and of course were easily defended."

"...the thick woods effectively screened each camp from the other."93

3. Nickerson: (1928)

"Even today, after the deforestation of a century and a half, no part of Gates' position can be seen from anywhere within half a mile southward of this ravine (the Great Ravine). In the woods of 1777 no distant view whatever could be had."

"The woods and dense undergrowth completely screened each side from the other."94

Summary:

The general area between the two hostile camps was covered with the densest forest, completely hiding each camp, except possibly along the Hudson.

H. RIVER PLAINS, AREA OF WILBUR BASIN.

Contemporary British Accounts:

1. Burgoyne:

"The army lay upon their arms the night of the 19th, and the next day took a position nearly within cannon shot of the enemy, fortifying their right, and extending their left to the brow of the the heights, so as to cover the meadows through which the great river runs,..."⁹⁵

2. Anburey: On September 19th Anburey writes that the center and right wing advanced through "the woods," while the left wing advanced along the river through "the meadows."⁹⁶

Secondary Accounts:

1. Hoyt: (1825)

"Smith's house (the Tayler House)...is (now) situated in a handsome meadow bordering on the Hudson, the same embraced by Burgoyne's hospital camp."⁹⁷

2. Stone: (1877)

Oct. 8th "Burgoyne left his position, now utterly untenable, and defiled on to the meadows by the river...."⁹⁸

Summary:

Part of the land between the Hudson River and the river bluffs by Wilbur Basin was in meadows.

I. GROUND COVER BEFORE THE RIGHT, LEFT AND CENTER OF THE AMERICAN CAMP,
September 13 to October 8, 1777.

Contemporary American Accounts:

1. Colonel Wilkinson: Colonel Wilkinson describes the ground cover around the American Camp as follows:

"...his (Gates') front was covered from the right to the left of the centre, by a sharp ravine running parallel with his line and closely wooded; from thence to the knoll at his extreme left, the ground was level and had been partially cleared, some of the trees being felled and others girdled, beyond which in front of his left flank, and extending to the enemy's right, there were several small fields in very imperfect cultivation, the surface broken and obstructed with stumps and fallen timber...."⁹⁹

2. Glover: In a letter to General William Heath, dated September 21, 1777, Brigadier-General John Glover wrote:

"We are making every necessary preparation to receive them, by falling Trees, & Abeteeing the passes between the North River & Saratoga Lake about 6 miles distance."¹⁰⁰

3. Wild: Sergeant Ebenezer Wild served in Captain Hancock's Company of Colonel Joseph Vose's¹ Regiment (the First Massachusetts). Vose's Regiment made up a part of General John Glover's Brigade, which served in both battles of Saratoga. In his Journal Sergeant Wild noted: September 11, "camped in a field." (At Bemis Heights; studying evidence contained in Wild's journal and Richard Varick's letters to Philip Schuyler, dated September 22, 1777, which mutually support each other, the writer believes Glover's brigade was camped ^{east} on the plateau just/and below Fort Neilson until the 22nd of September. This theory disagrees with the troop positions as shown on Richard Koke's map of the First Battle of Freeman Farm, which indicates that Glover camped along the river bluffs on the 19th of September. Wild's journal and Varick state, however, that Glover did not move to this position until the 22nd of September.

If the writer's theory is correct, then the field referred to above may well be the original Neilson Farm clearing.)

"Sept. 16. A very large party of our men have been to work to day cutting down trees and building a breast work in front of our encampment.

"Sept. 18. Regt grounded their arms, and went and got tools and went to work building a breast work in front of our encampment.

"Sept. 19. We marched from our camp and manned the works above us (Fort Neilson?). #101

4. Varick: Richard Varick, aide de camp to General Arnold, wrote the following accounts of the ground cover in the area of the American camp to General Schuyler:

Sept. 12, 1777... "The lead line AA represents the Valley in front of our Camp on the North of which is a thin wood, & I think full as high Ground as we possess on the South."

Sept. 16. "We have a picket on Very high Ground which commands our Camp except where Morgan lies, however the Trees fallen between that Ground & our Camp will prevent a Coup de Main from that Quarter."

Sept. 22. "The Woods round us are cut & cutting down to form an Abbattis against a Charge of Bayonets or sudden Surprise." (In a letter that day Varick remarked, "Glover's Brigade is removed to the Rear of Nixons Camp & in the lower works.")

Sept. 22. "A work is thrown up & Abbattis of fallen Trees in the Woods North of Pattersons Brigade." #102

Contemporary British Accounts:

1. Captain Money: Captain Money served as Deputy Quarter Master General in Burgoyne's army. The following testimony on the nature of right and left wings of the American camp was given in the House of Commons:

"35.Q. Was you not often employed between the day of that action (Sept. 19th) and the action of the 7th of October to reconnoitre?

A. I was.

- 36.Q. Was you able to obtain a view of the enemy's position?
 A. I obtained a view of the position of the right of the rebel entrenchments.
- 37.Q. What was the nature of their position to the right, with regard to entrenchments?
 A. They were posted on a hill that came very near the river. On the top of the hill was a strong breastwork, at the foot an abbatis.
- 39.Q. Could you obtain a view of the left wing of the enemy?
 A. I never saw the left wing of the enemy's entrenchments till I was taken prisoner (Oct. 7th) and conducted through their works.
- 45.Q. Had you an opportunity, after you was prisoner, to see the left of the enemy's entrenchments?
 A. I had.
- 46.Q. Was the ground within cannon shot of the left open and commanding it?
 A. All the ground I saw was cleared and entrenched.
- 48.Q. Had we gained possession of that ground, and been able to erect batteries of our heaviest guns, would not the whole line of the enemy been enfiladed?
 A. The ground alluded to was entrenched, and commanded the whole of the rebel camp and lines...."103

2. Kingston: Lt. Col. Kingston served as Deputy Adjutant General and Secretary to Burgoyne:

- "75.Q. From your conversation with the chief engineer, and from other circumstances, have you reason to know, that every possible means was used after the action of the 19th, to obtain a knowledge of the ground on the enemy's left?
 A. I had frequent conversations with the chief engineer on that subject. I believe his attention was given to that point almost every day, and a knowledge of that ground I understood to be very difficult to be obtained."104

3. Anburey: Lt. Anburey wrote:

"The nature of the country is peculiarly unfavorable in respect to military operations, it being difficult to reconnoitre the enemy, and obtain any intelligence to be relied on...."105

Contemporary German Accounts:

1. Captain Pausch:

Sept. 20th "The (American) right wing, resting on a mountain,

has the Hudson for an appagement....The adjacent, though not large plain, and also the road to Albany, are defended by strong detachments as far as the river. In the thickets, in the overgrown gorges, and in the ravines at the foot of the mountain, are also strong detachments....One can see nothing of their camp or entrenchments owing to the dense forests which hid them."

"The left wing of the enemy, according to report, reaches far beyond our right wing and outnumbers it. They are said to be encamped behind thick woods in an abattis..."106

2. General Riedesel: In a letter of October 21st to the Duke of Brunswick, Riedesel wrote:

"The enemy stood on steep hills in fortifications, with a swamp and abattises in front."¹⁰⁷

3. Baroness Riedesel: In the memoirs of the Baroness Riedesel is contained the following letter written from Stillwater, October 18th, 1777, and signed by Riedesel and all the German officers:

"This (American right) wing was protected in front by a large, marshy ravine, and behind, its lines were screened by an abatis. The left wing extended on to a height, upon the top of which stood a school house, and its left flank was likewise screened, on the side of the hill, by felled trees."¹⁰⁸

Secondary Accounts:

1. Chastellux: (1780)

"In front of them (the American river redoubts) is a deep ravine which runs from the west, in which is a small creek. This ravine takes its rise in the woods, and all the ground on the right of it is extremely thick set with wood."

Writing of the American left, Chastellux noted:

"Towards the northwest, you come out of the lines to descend another platform, which presents a position the more favourable, as it commands the surrounding woods, and resists everything which might turn the left flank of the army."¹⁰⁹

2. Neilson: (1844)

"The front of the (American) camp was covered from the right to left by a deep ravine, running nearly parallel with the line, and a great part of the way by a dense forest.

"From a little left of the fort (Neilson) and for some distance west, large trees were felled in every direction, which presented an almost insurmountable barrier."¹¹⁰

3. Lossing: (1848)

"He (Bemis) owned a portion of the heavy timbered heights near him...."

"On the summit of the heights, 3/4s of a mile northwest of Bemis's, the father of Mr. Neilson owned a clearing of a few acres when the war broke out,...."

"The front of the (American) camp was covered by a deep ravine skirted by a dense forest, running nearly parallel with the lines, from the river hills westward."

"For some distance west of the fort (Neilson) large trees were felled, and presented a strong abatis toward the enemy."¹¹¹

4. Stone: (1877)

"The (American) left wing extended onto a heights 3/4s of a mile further north, its left flank being also protected on the hillside by felled trees, or SLASHINGS.

"The (American) right wing occupied a hill nearest the river, and was protected in front by a wide, marshy ravine, and behind this by an abattis." ¹¹²

5. Brandow: (1919)

"The whole (American) camp was fortified by strong batteries and breastworks as well as by natural defenses of ravines and thick woods....In addition to the breastworks the left and front on the high ground were made difficult of approach by an abatis formed of trees felled with their tops outward."¹¹³

6. Nickerson: (1928)

"Along its actual trace the main line of (American) resistance

was two miles long, but since the centre and most of the right were hard to approach, the actual distance to be defended was far shorter. In front of Fort Neilson, the most exposed point, a beginning had been made in clearing the ground. Some of the trees were still standing, although girdled and dead. The trunks of the others had fallen and lay every which way among the stumps."¹¹⁴

Summary:

The ground cover in the area of the American camp must be worked out generally, based on contemporary written accounts, as the maps of Lt. Wm. C. Wilkinson indicate that area only in a most general way and with some inaccuracy, while the known American maps show even less of the ground cover than the British. Written accounts, however, suggest that most of the region was heavily forested prior to the American occupation, with the exception of the Neilson farm, and perhaps one or two others. In the process of constructing breastworks, abattises, and clearing fields of fire, the open area was undoubtedly greatly extended. The evidence indicates that the regions in front of the right, center and left of the American camp were densely forested. Cleared fields of fire of about 100 yards before the lines, the camping area, and the cleared region to the west of Fort Neilson have been indicated on the new map.

III. EFFECT OF THE FORESTS ON THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS DURING THE TWO BATTLES OF SARATOGA.

Extracted below are remarks of contemporaries in the two battles, showing the effect of the ground cover on the course of the fighting.

American Contemporary Accounts:

1. Col. Wilkinson: Writing of the action on September 19th, Wilkinson noted:

"This battle was perfectly accidental; neither of the generals meditated an attack at the time....The thickness and depth of the intervening wood (in the Freeman Farm area) concealed the position and movements of either army from its adversary."¹¹⁵

Contemporary British Accounts:

1. Burgoyne:

"On the day following (September 20th), it was known from prisoners and deserters, that the enemy were in a post strongly fortified; but from the thickness of the wood, it was impossible to catch a view of any part of their position."

"...and from...the strength and darkness of the surrounding woods, it had not yet been practicable to gain any competent knowledge of their position."

Writing of the decision made on September 20th to entrench rather than attack, Burgoyne remarked:

"...that enemy too in a position of which no further knowledge could be obtained than that it was covered by an intrenchment and abattis, and the approach to be made through a thick wood, without any avenue out...."

"Upon this principle I submit the plan annexed (Plan No. V). It will also shew the nature of the ground between the two armies, and serve to explain the difficulties the witnesses express of taking a view of the enemy's left...."

"As for any other intelligence than what could be obtained by eye-sight it was generally contradictory,...I never saw any instance of service where it was so difficult to obtain information."¹¹⁶

2. Earl of Harrington: The Earl of Harrington, aide de camp to Burgoyne, gave the following testimony in the House of Commons on the action of September 19th in the Freeman Farm area:

"47.Q. Were not different attempts made by the General's orders to charge the enemy with bayonets, and did not these attempts fail by the heaviness of the enemy's fire and thickness of the woods?

A. There were many attempts made for that purpose, and they all failed except the last, when the British troops finally drove them out of the field."

The Earl of Harrington also speaks of the "thickness of the woods" interfering with British movements in the first phase of the battle of October 7th.¹¹⁷

3. Captain Money: Captain Money, Deputy Adjutant General and Secretary to Burgoyne, taken prisoner October 7th, testified as follows before the House of Commons:

"49.Q. Did you every hear, in conversation with the rebel officers, that General Arnold, forseeing that inconvenience, had marched out of his lines, and attacked without orders from General Gates (on Oct. 7th)?"

A. I did hear that General Arnold had marched out on the 7th of October, without orders from General Gates. I did also hear that he advised going out to meet General Burgoyne on his march, and engaging him before he approached their lines; and the reason he gave was this: If General Burgoyne should ever come near enough their lines to be able to make use of his artillery, that he would certainly possess himself of their camp; that their troops in that case would never stand any where; but if, on the other hand, the rebels should be defeated in the woods, the troops would, after that, have confidence in their works, for which reason Arnold advised risking an action in the woods before General Burgoyne came near enough to see their works."¹¹⁸

4. Earl of Balcarres: The Earl of Balcarres, in speaking of the action of September 19th, noted:

"36.Q. From the nature of the country, was it possible to discern the enemy's position or movements, to form any judgment what attacks were in force, and what were feints?

A. I think not.

42.Q. From the nature of the country, and the situation of the enemy's out-posts, was it possible to reconnoitre their position?

A. From the nature of the country, the difficulties attending reconnoitering must have been very great."¹¹⁹

5. Lt. Col. Kingston:

"68.A. Add to this, the country was a very thick wood, and the situation of the rebel camp, I believe, could not by any means be reconnoitred within that space of time (Sept. 19th to 20th)."

Speaking of October 7th:

"78.Q. Did you conceive that the chief purpose of that movement (of the flanking column) was to attain a knowledge of the left of the enemy's position, and if expedient to attack them there?

A. I understood it was."¹²⁰

Contemporary German Accounts:

1. General Riedesel: Writing of the period September 20th to October 7th to the Duke of Brunswick, Riedesel stated:

"The enemy was on all sides of us, in woods which were unknown to us."¹²¹

2. German Officer: A German officer wrote of the action of September 19th:

"On September 19th, both armies encountered each other in a swamp. The neighborhood, which consisted of wooded knolls, ravines, morasses, etc., was the cause of amazing mistakes on both sides."¹²²

Secondary Accounts:

1. Neilson: (1844) Charles Neilson, in writing of the battle of September 19th, remarks:

"Neither of them (Arnold or Fraser) was able, on account of the woods, to perceive the movements of his enemy."¹²³

2. Lossing: (1848) Writing of the action in the Freeman Farm area September 19th, Lossing states:

"So dense was the forest and so uneven the ground, that neither party fairly comprehended the movements of the other,...."¹²⁴

3. Nickerson: (1928)

"The thick woods and the activity of the rebel outposts had completely prevented them (the British) from reconnoitring the hostile position."¹²⁵

Summary:

*American
accounts?*

The dense and heavy forests that covered the battle area of 1777 had a decisive effect on both the strategy and tactics adopted by the American and British armies in the two battles of Freeman Farm, September 19th and October 7, 1777. On the 19th Burgoyne advanced through an unknown forest which screened an unknown American entrenched camp. Burgoyne's troop dispositions were made in an attempt to advance safely through the forest. At the same time, the forest screened Burgoyne's movements from Gates so it can be said that the "fog of war" which covered the first battle was actually the great American forest. The ground cover also had an important effect on tactics. The European military training was designed for warfare in open areas, of which there were very few in the battle area of 1777. Thus the forest rendered useless to a great extent the specialized training of the British army and at the same time gave the Americans something of an advantage, for they had been long schooled in forest warfare. The forest thus hindered and made very difficult the elaborate and intricate movements of trained bodies of troops; it also hindered the movement of the fine train of artillery that Burgoyne possessed and greatly limited its effective range. This also may be considered a definite advantage to the American cause, as the British train of artillery was much stronger and better than that which the Americans possessed.

The ground cover again exerted a decisive effect in the second battle on October 7th. While the British possessed some knowledge of the ground and defenses of the American right wing, the forest so effectively screened the American left wing that even after eighteen days of attempts to reconnoiter

it, Burgoyne finally found it necessary to attempt a reconnaissance in force. It was Burgoyne's movement with 1500 men and ten cannon, with this purpose in mind, that brought on the second battle. The fact that the area where the second battle opened was surrounded by dense forest enabled the Americans to strike easily the flanks and rear of Burgoyne's force, the ground cover failing to stop the Americans, as the British had probably thought. It again cut down the range of the British cannon and the ground cover made it almost impossible for the retreating British to carry their artillery back with them in their retreat to the Balcarres redoubt.

IV. GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

As has been stated, the chief contemporary source for the new Final Field Study Historical Base Map, which also indicates the Ground Cover of the Park in 1777, has been the three maps of Lt. Wilkinson. After studying these three maps, it would appear that Map No. 1 is the original map by Wilkinson, and No. 2 and No. 3 were engraved later by Faden and based on No. 1. No. 2 and No. 3 are much more elaborate than No. 1, being based in part on information Burgoyne may have picked up after his surrender. Maps No. 2 and No. 3, however, contain glaring topographical errors which are not found on the Wilkinson Map No. 1, such as two separate stream systems connecting up in a way that is impossible, and indicating river hills in areas where the ground is perfectly flat. It should be noted that the Wilkinson Map No. 1 avoids these mistakes and probably indicates all that the British actually knew at the time of the battles of Saratoga. Thus it can be said that Wilkinson Map No. 1 has been the chief source for the new

Final Field Study map, while Maps No. 2 and 3 have been used to supplement it when they checked with No. 1 or with contemporary written accounts. Interpreting Maps No. 2 and 3 without an actual check of the ground may account for the mistake of placing the large field at K11, K12, L11, L12 on the 1941 Historical Base Map, where such a field would be on the roughest possible terrain, while the perfectly flat and fertile land along the river is indicated as being heavy forest. It is the writer's opinion that the Wilkinson Map No. 1 checks very well with the contemporary written accounts of the Ground Cover, entrenched British positions, and the troop movements in the first and second battles of Freeman's Farm.

Freeman Farm Field

One of the most important points to be raised in this study is the location of the FREEMAN FARM CLEARING. It is the writer's considered opinion that the 1941 Historical Base Map for Saratoga National Historical Park is very seriously in error when it placed this field at 6D, 7D, 6E, instead of at 6F. The following are the writer's reasons for this opinion:

1. We know that the Freeman Field and House were at the center of fighting in the first battle; all contemporary written evidence and the Wilkinson Maps agree to this. The Wilkinson Maps definitely locate the Freeman House, and the 1941 Historical Base Map agrees with them as to its location. Lt. Hadden, Major Forbes, Captain Pausch and General Riedesel were all at Freeman's Farm during the first battle, and all agree that the House was in the center of a fenced field, and that the chief fighting took place in the vicinity of the Freeman House. Moreover, the Wilkinson troop movement maps indicate that Riedesel's relief force and Burgoyne's British line regiments never reached the vicinity of the field at 6D, 7D, 6E in the first battle,

but rather that this area was held late in the day by General Fraser's regiments. It is also General Riedesel, who saw the Freeman Farm on September 19th, who states that the Balcarres redoubt was erected in the very area where he had been fighting on September 19th.

2. The American Colonel, James Wilkinson, states that the field was full of weeds, although fenced; that it was an oblong field stretching from the British center towards its right. The maps of Lt. Wilkinson show the Freeman House in the center of a fenced area, full of stumps and dead trees, in short, an area not under cultivation at the time of the battle, and running from the British center, across the northern end of the elevation on which the Balcarres redoubt was later erected, to the British right. The field at 6D, 7D, 6E is shown on the 1941 Base Map and Lt. Wilkinson's Maps fenced and definitely under cultivation; this entire field is on the British right and nowhere near the British center or the area of heavy fighting.

3. Colonel Wilkinson, Hoyt and Neilson, the latter two writing while there were still living men who had fought in the battles, all state that the Freeman Field ran east and west, with the ground sloping to the south and east. The field at 6D, 7D, 6E runs almost north and south, rather than east and west, and the ground of this field slopes east and north, rather than east and south. Lt. Wilkinson shows an oblong field running east and west at 6F, and the ground at that point does slope east and south.

4. All secondary authorities, Sparks, Neilson, Hoyt, Lossing, Stone, Brandow and Nickerson, indicate on their maps and in their written description of the area that the Freeman House stood in the midst of its own field at a point which would be 6F on the 1941 Historical Base Map and the new

Final Field Study Map, July 1949. Mr. Ellsworth of Ketchum Corners, whose grandfather bought the house still standing at 6F from Mr. Leggert, and who spent his whole boyhood at this house, told the writer that the "Battle Well" in his day stood on the east slope of the elevation on which the northern end of the Balcarres redoubt was later erected, near the point where the creek cuts the elevation in two. This agrees with Brandow's map. Mr. Ellsworth also stated that he could remember the digging of the well that has been marked by New York State as the present "Battle Well."

5. Lt. Wilkinson indicates on his maps that it was a custom of the times for the farmers to cultivate the land right up to their very door steps, each building being shown right in the middle of the surrounding field. The question then comes to mind, if the 1941 Historical Base Map is correct in placing Freeman's clearing at 6D, 7D, 6E, why was Mr. Freeman the only unfortunate farmer in the entire area who had to walk almost a quarter of a mile to work every day from his house to his field? In addition to this, the Wilkinson Maps and even the 1941 Historical Base Map indicate that two separate buildings stood at the field at 6D, 7D, 6E. Thus it would appear that this field belonged to^a/completely different farmer, with his own cabin and barn.

Measurement of the Fields

A serious defect of the 1941 Historical Base Map, aside from the omission of entire fields and the placing of others on rough ground, is that most of the fields are indicated in such a manner that it is impossible to give any form to the field, to tell where the field and forest actually begin and end, or to use the map for the purpose of taking measurements to

lay out such fields on the ground. When problems of this nature arose, the writer was forced to take his measurements from the Lt. Wilkinson Maps.

In order to correct this situation, the cultivated fields have been marked in very carefully with regard to their exact size and shape. Their size and shape were determined as follows: using a light table, the writer traced in the streams from the Topographic Map, Saratoga National Historical Park, scale 800 feet to the inch. The approximate site of each field was then determined from obvious landmarks on both the topographical map and Lt. Wilkinson's Maps. After this, one of Lt. Wilkinson's Maps, with the approximate scale of 800 feet to the inch, was slipped under the tracing, the field lined up and traced in exactly from the British map. When the British maps indicated that a field covered an entire knoll, the writer copied its outlines, enlarging or reducing the field as the case required, while keeping the same shape. It is believed that this process has given us the approximate size and shape of each field with the greatest degree of accuracy that is possible 172 years after the battles of Saratoga.

Fields and Fences

Lt. Wilkinson's maps and contemporary written accounts of all specific fields mentioned indicate that probably all of the cultivated fields of 1777 were fenced. No special symbol has been indicated on the Final Field Study Map for fences, in the interest of marking the extent of each field as accurately as possible. It should, therefore, be kept in mind that all cultivated fields, with some pasture land, were fenced. The fence used commonly throughout this area in 1777 seems to have been the worm or rail fence.

The following is a list of the fields of which specific information has been found in contemporary evidence as regards fences and crops:

1. Field on the British left, first phase of the Battle of October 7th
^{8C-}
(at 7C, 1941 Historical Base Map): This field was fenced with a worm fence; its crop was wheat.

2. Field on the British right, first phase of the Battle of October 7th
^{8B-}
(at 7B, 1941 Historical Base Map): This field was also fenced with a worm fence; its crop is unknown.

3. FREEMAN FARM CLEARING AT 6F: This field was fenced with a worm fence; it had been abandoned so that it was full of weeds on September 19th.

4. Field northwest of Burgoyne's headquarters (at ^J6~~E~~): Lt. Wilkinson's Map indicates that it was fenced; its crop was at least in part potatoes. (Varick mentions picking potatoes in a corn field, so there may have been some other crop planted along with the potatoes.)

5. Field south of Burgoyne's headquarters (at ^J8~~F~~): This small field was probably fenced; its crop is unknown.

6. Field along the Hudson river bank (at ^{9M-}10M): This field contained "corn". (To a German, such as Riedesel, the product grown in Europe known as "corn" is what we call wheat, and does not mean maize or Indian corn. Thus, if the General speaks of corn, he may possibly mean Indian corn, but more likely means wheat.)

7. Field just east of Freeman clearing (at 6G): This field was fenced; its crop was Indian corn.

American and British Entrenched Camps

The Wilkinson Maps have been followed in indicating the British troop

positions; the exact location of the works covering the center of Fraser's camp and the front of Burgoyne's line regiments, together with Riedesel's troops, must await archeological exploration.

The 1941 Historical Base Map has been followed in indicating the position of the American entrenched camp; further archeological research is necessary to determine the exact location and nature of the American lines. Thus the American entrenched camp is marked in ~~n~~as exactly as possible, but it must still be considered to be a general outline.

Submitted by

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July 25, 1949

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