

Ticonderoga  
Fort Ticonderoga  
Lake Champlain, N.Y.

# THE BULLETIN OF THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

Volume XIV

Summer 1981

Number 1



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January 1777

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# THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

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Manuscripts about the early history of the Champlain Valley are invited. Address correspondence to John W. Krueger, Editor, Fort Ticonderoga, Ticonderoga, New York 12883.

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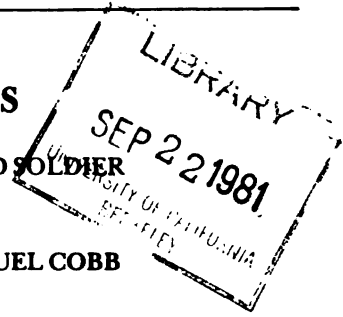
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# RECOLLECTIONS OF AN OLD SOLDIER



THE

L I F E

of

CAPTAIN DAVID PERRY,  
A Soldier of the French and Revolutionary Wars

CONTAINING MANY EXTRAORDINARY OCCURRENCES  
RELATING TO HIS OWN PRIVATE HISTORY,  
AND AN ACCOUNT OF SOME INTERESTING  
EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE  
TIMES IN WHICH HE LIVED,  
NO-WHERE ELSE RE-  
CORDED.



WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.



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1822.

## LIFE OF DAVID PERRY

I WAS born August 8th, (O.S.) 1741, in the town of Rehoboth, Mass. I was the oldest child of Eliakim and Sarah Perry. The first thing of consequence that occurs to my mind, was the transactions relating to the war between the English and French. An army was raised in the New-England States, to go against Cape Breton, under Gen. Pepperell, at which time I was in my fifth year. My father and one of his brothers, and also one of my mother's brothers, enlisted into this army. And what strengthens my memory with regard to these events, one of my uncles above mentioned, whose name was Abner Perry, was killed at the taking of the Island Battery.

Nothing of consequence took place until the fall after I was seven years old, when my mother died, leaving four small children, viz: one brother and two sisters. There was something very singular took place respecting her sickness. She went with my father, to visit his relations at Eastown. They rode on horse-back. While they were there, on Lord's day, I was at play with my brother and two little sisters, and it appeared to me that I saw my mother ride by on the same horse she rode away on, and dressed in the same clothes. I mentioned the circumstance to my brother and sisters at the time; but she rode out of my sight immediately. At this time she was taken sick at Easton, in which condition they brought her home; and she died a few days afterwards. — In consequence of this event, my father broke up housekeeping, and put out his children. Myself and sisters went to live with our uncle David Joy, the brother of my mother who, as I before said, went with my father to Cape Breton. I lived with my uncle, (who treated me very kindly) until my fifteenth year; when I was placed with Mr. David Walker, in Dighton, Mass. to learn the trade of tanner and shoe-maker.

About this time war again broke out between the English and French, and it raged sorely in our part of the country, especially near the lakes. Our people made a stand at the south end of Lake George, where they built a fort, and another about 14 miles below, on the Hudson River, called Fort Edward. In 1755, a bloody battle was fought at the half-way-house, between Fort Edward and Lake George. Gen. Johnson commanded the English forces; and under him Maj. Rodgers commanded the Rangers. They had a number of sore battles with the French and Indians, and lost a great many of our best men. In the year 1757, Gen. Montcalm came against Fort George, with a large army of

French and Indians, and obliged the garrison to surrender; after which, contrary to his express agreement, he let loose his Indians upon our men, and massacred a great many of them.

This year, in August, I was sixteen years old; at which age the young lads of that day were called into the training-bands. In the Spring of 1758, I was warned to training, and there were recruiting officers on the parade-ground, to enlist men for the next campaign. I enlisted into Capt. JOB WINSLOW's company, of Col. Prebble's regiment, to serve eight months. — People said I would not "pass muster," as I was small of my age; but there was no difficulty about that. When the company was full, we marched first to Worcester, staid there a few days, and then marched to Old Hadley. We remained here about a week. From this place we crossed the river to Northampton, where we drew five days' provisions — left the place in the afternoon, and encamped a few miles out of town, in the woods for the night. — In that day there were no human habitations from Northampton, to within ten miles of Albany. There was a small picket Fort in what was then called Pantocet Woods, commanded by Col. Williams. We had no other road than marked trees to direct our course — no bridges on which to cross the streams; some of which we waded; others we passed on trees felled by our men: and for five successive nights we lay on the ground. We arrived at Greenbush, and, after a few days' tarry, marched up the North River to a place called Setackuk, where the Indians had driven off, captured, or destroyed the inhabitants. We here took a number of horses to draw the cannon to Lake George, but not having horses enough, some of the cannon were drawn by men. Part of the men went in Batteaus with the provisions. When we arrived at the Lake, the army, consisting of British and Americans, amounted to about 20,000 men. It was commanded by Gen. Abrecombe, and Lord Howe was second in command. We encamped there until boats and provisions enough were collected to carry us across the Lake, with cannon, &c. to attack Ticonderoga. We arrived at the Narrows the second morning after our embarkation, where we expected to be attacked by the enemy.

Major Rodgers, with his Rangers was the first to land. He was joined by Lord Howe and his party; and we had proceeded but a short distance into the woods, before we were met by the enemy, and a brisk fire ensued. It was the first engagement I had ever seen, and the whistling of balls, and roar of musquetry terrified me not a little. At length our regiment formed among the trees, behind which the men kept stepping from their ranks for shelter. Col. Prebble, who, I well

remember, was a harsh man, swore he would knock the first man down who should step out of his ranks; which greatly surprised me, to think that I must stand still to be shot at. Pretty soon, however, they brought along some wounded Frenchmen; and when I came to see the blood run so freely, it put new life into me. The battle proved a sore one for us. Lord Howe and a number of other good men, were killed.

The army moved on that day to within a short distance of the enemy, and encamped for the night. In the morning we had orders to move forward again, in a column three deep, in order to storm the enemy's breast-works, known in this country by the name of "the Old French Lines." Our orders were to "run to the breast-work, and get in if we could." But their lines were full, and they killed our men so fast, that we could not gain it. We got behind trees, logs and stumps, and covered ourselves as we could from the enemy's fire. The ground was strewn with the dead and dying. It happened that I got behind a white-oak stump, which was so small that I had to lay on my side, and stretch myself; the balls stiking [sic] the ground within a hand's breadth of me every moment, and I could hear the men screaming, and see them dying all around me. I lay there some time. A man could not stand erect, without being hit, any more than he could stand out in a shower, without having drops of rain fall upon him; for the balls come by hands full. It was a clear day — a little air stirring. Once in a while the enemy would cease firing a minute or two, to have the smoke clear away, so that they might take better aim. In one of these intervals I sprang from my perilous situation, and gained a stand which I thought would be more secure, behind a large pine log, where several of my comrades had already taken shelter: but the balls came here as thick as ever. One of the men raised his head a little above the log, and a ball struck him in the centre of the forehead, and tore up his scalp clear back to the crown. He darted back, and the blood ran merrily; and, rubbing his face, said it was a bad blow, and no one was disposed to deny it, for he looked bad enough. We lay there till near sunset; and, not receiving orders from any officer, the men crept off, leaving all the dead, and most of the wounded. We had two of our company killed, and number wounded. Our captain (Winslow) received a ball in his wrist, which passed up the fleshy part of his arm, and he carried it there as long as he lived, which was a number of years: he was afterwards raised to the rank



of Colonel. Our Lieutenant was wounded by a shot in the leg, and one of our Sargeants received a ball in his arm, which he carried with him to his grave.

We got away the wounded of our company; but left a great many crying for help, which we were unable to afford them. I suppose, that as soon as we left the ground, the enemy let loose his Indians upon them: for none of those that we left behind were ever heard of afterwards. We started back to our boats without any orders, and pushed out on the Lake for the night. We left between 6 and 7000, in killed and wounded, on the field of battle, which I believe is a greater number than ever was lost on our side, in one day, in all the battles that have been fought in America. We went over the Lake with about 21,000 men, in high spirits, with all kinds of music; but returned back melancholy and still, as from a funeral, and took our old stand at the south end of the Lake.

A great deal was said by the subaltern officers and men, at that time, with regard to the conduct of the commanding General. I was but a boy, and could have but little judgment about it then; but, from later experience and reflection, I think it looks more like the conduct of a Hull, Wilkinson, or a Hampton, than like that of an able General and firm Patriot. We had artillery enough, and might have erected batteries; and it seems as though we might have taken the place. But it was thought by some, that the misfortune happened in consequence of the death of Lord Howe, as he was a more experienced officer.

Nothing of material consequence took place after this, for some time. Hardly a day passed, however, while we lay in camp, in which British and Yorkers did not flog some of their men. We were employed in building a fort.

Not long after, Major Rodgers and Major (afterwards General) Putnam, took charge of a party of men, on an expedition to a place called South Bay, where they met the enemy, and had a smart engagement. Maj. Putnam was taken and carried to Canada; and Maj. Rodgers returned to Fort Edward with what men they had left. While lying in camp, our water and provisions were very bad, the men grew sickly, and a great many died of the Dysentery. But the same Almighty Power that warded off the balls in the day of battle, preserved me from the desolating scourge of disease.

Towards Fall, Maj. Rodgers, with a party of men, went away to the westward, to a place called Cataraqua, and destroyed it.

It was during the Summer of this year, that Generals Wolfe and Amherst came from England with a fleet and army, and took Cape

Breton; after which Gen. Amherst came and took command of our army, and Abrecombe went off.

...

In the year 1777, Congress, and the states individually, made an attempt to raise an army for three years, or during the War, that Gen. Washington might have an army that he could depend upon: but it was difficult to raise such a force. The government of Connecticut passed a law providing, that if any two men would procure one soldier to enlist for three years or during the war, they should be exempted from a draft during that period. One of my neighbors wished me to find a man who would enlist, and he would pay one half, and find some body to pay the other half. I found a man as he desired: but my neighbor failed to get a partner as he proposed, and the man refused to go, unless the whole sum was paid him in advance. I was so anxious to have the man enlisted, that, notwithstanding my poverty, I paid him twenty pounds myself, although I was not exposed to a draft. This settled the difficulty: and I afterwards enlisted several others.

As there is history extant giving account of the principal events of the whole war, I will confine myself merely to an account of my domestic concerns. Nothing material with regard to them took place, until the month of March, in the year 1779, when I left Connecticut, and moved into Plainfield, New-Hampshire. I lived in that town eighteen years. The inhabitants of this part of the country were not much distressed after I moved here; for Burgoyne was taken, and that pretty much stopped the enemy's progress to the northward, except a party that came and burnt Royalton, (that being a frontier town in those days,) and went off again without much opposition.

Vermont was not at that time recognized as a state. New-York harrassed them on one side, and New-Hampshire on the other. Finally, what was formerly called the N. Hampshire Grants; that is, three tier of towns on the east side of Connecticut River, joined with Vermont, in order to help her obtain her state privileges. They at last agreed to give N. York thirty thousand dollars to relinquish their claim, and by that means Vermont obtained of congress an admission into the union, on an equal footing with original states.

In 1783, peace was declared between Great Britain and the United States, and the army was disbanded and returned home to their friends, without any thing for their toils and sacrifices, but the consciousness of

having "fought a good fight," and having won an invaluable inheritance for their posterity. The states laid heavy taxes, in order to defray their individual expenses in carrying on the war, which were burthensome to the people. But they finally paid into the state treasuries enough to redeem the paper they had issued, to pay the soldiers their bounty, which is more than could be said of the National Government, until after the poor soldiers had disposed of their hard-earnings for a tenth or twentieth part of its nominal value.

In 1785, I took a captain's commission in the N.H. militia, signed by Meshick Ware, President; (for at that time there was no governor) and served eight years. I also served nine years as Selectman of Plainfield.

In 1797, I moved to Chelsea, Vt. and have lived here twenty one years last March, and helped pay the premium to New-York, in order to become a state — and for a portion of the time we have been a state much opposition has been manifested by a part of our citizens, towards the general government, and in a very bad time, too — in a time of war, when we ought to have united as a band of brothers in the common cause of our country. But we were not alone in this evil. It has pervaded most of the New England states. I have lived to see four wars in our country, and the last was attended with difficulties harder to be surmounted than any of the other wars, by reason of the enmity, towards the General Government, of that portion of the people, who declared there was no cause of war with England, although she had taken between nine hundred and a thousand of our vessels, impressed some thousands of our citizens, and sent the Indians to massacre our defenceless inhabitants — and notwithstanding the General Government had done every thing to effect an accommodation of their differences, and obtain redress for our grievances, without a resort to arms.

I desire it may never be forgotten by my posterity, for whom I have written these memoirs, that there was once a time, when party spirit raged to an extent that threatened the destruction of those liberties, which I had some smal [sic] share in establishing. I hope they will never forget, that when war was declared to maintain those liberties, there were men claiming all the wealth, talents and religion of the country, who, from party, or worse motives, held back their resources from Government, and did all in their power to keep those who were disposed to lend an assisting hand, from entering into their country's service. In the time of the Revolution we had a few such men among us, who set

much by the British Government, and we drove them out of the country, or confined them at home, so that they could not meet in **Convention**, in the heart of the land, to plot against the government, and divide the Union. And I desire it may be remembered, that notwithstanding they boasted of their talents and religion, the Lord stood by us and put our enemies to flight in a marvellous manner, and wrought wonders for us as a nation: and we have the greatest reason to bless and praise his holy name, of any people on the earth. -- Let it be remembered, as a warning to future generations, of the dangerous effects of party spirit, when carried to excess, that a governor of Vermont, at a time when the enemy threatened a powerful invasion of our frontier towns, with the avowed intention of laying them in ruins, stood on the shores of the lake, discouraging our valient freemen from going to the assistance of their brethren, by telling them they would be killed if they went over -- when he, and every other person of common sense, knew, that it would not be more than six hours before the enemy would be at Burlington, if he beat our men at Plattsburgh. But let it also, with gratitude, be remembered, that while the chief magistrate was thus employed, the gallant Col. FASSETT encouraged and prevailed on them to go forward -- and they did go forward to participate in a glorious battle and victory, which preserved our towns from conflagration, and wiped the foul stain from the character of our state, which the conduct of this Governor would otherwise have brought upon it.

While the enemy were thus discomfited by land, we beheld the British fleet on the lake heaving in sight of the little squadron of the invincible MACDONOUGH, who was on his knees, praying to his God; and He answered him by fire, as in former times -- and notwithstanding the enemies' superior force, they were obliged to strike -- and on that ever-memorable ELEVENTH OF SEPTEMBER, the Lord discomfited their whole force, and returned them back from whence they came: so that we may see, that the **effectual, fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much**: and that **the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord** -- For the great men of a great state said, that it was unbecoming a moral and religious people to pray for the success of our arms, and that we must not fight the British, because they were "the Bulwark of our religion." But I cannot but think, that they were deluded and blinded by party prejudices, and that the good hand of God was discernible at Baltimore, New-Orleans, and Plattsburgh, -- on Lake Erie, and Lake Champlain, and every where else that a **traitor** did not command. Had not the Lord been on our side, and fought our

battles, we must have failed to maintain our liberties against so potent a foe from abroad, aided by so many of our misguided people at home — and it becomes us as a people, (as I have before said,) to bless and praise his Holy name forever, that He caused us to overcome our powerful enemies in two wars for our independence, and that there seems now to be so happy a union taking place among ourselves — that those of our fellow-citizens who have been thus deluded and deceived, are sensible of their errors, and appear ready to unite with all real friends of their country's honor and prosperity. — And I pray God that this **bond of union** may continue to grow firmer and stronger, till every American citizen will be of one heart and one mind, in a determination to support our Republican form of Government to the latest posterity. May we all remember the maxim of our illustrious WASHINGTON: "UNITED WE STAND; DIVIDED WE FALL." — When we reflect back to our Revolutionary war, and see how much blood and treasure were spent to gain our independence, shall we, after so long an experience of the advantages arising from so good a government, be any more deceived by internal or foreign enemies? Shall we contrast the mildness of our government, and the civil and religious liberty that we enjoy under it, with the bigotry and tyranny which prevails under the monarchies of Europe, and say we are willing to exchange the former for the latter? I dare say not. Then let me conjure my posterity to stand by this government of our choice, and never be deceived by political or ecclesiastical demagogues. Let the people keep the right and power of ELECTION always in their own hands, and at their annual freeman's meetings be sure to choose men into office, who are true friends of a Republican Government. Let them encourage all the arts and sciences that are necessary in a Republic, and none others, — and in this way they may perpetuate their liberties. — But if they are ambitious to ape the follies, extravagance, and luxury of European countries, their freedom can have but a short duration. But, above all, let us as a nation dedicate ourselves to God, and pray that he would have us in his holy keeping, and so direct the councils of our nation, as may tend to preserve its free institutions, to the latest period of time; which is the ardent prayer of

DAVID PERRY

Chelsea, Vt. 1819.

## THE JOURNAL OF CAPTAIN SAMUEL COBB

May 21, 1758 - October 29, 1758

Samuel Cobb, the third son of Deacon Samuel and Abigail (Stuart) Cobb, was born at Middleboro, Massachusetts, on March 10, 1718. In the year of his birth, the family moved to Falmouth Neck in the District of Maine. Samuel Cobb was a well-known ship carpenter, and, it is said, that he built more than one hundred and fifty vessels during his lifetime. In 1740, he married Thankful Bangs, and nineteen months after her death in February, 1749, he married her cousin, Sarah Bangs. Cobb was elected deacon of the First Parish in 1751. During the campaign of 1758, Captain Cobb commanded the first company of Colonel Jediah Preble's Massachusetts Regiment. Five companies of the regiment and part of another company were raised in the District of Maine, while four companies and a part of another were raised in Massachusetts. Cobb entered service on March 13, and was dismissed on December 16, 1758. Ten years later, he moved to New Casco, where he died sometime between July 17, 1789 and October 4, 1794.

The text that follows, printed through the courtesy of the New York State Historical Association, is as literal a presentation of the Cobb journal as seems practical. Whenever possible, the given names of individuals and the correct spelling are supplied at the time of their first mention.

JWK

**Falmouth May the 21st 1758**

Sailed with three transports and three hundred Soldiers Including officers for the Intended Expedition against Canada and gott into Winter harbour about five oClock

**Winter harbour May the 22nd 1758**

Sailed from the above harbour four oClock in the morning being foggy Weather and Small breese Wind lay becalmed between the Shoals and Piscataque the same Night

**May the 23rd 1758**

Arrived to Kittery at nine oClock and went a Shore and waited on Sr. Wm. Pepperill, and at the point Meeting house the Revd. Mr. Rogers preached a Sermon to Officers and Soldiers from the first book of Samuel 17C: 45:46:47 Verses, and after Sermon we Recd. our Commissions and was Sworn by Sr. Wm. Pepperill and Col. Wendal

**May 24th Kittery 1758**

Colonel Pribble [Jedidiah Preble] Settled Capn. Goodins [Ichabod Goodwin's] and Capn. Goings [James Gowen's] Comp. and Billitting for the Companies.

**Tuesday Kittery 25th May 1758**

Wee were Settling our Business Relating to the Expedition

**Fryday Kittery 26th May 1758**

Nothing Material but Ordering our affairs

**Saturday Kittery 27th May 1758**

I paided my Company off their Billitting Money and prepared for Sailing and Sailed 11 oClock at Night in Company with Seven Transports and Recd. order from our Commanding Officer Col. Jedidiah Prebble if parted by Hard weather to Randavouz at Albony

**May 28 1758**

Sailed off Chattham from Kittery

May the 29th 1758

Proceeded on Our Journey with the wind at North and Sailed to gayhead where we Came up with a Snow Capn. Rods Commander from London to New York who Informed us he had 159 Days Passage he took out of a Ships Main Top 14 Men in Latitude 39/ and being put to great Extremitities he Came on Board us and we Delivered him Some relief

Tuesday May 30th 1758

Calm Weather Exercised the Soldiers on Deck and in the afternoon made the best of Our way up the Sound

Thursday June 1st 1758

Wee Sailed thro hell gate so Called Safe and Came to Anchor att New York about Nine oClock in the afternoon and I lodged aShore

June 2nd New York 1758

Sailed from New York 3 oClock and Anchored 7 oClock I took a view of the forts and took the Number of the Guns and found there is 72 which is Chiefly 32 Pounds

Saturday June 3rd 1758

Wee Came to Sail between two and three oClock and Proceeded up albony River Called Hutsons River and anchored at 7 oClock

Sunday June 4th 1758

Proceeded up the River till Dark and then Came to anchor

Monday June 5th 1758

Came to Sail at 5 oClock in the morning and proceeded up the River With the Wind at S:W and Thundered in the after noon

June 6th 1758

Came to Sail 7 oClock in the Morning with the wind at West and in the after Noon at N:W proceeded up the River towards alboney



**Wednesday June 7th 1758**

Calm in the Morning set Sail 11 oClock the wind S:W sailed from Col. hoffmans which is 54 miles from albony and arrived at alboney 6 oClock

**Albony Thursday June 8th 1758**

Major General James Abercrombie left orders that 300 of the Bay forces to go to Schonactady in Compliance whereof Col. Preble Drafted Capn. Libbey [John Libby], Capn. [Samuel] Cobb Capn. Bown with their Companies to march to the sd. Schonactady and gave us order to furnish our Companies with arms as Soon as possible which arms we Received the Date above

**Fryday Albony June 9th 1758**

Delivered his Majesties Arms to my Company and ammunition and Major [George] Berry was Appointed our Commanding Officer, we left the Sloop and Marched About a mile back of Alboney and Camped that Night the Locusts was very plenty and brought all my Company Well from on Board

**Saturday Alboney June 10th 1758**

Marched from our Incampment 2 oClock in the afternoon Came within 5 miles of Schonactady and Camped / Schonactady 18 English Miles from Albony

**Sunday June 11th 1758**

Marched from Our Camp 6 oClock in the Morning and arrived at at Schonactady 10 oClock in the foreNoon its rained and Thundred

**Schonactady Monday 12 June 1758**

Took Allowance for my Company and Mustered in the Barracks

**Tuesday June 13th 1758**

Lieut. [Jacob] Brown and I took a walk in the morning and saw a mill to bould flouer and a Saw Mill with 15 Saws and at 11 oClock sott on a Court Martial to try Seth Ring for not tending on his Duty and Acquitted him of the Crime laid to his Charge, in the afternoon Major Berry Recd. order from Major Genl. Abercrombie to send a Detachment of 100 Men to go to aplace Called Schoharry which is about 40

Miles from Schonactady and Borders on the Mohawk River to press waggons and horses to send to Fort Edward for which Service I was appointed by a Warrant granted me from the Commanding Officer

Wednesday 14th June 1758

took provisions for 4 days for our March to Schoharry and sott out from Schonactady at 10 oClock in the Morning with apilate who missing the Road and after Some hours travail we found that the pilate did not direct us right by which Mistake we made ahalt and found our Selves the same Distance if not further off from Schoharry than we were at our Setting out from Schonactady we Refreshed our Selves and Sott out, and in the After noon we arrived to a house where I left the Company and took a horse about Sun down and Rode with the pilate about 5 miles and came to a house where I Spent the Remainder of the Night

Thursday June 15th 1758

I sott forward on my Journey 5 oClock in the Morning and arrived to Cornelius Roomans Esqr. att Schoharry and Dined there and proceeded on my Business in the after noon I returned to the Esqr. which was 5 Miles and Lodged att Peter Snyders

Fryday June 16th 1758

Employed all Day with the Officers of Schoharry in pressing Waggons and horses and fixing them. Lodged att Esqr. Snyder

Saturday June 17th 1758

Marched att 10 oClock with 11 Waggons 1 pair horses left Lieut. Bassett att Schoharry with 17 Men to bring more Waggons that were preparing and arrived within 12 Miles to Albany and Camped

Sunday June 18th 1758

Begun to march 6 oClock in the Morning and took 8 men with me and Came to Albony with the Waggons and Sent the remainder of my Escorts to Schonactady with Lieut. Brown

Monday June 19th 1758

Came from Albany to Schonactady after I Delivered the pressed Waggons and horses

**Thursday Schonactady 20th June 1758**

Marched from Schonactady 10 oClock bound to Fort Edward and Delivered the Care of the city to Colonl. [Jonathan] Bagleys Regiment who arrived here the 19th Instant

**Wednesday June 21st 1758**

Arrived at half Moon which is 17 Miles from Schonactady and proceeded toward Still Water

**Thursday June 22d 1758**

Continued on Our March and arrived to Saratoga

**Fryday 23th June 1758**

This Day we arrived within 5 miles to fort Edward and Camped

**Saturday June 24th 1758**

We arrived att Fort Edward 8 oClock in the morning and Dined with Colol. Preble Capn. Libbees and mine Joyned the Regiment

**Sunday Fort Edward June 25th 1758**

In the forenoon we were alarmed by the firing of Several Small Arms in the Woods which was the English Light Infantry where by our Provintial troops mustered Immediately and went out in order to Engage the Enemy this afternoon Colol. Preble marched for Lake George with 500 Men and Lt Colol. [Jonathan] Hoar is to march tomorrow with the remainder of the Regt.

**Monday June 26th 1758**

This Day Lt. Colo. Hoar marched from fort Edward to Lake George with my Company and Capn. Libbees and Arrived there at 7 oClock in the afternoon Rained Considerable which is 16 Miles from fort Edward to Lake George

**Lake George June 27th 1758**

Obliged to Live under the air Received no tents and Rained all Day

**Lake George June 28th 1758**

Worked on the Kings roads and building Breast work. Came in to Camp this Day 3000 Soldiers

**Camp att Lake George June 29th 1758**

Nothing Remarkable. troops both Regulars and Provincials Daily Comes in to Camp

**Friday Camp Lake George June 30th 1758**

A man in Colol. Dotys Regiment fired off his Gun Accedentially and the Ball went thro' a mans Belly but is Expected not mortally Wounded I was taken Sick and Obliged to keep my tent

**Saturday L George July 1st 1758**

This Day our Chaplain the Revd. Mr. Cleaveland [Ebenezer Cleaveland] Came to our Camp who we recd. with a great dail of joy our Numbers Increases Continually

**Sunday Lake George 2d July 1758**

Imployed this Day in Repairing Battaeux and Loading them with Stores and Provisions I lay Sick

**Monday Lake George 3 July 1758**

Took allowance for 5 Days for the Regiment and were Reviewed by our Major General and Lord [George Augustus] Howe Recd. Powder and Ball to Compleat each man to 36 Rounds pr. Man I seem to be a little Better

**Lake George 4th July 1758**

Order from Majr. General Abercrombie to sett out tomorrow morning to the french fort Called Ticonorogue as Soon as Day Appears

**Wednesday 5th July 1758**

Embarked on Board our Batteaux and Whale Boats 15000 Men and pressed Down the Lake towards Ticonorogue and Rowed that Day about 30 Miles and Land

**Thursday 6th July 1758**

at 1 oClock in the Morning Imbarked and Came at 8 oClock and Landed within 3 Miles of the fort the french Guard ran at our appearance Majr. [Robert] Rogers Rangers came up with part of the french Guard killed 7 of them lost 2 of our Men in the afternoon Ingaged the

french took 180 of them Prisoners and killed 110 more. Lord Howe was kill'd in the Battle and about 60 of Our Men Amissing

**July 7 1758**

We marched from where we Camped to the end of the Lake where the Lake Empties it self into Lake Champlain which is about one Mile from the fort brought up 3 of our Brass Cannon and hove up a Breast work for our fortification

**July 8th 1758 Saturday**

Marched on the Army and about 1 oClock in the after noon the Battle Began at the french Lines and Continued a Constant firing on both Sides till sun Sett at which time we Retreated and Retired into our breast work our loss killed and Wounded and Missing is 2 thousand Men their Number to ours is unknown to us I had 2 of my Company killed on the Spott and four Wounded

**Sunday July 9th 1758**

Before day appeared we left our Breast work which was at the end of the Lake and Marched to our first place of Landing and Received our Wounded on Board our Batteaux and Embarked about 10 oClock for fort Wm. Henry which is 38 Miles North from thence to Ticonorogue with a fair wind and arrived at Lake George at Sun Sett.

**Lake George 10th July 1758**

Encamped at fort William Henry and made a Return of our Number killed wounded and Missing Sick and fitt for Duty and the Number is not Calculated thro' out the Camp as yet

**Thursday 11th July L:G: 1758**

Nothing Remarkable

**Friday 12th July 1758 L:G**

Lay Encamped kept Several Guards Men Detached for Working parties

**July 13th 1758**

Mustered our Incampments

Lake George 14th July 1758

Lieut. [John] Adams of York of Capn. Goins Company Died of his Wound he recd. in the Battle on the 8 Instant

July 15th 1758 L:G:

Nothing worth Notice this Day but working and Duty came on harder by order from head Quarters

Sunday L:G: 16th July 1758

This Day I received a return of the killed Wounded and Missing Vizt. in the Battle found on the 6th and 8th Instant

Provs. killed Missing and Wounded	422
Regulars do do do	1522
Total Regulars & Provs.	1944

Monday L:G: 17th July 1758

Mustered our Incampment changed our Ground order to Incamp on the South Side of the Swamp Buried Joseph Hilton of my Company

Thursday L:G: 18th July 1758

Began to thro up a breast Work Round our Whole Encampment every Regt. Regular and Provl. ordered from the Genl. to Build their proportion in the front of their parade Thundered in the afternoon

Wednesday L:G: 19th July 1758

Began to Work on a Sloop to Draft and Mould her

L:G: July 20th 1758

Began to cutt Timber for the Sloop this day Aparty of Canadian Indians way Laid the Road near halfway Brook which is halfway between Lake George and fort Edward they fired on an Escort of our Men Consisting 10 in Number killed 9 of them, Col. Nickols Scouted out of halfway Brook piquett with a party of Men and had 3 Capns. 2 Subs. and a Number of R and F killed and Wounded

L:G: 21 July 1758

Cutting Timber for the sloop

**L: George 22d July 1758**

Cutting Timber for the Sloop and fitting the same

**Sunday L:G: 23th July 1758**

I would not work, although the Chief part of the Capns. Wrought and the Chief parts that Continued to have the most Business done on that which work may be avoided on the Lords Day

**Monday L:G: 24th July 1758**

Worked on the Sloop, Nothing Remarkable

**Tuesday L:G: 25th July 1758**

There was one Regular of the 44th Regt. hanged for Stealing 3 old Buckels from Men out of my Company 2 Regulars Recd. 1000 Lashes each for Stealing I worked on the Sloop

**Wednesday L:G: 26th July 1758**

Wrought on the Sloop Nothing Remarkable to Insert

**Thursday June 27th July 1758**

Raised the Sloop the Indians Waylaid the Road between fort Edward and halfway Brook and they killed and took about 80 of our Men and women and Destroyed about 80 Teams Oxen and Loading

**Fryday 28th July 1758**

Worked on the Sloop but nothing Remarkable this Day

**Saturday L:G: 29th July 1758**

Wrought on the Sloop Came account into Camp in the Night the french and Indians was Coming up the Lake in Batteaux Discovered which happened to be an Alarm which was not Certain

**Sabbath day July 30th 1758**

Worked on the Sloop before day appeared came orders to the Regiment to parade a Number of men and Send them to General Lymons [Phineas Lyman's] parade which was performed Immediately and he sott out with about 2 thousand men Including officers at 6 oClock in the Morning to go down the lake

Monday 31th July 1758

Wrought on the Sloop. there came acct. into Camp there was Seen at halfway brook 300 Indians and Came Orders to the Regimt. to send their proportion of men the Escort Consisted of 500 provl. troops to take 3 days provision and their tents and march at 6 oClock with 300 Regulars

L:G: Tuesday Augt. 1st 1758

Worked on the Sloop 300 Regulars 500 prls. troops Marched at 6 oClock this Morning to halfway brook which is the party Ordered Yesterday

Augt. 2d 1758 L:G:

Wrought on the Sloop. Nothing Remarkable

Thursday Augt. 3th 1758

Worked on the Sloop Nothing Remarkable

Fryday 4th Augt. L:G: 1758

Wrought on the Sloop Nothing Material

Saturday 5th Augt. 1758

Worked on the Sloop. Several Waggon's Load of Pork and beef thrown into the Lake with flouer condemned provisions

Sunday 6th Augt. 1758

Worked on the Sloop by the Generals orders the Work is not to be Stopt on any Day although I told the Commodore Capn. [Joshua] Loring who is the Chief Over seer of all the Works that I would engage to Launch her as Soon as possible

Monday 7th Augt. 1758

worked on the Sloop but hardly able to appear abroad this afternoon I have not one Day perfect health Since I came to the lake which I take to be the Cause of the Unholosomeness of the air the place seems to be full of Uncleaness. nothing further Remarkable this Day A Regular of Lord Howes Regt. was Drowned Could not Swim



**Tuesday the 8th Augt. 1758**

Wrought on the Sloop. Nothing Remarkable this Day

**Wednesday L:G: 9 Augt. 1758**

Worked on the Sloop. Rainy this afternoon and Receivd. Infermation that Major Rogers has had an Ingagement with 15 hundred french and Indians at South bay he being out with 7 hundred Men and a party of Provinl. troops. Lieut. Jacob Brown and 5 privates out of my Company out with the party

**Thursday 10th Augt. 1758**

Launched the Sloop. Came orders this Night to parade the Whole Army and ordered the army Should Line the Breast Work opposite to each Regts. incampment by 6 oClock in the morning and the Batteaux Men and Carpenters to be drawn up by the Batteaux at the Lake by Captain Loring

**Fryday L:G: Augt. 11th 1758**

Drew up our Companies to the Breast work and were Reviewed by the Generals and when Viewed orders Came to me to muster my Carpenters and go to work on the Sloop

**L:G: Saturday 12th and Sunday 13th Augt. 1758**

Nothing Remarkable. Worked on the Sloop. Sent home the french flagg truce that Came into Our Camp

**L:G: Monday Augt. 14th 1758**

Worked on the Sloop very Cold Weather this 3 days past. this morning 8 hund. Men Sent to the South Bay. there was a Regular of the 46th Regt. Drowned Swiming Who was a Corporal

**Tuesday L:G: Augt. 15th 1758**

Worked on the Sloop. there came in a flagg of Truce last Night and Sent out of Camp this Morning this is the third flagg that came in from Ticonorogue Rained this Afternoon

**Wednesday Camp at Lake George 16th Augt. 1758**

Thursday the                     , 17                     do                     do  
 Nothing Remarkable those two Days past but employed fitting the  
 Sloop

Fryday Camp at L:G: Augt. 18th 1758

Saturday                     do                     do                     19                     do  
 Worked on the Sloop two days past nothing Worth Inserting

Sabbath day L:G: Augt. 20th 1758

Wrought on the Sloop. this day 2 Desarters brought into Camp from  
 the french at Tyrantorogue and Inform us there is 1500 french on  
 guard at their Saw Mill at the end of the Lake. we are Informed Cape  
 Brittain [Breton] is taken which is good news to us we are Confined to  
 Camp and is in no likeliness to do Service at present

Monday 21st Augt. 1758

A Regular Recd. 1000 Lashes for Stealing I worked all day on the  
 Sloop

Tuesday Augt. 22 1758

I worked on the Sloop and went down the lake 12 Miles to gett Oars  
 and worked on the Sloop

Wednesday L:G: Augt. 23 1758

I with 10 Carpenters and a Guard of Regulars an Officer and 30 men  
 went in the Woods to Cutt Crucket timber for a Row Gally of 40 feet  
 long 15 feet wide 5 feet deep to Carry 12 pounders in the Stern and 5  
 Swivels on a Side to go with 24 Oars

Augt. 24 1758

Making Oars for the Sloop the guard att halfway Brook Relieved 300  
 Reglrs 500 Provinl. troops to guard on Dimond [Diamond] Island and  
 Relieved

Fryday L:G: Augt. 25th 1758

This Day I worked in the Woods getting Timber for the Roe Gally and  
 boats.

**Saturday L:G: Augt. 26 1758**

This Day I worked on the Row gally. 4 of the light Infantry Condemmed to be hanged for Disarting this morning at 9 oClock but to their great joy Majr. General Abercrombie Sent them a Reprive which Came to them at the foot of the Gallows while the Minister was to prayer with them. Rained this afternoon

**Sunday 27th**

I did not work this day went to Meeting Mr. Cleeveland preached two Sermons from 146 psalm and 5 Verses

**Monday 28th 1758**

I wrought building the Row Gally and Received a Confirmation of Cape Brittain being taken and Recd. Order from our Major General for the Artillary to fire 3 Rounds and Regulars and provinsls. to Man the Breast work and fire 3 Rounds pr. man we were ordered to hear prayers at 5 oClock and to fire the Rejoycing fire at 6 oClock which was performed in a most Regular manner Col. Prebele Invited the Officers of his Regt. to his house after the firing was ended and gave them a Handsome Treat it Rained all Night

**Tuesday 29th Augt. 1758**

**Wednesday 30 do do**

Worked on the Row Gally and Boats two Days above Nothing Remarkable

**Thursday 31st Augt. 1758**

Worked on the Boats. A Disaster came into Camp this Day the Sloop goes Down the Lake tomorrow I dined with Col. Preble

**L:G: Fryday September 1st 1758**

Worked on the Boats the Sloop is Detained from Going Down the Lake to day as Ordered Yesterday

**Saturday 2d 1758**

The Sloop is gone Down the Lake today and Scouts to be made of 7 hundred Men

Sunday Sepr. 3 L:G: 1758

I did not work this day there Came in a french flagg of Truce last night and was sent out of Camp before Day they say there is 100 Boats in the Lake and that they Built a Sloop and are coming down the River to us at fort William Henry and had a great Shower in the afternoon 3 or 4 hundred men to Trenching and throwing up Breast work to Secure our Selves

Monday 4th L:G: 1758

the army to work on the piquett and Breast work and I on Command as formerly to work on the Boats.

Sepr. 5th 1758

this Day I dined with Col. Preble worked on the Boats Nothing Material

Sepr. 6 1758 L:G:

I Wrought on the Boats. Last night came in to Camp 3 Regular Officers from Cape Britton and 3 Mohawk Indians from Genl. [William] Johnsons to Majr. Genl. Abercrombie and brought Intelligence that Johnson has taken a small fort and killed Some Indians and taken 6 hundred french

Thursday 7 Sepr. 1758 L:G:

Fryday 8 do do do

Worked on the Boats Nothing Remarkable the two foregoing Days

Saturday 9th Sepr. 1758 L:G:

Worked on the Boats and Launched a boat 36 feet long 9 feet Wide 3 feet 3 Inches deep. there was a man of Capn. [William] Osgoods Company in Col. Prebles Regt. condemned to Receive 40 Lashes for firing off his gun and was brought to the post and Striped Col. Preble being Present acquitted him of the Crime

Sunday 10th Sepr. L:G: 1758

Wrought on the Boats came Intelligence Yesterday Genl. Johnson has taken Catarocaway Otherwise fountenack [Fort Frontenac] Col. Brad-

street assisting him this Day the Indians killed one Man and Captivated another Near halfway Brook. Corporal John Harris of my Company Buried this Day The Revd. Mr. Mason Preached to us being an auditory of 3 Regiments Vizt. Colonel Prebles Regt. Col. Whittings Colonel Nichols from Collosians 3 Ch. 3 Verse. the Revd. Mr. Oggobee Church Minister preached in the afternoon from the 113 psalm 5 and 6 V. which was a most Excellent Sermon. Pray God gives us hearts to practice what we heard from them.

Monday 11th Sepr. 1758

Worked on the Boats. at noon this day Wee had a Rejoicing fire for the Reduction of fountenack by Col. Bradstreet we fired 102 Cannon and 3 Round pr. man Lining the Breast work had Bone fires on the tops of the Mountains who Capitulated with the french Commander in the fort which Consisted of 150 french and Indians

Tuesday 12 Sepr. L:G: 1758

Wednesday 13 do do do

I worked on the Boats and on the 13 Instant Majr. Berry appointed to go the Grand Rounds and being not in perfect health appointed me for that Duty

Thursday 14th Sepr. 1758

I Wrought on the Boats and gott a very bad Cold. on the 15 Instant Benja. Welsh Soldier in my Company and Inhabitant of Northhyar-mouth Deceased who worked on the 14 Instant

Saturday 16th Sepr. 1758

I worked getting timber for my house Nothing Remarkable

Sunday 17 Sepr. 1758

I would not work the Chaplain of Genl. Lymans Regt. preached a Sermon to Col. Pribles and Col. Whittings Regimts. in the forenoon from 21 Ch: of Numbers 8 & 9 Verses and this afternoon Mr. Oggleebee Church Minister preached from Acts 24 Ch: 25 Verse

**Monday 18th Sepr. 1758**

Began to Work for Captain ord who Commands the train on a Boat Called the Raddow and on the 19th Instant worked on sd. Raddow and on the 20th Inst. worked likewise Nothing Remarkable the 3 foregoing Days

**Thursday 21 L:G: Sepr. 1758**

**Fryday 22 do do do**

**Saturday 23 do do do**

the three foregoing Days I Wrought on the Raddow and heard Nothing Remarkbl but on the 23 Instant were Informed the Indians were near halfway Brook

**Sunday 24th Sepr. 1758**

The Revd. Mr. Clevealand preached 2 Sermons to us Majr. Rogers went down the Lake with 150 Men. the Sloop went down the lake to try how near she Could go to Tycontorogue

**Monday 25th Sepr. 1758**

Wrought on the Raddow Nothing Remarkable

**Tuesday 26th Sepr. 1758**

I worked building the Raddow. Last Night Came into Camp a french Disarter who Informs there is a french Scout at the South bay, on which Intelligence we sent out a Scout of Rangers and the Disaster as a pilate

**September 27th 28th 29th 30th 1758**

those four Days past I was Constantly Employed in Building the Raddow and on the 29th Instant there was a french prisoner brought into our Camp

**October 1s 2d 3d 4th 5th 1758**

On the first Instant I dined with Capn. Ord on the second Rained worked on the Raddow the Days dated above

**Lake George Fryday 6th Octr. 1758**

This afternoon General Amhast came into our Camp in the Night I Wrought all Day on the Raddow

**Saturday 7th**

Genl. Amhast Viewed the troops and Departed our Camp I worked on the Raddow all Day

**Sabbath day 8th 1758**

I did not work Dined with Capn. Ord and a number of Regular Officers and was Taken with the Bloody flux

**Monday 9th 10th Octr. 1758**

On the Ninth as above I wrought on the Raddow and the Tenth following and in the fore noon about 10 oClock 2 of Capn. Goings Company one a private and Other a Corporal Whipt. the Crime was forging an order on the Suttler the private Wrote the order and the Corporal Signed the Capns. Name the Crime was Notorious and both brought in Guilty by the Court Martial the Corporal Recd. 65 Lashes and the Sinttinal 30 Lashes Rained hard in the afternoon

**Wednesday Octr. 11th 12th 13th L:G: 1758**

The Days Dated above I wrought on the Raddow. on the eleventh Came in a french Desaster

**Do 14th 1758**

Rained in the fore noon. John Hammon Inhabitant of North yarmouth Solider undr. my Command Deceased

**Do 15 1758**

I remaining Bad with the flux could not work. Mr. Ladd the post came in this Day. Capn. Ord Invited me to dine with him I being so ill Could not go and Desired to be Excused

**Do 16th 1758**

there Came into Camp 120 Teams and Waggons Some 4 Cattle and some 6 Cattle to each Team I being sick Could not work

Do 17th 1758

The Teams are Carrying the Artillary to fort Edwd. with the artillary Stores Rainy in the afternoon I dined with Colonel Preble toDay and tho' ill is obliged to Work

Wednesday Do 18th 1758

I remaining Sick Could not work tho' Comanded. heard of the Death of Capn. Moody of Brunswick. the Teams come in to Camp to hall Battoes and Warlike Stores to fort Edward 150 Waggons Loaded with Battoes to fort Edward this Day

Thursday 19th L:G: Octr. 1758

Fryday 20 do do do

I am a little Better. they are Daily Carrying of the Batteaux and Baggage the last Date above we launched 2 Raddows the first is in the following Demins.

1st 50 foot Long	2d 30 feet in Length
19 do Wide	7 do Wide
6 do Deep	3½ do deep

Saturday 21st Octr. 1758

Wee tryed the Raddows and Rowed well they went with 26 Oars and I had the Commendation to Row as well as any. we never had allowance of Bread but all flower only Once Since we Came to the lake

Sunday 22 Octr. 1758

Working on the Raddows Sinking them in the lake

Monday 23 Octr. 1758

Orders Came at Night on the twenty Second Instant to march from the Lake (that is) Colo. Prebles Regt. Colo. Williams and Col. Nickols left our in Campmt. at 10 oClock in the fore noon brought off our Baggage and Sick and arrived that Night within 3 Miles of fort Edward and Camped in the Woods.

Tuesday 24 Do 1758

Marched from our Incampment and Came to forts Miller and Camped this Night Sergeant Major John Williams of my Company and Elib Pendexter Deceased



**Wednesday 25th**

Buried my men and one belonging to Capn. Osgoods men and  
Marched to Still Water and Camped

**Thursday 26th Octr. 1758**

March from Still Water towards halfMoon and my Servant boy Benja.  
Swett being not well and I remaining bad with the Bloody flux arrived  
to halfMoon Lodged in a Barn

**Half Moon Fryday 27 Octr. 1758**

Arrived at Green Bush and Crosed the River to Albany where I lodged  
in a Bedd

**Albany Octr. 28th 1758**

This Day I returned in the Kings Arms of part of my Company and  
Lodges in Albany this Night

**Sabbath day Octr. 29th 1758**

Settled my Affairs with my Colonel in Albany and marched from  
Green Bush att 2 oClock in the afternoon 5 Miles and Camped in the  
Woods

## THE GERMANS AGAINST TICONDEROGA

Elliott W. Hoffman

Major General John Burgoyne certainly conducted an ambitious campaign to end the American rebellion. He faced the task of transporting his army south from Canada across Lake Champlain to attack Fort Ticonderoga and then drive down the Hudson River Valley to a link-up with forces hopefully moving north from Manhattan. This route had served as the traditional invasion route to and from Canada since the earliest colonial war, but it was a route fraught with disappointment or disaster for the likes of Dieskau, Abercrombie, and Montcalm. Fort Ticonderoga seemed to be the first and major hurdle to a successful campaign. Burgoyne, for all his faults analysed by historians since 1777, reduced the American Gibraltar in rapid order, causing glee in the court of George III, and accusations of treachery in American ranks. That Burgoyne was able to conduct an effective offense depended on no little part to the presence of some four thousand troops from the German states of Brunswick and Hesse-Hanau among his forces.

When the British appeared to be one step from being thrown out of Canada in 1775, the British command begged for reinforcements to counteract American pressure. The successful defense of Quebec bought time for reinforcements to arrive during the late spring of 1776. Among the thousands of red-coated soldiers who reached Canada in 1776 were hundreds of blue-uniformed troops from Brunswick, a small state in northern Germany, who landed at Quebec early in June.<sup>1</sup> More Germans arrived in September, so that by the early fall there were four infantry regiments, one regiment of dismounted dragoons, one grenadier battalion, and one battalion of light infantry from Brunswick, as well as one regiment of infantry and one artillery battery from Hesse-Hanau.<sup>2</sup>

The presence of German mercenaries in Canada reflected a large-scale hiring of troops from German princes sympathetic to the British Crown. By the end of the war, nearly thirty thousand troops from six German states served in North America. In fact, German soldiers often made up half the forces facing Americans on the battlefield. Well-disciplined and well-officered, German troops offered a good bargain for the needs of the War Office. Britons had often hired mercenaries in the hundred years before the American Revolution, preferring to spend money

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on foreigners rather than enlarging their own standing army (a dangerous practice in Whig eyes) or forcing others than the dregs of society into the ranks. In the terms of eighteenth century limited warfare, it was simply cheaper and safer to fight wars reinforced by dependable mercenaries than to enlarge the expensive military establishment and perhaps deplete the native population.<sup>3</sup>

Europe was full of dependable soldiers who would fight for pay. The political anarchy of the Holy Roman Empire led to the creation of hundreds of petty states that vied with each other as centers of culture and power. German culture flourished, often subsidized by the revenues from selling troops, but German political unity lay far in the future. The petty German states, especially Prussia, tried to keep war as a necessary part of political life. Most German states emulated Prussia's military style of government, even though playing soldier often bankrupted the treasury. Martin Lezius notes that some of the German territories had more officers than enlistedmen on their payroles. He suggests that the smaller the territory, the more despotic the prince. The six states that sent troops to America, Brunswick, Hesse-Hanau, Hesse-Cassel, Anspach-Bayreuth, Anhalt-Zerbst, and Waldeck, were not among the strongest states within the German Empire. Their most common characteristics were depleted treasuries and trained standing armies.<sup>4</sup>

German officers recruited their regular units to full strength before sailing to America. This often meant the impressment of vagrants, travellers, and, if necessary, farmers' sons as well. Unlike the British Army, which drew upon the bottom layers of society for recruits throughout the war, German units reflected a cross-section of society. Recruitment often depleted rural areas and some urban areas as well. When the four Brunswick infantry regiments arrived in Canada their five companies totaled 680 men. Lieutenant Colonel Praetorius led the Regiment Prinz Friedrich and Lieutenant Colonel Johann G. von Ehrenkroock commanded the Regiment von Rhetz. Lieutenant Colonel Spaeth commanded the Regiment von Riedesel (named after the commander of the Brunswick detachment) and Lieutenant Colonel Johann F. Specht led his Regiment Specht. The Brunswickers organized a battalion of four companies of grenadiers drawn from the four infantry regiments (similar to the British practice) commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Heinrich Breymann. This battalion numbered 564 men. Major Ferdinand A. Bärner commanded a light infantry battalion of 658 men, made up of four companies of light infantry and one company of jaegers (riflemen). Finally, the Brunswick detachment included the dismounted dragoon regiment of 330 men, the Prinz Ludwig, commanded

by Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich Baum. The regiment planned to mount itself on horses captured during the course of the campaign. The Hesse-Hanau detachment was more modest in numbers. Colonel W. R. von Gall commanded the Erbprinz (Crownprince) Regiment, a unit that retained its grenadier company, and Captain Georg Pausch directed the artillery battery.<sup>5</sup>

Once in Canada, the Germans found themselves in a strange country, facing a foe that they little understood. One officer wrote home that "here the Brunswickers found themselves far from the Fatherland and kinfolk, and in an unknown country, in which they — with Englishmen, Hanovarians, Hessians, and other German troops, were to do battle for England's supremacy and wage a successful campaign against the native-born of the land, who were familiar with every road and lurking-place, and who were striving for their independence."<sup>6</sup> Active offensive operations for the Germans began in September, 1776, when most of the units marched from Quebec to the Richelieu River Valley. Over 1,200 soldiers from the grenadiers, the Regiment Riedesel, and the Erbprinz manned part of the British fleet that faced the American forces under Benedict Arnold. Some of the German soldiers took part in the action off Valcour Island in October. At Valcour, the Americans sunk a vessel that carried one of the cannons belonging to the Hanau artillery. Although the gun was later raised, two men drowned in the process. The Germans retired with the army into Canada and settled into an arc of campsites around Montreal.<sup>8</sup>

John Burgoyne was quite fortunate that Major General Friedrich Baron von Riedesel was the commander of his German forces. Riedesel had been born in 1738 and had joined the Hessian forces at the age of fifteen. He traveled with his regiment to London, where he studied the English and French languages. When his unit was recalled to Germany in 1756 at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, Riedesel had served as the aide to Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick. After gallantry at the Battle of Minden, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of a Hussar regiment at the age of twenty-one. Riedesel later commanded a cavalry brigade, and, showing the fraternal danger of German service, in 1761, had his horse shot from under him by an artillery piece aimed by his own brother serving in the Saxon army. Riedesel served as adjutant general of the Brunswick army, and was appointed a major general in 1776 in order to command the Brunswick detachment in America.<sup>9</sup> Riedesel displayed an understanding of intelligence gathering, staff routine, partisan warfare, and the command of German and British troops. Burgoyne described him as a "frank, spirited, honourable character," but he consistently misspelled Riedesel's name in

orders and reports. At the end of the 1777 campaign Burgoyne tried to lay great blame on the failures of the German troops. In return, Riedesel and his wife, the ubiquitous baroness, had little faith in Burgoyne's ability or character.<sup>10</sup> Had Riedesel been born an Englishman, his historical niche would be much more secure.

Burgoyne readied his forces throughout the spring of 1777. He divided his army into two wings. The right wing was made up of British troops under Major General William Phillips, while Riedesel commanded the left wing made up of Germans. The dismounted Brunswick dragoons served as a general reserve for the army.<sup>11</sup> The dragoons, equipped as cavalry, retained their leather pantaloons, high boots, gauntlets, heavy swords, and short carbines. Riedesel did, however, order long linen trousers, striped blue and white, to replace the pantaloons worn by the dragoons and the Regiment Riedesel. By mid-summer all German troops had been issued similar trousers, so necessary in the rocky, northern forests.<sup>12</sup>

Other supplies were not so plentiful. One German officer reported that each soldier had to bake his own bread in hot ashes or on hot stones, and that the men needed strong teeth to chew the hard and heavy product. "Furthermore, there was neither whisky nor tobacco, which the German soldiers were accustomed to at home. I consider these last indispensable for soldiers. According to arrangements of the English Commissary, the troops are never supplied with bread. Only flour is furnished and the men have to bake their own bread. We were not accustomed to this and do not know how to do it. Every other army furnishes bread to the soldiers, even the Russian army."<sup>13</sup>

Most of the German units broke camp at the beginning of June. The soldiers marched to St. John to board batteaux or small boats to sail up the Richelieu River into Lake Champlain and on to Crown Point. A member of the Prinz Friedrich Regiment stated that on June 13 "the entire regiment started from St. Johns toward noon with very favorable wind. The soldiers put up all the sails, using even their blankets to get the full benefit of the wind."<sup>14</sup> When the wind failed, the men from central Germany had to learn how to row the batteau, which they did "right well."<sup>15</sup>

The army camped on land at the end of each day's travel. There was little rest, however, as the Germans suffered from the heat and mosquitoes. "We had already made the acquaintance of mosquitoes in Canada, but never before had we suffered from them as much as today, for these insects attacked us in such quantities that it was impossible to protect ourselves from them, neither smoking of tobacco, nor the smoke of small fires all around the camp being of any avail. We nearly suffocated from the smoke

and could not keep our eyes open. It was impossible to wrap ourselves up in blankets on account of the heat, and the blood-thirsty mosquito would sting even through three-fold linen [sheets]. It is impossible to describe the torture, indeed, I think myself justified in stating that nobody could endure it continuously for more than a few days and nights without becoming insane. If anybody could have watched us . . . he would have thought the whole camp full of raving maniacs."<sup>16</sup>

Many of the soldiers discovered that the summer weather on Lake Champlain left much to be desired. The men suffered from heat that exceeded the hottest days in Germany. Some days brought violent thunderstorms that ended quickly, but did not cool the air. Heavy fogs or dews moistened the camps each morning.<sup>17</sup> "The hardships of war here are different from those in Europe. Although our troops had endured a great deal during the last war in Germany, it was much harder to keep them in good spirits here. Their sufferings on this march surpassed what they had expected."<sup>18</sup>

Burgoyne's Indian allies also impressed the Germans as being quite odd. One German officer found the Indians as "wicked as Satan . . . They are considered cannibals, but I don't believe it . . . that they maintain butcher shops with human flesh is probably not so; beef surely tastes better to them." However, the German did record that the Indians had a striking martial bearing.<sup>19</sup> Once the army passed Ticonderoga, neither the Germans nor the British recorded anything in the favor of their erstwhile allies.

The army left the camp at the mouth of the Boquet River, thirty miles north of Crown Point, at noon on June 25 and sailed up the lake. The fleet passed Split Rock that evening, and the narrowness of the passage caused great confusion. Boats rammed one another, causing broken oars and leaks, while others came near to sinking. The Germans landed at Buttonmould Bay, on the Vermont side of the lake, but the soldiers remained in their boats and chained them together for security.<sup>20</sup>

The advanced portions of Burgoyne's army arrived at Crown Point on June 26. The Germans landed across the lake in Vermont. A hospital was established, and, after a four day wait for provisions, the army broke camp on July 1. The Germans marched past Chimney Point in battle array — each wing of the army kept close to the lake shore, and the march was coordinated by a series of cannon shot.<sup>21</sup> That night the Germans moved a mile inland and camped. "No trails & no guides," one of them recalled, "it is the biggest disorder imaginable. Only after midnight [did] the first men reach the camping ground but there are no more than 40 men of each regiment together."<sup>22</sup>

After realigning his command on the morning of July 2, Riedesel marched his soldiers down the eastern bank of Lake Champlain to attack and capture Mount Independence. While Burgoyne maneuvered against Fort Ticonderoga, the Germans were to cut off any chance of an American retreat into Vermont. But Riedesel's forces had little opportunity to distinguish themselves. The right wing of the British forces overran Mount Hope, drove in the American picket line, and eventually dragged guns to the top of Mount Defiance and forced the evacuation of Ticonderoga. Meanwhile, Riedesel's forces got stuck in the dense marshes along East Creek and were unable to reach Mount Independence. The advance under Lieutenant Colonel Breymann came under fire from the American defenders on the afternoon of July 2, and the two forces settled down to a near bloodless skirmish at long range. The German officers spent much time and energy trying to find a way through the swamps and deep creeks to get at Mount Independence, but they were unable to find a route. Burgoyne detached Brigadier General Gall's brigade on the afternoon of July 3 and sailed them across the lake in order to support the main attack against Ticonderoga. These troops, however, saw no further action. Riedesel, with his forces now reduced to just over two thousand men, was still unable to find a way to cross East Creek.<sup>23</sup>

The Germans and Americans exchanged gunfire for the next two days, but the rugged terrain and the reduced strength of Riedesel's forces kept them to the north of the East Creek barrier. When the Americans evacuated Fort Ticonderoga on the night of July 5, the Germans were still not close enough to Mount Independence to capture the Americans who escaped into Vermont. The effective pursuit of the Americans was spearheaded by General Fraser's Advanced Corps who followed the Continentals across the floating bridge. The Germans emerged from the swamps on the morning of July 6 to find both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence in British hands. To Riedesel's credit, he set out at the head of his troops to hurry to Fraser's support, leaving the Brunswick Regiment Prinz Friedrich behind to garrison Mount Independence. The Germans caught up with Fraser at Hubbardton early on July 8, and Riedesel's quick action is generally acknowledged to have saved Fraser's forces from defeat.<sup>24</sup>

The Ticonderoga Campaign of 1777 gave the troops from Brunswick and Hesse-Hanau their first real taste of campaigning in America. Their role was one of support and the Germans served well. Their presence provided the British with the strength necessary to reduce Fort Ticonderoga and to win control of Lake Champlain. The battle had been won and the British and German soldiers continued their march south into history.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Charlotte S. Epping, trans., *Journal of Du Roi the Elder* (New York, 1911), 38.
- <sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 2-4.
- <sup>3</sup>Piers Mackesy, *The War for America* (Cambridge, 1965), 37-40, 103-20.
- <sup>4</sup>Martin Lezius, *Deutsche Kämpfer für fremde Fahnen* (Berlin, 1934), 54-57.
- <sup>5</sup>Epping, trans., *Journal of Du Roi*, 2-4; John R. Elting, *The Battles of Saratoga* (Monmouth Beach, 1977), 20-21.
- <sup>6</sup>Captain Heusler, ed., "The Brunswick Contingent in America, 1776-1783," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XV (1891), 219.
- <sup>7</sup>William Stone, trans., *Letters and Journal of Frederick Riedesel* (New York, 1968), I, 36.
- <sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 70, 73-74; William Stone, trans., *Journal of Captain Pausch* (Albany, 1886), 83-87.
- <sup>9</sup>Stone, trans., *Letters of Riedesel*, 2-17.
- <sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 238; Elting, *Battles of Saratoga*, 23.
- <sup>11</sup>Stone, trans., *Letters of Riedesel*, 105.
- <sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 101.
- <sup>13</sup>Epping, trans., *Journal of Du Roi*, 90.
- <sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, 84.
- <sup>15</sup>Ray W. Pettengill, ed., *Letters from America* (Port Washington, 1964), 83.
- <sup>16</sup>Epping, trans., *Journal of Du Roi*, 87-88.
- <sup>17</sup>Pettengill, ed., *Letters from America*, 85.
- <sup>18</sup>Epping, trans., *Journal of Du Roi*, 90.
- <sup>19</sup>Pettengill, ed., *Letters from America*, 81-82.
- <sup>20</sup>Epping, trans., *Journal of Du Roi*, 91.
- <sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup>E. Schueler von Senden, quoted in Elting, *Battles of Saratoga*, 30.
- <sup>23</sup>Hoffman Nickerson, *The Turning Point of the Revolution* (Port Washington, 1967), I, 142; Elting, *Battles of Saratoga*, 30-31.
- <sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 31.



## THE JOSIAH GOODRICH ORDERBOOK

(Continued from the Fall, 1980 Bulletin)

Sunday Camp at Lake George 1 July 1759

Parol Amboy

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo Ruggles[.] feild for ye pequit this Colo Smedly[.] to morrow Night Lt Colo Hunt[.] ye mens Accounts to be made up And Cleared to ye 24 of June[.] ye Commanding officers of Rigt having been Assembled to Take It Into consideration ye most convenient Meathod of having[paying] ye troops as Also What Stopages to be made by ye capt, to provide A Nessory Suppli of shirts And shous for their companis[.] ye General Directs ye payments to be made In ye following manner A Sert five Shillings A corpl four A Drummer 4 A privet Soldier three Shillings per week New york currency[.] Eight Shillings that currincy being equal to A Doller or 4-8 Sterling[.] ye mens Accounts Are Hear After to be made up sined And Cleared every two month[s.]

After orders

200 And 50 woorkmen to parade to morrow morning At ye usual hour to woork for ye Eendineers[.] A non commisson officer of each Regular [regiment] Constantly to Attend ye Indinear And to Receeve their Directions[.] the gene gard tomorrow new Jersey Rigt[.]

Monday Camp at Lake George 2 July 1759

Parole Brunswick

Colo for ye Day to morrow Collo Woster[.] feild officer for ye pequit this Night Lt. Colo Hunt[.] for tomorrow Night Lt [Colonel] Saltonston All[.] ye gene ses And Does Not Dout that ye men on All occations but be very alert In turning out Against ye enemy but he cant but Disapprove of the mans Lunning out on their one Accord or Alarms that may happen And he Abselutely forbids [it.] on Any Littel Alarm ye men that Are Imploid In woork Are to go on As if nothing had haponed And not to quit their Woork till ordered[.] And All ye men that are Not Imploid Are Immediately to Join their Rigt And none to Corn out Till ordered[.] the Rigts to Receive one Days fresh provision to morrow[.] A Return of Effive men of Each Corps to Receive provision to be given In to Lt Colo Robbinson this After Noon At 5 oClock[.] All the Rigts that have received Spruce Bear Are to pay for What they have Received this Day to Sert Eyre[.]

Wednesday Camp At Lake George 3 July 1759  
Parole Southampton

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo Babcock[.] field officer for ye Pequit this Night Lieut Colo Saltonstonsal[.] to morrow Night Lt Colo Putman[.] the General Gard to morrow Colo Woster Rigt[.] The Rigts to send All their Emty barrils under ye Care of Sert to Colo Montresore And give In A Return to ye major of Bragade of ye Number sent[.] Montisore [Abijah] Willards And ye New hamshier Rigts to send A Return of their Masons tomorrow morning to ye major of Brigade[.] these Rigts will Be Supplied With spruce Beer by sending [their] Qr Marster to Lieut Colo Robbinson[.] Every Rigt that hath Iron Crose or sleg hammers In their Possessions Are immediately to send ye same to Sert Grant at ye Artillery[.] 300 hun woorkman to parad to Morrow Morning at ye usual hour to woork for ye endinear[.]

Camp At Lake George July ye 4 1759  
Parole Cichester

Colo for ye Day to Morrow Colo Grant[.] feild officer for ye Regular Pequit this Night Lt Colo Darby[.] for proventials pequit this Night Lt Colo googh [John Goffe.] Major Duglass to morrow Night Regulars Major Camble Proventials Lt Colo Smedly Major Whiting[.] If ye Rigts that Marched In yesterday want provision they will Receive ye Regulars to ye fifth ye ye proventials to ye 6th Inclusive Which Is the time ye Rigts In Camp Are provided to Including ye fresh provision they have Received[.] A feild officer of ye Regulars Rigt for their pequit And A Lt Colo And Major of proventials troops[.] the Advance gard on ye west side is to consist of a Capt 2 subs 2 sert 2 corp 50 men[.] the post beyound ye old fort to Consist of 1 sert 1 corp And 12 [men.] Colo Willard And Col Lovelal [Zacheus Lovewell] Rigts to send their coto [quota] of men for ye servis of ye Artillery In ye manner ordered on ye 22 of Jouné to maj ord At 2 A Clock this day[.] those two Rigt Are Carefully to Examin Into their Arms And Ammunition And see that they be In good order[.] they Are to be out to morrow morning At 5 clock to fire 3 Rounds In plattoons In ye same Manner As ye other proventials have done[.] ye major of Bragade will give them All orders Relating theirto And D Aj General Will Atte[n]d And show them ye place Where they Are to Fire[.]

Gene Lyman orders

that an Exact Return be forth[with] made by each of ye Conniticut Rigt of ye officers And Soldiers Detach up ye mohawk River or Lef to garrison Any post on Hudsons River or to Join ye Artillery with Regard to ye team[st]ers

who will soon join their Corps[.] Said Return to be signed by ye Commanding officer of each Rigt[.]

after orders

the Camp Not to Be Alarmed To Morrow morning At ye firing hear or At ye 4 mile Post Where they Will fire At ye same time[.] Gages Rigt And Rangers to furnish ye same escort As usual Between ye 4 mile post And Camp[.] that post furnished no men to morrow And ye Capt will Dispose of ye detachment accordingly[.] ye Rigt will give A Return of their masons to morrow morning At orderly time to ye major of brigade[.] Also a Return of BrickLayers[.] ye Masons that been Returned from Montgomeries New hamsher willards Rigt to Attend Colo montisore to morrow morning At 5 clock[.] three hundred And fifty woorkmen for ye Indinear this Day[.] one Corp And 4 men to mount At ye Indenear Incampment[.]

Camp At ye Lake George Thursday 5th July  
Parole Hemsted

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo Montgommery[.] feild officer for ye Pequit this Night Regulars Major Camble[.] tomorrow Night Major Gordin [Archibald Gordon.] Proventials this Night Lt Colo Smedly And major Whiting[.] to morrow Night Lt Colo hunt And Major Ball. A General Cort marshal to sit to morrow morning At ye President tent At 8 oclock for ye tryal of A man suspected of Robbery[.] Colo Ruggles president major graham Major Warterbury Late forbes 2 Capt Inniskilling 2 Royal highlanders 1 montgommers 1 Royels 1 Williards 1 Scylers 1 And Loveat 1 Cpts members[.] the Regular Rigts Will Receive three Days fresh Provision to morrow to ye Eights Inclusive At 5 oclock In ye morning Beginning With Gages following half an hour Distance between each by ye Royals Artiliry Late Forbes Montgomarys Royal highLa Inskilling Granidears Light Infantry Rangers[.] If ye Weathear be hot the men must Dry All their provision that It may Not spoil[.]

Gene Lymans orders

That ye following Detachment git Ready to March At 2 oclock this After noon colo wooster 1 sub 1 sert And 24 men to join ye Royal Artiliry[.] And 2 subs 2 sert And 49 men with 6 men of Colo fitches Rigt to Joine 1 Capt 1 sub 1 sert And 17 Men of Colo Whitings to garrison At ye 4 mile post And half way Brook[.]

General After Orders

the general gard Fitches[.] 350 to woork for ye endinear And two Covering parties as this Day[.] six minors of Willards Rigt And 1 of babcocks to Attend ye Indenear to morrow morning At 5 cl[.] the Rigts Will make A Return of their Bricklayers to morrow morning At ordily time[.] Gages

Rigt to furnish A Detachment on ye Road As usual[.] the Bridges Will be Repaired And covered With Eearth[.] Ensn Rivett will Direct this Woorck[.] Lieut George Burton of ye Royals is appointed to Act as Deputy Joge Advocate At ye gene cort marshal[.]

Camp At Lake George Friday the 6 of July 1759  
Parole Newtown

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo Scyler[.] feild officer for ye Pequit this Night Regulars major Gordin tomorrow Night Lieut colo Darby[.] proventials this Night Lieut Colo hunt And major ball[.] tomorrow Night Lt colo Staltonston And Major Dourke[.] ye provential Rigt to Receive 3 Days fresh provision to morrow which Compleats them to ye 9 Inclusive beginning with Regulars 5 A Clock And ending with babcock[.] they will send A Return At 5 this evening to Commisary Wilson of their effectiv that Draw provision[.] ye Commanding officer of Rigts will enspect In to their companies having A sufficient Number of scoops for bailing their battoos[.] And the General expects every Rigt Will have every thing prepared for Crossing ye Lake when ever the orders Are given[.] the Commanding officer Who have been on ye parties Ine the battoo Servis Are to send In this Day the number And Names of ye men who Are Intitle to payment for ye same As per orders of the 23 of May to bragade major money penney [Alexander Moneypenny] At 4 oclock this After noon that ye may be paid for ye same to morrow

After General orders

400 men under ye command of major Durke to be out to morrow morning at 5 clock And Return At 12 clock[.] Gage Rigt and Rangers to furnish ye posts on ye Road as usual[.] 400 hundred woorkmen for ye endinear[.] the 2 covering parties this Day[.] the Endinear Are blow ye mines to morrow morning after Revele[.] ye Camp not be be Alarmd[.] the brickmakers Returned by the Rigt Are to Attend Colo Montisore at 5 clock tomorrow morning[.]

Camp At Lake George July ye 7 1759  
Parole Nestleroy

Colo for the Day to morrow Colo Lyman[.] field officers for ye Pequit this Regulars Lt Colo Day for ye proventi Lt Colo Saltanson[.] major Willard to morrow night major Camble Lt Colo putman major Duglass[.] ye post In ye front of fiches Rigt to be ocupied by A sert And 20 men from ye Regulars Which are to be sent from the pequits every evening At gun firing And Will Come of half After Revele beating[.] the orders for Relating to ox

teams Instead of waggons Is Recald And All sutlers And others who have passes Are permitted to use waggin carts or horses As they shall find most convenient for transporting Refreshment to the Army[.] And the officers Commanding ye several posts have orders to let All waggons pass Accordinally[.] the prohebshon of Rhum And spiritous Licker Always Remaining In full force[.] ye gene gard to morrow Roadisland[.]

After Orders

400 woorkmen to a Parade At ye usal hour tomorrow morrow mornin for ye Indenear And 2 covering parties As usal[.] 400 Axmen under the command of major Dorke to be out At 5 clock And return At 12[.] All stragglng Cattle what ever from ye Different posts will be Drove to morrow to fort edward[.] If any people have lost cattle they will take this [opportunitiy] to Look for them As this [is the last] serch that will be made[.]

Camp A Lake George sunday 8th July 1759  
Parole Rivermond

Colo for the Day to Morrow Colo Wooster[.] field officer for ye pequit this Night proventials Lt Colo potman major Diglass[.] Regulars Major Gordon tomorrow night Lt Colo Miller major Whiting[.] ye proventials Rigts to be under Arms to morrow morning At 5 clock[.] colo Toundsend [Roger Townshend] will begin on ye Right And Lt. Colo [William] Amherst on ye Left And see they Are told of In ye manner that has been Directed In ye Generals orders that there be no misstack And that they understand thoughy what Is ment by ye front flank And Rear platoons[.] this Is not to hinder their furnishing fo[r] Woork such [men] As may be ordered[.] Regulars [to receive] 4 Days provision to morrow beginning At 5 clock with ye Light Infantry And ending with Gages[.] It is repeated that ye Rangers Allway Receive 2 Day beforhand And for 4 Days And for 3 Day alternatly[.] these 4 Days provision Compleats ye Regulars to ye 12 Inclusive[.]

After general orders

the Regulars to give All ye woorking parties exsept ye ye masons[.] Babocks Rigt to be out to morrow At 5 clock to fire 3 Rounds In platoons[.] Any of ye other proventials Rigts that have not fired to be out At the same time But With Propper officers And will Likewis fire there Rounds Drawing uppon ye Left of Babcocks[.] All ye other proven Rigts Will be out at 6 Clock And Colo backock After firing Will Jone them In order to practis what was given out In this mornings orders[.] 400 woorking men for ye servis of ye Endinear to morrow[.] ye Royal highlanders to take ye generals gard to morrow half an hour After 4 that babcock gard may join their Rigt[.] babcocks Rigt will take ye gard After the feild Day Is over[.]

Camp At Lake George Monday ye 9 July 1759  
Parole Weathersfeild

Colo for ye Day to morrow Feild officers for ye pequit this Night proventials[.] to morrow Night Regulars[.] It is standing orders that ye Granieders And brigads of ye Royal And late forbs During this Camppaign Are to be Drawn up In all service 2 Deep[.] this make no Alternation In ye posting of officerses or ye telling of ye battallions In Grand Divisions subs Divisions And platoons and Any front flank And Rear platoons[.] when ye battallions to hold of In platoons on ye parade the whole battalion Is to be 3 Deep ye 2 senter platoons close And An entervails of half ye front of ye platoon Left between Each platoon on ye right of ye senter for ye platoon on ye wright of ye battallion[.] ye same to be observed from ye platoon on ye Left of ye senter of ye platoon on ye Left of ye battallion[.] y commanding officer will order ye officers Commanding platoons to form them 2 Deep Which they will Do by Division ye Rear Rank[.] those on ye Right of ye colors facing to ye wright those on ye Left facing to ye Left and halting when In ye intervail[.] ye first half forms on ye right of ye front Rank of Each platoon on ye right of ye colors ye front of rank[.] And on ye Left of each platoon on ye Left of ye Colors ye Second half forming In Like manner of ye Right And Left And Second Rank[.] And If their Is ye An od man ye officer takes what one he pledges As A Second[.] this method Is Always to be observed that every offr Commanding A platoon may have ye men of ye third Rank Next to him [in case] that the service Re[quire] it[.] ye whole battalion could formd three Deep And stand by ye officers of ye battallion forming ye Rear Rank As they were Which Is never to be Done unless ye officer Commanding ye battallion orders It[.] ye men to be acquainted that Is As ordered As ye enemy has but very few Regular troops to oppose us And that No yelling of Indians nor fire of Canadians Can posible beat 2 Ranks If ye Men Are Silent Attentive And obedient to their officer who will Lead them to ye Enemy[.] their Silence will terrifye ye Enemy more than husaying or nois they can make which ye Gene Abselutly forbids[.] And their Attention And obedience to ye officer Commands ye platoon will Inforce sucess to his majesties Armes[.] ye Gene Cort marshal of which Colo Ruggles Is presiden Is Dissolved[.] ye gene has Approved of ye Sentanses of ye Above Cort marshal[.] George Doogharty of Inskilling Rigt Accused of suspesion of breaking open A trunk Is juged not guilty of ye Crime Laid to his Charge And Is theirfor Acquitted[.] William harper of brigadee Gages Light Infantry Accusd of theft Is found guilty of ye crime Laid to his charge And Is to Receive 400 Lashes with A cat of nine tails[.] Jonh cottor A soldier of brigade of Light Infantry Accused of Desartion Is

found guilty of ye crime Laid to his charg And Is to Reiceve one 1000 Lashes with A Cat nine tails[.]

Camp Lake George Thursday 10 July

Parole Flatbuch

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo Babcock[.]

After general orders

Whittings Rigt to Re[ceive] provision to morrow to ye 13 Inclusive At 5 Clock[.] ye Indians to Receive 2 Days provision to morrow At 6 Clock for their effective number here[. Here]After they are to Receive every two Day for two Days[.] 400 men And tools for ye Endineer As usul[.] 10 Carppandiners to be furnished by ye proventials for ye Endineer to morrow[.] ye Regulars to settel there Accounts With Mr Napor Director gene of ye hospital to ye second of June Inclusively[.] the Lines not to be Alarmed At Any firing they may hear to morrow morning[.] no man to fire out of ye Camp to ye front of ye Rangers til Late forbs Return[.]

Camp at Lake George Wednesday y 11 July

Parole Clavarick

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo Lovell[.] field officer for ye Pequit this Night Regulars Lt Colo Darby proventials Lt Colo Smedley[.] Major Waterbury to morrow Night major Camble Lt Colo Hunt major more[John Moor.] Field officer for ye Regulars major Graham Lt Colo Gough[.] pequit this Night proventials majr Ball to morrow Night Regulars Lt Colo Darby[.] provential Lt Colo Smedly major Waterbury[.] ye Cort marshal of ye Lines Capt Jeames Murry [James Murray] presiden[t.] Abraham Austin Capt of ye wagoners It tried for stealling his majesties Arms And Working tools And Is found Guilty of ye crime Laid to his charge And Senten To Receive 400 Lashes[.] William Rose George Waggioner John Steds marquee Richards John michel Peter Simon harmonious convick John Trier Peter miller tried for ye same crime are also found guilty but As their Crimes Dont Apear So notorious Are sentanced to Receive onely 300 Lashes[.] George sople Dreick harris And 3 waginers Are not found guilty And therefore Acquicted[.] ye Gene Approves ye Above Sentanses And orders that ye prisoners Abraham Austin Capt of ye wagoners to Receive 30 Lashes With A Cat of 9 tales At ye head of Each of ye 4 Regular battallions And ye 7 proventials battallions [in camp] beginning with forbes And ending With Scylers[.] And ye general Is pleased to pardon All ye Rest but orders that one march Roond ye Camp And [view the] punnishment of Abraham Acton And they Are All to be

marched back to Sorritogage frome here to bring All ye tools that ware stolen back to Camp[.] A Sert And 17 men from ye Regulars to Receive ye prisoners from ye provost Gard who Are to go Round And see ye punnishment. A Sert And 12 men of each Rigt of ye Lines Exsepting ye first battallion of Rugels And ye New Jersey Rigt to be sent to ye warter side At 3 Clock this Evening When Colo Bradstreet Will order an offr to shew them what kind of stoness they must [get] to more [moor] ye battoos which they must git on ye east side of ye Lake And not to take Any within ye encampment[.] they must bring them In their battoos to ye shore side[.] the Rigt to [receive] their battoos At 4 Clock this Afternoon by Appling to Capt Lorain[.] Colo Bradstreet will show them In What manner they Are to move them And they Are to be Drawn up forbses on ye Let of ye Capt post on ye east side of ye Lake[.] Ruggles 2d battallion on ye wight side ye Capt post on ye west side of ye Lake[.] montgommiree on ye Right of forbs ye Royal highlanders Inskiling Room to be Left for Predeaux And ye Royals[.] Willards upon ye Left of Ruggles then New hampsheir Babcocks Whittings Fich Woostor Lyman[.] [A] Whale Boat Will be Alood Each Commanding offr of Rigts Which may be Received At ye same time And moord with ye battoos[.] those of ye Regulars on ye Left those of ye proventials on ye Right of their battoos[.] 35 battoos will be Delivered to Each of ye Rigt Royal highlanders montgomeriees And 26 to Each Forbs Inniskilling Prideaux 2 battallion of Roggles Willards Loveals babcock Whiting fich Worster Lyman[.] Oars And Whatever belonging to battoos Will be Delivered At ye same time And each Rigt Will keep a gard of one Corp And 6 for ye Care of ye battoos[.] And they Will Receive their battoos In ye same order As ye Rigt Are given out[.] Each battoo Will Carry 12 barriels of flower or 9 of poark When ordered to Load And It is suposed they Will have About 20 men or A few more or Less[.] If ye Above Number should not Agree y command officer Will Apply Accordingly And make Application for What they will want for their sutlers[.] The Whole Army Will Receive 3 Days frech provision tomorrow Beginning with Gages At 5 clock And Ending with babcocks[.] this Compleats ye Regulars to ye 15 And ye proventials to ye 16 Inclosive[.] If ye weather Is hot ye men Will Dress their provision Emedietely that It may not spoil[.] A detachment of 120 men to be made from ye provential As A gard for this post And protection for ye woorkmen that Are to be Left hear[.] Major Durkee for this Command[.] he Will Receive perticular orders from ye gene[.] officers And non Commission officers Will be Left In porpotion to their number And A tent to every 6 men[.] this Detachment will Encamp to morrow morning at 5 Clock on ye ground[.] Colo montisore Will Direct ye Armes of ye Above men to be expected to see that they be In good order And their



arms And Ammunition Compleat. Capt Lumis of Ruggles Right And Capt heirlehy of Lymans Are Appointed to Act As majors of Brigade to ye proventials troops And are to be obeyed As Shuch[.]

After gene orders

Capt John Campble [Campbell] of ye Royal highland Right Is appointed Major to ye Late forbs Right And Is to Be obeyed As shuch[.] ye Right to Receive their Battoos to morrow morning At 5 A clock In ye same manner As ordered this Day[.] some Recruits Will fire ball to morrow At 5 clock[.] ye camp not to be Alarmd[.] 400 woorkmen And two covering parties for ye Endinear to morrow As usul[.] A 100 men of Colo Whittings to Load Shot on board ye sloop to morrow[.] A non Commished offr of ye Artiliry Will be sent to Conduit them[.] 80 woorkmen to be employd by Capt Lorain to be sent At 5 A clock[.] gene gard to morrow Inniskilling

Camp At Lake George thursday 12th of July 1759  
Parole Fairfield

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo Willard[.] field officer for ye pequit this Night Regulars Major Camble [Alexander Campbell] Proventials Lt Colo Hunt[.] Major More to morrow Night Regulars major gordin proventials Colo saltonston major Willard[.] ye gards on ye Boats must more ye boats more Within shore every evening In shuch manner As colo Bradstreet will Direct[.] And Every commanding offr of A Right will take care to put water In ye boats or to have them hold In water every Day that they may Not be Leaky when Loaded[.] the Artifferses of ye Royal Predeaux Employd by Colo Eyre At fort Edward And those that have been Imploid on ye woorks hear will be paid by Colo montisore According to ye 21 of may And up to Sattardy ye 7 of July Inclusively[.] ye Commanding offr of Right will have a List Sent them of what officer of each corps Is to Leave hear[.] they will have their Arms And Ammunition And tents A greable to ye order given to ye Deachment under ye Command of major Dorkee And will Incamp to morrow morning At Revele Beating As Colo montisore will Direct[.] No evening gun will be fired this evening[.] ye Drums to take ye Retreat from forbses[.] the Rigts to give In to Mr Russel At ye Endinear Incampment All ye hammers belonging to ye endinear that have not yet been given In[.]

After Orders

A General Cort Marshal of ye Regulars to be held to morrow morning at 6 clock[.] Colo grant presdient Lt Colo Dary major Camble Forbs 3 Capt Inniskilling 2 Ditto Royal highlanders 2 Ditto mountgomeries 3 Ditto[.] Lieut George Burtos D[eputy] J[udge] A[dvocate.] Major Ord to try some Carcases At nine clock this evening[.] the Army not to be Alarmed As It will tend very much to ye good of his majestie forcise that ye woorks now

going hear should be caried on with As much Epedition As possible that ye Army may be Able to proseed[.] the Woorkmen Are to woork frome 5 to 12 And from 2 to 7[.] Every Right to mark And number their one battoos[.] 400 woorkmen And 2 covering parties to morrow As usul[.] 40 men for fatague to be At ye wharf At 5 clock tomorrow to Assist Capt Lorain[.]

Camp At Lake George friday 13th July 1759  
Parole Newhaven

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo grant[.] field offir for ye Pequit this Night Regulars Major Gordin proventials Lt Colo Staltonston[.] major Willard to morrow Night Regulars major graham Lt Colo Putman major Dudlass[.] gene gard to morrow Royal Highlanders[.] Richard Stubs soldier In ye Inniskilling Rigt sentansed to suffer Death for Desartion to be excicated this Afternoon Day At 12 A Clock[.] ye Pequits of ye Lines to form At ye head of their Rigt At 11 clock under ye command of ye field officer of ye pequit[.] ye colo of ye Day to command the Whole when formd[.] Willards New hamsheir babcocks forbes Will march By ye Left And proceed to right of ye Granidears And Draw up on ye front of their quater gard[.] ye Royal highlanders mountgomerie & forbes Will march to their frount Closing in to ye Royal highland pequit which will Join ye Left of Ruggles Ine frount of ye quarter gard of ye granidears[.] the new Jersey Rigt Will March By ye Right Joyning the Left of forbes[.] A Platoon of ye Inniskilling for ye Exication of the prisoner Who Will be marcht by ye Proost [Provost] And gard to ye Left of ye Jerseys Rigt [and] So aLong to Right of ye Royal highlanders Where ye Platoon of Blaknes [Lieutenant Robert Blakeney] Will be formd[.] The Cort marshal of Which Colo grant was prisedint Is dis-sold[.] Colo Ruggles to send A Sert and 12 men to Receive the Boats for his firs[t] Battallion Which will be Delivered to them at 12 oclock[.]

After Gene orders

the Regulars Will Receive A porpotion of flower for 5 Days Immediately beginning with forbs And ending with Rangers Which they Are to git baked to morrow And keep[.] the proventials Are to Receive the same porpotion to morrow morning beginning with Ruggles And ending with Scylers Which they will have baked Immediately[.] 50 more battoos will be added to major ord for ye Servis of ye Artiliry And two more to each Rigt for ye Servis of their sutlers[.] If ye Commanding offr of Rigt or Artiliry have any battoos they think Insufficient they will Immediately Apply And have them [ex]changed[.] 400 woorkmen And 2 Covering parties As usul for ye Servis of ye endinear[.]

Camp At Lake George Saturday 14th July 1759  
Parole Guilford

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo Montgomery[.] field officer for ye Pequit this Night Regulars majr Graham Proventials Lt Colo Putman[.] majr Duglass to morrow Night Regulars majr John Camble [Campbell] Proventials Lt Colo Miller majr Whiting[.] the Rigts to [pay] to morrow In ye Afternoon In ye same manner they Did Last time for spruce bear they have Reced since that payment[.] ye Rangers And Indians Are to fire of their peses to morrow morning At 5 o'clock In ye front of their Incampment At mark[.] they will After wards put their Arms In the best order[.] It Is Repeat the men are not touch ye 5 Days Bread they Were ordered to keep[.] ye surgeons of ye Several Rigts Are to meet Doct Munroo At ye gene Hospital At 4 A Clock this Afternoon Who will Direct What porpotion of medisene Each of them Are to furnish for ye Rigts [of] Light Infantry Which Are Immediately to be given to ye surgeon that take Care of that Corps[.]

After Orders

Ruggles Battallion And Lymons Rigts As Well as ye Detachment that marcht In With them Are to be out to morrow morning At 5 oclock to fire 2 Rounds In ye same manner As the other Rigts have Done[.] Colo tounsed to Attend them[.] ye General has observed that several arms of both those Rigts And ye Detachment Are much out of Repair[.] the Rigts Will send A Return of ye Number of men not under Arms on that occation to major money penney And they Are to Repair such Arms emediately[.] And when Repared they Are to be out and fire[.] the Above two Rigts After firing Are to Receive A porpotion of flower for 5 Days Which they Are to git Backd up And keep In ye same manner As ye Rest of ye Army And Are to Receive provision to compleat them to ye 16 Inclusive to which time the Rest of ye proventia Are Supplied[.]

Camp At Lake George Sunday 15th July 1759  
Parole Croyden

Colo For ye Day tomorrow Colo Scyler[.] field officer for ye Pequit this Night Regulars majr Camble Proventials Lieut Colo miller[.] major Whiting to morrow Night Regulars Lt Colo Darby proventials Lt Colo Pason Major Ball[.] gene gard mountgomer[.] ye Regulars to Receive 3 Days provision to morrow beginning At 5 With Light Infantry of Rigts And following granideers Inniskilling Royal highlanders mountgomeres forbs Royal Artiliry gages[.] ye 1 battallion of Ruggles And Lymans And ye Detachment that marcht Into Camp last Night Will Send this evening at 5

oclock to Mr Wilson Commissary A Return to effive men that Marched In And they Will Receive to morrow morning At 5 A clock 3 Days fresh provision[.] the Rigt that have backt bred for 5 Days must now expend It that It need not spoile[.] And they will Continnew backing the flower they Receive that they may Always have 5 Days bread Ready When ye Army Embarcks[.] ye Rangers And proventi that fired this Day Are to Compleat their Amunition Appliing to major Ord Commanding officer of ye Artillery[.] All Shells And Shot that may be Left by ye eneemy or fired from ye enemy During ye Camppaign Will be of use in Sending back to them Again the following prises Shall be Alowed to those Who find them uppon their Delivering them to ye Commissary of stors At ye Artillery park[:] for A 13 Shell A Doller for A 10 Inch shell half a Doller 8 Inch shell Quarter of A Doller Large Shot shall be paid At 2 pence each And Small Shot At a penny a peace[.] All arms taken from ye enemy Are to be brought to head quarters[.] ye men who take Such arms Will be Alowed 5 Shillings for every good And Reparable firelock[.]

#### After Orders

one Capt 2 subs 3 Serts And 60 voullties from ye Inniskilling Rigt to parade At the head of ye Rigt half an hour After 9 A clock this Night with their Arms And ammunition their cloth And to Carry their blankets to take spruce Bear with them And one Days Bread[.] they will march Down to ye Water side Where they will Joyn ye Detachment of ye Light Infantry And follow sich orders as they Shall Receive from Colo Townshed[.] ye Detachment of mount gommires that march Into Camp this Day to Receive fresh provision for 3 Days At ye same time Ruggles Do[.] ye Quarter master will send to Commisary Wilson this Evening the effive number of ye Detachment[.] this Detachment As Likewise those [re]Covered men of ye proventials that macht Into Camp this Day Are to fire 2 Rounds of ball tomorrow morning At 6 oclock At ye place where ye Proventials fired this Day[.] adjutant of mountgomeries to Attend ye firing of ye Whole And Divide them Into small plattoons[.] ye Pequits of ye 2 battallions of Ruggles Willards New hampsheir And Babcocks to parade to morrow morning At revele Beating At ye of their Incampment they will march ye Rigt And Joynn Colo babcocks pequit from Whence they will be marcht by colo Miller field offr of ye pequit to a post of ye West side of ye Lake where he will be conducted by An offr of ye Rangers Adn Will be Joing by 150 Rangers[.] ye gene Will Send further orders to ye Lt. Colo[.] ye men to take one Days provision And march In their Wascoats And blankets[.] 400 woorkmen As usal[.] 100 woorkmen for ye Artility[.] 40 for Capt Lorain[.] 200 fo Colo Putman to finish ye garden to Take What tools he Directs[.]

Camp At Lake George Monday 6 July 1759  
Parole Norwalk

Colo for ye Day to morrow Colo Lymnan[.] field officer for ye pequit this Night Regulars Lt Colo Darby prevents Colo Pason[.] Major Ball to morrow Night Regulars Major Camble preventials Lt. Colo Goof[.] Rigts of Brigad of Rooyal and forbses And ye preventials Rigt Will Each send an offir And 20 men With A party suffiicient to cut fashens Which they are to put In ye batteos that When they Are Loaded none of ye Provision may be Spoild[.] these parties to be sent out Emedietely In Battoos to go to ye West Side of ye Lake but None must Attemt to pass ye posts where ye 5 pequits Are posted[.] ye Commanding officer of ye preventials battallions Are to Attend Brigader Gen Gage at 12 A Clock this Day[.] ye preventials to Receive 3 Days Provision to morrow morning At 5 A Clock[.] they will send A Return of thier Affective number of men this evening to ye Commissary And will be observent to ye orders of yesterday In Relation to ye bread[.] Capt. Lorain Will Deliver Whate Boats this evening to Gages And ye Light Infantry to morrow morning At 5 oclock[.]

After orders

Eight of ye preventials Rigt to give 13 men each for ye Ranging service[.] the men to be told that they shall be paid ye Difference Between ye prevential pay And that of ye Ranging service[.] Commanding officers to turn out All voullenters Willing to serve In ye Ranging service to morrow At 10 oclock[.] Major Rogers Will Attend And Choose ye Number Each Rigt is to furnish out shuch Vollenteirs[.] A Gene Cort marshal of ye Lines to set to morrow morning At 8 oclock At ye presidedents tent to try 2 men of Late. forbs Rigt[.] Colo Whiting presidedent Lt Colo Putman Major Allexan Cambble 5 Capts from ye Regulars And 5 from ye prevential[.] Lt George Burton Judge Adoecate[.] 450 woorkmen and 2 covering parties As usual for ye endiner[.] 20 men [for] Lorain[.] 100 woorkmen for major ord[.] 500 woorkmen with axes to parade In ye front of ye granidears tomorrow morning At 5 clock[.] major willard to command this party[.] Lt Grant to attend[.]

Gene Lyman orders

that All his Rigt hold themselves In Rediness to turn out ye shortis Notis With their Arms Clean And Bright that When ye Woord Is given to turn out they may have nothing to Do But ye same Instant to take up their Peases And Parade Emedietely[.] the same Is strictly to be observed by All Detachments And Parties that ye Duty may be Rendered Esaer for ye whole[.] the Commision officers Are never to go to form out ye men themselves When Any non commision officer Is there present but to Give their orders to them Who Are not to make more noise than Is Nessary to give

notis to ye men to turn out[.] And what ever Soldier or under officer Doth not fully Comply With ye Above orders Is to be confined Emediately[.] that If ye non commission officers Do not see ye men turn out According to ye Above orders or Confine them they themselves must be Confined for Disobedience of orders And Shall be At Least Redudced[.] that those Who have been Elert may not want for ye Rest In ye morning ye Whole Rigt are to turn out ye best of ye Revele[.] poinears march At 5 oclock to call over Each company And then parade for exercise[.] And each company to be called over At ye beat of ye Taptoo At evening And All absent Without Leave Confind[.] these orders to be observd throughout ye Camp[.] Capt Sheldings [Caleb Sheldon] company to be exercised by themselves[.] All companies to exercise At evening According to former orders[.]

Camp At Lake george July ye 17 1759  
Parole Pheledelpha

Colo for the Day to morrow Colo Ruggles[.] field officer for ye pequit this Night Regulars major gordin proventials Lt Colo Goof[.] Major Warterbury to morrow Night Regular Major Grayham proventials Lt Colo Smedley major More[.] Colo Ruggles Rigt Will Receive 8 muskets to Complete their Number And they will Likewise discharge 14 Defective ones which they now have for which they will Aply to ye Commanding officer of ye Royal Artillery[.] All ye men that have joined ye proventials sence the Rest have ben out to fire are to assemble tomorrow morning At 5 oclock on ye ground Where ye Rest use to fire[.] they Are to fire 2 Rounds At mark[.] Brigade fornis to Attend to see them fire[.] Their ammition must After wards be completed[.] ye Whale boats to be markt by ye cores they Are Delivered to In ye same manner As the Battoos Are[.] the granidears to Receive theirs As soon As they are Ready for Which they Will Appli to Capt Lorin[.] the Rangers Will Receive After ye granidears[.] all ye Whale Boats Are to be kept In ye Crick or other wise they will be split[.] ye porpotion of whale bots And Battoos for Rangers Are 42 Whale boats[.] gages Rigt flat Bottom boats 41 Whaleboats 4[.] Light Infnatry of Regulars 43 whaleboats And 5 battoos[.] granidears 43 Whaleboats And 5 battoos[.] ye sutlers must provide men for their battoos And Load them As ye general will not permit ye men of ye Rigt to do it[.]

After General Orders

the Regulars Rigts will Receive firelocks And Bayonets As by their Returns to morrow morning At 5 oclock At ye Park of Artility[.] 500 men With axes a hundred with billhooks under ye command of major Willard And conducted by Lt. [James] Gray they are to take their tools to morrow at Revalee Beating At the Artillery And march Directly[.] A covering party

will be ordered[.] 400 workman And two covering parties[.] 40 men for fatague for Capt Lorain[.] 200 for ye Artillery[.] generals gard to morrow 1st battallion of Ruggles[.]

Camp At Lake George Wednesday 18th July  
Parole Halfmoon

Colo for the Day to morrow Colo Wooster[.] field offr for ye Pequit this Night Regulars major Graham proventials Lt Colo Smedley[.] to morrow Night Regulars major Camble Proventials, Lt colo Hunt major Slap [John Slapp.] ye Regulars to Receive 3 Days fresh provision to morrow morning At 5 oclock beginning with Gages And ending With the Light Infantry of Rigts[.] this Compleats them to ye 21 Inclusive[.] the proventials Rigts to send In A Return to ye major of brigades of Arms Ammunition or any thing they may be wanting to compleate them as It Is supposed ye men that have joined ye several Rigts may not have every thing compleat[.] As fast As they come up the commanding offir Will emediately have them Weived And without Delay Report to ye major of brigade every thing that shall be wanting[.] every man Is to have A good flint In his firelock And A spare flint In his pouch Which ye officer must take care that It is not wantind[.] they will Receive them by appliing to Major Ord Commanding officer of ye R artillery[.] A Battoo for major brigade Will be Aloud to ye Seurgeon of Rigts And 1 Battoo to ye Surgeon of 5 proventials Battallion Ruggles Willards new hampsheir And Babcocks [and] 1 to those of Scylers Wooster fih Whiting Lyman[.] those Battos must be Received from Capt Lorain And be kept by ye Eldest Rigt of Brigade[.] All the Regiments to Return their tools At 5 oclock this Afternoon & each provential Rigt will send A Return to brigade major moneypenny this evening of ye Number of axes or Any other tools they may have that belong to ye Rigt[.] If ye Rigt have men Lately Joind them Since ye order for Battos & should want more than has been ordered them they will Aply Immediately[.] the men that have been choose to serve withe ye Rangers Are to Join this evening At 5 clock & follow such orders As they shall Receive from major Roggers[.] they are not to Take tents but to Leive In huts as ye Rangers Do tho they must take ye provision they have for to morrow[.] And they will afterwards Draw with ye Rangers And they Are not to be Returned In ye provential Return of their Respective Rigts.

After Orders

thomas Burk Waggoner Trid by a Cort marshal of ye Lines for Abusing And offering to strick his officer At ye half way Brook Is found guilty of ye crime Laid to his Charge & sentansed to Receive 400 Lashes[.] ye gene

Approves of ye Above Sentance & orders that ye Said Thomas Burk Is marched to morrow morning At 5 clock By ye provost gard from Rigt to Rigt And that he Receive 30 Lashes att ye head of each of ye four Regular Rigt Beginnin att forbs And on to ye Right that he Receive 30 Lashes att ye head of ye proventials Rigts finnishng at Scylers[.] he Is Afterwards to be marcht back to ye provost gard And Remain their till further orders[.] A Detachment of 600 men with axes Is under ye Command of Colo Willard & Conducted by Lt Gray to parad to morrow morning At Reve beating att ye Artillery Where they will Receive axes[.] they will set out At ye same houre[.] 200 for ye Artillery[.] 30 woorkmen for Capt Lorain[.] Every Rigt to Draw their beattoos half way out of Water Immediately[.]

Camp At Lake George 19th July 1759

Parole Sopas

Colo for the Day to morrow Colo fich[.] field offir for ye Pequit this Night Regulars major John Camble proventials Lt Colo Hunt[.] Major Slap To morrow Night Lt. Colo Darby Lt Colo Staltonson Major Hawks[.] generals gard to morrow 2 battalli of Ruggles[.] ye proventials Will Receive 3 Days frech provision tomorrow morning At 5 clock beginning With Whiting Which Compleats them to ye 22 Inclusive[.] ye battallions of Ruggles Willards Loveels & Babcocks will exchange their Defective Arms And Receive their Amminition flents And bayonets this Day At 5 A Clock by Apliing to major ord Commanding officer of ye Royal Artillery According to ye Returns sent In by those Battallions this Day[.]

After Orders

the General Cort Marshal of Which Colo Whiting Was president Is Desolved[.] ye gene Approves of ye following Sentensas of ye Above Cort Marshal[.] Phineas Duglass of Colo Ruggles 1 Battallion Trid for Desartion Is Acquitted[.] John Murey of Late forbs Rigt Trid for Desartion Is found guilty & is sentansed to Reicive 1000 Lashes[.] thomas Bala of Late forbs Rigt tride for Robbery And being A Notorious offender Is found Guilty & is sentensed to suffer Death[.] John Williams alias soldier of Colo Ruggles 1 battallion trid for Robbery Is Acquitted[.] Capt hargill of Colo babcocks Accused of Disobeyng order Is Adjuded not guilty of ye crime Laid to his Charge And is therfore Acquitted[.] ye Rigt Scylers Lymans Whittings Woosters fiches will Receive their Arms according to their Returns they have given In by Appliing to major Ord to morrow morning[.] the Pequit of ye Lines to be out to morrow morning att 7 Clock[.] will march to ye front of ye Granidears Drawing up in the same manner as ye Last Day they were out for Execution of thos baly of Late forbs Rigt att ye head of ye



Pequits[.] he will Be marcht by ye provost gard in ye manner of ye Last Crimenal[.] ye Colo of ye Day Will Attend[.] A platoon of Late forbs will be Drawn up In ye senter for execution[.] ten battoos to be Delivered to Colo Lyman on Appling to Capt Lorain[.] A general Cort marshal of ye Regulars to sit to morrow morning At ye presidents tent[.] Colo mont gommery president Lt Colo Darby major graham of Late forbses 2 Capt Inniskilling one Royal highlander one montgomeries one gages on granidear 2 Light Infantry 2 Capt for that Duty[.] Lt george burton D J A[.] 450 woorkmen for ye endinear And 200 Workman for ye Artillery[.] 30 for Capt Lorain[.] the Rigt to Load their Battoos tomorrow morning At five clock In ye following manner forbses flower montgommeries pork Royal highlanders flower Enniskilling pork Ruggles Pork willards flower Loveels Pork Babcocks flower Wooster Pork[.] the Rigt Are to Load 2 At A time one for flour And one for poarck And to be Aloud one hour for Loading And when Loaded Returning to their stations[.] And their Battoos to be taken care of As usal[.] If Any Are found Leakey they must be changed or repaired before Night[.] Mr Willson will Attend And see that Each Rigt Load A propper Quantity And ye Quarter master of each Rigt to Give him A Receipt for ye provision they Receive[.] the Conniticut boats on Beach before they Load ye provisions to be numbred on ye East shore beyound forbses & Remain Where they Will Load At their station[.]

After Evening orders

the whole Army Regulars And proventials to Receive floure this Day to Compleat them With bread to ye 25 Day Which they are to git Baked Beginning with gages att 5 clock following Rangers Whitings Light Infantry granidears Ruggles Willards Enniskilling montgummeries Royal highlanders forbses Scylers Wooster Lyman fich Loveless babcocks Artillery[.] Colo Toonsend Dupty Judg adjetent general[.]

Camp At Lake George 20th July 1759

Parole godelman

Colo for the Day this Day Regulars Colo grant prove Col fich[.] for the Day to morrow Col foster Col Babcock[.] field offr for ye Pequit this Night Regulars major cambel proventials Lt Colo saltonton[.] And major hawks for to morrow Night Regulars major gordin proventials Lt Colo Ingersall major doglass[.] on Landing Colo Grant will take ye command of Late forbses Brigade And Colo foster the Brigade of ye Royals[.] All artiffeces that have been Imploid by Colo montisore Who are now to Joine their Rigts Are to be paid by Colo montisore this Afternoon[.]

Orders for the Armies Passing the Lake

the Advace gard to Consist of gages Light Infantry with ye flat bottom

English boat in ye front of ye senter their Whale Boats Drawing up Abrest Covering the heads of ye collums from Right to Left[.] the army to Row In 4 collums[.] the Right and first collum to consist of Rangers ye Light Infantry of Rigts Willard And Ruggle[.] Second battalion to be Drawn up And Row ye boats 2 Deep[.] ye Commanding offr in A Whale boat on ye Right of ye battalion ye Left of Ruggles will be followed by boats belonging to ye Quarter masters Endinear surgeons hospitale Commissaries & sutlers Large boats with Provision flote [floats] With horses[.] the 4 And Left Collum Is to Consist to Lymans Woosters fiches Babcocks And Lovelels[.] they Are to march And Imbarke by ye Right Roing two Battoos A Brest[.] the front on ye the Left[.] the Rear Rank on the Right[.] the Commanding officers in Whale Boats on the Right of ye Battallions[.] Whittings will form the Rear covering the rear of ye four Collums from Right to Left[.] ye Right of forth Collums And Left of the first Collums[.] the Rear Rank to ye Collums And front Rank to the hallifax Sloop[.] ye halifas Sloop will cruze close to ye Rear of ye whole[.] All ye Battallion excepting Whittings Are to Leave Neither more nor Less than one sert for Rigt And one man per Company for ye Care of ye battoos tents And Baggage & one offr per Brigade of ye Regulars And one for ye five Rigt one Left of ye proventials And one fore ye 4 on the Right[.] the offr And sert And men fixt on their Names Returned to ye major of Brigade[.] Rangers Light Infantry of Rigts And granidears to be Commanded by Colo haviland[.] Lieut Brine to Attend[.] Colo Haviland Willards And ye second battallions of Rugglesses commanded by Colo Ruggles[.] Lieut Gray to Attend Colo Ruggles[.] the two Last battallions to Receive fifty axes each by Appling to mr Russel Which with those they have already may Do for what will be Required of them[.] the second Collum will be commanded by Brigadier Gen Gage[.] Colo Scyler will command ye two Rigts of the thir Collum which will have each 100 axes Delivered to them by appling to mr Russel that they may be Ready to Clear the ground ye moment they Are ordered to Land[.] Lt Rose will Attend Colo Scyler[.] the Colum on ye Left will be commande by Colo Lyman And will Be Ready to Land on ye west side of ye Lake or where ordered[.] the Collums to Roe In ye same Height And ye Boats to keep clear of each others ors [oars.] Signals will be made on bord the Invincible Raddow or ye hallifax sloop[.] A small unnon flag for the majors of Brigades And Adjutants to come for orders[.] A Read flag is for sailling or Roing[.] When struck is for halting[.] When ye Read flag Is taken Sown which Is ye Signal for halting[.] Every Boat must Dress in Its proper place Immediately[.] A Blew flag is for the Right Collum to Land[.] When Repeated for gages Light Infantry to Land[.] if Repeated the third time for ye third Collum to Land[.] the Artillery will Land With Second Collum[.]

Whiting Rigt to have the gard of the Battoos[.] Colo Bradstreet Will make such Disposition for them as he thinks best[.] A twelve pounder on ye Left of ye Rangers And An 18 pounder on ye Right of Lymans[.] the greatest Care to be taken of Arms And amminition[.] the men to Land In their Waiscoats And go As Light As possible carriing onely their blankets And provision[.] no hurry no huzzaying on Any A Count Whatsoever[.] And no man to fire Without order from his offir[.] the officers Appointed to command Will Receive perticuler orders from ye gene[.] And in whatsoever sitation the Rigts may be In When Landed And Night Comming on no motion to be made In ye Night[.] Each Rigt will secure their one ground[.] firing in ye Night must be Avoided[.] the enemy must be Received With fixed Bayonets And ye Regiments not to quit their ground even if ye enemy should Break through[.] the Rigts must never git up In heaps but Keep their Ranks on All occations[.] Silence Amongts ye men must be Abselutly kep[.] no pass woord to be Regarded[.] no orders to be obeyed but shuch as are Delivered on sent In wrighting By Deputy Adjetant general aide camps majors of brigades Deputy Quartermaster general or Endinear[.] No man to go back When Landed to fech provisions tents or Anything els till their Is A general order for It[.] they must expect to Lye A Night or two on their Arms[.] All emty provision casks to be sent to Colo montisore[.] barrles to be sent to ye brewery[.] Eight barrels of Spruce Bear to be Delivered to each Rigt this Evening And A barrel to each company to of granidears And Light Infantry And A porpotion to ye Artillery[.] this must be taken in Whale Boats And Battoos[.] the Rigts to pay Sert Eyre for thier Bear this After noon[.] All ye Quar masters to give their Noats for What Is Dew[.] Every thing to be put on board the battoos this Afternoon that ye Rigts may be Ready to stricke their tents In ye Night or When ordered that the Whole may Imbark As soon As possible[.] the men musst Know In time their must be no pressing forward Any Where[.] the Whole must move gently that ye men may not be fatagued[.] that those not Imploid in Roing may go to sleep[.] that ye men may be Alert And fit for Servis When Landed[.]

#### After Orders

Mr Stewert surgeons mate of ye hospitale to Attend the Light Infantry of Rigt[.] Mr. Pebbles surgeons mate of montgommeries is to Return And Do Duty In his Rigtm[.] the general to Beat at 2 oclock tomorrow morning the troop Half An hour After and the Army to march At 3 oclock or as soon As Day Light will permit Beginning by the Rangers followed by ye Light Infantry of Rigts And granidears Willards And ye second Battallion Ruggles Who Will march by ye Left and will pass over ye Right hand Brige going Down to ye Lake And embarke As ordred[.] the Rigts of Lymans

Woosters fives Babcocks Lovels And Whitings Will march by ye Right following each other In that order And Crossing the Brige on the Left hand And embark as ordred[.] the two Brigades of Regulars to march by ye Left following ye first collum And Imbark As ordred[.] Scyler with ye first Battallion of Ruggles Will march by ye right following ye first collum And Imbark As ordered[.] Gage Light Infantry Will form ye Rear of All And When ye Whole is near embarkt will Embark likewise And move up In ye front In their Station[.] the men to Carry their tents When they march Down to Embark[.] the Rigt to send immediately one man to Each Battoo that Is Loaded And no man to fire out of ye boats on Any Account[.] It being Reported that some of ye sutlers of ye Rigts have not men sefficient to Roe their Boats the Commanding officers of Rigts Are permitted to Alow them some mem to help them but great Care to be taken that they Join their Rigt[.] All gards to Come off At Beating the general[.]

Camp At the Sawmills 22 July 1759  
Parole Boston

Coll for this Day Regulars colo foster proventials Coll Lovele[.] Babcock tomorrow Night Regulars co 11 montgomery proven co 11 Lovel[.] field off for ye pequit this Night Regulars major Gordin proventials Colo Ingersole[.] Major Duglass to morrow Night major Graham Lt Colo putman major [John] Whiting[.] the Rigts to Remain on ye ground they Are now on[.] Each Rigt to Advance their Pequit and secure their front by througing up Logs In ye best manner they can[.] ye Rigts that Are nearest the Water may send As many men As are Nesseary to fech the coats of their companys[.] the Rigts of Scylers 1 battallion of Ruggles Woosters fiv And Lovell to Join the Royals[.] 2d battalio of Ruggles And willards to Remain As posted[.] Lyman to Join the corp on ye hill And Babcock to Remain With that Corps under the command of Colo haviland[.] the Rigts to be Ready to march when ordered[.] ye General cort marchal of which Colo mont gummery Was president Is Dissold[.] the whole to send And fech their tents And coats packs[.] the men to go without Arms[.]

Camp At Tiondaroga July 23 1759  
Parole Comberland

Coll for ye Day to morrow Regilars Colo grant[.] officer for ye pequit this Night Regulars major graham proventials Lt Coll putman[.] Major Wartabury to morrow Night major [George Augustus] West Lt Coll Pason. the Rigts to march and Incampt As soon As ye ground Is markt out for them[.] the Regulars Who Are to Defend ye Brest Woork must emediately Raise Banquit In ye front of ye senter of each Rigt With Logs And earth so

that every pequit of each Rigt Can stand uppon it to Defend ye brest  
 Woork [without pulling any of the breastwork] Down As It covers ye Camp  
 from ye shot of ye place[.] the men may Boil their pots When they please[.]  
 A camp Will be markt out for Colo Lyman Wooster And fich in ye  
 Wood[.] they Will face outward And Advance their pequit in the front that  
 No Stragling Indian may pick of their people[.] Colo Scyler Rigt to In  
 camp on ye Left of forbes[.] Coll fiches Rigt By mistake have not had their  
 provision As was ordered[.] they must send to ye Landing place for 3 Days  
 provision[.]

Camp Before Ticonderoga 24 of July 1759  
 Parole Newyork

For the Day to morrow Regulars Coll foster proventials Coll Fich[.] field  
 offr for ye pequit this Night Regulars major West proventials Lt Coll  
 Pason[.] tomorrow night major John Camble major Waterbury[.] the  
 commaind offr of Each Regular Rigt Will Choose an intelligable Sert that  
 will best Answer for Assisting ye endinear as overseers[.] they will send their  
 names to ye major of Brigades And order ye Sert Immediately to Attend Lt  
 Coll Eyrs[.] the Rangers to be furnisht with what Ammunition they may  
 want to compleat them by Appliing to major ord[.] Houes [Houses] of  
 office to be made In ye Rear of ye Camps & Wells to be Dug for each Rigt  
 thay ye men may Git Water As easy As possible[.] When woorking parties  
 Are ordred Into ye Trenchments they must take their Arms with them[.]  
 when they woork to ye Right they must Loge their arms to ye Right And  
 when they woork to ye Left they must Loge their arms to ye Left[.] A  
 Return to be given In By every Core of All Accidents that have hapned on  
 ye 22d 23d & 24d to ye Adjetent genl att orderly time to morrow[.] for ye  
 futer A Daly Return to be made to the Adjetent general At orderly time[.]  
 Serjt murry [James Murray] of ye Royal Highland Rigt to oversee the  
 people in making fashens And to keep An account of ye number made[.]  
 Adjetent for ye Day to morrow Late forbses[.] Advertiesment Coll Wooster  
 has Lost A small read Quilt four blankets a bolster And pillow markt D W  
 [.] All Were In A Canvas Sack And through A mistack Were put Into A  
 Wrong battoo att ye camp at Lake George[.] therefore Who can Inform of  
 the same shall have Be Well Rewarded David Wooster[.] General Lyman  
 orders that no man of his Rigt Rost Any Raw salt pork on pain of being  
 severly punnisht[.] & All offr commissioner & non Comishon shall confine  
 Any man of ye Rigt they find Transgressing these orders[.] and All boiling  
 to be dun In ye Day time And no fiers In ye Night[.] no man to go out of ye  
 Lines or trenche without Leave nore In ye Rear ten Rods from ye tents[.]

Camp Before Ticonderoga 25th July 1759  
Parole Killengton

Coll for this Day Coll Montgomery for to morow Regulars Coll Grant Proventials Coll Scyler[.] Field offir for ye Pequit this Night Regulars Major John Camble Proventials Major Waterbury[.] to morrow Night maj Alexander Camble Lt Coll Smedly[.] the General Cant but be surprised that such brave And Good troops should be subject to shuch Alarms In ye Night that Any of ye men Should fire when they have been ordred not to fire Without being ordred by their officer to it By which they wound And kill their comrads In not obeying these orders their not Receiving their Enemies In ye Night With their Bayonets fix will cost them more men than All ye forc the Enemy can send Against them[.] And he hops that no further Alarm of this fort will happen[.] ye pequit of ye Royals to Be Releved by A pequit of forbses this Day At 12 oclock And to be Commanded by major West ye field offr of ye pequit[.] ye first Battallion of ye Royals Is to mount In ye trenches Att Retreat Beating Att which time ye pequit will Return to Camp[.] six Companies Are to mount on ye Left[.] 3 on ye Right & in ye senter[.] the whole will march on ye Right[.] the Inniskilling Rigt to furnish A gard of 50 men for ye Right Where ye people of ye Royals was posted[.] the Light Infantry And granidears to send immediately to ye Landing place & Receive 3 Days provision 2 Days biskake In ye Room of flower Which compleats them to ye 25 Inclusive[.] Whittings Willards & babcocks Rigts will Receive four Days provision to morrow & biskake In ye Room of flower Which compleats them to ye twenty ninth Inclusive[.] the general hospital In woosers Rigt By ye Road coming In to Camp Where Any wounded men may be sent[.] adjetent for the to morrow Inniskilling Coll hunt for to be commanding offr on ye Road[.]

Evening orders

majors Rangers will march up with A commanding offr Into the trenches this Night & Will be Imploud in Alarming ye Enemy by firing into Covered way & keeping their attention from the woorkmen[.] the Commanding offres of ye Intrenches Will Allways Acquaint ye officer that Releves him of the Different Post he has and everything that is material for him to know[.] Gages Rigt to Receive this Day two Days bisket In ye Room of flower & three Days pork which Compleats them with ye Rest of the Army[.] the following carppenders John grenold Robert guirff John troops James graham of ye Inniskilling Rigt Jeames fargo george meaglass Jeames Saracher John Maccole John Robison Jeames Commin Jeames macDanniel of ye Royal highlanders Rigt Jeams Crose of Late forbs to be At ye sawmills to morrow morning att 5 oclock[.] And If Capt Lorain should not be their they will Receive Directions from Brigadear Ruggles. — It may be nessary

to have A countesign by which the men in ye trenches may know one another[.] the countersign for this Night Is boston[.]

The Goodrich orderbook comes to an abrupt end following the entry of July 25, 1759. The next evening, the French evacuated Ticonderoga. As Lemuel Wood recorded in his diary, "ye Enemy kept a Pretty steady fiering all this Day [July 26] and in ye Eve[n]ing till about 8 or 9 oClock when they Left fiering and took what they could carry Off[f] with them and Pushed off[f] Leaving a match to there [powder] magazine took fier and blew up ye Noise of it was heard by our men at ye Landing Place it was very Lowd and Shaking our men did not march to ye fort till mor[n]ing ye french Sett fier to there Barracks burnt Down and Some Part of ye fort was hurt[.]" The British, however, repaired the damaged fort and garrisoned Ticonderoga until May of 1775<sup>1</sup>

JWK

<sup>1</sup>Sidney Perley, ed., *Diaries of Lemuel Wood* (Salem, 1882), 23.

## BOOK REVIEW

**New York's Forts in the Revolution.** By ROBERT B. ROBERTS  
(Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980, Pp.,  
521. \$27.50.)

**New York's Forts in the Revolution** by Robert B. Roberts is a useful compellation of information on the numerous Revolutionary era fortifications in New York. The work is divided into two chapters and includes notes, a bibliography, and a brief, but useful, glossary of eighteenth century military terms. Roberts' justification for a book devoted exclusively to New York forts rests on his perception of the "all-important New York frontier" during the Revolution. The material presented in this study, however, represents only a portion of the author's twenty-five year effort to produce an encyclopedic dictionary of American military, pioneer, and fur-trading posts. Roberts has agreed to bequeath his research collection of more than eleven thousand entries to the West Point Library.

The narrative first chapter discusses the nature and significance of the American Revolution and provides an extended summary of military events in New York during the war. The longer second chapter consists of a "biography" or listing of every Revolutionary fortification in New York State. Roberts notes the location of each fort by town and county, when the fort was built, by whom, and if the position was ever attacked or captured. In some instances, descriptions of the individual forts, substantiated by photographs as well as by maps and quotations from contemporary sources, are also provided. Roberts has drawn his information from a variety of sources, including manuscript and documentary collections, scholarly and popular works, newspaper items, and personal correspondence.

**New York's Forts in the Revolution** is the first attempt to provide a detailed description of all Revolutionary era fortifications in New York. Moreover, where pertinent to an understanding of a particular structure's origins and evolution, Roberts includes pre-Revolutionary era information as well. While over thirty pages are devoted to a discussion of the fortifications at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, more typical is the three paragraph description of Fort Rensselaer at Canajoharie in Montgomery County.

Among the Revolutionary War figures who dot the book's pages are Philip Schuyler, Marinus Willett, Benedict Arnold, Walter Butler, Joseph



Brant, Peter Gansevoort, and the Johnsons, Guy and Sir John. Roberts' volume, however, is not a treatise on military camp life in the eighteenth century. Only inadvertently, by way of detailing various military operations, does some favor of military life and the experiences of the common soldiers emerge. Moreover, there is little discussion of military tactics or the theory of military construction. Sandwiched between the notes and the bibliography, however, Roberts does provide an eighteenth century print on military techniques and tools as well as plans of a typical fort and block-house.

There is little in Roberts' study that is new or which cannot be found elsewhere, particularly concerning the major fortifications such as those at Ticonderoga and West Point. However, it is in regards to the numerous smaller and obscure fortified positions which dotted Revolutionary New York where the book offers a distinct service. Flaws in previously accepted writings such as those of Jephtha Simms, the nineteenth century historian of the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys, are corrected, and at points Roberts attempts his own assessment of such previously maligned figures as Walter Butler and Joseph Brant. Finally, Roberts provides background information on many of the military campaigns and frontier raids, such as the Montgomery expedition against Quebec, the British defeat at Saratoga, and the extended border warfare in the Mohawk and Schoharie regions.

While servicable, Roberts' writing style is occasionally awkward. In addition, the work is marred by a number of minor errors. In the discussion of the Revolutionary and pre-Revolutionary fortifications on Lake George, for example, Roberts takes note of the 1757 massacre at Fort William Henry and claims that the bodies of the victims were placed on the remains of the fort in a huge funeral pyre. There is, in fact, little archaeological evidence to support this conclusion.

THOMAS BURKE

State University of New York at Albany

## MUSEUM NOTES

We should like to report continuing activity here at the Fort and to do so we must tell you that the pointing and repair work on the southwest bastion was completed last fall, including both the south curtain wall and the platform. Time and the winter season limited the span of major repair work done under a grant from the Potter Foundation, but with the advent of spring weather we shall once again engage in some temporary repair to the platform fronting the Great North Demi-lune.

During the winter months the Fort's regular shop crew was occupied in the construction of two wooden gun carriages, one rebuilt and the other completely new. These carriages will provide mounts for two 24 pounders on the southwest bastion and will greatly enhance the armament of that bastion. In addition to the carriage construction, the men also made new wheels for two of the howitzers on the Fort's upper level.

The Fort and Museum opened on Sunday, 10 May for the 1981 season. A feature of that historic anniversary date was the re-enactment of Ethan Allen's capture of the Fort exactly 206 years ago. The recapture was carried out by Vermont's reconstituted Green Mountain Militia while the British defenders were portrayed by Paul Loding's reconstituted Regiment. Since May 10 was also Mother's Day, we are proud to report that all Mothers were welcomed to the Fort and Museum as our honored guests.

We are also proud to announce that the 4th Annual Memorial Scottish Gathering is scheduled for the week-end of July 11-12, with the Military Tattoo on the Fort's Parade Ground on Saturday evening, July 11, 1981. The following weekend, July 18-19, there will be a visitation of Masons as part of the Bicentennial Celebration of the Grand Lodge of New York.

We are privileged to announce the accession of a unique and unusual addition to the Museum collection of a powder horn, a gift of Mr. Hubert Hudson of Brownsville, Texas. Powder horns for the most part fall into two categories — the professionally carved and decorated horn, and its counterpart, the horn cleaned and carved by an individual soldier primarily to while away tedious hours, becoming thus an unusual piece of folk art and usually depicting his service location and events or places of interest to him. The above horn is folk art and was made by one Samuel Handcuk at Ticonderoga. The dating, "July the 26, 1760 at the Camps in Ticonderoga," indicates that its owner served at the Fort during those murky years between the Amherst capture in 1759 with its British occupation, and the

later capture by American forces. This is an area in which we are not overburdened with memorabilia so Soldier Handcuk's horn is doubly welcome.

In another area, we are very pleased to announce that Fort Ticonderoga is the recipient of a most generous grant, a fund established by Mr. Hubert Hudson in fond memory of his beloved mother, Dorothy Hudson Michalis.

Mr. J. Robert Maguire, a member of our Advisory Board and a resident of nearby Shoreham, Vermont, has added to our manuscript collection a long letter dated April 26, 1849. The letter was written by Cyrus Morton in Middlebury to his "Dear Brother and Sister" Peter and Phebe Vaughn in Middleborough, Massachusetts. The letter contains a long description of the Fort and grounds at that date outlining the condition of the various areas and to further describe the place, Mr. Morton included a drawn and colored sketch map of the area and structures complete with labels. The manuscript provides a unique source of information and will require detailed analysis and interpretation.

Also helpful to our constant study of the Fort and its past is a collection of early photographs presented by Mr. Richard Dean of Dean's Color Studios in Glens Falls.

Another accession of significance to the Fort's Museum collection is the transfer on a permanent loan basis of the Joseph Dixon Crucible Company's painting, "Ticonderoga's Immortal Guns." The artist, Tom Lovell, commissioned by the Joseph Dixon Crucible Company several years ago, executed a particularly graphic portrayal of the transfer by General Henry Knox of Ticonderoga's cannon to Dorchester Heights above Boston in the winter of 1775-1776. Knox's effort in moving cannon captured from the British by Ethan Allen's daring attack on Fort Ticonderoga in May of 1775 ultimately made it possible for General Washington to drive the British from Boston during the early stages of the American Revolution. The painting is a splendid addition to the Museum display and we are proud to exhibit it to our many visitors.

Currently plans are being formulated to establish as an exhibit the magazine here at the Fort which was blown up by the French in 1759. Also depicted will be the stables which the French forces located in the same bastion.

JML

## GLADYS PELL BLANKARN

This is to give you the sad news that our member Gladys Pell Blankarn died after a long illness on September 5, 1977. She will be missed by many friends in New York, Southampton, and Tuxedo. Her father, Howland Pell, built the Block House and enjoyed a number of summers there before leaving it by will to my mother and father. My dear cousin Gladys inherited her father's interest in Fort Ticonderoga and assisted the Fort in many ways on numerous occasions. Her son, Penny Rogers, is one of the most active and interested members of The Fort Ticonderoga Association and keeps in close touch with me at all times.

JHGP

## DUNCAN PELL V

1919-1980

Our beloved cousin and fellow member Duncan Clarkson Pell died at San Francisco on September 30, 1980. His great-great-grandfather, Duncan Pell, I, was a son of William Ferris Pell. Duncan, I, married Anna Clark, a Rhode Island girl, and moved from New York to Newport, where he spent the rest of his life. He became Lieutenant Governor of Rhode Island and was a founding member of The Newport Reading Room. Duncan, II, died before his father, but not before marrying and fathering Duncan, III, who also spent his life in Newport. His son Duncan, IV, moved to San Francisco and was involved in the automobile business there. His son, Duncan, V, attended Stanford University and was engaged in various real estate activities. He belonged to The Society of Colonial Wars, The Society of Colonial Lords of Manors, and The Fort Ticonderoga Association. Throughout his adult life he was keenly interested in the Pell family and Fort Ticonderoga. He was also a frequent visitor to Florence, Italy. Miss Georgiana Pell, a daughter of Duncan Pell, I, moved to Florence at an early age and remained there for the rest of her life. According to our late cousin, Duncan, V, with whom I had many interesting conversations about the family, she took with her a large part of the silver from the Pavilion and left it by will to a priest in Florence. Although Duncan, V, visited Florence many times, he was never able to locate that precious silver.

Duncan visited Fort Ticonderoga from time to time and followed its development with care. His obituary notice in *The San Francisco Chronicle* mentioned: "Pell, Duncan C. (V) September 30, 1980, devoted cousin of John H. G. Pell of New York City and Fort Ticonderoga, New York, Senator Claiborne Pell of Newport, Rhode Island, Mrs. Stephanie Pell Dechame of Fort Ticonderoga, and Mrs. Polly Pell Dunning of San Jose, California." Duncan has left a bequest to The Fort Ticonderoga Association in his will. Duncan I, II, III, and V are buried in the Pell plot, Cemetery, Newport, Rhode Island.

## THE BOOK SHELF

<b>FORT TICONDEROGA, A SHORT HISTORY, S. H. P. Pell</b>	<b>\$ 2.50</b>
<b>ETHAN ALLEN, John H. G. Pell (paperback)</b>	<b>2.95</b>
<b>LAKE CHAMPLAIN, KEY TO LIBERTY, Ralph Nading Hill</b>	<b>14.95</b>
<b>ADVENTURE IN THE WILDERNESS: THE AMERICAN JOURNALS OF LOUIS ANTOINE DE BOUGAINVILLE, Edited by Edward P. Hamilton</b>	<b>15.95</b>
<b>A MOST MEMORABLE DAY: THE BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE, SEPTEMBER 8, 1755, John W. Krueger</b>	<b>6.95</b>
<b>ARUNDEL, Kenneth Roberts</b>	<b>6.95</b>
<b>RABBLE IN ARMS, Kenneth Roberts</b>	<b>6.95</b>
<b>NORTHWEST PASSAGE, Kenneth Roberts</b>	<b>6.95</b>
<b>JOURNAL OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON Edited by Alan S. Everest</b>	<b>5.95</b>
<b>LEGEND OF TICONDEROGA, Robert L. Stevenson</b>	<b>2.50</b>
<b>SKETCHBOOK 76, R. L. Klinger and R. A. Wilder</b>	<b>3.25</b>
<b>DISTAFF SKETCHBOOK, R. L. Klinger</b>	<b>3.25</b>
<b>GHOST FOX, James Houstin</b>	<b>8.95</b>
<b>SOME NOTES ON THE CONTINENTAL ARMY</b>	<b>3.00</b>
 <b>Men-at-Arms Series</b>	
<b>MONTCALM'S ARMY</b>	<b>5.95</b>
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<b>GEORGE WASHINGTON'S ARMY</b>	<b>5.95</b>
 <b>Set of 12 postcards of British Regiments that served at Ticonderoga, from paintings by Alex R. Cattle</b>	 <b>2.50</b>
 <b>Supplemental set of 8 postcards, British Regiments</b>	 <b>1.50</b>









# THE BULLETIN OF THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

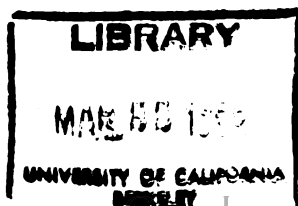
Volume XIV

Winter 1982

Number 2



The American Fleet at Valcour Island  
October 1776



# THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

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John W. Krueger  
Editor of *The Bulletin*

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## Admission:

The Fort and Museum are open from mid-May until mid-October, including Sundays and holidays, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. (6 P.M. during July and August). The admission charge is \$4.00 for adults and \$2.50 for children from ten to thirteen. There is no charge for children under ten or for students of any level in classroom groups, supervised by a teacher, who have made previous arrangements with the Management.

**The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum** is published twice a year by the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, Ticonderoga, New York. The Fort Ticonderoga Museum assumes no responsibility for the statements, interpretations, or opinions of contributors to **The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum**.

Yearly subscription, \$10.00; student subscription, \$7.50, with student verification; libraries and institutions, \$15.00; single copies, \$5.00; some back issues not available.

Manuscripts about the early history of the Champlain Valley are invited. Address correspondence to John W. Krueger, Editor, Fort Ticonderoga, Ticonderoga, New York 12883.

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## BENEDICT ARNOLD'S REGIMENTAL MEMORANDUM BOOK

Benedict Arnold's Regimental Memorandum Book, written while at Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1775, was acquired by the Fort Ticonderoga Museum at the Philip D. Sang Sale of American Historical Documents in April of 1978. An inaccurate transcript of the manuscript was published in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in 1884. At that time, the editor noted that the Arnold Memorandum Book was "some years ago in the possession of a lady living in the western part of Pennsylvania. Since that time [prior to 1884] it has been lost, but before this happened, Prof. W. H. B. Thomas transcribed it, and we are indebted to him for the use of his copy for publication." The text that follows is an accurate one, transcribed from Arnold's original manuscript.

JWK

- [May 10] Mr. Allen finding he had a Strong Party & being Impatient of Controul & taking umbrage at my Forbidding the People to Plunder, He Assumed the Intire Command, & I was not Consulted or Advised With, for 4 Days which Time I spent in the Garrison As a private Person, often Insulted by him & his Officers, Often Threatned with my Life & twice Shot at by his Men with their Fusees.
- Sunday 14 The Schooner Liberty Arrived at Ticonderoga from Skenesbo with Capts. [Jonathan] Brown [and Eleazer] Oswald & abt 50 Men, Inlisted on the Road. We imidiately fixed her with 4 Carriage & 6 Swivil guns, & proceeded to Crown Point with 50 Men In the Schooner & 1 Batoe with 2 Swivels, where we Arrived the 15th. N.B. Dispatched Mr Brown to Albany & sent Forward Provisions.
- [Tuesday 16] Left Crown Point for St. Johns with a head wind & beat as far as Split Rock that Night. Next Day Wednesday 17 Wind being fair proceeded within 30 Miles St. John at Point Au Fare, when being be-

- calmed, we maned Out two Batoes with 35 Men & after rowing all Night, Arrivd at St. Johns 6 oClock on Thursday morning Where we Surprised & took a Sergt. & his Party of 12 Men the Kings Sloop of 70 Tons 6 Brass six Pounders & seven Men, 9 large Batoes, 4 of which being Out of repair we Destroyed, the others brought away. The Wind Springing up fair at 9 oClock Thursday 18 Weighed Anchor & stood up the Lake & at noon met Col. Allen & his Party of a 100 Mad Fellows going to take Possession of St. Johns, & not being able to Disuade him from so rash a purpose, Supplied him With Provisions.
- May 19 At 4 AM Crossed Cumberland Bay with the Sloop & Schooner & at 3 PM Anchored at Crown Point 2 hours & proceeded to Ticonderoga where we arrived at 5 PM & Having Saluted the Fort came to Anchor.
- Saturday 20 Were employed in fixing & Arming the Sloop & Schooner. NB Dispatched Capt Oswald to Connecticut & Capt Brown to Cambridge with Advice taking the Sloop &c.
- Sunday 21st Rode Out 2 Miles to the Mills to inge a quantity of Plank for Carriages, Boards & Battoes to Carry the Cannon Over Lake George, when at the Landing Received Advise of Col. Allens Defeat, at St Johns & Return with the Loss of three men, which did Not in the Least Surprise me as it happened as I expected. Returned to the fort & made preparations to proceed to Crown Point.
- Monday 22 Proceeded from Ticonderoga to Crown Point with the Sloop & Schooner & About 80 Men, where we arrived before Night.
- Tuesday 23 All hands Employed in fixing the Sloop Schooner & puting them in the best posture of Defence. About Noon had Intelligence, from One Butterfield of Col. Allens Party who was left behind, that he left St Johns

the 19th Inst. when there was there 300 Regulars Canadians & making all posable preperation for Crossing the Lake, on which I Sent Expresses to Fort George & Skensborough, for the People to muster & Join us, at 6 PM Mr. Adams who left St Johns the 19th Inst. Arrivd & Says there was Only 120 Men who Attacked Allen, & the same Day Marched to Chambly where they were repairing the Fort, on this Intelligence I sent forward to Countermand my former Orders. NB. Wrote to the General Assembly of Connecticut, & Committee [of] Safety Cambridge.

**May 24** All hands employed in Arming the Sloop & Schooner. Arrivd here Col. [Charles] Webb, Mr. [Barnabas] Dean, Capt Bull & Sundry Gentlemen & Seamen from Hartford.

**Thursday 25th** Mr. Dean Col. Webb &c set Out for Tic Wind proving Contrary, they returned. We were busy in Get. Down Some Cannon Mortars, &c. Clearing Out the N Et. Redoubt &c, & Arming the Vessells.

**Saturday 27** Were Joined by 20 Men Inlisted by Col. Allen at the request of Col. Webb. NB these are the whole of his party. All hands employed on Guard Fixing Sloop Schooner &c. & Getting Down Cannon.

**Sunday 28** Employed on the Sloop, Schooner, Guard, Clearing Stores &c.

**Monday 29** Employed as the Day Preceeding.

**Tuesday 30** Employed as the two preceeding Days. Received my service Bill of £150. from Thos. Wells Dickerson & Drew on the Committee [of] Safety for the balance due me £77,13,4.

**May 31** All hand were employed on Guard Fixing the vessells, &c. 30 Men of Capt. [Nathaniel] Buells Compy. Ar-

rivd from Still Water Including Officers. NB Sent a Boat with Sergt. Armstrong with 5 Men on a Scout to St. Johns.

Thursday 1st June Arrivd here part of Capt James Wells Company 20 Men from Cambridge with 20 men Including Officers Arrivd here Mr. Henry J. Bogert Sent by the Committe of Safety at Albany to take Charge of their Stores of Provision at Fort George, & an Inventory of Cannon &c here. Sent a Boat to Raymond Sawmill for Boards to repair the Barracks &c. A Number of Men employed in getting Down Cannon 15 Men were employed in Diging in the Ruins of the Old Fort Who got out Near One Ton of Lead & Iron Ball. Sent a Battoe to Tic with Mr. H. J. Bogert, Mr. Elphiston the Conductor his Wife & 7 Men Capt. Herricks Company.

Friday 2d June Twenty Men employed in geting Down Cannon and as many in Digging for Balls &c, Our Seamen Busy in making Sails & fixing Battoes. Sent a Battoe to Onion River. Arrivd here Lieut. Garrison from Saratoga with 10 Men.

Saturday June 3rd Twenty Men employed geting Down Cannon Digging Ball &c. Fixing Battoes, & 8 Carpenters employed in Repairing the Barracks, Received 2m. feet Boards from Raymonds Mill. 441 @ 10 Nails from Avisis & sent 224 @ to Tic & 600 feet Boards, to repair the Barracks. Took into Service a large new battoe of Fer-rises, & sent her to Tic for Men & Provisions. Col. Allen left this & And went to Tic. Arived Sergt. Jonah Sanborn, who was sent Out on a Scout to reconiter the 27th May, who went About 2 Miles Below Ile Anox [Ile aux Noix], was Chased & fir'd on By a Number of People in two Battoes, say 20 & Obliged to run on Shore & Save himself & Party, the Enemy took his Canoe, & he was relieved & Brought in by the Canadians. Sent Capt. McKenzie in his Bat-toe to Raymonds Mill For Boards. Received on Board



4 Bls. Pork from Tic & Sent 2 Into Store. Received  
d. Nails of Watson.

Sunday 4  
June

All hands employed in Fixing Boats &c to proceed  
Down Lake, Received, & Borrowed of McIntosh a  
Barrell of New Rum Took on Board from the Store 6  
Barrells Flour & O[several words missing] Sent a Boat  
to Raymonds Mill for Ash [several words missing] the  
Guns. At 10 AM the wind Sprang up [several words  
missing] Whole Garrison were Paraded &, 40 men  
Drauted Out [of the ?] Garrison the remainder Ime-  
diately embarked to the [missing words] 155 Men On  
board the Sloop Schooner, & three Battos Including  
the Seamen, Mariners &c on board before, at 3 PM  
weighed Anchor & proceeded Down the lake, with a  
small Breeze. Sent on shore One Quarter Cask of  
Powder to be                      Among the Recruits. At  
Night Anchored at Button hole Bay 10 Miles from F  
Cn. Point. where we lay all night.

Monday  
June 5th

At 4 AM weighed Anchor & proceeded Dow the Lake  
A Went on Shore in                      Bay at Hays Plantn.  
examined his large Battoe, which I found to be very  
badly built. Small Timbers Weak, & unfit for any  
hard service. Here I found two                      Craft who I  
had Dispatched the Day before in quest  
One Capt. Grant who, though under his Parole of  
honour, had left Crown Point the Day before, they  
formed me he had got 10 Leagues the Start of them  
& they Could not posably come up with them. Here I  
met with One Hoit [Winthrop Hoyt] an Indian Inter-  
preter, whom I had sent with some Stockbridge In-  
dians to Kauhnaughua [Caughnawaga] as an Intre-  
preter, he Informs that, being Near St. Johns the In-  
dians Insisted in going Directly there, he being fearful  
of being taken Prisoner was put on Shore, & pro-  
ceeded to Kauhnaughua Where there was search  
made for him by Gov. Carlton & he narrowly Escaped  
being taken. & Says the French informed him the  
Stockbridge Indians were imprisoned at Montreal but

on the intercession of the other Indians were set at Liberty. That [Governor Carleton?] was at Montreal & had threatened the Inhab [itants] [that unless?] the Merchants would Defend the Place he Would burn it & retire to Quebec, the Canadians & Indians Utterly refused joining the Kings Troops & that there was 300 regulars at St. Johns Intrenching &c. At 7 PM Anchored of of Point a Roach.

[June 6]

At 4 AM Weighed Anchor at 8 Passed Point Aufere At 10 AM Anchored of Hospital Island 62 Leagues from St Johns Sent 3 Battos 20 Men in each, Swivel Cannon 3 Men the Two Latter as Advanced Guard, to Ile aux Noix, with Directions to Get all posable Intelligence, & in the Night to proceed Within 2 m St Johns & if posable to take any Party Sent Out from there. Employed a num[ber of] hand[s], on Shore Baking Bread at Night sent of Capt Varnum with 4 Men to Go on the Et Side of the Lake Opposite St Johns & Discover the Motions of the Enemy. at 4 PM the three large Battoes the small Canoe having proceeded within 1 Mile of St Johns was Informed 300 regulars, & soon after he was Chased by a Battoe, & obliged to [return] they also informed us, that, the regulars were Determined to Pay us a visit the Next Day. Sent Out three small Boats Different Scouts. Intelligence, & put Ourselves in the Best Posture of Defence.

Thursday  
June 7th  
[June 8]

At 8 AM our small Yawl came in from St. Johns & Informed that, they lay three hours Opposite to the Barracks, where the Regulars to the Number of abt. 200 Men were entrenching. People fired two Shot at them which was returned by the Whole Body who kept up a Continual Fire for some time. NB Wind has been strong to the Southward for 3 days. All hands employed in Baking Bread getting Timber for Oars. NB Gave One Bbl. Flour to Monsieur Couderet who brought a Party of Our Men to Crown Point who had their Boat taken Away.

[Friday]  
[June] 9                      At 5 AM weighed Anchor for Crown Point, Schooner  
& two large Battoes                      left one Batteu with  
Sergt. Fay & 2 Men to Bring of a French Family. At 9  
met Capt Brown from the Congress, Lieut. John  
Graham, with 12 Men from Saratoga, the remainder  
this Paty 12 Men left at C Point. Fair Wind at 4 PM  
were of the three Brothers. at Night Anchored Above  
Highland Bonnet.

[Saturday]  
[June 10]                      At 4 AM Weighed Anchor & Beat up & at. 5 PM  
Anchored at Crown Point where I went on shore, &  
found that Col Allen, Col. [James] Easton & Major  
[Samuel] Elmore had [several words missing] Called a  
Counsell of their Officers & others not Belonging to  
My Regt. I sent for Major Elmore who Excused him-  
self, On which I wrote the Counsell, I could not Con-  
sistently with my Duty, Suffer, any Illegal Counsell  
Meetings, &c as they Tended to raise a mutiny. That  
I was at present the Only Legal Commanding Officer  
& should not suffer my Commands to be Disputed,  
but would willingly give up the Command whenever  
any One Appeared with Proper Authority to take it.  
this had the Desired Effect & they Gave up their ex-  
pectation of Commanding.

[Sunday]  
[June 11]                      Went on shore early & gave Orders to have the  
Guards Doubled, to prevent any Mutiny or Disorder,  
Col. Allen, Major Elmore, Easton, & others At-  
tempted Passing the Sloop without showing their Pass  
& were brought to by Capt                      & Came on  
Shore, when in Private Discourse with Elmore Easton,  
Intruded, & Insulted me, when I took the Liberty of  
Breaking his head, & on his refusing to Draw Like a  
Gentn. He having a hanger by his side & Cases of  
Loaded Pistols in his Pocket, I kicked him very heart-  
ily. & Ordered him from the Point  
Several Parties left the Point this Day for Ticonderoga  
having Orders from the Committe of Albany for that  
Purpose

- Monday  
June 12. 1775 People employed in refitting Barracks Digging &c  
Sent a scout of 5 Men to St Johns. The Albany Com-  
pany of Men received Orders from the Committe to  
return Fort George. & Accordingly em-  
barked & went Ticonderoga. Sent a Boat to  
the Mill
- [Tuesday] 13th  
June Sent Capt Oswald Express to the Continental [Con-  
gress] the Boat from the mill returned with Boards  
sent her to Tic the People imployed in Digging Ball  
getting oars refitting Battos Geting Timber for Guns  
Wheels &c, &c, Sent a Boat with Skeens Negroes to  
Dig Ore. Sent a Boat & 20 Men to Hay place to bring  
up his Large Battoe.
- Wednesday  
June 14th Men Employed in Diging Ball Geting Timber making  
oars Sent a scout to Carra Mills, a Battoe on the East  
of the Lake to Cut Timber, & one hunting  
the Gunners employed in searching & sealing the  
small Guns. Carpenters making Carriages. Sent 2  
Boats to Ticonderoga with Capt. Buell & NB Blows  
extremly hard to
- [Thurs]day  
15th Blowing hard at NNE & NE at 8 AM sent a Boat  
across the Lake for a Scout Party, Sent there before  
People employed in Getting Timber & Mounting  
some Guns sent a Party out hunting
- [Friday] 16 Three Boats with all the Carpenters on the Other side  
of the Lake geting Timber for Skids, Oars, Wheels &c  
Sent to Raymonds Mill for Timber & Provisions for  
Skeens Negroes. Received a Whale Boat from Mr  
Usher Col. [Benjamin] Hinman, & Major Elmore ar-  
rived from Ticonderoga Sent to Capt. [Samuel] Her-  
rick to send the Damaged Powder to Albany [manu-  
script damaged]
- 17 The Garrison Employed in Getting Timber Fixing  
Barracks, Making Oars, & Digging, Col Hinman  
made a Demand of the Command here &c but as he

produced No Regular Order for the same, I refused Giving it up. On which he embarked for Tic.

- 18 Blows Heavy from the Northward, the Garrison Employed as the preceeding Day. NB the Only Shower rain this 2 weeks
- [19] Wind Continues Blowing Heavy from the Nward Very Cold. Sent Capt. Brown in a large Peteauger to Tic for as Many Gun Carriages as the Boat will Carry Fenes Returned from a scout to St Johns & says there is three hundred Regulars there with 3 pieces Cannon & 2 Mortars Intrenching &c which is Confirmed by Mr. Udney Hay who arrived from there this morning. NB the Garrison Employed as Usual. Published An Ordinance for the Better Regulation of Suttlers & Retailers of Liquors &c, As they were heretofore sold at An Extravagant Price.
- [Tues]day June 20th The Garrison Employed in Building a Guard House, fixing the Barracks & helving Axes hoes &c. NB This Day Lined out An Entrenchment across the Point where I propose Mounting 15 9&1/2 Pounders which Secures the Redoubt. & An Incampment for 2000 Men.
- Wednesday 21 The Garrison Employed in Fixing Barracks, Geting Down & Mount Cannon, the Carpenters at Work on a Guard house, Wheels, &c. At 6 PM Major Elmore Arrived here with three Companys of Men, from Ticonderoga. Arrived Mr. Saml. Nicholson & Mr [James] Price from Philada. the later A Gentn. of Montreal
- [June 22] People Employed as the proceeding Day, Turning Carriage Wheels, Geting Timber &c. Arrived here three Gentlemen from the Provincial Congress of Masachusets Bay Viz. Wm. Spooner, Sullivan.
- Friday 23 Carpenters Employed as Usual, People on Duty &

Sealing Guns. Arrived here the Gentlemen from the Congress of the Massachusets Bay Walter Spooner, Jedidiah Foster & J[ames] Sullivan Esq. to Whom I have resigned my Commission not being Able to hold it longer with honour. Accord Wrote Capt. Herrick to give up the Command to Col. Hinman. Arrived here the three Miss Skenes, Capt.

June 24

Applied to the Committee from the Mass. Bay for Cash to Pay of the Regiment, which they Refused, I am reduced to great extremity, not being Able to Pay of the People who are in great want of Necessarys, & much in Debt, this gives me much Trouble to pacify them & prevent Disturbences. At noon went on board to Dine when at Dinner I was Confined in the Great Cabin by the People who man & Sent a Boat after the Committee from the Congress Who had left this place For Ticonderoga about three hours before. I complained much of the Insult Offered me & received for Answer that they bore me no Personal Ill will, but were Determined to stop the Committee & oblige them to Pay of the Regiment Or at Least such part as would inable them to go home to their Familys, with honour, At 4 PM Arrived Capt. Mathews with 5 Barrells Pork & Do. Flour from Ticonderoga. at Night Came on board Capt. Sheldon & Capt. Biggelow to see me. had a Rumor of An Engagement at Cambridge Between the Regulars & Provincials in which It is said there is many Thousands killed on Both Sides.

## THE NORTHERN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT 1776-1777

Morris H. Saffron

The medical men in the Revolution have until lately received relatively little attention from the general historian, but in recent years certain outstanding individuals have become attractive subjects for biographers. Included among them is Jonathan Potts, whose career is described here briefly.

Potts (1745-1781) was born in present day Berks County, Pennsylvania, the eleventh of fourteen siblings. His preliminary education at Ephrata and Philadelphia was followed by a brief period at the Edinburgh Medical School. Upon his return, he married at age twenty, resumed medical studies at the newly-opened medical department of the College of Philadelphia, and received his Bachelor of Medicine in 1768. He then began a successful practice in Reading, Pennsylvania, and by 1771 had received the M.D. degree. An ardent patriot in a divided family, he became a delegate to the Provincial Congress which met in Philadelphia in 1775, and from then on his activities were bound up closely with the approaching Revolution. In early 1776 he was already giving medical care to the Pennsylvania militiamen, and on April 29 he petitioned Congress to become Director of the Hospital for Canada. On May 10 Congress ordered him to be taken "into the pay of the Continent," and this measure was confirmed on June 9. By June 25 Potts was in New York City with General Horatio Gates preparing to assume their respective posts in Canada. But by this point the Canadian invasion had come to a dismal end and both Gates and Potts found themselves subordinate to General Philip Schuyler and his Surgeon General Samuel Stringer, respectively. Arriving at Crown Point on July 7, Potts was promptly assigned by Stringer to head the hospital at Fort George, which was turned into a reception point for smallpox victims. Smallpox, of course, was the dreaded disorder which had decimated the American forces under Generals Benedict Arnold and John Thomas, causing the death of the latter. On July 27 Samuel Stringer left for Philadelphia, ostensibly to search for desperately needed supplies and additional medical men, but in reality he was also planning to play politics in his continuing rivalry with Dr. John Morgan, the Surgeon Gen-

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eral of the Continental Army. Stringer did not return to Albany until October 4 and during the more than eight weeks of his absence the duties of office fell on the shoulders of Potts who by then had become very close to General Gates, his immediate superior officer. The Morgan-Stringer feud also involved Dr. James McHenry, who was anxious to come north and work with his friend Potts, but instead became a scapegoat in the quarrel. When Morgan issued a warrant for McHenry to join the Northern Army on August 17, it was cancelled the following day by Samuel Stringer, although he was then complaining that he could not find good medical men to join his service. Gates then showed his complete confidence in Potts by granting him final authority to discharge enlisted men, since there had formerly been many abuses in this respect attributed to the regimental surgeons. The shortage of instruments became apparent when Thomas Tillotson wrote that he had not a single tourniquet at his station. Although Potts tried valiantly to stay clear of the feuding between Generals Schuyler and Gates and between Doctors Morgan and Stringer, he gradually was drawn into the pro-Gates camp, especially when Stringer, the protégé of Schuyler, delayed so unconscionably long in his return to duty.

During August of 1776, Arnold continued to build his fleet intended to sweep the British off Lake Champlain. To assist him he had Dr. Stephen McCrae, First Surgeon of the Fleet and two junior medical men. The disastrous defeat of the Americans on October 11 opened Ticonderoga to enemy attack. But the onset of winter influenced Sir Guy Carleton to return to Canada and the Americans gained a reprieve of one year. The majority of the New England troops vanished from Ticonderoga, Stephen McCrae was left as Chief Medical Officer, and Jonathan Potts, now recovering from a serious ailment (possibly typhoid), was granted a furlough on November 12 to return to Reading.

During his absence, a politically motivated Congressional Committee heard adverse comments and complaints from disgruntled soldiers and recommended "an Enquiry and exemplary punishment of the guilty." Of course, the guilty parties were actually the members of a penurious Congress who throughout most of the war skimmed at providing money and supplies for the medical department.

By December 12 Potts was in Philadelphia, staying with John Biddle on Market Street, where he received the sick returns from the various regiments. Early in the winter he recuperated at his home, helping to supply hospitals at Trenton, Princeton and Yellow Springs. But on January 9, 1777, Congress abruptly dismissed without explanation



John Morgan, Director General of Hospitals for the Continental Army, and Samuel Stringer, Director General for the Hospital in the Northern Department. Four days later, Potts was directed to repair to Ticonderoga without delay and Stringer was ordered to turn over all his medicines and stores to his successor. Because of incessant delays in obtaining necessary supplies and medications, Potts could not return to Albany until April 2. He supervised the construction of a new hospital on Mount Independence to accommodate the sick of the garrison, followed the army of General Arthur St. Clair when it abandoned Ticonderoga on July 5, and later took part in the evacuation of Fort Edward, sending the sick on to Albany. Potts remained close to Gates as they awaited the approach of Burgoyne. He sent Surgeons Francis Hagan and Samuel McKenzie to support General John Stark at Bennington, Surgeon Nicholas Schull to assist at the siege of Fort Stanwix, and Surgeon John Bartlett to aid the American forces at Saratoga. And, in addition, Potts kept up the morale of the medical men under his command.

After the surrender of Burgoyne's army on October 17, 1777, Potts received the commendation of Congress, and on November 16 returned home to Reading. He never returned to the northland where he had performed in such an outstanding fashion, but continued in less strenuous positions until 1780. On February 6, 1778, he was appointed Deputy Director General of the Middle Department, and when Dr. William Shippen, Jr. was relieved of his duties as Purveyor, Potts became head of the purchasing department for all medical supplies for the Continental Army. He lived only one year after his retirement, dying on October 15, 1781, at the early age of thirty-six. Although he did not live to see the independence of his country, few men contributed more ardently to the eventual outcome.

The Jonathan Potts Papers in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum may be classified as follows:

- 1 Commission to Jonathan Potts
- 1 Broadside
- 1 Pass for furlough
- 4 Vouchers for payment

30 Letters to Potts from such figures as Philip Schuyler, Horatio Gates, Benedict Arnold, Arthur St. Clair, Anthony Wayne, Benjamin Lincoln, John Morgan, and William Shippen, Jr. There is also a map of the Ticonderoga area, as well as a small pencil sketch of Horatio Gates.

The provenance of this collection is not known, nor is it clear whether

they all came together at one time. Most of the Potts Papers are now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania or the Library of Congress, although a goodly number of individual letters appear in other repositories. It would seem from the presence of his highly valued commission as Deputy Surgeon General of the Northern Department that Potts placed a special value on these papers. They must have arrived at the Fort before 1749, at which time they were used in an article in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*. In recent years the letters have been studied intensively and excerpted freely by John W. Krueger in "A Gentleman of Zeal and Character in the Public Service: Doctor Jonathan Potts and the Northern Medical Department" (masters thesis, University of Vermont, 1974), as well as by Richard L. Blanco in *Physician of the American Revolution, Jonathan Potts* (New York, 1979). However, these important letters are here first printed in full, and it is hoped that they will supply significant details of the health problems which confronted the Northern Army in 1776 and 1777, and of the devoted individuals who worked so assiduously to solve them.

Dr. John Morgan to Dr. Potts, New York, July 12, 1776  
FTM 1962

N. York July 12 1776

Sir/

I have laid your letter before Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington; have apply'd to Congress both in person & by Letter to know what orders they had for me respecting your Department, & shall send them your Letter. As yet I have not received a single order or Instruction to supply You with Medicines, Surgeons or Mates. When I can, & I mean to importune for an Answer I will do the best I can.

However disposed I am to send you further Medicines, I cannot do it now by Water as two English Men of War are gone up the North River, & will intercept every Vessel that attempts to pass to or from Albany.

In a Day or two I shall send a person to Congress expressly on this Business. When I have an Answer, you shall again hear from Sir/

Your most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>  
John Morgan

To Doct<sup>r</sup> Potts

This letter points up the state of confusion which existed in the Medical Department at this period. Although John Morgan of Philadelphia (1735-1789) had been appointed Director General of Hospitals of the Continental Army on October 11, 1775, in succession to the traitorous Benjamin Church (1734-1775), he could assert no authority over Samuel Stringer of Albany (1734-1817), the protégé of General Philip Schuyler (1733-1804), who had been appointed by Congress one month earlier "Director of the Hospital, chief physician and surgeon to the army in the Northern Department." Thus, when Jonathan Potts arrived at headquarters in New York City and presented a request for supplies for the Northern Department, Morgan felt under no obligation to comply. Nevertheless, in a letter to John Adams, Morgan wrote that he did supply Potts "with a large chest of such medicines as can be spared and, what can be got ready tomorrow [June 27] before his departure" (Duncan, 100). By July 12 the British blockade of the Hudson had made water transportation of supplies very risky, and the enemy seemed poised on the verge of an attack on New York City. Elsewhere Morgan, an enthusiast for inoculation, recommended the establishment of a separate smallpox hospital at Fort George.

James McHenry to Dr. Potts, New York, July 25, 1776  
FTM 1958

Dear Sir

A train of little circumstances have till today prevented my setting off for Philad<sup>a</sup> — one of the principal was that from hour to hour hostilities were expected at N. York. My stay was therefore tho't advisable. His Excellency's permission for absence to Phil<sup>a</sup> is only for eight days.

Since the receipt of Dr. Brown's letter I find it absolutely necessary to proceed there, in order to anser your expectations. Neither mates or medicines can be had in this place. In Philad<sup>a</sup> expect to get both. And as the pay of mate is advanced hope to engage Gent. of abilities. The bark will be a scarce article. D<sup>r</sup>. Morgan promises about 30 lb. out of the medical store. Am much affraid that the raggs, Linen, and bandages which you expect from this quarter will be inadequate to your exigencies. Would it not be advisable to publish for such things in the Albany prints, or to write to

the different Committees to use their influence in collecting them for the use of the Hospital under your direction. You may easily stirr up their humanity to furnish a present supply. A mode of this kind bro't in Dr. Morgan a pretty collection. —

As I have the interest of your department at heart, depend upon it that I shall use the utmost expedition to join you — and procure all such articles as the little time I have now allotted me will allow of.

With due respect I am Sir  
your much obliged

and very Humble servant  
James M. <sup>c</sup>Henry

James McHenry (1753-1816) came to Philadelphia from Ireland in 1771, studied medicine, and became an aide-de-camp to General Washington in 1776. He made every effort to assist Potts in obtaining drug supplies and persuaded Morgan to part with some precious cinchona bark, or quinine. The youthful McHenry had a strong desire to join Potts on the exciting Canadian adventure, but became an unwilling pawn in the Morgan-Stringer feud. Early in August, Congress confirmed the superiority of John Morgan over Stringer, but the latter still retained the "exclusive right of appointing Surgeons and Hospital Officers" in his Department. Thus, when Morgan later gave McHenry a warrant to become Potts' assistant on August 17, Stringer — although desperately short of surgeons — promptly annulled the appointment in a supreme example of professional jealousy.

Dr. William Brown of Virginia was then in Philadelphia, as a volunteer with William Shippen, Jr., who, on July 14, was appointed Director of the Hospital of the Flying Camp forming in New Jersey. Two months later, Brown became Assistant Surgeon to the Flying Camp, and he eventually became Physician General of the Middle Department.

Acting on McHenry's advice, Potts had the following broadside circulated throughout the area with good results, the Albany Committee of Safety having appointed Dr. Jacob Rosenbloom to serve as collecting agent (Blanco, 98).

Draft of a Broadside Addressed to the People of Albany  
 circa July 31, 1776  
 FTM 1967

To the good People of Albany-----

As we are informed that the General Hospital at Fort George which at present is crowded with sick is in the greatest want of Old Linen for Bandages Lint, etc., we therefore intreat all lovers of their Country or Friends to Humanity to send all the Old Sheets, shirts, Aprons, etc. they can spare to M<sup>r</sup> \_\_\_\_\_ of this City whom we have appointed to receive them and who will forward them to the General Hospital as soon as possible, as well as the thanks of the Public they shall receive a good Price for every Article.

-----  
 It is also earnestly requested of the good Women to dry and cure as many Herbs for the use of said Hospital as they possible can particularly Sage, Balm, Mallows, Wormwood, Centenary, etc. — The Cash shall be paid for any quantity of the aforesaid Herbs as shall be delivered to Mr. \_\_\_\_\_ who will give a receipt of their Value & Draw on the Director of the Hospital for the money —

Appeals of this kind were made throughout the early years of the Revolution in various parts of the country. As a rule, housewives were asked to supply linens, blankets, and material for bedding. Here an offer is made to pay cash for many of the "simples" which for centuries had been standbys of the English village medical chest. Nothing could emphasize more clearly the dearth of the more desirable drugs of the pharmacopoeia. The appeal must have been sent out in late July or early August for in a letter from Potts to Gates (Gates Papers, NYHS, August 24, 1776), he mentions the appeal as having been sent to Salisbury as well as Albany. On September 10 Potts wrote to Gates that he was sending Dr. Tillotson — whom he recommended as a worthy gentleman — to convert the linen received from the Salisbury Committee into bandages.

Bernard Romans to Dr. Potts, Ticonderoga, July 29, 1776  
 FTM 1970

Dear Sir

I was in hopes of paying you a visit at fort George but those

hopes are now vanished, I need not tell you what a d -- d Campaign we have had, & how often in vain I have wished for some of Biddle's fat mutton, & old Madeira; You can guess full as well as I can describe, — I Begg Leave to recommend to your particular care a man of the name of Collins, who was left behind & whom I regard much. If he should be in want of any necessary not particularly allowed, I will answer as far as 30 or 40/ for him, the Bearer Likewise is a man in whom I put much Confidence and him I wish to stay at Fort George till all the men are recovered & he will send them up and prevent their desertion If any should be so inclined ---- if a Chance offers to send me a good sheep or a Calf or a Shoat of Foster's Buying pray See that a Safe hand carry it this way by which you will much oblige Send me a little Elixir Vitriolo.

I wish you less Business & a continuation of Health, pray Let me hear from you

Farewell

I am respectfully

Your Very Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>  
B. Romans

Ticonderoga July 29.1776

The Dutch-born Bernard Romans (c.1720-c.1784), captain of a Pennsylvania artillery company, was also trained as a surveyor and engineer. He was one of the men sent to capture Fort Ticonderoga in May of 1775, assisted in the capture of Fort George, built Fort Constitution opposite West Point, and was later captured in the southern campaign. By the date of this letter the "damned Canadian campaign" had come to a disastrous end with the Americans pushed back to Crown Point. Apparently Collins was recovering at the Fort George smallpox hospital constructed in accordance with the recommendation of John Morgan. Desertions, of course, continued to plague the Continental forces through much of the conflict. Lieutenant Colonel Clement Biddle (1740-1814), a Pennsylvania friend, was then Deputy Quartermaster General of the Flying Camp. Later he became aide-de-camp to General Nathanael Greene and Quartermaster General of Pennsylvania. The reference to Jonathan Potts as a purveyor of meat would indicate that even at this early stage he concerned himself actively with provisions for his command, working independently of the Commissary. General St. Clair also refers to this activity in his letter of August 4 (FTM 1973).

Isaac Foster was Deputy Director General of Hospitals, Eastern Department. His final resignation coincided with that of Jonathan Potts (October 8, 1780), when both men were ordered to turn over all stores to the newly-appointed Purveyor General, Thomas Bond, Jr.

Thomas Walker to Dr. Potts, Albany, July 29, 1776  
FTM 1986

Sir

The bearer Mons<sup>r</sup> Berger is in possession of Baron Woedke's Bond for three hundred pounds for money lent him, & hearing that he is under your Care, & that in all probability his effects upon his decease, will fall into y<sup>r</sup> hands. I have advised him to go up on purpose & to address himself to you, as he tells me he knew you at Phil<sup>a</sup> in Confidence that you will interest y<sup>r</sup>self in his favour & assist him all in y<sup>r</sup> power, in which you will greatly oblige

S<sup>r</sup>

Y<sup>r</sup>

m<sup>t</sup> Obedient &

very Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

THOMAS WALKER

Albany 29th July 1776  
Doct<sup>r</sup> Potts

Thomas Walker, a noted Canadian firebrand who sided with the Americans, discusses the imminent death, probably from overindulgence, of Baron Friedrich Wilhelm de Woedtke, a Prussian officer who had escaped from the service of Frederick the Great in 1750. Through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin, de Woedtke had been given an appointment as Brigadier General by Congress on March 16, 1776, and ordered to Canada. When at death's door, he entrusted his personal effects to Jonathan Potts, and apparently also gave him some information which Gates thought might be of some importance to the Continental cause. Monsieur Berger, hitherto unidentified, may have been a compatriot of the Baron.

Colonel Arthur St. Clair to Dr. Potts, Ticonderoga, August 4, 1776  
FTM 1973

Ticonderoga Aug. 4th 1776

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

I have many Acknowledgments to make and some Apologys but I am not good at either. I eat the Lamb in Thankfulness and drank the Health of the Giver in good toddy — that is one good Thing we have still left and our Friend Major Morris has his acknowledgements likewise.

I am obliged to send you a number of more Sick Men. I believe you have enough of them already and many of them might do well enough without being sent to the Hospital — but my Surgeon is prisoner — poor Mc Kenzie, but I believe you did not know him and the Mate is dying.

Now to make amend for the last paragraph which I know is no very Pleasant One, I inform you that the Committee of Cohoss have sent here some French who left Canada about sixteen days ago and gave Intelligence that a French Fleet is actually in the River St. Lawrence, and that the English Troops have marched back for Quebec with as much Haste nearly, as we made in leaving it but you will have them over with you tomorrow or next Day and I will not forestall your Satisfaction in personal Enquiry.

For Gods Sake send us some News no matter where it is, or if you have an old Letter that you have no farther occasion for There are four or five of your Friends here that would be very glad of it for it seems every Body has forgot them — for my Part Clem Biddle is the only Man has wrote to me since I left Philadelphia. I Had the Pleasure however to hear that he is employed in a way that will be agreeable to himself and that I am certain he can render essential Service to his Country.

Adieu

I Am

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your very Humble Servant  
A<sup>r</sup>. St. Clair

Arthur St. Clair (1737-1818), largest property owner in Pennsylvania west of the Alleghanies, was appointed Colonel and ordered to Canada in 1776. Samuel McKenzie of Pennsylvania had served as senior surgeon in Canada. Captured at Three Rivers, he was soon released and served with distinction in the hospital at Albany and in the campaign



against Burgoyne, being sent by Potts to aid Francis Hagan at Bennington. Major Lewis Morris, Jr. of New York was aide-de-camp to General Sullivan; he later served in the same capacity to General Nathanael Greene.

The report of a French fleet in the St. Lawrence was ill-founded, and a good example of wishful thinking on the part of a defeated and dispirited army.

Horatio Gates to Dr. Potts, Ticonderoga, August 12, 1776  
FTM 1952

Tyonderoga 12th August 1776

Sir

I am informed that the Baron de Woedkle some time before his Death, made a Solemn Declaration to you of matters that highly concern the Interest of the United States, you will please forthwith to Communicate to me the Substance of the Barons Declaration; the Bearer, Wm Lucas, has my Orders to wait for you Letter & return with it immediately to me.

I would not wish to give unnecessary trouble Once a Fortnight is full Often enough to make a General Return of the Hospital.

I desire Doctor Stringer may come here as soon as he Arrives at Fort George & bring with him a Good Surgeon properly provided for the Service of the Fleet.

I am

Sir

Your most Obedient  
Humble Servant  
Horatio Gates

Nothing has come to light concerning the dying declaration of Baron de Woedtke. The weekly reports due the commanding officer were often a source of difficulty between the regimental surgeons and the Director of the Hospital. Overwhelmed by their duties to the sick, medical officers often could not find time to prepare the required reports. As the war progressed, the Surgeon Generals often had trouble in delivering monthly reports due to poor communication with the regimental surgeons.

Even though Potts had expected to have a completely autonomous directorship in Canada, he soon overcame his disappointment, and, at first, worked well with Stringer. Stringer, who had left the Northern Department on July 27, was still in Philadelphia playing politics with Congress, much to the annoyance of Gates. The reference to a surgeon for the fleet shows that General Benedict Arnold was already busily constructing his fleet with which to confront the British on Lake Champlain.

Benedict Arnold to Dr. Potts, Crown Point, August 18, 1776  
FTM 1941

Crown Point, Aug. 18. 1776

Dear Sir

You have, one Robert Aitkinson In your Hospital who is an exceeding good Pilot for this Lake. If his health will posibly admit, of his coming here I beg you will let him have such necessaries as he may want, & dispatch him as soon as possible. He belongs to Major Bigelow of the train . . .

I am

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your Ob'd Hble S.

B Arnold

P.S.

I hope no time will be lost in sending a Surgeon, the fleet will be detained untill one arrivs.

B.A.

D<sup>r</sup> Potts

We now hear more about Arnold's plans. Apparently he had been told about the expertise of Aitkinson, who was quite likely a local man. Arnold again emphasizes the necessity for a capable surgeon to improve the morale of the men. John Bigelow had been a volunteer under Arnold at Ticonderoga in 1775. Appointed captain of an independent

company of Connecticut artillery on January 19, 1775, he did not attain the majority which Arnold concedes to him until December, 1776. "In the train" refers to vehicles carrying cannon and ammunition.

Horatio Gates to Dr. Potts, Ticonderoga, August 23, 1776  
FTM 1953

Ty\_\_\_\_ 23rd Aug<sup>t</sup> 1776

Dear Sir

The Bearer Mr. Watson Surgeon of Colonel Porters Regiment delivers you this letter, he goes by my direction if possible to Obtain from you some Medecines. There are a Number of Sick in that Corps, & not a single dose to give them. I am astonish'd at the Conduct of Dr. Stringer, in not supplying us before now. The Resolve of Congress, together with a General Order, was Yesterday Inserted in the Orders given to the Troops as you desired. I am perpetually Teazed for Medecines, surely Mr. M. Henry cannot be far off. He should be sent here with a proportion of his Cargoe the Inst<sup>t</sup> he arrives. Doctor Mc Crae goes this Instant to Crown-Point. I have done the Handsome Thing for him as you recommended

I am

Affectionately Yours  
Horatio Gates

Abraham Watson, Jr., of Massachusetts, was regimental surgeon to Colonel Elisha Porter, also of Massachusetts. Although Potts had tried at first to avoid criticism of Stringer, he found this more difficult as the growing antagonism between Schuyler and Gates drove him inexorably into the camp of his immediate superior officer. The greeting "affectionately yours," seldom used in official correspondence at this period, shows how close the two Pennsylvanians had become. It was James McHenry and not Stringer who arrived at this time with an abundant supply of much needed medicinals. Stephen McCrae had been sent to Crown Point to join Arnold's fleet as First Surgeon of the Fleet, a rank to which he had just been promoted.

Arthur St. Clair to Dr. Potts, Ticonderoga, September 3, 1776  
FTM 1971

Tyconderoga Sept<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> 1776

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

I have so many Favours to thank you for that I am at a loss for Expression and must I believe trust it to your own Imagination to supply; from one Circumstance however you may Judge — had it not been for the Mutton you were so kind to send us I had gone without Dinner Yesterday — and Wayne and the rest of them were exactly in the same Situation —

I applied to Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates about Dr. Stewart and the other Gent<sup>n</sup> mentioned in General Thomsons Certificate — He doubts about a little but desired I wou<sup>d</sup> keep the certificate untill the Commiss<sup>rs</sup> arrived when he would lay it before them if they refused to allow it He would find some way of getting it paid — Dr. Ross is appointed to the 2nd Batt<sup>n</sup> pro tempore —

I congratulate you upon the Success of our Arms in the first Attempt at New York. I hope as a good Omen — certain it will our People Spirits — We may every moment expect the most interesting News from that Quarter.

Every Thing is in Statu quo here Your all well and I ever

Am

Dr Sir

Your very Humble

& Obedient servant

A<sup>r</sup> St. Clair

Brigadier General William Thompson (1736-1781) of Pennsylvania was ordered to Canada with two thousand men on March 1, 1776. Captured at Three Rivers on June 8, he was imprisoned for over four years until October 24, 1780, when he was finally exchanged. Apparently he had requested payment for services rendered by Surgeon Alexander Stewart (d. 1793) and other medical men under his command. The Dr. Ross may be Alexander Ross of New Jersey. Obviously St. Clair was completely misinformed about the result of the battle of Long Island. At the date of this letter Washington was making feverish preparations to vacate New York, an action which began on September 12. Anthony

Wayne (1745-1796), then a colonel, had been sent with a Pennsylvania brigade to reenforce the Canadian expedition.

Horatio Gates to Dr. Potts, Ticonderoga, October 4, 1776  
FTM 1955

Sir,

It is my Orders, you repair to Ticonderoga, with Mr. Moss, one of the Surgeons Mates of the General Hospital, as soon as Doctor Stringer Arrives at Fort George. Given at Ticonderoga the 4th of October 1776.

Horatio Gates  
Major General

To  
Doctor Jonathan Potts  
Fort George

We have already seen that the lengthy delay of Dr. Stringer in Philadelphia and Boston, ostensibly to obtain medical supplies, was interpreted by Gates as being politically motivated. Gates had expressed himself forcefully on this subject earlier. On the other hand, Potts had by now been won over to the anti-Schuyler camp and had become very close to Gates. From this abrupt order it is apparent that Gates anticipated an action by the enemy. Mr. Moss (Maus) was one of the hospital mates from Pennsylvania who later threatened to resign. Stringer finally returned to Albany on October 5, having been absent from his post since July 27.

Dr. Stephen McCrae to Drs. Stringer and Potts, Valcour Island,  
October 9, 1776  
FTM 1961

Isle à Velcour 9th October 1776

Worthy Sirs/

Since my last I have reason to complain of Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates method of appointing Surgeons to the Navy. I have two Young Lads

of his nominateing which in my opinion are not fit if better could be had for Mates the first is Mr. Hagan who has no practise and little Theory trifling as it is, he's of two timid a disposition to put any part of his abilities in excicution — the other is one Wright who has neither Theory nor practise. I refer you to Dr. Linn for his Character at large. I am determined that unless this mistake is speedily rec-tified I shall resign and unless the Persons are approov'd of by the Directors for this department or I have a negitive in the appointment they may discard me and nominate an other as soon as they plase. Your kind Sentiments on this subject Gentlemen will be an additional favour, and ever deem<sup>d</sup> such by Your Sincere Friend and

Humble Servt<sup>t</sup>

STEPHEN MC CREA

Sam<sup>l</sup> Stringer &  
Jonithen Potts., Esq<sup>rs</sup>

Writing two days before the Battle of Valcour Island, Surgeon Stephen McCrea, brother of the hapless Jane, seems displeased about the two hospital mates sent to assist him. As we have already seen, General Gates had recently appointed McCrea to the rank of First Surgeon of the Fleet. John Linn of Pennsylvania had been Director of the Hospital of Quebec, while Surgeon's Mate Aaron Wright of Massachusetts had served under him. Francis Hagan later served at the Battle of Bennington. Note that McCrae addresses Potts and Stringer as co-equals at this juncture.

Horatio Gates to Dr. Potts, Ticonderoga, October 13, 1776  
FTM 1954

Tyonderoga 13th October 1776

Dear Sir

Doctor Johnston waits upon you by my direction to get some Medecines for the 6th Battallion of the Pensilvanians, posted at Crown Point, who are very Greivously Afflicted with the Ague & Fever. you will without delay Supply his Wants, I am astonished I do

not find by your Arrival here that Dr. Stringer is arrived at Fort George

I am

Sir

Your Affectionate

Humble Servant

Horatio Gates

Potts could not leave for Fort Ticonderoga until the laggard Stringer arrived at Fort George. Obviously, Gates had expected him back much earlier.

William Clajon to Dr. Potts, Ticonderoga, October 14, 1776  
FTM 1947

Tyonderoga October 14th, 1776

Sir,

The Advantage the Enemy have obtained by the very great Superiority of their Fleet, gives Reason to believe we are going immediately to be attacked here; therefore, the General orders you or Dr. Stringer, to come immediately to this Camp and bring such Articles with you as you may judge most necessary under the present Circumstances. You will likewise immediately send all the well-men to their Regiments.

I am, Sir, with unfeigned Esteem,

Your most obedient

Humble Servant

W<sup>m</sup> Clajon

Secretary to M. G<sup>l</sup> Gates

The garrison of Fort Ticonderoga was preparing for an impending attack following the defeat of Arnold's fleet at Valcour. William Clajon was a secretary of General Gates.

A Pass for Drs. Potts, Brown, and Tillotson, Ticonderoga,  
November 12, 1776  
FTM 1951

Head Quarters Tyonderoga 12th November 1776

Doctor Jonathan Potts, one of the Directors of The General Hospital in this Department, together with Mr. James Brown & Mr. Thomas Tillotson, Sen.<sup>OR</sup> Surgeons in the General Hospital, have my permission to pass to Philadelphia. Doctor Pott's bad Health makes it necessary, that he should be moved with the Utmost Caution, & have proper phisical assistance to Attend him upon the road. This is therefore to direct all Officers Commanding at the different post to give him every Aid, & Assistance in their power to expedite his journey.

HORATIO GATES,  
Major General

To  
All whom it may  
Concern.

James Brown was a medical man from the south who served at the Albany Hospital and in the Burgoyne campaign. Thomas Tillotson of Maryland had served as a first lieutenant in the Maryland militia before joining the Northern Medical Department. Jonathan Potts had suffered two bouts of putrid fever (typhoid or typhus, sometimes known as jail, hospital, or camp fever) and was obviously still in a very weakened condition. This unusual order indicates the close friendship that existed between Gates and Potts.

When Potts, Brown, and Tillotson left for Philadelphia, Stephen McCrea volunteered to remain in charge of medical affairs at Fort Ticonderoga during the winter. Anthony Wayne soon complained, however, that McCrea had left the Fort for parts unknown.

Potts and his companions departed on November 12, 1776, leaving behind Richard Stockton and George Clymer, members of a Congressional Committee sent to investigate the activities of the Northern Medical Department. The following is a part of their report:

"Your Committee can not omit mentioning under this Head, the Complaints which they have received from Persons of all Ranks, in and



out of the Army, respecting the Neglect and Ill-treatment of the Sick. It is shocking to the Feelings of Humanity, as well as ruinous to the publick Service, that so deadly an Evil has been so long without a Remedy. Your Committee do not undertake to determine from what Quarter this Mischief hath arisen; but they must earnestly recommend that a strict Inquiry be immediately made into the Conduct of the several Directors-General of Hospitals, their Surgeons, other Officers, and Servants, and that exemplary Punishment be inflicted on all such as shall be found to have neglected their Duty."

Pay Account of Thomas Tillotson, January 13, 1777  
FTM 2113

Doct <sup>r</sup> Jonathan Potts Direct <sup>r</sup> Gen <sup>l</sup> Hospital	To Thos. Tillotson	D <sup>t</sup>
To 4 Months & five Days pay Due	)	78. 2. 6
me as Gen <sup>l</sup> Surg <sup>n</sup> in the North <sup>n</sup> Depart.	)	
To Cash paid y <sup>c</sup> Man (John)		3. 15. 7 1/2
To y <sup>c</sup> assumption for a house	)	24. 7. 6
at Lake George	)	
To Cash lent you at Sund <sup>y</sup> Times		19. 19. 8
To Sund <sup>y</sup> Exp <sup>s</sup> paid for Gen <sup>l</sup>	)	65. 19. 3
Hosp <sup>l</sup> in Philadelphia	)	
	£	192. 4. 6 1/2

Err<sup>s</sup> Excep.

By Tho<sup>s</sup> Tillotson

Rec<sup>d</sup> the contents

Thos. Tillotson, S.S.  
Jan<sup>y</sup> 13th. 1777

192. 4. 6 1/2

131. 2. 6.

£ 61. 2. 0      Due me

The relationship between the dynamic Tillotson and 'Potty', as he called him, must have become close as the weakened condition of the Director made it necessary for him to depend on others. While Potts was recovering at his home in Reading it was Tillotson who made the purchases of medicines and supplies at the Pennsylvania Hospital with which to supply the hospitals in Princeton and Trenton. The day after this invoice was receipted, Potts received notice from Congress that he was to return north to assume the post made vacant by the dismissal of Dr. Stringer.

Horatio Gates to Dr. Potts, January 26, 1777

FTM 3.62 M

Head Quarters Philad<sup>a</sup> Jan 26<sup>th</sup> 1777

The Honorable Congress having appointed Dr. Jonathan Potts Director of the Military Hospital in the Northern Department, & having directed the Medical Committee to furnish said Department with Medicines & Necessaries for the sick — but the service requiring D<sup>r</sup> Pott's immediate attendance, he is hereby advised to procure without delay every Article which he thinks necessary for the relief of the Sick in that Department & proceed with them to the General Hospital at Tyonderogue —

Given at Philadelphia

this 26<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>ry</sup> 1776

HORATIO GATES

Major General

On January 14, only five days after the dismissal of John Morgan and Samuel Stringer, Potts received notice of his appointment by Congress as Director General of Military Hospitals in the Northern Department. Potts was then actively engaged in supplying the hospitals at Princeton and Trenton, working closely with his former professor, William Shippen, Jr. In spite of the precarious condition of his health,

and an understandable reluctance to leave his family, Potts immediately undertook the task of accumulating supplies for the return voyage. Gates was still in Philadelphia, undoubtedly encouraging the anti-Schuyler faction who had punished Schuyler by dismissing Stringer. There is reason to believe that the news had not yet reached Albany, for on January 30 Stringer, in a letter to Schuyler, still signed himself 'Director of General Hospitals' (Saffron, 31).

Despite all Potts's efforts, the wagons were still at Bethlehem on March 14 and he did not arrive in Albany until April 2. The next day he wrote Gates that Schuyler insisted that the general hospital remain at Fort George rather than Mount Independence, but Potts was determined to have both, the latter to be used for the sick of the garrison.

David Townsend to Dr. Potts, February 10, 1776 [1777]  
FTM 1981

Albany Feb<sup>y</sup> 10th 1776 [1777]

Dear Director

I was very wrong to receipt for pay etc. up to the day you left this. I did not then so particularly attend to the matter, as we expected Money & immediate settlement of all Hospital Accounts. — The receipts were deliver'd to the Commissioners, and no money has been receiv'd --- Your direction is necessary to rectify this mistake.

The News of this Department you will have from General Wilkinson. I do with pleasure inform you that our Worthy P. General is recovering fast from a very severe fever. And the Generals Lincoln & Arnold are exceedingly well.

With the best wishes for Your happiness.

I am Sr

Your Friend & H. Serv<sup>t</sup>

D. Townsend

My Compliments to our Mess Mates Mc Kenzie & Hagen

David Townsend had trained in Boston with James Lloyd and Joseph Warren, the hero of Bunker Hill. He served with distinction throughout the war and received a commendation from Surgeon General John Cochran. It is difficult to understand why Townsend signed a receipt for pay in advance, but it is well known that Congress was

notoriously slow in paying medical officers, some of whom went without compensation for two years (Saffron, 66). Brigadier General James Wilkinson had received medical training as a youth but preferred line duty as aide-de-camp to General Gates, serving at Trenton and Princeton. A controversial figure, he later became involved in the Conway Cabal. The "P. General" may refer to Gates. Samuel McKenzie and Francis Hagan had returned to Pennsylvania with Potts, but were already preparing for the northern voyage.

Anthony Wayne to Dr. Potts, March 7, 1777  
FTM 2134

Ticonderoga 7th March 1777

Dear Potts

Give me leave to Congratulate you on your Appointment As Director-Gen<sup>l</sup> of the Hospital in this Department not only in my own Name, but in the Name of the Northern Army.

For God's sake, push to this place on Sight hereof — even if you should be necessitated to Return Immediately.

Enclosed is the Return of Medicines and Hospital Stores on this Ground — you will by that Determine what men are Wanting — you are not to stay at this time to procure them — but fly to your friend

& most Ob<sup>t</sup>  
Humb<sup>l</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

ANTy WAYNE

Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania came from the same general area as Potts and knew him well. A week after this letter was written Potts was observed passing through Bethlehem with his precious cargo of supplies and medications, but he did not reach Albany until April 2. The reference "even if you should be necessitated to return immediately," that is, to Albany, would seem to refer to the precarious condition of Potts's health. The need for additional surgeons at Ticonderoga is mentioned. Obviously, Wayne was anxious to lay eyes on his intimate friend after his long absence.

Commission of Dr. Potts, April 11, 1777  
FTM 2115

In CONGRESS

The DELEGATES of the UNITED STATES of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia TO

JONATHAN POTTS ESQUIRE

We, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be Deputy Director General

of the Hospital in the Northern Department,

in the Army of the United States, raised for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Deputy Director general by doing and performing all manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as Deputy Director General And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States, or Committee of Congress, for that Purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United States, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

Dated at Philadelphia 11<sup>th</sup> April 1777

By Order of the Congress,

John Hancock, President

Attest. Cha<sup>s</sup> Thomson Secy

The new plan for the Medical Department prepared by John Cochran and William Shippen, Jr. was submitted to General Washington late in January and sent to Congress on February 14. With its usual procrastination that body did not act until April 7. Four days later came the announcement of the formal appointment of William Shippen, Jr. as Director General of all the Military Hospitals and of Jonathan Potts as Deputy Director of the Hospitals in the Northern Department.

Anthony Wayne to Dr. Potts, April 14, 1777  
FTM 2132

Ticonderoga, 14th, April 1777

Dear Potts

I rec<sup>d</sup> your favour of the 5th Instant last Evening — and Notwithstanding Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler's Orders, I must once more Desire you to proceed on with two or three good Surgeons and a Supply of Bandages and lint, as we are almost Destitute of these Articles.

The Enemy I believe are Advancing. I had sent a Detachment to Gillilands Creek for Provinder. They were gone about twenty four Hours, when a Scout Returned with Information that a Strong Party of the Enemy were posted on the Brothers, who ply in Boats between that and s<sup>d</sup> creek --- I ordered an Other Strong Detachment in Armed Boats to bring off and Cover the Retreat of the first — I am Anxious for them but hope they will effect it.

You will Proceed with all possible Dispatch, I believe we shall have some few patients Ready against your arrival it will not be amiss however for you to come with your sleeves Rolled up and your Amputating Instruments, etc., etc., placed in proper Order I am D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your most Obt

Humbl Ser<sup>t</sup>

ANTY WAYNE

This letter was written during the period when Schuyler had been rebuffed by Congress for his caustic criticism and temporarily replaced by Gates as the commanding officer of the Northern Department. Anthony Wayne was a staunch pro-Gates man at this time, and had no compunctions about countermanning Schuyler's order. Actually, there was little or no action at Fort Ticonderoga during the spring of 1777, but, for personal reasons, Wayne may have wanted Potts to join him. Gilliland's Creek, named after landowner William Gilliland, was located near Willsboro, New York. Having been convinced by George Washington of the good results of inoculation at Morristown, Schuyler ordered Potts to proceed as soon as he returned north. The results were excellent.

Five Surgeons to Dr. Potts, 1777  
FTM 2109

TO JONATHAN POTTS ESQ<sup>R</sup> Director General of the Military  
Hospitals in the NORTHERN DEPARTMENT.

WE SURGEONS in the Brigades commanded by Gen<sup>l</sup> Nixon & Glover & under your Direction Beg leave to return you our Sincere Thanks for the Care & Attention you have on every Occasion paid us.

It has been owing to that Assistance you have at all times so generally lent us that we have been able to discharge with Benefit & Advantage to our Patients, Ease & Convenience to ourselves that great and important Duty we owe to the Sick & the Army.

We at this Time in a particular Manner beg our warmest Thanks might be acceptable for the Appointment of Dr. Tillotson to the Office of Physician & Surgeon General to the Army, a Gentleman in whom we repose the greatest Confidence, & value his Friendship. We have the utmost Reason to expect that when our Situation will admit, the greatest Regularity & Harmony will subsist in his Department.

We wish you Health & Success in your Office, beg you to accept this as a Public Testimony of our Regard & Attachment to your Person & believe us to be with Esteem Sir your most obedient Humble Servants

Jon<sup>a</sup> King  
A. Putnam  
W<sup>m</sup> Annin  
John Wingate  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Whitewell

Although this letter is undated as to month, it may have been written in May, a few weeks after Potts returned to Albany. Ostensibly written to congratulate Potts on his new assignment as Director General, it seems rather to show great enthusiasm for Thomas Tillotson, a strong and somewhat controversial figure who had left his lieutenantcy in the Maryland militia to join the medical corps as Senior Surgeon of the Hospital. A dynamic individual, he soon had the temerity to address

Potts as "Potty" and became the natural leader of the younger men.

Both John Nixon and John Glover were Massachusetts Brigadier Generals who later served with Gates at Saratoga.

Philip Schuyler to Dr. Potts, Ticonderoga, June 21, 1777  
FTM 2122

th  
Tyonderoga June 21 1777

Sir,

At any time hereafter that you find it necessary & consistent with your Duty you have my permission to return to Albany or any other place in this Department. All officers & others are hereby required to give you such assistance as you may think proper in procuring & forwarding such articles & Necessaries for the use of the Hospitals as you may purchase & find necessary.

I am etc.,

PH. SCHUYLER

In the spring of 1777 the New Englanders in Congress, reacting violently to a caustic letter which Schuyler had written in reaction to the dismissal of Dr. Stringer (January 9, 1777), had Schuyler reprimanded and relieved of command. Congress reversed itself on May 22 and reinstated Schuyler as the commander of the Northern Department. This letter was probably written to reassert his authority over the entire Northern Department, including all of the officers stationed therein.

Malachi Treat to Dr. Potts, Fort George, July 6, 1777  
FTM 2128

Fort George July 6<sup>th</sup> 1777

Dear Potts

Your letter of the fourth Inst. I receiv<sup>d</sup> and happy beyond concep-



tion to hear how you whack those Fellows, that are molesting of you — and for the Reinforcement receiv<sup>d</sup> — I hope by this hour, which is precisely nine by my montre that you have 3 Times that Number arriv<sup>d</sup> — two Brigades are on their March to your Assistance I shall come with the first — which will be at Fort Edward tomorrow or next Day — Acc<sup>s</sup> receiv<sup>d</sup> here this Morning say Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington has couped up 3000 of his Enemies in some safe place and kill and taken 700 more brave — no bad Cathartic it work's well — I hope they will be well dosed before the General has done with them.

Dr. Mc Crea is now a collecting every thing that is good for Soul & Body for you and send them off immediately for Fort Edward — where I shall go to morrow and forward them by some safe hand, the Sheep that are here are not fitt for killing, a few excepted — therefore shall not send you any of these — but shall send you 100 from Fort Edward purchas<sup>d</sup> by Dr. Smith your Vicegerent in that Place yesterday he sent me a certificate by which you had empower'd him to buy a number of Sheep, Cows & for the use of the Hospital in Consequence of this Power, he has purchas<sup>d</sup> 100 Sheep @ 6 Dol<sup>s</sup> each and 88 at 4 Dol<sup>s</sup> each, he sent the Man here, expecting you. Was present — to receiv<sup>d</sup> the Pay — but as we could not muster the Cash, the Man was dismissed & the Sheep order<sup>d</sup> to be kept until you was inform<sup>d</sup> of it.

I shall desire Dr. Smith to send of this Purchase the Number you Order — and let the Man dismiss them, with a guard to Fort Ann and if he choses to call upon you for the Pay.

Compliments to Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler and all ye Gentlemen

Yours sincerely

Malachy Treat

I wrote you on the 4th which

I expect you have receiv<sup>d</sup>

N.B. be of good Cheer your Salvation draweth nigh

Romans 6th Chapter vers. 25th

Malachi Treat of New York was the surgical chief at the Albany Hospital. According to Benjamin Rush, Treat relieved Potts of many medical administrative details, having "introduced the British system," thus making it possible for Potts to devote more time to purveying for

the hospitals (Blanco, 171). Written the day after Ticonderoga had been abandoned, this letter seems to be in response to an overly optimistic appraisal of the situation by Potts just two days earlier. Treat's enthusiastic report about Monmouth (June 26th) is also erroneous and misleading.

The vice-regent at Fort Edward was Surgeon George Smyth, who lamented the lack of lancets and other utensils (Blanco, 137). The increasing interest in purveying shown by Potts is well demonstrated in this letter.

Robert Troup to Dr. Potts, Philadelphia, July 8, 1777  
FTM 2131

Philadelphia July 8. 1777

Dear Potts,

I write to you because I think you are an honest Man. It is true, Honesty is unfashionable and by many, ranked among the number of vices. But I confess I am one of those *antient Moderns* that cannot cannot forbear classing it with the *cardinal Virtues*.

In this letter I shall use that Kind of Style, commonly called by Rhetoricians, — the *sublime*. For what prophetic Spirit can tell that it will not be engrossed upon Parchment and placed into the grand Repositorium Epistolarium at Albany. Should this Honor attend it, how great will my Reputation be if your wise Men, of the North pronounce it to be as good a specimen of the tone Bathos, as any in Martinus Scriblerius

After promising this much, let me ask you, whether you have confronted a certain doughty Hero with your broad Ribbon<sup>s</sup> I cannot refrain from laughing with my usual Excess when I reflect on the Ridicule, intended by this Custom. What profound submission what reverential Awe will it command! "Who is that passing by cries Hermanus?" The Director General of the military Hospitals in the Northern Department answers Jacobus. "Why his Badge is as large and as fine as ----- replies Hermanus." "So it ought to be quoth Jacobus, for he is a man of *great Learning*, and *high Rank* in the Army.

To complete the Farce, I wish you would lengthen your Title. Your present one would appear very diminutive compared with  
-----

------(his nondescent powers).  
 Egad! It would resemble a Cock Boat at the Side of an *East India man* or *Fly* on the *Back of an Elephant*. — I hope you will comply with this Hint and lose no time in sending me the *Additions*. I will communicate them to your Friends that they may not affront you by their future Superscriptions. —

But jesting apart — Last Saturday I saw two Letters from Ticonderoga. Their contents filled me with the deepest Anxiety. If the Posts are to be maintained, I see no Prospect but Death or Captivity before you. I think, therefore, in your present defenceless Situation it would be best to make a stand at some other place.

To whom are you indebted for the deplorable Predicament you are now in. — To those very Persons, who were chosen to be the Guardians & Protectors of American Freedom.

Such traitorous Acts will not long escape the Notice of the *People*. *Vengeance belongeth to them and they will repay*.

I should be miserable were I not to console myself, with the Dependence I have on the Abilities & Activity of General St. Clair. Be pleased to make my Compliments to him and assure him I most devoutly pray for his Success & Happiness. — What shall I say to Wilkinson, Treat, Brown, Tillotson and a long Catalogue of others whose Friendship I have experienced & whose Principles I honor? What a Mixture of pleasing & melancholy thoughts crowds into my Mind, when I think of the happy Hours I lately spent with them! I hope the Time is not far distant, when we shall all meet, and drown our Cares in a sparkling Glass, or a full flowing Bowl. —

The Congress have not yet determined Gen. Gates's Command. I am told it depends upon the Motions of the Enemy. He has lashed in the severest manner some members who were principally concerned in making the late Arrangement. They seem to be sensible of their Misconduct & almost tremble for their Safety. Several of them have declared they have sacrificed the true Interest of the State."-----

Immediately after our Arrival here, our Friend Stewart was appointed to the Command of a Regiment, raised in this State. To speak with Candor, I have not seen a finer set of men in the Service, that it consists of. He is vastly happy, and, in my opinion, has little reason to regret his Return. He marched to Camp about a Fort-night ago, and you may soon expect to hear of his *Conduct & Bravery*.

Yesterday the General desired Col. M. Connor to mention Prine to Col. Pricairn the Ad. General. He is anxious to get him out of the Family. —

Armstrong & I believe Clajon will be with us. For my Part I am determined to follow the General's Fortune, and, unless he discards me, will share in his Adversity, as well as Prosperity.

We have just returned from Fred.town, in Mary<sup>ld</sup> where we have been to meet Mrs. Gates. We spent several agreeable Days with her. She is well & begs you will accept of her best Respects.

And now my dear Potts, let me bid you adieu! I have one Favor, however, to beg before I conclude. It is in your Power to grant it. I will not therefore be denied. I mean only an Answer to this & all the Letters I shall write you. Perhaps the Length of this frightens you, & makes you repent of my Acquaintance. Be it so, If I thought it the Case I would destroy Pen, Ink, & Paper & swear never to use them again.

R. Troup

This rambling and rather immature letter by a recent college graduate who had been captured at the Battle of Long Island nevertheless has many points of interest. He encourages Potts to enforce equality with line officers by outdoing them in the matter of decorations. Although Troup is very unhappy about the dangers facing Ticonderoga, he still professes confidence in St. Clair. Perhaps he blames the "traitorous acts" on members of Congress. Colonel Walter Stewart had recently taken command of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment, while Colonels Morgan Connor and John Armstrong, both of Pennsylvania, were friends of Gates and Potts. Elizabeth Phillips Gates, first wife of the general, was a woman of forceful character who had great influence over her husband. Writing to Timothy Pickering, Troup later called Gates "more subject to the fascinating and corruptive influence of flattery than any man I have ever been acquainted with" (Nelson, 3).

Mark Bird to Dr. Potts, Reading, July 16, 1777  
FTM 1995

Reading 16th July 1777

D Docter.

The news here is that Ty is Taken. Gen<sup>l</sup> Skyler is not with you. I hope it is not false. Gen<sup>l</sup> Mifflin is at Camp. I hear they have mov'd towards the North River. Every thing looks well in this quarter. The Enemy is on Staten Isleand & New Yok pretty near where they were last year. I tremble to think of Ty, The Yankeys have not sent half the troops they ware to do or there woud have been no danger. Your Friends here are well. Mr. Biddle I think is rather Better. Delaware is still stop'd by the Enemyes D ships. Do take care of the Skalp bring it Safe to Reading. I long much to hear from you & more to see you

Adeau      God Bless you.

I am Sincerely Your,

MARK BIRD

This is a personal letter from a Reading friend commenting on current events. An intimate of Potts, Thomas Mifflin later served as co-executor of his will. Biddle may have been the Clement previously identified, although Potts knew and treated as patients other members of this large family.

Dr. Shippen to Dr. Potts, Philadelphia, August 4, 1777  
FTM 2123

Dear Sir

I have yours of the 27. July before me. Am extremely sorry for the unhappy affair of Ticonderoga, we cant account for the conduct of the officers at the Helm & many are disposed to be angry. The matter will be strictly enquired into I believe. -- I am happy to hear you saved the medicines as they grow scarce & no fresh importation — yours or as much as we can spare of them shall be sent on as soon as possible. I differ w<sup>th</sup> you so much about the necessity of appointing D<sup>f</sup> Brown Surg. Gen<sup>l</sup>

that I wish no such officer had ever been appointed, being well convinced they are not so useful officers as senior physicians & Surgeons, to which post please to return Dr. Brown, the medical Committee will not allow him any increase of pay on account of his being Surgeon Gen<sup>l</sup>. The appointments you know they hold in their own power.

For Gods sake my d<sup>r</sup> Jonathan dont let the Caitiffs come any farther. Howe with a fleet of 300 Sail are playing about our Capes & keeping our army in terrible suspence. The General opinion is that he only intends a Feint to draw Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington (who is here w<sup>th</sup> his Army) to the South while he tries to join Burgoyne & army on his Schemes in the north. We shall know in a few days. I wish you health & Success & am

My D<sup>R</sup> Sir

Your affect. & humble  
Serv<sup>t</sup>

W. Shippen, jr.

General Hospital

Philad<sup>a</sup> Aug. 4. 1777

Pray what is the Marquee Col. Stewart left you worth? he asks such a one as is only fit for a General & such as none of us will be allowed.

Like many others, Dr. Shippen, the arch-rival of and successor to Dr. John Morgan, was highly disturbed at the abandonment of Fort Ticonderoga. He notes that the British blockade was hampering the delivery of drugs from foreign parts. Shippen had an aversion for the title of surgeon general, probably considering it obsolete, meaningless, and confusing. In the revised plan for the Medical Department adopted by Congress on October 8, 1780, the title was eliminated except for the head of the Army Hospital and Department heads. The term substituted, Hospital Physician and Surgeon, was considered so inferior by many older medical officers that they immediately sent in their resignations.

Colonel Walter Stewart had just left General Gates to assume command of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment. A man of fine presence, Stewart was described as the "handsomest man in the Army," and apparently had a high opinion of himself, as his elaborate marquee would seem to indicate.

Dr. Treat to Dr. Potts, Albany, [August ?] 23, 1777  
FTM 2129

Albany 23<sup>r</sup> 1777

D<sup>r</sup> Potts

A Fray happened here yesterday between Dr. Tillottson and Coll. Brewer respecting a man in your Hospital. The Coll Demanded him and ordered him away without consulting anyone of your Gentlemen, which Sir you know is contrary to your Express Orders, & which we alwas obey -- Dr. Tillottson told him he could not go -- he was orderly -- the Coll. told him he should and would take him or any other of his men when he pleas<sup>d</sup>, the Dr. then told him to take him away at his Perril, the Coll. then call<sup>d</sup> the Dr. a damn<sup>d</sup> Rascal, *Tillottson all in Fire as you may suppose* advanced towards him, some few words pass<sup>d</sup> -- the Coll. call<sup>d</sup> him a Rascal again, upon w<sup>ch</sup> the Dr. gave him a whack in the ----- as the Coll. said, and repeated the Blow twice or thrice, the Coll. was content for that Time, and they parted -- here endeth the first Chapter.

The Coll. not content with his disappointment was Determined to renew the Attack, accordingly some Time in the Afternoon he came to the Hospital with a large party (20 I have been inform<sup>d</sup>, I had not the Pleasure of seeing any Part of this famious Attack) well arm<sup>d</sup> Bayonets, fix<sup>d</sup>, etc,etc, all in great Order, as if some Redoubt or breast work was to be taken or some other important Achievement done which would immortalize the Memory of the Assailiant. Gen<sup>l</sup> Tillittson determined to defend the Rights and Privilidges of your Hospital, and hand them down to the latest Posterity inviolate -- summon<sup>d</sup> the gentlemen of the Hospital to rendezvous in the Passage leading to the commons -- They flew to Arms -- even the two Docs. stood firm with heavy muskets on their Shoulders, determined that the Rights of Hospital should not be invaded -- the Assailants came on in close Order, or as Milton would have express<sup>d</sup> it in firm phalane, our Gen<sup>l</sup> had secur<sup>d</sup> the pass -- the two Bodies met, view<sup>d</sup> each other for some time, and then the Coll<sup>s</sup> Party return<sup>d</sup> to their Barracks were orderly, and much like soldiers while this was doing at the Pass the Coll. was looking up his man -- found him, but could not get him of -- thus ended this foolish inconsiderate Fray -- the Coll. is much blam<sup>d</sup> for his Rashness and Rudeness to the Dr. -- the Dr. is much commended for his Spirit, by all of us -- and will my

General have your Approbation I make no doubt. — Dr. Mc Kenzie will be more particular when he sees you than I can be in a letter — if I have represented any Part wrong, the Dr. Will rectify it & I will make Acknowledgments to Report.

Nothing new, the Sick are getting Better, every thing in your Department goes on in the usual smooth systematic way — the Effects of your Care, Ecomony, and Phylanthropy

I am dear

Gen<sup>l</sup>

Your most Obedient and  
very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

Malachy Treat

My best respects wait on  
my good Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates . . . . .

Despite its ludicrous aspect, this letter is of great importance as an indication of the lack of cooperation between the line officers and the Hospital staff. Adhering to the old British tradition, little respect was given medical men, and they later had to struggle to attain equality in the matter of retirement pay. Apparently Colonel Samuel Brewer of the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment had picked the wrong man to bully. As we have seen, Tillotson himself had been a lieutenant in the Maryland militia before assuming professional activities in the army. Brewer may have been a difficult person — he was cashiered out of the service on September 17, 1778.

Robert Troup to Dr. Potts, Fort Dayton, August 25, 1777  
FTM 2130

Fort Dayton 25 August 1777

My dear Director General

I came here after a most agreeable Ride along the Banks of one of the Prettiest Rivers in America and which I should have enjoyed but for the Rivulet which continually run thro' my Posterori and which with its Consequences has kept me back at this Place while my Friends and Fellow Soldiers with their very names alone are driving thousand before them. — In plain English I have been so bad, that it



has made me as weak as Water & unfit for any thing but writing.

I suppose you have heard how the dastardly dogs have run and left their Tents behind. General Arnold is gone on himself to Fort Stanwix but I hope will be back again tomorrow, when if I am well enough I shall follow him to Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates at Albany. Clarkson has again been wounded in the Ankle by a villainous Stallion, but not so nigh the Tip off as last time — by Compliment to all and should thank you for a little tiny bit of a letter or so by way of a Slant & which will be the Cocky dandy to a valetudinarian — Butler is here confined & under Sentence of Death — how he will come off God only knows — he is a young man & will be loath to die. Send the Enclosed by first opp<sup>o</sup> & Oblige Your Servant

R. Troup

Robert Troup, a recent graduate of King's College, was an aide-camp to General Gates. Troup accompanied Benedict Arnold on the successful mission to relieve Fort Stanwix, under attack by British General Barry St. Ledger. Fort Dayton was located in the German Flats at Herkimer, New York.

Walter Butler, an ardent Loyalist, had been captured by the Americans, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to hang. Due to the exertions of Schuyler and other influential individuals, the sentence was commuted to imprisonment, but, in 1778, Butler escaped from the Albany prison and joined Joseph Brant in the nefarious raid on Cherry Valley (November 11, 1778).

Benjamin Lincoln to Dr. Potts, Bennington, August 25, 1777  
FTM 1959

Bennington August 25th 1777

D<sup>r</sup>, Sir.

Your favour of the 23<sup>d</sup> instant, I received last evening . . . . . If General Gates had known the State of the Sick and wounded here, and that they were now in a very good hospital, I am sure he would not have entertained the most distant idea, that either

a Saving would be made to the public, or the happiness of the patients promoted, by their removal.

Some Shirts & blankets are wanted for the Sick, pray forward them as soon as may be.

I am dear Sir your  
most humble  
Servant

B. Lincoln

N. B. General Gates informed Dr. Mc Kenzie that he referred the propriety of removing Sick or not to me. I am full in opinion they ought not at present, to be removed.

General Benjamin Lincoln commanded the Vermont militia during the Saratoga campaign. Colonel John Stark commanded the New Hampshire militia at Bennington where they roundly defeated a force of Hessians on August 16. There were about two hundred casualties and six hundred prisoners. Potts had sent Stark medical supplies with Surgeon Francis Hagan who had already seen action at Valcour Island but was still relatively unseasoned. Potts therefore sent Senior Surgeon Samuel McKenzie to his assistance. In spite of poor cooperation from the inhabitants in supplying furniture for the hospital, the church and meetinghouse provided excellent quarters. Two Hessian surgeons took care of the wounded German soldiers. Acting on the recommendation of Dr. McKenzie, General Lincoln rightly decided not to move the wounded men to Albany.

Four Assistant Surgeons to Dr. Potts, August, 1777, and  
Dr. Potts to the Four Assistant Surgeons  
FTM 2116

Doctors Scull, Stewart, Maus, & Williams present their Compliments to Doctor Potts, and would be very much obliged to him to perform the promise, which he made to them last Evening, as it is disagreeable remaining any longer in a State of uncertainty

Monday Afternoon  
three O'clock

Gentlemen

Upon the Receipt of this you will return to Me the Commissions you have been favored with, when after your Accounts are adjusted you shall have the Dismission from a further Service of your distressed Country you so ardently wish for, the sooner this is complied with the better, that a Return to the honourable Congress, and Director Gen<sup>l</sup> as well as to the Commander in Chief of this Department may be immediately made.

Jon<sup>a</sup> Potts

In striking contrast to a previous letter (FTM 2109) in which Potts and Tillotson are congratulated by the regimental surgeons comes this threat of resignation from four junior surgeons. Just what slight or oversight had occasioned this united reaction is not now known, but it is obvious from the tone of his reply that Potts was deeply offended, but would make no concessions. It is pleasant to record that none of these men actually left the army at this juncture; Matthew Maus served until 1783, Nicholas Scull until 1780, Alexander Stewart until 1783 and Bradford Williams until 1781.

Walter V. Wemple to Dr. Potts, Claverack, September 13, 1777  
FTM 2135

Claverack, 13th Sept. 1777

D<sup>r</sup> Sir,

How do you, & what's the News? follows of course; Have you good old Madeira to give to any Body that pays you a Visit? Prepare yourself I expect to be in that D-- n'd pretty hole in a few days hence. . .

Yesterday a Man come to me, & ask'd me if I would purchase the Medicines on the inclosed List, — I told him that I didn't want them myself, but was of opinion that you would take them. — The price affixed to each Articles, if you will have them please to acquaint me, & I shall purchase them for you; provided you will allow me *Commissions* ----- Whiz. —

Tom Tillotson will be d -- nably shagrin'd when he hears that the Horse he wants is not to be purchased for £ 130. N. York C<sup>y</sup> please to inform him; & then you will have his opinion at LARGE about Docking Horses. ---

My Love to the Gentl<sup>n</sup> of the G. Hospital — O! I had almost forgot, where is the old Whore B---ne?

I am with esteem — Your most Obed. & H. Serv<sup>t</sup>

Walter V. Wemple

W. V. Wemple of Claverack, New York was a hospital surgeon. The reference to a commission or finder's fee — although mentioned in a jest — cannot be overlooked. There is good reason to believe that many officers in the commissary or purveying departments were courted by sellers, and did accept questionable gratuities. Much later both Isaac Foster and Potts himself were suspected of stock-piling much needed material for their own benefit, but in the case of the latter this was never proved. Obviously this aspect of Revolutionary biography has not been emphasized.

The reference to 'old Whore Browne,' a hospital surgeon, is a contemporary overly intimate greeting.

John Duncan to Dr. Potts, Hermitage, November 5, 1777  
FTM 2101

Hermitage half past two afternoon  
Nov<sup>r</sup> 5th. 1777.

My Dear Sir

Here have I waited Since 10, Dinner now ready to come on the Table & Still waiting, But fearing you may have some reason for not calling, or for my not going to Town with you, Makes me take the Liberty to inclose you a few lines, I intended, personally to deliver to the Committee, & beg youll do it; its imperfect, tho it will do as well for them as if otherwise, I also take the Liberty to inclose you a few lines, something like what will really be necessary to deliver to Mr. Mercelles, thro that Something with Propriety may be done of what you and the Gener<sup>l</sup> talked of, I have Informed Mr. Mercelles that Flower will be the chief thing Immed<sup>ly</sup> wanted, as I have bo<sup>t</sup> but Eight Barr<sup>ls</sup>, Most other things in Plenty what may be wanting; I beg

you'll Excuse this Trouble, and further by the Favour of your Compy, being in some degree intittled, by Promis — Thereto, And believe me with great Truth to be

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your ever Much oblig'd Humble  
Serv<sup>t</sup>

John Duncan

P.S.

Shou'd you past by, don't do so)  
in returning back — Adieu )

John Duncan was a landowner and cattleman who had close connections with Gates and his staff. In one of several of his letters preserved in the New York Historical Society Library, he asks Gates to protect his land and livestock from marauders (August 25, 1777). The committee mentioned was the Congressional Committee which visited Albany following the Saratoga victory. Ahasuerus Marsellus (1740-1799) was a ship captain who handled cargo for the army on the Hudson River.

Certificate and Furlough to Dr. Potts, Albany, November 16, 1777  
FTM 3104

Doct<sup>r</sup> Jonathan Potts, Director General of The Hospitals in The Northern Department, having with the greatest care, and attention, performed the Duties of his Station, and put the Hospitals into such a Situation, as renders his immediate attention unnecessary, has my permission to visit his Family in Berks County, State of Pensylvania and is to remain there, so long as the duties of his Office will admit.

Given at Albany this

16th Day of November 1777

HORATIO GATES

The delegation from Congress which visited Albany after the battle of Saratoga heard Gates praise the efforts of Potts and his co-workers. In a spirit of enthusiasm, Congress resolved on November 6 to commend Potts and his staff "in the Services which they have rendered during the Campaign by a diligent discharge of their respective functions" (Blanco, 158-159). Dated ten days later, the present certificate was a personal mark of appreciation. Gates and Potts both went south to join the forces of Washington about to retire to winter quarters at Valley Forge. Potts returned to his home in Reading, but remained in active contact with the hospital at Yellow Springs and others, for which he acted as purveyor.

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## THE EXACT LOCATION OF THE ANCIENT INDIAN TRAIL BETWEEN FORT EDWARD AND LAKE GEORGE

Lyman A. Beeman

In the summer of 1945, Smith McLandress and I decided to trace on foot the ancient Indian trail between the head of canoe navigation on the Hudson River at Fort Edward and the water connection to the St. Lawrence River at the head of Lake George. We had read *The Last of the Mohicans* and stories of Rogers' Rangers when we were boys growing up in Wisconsin. Now we wanted to see the places we had read about and to follow the footsteps of our heroes.

From our home on the flat height of land between the Hudson and St. Lawrence watersheds, our meadow slopes gradually north to Brickyard Pond on Halfway Brook. It was natural for us first to try to locate the spots where the trail crossed Halfway Brook and to find where the blockhouse stood. According to Hyde's *History of Glens Falls*, page 36, the original fortification, built in 1755 or 1756, was "located west of the road [New York State Highway 9] and north of the brook." We parked our car at the Route 9 bridge. The banks were swampy and the brook deep. Obviously, no ford could have been there. So, we walked a few rods upstream, and there it was, an obvious crossing with a shallow stream and low sandy banks leading to solid ground. Still visible leading north was the bed of the old trail and military road. To the west were mounds, which we believed to be the remains of the extensive fortifications later developed on the site of the original blockhouse. (This site is now occupied by the Price Chopper Supermarket and a parking lot.) After walking around trying to imagine how it must have been when the war parties of the 1750s marched through, we returned to our car and drove around to the other side of the brook.

It was disappointing to uncover no substantial evidence of the trail in the pine and spruce plantations, or along the western side of Crandall Park. The terrain and drainage were good for easy travel, much better in fact than the swampy conditions further east. The site matched with

Lyman A. Beeman is Chairman of the Board of Finch, Pruyn & Co., Inc. of Glens Falls, New York. He has traced the trail discussed in this article on a U.S. Geological Survey Map and deposited that map in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

early records. A good reference point for the trail was noted by Dr. A. W. Holden in reporting General Washington's stop on his way to Ticonderoga in 1783 for a drink at Butler Brook "a small affluent of the Halfway Brook, made up of three small streams which have their origin in the swamps and swales west of the village. It was the upper branch, still a much resorted to watering place, just north of the Warren County fairground."

After writing the above, just before noon on February 7, 1979, I left my desk and on my way home drove into Crandall Park on the broad and well sanded road to take another look. There was no doubt in my mind. The stopping point was on the western side of the present Crandall Park, just off the western end of the longest pond, where the trail crossed the "upper branch" of Butler Brook. I could almost see the old path as it kept to the level high ground, north through the present grove of large spruce, probably little different than it was then, down a gentle slope through the present "Y" parking lot as it approached the Halfway ford and station. With the leaves off the trees and the snow deep, the contours and lay of the land were plain.

In the past thirty-three years, we have driven and walked the area toward the east and south where the trail ran — down Glen Street to Bank Square, down Warren Street, Hudson Falls River and Main Streets, Fort Edward, and Broadway Street. Where did the trail wander? What obstacles diverted it? The clues have been obliterated. One must depend on the old maps, one of the best being "A Plan of Fort Edward and Its Environs on Hudsons River, Engraved for M. Mant's History of the War in North America by T. Kitchin Hydrographer to his Majesty."

Blind Rock was easy to find. People seemed to know about it. From Quaker Road, we turned in to Pineview Cemetery, crossed the brook, and parked our car at the back of the cemetery on higher ground at the edge of a heavy stand of white pines. A dim footpath led us west through the woods and after about a quarter of a mile we hit a well used path running north and south. Could this be the old trail? We turned to the right and climbed north. To the left, the forest floor dropped sharply to a little valley. Soon we could see a high bank to the west, and then a large spring gushing out of its base under spreading giant hemlock trees. This was it. We stumbled down the banks to flat ground east and north of the spring which we could then see was really two closely connected springs. The old camping ground was covered with brush, fallen trees, and tin cans. But, where was Blind Rock? Holden, we remem-



bered, had written in 1878 that even then the Blind Rock of torture notoriety was largely covered with soil from the bank above. We found some of the Rock and could scrape the thin soil away from a bit more. It was nearly lost.

The trail, however, was very plain as we climbed up to it again. Following it north, we soon came to Blind Rock Road near where it joins Route 9. Returning south, we moved rapidly down the trail in almost a straight line to the lower grade. At that point the little brook from the stream made a sharp turn in front of us toward the east. The trail crossed the brook, but then it stopped at the foot of a high bank freshly bulldozed at the top. We could only imagine where the old path had turned to pass to the foot of Miller Hill and over Route 9 a quarter of a mile away.

On a succeeding weekend we picked up our search at Blind Rock Road, but we could find no evidence of the trail. We believed that it must have followed close to Route 9, so we drove north on the highway past the Halfway House at French Mountain to Bloody Pond. We walked around the area and asked questions. Our confusion was complete until we rapped on the door of a small house on a side road. A white-haired man came to the door and we introduced ourselves. He gave me a hard look and said, "You must be the feller that married Polly Hoopes." I replied that I was, and from his smile I knew that I had a new friend.

He knew all about the trail and led us west uphill to the end of his side road. He pointed south to a bushy opening through the trees, rising slightly, and said, "That is the high point on the trail. It turned down here to the level shore of Bloody Pond and downhill again to follow the approximate bed of the D&H Railroad to the Lake George beach." To satisfy ourselves, we struggled through the brush along the old location for a hundred yards or so. This stretch is now covered by the north-bound lane of the Northway. The Indians had selected the good footing below the steep slope and above the rock ledges as their pass through the mountains. Route 9 had been blasted through, while the early plank road had been built below and around the ledges on the wet ground. To satisfy ourselves further, we went back to French Mountain, where we found the old footpath still visible and walkable above and east of Route 9, where it must have left the highway near the Halfway House.

## BOOK REVIEW

**The History of American Wars, From Colonial Times to World War I.** By T. HARRY WILLIAMS. (Knopf, 1981, 435 pages, \$20.00)

As evident in the subtitle, the late T. Harry Williams left an unfinished manuscript of his final work. His unfulfilled purpose had been to produce a comprehensive one-volume account of all American wars. Students of World War II, Korea, and Viet Nam cannot share his analysis, but those of us concerned with the northern colonial frontier and the American Revolution have the full benefit of his interpretation.

Interpretation is what Williams provides, not a battle-and-bullet diary of every skirmish. His focus is broader than the traditional "military history," and ranges into the social, economic, and political aspects of war in America. His historiographic analysis and interpretative asides frequently overshadow the mundane details, as though he expects the reader to have a more than passing knowledge of our violent past. This emphasis is as it should be, but a book like this demands frequent maps to fill in what the narrative omits. Regrettably, his editors have included not a one.

Williams explains how Braddock's disaster along the Monongahela assumed mythic proportions in colonial America. It encouraged the restive Americans to adopt a smug and superior attitude toward the Redcoats who had died that day in a wilderness unsuited to their methods of fighting. What was conveniently ignored was that British doctrine did alter according to conditions, and more reliance was placed on light troops and rangers after 1755. The British were not cowards and fools. They learned from bloody experience, though for some time the colonists remained prisoners of their own misconceptions.

Just as they ridiculed the British performance, so also did the colonists exaggerate their own role in the colonial wars. Williams notes that the tendency among historians is to belittle colonial contributions, citing such failures of cooperation as the Albany Congress. They *should* have done better, they *should* have formed a union, they *should* have raised more men and money.

Of course, that would have been nice. Rather than elaborate on their many failings, Williams explains that the colonists actually *did* bear the brunt of the first three colonial wars. Under the circumstances

(a favorite phrase of the author), the degree of cooperation which the colonists *did* show was remarkable among a people who had not yet developed that sense of identity which draws a people together into one cause.

In his discussion of the Revolution, Williams pays a great deal of attention to the dynamics which existed between the fledgling Congress and the military. That developing relationship lay the groundwork for the now-traditional subordination of the military to the civil in the American system. While most accounts fault the Congress for its many failings, Williams looks to the other side. Did the Americans fail to exploit their tremendous potential in manpower? Not necessarily, because there was an essential difference in recruiting between the Revolution and other wars. In the latter, signing up was generally applauded as a patriotic act, while the same simple ceremony in 1776 was the result of a wrenching act of rebellion.

When he does deal with military specifics, Williams doesn't pull punches. He terms the British strategic plan of 1777 "so bad as to be almost unbelievable." In his analysis of the tangled relationship among Burgoyne, Howe, and Germain, the author leads the reader to the same conclusion.

Throughout *The History of American Wars* there are "interludes," blocks of time during which there was little overt "war," but nonetheless plenty going on which affected the military. If the old axiom that the army is always prepared to fight the *last* war is correct, then these discussions of the periods 1783-1812, 1815-1846, 1848-1861, 1865-1898, and 1898-1917 are especially relevant.

One unfortunate aspect of the work is that it necessarily lacks a conclusion by the author on the place of war in American society. Nonetheless, *The History of American Wars* is an excellent and thoughtful contribution to military history.

BRIAN BURNS

Sturbridge, Massachusetts

## MUSEUM NOTES

Fort Ticonderoga and its justly famous museum opened prematurely on 7 May 1981, to accommodate the many "Yorker Clubs" who sought to visit us either en route to or returning from their annual convention in Lake Placid, New York. In acceding to their request to open early, we were privileged to entertain "Yorker" groups from New Berlin, North Massapequa, Big Springs, Ames, Palmyra, East Syracuse, Centereach, Groton, Guilderland, and Hopewell Junction, as well as some whose home schools were not located or identified. We hope they enjoyed visiting us as much as we enjoyed having them.

In addition to the "Yorker" groups we hosted school field trips under teacher supervision from many New York and Vermont schools. In addition to New York and Vermont schools we also welcomed schools from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Norwich, Connecticut; Northwood and Lincoln in New Hampshire; Ashville in North Carolina; Nashville, Tennessee; as well as Canadian schools from Montreal in the Province of Quebec and from Toronto in Ontario Province.

In addition to the school field trips, educational packets and film strips were mailed to approximately 500 schools and libraries throughout the United States and Canada and even in a few instances to Australia and Mexico. We are vastly proud of our extensive and far reaching educational programs.

In addition to our current efforts in this field, we should mention that in cooperation with M. Dennis Lavoie and Ms. Linda Champoux-Ares of Parcs Canada, we are collaborating on an audio-visual presentation on Fort Ticonderoga and the Champlain Valley, designed for presentation to the French-Canadian clientele.

Also, arrangements are under way for our summer seminar program in conjunction with New York State University-Plattsburgh Campus. In the past this has been a 3 week seminar on Champlain Valley history with sessions at both Fort Ticonderoga and Plattsburgh, and carrying 3 hour graduate credit for satisfactory completion. Forgive me for reporting our school programs in such detail but it has come to my attention that some of our readers and even our membership are unaware of our activities in this area.

1981 has been a most satisfactory season both from the visitor reaction and from the viewpoint of management. Our own Corps of Drums performed daily (6 programs each day) and as well as their musical and

parade routines presented 5 firing demonstrations each day to the delight of our visitors. That, along with a series of guided tours meant busy hours for that section of our staff.

One of the highlights of the 1981 season was the presentation of the 4th Annual Fort Ticonderoga Memorial Scottish Games on the weekend of July 11-12. Following the previously established format, registration was initiated at 8:00 A.M. on Saturday, followed by competition in Highland Dancing, the Scots Heptathlon, Band Competition, a "Regimental Drummers Call" with activities closing for the day with a Massed Bands Review at 4:30.

At 7:30 that same evening, the Fort reopened for the annual "Torchlight Tattoo." Featured in this session was martial music by the 199th Army Band (The Governor's Band) premier musical unit of the New York Army National Guard, arrangements for which were due to the interest of J. Walter Juckett of The Sandy Hill Corporation of Hudson Falls, N.Y. and of the Honorable Gerald Solomon, United States Representative from the 29th Congressional District. Our appreciation to both these gentlemen is extensive.

Featured in the military presentation was The Pipes and Drums of the Black Watch, the Royal Highland Regiment of Canada as well as the 78th Fraser Highlanders from the Old Fort in Montreal. Last but certainly not least was the participation of our own Fort Ticonderoga Corps of Drums and the Fort's Place d'Armes resounded with the pomp and ceremony as well as the magnificent music of these four elite military units, all announced by Ticonderoga's own Gus Cawley of Radio WIPS and directed by Captain Grant Farraday of Toronto in Canada.

Sunday's program featured a Memorial Kirking o' the Tartan Church Service at 10:00 A.M. followed by additional band competition and long anticipated athletic events such as the Tug-o-War, Caber Invitational Toss, Massed Bands, and highlight of the day, the annual Hill Climb Competition. This foot race has become an awaited event and runners (both male and female) compete over a course that runs from the field below the Fort to the top of adjacent Mount Defiance and back. It is a gruelling race but rewarding to the participants and spectators as well. The weekend events closed with a Massed Bands Parade and beating of Retreat at 5:00 P.M.

The Fort Ticonderoga Library acquired one of our most important manuscripts over the past season. Every once in a while a truly outstanding manuscript finds its way to the marketplace and such was the case this past season when the original manuscript text of the journal of

Lieutenant James M. Hadden was offered for sale. Hadden was an officer in Burgoyne's Royal Artillery and the journal kept by him from the time of his embarkation for Canada on March 4, 1776 to the close of the battle of Freeman's Farm at Saratoga on September 19, 1777 provides a detailed and pertinent record of the day to day progress of military affairs, first under General Carlton in Canada during 1776 and followed by Burgoyne's penetration of the northern colonies in the following year. Because of its wealth of contemporary comment, its pertinent and explanatory maps of the area as seen and drawn by a participant, it is a gold mine of historical record on the events and areas wherein Fort Ticonderoga dominated. We could not afford to have this important research tool go elsewhere.

Work on the wall was again our foremost task during the fall months and although greatly hindered by rainy weather (heaviest rainfall in years), we did complete renovation of the north outer wall, again such repairs financed by a Potter Foundation grant.

Two devastating blows befell us in the past season. In May of 1981 Fort Ticonderoga purchased the Mount Hope Battery installations from Carroll and Virginia Lonergan, developers of the site. On September 19, the visitor center at Mount Hope burned, result of attempted burglary and arson. Since the installation was adequately insured, we are now faced with rebuilding prior to our 1982 season. The second blow was a month later when the building near the Fort Ticonderoga Ferry Landing, owned by the Association and leased to WIPS Radio Station caught fire, apparently from a defective electrical installation and burned. While these two events were certainly disasters, it is the first time this Association has suffered a fire loss in many, many years. We are thankful for that.

JML



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# THE BULLETIN OF THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

Volume XIV

Summer 1982

Number 3



1732 GEORGE WASHINGTON 1982



# THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

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## Admission:

The Fort and Museum are open from mid-May until mid-October, including Sundays and holidays, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. (6 P.M. during July and August). The admission charge is \$4.00 for adults and \$2.50 for children from ten to thirteen. There is no charge for children under ten or for students of any level in classroom groups, supervised by a teacher, who have made previous arrangements with the Management.

**The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum** is published twice a year by the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, Ticonderoga, New York. The Fort Ticonderoga Museum assumes no responsibility for the statements, interpretations, or opinions of contributors to **The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum**.

Yearly subscription, \$10.00; student subscription, \$7.50, with student verification; libraries and institutions, \$15.00; single copies, \$5.00; some back issues not available.

Manuscripts about the early history of the Champlain Valley are invited. Address correspondence to John W. Krueger, Editor, Fort Ticonderoga, Ticonderoga, New York 12883.

## OUR COVER

This magnificent portrait of George Washington was painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1795. Martha Custis Washington considered this painting to be the best likeness of her husband. She selected it to be copied in miniature for presentation to the Nation as a memorial of her husband. The painting has been reproduced for our cover through the kindness of its present owner, Mr. Hubert R. Hudson, a direct descendent of General John Custis.

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## THE FALL OF TICONDEROGA IN 1777: WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE

Don R. Gerlach

It has become a commonplace judgment of historians that Philip Schuyler was a poor choice to rally the New England states, especially the militia, to meet the invasion of 1777.<sup>1</sup> But even the Yankees' hero, Horatio Gates, did not accomplish more than Schuyler until the danger became so transparent that politicians and militia alike realized the necessity of reacting in order to defend their homes and close neighbors as well as the greater common cause. Gates's record in the spring of 1777 certainly shows no evidence of his particular ability to collect any army, whether of regulars or militia. And even Colonel James Wilkinson, a Gates supporter, observed in his memoirs that the forces which served Schuyler's successor would have served no less well under the Yorker.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it was the Continental line that won the battles of Saratoga, not the militia; and some of the units appeared in the field while others were enroute to the army even before Gates replaced the General.

Much of Schuyler's difficulty in collecting forces in the summer of 1777 came not only from reluctant or dilatory militia, but from the Continental Commander-in-Chief. And the record of the two men's correspondence in June is so instructive on this point that it is astonishing that few historians have seen fit to treat it with any thoroughness or perception.

In the frequent exchange of letters between the Yorker and Virginian one gleans a particular sense of Schuyler's resolute and unflagging activities, of the progression of his problems and how energetically he labored to solve them. On June 9, for example, he expressed gratitude to Washington for only one troop of horse he was then expecting to be sent to him and asked that General Henry Knox approve his application to Colonel Mason at Springfield for 12 brass field pieces with carriages and other apparatus.<sup>3</sup> That evening two Canadians appeared to report their findings in Canada, and the following morning Schuyler posted the intelligence to Washington with a request that he forward it to Congress. The Yorker could not believe the spies' account of the number of troops gathering in Canada or that General Burgoyne had arrived there as early as May 10. But if the account of the movement of four regiments toward the Little River, 18 leagues below Montreal and

Dr. Don R. Gerlach, the author of *Philip Schuyler and the American Revolution in New York*, is a Professor of History at The University of Akron.

toward Quebec, was correct, Schuyler thought it probable that they were intended as reinforcements for General Howe on Manhattan. Having proposed that Congress approve the removal of part of his army from Ticonderoga to Mount Independence, Schuyler now asked Washington for his directions in the matter.<sup>4</sup>

Washington's reply on June 16 is a remarkable revelation of his miscalculation of both the intended and actual British movements in 1777. Yet Schuyler's news of June 9-10, he said, reinforced his opinion that if Howe was not certain of adequate reinforcements from England, part of the Canadian forces would surely be sent by sea to the middle colonies. Having learned of the British movement into New Jersey, Washington ordered the troops which were collected at Peekskill to join him, thus leaving only a thousand Continentals and the militia there to guard the Hudson. The latter he deemed to be a force superior to any the enemy then had at New York or its dependencies and therefore enough to prevent any surprise! Little did he realize that the army about to penetrate northern New York numbered approximately 10,000 including auxiliaries and camp followers. And whereas Schuyler was rightly suspicious of the information brought to him from Canada, Washington was not nearly enough so. Moreover, he informed the Yorker that he must wait still longer for a supply of artillery and also that he must try to create his own troop of horse rather than depend on any being sent.<sup>5</sup>

The Commander-in-Chief could not see farther than his own immediate circumstances, and he long continued to withhold support from Schuyler, whose repeated requests for reinforcements beginning in mid-June evoked little response until July. Only one brigade was ordered from Peekskill to Schuyler's support on July 2, and despite long delays in its actual movement, Washington failed to send another until July 22. As the Virginian composed his letter of June 16 to Schuyler, revealing no suspicion of an invasion from Canada, Schuyler fired off a more definite request to him from Fort Edward for reinforcements. Two days earlier he had written from Saratoga that his small army had few prospects of growing and that he would *probably* have to call for troops stationed at Peekskill. Still, he would not ask for them unless obliged to do so. Now, as he inspected the terrain and scattered units posted along the way to Ticonderoga, he obtained fresh reports that compelled him to make the request — evidence that a British attack would be made on Lake Champlain. Ticonderoga *might* be held, he said, but the army was insufficient to provide guards along the Mohawk or the "com-

munication" between Forts Edward and George; the route along which provisions were stockpiled and moved. The officer commanding at Albany stood ready to send sloops to Peekskill or Fishkill to bring the reinforcements north.<sup>6</sup>

Meantime, as it became increasingly obvious that the British were preparing to launch into Lake Champlain, Schuyler turned to other possible sources of help. Having addressed a letter to the President of Congress on June 14, he referred it to the New York Council of Safety to read before forwarding to Washington. Of his fellow New Yorkers he expected both advice and tangible help in meeting the military crisis.<sup>7</sup> Of Congress he asked little except what his account of developments might prompt them to offer by their own initiative. The Ticonderoga garrison remained too small to withstand a British onslaught, but Schuyler hoped that proper concentration upon adjacent Mount Independence would enable it to hold the pass between the two points against the enemy. Inadequate stores of provisions were the result of commissarial negligence and the quartermaster general's languor and want of attention in collecting working cattle and building and repairing batteaux. But Schuyler hoped that the steady exertions he had made since returning to his command would eventually overcome these difficulties.

On June 14 the General sent express riders to the executives of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, intreating them to hasten the Continentals already ordered for the service and warning that delays were extremely dangerous. The latest dispatches from Arthur St. Clair, he told the presidents of these states, as he did the President of Congress, indicated that the enemy would soon be moving up Lake Champlain as well as along the Mohawk River. New Hampshire militia having returned to their homes, St. Clair's garrison at Ticonderoga was reduced to approximately 2,200 men including those not fit for duty. All regiments were deficient in composition. In one case only officers had appeared; General Ebenezer Learned and his brigade major had reached Saratoga on June 14 but without any men. Learned was sent to organize militia as they gathered at Fort Edward and Fort Ann. Once Schuyler could visit Ticonderoga, he told Hancock, and place "matters in train" there and along the communication south to Saratoga, he would hurry back to Albany to push the shipment of supplies to the western outposts as well.<sup>8</sup>

Washington's response to Schuyler's pleas of June 14-16 afforded little comfort to the anxious northern commander. Acknowledging receipt of the Yorker's letters on June 20 at Middle Brook, New Jersey,

Washington could not believe the enemy could execute a plan such as the spy William Amsbury had suggested to Schuyler. Still, the Virginian indicated that he had ordered General Israel Putnam to hold four Massachusetts regiments at Peekskill in readiness and to call sloops down from Albany to carry them north faster than they could otherwise march. He further speculated that unless Burgoyne had brought reinforcements from England, he could not have more than 5,000 men, and if the British besieged Ticonderoga, instead of bypassing it and leaving it to endanger their rear, Burgoyne could not have enough men to attack from Oswego in the west and as well as to menace Forts Edward and George. Believing the Ticonderoga garrison sufficient to withstand conquest, Washington insisted that it was not politic to send Schuyler more troops, for they would only consume supplies without serving any particularly useful purpose. Maneuvers against his own army on June 19 seemed to demonstrate to the Commander-in-Chief that it would be unwise to weaken the defenses on the North River — especially on the strength of what he deemed to be the “uncertainty” of Schuyler’s situation. Washington simply could not see that reinforcements were yet “really wanted.”<sup>9</sup> And he evidently expected the Massachusetts and New Hampshire regiments of Continentals ordered for the Northern Army to suffice; having repeatedly written that they should be sent, the Virginian could not “imagine” why they were so delayed in reaching Schuyler.

Had Washington responded speedily and affirmatively to the first of Philip Schuyler’s calls (June 16) for reinforcements it might have been possible to prevent the fall of Ticonderoga — and the downfall of Schuyler himself, for his removal from command was largely predicated on the loss of the overrated fort. Or failing that, the timely arrival of troops may have provided an earlier check to the invasion instead of a succession of retreats. But it was not until July 2 that Washington relented when he received the latest information Schuyler had sent him on June 28 from Albany. At that point the agitated Yorker referred him to copies of reports written by St. Clair on June 25–26. The enemy had reached Crown Point, not far north of Ticonderoga. He warned Washington that should any “accident” now occur there and the way opened for Burgoyne to push further south, “I know of no obstacle to prevent him; comparatively speaking, I have not a man to oppose him.” Schuyler insisted that his 700 men scattered at posts between Lake Champlain and Albany could not be spared from their positions, and that strong reinforcements were needed without delay — and ap-



appropriately equipped with a suitable artillery. Therefore, he had sent an express to General Putnam to hasten the march of troops from Peekskill. "I am in pain about Fort George," he wrote, "but have no troops to throw in," and it would take time before militia could be summoned and moved. Moreover, news written on June 25 by James Dean confirmed Schuyler's suspicions that the enemy would soon launch an attack in the far west. He had, accordingly, taken steps to beg for militia not only from New York counties but also from Connecticut and Massachusetts.<sup>10</sup>

Washington received Schuyler's June 28 letter on the evening of July 1 at Morristown. Thinking that if Burgoyne's move toward Ticonderoga was not merely a diversionary one, but a serious attack, the Virginian now suspected it was proof that Howe's army would turn up the Hudson Valley.<sup>11</sup> Next morning he replied to Schuyler that some troops were leaving his camp to return to Peekskill and that General Putnam had been ordered to set four Massachusetts regiments in motion toward Albany. All of these men belonged to John Nixon's Continental brigade, and Nixon himself could be expected to follow them from Peekskill by July 5 at the latest.

Now mistaken in his belief that Howe would move north toward Burgoyne's southern thrust, Washington erred no less in thinking that Ticonderoga would not soon succumb to its besiegers. He imagined that stockpiles of supplies would enable the fort to hold out and that Arthur St. Clair might even take the offensive to damage the enemy if Burgoyne's forces were indeed divided in launching attacks both from the north and west. But the Commander-in-Chief's thinking was itself divided; he could not, he told Schuyler, be certain what Howe's maneuvers from New Jersey to Staten Island on June 30 meant — perhaps a plan to "amuse" Washington's army until Howe could hear from Burgoyne. If the two British generals intended to cooperate, Howe must soon move up the Hudson. If he failed to do so, Washington thought Burgoyne's forces would only "amuse" Schuyler's army on Lake Champlain! And yet — and yet he was inclined to think that Burgoyne would make a strong effort to break through Ticonderoga because it was difficult to believe the Englishman would return to America to execute only an auxiliary, diversionary plan for which he could gain no particular credit or honor. Washington promised Schuyler to hold his army in readiness to move northward; he assured him that he had asked for the Orange and Ulster County militia to turn out and for General Putnam to summon the Connecticut militia as well. If Howe could be

kept below the Highlands, the enemy's schemes could yet be baffled. His final advice to Schuyler to remove all livestock and carriages from the invaders' path was gratuitous; Schuyler was as fully aware of the necessity of such safeguards as he was familiar with the terrain and strategy necessary to employ upon it.<sup>12</sup> And he had already begun to assemble the necessary tools for laying obstacles across the invaders' path.

After Schuyler posted St. Clair's information to Washington on June 28, he responded to the Ticonderoga commander's June 25 and 26 letters by promising to move New York militia as soon as they could be collected, and to employ Tryon County forces against any threat from the west. Continentals from Peekskill had been summoned up, he assured St. Clair. It would doubtless take longer for New England militia to be roused and to reach the north. Relaying Washington's latest news of forcing the enemy to retreat to New Brunswick, Schuyler suggested that St. Clair stage a "Feu de Joy" which might lead Burgoyne's men to think he had received reinforcements or an account of some rebel victory.<sup>13</sup>

St. Clair's most recent reports left Schuyler with little doubt that Ticonderoga would be attacked head-on, not merely harassed and bypassed. By the morning of June 25 seven British vessels had appeared at Crown Point, and St. Clair saw no prospect of defending his post without reinforcements; his garrison would be ruined either by protracted enemy operations or direct "investment." He warned Schuyler that not only would Ticonderoga have to be abandoned but that the enemy would surely force them to withdraw from Mount Independence as well — which is precisely what ultimately occurred. Promising to do all he could to prevent this, St. Clair asked, "what can be Expected from Troops ill Armed naked and unaccoutered"?"<sup>14</sup> In a second letter dated June 25 St. Clair observed that the woods were full of Indians, and that he had sent Colonel Seth Warner to the Hampshire Grants to raise men to oppose the savages along Otter Creek. Work on Mount Independence was continuing, and the most valuable stores and provisions had been moved to it from Ticonderoga. Construction of the bridge between the posts had not advanced much beyond the state when Schuyler had left it on June 22; the boom was set but was only feebly secured because of a shortage of rope. If all the batteaux were not brought up from Lake George soon, there would be no use in sending them at all, for St. Clair feared the enemy would capture the landing place and seize the boats. The arrival of some of Colonel Gameliel Bradford's Regiment of Massachusetts Continentals had inspired the garrison a little, but St.

Clair still could not guess what the enemy's strength was; either they were in full force, he thought, or very weak and were using the Indians to intimidate the Americans.<sup>15</sup>

The third of St. Clair's letters which Schuyler received on June 28 — that dated the 26th — revealed more of the enemy's maneuvers. A party of Indians and Tories perhaps 500 strong had continued up Otter Creek to cut off Ticonderoga's communications with Skenesborough. Another large detachment of 1,000 Indians and Canadians was moving along the west side of the lake, probably to strike at Fort George. "The scene thickens fast," St. Clair noted, and he expected a full attack on the 29th. Scouts were out to reconnoitre, and requests had been sent to the Hampshire Grants for militia. The beleaguered General promised Schuyler to make the best show of resistance possible, perhaps enough to cripple the invaders if not to defeat them or to hold the fort.<sup>16</sup>

As the month of June waned, Schuyler hoped that responses to his efforts would be sufficient to block the enemy before the invasion progressed much farther than Ticonderoga. Except for Albany and Tryon County units he found that the militia response was problematical, but at least St. Clair had received a few Continental reinforcements, so by June 28 his troop returns indicated a total of 3,842, including militia, 238 artillerymen and artificers — and 532 sick, 937 "on command," and only 2,089 rank and file fit for duty.<sup>17</sup>

On June 28 at Albany John Lansing, Jr. issued Schuyler's general orders, indicating that Colonel John Bailey's Second Massachusetts regiment of Continentals was to move up to Fort Edward on the following morning. The department quartermaster general was to furnish them 50 tents, and adequate carriages and batteaux for transportation without delay.<sup>18</sup> Thus two of the four Massachusetts regiments ordered from Peekskill were underway (Bailey's and Bradford's), but not until July 12, a week after the fall of Ticonderoga, did Washington finally order the remainder of John Nixon's brigade forward. Even that could not have augmented Schuyler's forces by more than about 1,700, if that many. Had the General known what history reveals by hindsight, he must have despaired of ever collecting manpower enough to turn back Burgoyne's mighty invasion until it was diminished by extended lines of communications, rear guard posts and auxiliary engagements like those in August at Bennington and in the Mohawk Valley.

Meantime, on June 28, Schuyler speeded Colonel Bailey on from Albany, ordering a rapid march of his regiment to Fort Edward where Bailey was to take the command. Retaining four of his companies there

to guard the stores, he was ordered to send another four to Major Christopher Yates at Fort George. In all, Bailey's men numbered but 225! Schuyler exhorted the Colonel to use scouts constantly and to be particularly careful that his soldiers did not injure any of the inhabitants or their property along the way.<sup>19</sup> The General obviously was moving upon an assumption that Ticonderoga might be lost — or difficult to approach — as his June 29 orders to Major Yates also indicate; Yates, he wrote, need not send more provisions or batteaux from Fort George unless St. Clair or Schuyler later ordered them to Ticonderoga. A hint of Schuyler's intention to block the invaders' path by felling trees, rolling boulders into roads, chopping down bridges, and diverting streams is also seen in his order that Yates have all spades, shovels, axes, and pickaxes helved. On June 30 he also requested Washington to send 200 spades and like numbers of shovels and pickaxes.<sup>20</sup> Finally, he enjoined Yates to make as large a supply of cartridges as possible and to keep scouts ranging westward to the road from Jessup's Patent and towards Crown Point lest the enemy attempt to follow the old roadway which stretched along the west side of Lake George between Ticonderoga and Fort George.

With an eye not only upon the opportunity to aid a friend like James Duane whose estate west of Albany needed tending, especially in the approaching harvest season, Schuyler took steps to protect a possible supply of grain for his army. Responding to a report from Henry Glen of Schenectady that Duane's barn construction was very much delayed, Schuyler asked Glen to have carpenters raise "five post barracks," enough to store Duane's hay and grain because, he said, "necessity has no Law, and . . . the Crops must be saved. . . ." Glen was to pay the carpenters 16 shillings per day unless he could obtain cheaper workers. Timber for the intended barn should be stacked and covered for later construction.<sup>21</sup>

Again, on Monday, June 30, Schuyler wrote to prompt Israel Putnam to hurry along the clothing and blankets he had been promised for the army. Discovering that carters had left shipments of clothing at various places between Boston and Albany because of waggon breakdowns and worn-out cattle, Schuyler issued a circular "to all whom it may concern" that any persons holding these supplies should deliver them to Commissary of Clothing, George Measom, or to his deputies. Committees or other civil powers in each town or district were requested to furnish carriages to bring the clothing to Albany without delay. The General went on to tell Putnam that he hoped soon to see all

of the troops he had requested on Saturday and that he still feared the militia would not march unless inspired by the presence of more Continentals.<sup>22</sup>

The point of morale was well taken. Since the spring uprising of tenants on Livingston Manor, signs of Toryism in northern New York were rife and bothersome. And thus Schuyler suggested to John Jay that "It would greatly Inspire the people with Confidence to See the whole Council of Safety" at Albany. Intending soon to move north of the city with troops, the General thought that someone with rank and prestige ought to be in Albany to advise and assist "our people" to the west. "I therefore earnestly wish to see You and your Brethern [sic]," he wrote.<sup>23</sup>

Schuyler pled in a similar vein with Pierre Van Cortlandt, President of the State Council of Safety. If not the Council at least a committee might help at Albany with the direction of militia movement and the removal of prisoners. More news indicated that the enemy would menace Tryon County from Oswego, and General Herkimer had been alerted to prepare his militia to support Fort Schuyler at the west end of the Mohawk Valley. If Ticonderoga fell Schuyler feared the enemy would seize Fort George before he could begin to resist them. He begged Van Cortlandt to send Ulster County militia on the sloops dispatched from Albany to carry the Peekskill Continentals. But the Council had no militia to send Schuyler since many had been diverted to the highlands at Washington's request, and the Council deemed itself too small a body to send Schuyler a committee.<sup>24</sup>

The paperwork of warfare may have as much importance as the movement of armies and the firing of shot and shell, and for the historian it is tempting to think that a commanding general's major business is that of receiving and sending letters, not to mention saving them for posterity. What remains of Philip Schuyler's papers certainly indicates that this general wielded the pen more than the sword. Yet the evidence of this must not blind one to the decisions he made and the other activities by which he so steadily discharged his duties. These lie beyond the archival deposits and are the most difficult to imagine or reconstruct. But one can sense them through the written record. Thus we appreciate the scene of marching troops of which Schuyler wrote to Arthur St. Clair on June 30. The militia as well as Continental troops, he promised, were moving up, and he would hasten others expected to arrive during the day. Promising also to take good care of "Master Daniel," St. Clair's son who had been escorted from the danger of Ticonderoga, Schuyler hoped to see the lad's father remain in possession of the northern post.<sup>25</sup>

William Smith, Jr. recorded a rather sour note about Schuyler's summoning a brigade of Continentals from Peekskill. Sitting in exile on Livingston Manor, he wrote on July 1 of General Montgomery's widow Janet sharply censuring Schuyler for the action "as discovering weakness." The sister of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston further claimed there were 6,000 men at Ticonderoga — a force large enough for the northern defense! And she faulted Schuyler for remaining at Albany instead of taking to the field. Her carping criticism has been repeated by recent historians who seem not to realize that a commanding general has more things to do than confine himself to a particular part of his army when his command responsibilities were so geographically diverse.<sup>26</sup>

Continuing his efforts both to inform and to prod Washington into providing more support, on June 30 Schuyler wrote of reports of the enemy at Oswego; soon they would menace Fort Schuyler. The post was weak and especially lacked cannon. Although Tryon County militia were alerted to march to its support, no New England militia had yet appeared. To date only Colonel Bailey's small regiment of 255 men had been moved beyond Albany to Forts Edward and George. More tents and cartridge paper were wanted for the militia which were yet to come. Artillery, too, was needed with ammunition and a detachment of men to use it. Although the immediate danger then came from the north, increasingly Schuyler worried about the enemy's inroads from the west. Thus he posted reminders to the commanders of Forts Dayton and Schuyler to keep a sharp watch for the first signs of Sir John Johnson's advance so that General Herkimer's militia could be timely summoned.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, he ordered Colonel Henry Beekman Livingston (the Chancellor's brother) who commanded the 4th New York Regiment of Continentals to place himself in the best possible defensive position along the Mohawk, and likewise to send scouts along branches of the Hudson to discover the enemy's strength and line of march. Livingston must relay any news both to Nicholas Herkimer and to Schuyler if they were to help meet the expected threat.<sup>28</sup>

Meantime, Lieutenant Thomas Anbury with Burgoyne at Crown Point observed how splendidly the invading army had moved along the waters of Lake Champlain. Led by Indians in canoes, and gunboats, the *Royal George* and the *Inflexible* towed large booms; then came the brigs and sloops, with Burgoyne and his chief officers, Phillips and von Riedesel, in pinnances. "We are now within sight of the enemy," wrote Anbury. The Americans' watchboats were continually rowing about,

but the army would besiege Ticonderoga as soon as artillery stores could follow.<sup>29</sup>

At the same moment Arthur St. Clair believed that his own troops had been positioned for the best possible efforts, and he expected they would be able to give a good account of themselves to the redcoats. Some Indians and Canadians had already pushed toward the American lines from Crown Point, and he feared some of his scouts may not have escaped after skirmishing with them. Major Henry Brockholst Livingston, one of Schuyler's aides who had remained at Ticonderoga because of illness during the General's visit there, reported that he was glad he had stayed and could now join in the impending battle. American troops were in good spirits, he said, the men had become more vigilant because of recent alarms, and they seemed anxious to try to repel the Indians as well. In a postscript Livingston noted some of the excitement of the moment; a recent cannonade from the Lake George blockhouse had been discovered to be the means of chasing a number of Burgoyne's savage auxiliaries into the woods.<sup>30</sup>

St. Clair's general orders of 30 June also indicate an improvement in the troops behavior at Ticonderoga. These expressed his pleasure "with the disposition . . . in the Officers & Soldiers," for "Such a Spirit exerted in so righteous a cause will not fail to overcome our Enemies. He only recommends to them that they would endeavor to preserve Coolness and Silence and that whenever they come to action, they do not throw away their fire when the Enemy are at a distance."<sup>31</sup>

By July 1 St. Clair did not think the invading army was particularly large because Burgoyne's flotilla standing off Three-Mile Point included only 2 ships, 18 gunboats and 3 sloops. St. Clair's fear of losing the post again shifted to hope of resisting successfully. And the next day when he again wrote Schuyler, St. Clair believed the enemy forces were not large, although he could not know whether all of their men had yet arrived. Forty-one batteaux had appeared off Three-Mile Point and carried some of the troops to the east side of Lake Champlain. Fearing that the enemy might slip around Ticonderoga and capture American boats and supplies at the Landing (the carrying place between Lakes Champlain and George), St. Clair sent men to remove them to Fort George and destroy the blockhouse, mills, and the batteaux which could not otherwise be carried off. He also dispatched a party to secure the route to Skenesborough should that be needed as a line of retreat. These moves were proper enough since St. Clair was indeed ignorant of the full force of Burgoyne's army which of course seriously outnumbered him by

more than three to one. Nor had the American general seen the full complement of the British lake fleet and their impressive, indeed oversized, train of artillery.<sup>32</sup>

On July 1 Schuyler's thoughts of the possibilities of holding Ticonderoga were not sanguine. Indeed, he had "great cause" to believe that the fortress would be lost because its garrison was insufficient, the fortifications were imperfect, and the troops lacked discipline. But with expectations of reinforcements from Peekskill, he wrote Richard Varick, "I am In hopes that the Enemy will be prevented from making any farther progress." He asked Varick, who was mustering troops north of Albany, to send him a "very particular" return of Seth Warner's regiment and of Baldwin's and Nuys' artificers and the artillery corps.<sup>33</sup> For the next five days until he could ride north into the field (on Monday July 7) the General continued the business of preparations at Albany.

During the first week of July 1777 as he observed the enemy's campaign develop "in every quarter" of his department Schuyler impatiently waited for militia and Continental reinforcements from Peekskill. While much in need of salt and blankets as well as artillery and more men, he could rejoice that his health was good and his spirits "full" to be able to do his duty.<sup>34</sup> On July 1 the General was prompted to order Colonel Goose Van Schaick to move his forces (150 Continentals) from Fort Dayton to Albany; he had received information that General Herkimer had reached some accommodation with Joseph Brant's Iroquois, and it seemed that Van Schaick's men could be better used elsewhere. But three days later (on July 4) he countermanded the orders because of fears registered by Herkimer and the Tryon County Committee that their strength would thereby be much diminished; instead, the Yorker ordered Van Schaick to consult the western leaders about the wisdom of taking post at Canajoharie and to move as circumstances warranted.<sup>35</sup> Meantime, on July 2, Schuyler sent Brigadier General Ebenezer Learned to command Fort Edward and to rendezvous the militia as they appeared; and Brigadier General Jacob Bayley was requested to send companies of rangers to Ticonderoga; if the enemy prevented the latter's approach there, Bayley was to send them on to Skenesborough. Schuyler continued to wait at Albany, hoping to accompany the Continentals expected from Peekskill. But the days slipped by and none appeared.<sup>36</sup>

In other directives issued on July 2 the General ordered Captain John Strong to hasten his company of rangers to Skenesborough if they could not manage to relieve the Ticonderoga garrison. And Major



Christopher Yates was instructed to send what men he could spare from Fort George to help equip the Lake George fleet commanded by Commodore Jacobus Wynkoop.<sup>37</sup>

Both St. Clair at Ticonderoga and Schuyler at Albany waited in vain for reinforcements that might have prevented disaster on Lake Champlain. On July 3 the former reported various attacks on pickets posted at Ticonderoga where five men were killed and two or three wounded. But two enemy deserters and one prisoner of war had been brought in. St. Clair indicated that he had called for help from the Hampshire Grants militia and thought that these forces under Seth Warner might encounter the enemy's German auxiliaries east of the Lake. On July 3 and 4 about 800 militia did manage to reach St. Clair, and on the third Schuyler sent word to the President of Massachusetts that militia were indeed moving up to help meet the invaders but that he continued to wait to lead Continental reinforcements north as soon as they could arrive from Peekskill. Dispatching Major Robert Van Rensselaer to Massachusetts, the General endeavored to procure supplies for the Indians whose neutrality required renewal by presents of blankets, rum, needles and axe blades, cloth and brass wire and other similar items.<sup>38</sup> Although without news from Ticonderoga since June 28, he could not impute the silence to the enemy's isolation of the garrison; the fort could not, he thought, be so closely invested as to prevent messengers from leaving it, especially as lake vessels could enable them to pass by way of Skenesborough. Schuyler wrote William Duer on July 3 that the militia were not moving with all the speed possible, but that they were on the march. Yet he dared not call out more than half of the available forces closest at hand lest Tories take advantage of defenseless Albany environs. However, if the expected Continental reinforcements from Peekskill were large, Schuyler professed no fear that the enemy would be able to move beyond Ticonderoga even if the post should be lost. A fair wind on July 3 promised the arrival of sloops with troops from Peekskill that very day, and the General intended to lead them north the following morning, for everything had been placed in readiness to do so.<sup>39</sup> Instead, when Schuyler finally left Albany on July 7, he was obliged to go without the long-expected Continentals. The reinforcements continued to be delayed.

The Yorker confronted several other difficulties as he tarried for the reinforcements which he hoped to lead to Ticonderoga. Having returned to a department clouded with confusion in June, he had in the ensuing month begun to see a reestablishment of order and regularity.

Anxious to cultivate the support of the Six Nations, he asked William Duer to move Congress to send blankets, strouds, and paints with which to purchase their neutrality; such goods seemed impossible to obtain from New England where the General's agent had been denied permission to buy blankets. Responding to Duer's account of Horatio Gates's remarkable performance on June 18 on the floor of Congress, when Gates had attempted to demonstrate his superior military abilities and caused such an uproar that he was expelled from the chamber, Schuyler observed: "I wish I could believe that he has not a bad heart as well as a weak head. I do not mean to Impeach his political principles, in this Contest, but this Insidiousness in attempting to blast the reputation of others. The resentment of Congress showed to his Improper Conduct gives me a double pleasure as It must have Extreemly Mortified him and his Abettors the Eastern people." The General had good reason to believe that Gates had corresponded with a "set of people" calling themselves "a *Convention* of the new (& would be) states, and that he has addressed letters to them as Such."<sup>40</sup> Gates's efforts to cultivate Congress in order to gain command of Schuyler's army were probably based in part on the possibility that the General might have been elected governor of New York; had Schuyler won the election and resigned his command, Gates might then have easily gained it.

Further, the results of New York elections under its new constitution caused Schuyler some uneasiness. He agreed with Duer that regardless of who headed the state government, "we shall never *Equal* the vigor of Convention and Committees," and he wished "the Matter had been duly attended to and that the organization of the government had been left to a future day, but It is done," he said, "and we must now as good citizens strenuously exert ourselves to Counteract the wicked the weak & the disappointed and I trust that we shall be able to Succeed and support the friends of the Country in office against their malignant opponents."<sup>41</sup>

Alluding to the recent Congressional rearrangement of the commissary general's operations and Yorkers' triumph over Yankee Joseph Trumbull, Schuyler noted his pleasure that Trumbull's deputy in New York would not be a New Englander but a fellow Yorker, Jacob Cuyler, whom Schuyler trusted would be more active than his predecessor in acquiring supplies. Only about a fortnight's provisions "of the meat kind" for 5,000 men were stocked south of Ticonderoga, and much of the salted meat shipped to the western posts was damaged and had to be condemned. Moreover, the commissary of forage was now Schuyler's

brother-in-law, Henry Van Rensselaer, and Cuyler had agreed to provide "genteely" for another Schuyler protégée, a Mr. Steward, in that department. In the July 5 postscript to his letter to Duer of July 3 Schuyler finally noted that Gate's earlier negligence in the business of forwarding provisions from Fort George was very "unaccountable" and the source of much difficulty and distress to himself. Deeming his own position unenviable, the Yorker nevertheless hoped to extricate himself from the variety of difficulties which constantly arose in every quarter. He seemed to thrive with anxiety, care, and fatigue, and he thanked God he had better health than ever to meet the impending crisis.<sup>42</sup>

On the dawn of Independence Day 1777, little imagining that Ticonderoga would be evacuated on the following night (July 5-6), Schuyler posted a letter to General St. Clair, acknowledging his reports of June 30, July 1 and 2. The last had reached Albany about one in the morning. St. Clair recounted the steady approach of the enemy forces, first the appearance of 18 gunboats, then an additional two ships and three sloops, and how on July 1 forty-one batteaux appeared off Three Mile Point, carrying troops to the east side of Lake Champlain. St. Clair thought his army was positioned for the best possible efforts and could give a good account of itself to the British if they attacked. And if Colonel Seth Warner but pursued the opportunity available to his Hampshire Grants militia — some 1,000 strong — St. Clair imagined that the enemy could be forced to retreat faster than they had advanced. Burgoyne's forces still did not appear to him to be particularly strong, and he rejoiced at learning that they were digging trenches and throwing a boom across the river three miles north of Ticonderoga. On the other hand, St. Clair was uneasy lest the invaders on the east side of the lake move to capture the batteaux and stores concentrated at the Landing Place. He could not possibly rescue them without risking large detachments of troops in the open field while the enemy occupied Mount Hope to the north.<sup>43</sup>

Schuyler responded to this latest intelligence by wondering whether the invaders meant to attack Ticonderoga in view of their entrenching activities and the construction of the boom three miles north of the fort. It was all very odd, and he wished he knew their numbers. In his reply to St. Clair the General announced that he had sent a strong party marching to the area mentioned by St. Clair, but he did not offer further specifications lest the enemy intercept the letter. The militia of New York and New England, he promised, were marching north in "great numbers," and Schuyler now promised to lead reinforcements from

Peekskill on the next morning. He did not explain, however, that these troops had not yet reached Albany or that he was even certain that they could. Having directed the Massachusetts militia to move to Ticonderoga, Schuyler ordered Brigadier General Ebenezer Learned to post 150 of them at Fort Ann, and 200 at Fort George, thus covering points along two routes reaching south from Lake George on the west and Skenesborough and Wood Creek on the east.<sup>44</sup>

His attention drawn increasingly to the northern invasion, Schuyler never forgot the possible danger from the west, although on July 4 he seemed to think the Mohawk route was not so immediately threatened. He decided to countermand orders removing Colonel Goose Van Schaick's small Continental force from Fort Dayton because General Herkimer and the Tryon County Committee of Safety objected to thus weakening their defenses. But he wrote Herkimer and the Tryon County leaders that intelligence suggested that the enemy's major effort would be made from the north. Encouraging the westerners to bolster their spirits and act with vigor, he insisted that with such resolves there would be nothing to fear. The Indians could be dealt with at a treaty which he intended to hold on July 15 at Cherry Valley, and if Colonel Van Schaick took post near Canajoharie, he might be more advantageously placed to protect inhabitants of the area than if he remained at Fort Dayton. Responding to reports of widespread despondency of Tryon County settlers, and fears that they were "*out of the protection of the United States of America,*" Schuyler urged the county committee not to think that the enemy was capable of doing anything they pleased. In promising all the assistance in his power to give, the General noted that "hitherto it has been effectual for no Mischief, worth mentioning, has yet been perpetrated in any part of your Country and You may depend upon it that upon no necessary Occasion will you be left without proper support."<sup>45</sup>

A variety of other orders issued by Schuyler on July 4 gave no hint that he expected Ticonderoga to fall to the enemy; yet that eventuality was not ignored. The General's main concern was to reinforce the garrison to enable it to stand. Accordingly, he directed Deputy Quartermaster General Morgan Lewis to move flour, peas and meat from Fort Edward and Fort Ann to Skenesborough, to send iron, blacksmiths and tools for work on naval vessels, and to stockpile axes and entrenching tools at Fort Edward. Carriages must be provided at Fort Edward, and batteauxmen were wanted to work along Wood Creek. Lewis must obtain strong escorts from General Learned to accompany carriages plying be-

tween Forts George and Ann.<sup>46</sup> Thus the way might be prepared for reinforcements moving to Ticonderoga — or for the army to retreat from post to post. Schuyler's other orders to Colonel John Brown, who headed the Central Berkshire Regiment of Massachusetts Militia, and to Major Christopher Yates at Fort George provided for the movement of militia from Fort Ann to Ticonderoga via Skenesborough, the construction of redoubts to protect the hospital at Fort George, the safeguarding of batteaux and the completion of naval vessels on Lake George. Colonel Brown was carefully directed to remain at Skenesborough if his troops could not obtain provisions at that post; and if his men could not reach Mount Independence at Ticonderoga, they were to take post at Castleton until enough forces could be gathered either to break a possible siege of Ticonderoga or to attack the enemy. If more than 500 men were available at Fort Ann, Brown was to send them to reinforce Skenesborough.<sup>47</sup>

About midnight on July 4-5 Schuyler received the last news from St. Clair that he was to have until 5 a.m. on July 7. Dated July 3, the letter reported skirmishing with the enemy and that St. Clair had called upon Colonels John Williams's, Robinson's and Seth Warner's Hampshire Grants militia to hasten to the relief of Ticonderoga. He surmised that Warner might encounter the "foreigners" east of Lake Champlain while the British were positioned on the west side. Schuyler rushed an answer to St. Clair on the morning of the 5th. He had ordered one armed vessel sent to Skenesborough, he said, for purposes he dare not explain lest the letter miscarry. And he promised St. Clair that Brigadier General John Fellows's Massachusetts militia were on their way. The General hoped St. Clair would see Fellows within a day or two. His orders to Fellows to hasten to Fort Ann and move the militia to Skenesborough suggested that the forces would be conveyed from that point down Lake Champlain to Mount Independence and Ticonderoga.<sup>48</sup>

Posting reports of his latest activities to Washington, Congress, and the State Council of Safety on the fateful fifth of July, Schuyler announced that he intended to leave Albany on the 6th without the Continental troops he had long expected from Peekskill. He indicated the difficulty of procuring goods for the Indians who were expected soon to assemble for fresh negotiations and noted that enemy agents had tried to persuade the tribes that the Americans had nothing to give them. Although Schuyler had sent Major Robert Van Rensselaer to Boston to buy \$10,000 worth of goods for the Indians, he asked Congress for 300

blankets and quantities of strouds and vermillion lest nothing arrive from Boston. While the Yorker constantly acted to accomplish what might be reasonably hoped for, he was never blind to less promising possibilities. Thus he warned Washington that if failure came at Ticonderoga and St. Clair's troops were lost, the situation would be disagreeable indeed; his army would then be reduced to little more than militia; and as he wholly lacked artillery he asked the Commander-in-Chief to send whatever field pieces he could possibly spare. With regard to the enemy's approach from the west, Schuyler notified Pierre Van Cortlandt of the New York Council of Safety that he trusted the danger would prove to be bearable. Yet he feared the behavior of Tryon County settlers who had threatened to abandon their homes or submit to the British unless they were properly defended.<sup>49</sup>

At the far southern reaches of the Hudson River the British movements on July 5 signalled the ultimate failure of Burgoyne's northern invasion — a fact that probably no one could have perceived at the moment. Sir William Howe embarked his troops, turning his sights to Philadelphia instead of Albany. Although 18 days elapsed before the fleet had favorable winds to move, and Sir Henry Clinton argued that Howe should first move north to assist Burgoyne, Howe refused. And having heard that Burgoyne had captured Ticonderoga, Howe set sail on July 23, believing that Burgoyne was able to fend for himself. The most he would concede to Clinton was enough men to prevent Washington's seizure of New York. Clinton's arguments that Washington would be freer to send relief to the American forces in the north, that Burgoyne would need supplies from the lower Hudson, and that the river should be opened to British shipping which could drive Americans from the Highland forts, all fell upon deaf ears. Admitting the validity of Clinton's warnings, Howe refused to act accordingly.<sup>50</sup>

Positioned between enemy forces on the lower Hudson and the approach of the British from the north, Philip Schuyler at Albany could not fully appreciate Arthur St. Clair's prospects at Ticonderoga on July 5-6. For the Americans they were grim indeed, as Thomas Anburey's journal notation indicates. A lieutenant in Burgoyne's army, Anburey described the fortifications at Ticonderoga, the strength of the old French lines north of the fort and the concentration of St. Clair's forces on Mount Independence. Enclosed in a star-shaped fort made of pickets, replete with an apparently good supply of artillery and barracks for the troops, the little garrison was well entrenched on the side of the hill projecting into the lake. But several days earlier Major General

William Phillips had seized Mount Hope, thereby cutting off St. Clair's communication with Lake George, and an American cannonade of the site had been ineffectual. By July 4 one of Burgoyne's engineers had reconnoitered Sugar Loaf Hill (Mount Defiance) on the south side of the communication between Lakes George and Champlain, and there discovered a weakness which enabled the British to force St. Clair to withdraw or capitulate. It was the fact that the placing of artillery upon this eminence would command both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. During that day the enemy lost no time seizing their opportunity to dramatize their force; a battery of guns and howitzers was emplaced at the crest of the hill. After night-fall on July 5 Anburey saw the Americans lighting great fires in their camp by which St. Clair made a show of his own force. But under cover of night St. Clair led his troops off in a desperate attempt to avoid capture. By daybreak on July 6 the British detected the move and took up the pursuit.<sup>51</sup>

St. Clair's last day at Ticonderoga, observing the growing threat of British artillery emplacements, was, for all the hurried consultations and preparation for escape, marked by some remarkably ordinary and routine business. The last entry in Henry Brockholst Livingston's orderly book until July 19 reveals that St. Clair's orders of the day provided two promotions, a sergeant's clearance from charges of neglect of duty and abuse of a superior officer, a sentence of 100 lashes approved for John Lacey who had threatened the life of a Lieutenant Thompson, and the awarding of twenty lashes apiece to Nathan Berry and Daniel Allen for desertion.<sup>52</sup>

The more pressing business of evacuating was, of course, wisely undertaken, but St. Clair's decision to do so was contrary to Schuyler's expectations and made without Schuyler's orders or direct approval save for the general agreement that had been reached on June 20. When Schuyler had then inspected the site and conferred with his subordinates, they had all determined to maintain both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence as long as possible, consistent with the safety of the troops and stores. Schuyler's disappointment that St. Clair fled without a fight was by no means as great or unreasoned as that of Congress or even of officers like Washington when they first heard of the event. Although he could understand the necessity of the retreat, the Yorker was furious and vexed at rumors that he had actually ordered the move. And his correspondence revealed both his chagrin and determination to make known the honorable discharge of his duty. Against other rumors that he had deliberately lost ground to the enemy, who

paid him for his treason by firing silver cannon balls into his camp, Schuyler fought an almost losing battle to restore lustre to his reputation thus foully tarnished.<sup>53</sup>

Because of the vulnerability of Ticonderoga and of Mount Independence to the placement of artillery on Sugar Loaf Hill, the question of why this eventuality was not prevented by Schuyler and his subordinates is really the only important one in the assessment of responsibility for Burgoyne's momentary success. The possible threat had been noted a year earlier when Horatio Gates pointed to it and Colonel John Trumbull had proved that a cannon shot could reach the fort from the hill, also named Mount Defiance. In May 1777 Thaddeus Kosciuszko reported the possibility of placing cannon there, but Gates had done nothing about it before Schuyler resumed command of the department.<sup>54</sup> And the Yorker seems not to have anticipated how the British might sense the importance of thus capturing Ticonderoga. Burgoyne's guns may not have been "powerful or accurate enough to render it indefensible," but "they threatened the bridge; they could destroy the boats brought up to evacuate the garrison; they could undermine the morale of the defenders."<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, there had been neither time nor manpower with which to grapple with all the work of improving and defending the extensive fortifications, nor artillery enough for both Sugar Loaf Hill and Mount Independence. At Ticonderoga in June, Schuyler heard Colonel James Wilkinson urge the division of forces between that outpost and Fort George in order to guard against a British feint toward the latter. The General agreed, but insisted that without orders for such from Congress "he dare not take on himself the responsibility of a measure which would excite a great outcry." Similarly, the variety of options like mounting cannon on Sugar Loaf Hill, which Congress had not ordered, and the strengthening of Ticonderoga, which it had specifically directed Schuyler to hold, was in fact not wide. And if the wrong choice had been made, it was nonetheless taken with a view of holding off the invaders by blocking their passage between Mount Independence and Ticonderoga within the limits of both time and means. Although the mounting of artillery on Mount Defiance was a threat not to the fort but to St. Clair's line of retreat, the distance would have inhibited the effectiveness of artillery fire. More important probably was the enemy's ability to cannonade Ticonderoga and Mount Independence from closer ranges.<sup>56</sup> And finally it must be noted that practically no one had seriously imagined that an enemy *would* attempt to drag artillery up the



hill's steep and heavily wooded slopes.<sup>57</sup> For all of his censures of the American concentration upon Mount Independence, Colonel Wilkinson was gentler than Schuyler's and St. Clair's armchair critics; the stand at Mount Independence, Wilkinson decided, was a "desperate game played for popular applause, without a trump in hand . . . and the losers were left without the consoling reflection that they had exercised their best judgment."<sup>58</sup> But perhaps the best judgment had been exercised, and Wilkinson might well have added that while Horatio Gates had been left in charge of Schuyler's department earlier in the spring, Gates had displayed less energy and initiative to prevent the reverses now suffered than either Arthur St. Clair or Philip Schuyler.

In the end the correct decision was made for several reasons. Knowing that he could save his character by sacrificing the army to bloody honors, St. Clair decided, according to Colonel Wilkinson, that were he to do so, he "should forfeit that which the world could not restore, and that which it cannot take away, the approbation of 'his' own conscience."<sup>59</sup> Neither he nor Schuyler were practitioners of the arts of popularity. Moreover, St. Clair had less than a fourth of the troops required (10,000) to hold both Ticonderoga and its outlying works including Mounts Hope, Independence and Defiance; and his strength in relation to that of the British was only fifty percent. If he tried to hold Ticonderoga, the enemy could cut him off from routes of withdrawal and supply, for Brigadier General Simon Fraser, outflanking the fort on the west, could block the route to Lake George. And General Friedrich von Riedesel on the east side of Lake Champlain outflanked Mount Independence and blocked the route to Skenesborough along the Hubbardton road and the Lake Champlain narrows, which lay just south of Mount Independence. Fortunately for St. Clair, von Riedesel was delayed because the swampiness around East Creek, and his soldiers' heavy uniforms and equipment slowed their movement. Finally, Burgoyne's artillery was vastly superior to St. Clair's. And with 128 cannon, howitzers, and mortars for approximately 7,000 British and German troops, the British Commander far exceeded the normal ration of about 100 guns per 10,000 troops.<sup>60</sup>

The British experienced difficulty with their gunboats and other vessels in passing the bridge between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, but the army broke through to pursue the Americans by South Bay within three miles of Skenesborough (Whitehall). Thomas Anburey reported how Burgoyne's first brigade was sent to cut off St. Clair's retreat, but the Americans moved too quickly. The quantities of provi-

sions captured at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence reflect in what measure these posts had been manned before the evacuation and what, of course, St. Clair had been forced to leave behind, undestroyed:

at Ticonderoga — 19 barrels of pork  
                           31 bushels of salt  
                           50 barrels of biscuit  
                           57 barrels of flour  
 at Mount Independence — 5 barrels of beef  
                           649 barrels of pork  
                           50 barrels of biscuit  
                           1,768 barrels of flour.<sup>61</sup>

Pursuing the rebels' naval vessels, the British took one galley (the "Trumbull") and a schooner (the "Liberty") and destroyed the sloops "Revenge" and "Enterprise" and the galley "Gates" near Skenesborough where St. Clair's forces attempted a defense before blowing up three of their vessels and sinking two others. They also fired the fort, sawmill, ironworks and all the buildings there before barely escaping toward Fort Ann, and they destroyed many batteaux laden with powder and military stores rather than let them remain for their pursuers.<sup>62</sup>

In the evening of July 6 a party under Colonel Pierce Long, escorting the sick and some artillery, barely managed to escape Burgoyne's clutches at Skenesborough, and then pressed on to Fort Ann. About 4:30 in the morning of July 7 Generals Fraser's and Riedesel's troops caught up to St. Clair's rear guard under Colonel Seth Warner at Hubbardton. Warner's forces scattered after the troops clashed but later managed to regroup at Manchester, and St. Clair diverted his men eastward toward Rutland while maneuvering southward and ultimately to Fort Edward.<sup>63</sup>

Burgoyne may have erred by failing to return to Ticonderoga to move his forces south by water; instead he continued overland from Skenesborough to Fort Edward — a distance of only 23 miles, but difficult to traverse because of marshes, streams, and a dense forest of pine, spruce, and sycamore. Schuyler seized the advantage of the time and terrain to throw further blocks into Burgoyne's path, and forced the British General to labor 24 days to traverse the 23 miles. Perhaps Burgoyne further erred by failing to rush a lightly equipped column to sieze Fort Edward before it could serve as a rendezvous point for the rebels. But he was determined to move only as fast as his baggage, supplies, and equipment could be kept close in train. And even his light infantry which had already suffered heavy casualties at Hubbardton needed rest and supplies.<sup>64</sup>

As St. Clair began his retreat, Schuyler had not been able to leave Albany as he had intended. Reinforcements from Peekskill still had not appeared, and the General continued preparations for forwarding provisions to Ticonderoga and for an impending conference with the Iroquois; the latter included arrangements for barracks and supplies of food and rum. By July 6 Schuyler decided he could tarry at Albany no longer, and he prepared orders to be given Brigadier General John Nixon when he should reach the city with reinforcements. Nixon must immediately collect ammunition from the storekeeper and apply to the deputy quartermaster general for batteaux or carriages to convey baggage to Fort Edward. His men must march on as rapidly as possible.<sup>65</sup> Little did Schuyler imagine that the remainder of Nixon's brigade was all that Washington had ordered from Peekskill to his relief. These forces carried field artillery and ammunition; entrenching tools had been promised, and Henry Knox had ordered 20 reams of cartridge paper or printing paper forwarded from Peekskill. But no tents were available for Schuyler's militia, and the Commander-in-Chief explained in his July 6 letter that he could not spare more troops; he nevertheless hoped both that Schuyler would have adequate manpower and that the enemy could never take Ticonderoga. Howe's army on Staten Island seemed to be preparing for embarkation, and of course Washington could only wonder at its destination.<sup>66</sup>

The dawn of Monday July 7 found Schuyler hurriedly preparing to leave Albany. About 5 a.m. an express messenger reached him with news of St. Clair's evacuation of Ticonderoga and of the progress of his retreat to Skenesborough. Immediately the General posted orders that St. Clair scatter detachments of his troops throughout the countryside to evacuate all inhabitants north and northeast of that settlement. Their livestock and wheeled carriages must also be brought off or destroyed.<sup>67</sup> By 8 o'clock Schuyler had mounted his horse to ride off once more from the comfort of his wife and home. A full month of ceaseless movement awaited him in the field. His first day's hard journey carried him about 45 miles to Fort Edward with stops at Stillwater and his Saratoga estate. And so began the Yorker's scorched earth strategy — a policy that did not save him from Congress's impatient dismissal from his command but that did in the end do much to delay the British invasion and to buy time for rebels to prepare for what became the victory of Saratoga.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>E.g. Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789* (Bloomington, Ind. and London, 1971), 189, and Jonathan Gregory Rossie, *The Politics of Command in the American Revolution* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1975), 59-60, *et passim*. Like most historians, who are really unfamiliar with the General and have never read the Schuyler papers in their entirety, Higginbotham admits that Schuyler was a "generous, selfless patriot" but also characterizes him as "pompous and overbearing." Rossie is even less generous and more wrong-headed in his assessment.

<sup>2</sup>James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1816), I, 207, 215.

<sup>3</sup>Schuyler to Washington, 9 June 1777: New York Public Library, Schuyler Papers Letterbook, V, 154-155. Hereafter cited as NYPL, S Papers. The five letterbooks carry entries as follows: I — 22 June 1775 to 16 June 1778; II — 28 June 1775 to 24 February 1776; III — 25 February 1776 to 19 November 1776; IV — 18 April 1776 to 29 June 1777; V — 19 November 1776 to 1 July 1778.

<sup>4</sup>Schuyler to Washington (2 letters) 10 June 1777; *ibid.*, V, 159, 159-60.

<sup>5</sup>Washington to Schuyler, 16 June 1777: John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington, 1745-1799*, 37 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1931-40), VIII, 253-255. Hereafter cited as Fitzpatrick, *W of W*.

<sup>6</sup>Schuyler to Washington, 14, 16 June 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 167-168, 172-173.

<sup>7</sup>Schuyler to Pierre VanCortlandt, 14 June 1777: *ibid.*, 168-169.

<sup>8</sup>Schuyler to John Hancock, 14 June 1777: *ibid.*, 162-167. John R. Elting, *The Battles of Saratoga* (Monmouth Beach, N.J., 1977), 29.

<sup>9</sup>Washington to Schuyler, 20 June 1777: Fitzpatrick, *W of W*, VIII, 273-276.

<sup>10</sup>Schuyler's 28 June 1777 letters to Washington, the Berkshire County Committee, the N.Y. Committee of Safety, to Israel Putnam, Abraham Ten Broeck, John Trumbull, and the President of Mass.: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 186-188, 190-194. The distance between Peekskill and Ticonderoga is about 180 miles. Considering the possibility of troops moving 25-30 miles in a day (as St. Clair's did when they fled Ticonderoga) and of moving them faster by river transport between Peekskill and Albany, one may reasonably conclude that reinforcements could have traversed the 180 miles in about a week.

<sup>11</sup>Harold C. Syrett *et al.* (eds.), *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 26 vols. (New York, 1961-1979), I, 283 n.

<sup>12</sup>Washington to Schuyler, 2 July 1777: Fitzpatrick, *W of W*, VIII, 331-333.

<sup>13</sup>Schuyler to St. Clair, 28 June 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 189-190.

<sup>14</sup>St. Clair to Schuyler, 25 June 1777: Henry E. Huntington Library, Cf. William Henry Smith [ed.], *The St. Clair Papers*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1882), I, 409.

<sup>15</sup>St. Clair to Schuyler, 25 June 1777: *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New York 1775-1776-1777*, 2 vols. (Albany, N.Y., 1842), II, 463. Cf. Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I, 411-412 which misdates the letter as 28 June.

<sup>16</sup>St. Clair to Schuyler, 26 June 1777: Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I, 410.

<sup>17</sup>Returns of Troops at Ticonderoga, 28 June 1777: Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, appendix A. Cf. Elting, *Battles of Saratoga*, 28-29.

<sup>18</sup>Schuyler's general orders, 28 June 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, IV, 525.

<sup>19</sup>Schuyler to Col. Bailey, 29 June 1777: *ibid.*, IV, 528-529.

<sup>20</sup>Schuyler to Washington, 30 June 1777: *ibid.*, V, 204-205.

<sup>21</sup>Schuyler to Henry Glen, 29 June 1777: *ibid.*, IV, 529-530.

<sup>22</sup>Schuyler to all whom it may concern, 30 June 1777: *ibid.*, IV, 511-512; Schuyler to Putnam, 30 June 1777: *ibid.*, V, 206-207.

<sup>23</sup>Schuyler to Jay, 30 June 1777: Richard B. Morris (ed.), *John Jay: The Making of a Revolutionary, Unpublished Papers, 1745-1780* (New York, 1975), I, 416.

<sup>24</sup>Schuyler to Pierre VanCortlandt, 30 June 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 206; Elting, *Battles of Saratoga*, 30.

<sup>25</sup>Schuyler to St. Clair, 30 June 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 207-208.

<sup>26</sup>William H. W. Sabine (ed.), *Historical Memoirs from 12 July 1776 to 25 July 1778 of William Smith* (New York, 1958), 170. Rossie, *Politics of Command*, 131 *et passim*.

<sup>27</sup>Schuyler to Washington, 30 June 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 204-205, and see IV, 6.

<sup>28</sup>Schuyler to Colonel Henry Beekman Livingston, 30 June 1777: American Antiquarian Society (hereafter cited as AAS), Schuyler Orderly Book, 5-6.

<sup>29</sup>Sydney Jackman (ed.), *With Burgoyne from Quebec* (Toronto, 1963), 131-132.

<sup>30</sup>St. Clair to Schuyler, 30 June 1777: Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I, 413-414; Henry B. Livingston to Schuyler, 30 June 1777: NYPL, S Papers.

<sup>31</sup>St. Clair's general orders, 30 June 1777: AAS, Henry B. Livingston's Orderly Book, 38-39.

<sup>32</sup>St. Clair to Schuyler, 1, 2 July 1777: Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I, 415-416; see also St. Clair to Cols. Williams, Robinson and Warner, 2 July 1777: New York State Library (hereafter cited as NYSL), Williams Papers; Jackman, *With Burgoyne*, 4-5; Higginbotham, *War of American Independence*, 188; R. Arthur Bowler, *Logistics and the Failure of the British Army in America, 1775-1783* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 225-227, 229; Hoffman Nickerson, *The Turning Point of the Revolution, or Burgoyne in America*, 2 vols. (Port Washington, N.Y., 1967), I, 105-106.

<sup>33</sup>Schuyler to Richard Varick, 1 July 1777: NYSL, Schuyler Papers.

<sup>34</sup>Schuyler to William Heath, 1 July 1777; Schuyler to George Clymer, 1 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 208-210.

<sup>35</sup>Schuyler to Goose Van Schaick, 1, 4 July 1777: AAS, Schuyler Letterbook, 7, 10-11; Schuyler to William Duer, 3/5 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers Box 41 (Misc. Military). Schuyler deemed Herkimer's treaty with Brandt "Absurd in

the highest [degree?] as well as prejudicial." He rebuked Herkimer for agreeing to permit the Reverend John Stewart, an Anglican priest, and Mrs. Butler to reside at Canajoharie lest they be able there to infect the Iroquois with Loyalist sentiments. Schuyler to Herkimer, 4 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 215.

<sup>36</sup>Schuyler to Ebenezer Learned and Jacob Bailey [Bayley], 2 July 1777: *ibid.* V, 210-211. Learned's Continental Brigade consisted of Col. James Livingston's N.Y. Regiment, Col. John Bailey's 2d Mass. Regiment, Col. Ichabod Alden's 7th Mass. Regiment, Col. Michael Jackson's 8th Mass. Regiment, and Col. James Wesson's 9th Mass. Regiment — all of whom served under Horatio Gates in the Saratoga campaign. Brig. Gen. Jacob Bayley led a Hampshire Grants (Vt.) militia brigade and also served under Gates. Bayley is not to be confused with Colonel John Bailey altho their surnames are commonly spelled alike.

<sup>37</sup>Schuyler to Capt. Strong, 2 July 1777 and John Lansing, Jr. to Maj. Yates, 2 July 1777: AAS, Schuyler Letterbook, 8-9.

<sup>38</sup>St. Clair to Schuyler, 3 July 1777: Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I, 419-420; Elting, *Battles of Saratoga*, 30; Schuyler to Pres. of Mass., 3 July 1777 and to Gen. Heath, 3 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 211-213; S to Maj. Van Rensselaer, 3 July 1777: AAS, Schuyler Letterbook, 9-10; Memorandum of Articles . . . to purchase for the Indian Dept., 3 July 1777: NYPL, S (Indian) Papers.

<sup>39</sup>Schuyler to Duer, 3/5 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers (Box 41 Misc. Military).

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup>St. Clair to Schuyler, 30 June, 1, 2 July 1777: Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I, 413-416.

<sup>44</sup>Schuyler to St. Clair, 4 July 1777 and to Learned, 4 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 213-215.

<sup>45</sup>Schuyler to Van Schaick, 4 July 1777: AAS, Schuyler Letterbook, 10-11; Schuyler to Herkimer, and to Tryon County Committee, 4 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 215-217.

<sup>46</sup>Schuyler to Morgan Lewis, 4, 5 July 1777: AAS, Schuyler Letterbook, 11-12, 14-15.

<sup>47</sup>Schuyler to Col. Brown and to Maj. Yates, 4 July 1777: AAS, Schuyler Letterbook, 12-13.

<sup>48</sup>St. Clair to Schuyler, 3 July 1777: Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I, 419-420. Cf. St. Clair to Cols. Williams, Robinson and Warner, 2 July 1777: NYSL, Williams Papers; Schuyler to St. Clair and to John Fellows, 5 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 222-224.

<sup>49</sup>Schuyler's 5 July 1777 letters to Hancock, to Washington, and Van-Cortlandt: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 217-222.

<sup>50</sup>Jane Clark, "The Responsibility for the Failure of the Burgoyne Campaign," *American Historical Review*, XXXV (1930), 550-554; Ira D. Gruber, *The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution* (New York, 1972), 230-232.

<sup>51</sup>Elting, *Battles of Saratoga*, 31; Jackman, *With Burgoyne*, 134-138.

<sup>52</sup>AAS, H. B. Livingston's Orderly Book (5 July 1777), 45-47.

<sup>53</sup>Council of General Officers Minutes, 20 June 1777: Smith, *St. Clair*

*Papers*, I, 404-405; Schuyler to John Jay, 6 Aug. 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 317-323; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 198; James Thatcher, *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War* (2d ed.; Boston, 1827), 86.

<sup>54</sup>Mieczislaus Haiman, *Kosciuszko in the American Revolution* (Boston, 1972), 16-17; James Lunt, *John Burgoyne of Saratoga* (N.Y. and London, 1975), 155-156; Paul David Nelson, *General Horatio Gates: A Biography* (Baton Rouge, La., 1976), 91-92.

<sup>55</sup>Irma B. Jaffe, *John Trumbull: Patriot-Artist of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1975), 28.

<sup>56</sup>Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 174; John A. Williams, "Mount Independence in Time of War, 1776-1783," *Vermont History*, XXXV (1967), 100-101; John Luzader, *Decision on the Hudson: The Saratoga Campaign of 1777* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 21.

<sup>57</sup>Bayard Tuckerman, *Life of General Philip Schuyler, 1733-1804* (New York, 1903), 189-192, recounts John Trumbull's observations after he fired a cannon from Ft. Ticonderoga to Mt. Defiance. The experiment proved that the fort was vulnerable to artillery fire from the summit. But Gates had insisted that it "was inaccessible to the enemy" even after Trumbull, Benedict Arnold and Anthony Wayne climbed Mt. Defiance and pronounced the ascent "difficult and laborious, but not impracticable" for "driving up a loaded carriage."

<sup>58</sup>Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 176.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, I, 85.

<sup>60</sup>Williams, "Mount Independence," 100-102; George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (New York, 1957), 254-255; Willard M. Wallace, *Appeal to Arms* (Chicago, 1964), 148.

<sup>61</sup>Jackman, *With Burgoyne*, 147; Richard Ross's Book — A Journal of the British Army, 55, Return of Provisions Taken at Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence: Huntington Library.

<sup>62</sup>"List of Vessels" taken or destroyed by the British: *ibid.*, 54. Cf. Peter Force, *American Archives: Fifth Series*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1848-1853), II, 1178-1179 and Jackman, *With Burgoyne*, 147.

<sup>63</sup>Nickerson, *Turning Point*, I, 148-155; Luzader, *Decision on the Hudson*, 25; Howard K. Peckham (ed.), *The Toll of Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1974), 37.

<sup>64</sup>Elting, *Battles of Saratoga*, 34; Higginbotham, *War of Independence*, 190. Burgoyne's reasons for moving overland instead were to avoid the appearance of a retreat and to force the Americans out of Ft. George. Otherwise, they might remain there to delay an approach via the lake and also have time to destroy the road between Ft. George and Ft. Edward. Moreover, Burgoyne wished to continue to threaten Connecticut "as a cover plan." Lunt, *Burgoyne*, 169. See also Luzader, *Decision on the Hudson*, 21-22.

<sup>65</sup>Schuyler's 6 July 1777 orders to Elisha Avery, Morgan Lewis, John Hanson and Mr. Spencer: AAS, Schuyler Letterbook, 15-17; Schuyler to Gen. Nixon or the Officer Commanding Troops on march from Peekskill, 6 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 224.

<sup>66</sup>Washington to Schuyler, 6 July 1777: Fitzpatrick, *W of W*, VIII, 357-358.

<sup>67</sup>Schuyler to St. Clair, 7 July 1777: NYPL, S Papers Letterbook, V, 228.

# TROOP LIFE AT THE CHAMPLAIN VALLEY FORTS DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

John W. Krueger

## Introduction

When the French abandoned their positions at Ticonderoga and Crown Point during the summer of 1759, the control of a strategic segment of the Lake Champlain-Hudson River corridor passed into British hands. This important thoroughfare linking the Dutch and English settlements in the Hudson Valley with the French settlements along the Saint Lawrence River had served as a much traveled path of trade and of war throughout the colonial period. Great Britain had waged four recent campaigns and had expended hundreds of lives in an attempt to dislodge the French from the Champlain Valley, and now that these efforts were finally marked by success, the British intended to make the most of their opportunity.<sup>1</sup>

"The fort of Ticonderoga is small, though respectably situated," wrote General Jeffrey Amherst shortly after the completion of his successful siege in July of 1759. He reported that the barracks and many of the storehouses had been burned, but that the walls did not appear to be damaged. In fact, a bastion and parts of two curtain walls had been demolished when the fort's powder magazine exploded soon after the French evacuation. Amherst, however, entertained a high regard for what he termed "the famous Fortress," and ordered it repaired as soon as possible. The general then set the bulk of his army to building a new fortification at Crown Point, assuring the soldiers that the new fort would provide "plenty, peace, and quiet to His Majesty's subjects for ages to Come."<sup>2</sup>

A Connecticut ensign at work repairing Ticonderoga reported that the labor was exhausting and he believed that it was likely to remain so, "for we heave a Greate del to do." A Massachusetts soldier concurred in this opinion. He pointed out that the fort was so badly damaged that two regiments would not be able to repair it even if they worked for an

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entire year. The fort under construction at Crown Point, some fifteen miles north of Ticonderoga, was a massive structure, with walls over twenty feet thick, five bastions, and a parade ground encompassing eight acres. One of the colonial soldiers believed that the fort would be "invincible almost when Finished." But the invincible fortress would soon crumble, a victim of neglect by the British government and of deterioration by the hostile elements.<sup>3</sup>

The British government appreciated the strategic importance of the Lake Champlain forts, despite the relative lack of attention that the posts received in the years following the Treaty of Paris. When the Earl of Egremont formally directed the Board of Trade in May of 1763 to prepare a report on post-war policy for North America, one of the many enclosures was an anonymous "Plan" for the disposition of troops in the colonies. Among its other suggestions, the "Plan" recommended that the retention of a garrison at Crown Point would be "useful in guarding against any Disobedience or Disaffection" among the New Englanders who, according to some officials, were beginning to voice "Some extraordinary Opinions, concerning their Relations and Dependance on their Mother Country." Two years later, in December of 1765, General Thomas Gage sent a copy of his "Report on the Forts in North America" to the Secretary at War, Lord Barrington. Gage argued that the Champlain Valley forts had been erected by the French and the English "with no other view but to defend themselves and annoy each other." Both Ticonderoga and Crown Point, he wrote, "may now be said to be Posts to keep open the Communication through the uninhabited Country with Canada, and of no other use." Gage suggested that Crown Point might serve as an arsenal, and as a place where "Reinforcements from the Provinces may Assemble in case of an Attack [by the French] to recover Canada." By the spring of 1766 Gage proposed to garrison only Fort George, at the southern end of Lake George, and Crown Point, each with as few soldiers as possible.<sup>4</sup>

Acting on his own initiative, Gage began closing down a few of the smaller posts which seemed to him to have little peacetime function. Fort Edward, "quite in Ruins and not worth repairing," was ordered evacuated in March of 1766, although twelve soldiers were still there two months later. The garrisons of Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point were reduced to "such numbers as shall be necessary for their Defense," and an engineer was dispatched to make whatever repairs were necessary to put the forts "out of danger of being insulted." In 1767, Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, wrote expressing his belief

that it was "not only expedient, but indispensably necessary" to maintain the lake forts in good repair. Gage, however, continued the closings, and by the following year Fort George had been evacuated and only a few soldiers from the Montreal garrison remained at Ticonderoga and Crown Point.<sup>5</sup>

In April of 1768 Lord Hillsborough instructed Gage to maintain for the present "either the Works of Ticonderoga, or the Fort at Crown Point" as a way station and supply point for troops on the march between New York and Quebec. Gage replied that he was more inclined to maintain Ticonderoga and believed that an officer and twenty-five men would be sufficient for the purpose. In addition, he pointed out that if Ticonderoga was selected there would be "no great Necessity of incurring Expences in repairing the Fortifications." Crown Point, on the other hand, was "a very large Fortress, built of perishable Materials, never completed, and already decaying." Each spring some part of the giant fortress tumbled down or gave way. "It would require the Labour of Many Men to put it in its First State," wrote Gage, "and a Regular Expence every year to repair what falls to Ruin." He suggested removing the artillery and military stores, and, if it was too costly to dismantle the fort and sell the scrap, then let it "go to Decay gradually."<sup>6</sup>

By the early 1770s the once proud fortresses of the Champlain Valley had fallen into a sad state of disrepair. Amherst's fort at Crown Point was almost totally destroyed in April of 1773 when a fire got out of control and ignited the tarred wooden facings of the walls. "I have a bad Report to make your Lordship concerning the Fort of Crown Point," Gage wrote Lord Dartmouth a month after the conflagration. Gage concluded that, except for the damage to the artillery and military stores, "the Loss is not great; the Fort was in a ruinous Condition, and not to be repaired, Parts of it fell down every year, and in a few years, the whole would have tumbled." He ordered the garrison to take shelter in the storehouses and to search through the ruins for anything of value which was to be transported to Ticonderoga. A subsequent inquiry revealed that the fort and most of the supplies had already decayed beyond salvage.<sup>7</sup>

Headquarters were moved from Crown Point to Ticonderoga, and a handful of soldiers were left behind to stand watch over the ruins. Frederick Haldimand, temporarily in command during Gage's absence, considered making Ticonderoga the single station for troops on the march to Canada. The inspection report, however, was discouraging: "The fortifications . . . are fast going to ruin, and are involving the barracks in their destruction."<sup>8</sup>

In May of 1774 Haldimand proposed that two regiments be ordered from Quebec to Crown Point "under the pretense of rebuilding that fort." The far-sighted Haldimand pointed out that a British garrison on Lake Champlain would not only serve to secure the line of communications with Canada, but would also open "an easy access to the back settlements of the northern colonies and may keep them in awe should any of them be rash enough to incline to acts of open force and violence." Early in July Dartmouth informed Gage that a proposal for the re-establishment of Crown Point would be considered, and Gage replied that perhaps Ticonderoga should be repaired as well.<sup>9</sup>

In the fall of 1774, as colonial discontent increased, Dartmouth ordered Gage to place both Ticonderoga and Crown Point in such a state "as may effectually answer the purposes for which they were originally intended." Gage did not receive the instructions until winter had closed in on the Champlain Valley, terminating any major movement of troops until after the spring thaw. Perhaps Gage was lulled into a false sense of complacency by the winter interlude. In any event, he certainly took a leisurely approach to the matter. Captain William Delaplace at Ticonderoga was warned to be on the lookout for trouble, but that was the end of it. Gage initiated no other action.<sup>10</sup>

By the middle of April of 1775, the British ministry had decided to take immediate possession of "all such Forts and Places of Strength of Defence as are likely to afford any Advantage or Security to the Rebels." Four regiments of foot ordered to reinforce Gage in Boston were instead to proceed to New York, secure control of the Lake Champlain-Hudson River corridor, and defeat "any attempt to send succor to the New England people from the middle Colonies." On April 19, as a British column was struggling back to Boston, Gage ordered Carleton to send the Tenth Regiment to Ticonderoga or Crown Point "without delay." Gage optimistically believed that the British soldiers would be able to secure the Champlain Valley, "or make a diversion on the frontiers as the service shall require." Carleton received the orders a month later, but on the following day he learned that it would be impossible to carry them out because one "Dominick" Arnold and certain "Banditti settled upon the Borders of the Lakes" had interfered. Residents of the northern colonies had also been aware of the strategic importance of the Lake Champlain forts, and the colonials, rather than the British ministry, had been the first to take direct action.<sup>11</sup>

Although many volumes have been written about the American Revolution, few have dealt specifically with the soldiers who waged that

long struggle, and none have examined any of the military communities that the war created. The military installations stretching outward from Fort Ticonderoga along Lake George and Lake Champlain represented the single most important military community in North America and was referred to as the "key to the continent." A study of these installations and the personnel who manned them would add to the understanding of the nature of military life and, more importantly, of how the soldiers serving on the northern frontier of the fledgling United States viewed themselves, their companions, and the momentous events of the times.

For a span of more than two years American troops from New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey garrisoned Fort Ticonderoga and its dependent installations at Crown Point, Mount Independence, Fort George, and Skenesborough. Serving in numbers ranging from less than one hundred to more than twelve thousand, and under the command of such men as Ethan Allen, Benedict Arnold, Philip Schuyler, Richard Montgomery, Horatio Gates, Anthony Wayne, and Arthur St. Clair, the soldiers garrisoned at these posts represented a cohesive military community from May of 1775 until July of 1777.

Most competent eighteenth century generals would have agreed that sufficient numbers of trained troops were the key to potential victory, provided that the generals were able to command their plans into execution. American military historical writing, however, has demonstrated an almost complete lack of understanding of and concern for the role of the men in the ranks.

One student of the Revolutionary War who deviated from this tradition was Charles K. Bolton, a Harvard-trained historian, who in 1902 published a slim volume called *The Private Soldier Under Washington*. Bolton's work recorded many aspects of the soldier's lives, although in no great detail. Howard L. Applegate followed Bolton's approach with "The Life of the American Revolutionary War Soldiers in the Middle Department, 1775-1783" (unpublished dissertation, Syracuse University, 1966). With greater detail than Bolton, Applegate discussed such topics as rations, recruitment, uniforms, medicine, religion, camp life, and morale. Broad in scope, but general in content, Applegate's study provides a useful introduction to troop life and includes an excellent bibliography.

Jonathan G. Rossie's *The Politics of Command in the American Revolution* (Syracuse, 1975), demonstrated that the Northern Army

often played a role that was more important (thwarting British attempts to invade the colonies from Canada) than the role played by Washington's army; and that the most serious divisive force within both the army and the Continental Congress during the early years of the war was the result of the rivalry between Philip Schuyler and Horatio Gates over command of the Northern Department. Excellent in its coverage of the interactions between politicians and generals, Rossie's study paid little attention to the soldiers who made up the Northern Army.

Through a comparison of three battles — Agincourt, Waterloo, and The Somme — John Keegan's *The Face of Battle* (New York, 1976), described what combat was like for the man in the thick of the fighting — his fears, his wounds and their treatment, and the nature of leadership. Many of these same topics could usefully be examined from the vantage point of the Revolutionary War.

How did the troops from various states react to one another? What sort of relationship existed between officers and enlisted men? What measures were taken to maintain discipline? What was the quality, quantity, and variety of the rations? What were the major health and sanitation problems? What was the role of the chaplain, what type of sermon did he preach, and how was he received by the soldiers? These are some of the questions that this study seeks to answer. Using the correspondence of the general officers to establish a framework of events, this study is based on the journals, orderbooks, letters, and diaries of the soldiers, chaplains, doctors, and engineers of the Northern Army. The goal of the study is to gain a better understanding of the life-style and the mentality of the common soldier serving on the northern frontier during the American Revolution.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>The events of the French and Indian War in the Champlain Valley are most graphically described in Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (New York, 1962). For additional background, see Douglas E. Leach, *Arms for Empire, A Military History of the British Colonies in North America, 1607-1763* (New York, 1973); Edward P. Hamilton, *Lake Champlain and the Upper Hudson Valley* (Ticonderoga, 1959); George F. G. Stanley, *New France The Last Phase 1744-1760* (Toronto, 1968).

<sup>2</sup>General orders of July 31, 1759, printed in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum* [and hereafter cited as *BFTM*], VI (Jan., 1942), 104-105; J. Clarence Webster, ed., *The Journal of Jeffrey Amherst* (Toronto, 1931), 148-194; J. Clarence Webster, ed., *Journal of William Amherst in America*

(New Brunswick, 1927), 51-52; Sidney Perley, ed., *Diaries of Lemuel Wood* (Salem, 1882), 23-24; general orders of Aug. 13, 1759, cited in Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 510.

<sup>9</sup>T. S. Woolsey, ed., "Diary of Ebenezer Dibble," Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars, *Proceedings*, I (1896), 316; Perley, ed., *Diary of Wood*, 27, 29, 32; manuscript journal of James Henderson, The New England Historical and Genealogical Society; John Hawks, *Orderly Book and Journal of Major John Hawks* (New York, 1911), 76-87.

<sup>10</sup>John Shy, *Toward Lexington, The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (Princeton, 1965), 66; Gage to Barrington, Dec. 18, 1765, Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage* (New Haven, 1931-1933), II, 318-324; Gage to Conway, May 6, 1766, *ibid.*, I, 90.

<sup>11</sup>Gage to Bradstreet, March 3, 1766, Papers of Thomas Gage, William L. Clements Library; Gage to Barrington, May 7, 1766, Carter, ed., *Correspondence of Gage*, II, 349-352; Gage to Conway, May 6, 1766, *ibid.*, I, 89-91; entry of April 16, 1766, John Montresor, "Journal of John Montresor," New York Historical Society, *Collections*, XIII (1881), 360; Carleton to Gage, Feb. 15, 1767, Public Archives of Canada, Colonial Office Records, "Q" Series, 4, 100.

<sup>12</sup>Hillsborough to Gage, April 15, 1768, Carter, ed., *Correspondence of Gage*, II, 61-63; Gage to Hillsborough, June 16, 1768, *ibid.*, I, 175-179.

<sup>13</sup>Anstruther to Gage, April 23, 1773, Gage Papers, Clements Library; Gage to Dartmouth, May 5, 1773, Carter, ed., *Correspondence of Gage*, I, 351; *Report of the Canadian Archives for 1885* (Ottawa, 1886), 191, 210-224.

<sup>14</sup>Gage to Dartmouth, May 5, 1773, Carter, ed., *Correspondence of Gage*, I, 351; Robertson to Haldimand, July 21, 1773, quoted in Shy, *Toward Lexington*, 330-331.

<sup>15</sup>Haldimand to Gage, May 15, 1774, K. G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution 1770-1783* (Dublin, 1972-1975), VIII, 112; Haldimand to Dartmouth, June 1, 1774, *ibid.*, VII, 114; Haldimand to Gage, July 6, 1774, Carter, ed., *Correspondence of Gage*, II, 169; Gage to Dartmouth, Aug. 29, 1774, *ibid.*, I, 368-369.

<sup>16</sup>Dartmouth to Gage, Nov. 2, 1774, *ibid.*, II, 177; Gage to Dartmouth, Dec. 26, 1774, *ibid.*, I, 389; Gage to Carleton, March 16, 1775, Gage Papers, Clements Library.

<sup>17</sup>Dartmouth to Gage, April 15, 1775, Carter, ed., *Correspondence of Gage*, II, 190-196; Gage to Dartmouth, May 17, 1775, *ibid.*, I, 400; Dartmouth to Gage, July 1, 1775, *ibid.*, II, 199-202; Gage to Carleton, April 19, 1775, Gage Papers, Clements Library; Carleton to Gage, May 31, 1775, quoted in Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), 147-148.

## Chapter I

### Religion and Morality

While the soldiers of the Northern Army considered themselves as righteous men fighting for a righteous cause, they neither saw themselves nor acted as an army of saints. Their ministers at home and their chaplains in the army encouraged them to fight a double battle to redeem their souls from sin and to free their country from the invader. Normally, each regiment included a chaplain who had been nominated by the field officers. In many regiments, however, there was some difficulty in filling the chaplain's position. On July 1, 1775, for example, the garrisons of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort George totaled 1,254 soldiers, but there was only a single chaplain to administer to the soldiers' spiritual needs. On May 11, 1776, the sixteen regiments that made up the Northern Army contained 7,006 soldiers and only nine chaplains. By September of 1776 the army had grown to more than 11,000 soldiers, but the number of chaplains had fallen to eight — a ratio of 1,375 soldiers for each chaplain. Nor did the ratio improve during the following year. On June 28, 1777, a return of the Northern Army listed 3,506 soldiers and three chaplains. This poor turnout of clergymen can be attributed to several factors. Salaries were low — \$20 a month during the 1776 campaign and slightly more than \$33 a month during the 1777 campaign — and were often in arrears. In addition, chaplains held no formal military rank and therefore did not enjoy the social status of the civilian clerics.<sup>1</sup>

Although relatively few in number, the chaplains of the Northern Army were a dedicated and serious group of men. Described by one soldier as "a sensible and learned divine, of pure morals and correct principles," Enos Hitchcock was a 1767 graduate of Harvard College and minister of the Second Congregational Church of Beverly, Massachusetts. During the summer of 1776, Hitchcock served as chaplain in the Massachusetts militia regiments commanded by Colonels Jonathan Reed, Ephraim Wheelock, and Benjamin Woodbridge. David Avery, one of Hitchcock's colleagues, had attended Ebenezer Wheelock's Indian School and had graduated from Yale in 1768. The chaplain of John Paterson's Fifteenth Continental Regi-

ment from Massachusetts, Avery was described as "a Worthy Man." John Carnes, another Harvard graduate, was the pastor of Stoneham, Massachusetts. He served as a chaplain-at-large in the Northern Army during the 1776 campaign. Samuel Cotton, minister of the First Congregational Church of Litchfield, New Hampshire, and known to his contemporaries as the "jolly clergyman," was chaplain of the First New Hampshire Regiment during the 1777 campaign. Thomas Allen, the "Fighting Parson" of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, served with Seth Warner's Continental Regiment at Ticonderoga in 1777.<sup>2</sup>

The Continental Articles of War required that all officers and soldiers attend religious services. Those who refused were given extra work assignments. Religious services consisted of sermons and prayer meetings. Soldiers were ordered to appear neat and clean for services, and they were expected to display an attitude of reverence. Sermons were considered the most important aspect of religious services. Many sermons contained spiritual or ethical themes designed to teach the soldiers the value of moral living, while others elaborated the justness of the American cause. Enos Hitchcock, for example, preached a sermon from Psalms to the Ticonderoga garrison on June 8, 1777: "Depart from me, ye evil-doers, That I may keep the commandments of my God." The following Sunday, Hitchcock selected as his text: "For what shall a man be profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and forfeit his life? or what shall a man give in exchange for his life?" Paraphrasing the Sermon on the Mount at Ticonderoga on October 20, 1776, John Hurt awarded the blessings of God to those soldiers who loved liberty, who were friends to the rights of mankind and to the United States, who opposed British tyranny and vowed never to submit, and who sacrificed their lives for their country. The same day, William Tennent delivered an oration to the soldiers at Mount Independence. He selected as his text: "Be ye not affraid of them: Remember the Lord which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives and your houses." Tennent cautioned his audience that the time was fast approaching when it would be within their power to perform the "most signal, important, and lasting service" for their native land. The soldiers should not fear the enemy's approach, but rather rejoice in the opportunity to deliver America from the "disturbers of the common peace, and the robbers of the rights of mankind." Tennent assured the soldiers that the "virgins of our land" would hail them as heroes and welcome them with "high applause and great joy." On the



other hand, he turned all of God's promises into curses for anyone who fled from the impending battle: "Let him be abhorred by all the United States of America. Let faintness of heart and fear never forsake him on earth . . . . Let him be cursed in all his connections, 'til his wretched head with dishonour is laid low in the dust; and let all the soldiers say, Amen." Lieutenant Rufus Wheeler recalled that Tennent's sermon was the "finest discourse" that he ever heard. When the oration was over, "the whole body gave three cheers which made a beautiful show."<sup>3</sup>

Sermons could also bolster the soldiers' confidence in their fighting abilities and military prowess. On September 6, 1776, the day that reports arrived at Ticonderoga of a battle between the British and the Americans, Ammi Robbins preached the evening prayer. The text that he selected, "A day of trouble and distress, a day of wasteness and desolation, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness, a day of trumpet and alarm," was an appropriate one for the occasion. William Plumb, preaching at Ticonderoga on June 8, 1777, emphasized that God would protect the soldiers in battle. He spoke from the text: "Jehovah is a man of war; Jehovah is his name." On July 5, 1777, Thomas Allen exhorted the Ticonderoga garrison to hold their position against the advancing British. "Valiant Soldiers," he addressed the men,

Yonder (pointing to the vessels of the Enemy that lay in sight) are the Enemies of your country who have come to lay waste and destroy and spread havoc and destruction through this pleasant land. They are mercenaries hired to do the work of Death, and have no motives to animate them in their undertaking. You have every consideration to induce you to play the man and act the part of valiant soldiers. Your country looks up to you for its defense. You are contending for your wives, whether you or they shall enjoy them. You are fighting for your children, whether they shall be yours or theirs. — For your houses and lands; — For your flocks and herds; — For your freedom; — For future generations; — For everything that is great and noble, and on account of which only life itself is worth a fig.

But the garrison had little opportunity to react to Allen's ardent call for the soldiers to fight to the last man. On the evening of July 5, 1777, only hours after Allen preached his call to arms, the Northern Army abandoned Fort Ticonderoga.<sup>4</sup>

Some chaplains encouraged the soldiers to prepare for the millennium. William Linn prayed for the Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion in March of 1776. "May your summer's campaign be great and glorious, and may you be returned in safety to the bosom of your country, and meet the congratulation of your friends. Above all, may the peaceful

reign of king Jesus soon commence, when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, and the inhabitants thereof learn war no more." According to Ammi Robbins, the prospects of the Northern Army appeared very dark in May of 1776; "we seem in an enemy's country, and if defeated at Quebec we are surrounded with foes on every side, but it is a great consolation that the Lord Jehovah reigns and orders all the events of war and will take care of his own cause." Officers and soldiers alike received spiritual reinforcement from the fact that their cause was a noble one, a cause supported not only by their friends and neighbors, but also by God. It was "sweet to think of dear friends in New England all now in the worship of God, and praying for us," noted a Connecticut clergyman in his journal on a Sunday in April, 1776. As he neared Quebec in early May of 1776, Chaplain Robbins discoursed "to the people in *our* boat, on the millenium." Two days later, on May 7, after receiving the disastrous news that British reinforcements had landed at Quebec, Robbins prayed for help to the "God of armies."<sup>5</sup>

On May 5, 1776, four Continental regiments on their way to Canada were ordered to clear "A Spot of Ground" so that the Reverend Caleb Barnum could preach a sermon. Along the shore of Lake Champlain, amidst "nothing but a wild Mountainous uncultivated desert," the soldiers gathered for public worship. Barnum, a 1757 graduate of the College of New Jersey, selected his sermon from a text in Proverbs: "The name of Jehovah is a strong tower; The righteous runneth into it, and is safe." Barnum was inoculated for smallpox at Sorel on May 17, and then he proceeded to Montreal. Returning to Ticonderoga, he became ill and was granted a medical discharge in July. Barnum reached Pittsfield early in August, but he was too sick to continue any farther. As his life ebbed, Thomas Allen observed with respect that Barnum "had no doubt of the justice and goodness" of the American cause, and "had he a thousand lives he should be willing to lay them all down on it." Caleb Barnum died on August 23, 1776.<sup>6</sup>

Although sermons were generally well attended, there is little evidence to suggest that they influenced significant numbers of soldiers to abandon immorality, to fight thoughts of desertion or cowardice, to participate enthusiastically in religious activities, or to live as Christian soldiers. Many sermons were dull and verbose, and the partial successes achieved by some chaplains can be explained in terms of their personal appeal to God-fearing soldiers.<sup>7</sup>

Caring for the spiritual needs of criminals was one duty of the chaplains. When visiting soldiers sentenced to death, many clergymen

tried to lead the condemned men onto the path of salvation and to prepare them for their execution. Ammi Robbins prayed with a Pennsylvania soldier condemned to death at Albany in March of 1776. The condemned man "appeared much affected but dreadfully ignorant," Robbins confided in his journal.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to their other duties, chaplains were also responsible for the spiritual care of the sick and wounded. Besides praying with the sick, the clergymen gave advice, encouraged the depressed, consoled the wounded, wrote letters home, and notified families in case of death. "My heart is grieved," wrote Ammi Robbins, "as I visit the poor soldiers — such distress and miserable accommodations. One very sick youth from Massachusetts asked me to save him if possible; said he was not fit to die, says 'I cannot die, do, sir, pray for me, will you not send for my mother, if she were here to nurse me I could get well.'" Chaplain Robbins prayed with the smallpox patients soon after their arrival at Fort George in July of 1776. Deeply affected by the misery surrounding him, he spoke from the text: "Fear God and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgments is come." While some chaplains were able to walk through the hospital wards "when pestiferous as disease and death can make it with a face as smooth as a baby's and afterward an appetite as hearty as a woodchopper," Robbins was deeply moved whenever he visited the sick. "Never was such a portrait of human misery, as in these hospitals," he declared. Inhaling the diseased breath always made him feel sick or faint, and the patients' sorrow lingered in his memory. But Robbins was aware of the good that resulted from his visits and he refused to "shrink from the work." "Our war is a righteous war," he wrote; "our men are called to defend the country; whole congregations turn out, and the ministers of the gospel should go and encourage them when doing duty, attend and pray for them when sick, and bury them when they die."<sup>9</sup>

One of Robbins' colleagues was Ebenezer David, chaplain in the regiment of Massachusetts Continentals commanded by Colonel William Bond. A twenty-five year old native of Pennsylvania, David had graduated from Rhode Island College in 1772. He had served with the Rhode Island troops during the siege of Boston, and in August of 1776, he had set out from New York to join Bond's Regiment. He reached Fort George in the middle of August and was amazed by the scene that greeted him at the hospital. "I stood still & beheld with Admiration & sympathetic anguish what neither Tounge nor Pen can describe." David prayed with the sick, but, notwithstanding their great

distress, he regarded them "as stupid as the beasts that perish." He recorded that the conversations were "very chaffy and light with most of them." Despite his low opinion of the patients, however, David believed that the visits by the clergymen were generally well received by the sick soldiers.<sup>10</sup>

By the time that the Baron Friedrich Wilhelm de Woedtke arrived at the Fort George hospital he was aware that he was going to die. The former Prussian major talked with Chaplain Robbins about death and the need of Christian faith. The dying Baron's last request presented Robbins with a "very singular trial." De Woedtke "earnestly" requested that Robbins administer the sacrament as "he had made his peace with God and nothing remained but to do his last command." Robbins, however, insisted that the Baron was "deluded" and endeavored to convince him that God did not require the sacrament, "that if he truly believed in Jesus Christ he would be accepted." The Baron, too weak to argue, listened as Robbins recited the Lord's Prayer and departed. Shortly thereafter, de Woedtke died.<sup>11</sup>

Thirty-three year old William Emerson was the minister of the First Congregational Church of Concord, Massachusetts. An eloquent preacher and a fervent patriot, in early August of 1776 he asked his congregation for permission to join the local company then on the march to Ticonderoga. Permission was granted, and, after waiting for his wife, Phebe, to recover from the birth of their fifth child, Emerson set out to join the Northern Army. He stayed with friends and fellow ministers along the route of his march, and wrote to Phebe at every opportunity. Several days on the road were enough to convince him that his long black ministerial coat was inconvenient for travel in the woods. He asked Phebe to shorten his blue coat, face it with black, and send it on. He also reminded her to send him a small skillet and several pounds of chocolate.

After a 250-mile journey, Emerson reached Ticonderoga on August 24. "TICONDEROGA is a most beautiful situation," he informed Phebe. Indeed, he was so impressed with the view that he compared the site to "one of the large Islands in BOSTON," with the added beauty of "thick Woods" and "towering Mountains" for contrast. He also reported that Ticonderoga's "very Fine" stone barracks were as pleasing to his eye as the somewhat taller buildings of Harvard College. Only the wet, chilly weather lessened Emerson's enthusiasm for army life. It seemed to him "a Miracle" that the soldiers could maintain high spirits amidst such dreary conditions. The rainy weather not only

dampened morale, but it also made even simple chores difficult. He described the difficulty of walking through the camps following a storm by comparing the experience to walking on ice. "The Soil here seems to be one entire Bed of Clay, the road through a dry Time is trod down smooth, [but] when it comes to be wet, nothing is more difficult than to keep from falling either backward or forward."

Emerson assured his wife that there was little "Prospect of an Engagement with ye Enemy." He doubted that the Americans would seek out the British, and he believed it "equally improbable that they [the British] shall give 'emselves the trouble of paying us a visit." Emerson was particularly impressed by the "fine Regiments from the southern Colonies," dressed in uniforms and "as well disciplined as the best of the british Troops." He was concerned, however, about the soldiers' lack of attention to spiritual matters. With more than 10,000 soldiers in camp, there were fewer than ten chaplains to minister to their needs. Horatio Gates invited the Concord clergyman to dine with him and over a venison dinner assured him that he regarded the chaplain as "a very necessary Officer in the Army." Nevertheless, Emerson was upset by the dreadful way in which the Sabbath was violated. On Sunday, September 1, he noted that the "idle Talking & Jesting," which seemed to far exceed that of other days, furnished a stronger proof than he had hitherto perceived "of the Depravity of human Nature."

Shortly thereafter, Emerson came down with an illness diagnosed as "a Sort of mongrell Feaver." Although he wrote Phebe that he was still in good spirits and hoped to recover quickly from what was called "a Seasoning of new Soldiers," he was sicker than he let on. A week later, he obtained a medical discharge and started home. But William Emerson never returned to his Concord home or his beloved Phebe. On October 20, 1776, a week after the defeat of the American fleet at Valcour Island, Emerson died at Rutland where he was buried with the honors of war.<sup>12</sup>

"There is something more than ordinarily solemn and touching in our funerals, especially an officers," recalled Ammi Robbins, "swords and arms inverted, others with arms folded across their breast stepping slowly to the beat of the muffled drum." Colonel William Bond of the Twenty-fifth Continental Regiment died at Mount Independence on August 30, 1776, "much lamented by his brother officers." The next day, Bond's remains were escorted by a military parade to the place of burial in front of his regiment. The funeral oration, described as "a suitable discourse," was delivered by Ebenezer David and was followed

by a prayer. The soldiers then fired three volleys over the grave and three cannon were discharged at Fort Ticonderoga.<sup>13</sup>

But most burials were not as impressive as Colonel Bond's. During the spring of 1776, John Lacey watched as four soldiers brought a dead man from the camp at Isle aux Noix to a large, fly-buzzing burial pit. The soldiers informed Lacey that each night they covered the corpses with a few spadefuls of earth. Green Mountain Boy John Fassett watched as three Caughnawaga Indians were hastily and unceremoniously interred at St. Johns in November of 1775. Several Canadians dug a shallow grave about two and a half feet deep and rolled in the three Indians "stark naked with their faces downward." Next, "they flung on dirt and then stones. 'Twas such a funeral as I never saw before," Fassett noted.<sup>14</sup>

During the winter of 1776-1777, soldiers at Ticonderoga died so frequently that "the living grew quite wearied in digging graves for the dead." Soldiers of the Third New Jersey Regiment dug graves "in this rocky, frozen ground" for two of their comrades who had recently died, but while they were bringing the corpses to the site, some Pennsylvania soldiers appeared and buried two of their dead in the graves. The New Jersey soldiers returned just as the Pennsylvanians covered the graves. A "wrangle" between the two parties ensued. Emerging victorious, the New Jersey soldiers unearthed the deceased Pennsylvanians and interred their own men in the graves. An observer reported that the vanquished Pennsylvanians covered their dead "in gutters with logs and stones, thinking it too hard to labor so much for those for whom they might never expect any return as to cover them with frozen earth." Death was a frequent visitor to the Northern Army. At Isle aux Noix, Crown Point, and Fort George during the summer of 1776, and at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence the following winter, traditional funeral services were forgotten in favor of mass interments. When a funeral service was held, it usually consisted of a brief prayer and occasionally a short oration.<sup>15</sup>

The soldiers' journals, letters, and diaries often revealed their attitude toward formal religious activity. Religiously minded soldiers usually responded positively to public worship. Every Sunday, some soldiers recorded the Biblical text, the theme, and the chaplain's name. Colonel Elisha Porter, for example, found that regularly scheduled worship enabled him to maintain "that sense of Religion" which made "Life Agreeable, or Death Welcome." Soldiers in the second group, the neutral response category, simply noted that a religious service had

taken place. "Had preaching in the afternoon," recorded Henry Sewall on a Sunday in June of 1777. The third category included those soldiers who either mentioned religion in a negative connection or who altogether ignored its existence. "No church, no prayers, no Saints to remind us," noted a journalist at Ticonderoga on the Sunday before Christmas, 1776, "therefore the day of rest was spent much in the same manner as the others, even by those who have no duty to do." Another journalist remarked that it was regarded as "very unpopular, and unbecoming a Gentleman, in the Camps to attend upon any religious exercises." Chaplain Samuel Spring preached a sermon at Crown Point on July 7, 1776, on the truth and divinity of the Scriptures. One of his listeners commented that the subject matter was well calculated "for the entertainment of our Gentlemen who are so very fond of their Deistical Sentiments."<sup>16</sup>

Prayers were held in some regiments twice a day, once in the morning and again in the evening. Usually accompanied by song, the exercise was often held on the regimental parade ground. "Sometimes Tibbals, who strikes the drum admirably, gives it a touch at the right time when we are singing, it is beautiful harmony," wrote one chaplain. The slang term for a chaplain was "a pulpit drum." The name evolved from the fact that the drummers would march up and lay their drums in two rows, one above the other. The drums would then serve as a platform for the chaplain to stand on. In July of 1776, Ammi Robbins preached to several regiments at Crown Point from the text in Isaiah: "Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying, whom shall I send, and who will go for us? Then said I, here I am, send me." "A vast concourse of people," including Benedict Arnold and a number of the principal officers, attended the service. One listener remarked that Robbins presented "a most animating & encouraging discourse, delivered with spirit & warmth; he gained the strict attention of almost every hearer present, and was universally admired as an orator & divine." But Ammi Robbins was among the most successful of the chaplains serving in the Northern Army. In September of 1776, Lewis Beebe reported that his regiment had listened to "a tasteless, Senseless and inanimating discourse." The situation improved only after the chaplain left camp and the regiment no longer heard "the disagreeable sound of the Drum, calling them to attend prayers, morning & evening."<sup>17</sup>

Many of the more pious New Englanders were upset by the profanity and lack of attention to spiritual matters evident in the rest of the army. William Emerson noted that all of the regiments from Pennsyl-

vania and New Jersey were without chaplains. Furthermore, he doubted that they would accept a chaplain, even "if he should offer his Service." "What pains are taken [to] violate the Sabbath," Emerson complained, "and how do the prophane and impious wreak their genius to invent some new Method to shew how they hate God & Religion." According to a Connecticut soldier, it was enough "to make humane nature shudder only to hear the army in General Blaspheme the Holy name of God." This sin alone was sufficient, in his opinion, to draw down the wrath of an angry God upon a wicked and guilty army, but to make matters even worse, the soldiers remained "insensible" of the danger and grew "harder & harder in wickedness."<sup>18</sup>

Swearing was common among the soldiers of the Northern Army. As one soldier commented, "our officers and soldiers in general, are remarkably expert in the swearing way. Nothing comes more handy, or gives such power and force to their words, as a Blasphemous oath." "In short they laugh at death, mock at Hell and damnation; & even challenge the Diety, to remove them out of this world of Thunder and Lightning." On one occasion, Anthony Wayne, one of the most accomplished blasphemers among the senior officers, confronted a group of New Jersey soldiers and "damned all our souls to hell." One of the men present vowed that he would not forget Wayne's damns, "which he is very apt to bestow upon our people; but my great consolation is, that the power thereof is not in his hands blessed be God for it." According to Thomas Allen, the camp at Ticonderoga was "filled with blasphemers and resounded with the language of the infernal regions." Ammi Robbins criticized the New York soldiers in particular. Declaring that it was impossible to describe the "profaneness and wickedness of some of these men," he commented that it would be "a dreadful hell to live with such creatures forever."<sup>19</sup>

Many soldiers exhibited a more than casual interest in camp followers. As might be expected, women of doubtful virtue followed the Northern Army, although by no means were all of the camp followers prostitutes. Camp followers included wives and children of the soldiers, sweethearts, prostitutes, and other hangers-on. Some of the camp followers cooked, washed laundry, and cared for the sick; but many officers were concerned about the "bad women" who consumed scarce supplies of food and medicine, assisted in the spread of venereal disease, and contributed to the deterioration of discipline. According to orders issued at Ticonderoga on December 10, 1776, the duty of the camp followers was not "to distress and render the Men unfit for Duty, but to



keep them clean and decent." The number of camp followers varied from regiment to regiment. In 1776, thirteen women and four children were officially attached to the four New York regiments. New Jersey laws allowed four soldiers in each company to have their wives in camp, while Pennsylvania regiments were permitted one woman for every eight soldiers. Neither moral nor religious teachings were particularly effective in combatting vice, and, for the most part, chaplains had little influence over the morality of the soldiers under their charge.<sup>20</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 164; Return of forces, July 1, 1775, May 11, 1776, Sept. 22, 1776, Peter Force, ed., *American Archives* (Washington, 1837-1853), 4th Ser., II, 1167, VI, 411-412, 5th Ser., II, 479-480; Return of forces, June 28, 1777, N.Y. Hist. Soc. Colls., XIII (1880), 31; Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904-1937), IV, 71; Pay and rations, Dec. 31, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., III, 1505; Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron," 271-278.

<sup>2</sup>Entry of Aug. 20, 1780, James Thatcher, *Military Journal of the American Revolution* (Hartford, 1862), 209; William B. Weeden, ed., *Diary of Enos Hitchcock* (Providence, 1899); Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Boston, 1873-1972), XIV, 132-134, 409-410, XV, 153-165, XVI, 475-484; Amelia F. Emerson, ed., *Diaries and Letters of William Emerson 1743-1776* (Boston, 1972), 108-109.

<sup>3</sup>Entries of June 8 and June 15, 1777, Weeden, ed., *Diary of Hitchcock*, 111, 113; John Hurt, "Chaplain John Hurt's Address to General St. Clair's Brigade," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXIII (1899), 251; entry of Oct. 20, 1776, Rufus Wheeler, "Journal of Rufus Wheeler," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXVIII (1932), 375; entry of Oct. 20, 1776, Ebenezer Wild, "Journal of Ebenezer Wild," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, VI (1890-1891) 10; Oration by Tennent, Oct. 20, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1144-1146; Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron," 275-278.

<sup>4</sup>Entry of Sept. 6, 1776, Ammi R. Robbins, *Journal of the Rev. Ammi R. Robbins* (New Haven, 1850), 37; entry of June 8, 1777, Weeden, ed., *Diary of Hitchcock*, 111; Address by Allen, July 5, 1777, *BFTM*, VI (July, 1936), 31.

<sup>5</sup>William Linn, *A Military Discourse, Delivered in Carlisle* (Philadelphia, 1776), 23; entries of April 7, May 1, May 5, and May 7, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 6, 14, 16-17.

<sup>6</sup>Entries of May 4 and May 5, 1776, Lawrence B. Romanie, ed., *From Cambridge to Champlain* (Middleboro, 1957), 30; *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, XIV, 132-134; *Connecticut Courant*, Sept. 16, 1776; entry of Sept. 3, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 36.

<sup>7</sup>Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron," 279.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 282; entries of March 20 and March 21, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 3.

<sup>9</sup>Entries of July 7, July 21, July 29, Sept. 5, and Sept. 13, 1776, *ibid.*, 29, 31, 33, 37, 39.

<sup>10</sup>David to Brown, Aug. 31 and Sept. 1, 1776, Jeannette D. Black and William G. Roelker, eds., *A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution, Letters of Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown 1775-1778* (Providence, 1949), xvii-xxiii, 23-30; entry of Oct. 5, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 43.

<sup>11</sup>Hancock to de Woedtke, March 19, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., V, 410-411; Gates to Potts, Aug. 12, 1776, *ibid.*, 5th Ser., I, 924; Walker to Potts, July 29, 1776, Potts Papers, Fort Ticonderoga Museum [and hereafter cited as FTM]; entries of July 18 and July 24, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 31-32.

<sup>12</sup>Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, XV, 39-47; Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York, 1976), 136-139; Emerson to wife, Aug. 19, Aug. 21, Aug. 26, Sept. 1, and three undated letters, Emerson, ed., *Diaries of Emerson*, 104-118; entries of Sept. 2 and Sept. 16, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 36, 40.

<sup>13</sup>Entry of Sept. 8, 1776, *ibid.*, 37-38; entries of Sept. 17 and Sept. 23, 1776, Wheeler, "Journal," *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LXVIII (1932), 372-373; extract of a letter from Mount Independence, Sept. 4, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 169; entry of Aug. 31, 1776, Thomas Baldwin, ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Colonel Jeduthan Baldwin, 1775-1778* (Bangor, 1906), 72; David to Brown, Aug. 31, 1776, Black, ed., *Rhode Island Chaplain*, 25-27.

<sup>14</sup>Lacey Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania [and hereafter cited as HSP]; entries of Oct. 31 and Nov. 12, 1775, John Fassett, "Diary of John Fassett," Harry P. Ward, *The Follett Ancestry* (Columbus, 1896), 228-229, 233-234.

<sup>15</sup>Entry of Feb. 22, 1777, Ebenezer Elmer, "Journal," New Jersey Historical Society *Proceedings*, III (1848), 93; Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron," 280-281.

<sup>16</sup>Entries of June 30 and July 7, 1776, Porter, *Journal*, FTM; entries of June 8 and June 15, 1777, Sewall, "Diary," *BFTM*, XI (Sept., 1963), 89-90; entry of Dec. 22, 1776, Elmer, "Journal," N.J. Hist. Soc. *Procs.*, III (1848), 51; entries of June 27, June 30, and July 7, 1776, Frederick Kirkland, ed., *Journal of Lewis Beebe* (Philadelphia, 1935), 13-14, 17; Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron," 284-286.

<sup>17</sup>Entries of March 22, June 2, July 9-July 14, Sept. 4, and Sept. 30, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 4, 28-30, 36-37, 42-43; entries of July 14, Sept. 22, and Sept. 29, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 19, 24, 26; entry of July 14, 1776, Porter, *Journal*, FTM.

<sup>18</sup>Emerson to wife, Sept. 1, 1776, Emerson, ed., *Diaries of Emerson*, 111-112; entry of June 29, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 14.

<sup>19</sup>Entry of Oct. 7, 1776, *ibid.*, 28; entry of Jan. 14, 1777, Elmer, "Journal," N.J. Hist. Soc. *Procs.*, III (1848), 55; Address by Allen, July 5, 1777, *BFTM*, IV (July, 1936), 31; entry of April 20, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 10.

<sup>20</sup>Walter H. Blumenthal, *Women Camp Followers of the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1952), 59-60; entry of July 13, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entries of Dec. 10 and Dec. 20, 1776, Joel Munsell, ed., *Orderly*

*Book of the Northern Army at Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence* [and hereafter cited as *Wayne Orderbook*] (Albany, 1859), 116, 124; entry of Feb. 16, 1781, *New Jersey Line Orderbook*, NYPL: Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron," 306-310.

## Chapter II Military Discipline

"I cannot help wishing that our military code was made severe," Philip Schuyler wrote Congress on June 1, 1776; "thirty-nine lashes are not an adequate punishment." The Mosaic Law of thirty-nine lashes was adhered to by Congress until late in 1776; then, on September 20, Congress increased the maximum number of lashes to 100 and also made mutiny and desertion punishable by death. It was widely believed that witnessing punishment deterred crime, so soldiers were assembled on the parade ground and, after the adjutant read the sentence, they either watched as a drummer flogged the man at the whipping post — commonly called "the Adjutant's Daughter" — or they whipped him themselves with sticks as he ran between two rows of soldiers and received "the scourge from their hands on a part of his naked back." As one journalist reported, a soldier being flogged would often "receive the severest stripes without uttering a groan, or once shrinking from the lash, even while the blood flows freely from his lacerated wounds." The whip, "formed of several small knotted cords," often "cut through the skin at every stroke." But, as Charles Royster has noted, contempt for the whip became a part of "the soldier's bravado." Although floggings were intended to maintain discipline through fear, instead they often became a test of will between officers and soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

Officers rarely, if ever, received corporal punishment. Those officers convicted of minor infractions were publicly reprimanded, while officers convicted of more serious crimes were cashiered. Cashiered officers could not assume army or governmental positions, and reports of all such dishonorable dismissals were inserted in newspapers. Frequent infractions included the enlistment of known deserters, the encouragement of desertion, neglect of duty, and disobedience of orders. In addition, officers were occasionally convicted of crimes against their peers. New Jersey Ensign Francis Costigan was reprimanded for "ungentlemanlike behavior" in setting fire to a house belonging to a fellow ensign. Captain Daniel Carlisle of Bedel's New Hampshire Rangers was cashiered after he attempted to murder the lieutenant colonel of his regiment.<sup>2</sup>

The chief agency of military justice was the court martial. There were two types of courts in the Northern Army — regimental and general. Minor crimes were tried by regimental courts as authorized by the colonel. These tribunals usually consisted of five commissioned officers and all rulings were determined by a simple majority vote, subject to review by the colonel. More serious charges were judged by a general court martial consisting of thirteen commissioned officers. Responsibility for defense rested on the accused, and, after all the evidence had been presented, the court members voted orally, proceeding from the youngest in rank or age to the eldest. Regardless of the court's decision, the prisoner was returned to the guardhouse until the outcome was reviewed by the officer who had authorized the trial.<sup>3</sup>

Desertion was the most frequent crime among the enlisted men. Although the most thorough study of the official army returns estimates an average desertion rate of between 20% and 25%, the desertion rate in the Northern Army appears to have been somewhat lower. In some instances, soldiers would desert and then enlist in another regiment in order to claim the bounty. At Ticonderoga in June of 1777, a soldier in Colonel Thomas Marshall's Tenth Massachusetts Regiment received 100 lashes "at the public whipping post & sat on the gallows" as punishment for deserting and re-enlisting in another regiment. Another deserter, judged to be of unsound mind, was spared from corporal punishment. Instead, he forfeited one month's pay to be used for the benefit of the sick. New Jersey Private Daniel Reading was found guilty of encouraging soldiers to desert. Stripped naked and tied to the whipping post, Reading was reprimanded by his colonel, but he avoided the flogging.<sup>4</sup>

Drinking or sleeping while on guard duty were also frequent infractions. Either crime was usually punished with twenty lashes. Soldiers with prior good records, however, were sometimes pardoned for their first offense. Ansel Fox received "twelve Strokes on his Naked Buttucks" for sleeping on his watch while on board the American fleet in September of 1776. Some soldiers stole food or clothing. On August 8, 1776, Jeduthan Baldwin noted that the thief who had stolen his clothes was "confined in Irons in the dungeon." Discussing the capture of another thief, Lewis Beebe stated that the criminal would "doubtless soon dance a merry tune at the Regimental [whipping] post, under the stimulating Lashes of the Cat & nine." On August 16, 1776, the Ticonderoga orderbooks noted the disappearance of a fat sheep belonging to General Gates. Although Gates was confident that the soldiers would "return him his sheep, where ever they find it," there is no

evidence to suggest that the general and his sheep were ever reunited. The destruction of civilian property was classified as marauding. Typical examples of marauding included marching through fields of crops, removing fences for firewood, stealing food, or pilfering from the local inhabitants. Gates emphasized that the soldiers should respect the rights of private property. Furthermore, he expected his officers to bring any guilty parties to justice. "This army is paid to protect & not to pilfer the inhabitants," he declared.<sup>5</sup>

Subordination of soldiers to their officers was regarded as an essential characteristic of a well disciplined army. Fraternalization between officers and soldiers was outlawed and distinctions in rank were emphasized. Officers were not allowed to perform duties normally assigned to privates or non-commissioned officers. Lieutenant Levi Whitney was reprimanded in September of 1776 for "infamous conduct" in degrading his rank as an officer by doing the duty of a sergeant. A month later, a New Hampshire lieutenant convicted of behavior unbecoming an officer for associating with private soldiers during his off duty hours was cashiered.<sup>6</sup>

The loss or sale of army equipment was regarded as a serious infraction of military regulations. Not only did soldiers often lose equipment, but they habitually discarded various items on the march whenever their packs grew heavy. In August of 1776, Anthony Wayne learned that some New England soldiers were trying to exchange their old, worn muskets for Pennsylvania firelocks. The Yankees made the exchange more appealing to the Pennsylvanians by offering some money as well to sweeten the trade. Wayne was outraged by such behavior, and he threatened to punish any "villain who would give up a good musket for a bad one in the severest manner."<sup>7</sup>

Soldiers occasionally assaulted their officers. New Jersey Private John Hickey was convicted of rioting and threatening the life of his lieutenant. John Kelley, a New Hampshire private, was convicted of attempting to murder his captain. Private Richard Roach received thirty-nine lashes for striking an officer, while Private Phillip Morrell received the same punishment for threatening the life of a sergeant. In August of 1775, a soldier in Colonel Alexander McDougall's First New York Regiment received twenty lashes for stabbing one of his fellow soldiers.<sup>8</sup>

Counterfeiters also troubled the Northern Army. The Ticonderoga orderbooks of September 16, 1776, stated that since such an abundance of counterfeit money had flooded the camps, henceforth only Continental currency would be allowed to circulate. Four soldiers were later

tried on charges of passing counterfeit bills. Three of them were acquitted, but the fourth was convicted and flogged.<sup>9</sup>

Mutiny, defined as group disobedience of orders and/or actions that disrupted military plans and procedures, was considered a serious crime. Four seamen were convicted of mutiny in October of 1776, following their announcement that they would refuse to fight the British. Sentenced to be flogged, the four were whipped from vessel to vessel, receiving a part of their seventy-eight lashes on board each craft in a sort of maritime gauntlet.<sup>10</sup>

On September 7, 1776, Captain Jonathan Fassett of Seth Warner's Continental Regiment was ordered to establish an outpost at Jericho, some forty miles northeast of Crown Point, and to remain there with a detachment of soldiers to guard the northern frontier. Fassett was also to watch over the activities of the British and to report any enemy movements to headquarters at Ticonderoga. On September 28, however, Fassett's men held a council of war, where the soldiers mutinied and threatened to disband and march home if their post was not moved to the less-exposed Otter Creek, some twenty-five miles to the south. Several days later, the troops at Ticonderoga learned that Fassett's soldiers had "scandalously fled" from their post at Jericho. In order to halt their cowardly flight, Gates dispatched more than 100 Pennsylvania riflemen to "drive them back to their duty." On October 5, the Pennsylvanians returned to Ticonderoga with fifty prisoners. Soon thereafter, a court martial was called to try the prisoners. Arthur St. Clair presided. Captain Jonathan Fassett, Captain John Fassett, Lieutenant Rufus Perry, Lieutenant Jonathan Wright, and Lieutenant Matthew Lyon (future United States Congressman from Vermont) were tried for deserting their post "without being attacked or forced by the enemy, and without orders." Convicted of the charges, each officer was cashiered and his pay was forfeited "to be appropriated towards making good the damages sustained by the inhabitants on Onion River on account of their unsoldierlike retreat." A corporal and fifteen privates were tried and convicted of mutiny. The corporal was flogged and reduced in rank to a private. Two privates, presumably the ringleaders of the mutiny, each received thirty-nine lashes, while the remaining thirteen privates each received twenty lashes.<sup>11</sup>

Sutling was a serious problem in the Northern Army. Sutlers were traveling shopkeepers attached to the army. Although civilians, sutlers were subject to the same rules and regulations as the soldiers of the Continental Army. Sutlers' hours were regulated and their premises were

subject to inspection by army officers. Soldiers often supplemented their food and liquor rations through purchases from sutlers, and it was possible that a thirsty soldier without cash could drink up his pay before he received it. Because demand far exceeded supply, greedy sutlers were able to charge exorbitant prices for their wares. At a time when privates were paid \$6.67 a month, a pound of sugar was sold for 38¢, a piece of chocolate for 50¢, and a gallon of wine for \$3.75. Although the expense of transporting goods to Ticonderoga was minimal in comparison to the prices charged, soldiers complained that everything was sold "at a very dear rate." It was generally believed that if a sutler arrived in camp with a supply of desirable merchandise, he would be able to accrue a substantial fortune within a matter of months. Clothes, thread, and dry goods were almost totally unavailable, while liquor and grocery items were reported to fetch "almost any price." Philip Schuyler damned the sutlers, calling their huts the "receptacle of the abandoned, where mutiny, disorder and every vice takes rise."<sup>12</sup>

The orders issued at Ticonderoga on July 27, 1776 declared that sutling had become "so frequent and so pernicious" a problem that every regimental commander was ordered to suppress it. Stores of liquor belonging to the sutlers were seized and turned over to the commissary, who provided a receipt for the confiscated merchandise. Some sutlers had been in the habit of circulating their private notes among the soldiers instead of cash. This practice was terminated, the notes were collected, and the guilty parties were punished.<sup>13</sup>

New Hampshire Private Jonathan Small was court-martialed in August of 1776 for selling liquor contrary to regulations. Small was flogged and returned to duty. Another New Hampshire soldier, Lieutenant James Mathews, was convicted of selling liquor in his tent and of associating with persons below the character of an officer. Mathews was cashiered. On September 5, 1776, the Congressional resolution concerning sutling was copied into the daily orders. The resolve stated that officers were forbidden from selling items to the soldiers under their command. Failure to abide by the regulation would result in a fine of one month's pay and a dishonorable discharge. The orders noted that whenever an officer "descends to be mean enough to turn a huckster to his men he cannot expect any due obeydiance from them. Soldiers will ever esteem a man of honour as much as they will dispise a contrary character." The quartermaster was empowered to regulate prices on all items sold in the camps, particularly "garden stuff, venison, cheese,

butter and all manner of eatables." Special markets were established, one on Mount Independence and another between Fort Ticonderoga and the French Lines. Each market was open from eight in the morning until sunset, and any persons detected "monopolising or fore stauling the markitt[s]" were punished and their goods were forfeited.<sup>14</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Schuyler to Congress, June 1, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., VI, 678-679; Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, V, 788-807; entry of Jan. 1, 1780, Thatcher, *Journal*, 186-187; entries of June 3 and June 9, 1777, Sewall, "Diary," *BFTM*, XI (Sept., 1963), 89; Royster, *Revolutionary People at War*, 77-78.

<sup>2</sup>Entries of Aug. 9, Sept. 4, Oct. 2, Oct. 3, Oct. 13, and Nov. 3, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; court martial of Captain Wentworth, July 26, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 604.

<sup>3</sup>Entries of July 15-Nov. 15, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entries of July 16-Nov. 10, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; entries of July 3, July 4, July 10, July 19, July 20, and Aug. 1-Aug. 3, 1776, Porter, *Journal*, FTM; entry of July 4, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 15.

<sup>4</sup>James H. Edmondson, "Desertion in the American Army during the Revolutionary War," (unpublished dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1971), 240; entries of Aug. 24, Aug. 26, Sept. 1, Sept. 6, Sept. 11, Sept. 17, Sept. 24, Oct. 2, Oct. 3, and Oct. 13, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; Return of forces, Aug. 24, Sept. 22, Sept. 29, and Nov. 9, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 1199-1200, II, 479-480, 617-618, III, 701-702; Schuyler to Washington, June 17, 1776, *ibid.*, 4th Ser., VI, 940-941; entry of June 7, 1777, Sewall, "Diary," *BFTM*, XI (Sept., 1963), 89; entry of June 7, 1777, Weeden, ed., *Diary of Hitchcock*, 111.

<sup>5</sup>Entry of Aug. 8, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 65; entry of Oct. 28, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 28; entry of Aug. 21, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entries of Aug. 16, Aug. 21, Sept. 1, Oct. 2, Oct. 13, Nov. 3, and Nov. 5, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; entries of Sept. 20 and Sept. 22, 1776, Wells, "Journal," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 279.

<sup>6</sup>Entries of Sept. 5 and Oct. 3, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron," 108-115; Charles K. Bolton, *The Private Soldier Under Washington* (New York, 1902), 126-137; entry of Oct. 10, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 29.

<sup>7</sup>Entry of Aug. 24, 1776, Wild, "Journal," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, VI (1890-1891), 7; entry of Aug. 24, 1776, Frazer Orderbook, FTM.

<sup>8</sup>Entries of Aug. 24, Aug. 26, Sept. 1, and Oct. 2, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; entry of Aug. 28, 1775, Wells, "Journal," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 250.

<sup>9</sup>Entries of Sept. 16, Sept. 20, and Oct. 3, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS.

<sup>10</sup>Entries of Nov. 2 and Nov. 6, 1776, *ibid.*

<sup>11</sup>Inhabitants of Onion River to Gates, Aug. 6, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 803; Fassett to Gates, Aug. 29, Sept. 26, and Sept. 30, 1776,



*ibid.*, 1222, II, 556-557, 621; Trumbull and Fassett, Sept. 1, 1776, *ibid.*, 111; orders for Fassett, Sept. 7, 1776, *ibid.*, 222; council of war, Sept. 28, 1776, *ibid.*, 621-622; entry of Oct. 16, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; entries of Sept. 30 and Oct. 9, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 78-79; entries of Oct. 1, Oct. 2, and Oct. 5, 1776, Wheeler, "Journal," *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LXVIII (1932), 373-374.

<sup>12</sup>Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, II, 116; Cushing to brother, July 8, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 132; Schuyler to Gates, July 25, 1776, *ibid.*, 581; Frazer to wife, Aug. 6, 1776, *BFTM*, X, (Feb., 1961), 393; entry of July 16, 1776, Phineas Ingalls, "Revolutionary War Journal of Phineas Ingalls," *Essex Institute Hist. Colls.*, LIII (1917), 89; Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron," 303-305; entry of Oct. 22, 1776, Wells, "Journal," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 285; entry of Aug. 1, 1776, Isaac W. Hammond, ed., *Diary and Orderly Book of Jonathan Burton* (Concord, 1885), 27.

<sup>13</sup>Entries of July 27 and Aug. 9, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entry of Aug. 9, 1776, Frazer Orderbook, *ibid.*, entry of Nov. 29, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 106.

<sup>14</sup>Entries of Aug. 24, Sept. 5, and Sept. 14, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entry of Sept. 5, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS.

To be continued in the next issue.

## GEORGE WASHINGTON: THE CUSTIS AND LEE CONNECTIONS

Hubert R. Hudson

George Washington married Martha Dandridge Custis, widow of Daniel Custis, and later adopted Martha's two surviving children by her late husband.<sup>1</sup> Martha Custis was considered one of the wealthiest widows in Virginia, and Washington was adept in managing her and her children's holdings in trust.

Martha was essentially a homemaker and she grieved sorely over the loss of two of her four children. George and Martha entertained almost all the colonial leaders who traveled the route from north to south, including those seeking Washington's advice. Martha helped run the plantation in every aspect as her husband was quite often away. The home, Mount Vernon, was almost self-supporting, as were many of the early Tidewater plantations.

Washington assumed the responsibilities of being a father to the two remaining Custis children. He ordered many items for them from England, including toys when they were still quite young.<sup>2</sup>

When young John Parke Custis was being tutored and went to the Academy, Washington wrote him often, even when he was at the various meetings prior to the Revolution, urging the lad to pay greater attention to his studies and less to various schoolboy pranks. There are several extant etchings and engravings of afternoon teas at Mount Vernon and of the Custis children playing on the lawn.

Martha made occasional trips to the various family properties owned jointly by her and her late husband's relatives, but only when Washington was away. He joined her on at least one occasion with the children at Mount Custis. Old Arlington House, the original Custis home, had burned earlier.<sup>3</sup>

The intermarriage of the early Tidewater families is well known. It is interesting to note that George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted grandson of Washington, built the new Arlington House on lands overlooking the Potomac River.<sup>4</sup>

Washington's diaries and letters make it clear that he wished only to return to life at Mount Vernon after the Revolution and manage his

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and Martha's affairs.<sup>5</sup> He worked hard managing the various properties and diligently helped Martha with domestic problems at Mount Vernon. Washington took a second term as President only to avoid the political squabbling among the political parties then emerging in Congress.

The Custis children and grandchildren still enjoyed the benefits of his labors many years after his death. His grandson's daughter married Robert E. Lee prior to the Civil War and they lived in what is now called the Custis-Lee Mansion. The estate is now part of Arlington National Cemetery. The home was confiscated during the Civil War and the heirs were finally compensated by a special bill passed by Congress many years later.

Some of the items belonging to George and Martha Washington may be seen in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, as well as at Mount Vernon, the Custis-Lee Mansion, and at various of the other family homes. Additional memorabilia has been preserved by the Virginia Historical Association, William and Mary College, and Washington and Lee University.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Major General John Custis, founder of the Custis family in Virginia, had been granted extensive holdings in the Tidewater area by the King of England.

<sup>2</sup>Programs and papers, United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission, 1932.

<sup>3</sup>North Hampton Records. The outlines of Old Arlington House, the home of General Custis, are still extant.

<sup>4</sup>Now known as the Custis-Lee Mansion and Arlington National Cemetery.

<sup>5</sup>Douglas S. Freeman, *The Life of Washington*.

## REVIEWS

**The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789.** By Robert Middlekauff. (Oxford University Press, 1982, 696 pages, \$25.00)

Save for Page Smith's anecdotal *A New Age Now Begins*, there have been few attempts recently to provide an easy access into the Revolution for the non-scholar. Happily, Berkeley's Robert Middlekauff, previous winner of the Bancroft Prize, has produced *The Glorious Cause*. Its publication is a boon to schools and libraries, all of which should purchase a copy, and also to the friends of Ticonderoga, who will appreciate his driving narrative and thoughtful analysis of an age when the fort was of international importance.

The Americans of that time spoke of grace, calling, honor, sacrifice, and glory. They weren't embarrassed or self-conscious, because they felt the painful birth of the Republic to be an event significant beyond measure in the history of civilization. To best capture the emotional trauma attendant to the Revolution, Middlekauff chose to employ the narrative form, a risky business. Writers like Samuel Eliot Morison could regularly get away with "telling a story" only because they wrote with grace, clarity, and the vast knowledge of their subject. It's very easy to lose the reader ("who was *that* guy? I saw his name a couple of pages ago . . . I think"), but Middlekauff is up to the task.

He begins the story in 1763, with an exhausted and victorious Britain surveying what must have appeared to be the dawn of a British century. The "French menace" was gone (it seemed) after a half-century of conflict. Now, unhampered by French designs, the thirteen colonies in America could grow and prosper — to the benefit of the mother country, of course.

An immediate difficulty arose because of the state of the Exchequer. The war had left Britain near bankruptcy. The bonds and loans floated to supply the troops in their assaults on the heights of Ticonderoga and Quebec had left the ministry beneath an enormous debt. The classic manner by which a government raises revenue is taxation, and Middlekauff follows step-by-step the efforts to discharge the war debt. The Sugar Act, the Stamp Act, the Tea Act . . . governments rose and fell over these issues in the 1760s and 1770s.

Wisely, Middlekauff realizes that most colonists and members of Parliament were trying, by their lights, to be reasonable about the whole business. As Parliament attempted traditional and innovative revenue measures, however, each initiative served to convince colonial radicals that its *real* intent was the subversion of colonial liberty. And colonial reaction helped convince more and more members of Parliament that those "liberties" *ought* to be suppressed. Though both factions followed the tenets of the Age of Reason, the conclusions they reached were different indeed.

While he deals with the political, religious, and social background to the Revolution, Middlekauff does a fine job with the war itself. Colonel John Elting (*The Battles of Saratoga, The Battle of Bunker Hill*) once told me that good military history is hard to write "unless you'd smelled the smoke." As we are too often aware, some writers of military history let smoke get in their eyes, as battle after battle gradually overwhelm the significance of it all. Middlekauff is adept at the who-did-what-to-whom nuts-and-bolts sort of writing, and his editor inserted clear maps at the appropriate pages.

Very important, Middlekauff frequently steps back from the rush of events for analysis, and his essay on why American soldiers (sometimes) fought is a masterpiece which could well stand on its own. It is an admirable analysis, considerably more lucid than Charles Royster's *A Revolutionary People at War*. Why did they fight? They certainly were *not* crazy about dying, especially in a lost cause, and often expressed their sentiments in precipitate flight from the enemy, leaving bag, baggage, and the shreds of honor behind. Yet sometimes, faced by overwhelming odds, they stayed and fought and died. The free-spirited militia, the "citizen soldier" of legend and story, is a staple of our history, yet the long-service hard cases of the Continental Army were usually "braver." Why? What was the role of religion — not just preaching — in the Revolution? What were the real limits of imperial power in the eighteenth century? Was the battle lost for Britain before the first shots at Lexington Green?

*The Glorious Cause* is the first in a ten-year, eleven-volume series projected by the Oxford University Press. The series is designed to produce one-volume classics about each epoch in American history, and the well-known scholars whose books are to come have a high standard to meet with Middlekauff's entry. John Adams reflected that the real Revolution occurred not on the battlefield, but rather in the hearts and minds of the people. Middlekauff's splendid volume belongs there, too.

BRIAN BURNS

Sturbridge, Massachusetts

**“FORT TI” A Columbia Motion Picture (1953), starring George Montgomery.** Produced and directed by William Castle. A film in 3-D.

Those who fondly remember the 3-D film from youthful matinees (remember “HOUSE OF WAX” with Vincent Price and Charles Bronson as Igor?) may wonder why the cinematic technique withered and died back in the 1950s. A recent double-bill in Boston provides some evidence for the prosecution. Studios generally tended to experiment with the cardboard glasses on films in the classic “B” mode, not with top-class vehicles. The example of “FORT TI” and its double-bill companion, “GUN FURY” starring a very young Rock Hudson opposite Donna Reed, prove that unfortunate point.

We settled into the popcorn and gum with no great expectations other than a good laugh. After all, William Castle has earned a place in cinema history through tacky horror films and gimmicks like buzzers under the chairs in such classics as “THE TINGLER.” In many ways, “FORT TI” was a pleasant surprise, even though it is really a western in colonial duds.

George Montgomery plays Captain Jed Horne of Rogers’ Rangers. The film opens as he and his comic relief, Sgt. Wash, arrive to see General Amherst at Albany. The scene isn’t too bad, because Amherst is treated with respect, and the good sergeant waves some bloody scalps to intimidate the foppish governor, behaving with a brutal sort of good humor one suspects isn’t far from the truth. It’s 1759, and Amherst plans to advance into Canada. But there’s “Fort Ti” in his way. The Rangers are to scout and keep the French off-balance while the main offensive is in preparation.

A major sub-plot involves Horne’s sister and his weakling brother-in-law, Chesney. Chesney has become the pawn of a French master-spy, Moreau, who cleverly hides his identity with the English alias of “Morrow” (get it?). Moreau has sent his Indian pals to kidnap the sister and take her to Ticonderoga to insure Chesney’s good behavior. Captain Jed doesn’t care for this, and forces Chesney to join up for the expedition to the fort. He’ll act as a double agent for the British, but the captain will keep an eye on Chesney, anyway. Recruiting and training allows a lot of gratuitous 3-D effects — tomahawks thrown out at the audience, targets shattering in your eyes, and so on.

After training, Jed leads the men north to join Rogers. After all that training, don’t you think he wouldn’t bunch the new rangers up in

a valley? Yeah, but this gives a good opportunity for an Indian ambush — more tomahawks and knives hurled at the theater-goers (not very respectful, this crowd), and so on. The Rangers win, and Jed hears screams from the woods, and arrives to rescue a beautifully made-up damsel with an artfully torn dress. Just what she's doing there miles and miles from civilization apparently embarrassed the scriptwriters, for they gloss it over. Her name is Fortune Mallory and she escaped from the "dungeon" at the fort, where she had been held for several years. Fortunately, the cultured French had been able to supply her with a hairdresser and a plenty of lipstick and rouge. Is she what she seems . . . or a French agent?

They meet up with Rogers, who certainly isn't anyone you know. Portrayed as a genial, pipe-smoking gent with the beginnings of a belly, he serves to tell Jed that patience is a virtue. Ahem. Anyway, Chesney slips off to the fort to meet Montcalm and feed him false information. The fort is seen only briefly in long shot, and a fairly effective matte painting is used. It does look like Ticonderoga from the outside. Inside, however, this is Fort Apache — no doubt about it, unless adobe was a building material used by de Lotbiniere in 1755.

While it's a lot of unintended laughs, "FORT TI" has points of interest. The writers knew enough to refer to the colonists as "provincials," and didn't junk up the script with a lot of nonsense about yearning to be independent. Both Amherst and Montcalm are portrayed with some dignity. Unfortunately, it's as though two groups worked on the finished script. We hear a lot about keeping peace in the "territory," about Fort Ti being on the other side of the "river," and some other bizarre geographical references which make you wonder just *which* "Fort Ti" the movie is about.

You'll probably not get to see this at your local theater, unless there are some pretty old movie houses in your neighborhood. However, since you're reading *The Bulletin*, we can assume that you'd be interested enough to stay up for the appropriate late show presentation. If it's over by one a.m., stay up; any later, wait for a re-run.

BRIAN BURNS

Sturbridge, Massachusetts

## MUSEUM NOTES

Fort Ticonderoga opened for the 1982 season on Saturday, 15 May 1982. It was a magnificent spring day and visitors showed their approval with some four hundred guests, about equally divided between adults and students. Their enthusiasm bids well for this year's season. While our guide staff of college students was not available, one of our museum attendants, Mrs. Ruth Fitzgerald, provided excellent guide service. This is her second year in that capacity and visitors appreciate her ever present good nature and knowledge of Fort and Champlain Valley history. Many of our return visitors request that she be assigned as their guide.

The museum exhibits do not reflect drastic change but important from a curatorial view point is the refurbishing of three important items in our collection, namely the oil portrait of General Philip Schuyler, the little primitive depicting the wounding of Baron Dieskau and from our map collection, Claude Joseph Southier's "Topographical MAP of HUDSON'S RIVER with the CHANNELS Depth of Water, Rocks, Shoals, Etc., and the COUNTRY adjacent, from SANDY HOOK, NEW YORK and BAY to FORT EDWARD, also the Communication with CANADA by LAKE GEORGE and LAKE CHAMPLAIN, as high as FORT CHAMBLY on Sorel River." This important map was published according to Act of Parliament Oct. 1, by Wm. Faden Corner of St. Martin's Lane Charing Cross LONDON.

1981 saw the establishment of the Dorothy Hudson Michalis Memorial Fund for the Museum and Library, provided by very generous funding from her son, Hubert Hudson who has long been a warm friend of that phase of Fort Ticonderoga's program.

The 1981 season also saw the acquisition by Fort Ticonderoga of the Mount Hope properties which along with the previously (1979) acquired Mount Defiance location and Mount Independence on the Vermont shore co-ordinates the perimeter defense of Fort Ticonderoga. Mount Hope and Mount Defiance will be operated during the 1982 season and plans are presently well along to carry out Lieutenant Twiss' famous remark "Where a goat can go a man can go, and where a man can go he can drag a cannon." It will be exciting once again (205 years later) to see a battery of cannon in place on Sugar Loaf Hill, otherwise known as Mount Defiance and overlooking by some 1400-1500 yards the military establishments at both Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Inde-



pendence. Such established fortifications at both Mount Defiance and Mount Hope should help to make history and the story of Ticonderoga and its perimeter defenses come alive for our visitors.

On May 16, 1981 the USS Ticonderoga, first of the new Aegis missile cruisers launched by the U.S. Navy was christened by Mrs. Nancy Reagan, and Fort Ticonderoga's elite Fife and Drum Corps was flown down to provide both music and color guard for the occasion. Currently they are again on tour, flying to Chicago to provide the lead unit as well as period music for Mayor Jane Byrne's annual Circus Day Parade on Memorial Day along Michigan Avenue and Columbus Drive in that city. Chicago will be treated to traditional music from authentic Colonial American wood fifes and rope tensioned drums as Fort Ticonderoga Fifes and Drums lead the parade.

1981 was the bicentennial of the founding of the Grand Lodge of Masons in New York State. Commemorative events were held throughout the state and on July 17 colorful ceremonies took place within the Place d'Armes at Fort Ticonderoga. The Deputy Grand Master and Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge and the Master, Secretary and Treasurer of Holland Lodge came to Ticonderoga for the event. A commemorative plaque was presented to Fort Ticonderoga by Mount Defiance Lodge.

For the second season the Potter Foundation provided funds for the preservation work on the walls of the Fort and beginning in August and running on until cold weather precluded further masonry, the north curtain wall was pointed and restored. Work will be resumed this coming August which is the most practical time of the season for such effort.

Among our manuscript holding is a little book kept during the American Revolution by Simeon Metcalfe who settled during colonial days along Michisquoy Bay. He kept a careful account of shipping and armed vessels on Lake Champlain and, in fact, drew delightful sketches of said shipping thereon. Recently his great, great grandson in the person of Henry L. Despard of Birmingham, Michigan, has turned up. It seems that his ancestor led a most eventful life not only in the Champlain Valley but in exciting events around the world. Mr. Despard is currently engaged in writing a novel based on his ancestor's career and was delighted to find original manuscript material in our library archives. The book should be ready for the publisher shortly and we look forward to reading the story in its entirety.

On May 22nd of this year Sothby Parke Bernet of New York City offered a conditional sale of two magnificent cannon. The story of these

guns is fascinating. They are bronze signed by A. Schalch and dated 1748, the barrel engraved with the initials for King George II, the initial "M" for the Duke of Montague, the White Rose of York, and the castings numbered 13 and 15.

Andrew Schalch, a Swiss cannon maker, was born in 1692 at Schaffhausen, trained in France at Douai, appointed in 1716 first 'Master Founder' at the then newly built Royal Brass Foundry at Woolwich, England.

As the story of the cannon goes the bronze guns were brought to America and figured in the struggle between England and France for control of the North American continent, much of which struggle took place in the Champlain Valley. The two bronze cannon along with other ordinance were captured from the English in 1757 when the Marquis de Montcalm defeated English arms at Fort William Henry. They were taken by the French to their supply base at Fort Ticonderoga (Fort Carillon) and remained there during the 1758 and 1759 campaigns. When Jeffrey Amherst, British commander in the 1759 campaign, decided to invest Fort Ticonderoga, the French hold on the lower Champlain Valley was doomed. The decision to evacuate the forts at Ticonderoga to Crown Point was made and allegedly the French loaded the cannon on the sloop "La Musquelouguy," and sailed north, pursued by Amherst and his forces intent on capture and an eventful assault on Montreal. Whether by intent or an act of war the sloop was destroyed — sunk and the cannon lay on the lake bottom until 1968 when three teen-aged Plattsburgh youngsters while scuba diving found and retrieved them. They remained in Plattsburgh and in the boys possession although New York State in 1968 stated they intended to take possession of the cannon, but took no action.

It was not until May of 1982 when the cannon were offered at public auction that Fort Ticonderoga (remembering the "Philadelphia") decided that no more artifacts relative to the Champlain story should be lost to the area and thus bid them in.

Since the cannon once figured prominently in the history of Fort Ticonderoga during the Colonial Wars and since Fort Ticonderoga with its nationally known museum and hundreds of thousand visitors each year will provide an appropriate and public permanent home for cannon that have been restless for 235 years, we applaud the action.

J M L

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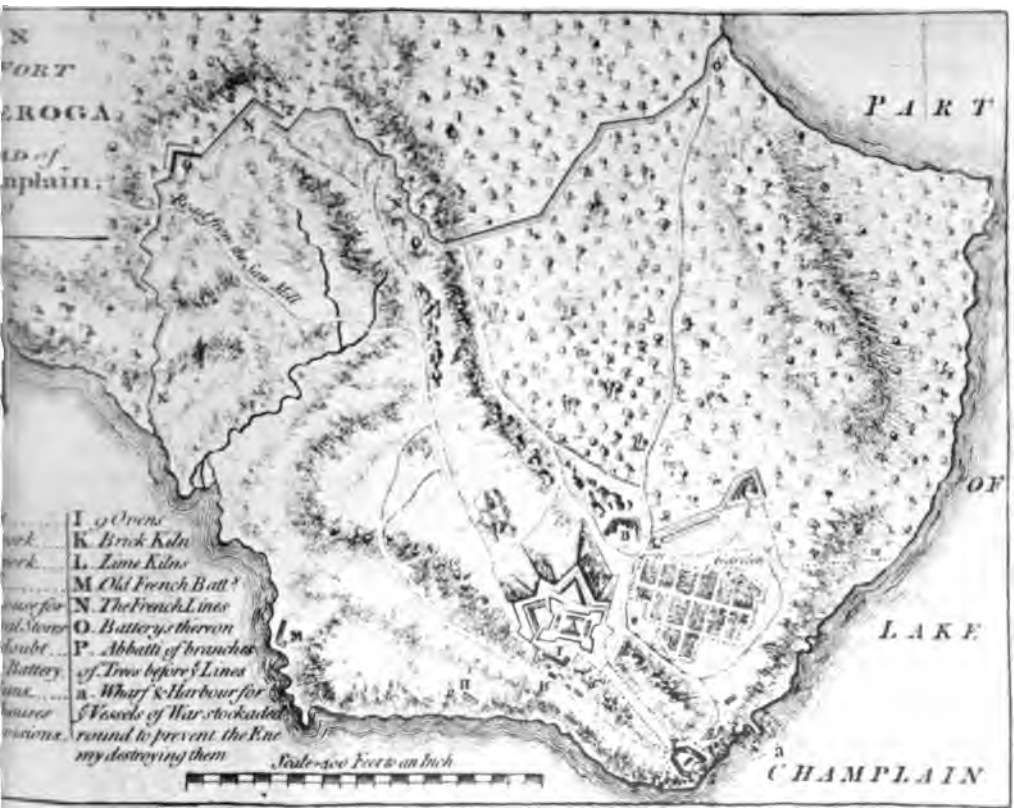
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# THE BULLETIN OF THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

Volume XIV

Fall 1983

Number 4



TICONDEROGA, 1759

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The Fort and Museum are open from mid-May until mid-October, including Sundays and holidays, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. (6 P.M. during July and August). The admission charge is \$5.00 for adults and \$3.00 for children from ten to thirteen. There is no charge for children under ten or for students of any level in classroom groups, supervised by a teacher, who have made previous arrangements with the Management.

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Manuscripts about the early history of the Champlain Valley are invited. Address correspondence to John W. Krueger, Editor, Fort Ticonderoga, Ticonderoga, New York 12883.

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## NOTES REGARDING THE FIRST WHITE FUR TRADERS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

by

**Koert D. Burnham**

For over 3,000 years the valleys of the Hudson and Champlain were a well-known Indian trade route. The names and nationalities of the first Europeans who bartered with the Indians on Lake Champlain are unknown. They were inadvertent explorers who carried with them fishhooks, needles, thread, small bells, red cloth, vermilion, small mirrors, beads, glass buttons, metal arrow points, cured tobacco and other small desired objects requiring far less transportation space than did the peltries for which they bartered. Heavy, but terribly effective, were the eight-gallon casks of brandy, even when much reduced in proof by the liberal addition of water. Canny when sober, Indians were incompetent when in drink. The traders were not diarists. The only records they kept were those of profit and loss. Even so, whitemen peacefully met redmen at the southern end of Lake Champlain before August 18, 1614.

Champlain's only visit to the lake that bears his name was in 1609, when he had his first of three battles against the Iroquois. The following summer he attempted to go there again, as a merchant with four well stocked shallops.<sup>1</sup> With him came two hundred Algonkings, a similar number of Hurons,<sup>2</sup> and a strong force of Montagnais.<sup>3</sup>

The Algonkings of the upper Ottawa River were strategically placed to assist the French for joint profit. The Hurons, recognizable by their bristly scalp locks, were related in language and blood to the Iroquois. Kinship did not save them, however, from almost total destruction in the mid 1600s by their semi-cousins the Iroquois. The Montagnais, or northeastern Algonkians, were in the fur trade even before Champlain's arrival and like the Algonkings and Hurons were trappers and middlemen throughout the French régime.<sup>4</sup>

The French Kings granted countless monopolies in France and in their overseas possessions. Many were untenable. Cabot wrote in 1497 that cod-fish on the continental shelf were so numerous that "they sometimes stayed his shippes."<sup>5</sup> By the mid 1500s superior fishing was found in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Shore bases to dry the fish necessitated contact with the Micmac and Malicite tribes and resulted in the development of the fur trade. French, Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Dutch merchants started send-

ing their ships to America for the sole purpose of bartering for furs.<sup>4</sup>

Champlain was associated with more than one monopoly whose "rights" he could not defend. This great man attempted to colonize New France and to control all commerce. Whenever they dared, rivals dogged his steps. For lack of a more descriptive term these rivals were called free traders or independents.

On June 19, 1610, a start was made to ascend the outlet of Lake Champlain. Four and a half miles from its discharge into the St. Lawrence an abatis and log fort had been newly erected on the west bank. This fort held a large Iroquois war party, mostly Mohawks, eager to avenge their defeat of the previous year. Without waiting for the French to catch up, their Indian allies launched an ineffectual attack. Champlain, Captain Thibout, and three others struggled along the low swamp-like riverbank to join the fight. They wore knee length robes, woolen britches, and wool stockings. They became as wet with sweat as if they had been submerged in the river. Over this unsuitable summer garb, their necks, chests, and waists were protected by a steel corselet with an extension that protected the hips and upper thighs. Their weapon was the arquebus. It was a light handgun with a short, curved stock, without a shoulder fitting butt plate. When the trigger was pulled a big of red-hot fuse ignited gunpowder in the pan which communicated to the main charge. The kick was so strong that to maintain balance the user had to stand with one leg far forward. "The hosts of mosquitos were so thick that they hardly allowed us to draw our breath, so greatly and severely did they persecute us," Champlain later recalled. Finally arriving at the circular enemy fort, Champlain calmly poked his gun into it and fired. Arrows tipped with sharp stone flew "as thick as hailstones." One split his earlobe and stuck in his neck while another lodged in the arm of his companion. Champlain calmly pulled out both arrows as he conceived a plan leading to victory. The small powder flasks and bullet pouches they carried would be quickly exhausted if they continued to shoot through branches at unseen foes. He knew enough of the Montagnais language to order his eager Indian allies to smash the fort by felling tall trees on it. Each Indian axe man was protected by shields held by his friends. Others, covered by shields, were able to tie ropes to the logs of the fort. The free traders had listened to the booming of the arquebuses. One, a courageous young man of St. Malo, believing it a disgrace not to help, came with three of his own crew and some of Champlain's, but only after all was ready to smash and pull the fort apart. Champlain stalled the final storming of the fort "so that the newcomers might have their share of the pleasure." After they had done some mid-range killing, the trees fell, the ropes were pulled,

and the fort was entered. French swords and Indian weapons took the lives of those who resisted. The few who attempted to escape by swimming across the river were targets for arrows. Only fifteen prisoners were taken. Fifty of the friendly Indians were wounded and three killed. The noted historian Samuel Eliot Morison wrote that this battle was more important than the one at Ticonderoga in 1609 because it bound the three named Indian nations to French interests for one hundred and fifty years.

After the battle came the victory dance with the normal, but sickening to the French, torture of the prisoners. The prisoners were bound to stakes and their fingernails were pulled out in a manner so as to inflict greatest pain. Then came the slow burning with flaming splints stuck into their flesh. When the captives fell into the fire surrounding their stakes, Champlain wrote, "They would pound the body violently with clubs, then they would cut off arms, legs and other parts of the body, and among them no one was esteemed worthy who did not cut off a piece of flesh and give it to the dogs."<sup>7</sup> The wounded Champlain decided not to continue up the River of the Iroquois, as it was then called. Now the Richelieu, for a time the river was called the Sorel, for Captain Pierre Saurel, who built a fort near the site of the battle and became a fur trader.<sup>8</sup>

Champlain sailed for France on August 8, where he married H el ene Boull e on December 30. She was only thirteen. The thirty year older groom gladly agreed not to bed her until she reached the age of fifteen. She did not come to Quebec until 1620 and she stayed only four years, almost as a stranger among her compatriots. The Indians admired her face, her clothes, her gay manner, and especially the mirror dangling from her belt. Childless, their relationship was one of affection. In France she watched over her husband's interest until his death at Quebec on Christmas Day in 1635. She was foundress of a monastery where, as Mother H el ene de Saint Augustine, she died December 20, 1654.<sup>9</sup>

Champlain left France on March 1, 1611. Disembarking at Quebec on May 21, he gave up his desire to explore the St. Maurice River. Instead, he passed the river's mouth to continue up the St. Lawrence to near its junction with the Ottawa. There with luck he could meet the Huron fleet of canoes full of bales of choice furs before the assorted independents interfered. The Hurons were behind schedule and did not meet their white friends until June 13. In the ten days or so of waiting, Champlain found the site Jacques Cartier visited sixty-six years earlier, and had seen cultivated land. It met his requirements for a fur factory. It is now part of Old Town, Montreal. There his crew cleared more ground and built a wall of earth sixty feet long and over eighteen feet high. A nearby island was almost

flawless as a location for a small village and defensive works. It still bears the name he gave it to honor his wife: Sainte-Hélène. His dream of a settlement finally materialized seven years after his death.<sup>10</sup>

The moment the savages landed, Savignon, a young Huron who had spent a year in France, was reunited with his relatives. His reports praised the French. Another exchange student, Etienne Brûlé, was equally happy with his stay in Huronia. He had picked up their language and customs. Thus, for a time, he was a valued interpreter. He was one of the first French squaw-men, the first to see Lake Huron and Lake Ontario and one of the first to be on Chesapeake Bay, the first whiteman to suffer Seneca torture, and the first to be made a member of that tribe. After living with the Hurons as a favored brother for twenty years, they killed and ate him for undisclosed but repented reasons.<sup>11</sup>

Again, as he had done on Lake Champlain and in the coastal regions, Champlain had opened a gate. The free traders from more than one country had plenty of time to squat in his shadow. They erred in welcoming the canoe fleet by firing small cannon and arquebusses. The unexpected noise from strange weapons frightened the Indians. Brûlé was able to get for his mentor the first hundred prime skins. After that it was akin to an auction. Brandy calmed dread, making the independents, commercial rivals of each other, satisfied with their investments in their occupational traffic. Naturally, Champlain was furious at the way they dealt with the Indians and at their financial gain.

In 1615 no traders dared to follow the explorer to Lake Huron. The Iroquois intercepted western fur convoys going down the Ottawa River with increasing tempo. The seized furs brought top prices from the Dutch at Fort van Nassoueen, so named in honor of the Dutch Royal House of Orange — Nassau. To the Canadians, the area was always Fort Orange, present day Albany. Several other names were used at various periods. An early one was de Fuyck, after a Dutch hoop net used in fishing. Then came Renselaerswyck, named for its first patroon; and sometimes Beverwyck, so named for the beaver trade. For a short time it was Willemstadt. Schenectady was always called Corlear, the nickname of its founder, Arent van Curler.

Champlain's correct decision was to strike hard at the center of the Iroquois Confederacy. Sooner or later New France must fight those who controlled the Hudson with its ice free port on the Atlantic. If he could destroy the heart of Iroquoia it would be a setback to both his red and white foes. The expedition started with fourteen Frenchmen and 500 of the expected 2,500 Huronic allies. The Susquehannahs had also promised to

help but came too late to be of assistance. Early in October the attack was made on an exceptionally strong Onondaga fortification within the present city limits of Syracuse. An arrow pierced Champlain's knee. The attack collapsed without an ambulatory leader. Champlain was strapped tight to a pack board so he could be carried on the backs of Indians for the six-day journey to Lake Ontario. He had beaten the Iroquois twice, but the third attempt was a complete failure. His mental and physical agony must have been intense.

Meanwhile, Captain Adriaen Block, a redoubtable Dutch explorer, was often on the coast of North America. In 1613 his ship, the *Tiger*, was burned at Manhattan. Four small houses, visible from the bay, were constructed on the island to shelter him and his crew while they built the seaworthy *Onrust* (Restless).<sup>12</sup> Block went up the Hudson to present Albany and beyond in an effort to free three compatriots. These men had been captured by the Susquehannahs while trading well up the Mohawk River. Their captors, known to the French as the Andastes and later by the English as the Conestogas, lived near present day Elmira. Never having seen a European, these Indians thought they had taken Frenchmen, with whom their elders wanted peace and trade. The prisoners were freed.<sup>13</sup>

Captain Block, of inquisitive mind, was an excellent cartographer who had mapped the North American coast far north of the island that now bears his name. His travels and inquiries continually added information to his maps. One map that he filed in Patria on August 18, 1614, is now a carefully guarded treasure of the Royal Archives at The Hague. It was discovered there in 1841 by J. R. Brodhead, an agent of the State of New York. An accurate copy of the map was inserted between pages twelve and thirteen in volume one of *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, as edited by E. B. O'Callaghan. Historians owe much to these men. In this case, however, both men not only misdated the map but also credited it to the wrong Dutch skipper. Near the top of the map, Block had written several lines. The Mohawks had told him about annual occurrences that took place near the southern end of Lake Champlain. This inscription was translated from the archaic Dutch on April 1, 1982, for the writer through the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church and follows:

This map [the part] in so far as one has been able to understand is made up of what the Maqua [Mohawks] say. They indicate that the French come to their land in sloops [shallops] to trade with them.

The place where the French came to trade could have been Whitehall, but is more likely to have been Ticonderoga, the termination of the much used Kayadrosseras Trail. This trail started on the Mohawk, near the center

of that tribe's villages. Worn deep by innumerable moccasins, it bore north-easterly, skirting the low Adirondacks, almost in the shadow of present Mount McGregor, to a ford on the Great Bend of the Hudson. The trail then utilized Lake George or the old trail along that lake to Ticonderoga. This route was shorter and easier than the routes up the Hudson from Albany to Fort Edward and Wood Creek to Whitehall. There is a remote possibility that the notation on Block's map was added later. If so, it still had to have been made prior to August 19, 1616.

It is reasonable to believe that representatives of European mercantile houses were active on Lake Champlain two or more years before Block drew the "First Figurative Map of New Netherlands" in 1614. His note hints that such was the case. The saltwater fisheries had been exploited for a century. That Canadian furs could be as important was well known. One must conclude that the Europeans were quick to utilize Lake Champlain for commercial profit. The Indian trade may have started at Ticonderoga as early as 1612.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup>Morris Bishop, *Champlain: The Life of Fortitude* (New York, 1948), 157.
- <sup>2</sup>*Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (2 vols., Toronto, 1966-1969), I, 381-382.
- <sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 508-509.
- <sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, II, xxxv.
- <sup>5</sup>Kenneth McNaught, *The Pelican History of Canada* (1969), 9.
- <sup>6</sup>*DCB*, I, 22-23.
- <sup>7</sup>Bishop, *Champlain*, 157-161; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Samuel de Champlain* (Boston, 1972), 117-120.
- <sup>8</sup>*DCB*, I, 602.
- <sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 110.
- <sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 191.
- <sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 130-132, 603.
- <sup>12</sup>I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, IV, 39 and *passim*.
- <sup>13</sup>Jan Kupp, *Dutch Influence in Canada 1589-1624* (1971), 15.

## THE NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1759 ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

by

Dennis M. Lewis

The last French troops abandoned Fort Carillon on the evening of July 26, 1759, and withdrew to Fort Saint-Frédéric where the rest of the French army waited. For four days, the 400-man garrison had watched the British army commanded by General Sir Jeffrey Amherst erect siege batteries in preparation for an attack on the fort. After keeping up a vigorous fire against the British positions for three days, the French evacuated the fort and exploded the magazine which destroyed a bastion and parts of two curtain walls.

Five days later, on July 31, the French destroyed the citadel at Fort Saint-Frédéric and withdrew to the newly fortified position at Ile-aux-Noix in the Richelieu River. The decision to abandon both Fort Carillon and Fort Saint-Frédéric had been reached in the spring. With a strong British attack on Québec expected, there were not enough troops in New France to defend the forts on Lake Champlain.

In a move to secure the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River corridor from the impending British advance, the French started to build a naval force on the lake. This action had been initiated in the fall of 1758.<sup>1</sup> Already on the lake was a topsail schooner, the *Vigilante*, which had been built in the fall of 1757. It had been built at Saint-Jean, Québec, by Nicolas-René Levasseur to replace an earlier vessel built at Crown Point in 1742.<sup>2</sup> The *Vigilante* and its predecessor had been used to transport supplies from Saint-Jean to the forts at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The builder of the *Vigilante*, Levasseur, was a skilled shipbuilder who had built several vessels at Québec and on the Great Lakes. He also owned large tracts of land in the Champlain Valley. In September of 1758 Levasseur returned to Saint-Jean and started construction of four sloops.<sup>3</sup>

Seamen to man the new vessels were obtained from the fisheries on the Saint Lawrence and the merchant vessels at Québec. The merchant vessels were also stripped of sails, masts, and other fittings to aid in the building of vessels both on Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario.<sup>4</sup>

In May of 1759 General Montcalm dispatched M. de Laubaras, a French naval officer, to command the squadron on Lake Champlain. With him went five officers and ninety seamen. By June 9, Laubaras was at Ticonderoga with two vessels to support the army during the withdrawal to Ile-aux-Noix.<sup>5</sup>

Bourlamaque, the French commander in the Lake Champlain region, waited to withdraw the bulk of his army from Ticonderoga until Amherst had actually landed his troops and started his advance on Fort Carillon. On July 23 the British officers commanding the advance posts reported that the French troops who had been camped near the fort had departed. The sloops that had been anchored just north of the fort and most of the batteaux were also gone. For the next few days Amherst's scouting parties reported two sloops and the *Vigilante* at Fort Saint-Frédéric covering the last stages of the French withdrawal.<sup>6</sup>

With the French gone from the south end of the lake, the British had access to a water highway leading into the heart of Canada. Only the need for armed vessels to counter the French squadron kept Amherst from moving forward.

Amherst, in planning the 1759 campaign, had made provision for the construction of vessels on Lake Champlain to counter the French. After learning on May 14 from a prisoner taken near Crown Point "that there are two Vessels on Lake Champlain of small force and two more were to be finished the later end of the last month," he dispatched Captain Joshua Loring of the Royal Navy to New York. Loring was instructed to obtain the material necessary to build two vessels on Lake Champlain.<sup>7</sup>

Joshua Loring, Amherst's naval commander, was no stranger to the inland lakes. He had been appointed by the Admiralty to command a brig on Lake Ontario in 1756 and in 1758 he was the superintendent of the vessels on Lake George. Loring was a rarity in the Royal Navy — he was a colonial born in Massachusetts. His commission was the result of a successful privateering career during the 1745 siege of Louisbourg.<sup>8</sup>

Amherst's great preoccupation, once he had contained the French in Fort Carillon, was the movement of small boats over the portage from Lake George to Lake Champlain. These boats were needed to carry the army forward to Crown Point once Fort Carillon fell. On July 25 Amherst recorded in his journal that "the English flat bottomed boat" had been launched in the La Chute River along with some whaleboats. During the next few days the British were busy moving batteaux and other small vessels over the portage and raising several batteaux that the French had left sunk in the lake.<sup>9</sup>

These small boats and batteaux were not capable of driving the French from the lake. To do this Amherst ordered "boats built for carrying 24-Pounders that I may be superior to the Enemy's Sloops on the Lake."<sup>10</sup> At this point he felt that it would be a fairly straightforward job of gaining naval superiority over the French. On July 29 he wrote "they [the French]



depend on my not getting my boats over & being forced to build some for cannon but I shall be ready sooner than they imagine."<sup>11</sup>

Along with the transfer of boats and batteaux from Lake George, preparations were underway for the construction of vessels at Ticonderoga. Loring inspected the French sawmill on the La Chute River on July 25 and reported that it would be running within eight days.<sup>12</sup> It was hoped that this mill would supply the plank needed for the vessels as well as for the other construction projects planned by Amherst.

The British were ready to move to Crown Point on August 3. Amherst wrote to Loring on that day, "I must earnestly recommend it to You, that You will make all the Dispatch possible in Building the Vessel and Boats for the Guns according to the Intended Plan."<sup>13</sup> Loring was to remain at Ticonderoga in order to push the construction of the vessels for a British squadron to completion.

With Gage's Light Infantry in the van, the British army moved down the lake to Crown Point on August 4 to join an advance party of Rangers. They had occupied the French fort after it was evacuated. This move was covered by two boats carrying three pounders, three with twenty-four pounders and one with a twelve pounder. In the days that followed, these small armed vessels covered scouting parties that Amherst sent out from Crown Point where he had established his headquarters. A violent storm struck Crown Point on August 8 and damaged several of the batteaux drawn up on the beach. Amherst wrote in his journal about the storm and added that "boats with Guns can't live in this Lake in bad weather."<sup>14</sup> The need for the large brig that Loring was to build at Ticonderoga was now even more clear.

The French squadron had taken up a position near the Iles au Quatre Vents (Four Brothers Islands) following the evacuation of Crown Point. From there, Laubaras maintained a close watch for British scouting parties trying to move down the lake. On several occasions his presence forced British parties to only travel at night. He was also ordered to watch for any advance by the British army. Bourlamaque had directed Laubaras to withdraw to Ile-aux-Noix if the British were detected.<sup>15</sup>

Even though the need for vessels on Lake Champlain had been anticipated during the planning for the 1759 campaign, problems developed. There were no dockyard facilities at Ticonderoga and these had to be built before Loring could start the brig. The shallow water also required the construction of a wharf out into deep water. By August 10 the wharf was almost done and Loring wrote to Amherst that he would start the brig shortly. He also inquired as to where the officers and seamen would come from

and what cannon were to be mounted.<sup>16</sup>

Firsthand knowledge of the French squadron was obtained from a deserter from the Languedoc Regiment on August 16. He had deserted from a party that was on shore gathering firewood. He reported:

... the four Vessels are La *Vigilante* of 10 Pieces of Cannon 6 & 4 Pounds, a Schooner, a Sloop called *Musquelongy*. A Captain of a Man of war commands, Monsieur De le Bras, has 2 brass 12-pounders and 6 Iron six pounders, la *Brochette* of 8 Guns 6 & 4 pounders commanded by Mons. Regal, an Officer of Man of War, L'*Eturgeon* of 8 Guns of 6 & 4 pounders. All of them have swivels. Three were built this year; one is an old one, and there is another repairing.<sup>17</sup>

From this information it was apparent that the proposed brig and gun-boats would not give the British superiority on the lake. Amherst summoned Loring to Crown Point on August 17 to decide what action was necessary to counter the French squadron. In consultation with Major Thomas Ord of the Royal Artillery they decided that the construction of a radeau to carry six twenty-four pounders would solve the problem. The radeau was to be the responsibility of Major Ord. He estimated that it could be built in ten days.<sup>18</sup>

The sawmill at Ticonderoga was proving to be a problem. Repairs had not proceeded as rapidly as estimated. On August 17 Loring estimated that it would take at least two or three more days to get it running. To get a supply of plank for the brig Loring had logs hauled to the dockyard where they were cut by hand. Even when the mill was running, the lack of logs and rivalries between the various services hindered its usefulness. Loring reported that while both he and Major Ord were in need of plank, Colonel Miller, who was in charge of the mill, had used it to saw plank for rafts to carry cannon to Crown Point. Loring felt that batteaux could have done the job in a safer manner than the rafts.<sup>19</sup>

On August 22 the mill started sawing plank for Major Ord's radeau. The plank was shipped to Crown Point as soon as it was finished. When it was delivered, Major Ord found it unsatisfactory and complained to Amherst. In an effort to correct the problem Amherst sent a list of timber to Loring and asked him to see that it was delivered without any further delay. This list called for oak and pine plank sixty feet long and three to four inches thick. Along with the plank Ord requested some ship's carpenters and tools, all to be supplied by Loring.

Also hindering the naval effort, as well as the repair of the fort at Ticonderoga and the building of the new fort at Crown Point, were the rivalries between the various services. This rivalry had been obvious to Amherst for quite some time. He wrote on July 31 that:

It is a little unlucky that three principal People in the Department, viz., Bradstreet [Transport], Loring [Naval], Ord [Artillery] are always pulling different ways. I try to keep them as good Friends as I can and to convince them that their duty is to forward everything for the good of the Service and to assist one another.<sup>21</sup>

Loring was constantly at odds with the army over supplies and men. Colonel William Eyre of the Royal Engineers accused him of stopping items destined for the engineers at Ticonderoga; Loring in turn accused Colonel Miller of not running the sawmill properly. This constant bickering greatly annoyed Amherst. He wrote angrily to Loring on August 27:

I Can't Conceive that any Officers in their particular Departments will chuse to keep things that are Useless . . . and None can be Ignorant that the Whole that is carrying on is for the King's Service, and that Every Body is to Assist as much as they can to every part of it.<sup>22</sup>

Better news came from Loring on August 31 — the brig had been launched the preceding evening. He reported that due to the low water he had not laid the quarter deck in order to keep the weight of the brig down. This, however, would not require much additional time. In an effort to speed up the completion he also asked if Amherst intended to load any shot or shell on board to be transported to the north end of the lake. He proposed putting forty tons of shot and shells on board in place of ballast. Amherst answered that he was pleased that the brig was launched, but directed that it not be brought to Crown Point until everything was ready for an attack on the French squadron.<sup>23</sup>

Reports from French deserters and from a Ranger scouting party commanded by Sergeant Major Joseph Hopkins confirmed that the fourth French sloop had been launched and was *Ile-aux-Noix*. In a bold attempt to destroy this vessel before it could join Laubaras's squadron, Amherst decided to try and burn it. He had Major Ord prepare several incendiary devices for the proposed expedition. Hopkins, four Rangers, two volunteers, two officers from Ruggles's and Whiting's Regiments and four good swimmers left Crown Point for *Ile-aux-Noix* on September 4. With them they took five darts and hand carcasses to burn the sloop. Amherst ordered them to wait until two in the morning before making the attempt.

At ten o'clock on the evening of September 11 Hopkins's party made their attempt. One of the swimmers had attached a fire dart when a guard on the vessel discovered them in the water. He immediately raised an alarm. Several swivel guns were fired into the dark as the swimmers made good their escape. None of the party was injured, but the incendiaries and two blankets were lost.

Hopkins reported that the sloop was anchored broadside to the cur-

rent with six guns run out and was not yet rigged. Running from the bow and the stern was a line of pickets sunk in the river bottom to stop any vessel from passing the island.<sup>24</sup>

The failure to burn the sloop led Amherst to fear that the French might attempt a similar venture. With the new brig, the *Duke of Cumberland*, in the water he directed that a guard be kept on board to prevent such an occurrence. He still hoped to gain control of the lake in the near future, however, even with the failure to burn the sloop.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time that the attempt was being made on the French sloop a second vessel was ordered to be laid down at Ticonderoga. Loring came to Crown Point on September 3 to discuss the growing French squadron with Amherst. They decided the only solution was another vessel. This was to be a sixteen gun sloop and was to be started as soon as the brig was completed.<sup>26</sup>

Problems at the sawmill still continued to plague the ship-building program as well as the other projects at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Loring feared that the plank for the new sloop would have to be cut by hand and would delay the completion of the sloop. Amherst directed Loring to assist in getting the mill running. He was to assist General Lyman, who had been ordered to oversee the mill, in any way possible so that all the projects might proceed smoothly.

As the vessels were being built at Ticonderoga, the cannon to arm them was being collected from the various posts. By September 23 seventeen six pounders and twenty-four four pounders had been allocated for the two vessels. While some of the cannon were at Ticonderoga, several were at Fort George, Fort Edward, and other posts. Some cannon were without carriages, which would have to be built by the carpenters and blacksmiths at the dockyard. Major Ord sent a master carpenter from the Royal Artillery to show how the carriages should be constructed. The master carpenter was to return to Crown Point in three days, but two "Artillery People" were to stay and assist in fitting out the vessels. Loring requested that Ord have his wood turner make up eighteen six pounder rammer heads, eighteen four pounder rammer heads and twenty-four to fit swivel guns.<sup>28</sup>

The problem of crewmen for the vessels was critical by the end of September. With barely enough men to rig the *Duke of Cumberland*, Loring now had to worry about finding a crew for the new sloop as well. To solve this problem Amherst sent orders to Colonel James Montresor at Fort George "to Collect all the Seamen that Shall be found among the Troops at the four Miles Post, halfway brook, the three Miles post and Fort George" and to send them to Loring. Similar orders were sent to the commander

at Fort Edward and Amherst promised to make up the difference out of the regiments at Crown Point.<sup>29</sup>

While Loring was struggling to get his vessels finished at Ticonderoga, Major Ord was building the radeau at Crown Point. Finally on September 29 the radeau, christened *Ligonier*, was launched. The *Ligonier* was little more than a barge capable of sailing with the wind or moving under sweeps. She measured eighty-four feet long and had a twenty-foot beam. Her armament consisted of six twenty-four pounders arranged three to a side. If a watercolor by William Davies is accurate, the *Ligonier* was fitted with two masts carrying a single square sail each.<sup>30</sup>

Loring had sent word to Amherst on September 29 that he would be ready to meet the French in about a week with both the brig, *Duke of Cumberland*, and the sloop. When Lieutenant Colonel Robertson was sent to Ticonderoga by Amherst to determine what proportion of provisions each vessel would carry, he was told that the vessels would be ready in one week. That was on October 1. On October 7 Amherst wrote to Loring, still at Ticonderoga, in an attempt to settle last minute problems and to hurry him on.<sup>31</sup>

The *Duke of Cumberland* left the dockyard at Ticonderoga two days later and proceeded about halfway to Crown Point before anchoring for the night. The next day, October 10, Loring brought her into Crown Point where he anchored with the *Ligonier* on the south side of the point. Amherst hoped that by anchoring the vessels in that location they would be out of sight to any French scouting parties in the area. The brig had been armed with six six pounders, twelve four pounders, and twenty swivel guns. For a crew, seventy seamen and sixty soldiers to act as marines had been found. Lieutenant Alexander Grant of Montgomery's Regiment brought the new sloop, christened *Boscawen*, to Crown Point on October 11. She had taken on board the last of her cannon the day before at Ticonderoga after they had arrived from Lake George. Her armament consisted of four six pounders, twelve four pounders and twenty-two swivel guns. Along with Grant and an officer to command the marines, the crew consisted of sixty seamen and fifty soldiers to act as marines. Ammunition and stores were hurriedly loaded on board the *Boscawen* when she arrived at Crown Point.<sup>32</sup>

While the British were engaged in building their naval force, the French continued to strengthen their fortifications at Ile-aux-Noix and to keep their squadron watching for scouting parties and the advance of the British army. On board the three sloops and one schooner on August 6 were 178 men. This force consisted of eighty-two seamen, sixty soldiers, and thirty-six

militia. While the presence of the French squadron made travel difficult for Amherst's scouting parties, it did not stop them. Small parties of Rangers and other light troops constantly moved down the lake to observe the French positions at Ile-aux-Noix, Saint-Jean, and elsewhere. Occasionally, they even took a few prisoners for questioning. Perhaps the greatest failure of Laubaras's squadron was the failure to spot Major Robert Rogers and a party of about 200 of his Rangers as they moved north on the lake into Missisquoi Bay on their way to raid the Indian village at Saint Francis. On several occasions Bourlamaque complained to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, about Laubaras's failures.<sup>33</sup>

Amherst ordered the regulars to strike their tents on October 11 and to prepare to advance against the French. With the *Duke of Cumberland* and *Boscawen* completed, Amherst finally felt ready to proceed. Loring, however, expressed less confidence. He told Amherst that the two vessels were not strong enough to engage the French on an equal basis. This argument did not change Amherst's mind, however, and he directed Loring to follow the orders that he had issued the day before. These orders read in part:

Where As my Intentions are not only to Distress the Enemy as far as in me lya's but also to Endeavour to obtain the free and uninterrupted Navigation of Lake Champlain. . . . I would therefore have you immediately upon Receipt of Your Sailing orders proceed with the above Brig and Sloop [*Duke of Cumberland* and *Boscawen*] down the Lake and use all Your endeavours to get passed the Enemies Sloops if possible unpreceived, if not, You will at all Events do Your utmost to Come up with and Attack them, and without any Regard to the Army You leave behind as I think them sufficiently covered by the Artillery in Boats When you are advanced.

If you can cutt off the Enemies Communication between the Post at the Isle aux Noix and their Vessels You may then be certain of the Success.<sup>34</sup>

At the last minute a dispute over the command of the British squadron developed. Captain Alexander Schomberg of the Royal Navy arrived from New York and attempted to assume command. He had left his vessel and proceeded to Lake Champlain without orders; an action that Amherst disagreed with. Loring refused to give up his command and with Amherst's backing retained it.<sup>35</sup>

Loring received the order to sail on the afternoon of October 11. Along with these orders Amherst sent one of his aides-de-camp, Captain James Abercromby, Jr., to accompany the squadron. At about 4:00 P.M. the *Duke of Cumberland* and *Boscawen* got under way with a fair wind down the lake.<sup>36</sup>

The army had started to move prior to Loring's sailing. At about 2:00 P.M. the army formed their batteaux and boats into four columns and

started rowing north. Leading the four columns was the radeau *Ligonier* with Amherst on board. Two boats carrying howitzers and two armed with twelve pounders helped cover the front of the army from attack. In the rear was a single boat carrying a twelve pounder. The army kept rowing all night following a light on board the *Ligonier*. In the dark some of the batteaux carrying the Royal Highlanders, who were in the western column, mistook a light on one of Loring's vessels for that of the *Ligonier* and followed it.

At daybreak the Highlanders spotted some vessels to the north. Thinking that these vessels were British, they rowed toward them. The vessels, however, proved to be Laubaras's squadron on patrol just south of the Iles au Quatre Vents. The French attacked the isolated Highlanders and managed to capture one batteau carrying Lieutenant Mackay, a sergeant, and ten soldiers. The firing was heard on board the *Ligonier* and Amherst was notified. Soon, Major Henry Gladwin arrived and informed the general that the Highlanders were engaged with the French sloops. Amherst directed that every effort be made to bring the *Ligonier* up to engage the French.

Following Bourtoulamaque's orders, Laubaras started north to take word of the British advance to Ile-aux-Noix. At this time he was unaware that Loring had sailed past during the night and was now between him and Ile-aux-Noix.

Amherst ordered the army to deploy in a single column along the western shore in a prearranged manner covered by the boats carrying the artillery. With the wind rising out of the north, it was decided to land the army in a sheltered bay and to establish a camp. It was hoped to get under way again later in the day.<sup>37</sup>

In the dark Loring had sailed north as his orders directed. He passed the French vessels without spotting them and at daybreak he was several miles to the north near Grand Isle. At about 6:00 A.M. the *Vigilante* was spotted to the north and Loring ordered both vessels to give chase. Since Rogers's successful raid on Saint Francis in September, the French had kept a vessel further north to watch the entrances into Missisquoi Bay in the hopes of stopping any further raids by that route.

The *Vigilante* bore away with all sail set and sweeps out. She was accompanied by several batteaux. Her commander took her behind two small islands and into Missisquoi Bay. The *Duke of Cumberland* was closing with the *Vigilante* when she ran aground on a bar between the islands. Lieutenant Grant with the *Boscawen* also ran aground.

The *Boscawen* was gotten off of the bar with ease, but the *Duke of Cumberland* was hard aground. Before she could be refloated it was necessary to take eight guns and the sixty soldiers off in order to lighten

her. Neither vessel was damaged and after getting off Loring took the vessels back into the main channel with the intention of heading north to look for the other French vessels. The wind changed around into the north as the vessels tacked out. At the same time three vessels were spotted coming up from the south.

Laubaras, with the sloops *Musquelongy*, *Brochette*, and *Esturgeon*, was still headed north to Ile-aux-Noix with the news of the British advance, and was still unaware of the presence of the British squadron north of him. Loring at once recognized that these were the three French vessels that he was looking for. With the wind in his favor he gave chase and was about to come up with them at dusk when the wind dropped off.

The French sloops had run into Cumberland Bay in an attempt to escape from the British. Loring anchored his two vessels in a position that cut off any chance of escape to the north and prepared to wait for morning to finish the French off. At daybreak he went into the bay in search of the French vessels. He found the *Musquelongy* run on shore and the *Brochette* and *Esturgeon* scuttled in shallow water.<sup>38</sup>

Finding the route to Ile-aux-Noix blocked, Laubaras made the decision to scuttle his squadron and retreat overland. Two of Amherst's scouting parties commanded by Sergeants Nathaniel Burbank and John Rosier of the Rangers had witnessed the French vessels coming toward shore at dusk. During the night they heard much hammering and other noise coming from the vessels, but did not realize that the French were scuttling them. Not until they returned to Crown Point on October 23 was it learned that there had been British parties on shore. The Rangers had not even known where they were. They reported that they had been at Point au Fer several miles further north.<sup>39</sup>

While the main part of Laubaras's party made off overland for Canada, two small boats sneaked past the British to carry the news of Amherst's advance to Broulamaque at Ile-aux-Noix. Seventy of the overland party reached Montreal on October 21 after a nine-day journey through the woods. Others were reported lost in the woods. One of these, a sailor from the *Musquelongy*, was picked up on the west shore of the lake by Captain James Dalryel around October 24.<sup>40</sup>

Broulamaque was furious over Laubaras's scuttling of the squadron without firing a shot. In a letter to Vaudreuil, he asked for the return of the troops and militia that had been on the vessels to augment his garrison at Ile-aux-Noix. He also wanted the sailors back to help man the *Vigilante* and a small gunboat that he had built at the island.

The *Vigilante* had returned to Ile-aux-Noix after escaping into Missis-



quoi Bay. Payant St. Onge, her commander, had evaded the British and had gotten to the north end of Isle LaMotte on October 14. Strong northerly winds kept him there for several days. Finally, a southerly wind allowed St. Onge to bring the *Vigilante* under the guns of Ile-aux-Noix before the British found him.<sup>41</sup>

While Loring tried to take the *Duke of Cumberland* north in search of the *Vigilante*, Lieutenant Grant was ordered to salvage the *Musquelongy* and the guns, stores, and rigging of the other vessels. The French had thrown some of the material over the side before scuttling the vessels, including the two twelve pounder brass guns from the *Musquelongy*, some swivel guns, and muskets.<sup>42</sup>

Amherst was still with the army where they had landed on October 12. A severe storm with strong north winds and rain kept him there until October 18. Once, on October 13, he sent out two whaleboats to try and get through to Loring for news. They both returned four days later without having been able to reach him. The only news of the engagement with the French arrived on October 14 when a boat brought two letters, one from Loring and one from Abercromby.<sup>43</sup>

Finally, on October 18, the wind shifted and the storm let up. Amherst took the army north to where the French sloops were. There he found the *Musquelongy* repaired and ready to sail with the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Boscawen*. Amherst sent 200 Rangers and Light Infantry in whaleboats to accompany Loring in his search for the *Vigilante*. Captain James Dalyel was placed in command of the army contingent.

Even though the *Vigilante* eluded the hunt, the British pressed on to the north end of the lake to look over the French defences. While the *Duke of Cumberland*, *Boscawen*, and *Musquelongy* waited near Ile-aux-Tetes, Captain Dalyel took some of the small boats close enough to Ile-aux-Noix to draw fire. The British stayed at the north end of the lake until October 23 when they started south.<sup>44</sup>

Amherst abandoned any hope of attacking Ile-aux-Noix in 1759 on October 18. With the weather getting colder and news that Wolfe had taken Quebec, he ordered the army back to Crown Point.<sup>45</sup>

Loring followed with the British squadron on October 26. He reported to Amherst that it was possible to raise the two other French sloops. The following day Lieutenant Grant with the *Boscawen*, *Musquelongy*, 200 men, and the necessary equipment sailed back down the lake to try and recover the sloops. Loring took the *Duke of Cumberland* to Ticonderoga to prepare a place to lay the vessels up for the winter.<sup>46</sup>

A Ranger officer reported on November 10 that Lieutenant Grant had

raised one of the sloops and was preparing to raise the other. Grant brought the two prizes, the *Boscawen*, and *Musquelongy* into Crown Point on November 16. He had found on board the French sloops thirty-six English muskets, three blunderbusses, one wall piece, and about two tons of musket balls. The British did not, however, recover the two twelve pound brass guns that had been on board the *Musquelongy*. Lieutenant Mackay, one of the Highlanders who had been captured on October 12 and returned by the French, had reported that they had been thrown over the side prior to the scuttling. The British had also found the empty carriages on board. Grant took the four sloops to Ticonderoga to be layed up for the winter.<sup>47</sup>

At Ticonderoga Loring had been making arrangements to secure the vessels from the elements and the French. He had prepared winter berths for the squadron around the wharf that lay to the north of the Grenadier's Redoubt. Close by was a storehouse to receive the sails, rigging, and other stores. To make it harder for the French to burn the vessels, a palisade was planned that would enclose the vessels and help keep the French from setting fire to them. While it was not possible to drive pickets into the lake bottom, pickets were planted in the snow and ice over the winter around the vessels. Guards were also posted on board.<sup>48</sup>

Following the return of the army to Crown Point, the radeau *Ligonier* was employed in carrying supplies from Ticonderoga to Crown Point before being laid up for the winter. On one occasion the *Ligonier* carried 1,600 barrels of provisions for the garrison that would be left at Crown Point for the winter.<sup>49</sup>

Now that the British had naval superiority on Lake Champlain, Amherst feared that the French would attempt to burn the squadron while it was locked in the ice. To Major Campbell, commanding at Ticonderoga, Amherst wrote on November 25:

It is hardly feasible for the Enemy to pass the Post of Crown Point, to make any shew of attack at this Post; but the great temptation the Enemy must have to burn our Vessels, as they would thereby become again Masters of the Lake, deserves your utmost Attention.<sup>50</sup>

Even after Amherst departed for winter quarters in New York this concern continued. On December 24 he wrote to Campbell, again cautioning him to keep a careful watch on the vessels so that French could not burn them.<sup>51</sup>

In a period of three months the British had acquired naval superiority on Lake Champlain. They ended the year with a sizable squadron. In addition to the two British built vessels, the *Duke of Cumberland* of 155 tons and the *Boscawen* of 115 tons, they had captured three French sloops. These

sloops, *Musquelongy*, *Brochette*, and *Esturgeon* had a displacement of sixty-five tons each. The British also had the radeau *Ligonier* and the gunboats that belonged to the Royal Artillery.

The French were left with the schooner *Vigilante* of seventy tons, the fourth sloop that was called *Waggon* of sixty-five tons, and a few gunboats.<sup>52</sup> With control of the lake the water highway into Canada lay open to the British for the 1760 campaign.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>H. R. Casgrain, editor, *Journal Du Marquis De Montcalm Durant Ses Campagnes En Canada De 1756 à 1759* (Quebec, 1895), 444.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 174; *Vermont History*, XXVIII, 233, XXX, 66–69.

<sup>3</sup>Jacques Mathieu, *La Construction Navale Royal A Québec: 1739–1759* (Quebec, 1971), 13–16, 87–89.

<sup>4</sup>Casgrain, *Journal Du Montcalm*, 44.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 525, 535.

<sup>6</sup>J. Clarence Webster, editor, *The Journal of Jeffery Amherst* (Toronto, 1931), 143, 148.

<sup>7</sup>Gertrude Kimball, editor, *Correspondence of William Pitt* (2 volumes, New York, 1906), II, 122–123, 126.

<sup>8</sup>Stanley Pargellis, *Lord Loudon in North America* (New York, 1968), 359.

<sup>9</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 145, 147–150.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 148.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 145.

<sup>13</sup>PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/64, 202, Amherst to Loring, August 3, 1759.

<sup>14</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 150–151, 153.

<sup>15</sup>H.R. Casgrain, editor, *Lettres De M. De Bourlamaque au Chevalier De Lévis* (Quebec, 1891), 30.

<sup>16</sup>PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/64, 179, Loring to Amherst, August 10, 1759; 203, Amherst to Loring, August 10, 1759.

<sup>17</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 156–157.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 157–158.

<sup>19</sup>PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/64, 151, Loring to Amherst, August 22, 1759.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 152, Loring to Amherst, August 22, 1759; 207–208, Amherst to Loring, August 27, 1759.

<sup>21</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 148.

<sup>22</sup>PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/64, 206, Amherst to Loring, August 27, 1759.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, 157, Loring to Amherst, August 31, 1759; 206, Amherst to Loring, August 27, 1759.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 211–212, Amherst to Loring, September 13, 1759; Webster, *Amherst*, 163–164, 168.

- <sup>25</sup>PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/64, 213, Amherst to Loring, September 13, 1759.
- <sup>26</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 164.
- <sup>27</sup>PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/64, 162-163, Loring to Amherst, September 19, 1759; 216, Amherst to Loring, September 20, 1759.
- <sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, 218, Amherst to Loring, September 23, 1759; 216, Amherst to Loring, September 20, 1759; 165, Loring to Amherst, October 2, 1759.
- <sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, 219, Amherst to Loring, September 25, 1759.
- <sup>30</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 174; A North View of Crown Point, 1759, Library of Congress.
- <sup>31</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 174-175; PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/64, 223-224, Amherst to Loring, October 7, 1759.
- <sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, 226, Amherst to Loring, October 10, 1759; Kimball, *Pitt*, II, 199.
- <sup>33</sup>Casgrain, *Bourlamaque*, 17, 35, 39.
- <sup>34</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 178-179; PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/64, 225, Amherst to Loring, October 10, 1759.
- <sup>35</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 179.
- <sup>36</sup>Kimball, *Pitt*, II, 199.
- <sup>37</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 179-180; Great Britain, Kent County Council Archives, U1350 014-016, Amherst Papers, 57.
- <sup>38</sup>PAC, Admiralty Papers, 2048, Loring to Admiralty, November 22, 1759; Webster, *Amherst*, 180-181; Casgrain, *Bourlamaque*, 61-62.
- <sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 62; Webster, *Amherst*, 183-184.
- <sup>40</sup>H.R. Casgrain, editor, *Lettres De L'Intendant Bigot Au Chevalier De Lévis* (Quebec, 1895), 74; Webster, *Amherst*, 184.
- <sup>41</sup>Casgrain, *Bourlamaque*, 66, 62; Casgrain, *Bigot*, 74.
- <sup>42</sup>Kimball, *Pitt*, II, 200.
- <sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>44</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 182, 184; Casgrain, *Bourlamaque*, 67-68.
- <sup>45</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 182.
- <sup>46</sup>Kimball, *Pitt*, II, 220.
- <sup>47</sup>Webster, *Amherst*, 190-191; PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/64, 232, Amherst to Loring, November 16, 1759.
- <sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 229, Amherst to Loring, November 5, 1759; Ann Rocque, *A Set of Plans and Forts in America* (London, 1765); PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/50, 5, Haviland to Amherst, January 24, 1760.
- <sup>49</sup>John Hurlburt, "Journal of John Hurlburt," *The Magazine of American History*, XXXIX (1893), 396.
- <sup>50</sup>PAC, Amherst Papers, W.O. 34/50, 165, Amherst to Campbell, November 25, 1759.
- <sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 166, Amherst to Campbell, December 24, 1759.
- <sup>52</sup>Great Britain, Kent County Council Archives, U1350 014, 016/1, 139.

## THE GAVIT LETTERS, 1759

In October of 1978, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel J. Dunkley of 147 Oak Shadow Drive, Santa Rosa, California, first contacted your Curator with reference to two letters of the Colonial period in their possession. The letters were written by an ancestor, Wm. Gavit, to his brother Ezekiel Gavit, Jun<sup>r</sup> in Westerly, Rhode Island; one from "Camp at Ticonderoga 28 July 1759" and the other from "Putnams Post October 1759 — 6 Miles this Sd."

Both letters are warm and lucid descriptions of the military situation in the upper Champlain Valley in July and October of 1759.

One of the letters, datelined "6 miles this side Crown Point" and named "Putnams Post," contains a unique description with measurements of a soldier's hut, vintage 1759. It is the first precise description of that type of living quarters so widely used by those hardy men who lived and fought during Colonial days.

Mr. and Mrs. Dunkley subsequently visited Fort Ticonderoga on a trip to the East, brought the manuscripts along, and graciously presented them for preservation in the manuscript collection here at the Fort.

We are delighted to publish the Wm. Gavit letters and recognize their contribution to scholarship.

J.M.L.

### Camp at Ticonderoga 28 July 1759

Sir I Have the Pleasure to Acquaint You that this Place is ours the 21  
Inst the Army Marchd from W<sup>m</sup> Henry Landed Here ins. 22 -----  
Without Molestation marchd as far as the Mills Where the Rangers met  
With their Working Party kild 3 and took 2 Prisoners the Next  
morning about ten a Clock the Army marchd and Posses d themselves  
of the Lines that Has Cost Us To many Brave Lives without the Loss  
of one man and amediately went to Intrenching and Erecting  
and drawing up the artillery  
Bateries against the fort which would Been Redy to Be opend  
yesterday morning but In the Night they Abandoned their fort  
Carrying of the Best of their Effects Seting on fire their fort and the  
Rest Our Rangers Lying By the Lake Spyed them on their march fired  
on them and Persued and kild a Considerable Number took about 20  
Prisoners With Much of their Valuable Effects  
this was a fine fort thoug much damaged withe the fire which were  
Put out as Soon as Possible it was well Defended with outworks  
their Lines was a Very

Good Batery Against Cannon Impossible to be taken  
with Small arms had they Had men to keep it

I Cannot Give you the account

of our men kild and wounded by their Continual fire of Cannon and  
Shells upon us in our Approaches tis Said but few only one of  
Destruction the Brave Cole. Townson who is much  
Lamented by the General and army

Wee have not Lost one of our Regiment Here Nor any by Sickness to  
my knowledg Since wee Left Albany Wee are Now Employed in  
geting Over the Carrying Place the Crafts and Provision and warlike  
Stores In order to Persue the Enemy as It is Supposed their only Stand  
will be at Mont Royal and I Hope In a Short time to Give You as  
Good Account of Crownpoint as of this Place

As the Name of General Amherst is enough to terify all the french in  
Canada and will

those of france

I Recievd Yours By Col<sup>o</sup>. fitches post which Acquaints me that  
Your In Good Health and that Business Goes on well as I am In  
Health and all friends for which I Desire to thank God who Gives  
Health and Victory Remember me to Brothers and Sisters  
Remains Your Brother Bill Gavit

Give my Compliments to M<sup>r</sup> Crary tell Him that  
His Brothers Here are well and I am glad to Here that the Hous goes  
on well and Hope youl Write me about it the Next  
Opportunity Remember me to all friends and tell them that  
Tantribogus is our own

W<sup>m</sup> Gavit----

Tell Lucy I would Rote her a letter but Have Not time  
Would Not Have you fail of Working Every Opportunity

Side Crownpoint

Putnams Post [12] October 1759 6 Miles this

S<sup>d</sup> After My Compliments to You

this Is is to Acquaint that By the Blessing of God I Enjoy a  
Comfortable State of Health and am at the Same Place on the Kings

Work as Before and this is Upwards of Sixty Days  
 Since I Began and Imagine that it Will Take Us Some Weeks Longer  
 to Get Timber Enough for the fort this fort Goes on Extremely  
 fast  
 it is Almost fit for A Defence and Wee Poor Provincials Must Stay to  
 finish it While General Amherst With the Regulars is Gone to Make  
 masters  
 themselves, / of the Lake and S Johns and With Woolf and  
 Gage to Share the Glory of the Conquest of Canada = if God Permit  
 Yesterday and Day Before Came Up the Warlike Brigantine and  
 Sloop I Have News from Camp that this MORning the General  
 With the Regular Troops and Some Provincial oars Men and Seamen  
 Marchd for St Johns  
 Pray God Give  
 from Your Loving Brother

W<sup>m</sup> Gavit

S<sup>r</sup> I Rejoice to Hear that the Business at Home Goes on So Well  
 that Your Liking to Have a New House to Liveing and it Gives one a  
 Goodeal of Concern for fear the Business Be to Heavy for You or  
 Will over Come my Parents but Trust God Will  
 Help You to Go Throug it All

I Shall jest Acquaint You that I have  
 Been Building as Well as You and Have Got a Snug Little House the  
 Dementions are as follows  
 it is 9 feet Square 6 feet Hig Sharp Rough  
 it is Studed 3 feet Apart and Not Haveing Nails I Cut a Gove in the  
 Studs With a Chissel and So Put in My Clabboards Being Very Good  
 About 10 inches broad and Raisd a Side at A time and Cicured the  
 Rough with the Same and  
 Pegd them on and Have a fine Stove in it which I would Not  
 Should be glad you Would Give me as true A Description of Your  
 Building and Business as I do You of  
 Mine

from Your Loving Brother  
 W<sup>m</sup> Gavit

# TROOP LIFE AT THE CHAMPLAIN VALLEY FORTS DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by  
John W. Krueger

## Chapter III To Quebec and Back

By the end of May of 1775, American forces held control of the Lake Champlain frontier. Benedict Arnold's men at Crown Point were busy arming the vessels, making sails and fixing bateaux, repairing the fortifications, and moving the artillery to the lakeshore in preparation for removal to Fort George. Soldiers searching through the ruins of Crown Point unearthed almost a ton of lead and iron shot that had been buried in the rubble when the powder magazine had exploded in 1773. Aware of the shortages of supplies and skilled laborers, Arnold called upon the New York Provincial Congress to furnish 800 soldiers ("no Green Mountain Boys," he specified), as well as carpenters, gunsmiths, surgeons, artillerymen, masons, and blacksmiths. In addition, he requested tents, hatchets, axes, hoes, kettles, canteens, bayonets, firearms, and blankets. Rope, pitch, tar, oakum, twine, sails, needles, and nails were needed for the three flat-bottomed boats that Arnold planned to build. Two vessels, forty feet long and twelve feet wide with "strong knees, well timbered, and of four-inch plank," were intended for service on Lake George, while a third craft of similar size and construction was intended for use between Ticonderoga and the Lake George landing.<sup>1</sup> landing.<sup>1</sup>

Arnold returned to Crown Point from a scout on June 10, 1775, and discovered Ethan Allen, James Easton, and Samuel Elmore trying to undermine his authority. Outraged, Arnold informed the three officers that he would not permit "any Illegal Counsells" as such meetings "Tended to raise a mutiny." Arnold regarded himself as the "Only Legal Commanding Officer," and, as such, he would not allow his orders to be disputed. However, he insisted that he would "willingly" relinquish the command "whenever any One Appeared with Proper Authority to take it." Allen, Easton, and



Elmore "Gave up their Expectation of Commanding," but, just to be on the safe side, Arnold ordered all the guards doubled in order to prevent "any Mutiny or Disorder."<sup>2</sup>

Colonel Benjamin Hinman, the commanding officer of the Connecticut forces assigned to the Northern Army, arrived at Crown Point in mid-June. Hinman demanded the command of the post, but "as he produced No Regular Order for the same," Arnold "refused Giving it up." Arnold not only refused to turn over the command of Crown Point to Hinman, but he also placed one of his subordinates, Captain Samuel Herrick, in command at Ticonderoga. Hinman's men were obliged to take orders from Captain Herrick, or else they were not allowed to leave the fort.<sup>3</sup>

The Massachusetts Congress had received complaints from Arnold, and from the Connecticut soldiers as well, of the quarrels that troubled the army at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. On June 14, a committee of three men — Walter Spooner, Jedediah Foster, and James Sullivan — was sent to Ticonderoga to determine in what manner Arnold had executed his instructions and to make themselves fully acquainted with the "spirit, capacity, and conduct of the said Arnold." The Massachusetts representatives reached Crown Point on June 23 and informed Arnold of their mission. After reading a copy of the committee's instructions, Arnold appeared "greatly disconcerted, and demanded he would not be second in command to any person whomsoever." Arnold resigned his command, and at the same time dismissed his men, estimated at between 200 and 300, from service. The disbanded soldiers grew "dissatisfied and mutinous," and informed the committeemen that they had been told "they were to be defrauded of their pay for past service." In order to quiet the impending mutiny, the Massachusetts representatives assured the soldiers that they would be paid, and if they re-enlisted, their bounty and wages would be the same as other Massachusetts soldiers. The majority of Arnold's force was then re-enlisted under the command of James Easton. Meanwhile, Arnold was directed to return to Massachusetts and render an account of his actions.<sup>4</sup>

In their report to the Continental Congress, the Massachusetts committeemen stressed the importance of the Lake Champlain forts. Should those forts fall into the hands "of the enemies to America," not only New York, but the New England colonies as well would be "in continual danger of having depredations committed on them, by the regular forces, who would be possessed of those garrisons." And, should the Canadians and Indians join with "the ministerial army, the distress of the colonies, before mentioned, must be extremely great."<sup>5</sup>

Congress responded on June 27 by appointing Philip Schuyler to com-

mand the Northern Department of the Continental Army. The eldest son of one of New York's landed families, the forty-two year old Schuyler had seen considerable military service during the French and Indian War. A political moderate, his talents were better suited to administration and logistics than to battlefield command. Schuyler urged Congress to appoint a commissary and a quartermaster for the Northern Department as soon as possible. Otherwise, as he pointed out, scarce provisions would be wasted and expenses would be increased. Schuyler ordered Hinman to prepare a return of the troops under his command and to take measures to secure a retreat to Fort George or South Bay, if he should be forced to "so disagreeable a step."<sup>6</sup>

On July 1, 1775, the Ticonderoga garrison consisted of 518 soldiers from the colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts. Crown Point's 402-man garrison was drawn from the same two colonies, while the 334 men at Fort George included some New York soldiers as well as those from Connecticut and Massachusetts. The staff included Schuyler, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, a brigade major, two aides-de-camp, a secretary, a chaplain, a surgeon, and two mates. Twenty-five men were returned as sick, and ten soldiers had deserted. Barracks were overcrowded and there were shortages of flour and hospital supplies. The roads over which provisions had to travel were in "wretched condition," particularly so the stretch between Half Moon and Fort George.<sup>7</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Mott, a Connecticut engineer, inspected both Fort George and Ticonderoga in early July. After a careful survey, he concluded that each fort was "altogether indefensible" if attacked with artillery. Hinman forwarded this information to the New York Provincial Congress, noting that the "importance of maintaining these posts for the benefit of your Province in particular, and of the united Colonies in general, is such, that no arguments need be used to enforce the speedy execution of some wise and spirited measures for their defence." Hinman, however, anticipating that Schuyler would soon arrive and assume command, was very reluctant to issue any orders "respecting the management of things" at the Champlain Valley forts. Waiting impatiently for the New Yorker's arrival, Hinman wrote Schuyler that he found himself "very unable to steer in this stormy situation." The shortages of flour, the "constant cry for rum," and the lack of beer all produced a "great uneasiness" among the soldiers.<sup>8</sup>

A steady stream of letters from the north convinced Schuyler that the situation at Ticonderoga was one of "vast confusion." He described to Congress the "scandalous want of subordination," which was "ruinous to the Army, destructive to the service, and disgraceful to those in command."

But even Schuyler was not prepared for the scene that awaited him at Ticonderoga. At ten o'clock on the evening of July 17, he reached the head of the portage at the foot of Lake George, a post occupied by a captain and 100 men, to find only a single sentry on duty. The sentinel left Schuyler and went off to wake the rest of the guard, "in which he had no success." The general walked on until he encountered a second sentry who allowed him to approach while the rest of the guard lay "in the soundest sleep. With a pen-knife only I could have cut off both guards, and then have set fire to the block-house, destroyed the stores, and starved the people here," Schuyler wrote George Washington the following day. Schuyler was shocked to discover that Hinman's soldiers had not done "one earthly thing for offence or defence," even though they had been at the fort for a month. Schuyler hoped "to get the better of this inattention." He described the officers and soldiers as "good looking people, and decent in their deportment," and expressed his confidence that they would make good soldiers as soon as he overcame "this nonchalance of theirs."

Although the camps were described as "a good deal Sickly at present," in general, the morale was high. The Connecticut troops at Fort George were eager to leave that post because they were "among nothing but Dutch Commanders and Soldiers." Not only would General Schuyler have to instill a sense of discipline in his troops, but he would also have to break down the ethnic and geographical barriers that divided his army.<sup>10</sup>

Nor were these the least of Schuyler's problems. The Continental Congress had directed him to issue "orders for the necessary preparation of boats and stores for securing to the United Colonies the command of those waters adjacent to Crown Point and Ticonderoga." In addition, he was to obtain information on the situation in Canada, to destroy or capture "all vessels, boats or floating batteries" belonging to the British, and, if such action was not "disagreeable to the Canadians," he was to take possession of St. Johns, Montreal, and other parts of Canada and pursue such measures as would "have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these Colonies."<sup>11</sup>

Schuyler reported to Congress on July 21 that, as yet, there was little dependable intelligence from Canada. However, all accounts agreed that the Canadians were friendly toward the American cause, that they would refuse to aid Carleton, and that the majority of the Indians would remain neutral in any struggle. Although some of the young warriors were "inclined to take up the hatchet," the elderly men were opposed to it. Schuyler wanted to move against St. Johns, but was hindered by the lack of supplies. "I have neither boats sufficient, nor any materials prepared for

building them," he wrote Congress. Until stores arrived from New York, the carpenters selected plank and lumber for boats while the soldiers repaired the sawmills. Entrenchments were begun at Crown Point to defend that post in case of an attack. Schuyler believed that such an attack would be forthcoming as soon as Carleton learned of "our real situation." Schuyler was anxious for the arrival of the New York troops, but his hopes were dashed by a letter from the New York Committee of Safety. "Our troops can be of no service to you," the committee informed him: "they have no arms, clothes, blankets, or ammunition; the officers no commissions; our treasury no money; ourselves in debt."<sup>12</sup>

Despite this discouraging response, Schuyler set about putting the American defenses in order. Washington sent words of encouragement from Cambridge: "From my own experience, I can easily judge of your difficulties to induce order and discipline into troops who have, from their infancy, imbibed ideas of the most contrary kind." Orders were issued to the commanding officers at Crown Point and Fort George cautioning them to exercise greater vigilance in guarding their posts. A sixty-foot boat, capable of carrying between 200 and 300 men, was on the stocks, and another was in the planning stage. Although shortages of supplies continued to be a problem, it was hoped that the army would soon be able to move north.<sup>13</sup>

Schuyler had hoped to send Washington a regular return of the troops under his command before the end of July, but instead he wrote that he had been unable to get "the people to be regular in any thing." Although a detailed return was impossible, Schuyler was able to send a list of the army at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. On the last day of July, that force consisted of one colonel, three majors, nine captains, one captain-lieutenant, twenty-one subalterns, thirty-four sergeants, eighteen drummers and fifers, and 933 privates fit for duty. Those listed as sick included one lieutenant, four sergeants, two drummers, and 103 privates. Many soldiers were "sickly" with fevers, argues, and fluxes, but, as yet, none of them had died. However, due to the lack of proper hospital facilities and the shortage of tents, all the soldiers — sick and healthy — were crowded into "vile barracks," which, combined with "the natural inattention of the soldiery to cleanliness," aggravated the growing health problems. This close proximity of the healthy soldiers to their sick comrades not only lowered the morale of the healthy men, but also greatly increased the chances of their soon joining the ranks of the sick.<sup>14</sup>

A week later, Schuyler reported in a letter to the Continental Congress that nearly 100 of the 500 soldiers garrisoning Fort Ticonderoga were sick. Although there were still no hospital stores nor facilities of any kind,

Schuyler reminded the Congress that he had ordered medical supplies immediately after his appointment to command. Supplies were so limited that Schuyler had turned over the wine reserved for his own dinner table for the use of the sick. Unable to bear the distress of the sick, "and impelled by the feelings of humanity," Schuyler took the liberty of ordering a physician from Albany to join him with "such stores as are indispensably necessary." If Congress approved of his action, they were to determine what allowance of pay would be necessary. If not, the doctor would be discharged after first paying him for whatever services he had performed.<sup>15</sup>

On August 27, Schuyler requested Dr. Samuel Stringer, his family physician and member of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, to assume charge of the Medical Department of the Northern Army and to provide "such necessaries as the shortness of time will admit of." On September 14, the Continental Congress appointed Stringer "director of the Hospital, and chief physician and surgeon for the Army in the northern department." Paid \$4.00 per day, Stringer was authorized to appoint as many as four mates. Each mate was paid \$.66 per day, but they were not kept in constant pay unless the sick and wounded were so numerous as to require their constant attention. The number of mates was to be reduced "as circumstances will admit," and for this reason, their pay was fixed on a daily basis, with each man paid only for actual services rendered.<sup>16</sup>

While the doctors tended to the soldiers' medical needs, Schuyler and his officers tried to instill a soldierly spirit in the new levies. These efforts, however, were undermined by feelings of intercolonial jealousy which poisoned relations in the army. Samuel Mott, a Connecticut engineer, sent a penetrating report of conditions in the Northern Army to Governor Trumbull on August 3. The soldiers were in "a pitiful condition," he stated, and many of the men seemed "much inclined to a seditious and mutinous temper." Mott pointed to the poor living conditions and the shortages of provisions as the roots of the problem. "I never yet knew an army so illy provided for as this [one] has been," he exclaimed. But suspicion of the New Yorkers, who from the first had been distrusted by the New Englanders, also played a role in the soldiers' poor morale. Mott informed Trumbull that, by all appearances, the province of New York was "still unsound at heart; they make a great noise, and send forward a few officers to command . . . and all the carpenters and artificers who are to have extra pay; but I believe as to soldiers in the service they are not more than one hundred and fifty strong." Colonel Benjamin Hinman noted that New York "abounds with officers, but I have not had my curiosity gratified by the sight of one private." Ethan Allen believed that there was "a treachery

among the New York Tory party," although he was confident that General Schuyler was "faithful" to the cause. But others were not so sure. Many "discerning men" feared that not even the New York Provincial Congress could count on a majority of members who were "sound friends to the cause."<sup>17</sup>

The common soldiers as well complained of the special treatment granted to the New York troops. Governor Trumbull was asked "why all the places of profit should be filled up with men in [New] York Government" while the Connecticut soldiers were "obliged to do all the drudgery." Was it because the Connecticut soldiers were capable of nothing but drudgery? "Are our men fit for nothing but privates?" Connecticut soldiers did most of the work, but the New Yorkers pocketed the majority of the pay. Many feared that unless the situation was speedily rectified, it would be impossible to retain the Connecticut soldiers in the Northern Army. Not only were the Yankees unhappy about the discrepancies in pay, but they also complained that they had not received all the rations allowed by their colony. Fifty cows had been sent from Connecticut to supply their soldiers with milk, but this allowance could not be maintained for the troops from other colonies, and a drought made it difficult to feed the cows, so Schuyler ordered them back. His actions left the men with little else to drink but the "very bad and unwholesome" lake water. "Rum and molasses are wanted," declared Connecticut soldier David Welsh early in August. "The rum that comes," he complained, "is worse than none."<sup>18</sup>

And rum was in great demand during the hot summer months while the Northern Army prepared for the invasion of Canada. Far inland, and away from the centers of trade and commerce, Schuyler faced innumerable hardships in gathering supplies, munitions, and equipment. "Our arms are of such a variety of bores, and as the balls we have were designed only for muskets, we cannot do any thing without the bullet molds," he informed the New York Congress near the end of August. Almost half of the troops were still without tents, and Schuyler trembled at the consequences. The soldiers were exposed to "rains and dews," which the general feared would cause "a dreadful havock amongst them." Although a shortage of bateaux hindered the transportation of men and supplies, provisions, at least, began to arrive at Ticonderoga with greater regularity. With a gill of rum and as much spruce beer as they could drink every day, the troops no longer had to drink the lake water. The boost to morale was enormous.<sup>19</sup>

Provisions for the Northern Army moved by water from Albany to Half Moon, from where the supplies were carried in carriages to Stillwater. There the provisions were again embarked in bateaux and transported to

Saratoga Falls. A short land carry was next, followed again by water to Fort Edward. Once at Fort Edward, supplies were hauled by wagons either to Fort George or Fort Anne. From Fort George, provisions moved by water to the north end of the lake, from there by carts and wagons to the sawmills, and then by bateaux to Ticonderoga. Those supplies that moved by way of Fort Anne were loaded in bateaux, rowed down Wood Creek to Skene's Falls, rolled across a 300-foot portage to the southern end of Lake Champlain, and finally transported by water to Ticonderoga.<sup>20</sup>

Near the end of August, four companies of the First New York Regiment reported for duty. Several recent studies of Continental Army soldiers have concluded that most soldiers were under twenty-three years old and owned little or no property. In a study of fifty-four men of the First New York Regiment, the ages of the soldiers ranged from eleven to forty-two, with an average age of twenty-six. Categorizing the men into brackets, 22% were in their teens, 52% were in their twenties, 19% were in their thirties, and 7% were in their forties. Muster rolls indicate that the height of the soldiers varied from four feet to five feet ten inches, with the average man about five feet six inches tall. Muster rolls occasionally listed the occupational background of the soldiers. Yeomen, laborers, artisans, and farmers predominated, but also represented were substantial numbers of carpenters, weavers, shoemakers, barbers, and men classified simply as "unemployed." Almost a fifth of the enlistees of the four New York regiments raised for service in the Northern Army were teen-age boys. In many instances, Indians, free blacks and mulattoes, and young boys were precisely the men who, when given the opportunity, proved the most willing to go to war.<sup>21</sup>

These men were willing to go to war, but only a war of short duration. The enlistments of most of the Connecticut and New York soldiers who made up the core of the Northern Army were due to expire at the year's end; and Schuyler, plagued by ill health, lacked both energy and decisiveness in his preparations for the Canadian invasion. Not until both Washington and Richard Montgomery, Schuyler's second in command, insisted on action did the army of 1,200 men move forward.<sup>22</sup>

On August 28, Montgomery set sail from Fort Ticonderoga with four companies of the First New York Regiment, most of Colonel David Waterbury's Fifth Connecticut Regiment, and Colonel Samuel Mott's Corps of Artillery. The Second New York Regiment and Hinman's Fourth Connecticut Regiment remained at Ticonderoga awaiting Schuyler's return from an Indian conference. The army was windbound at Crown Point for two days. While there, the soldiers passed the time fishing, hunting, and wandering around the ruins of the gutted fort. "Everything in ruins," remarked

Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema of New York. "A bad omen for future operations." A more optimistic note was sounded by an anonymous gentleman at Ticonderoga who called on his fellow Americans to "Give your Country testimony of your attachment to the cause in which we are engaged; supineness and lukewarmness breathe destruction to a free people. Our all is at stake. I had rather never again return from the field than live and die a slave."<sup>23</sup>

While still at Crown Point, the soldiers received news of the campaign's first fatality. Remember Baker, prominent among the Green Mountain Boys, was a notable frontiersman. He had been scouting near the head of the Richelieu River when he was discovered by a party of Caughnawaga Indians. Killed by the Indians' fire, Baker's head and his papers were carried to St. Johns where his head was prominently displayed on a pole. Schuyler termed Baker's death a "mortifying circumstance," but he was more concerned by the fact that Baker's comrades had fired on the reportedly neutral Indians than he was by the loss of one of his best scouts. Many of the enlisted men, particularly the Green Mountain Boys, mourned Baker's death and several of them sought out his grave after they crossed into Canada. Others sought revenge. One New York officer damned Carleton and "his bloody [lobster]backs" for their "base and savage conduct in suffering the head of the brave Captain Baker to be severed from his body, and fixed upon a pole at St. John's, where it now remains, as a monument of their savage tempers, and an incentive to us bravely to revenge his death, or fall in the glorious attempt."<sup>24</sup>

During the early days of September the Northern Army under Schuyler and Montgomery advanced toward St. Johns. The Americans established their base at Isle aux Noix, an island about a dozen miles south of the British post. With a boom across the river and field pieces commanding the channel, Schuyler's soldiers were in a strong defensive position. Schuyler was joined at Isle aux Noix by 300 Connecticut soldiers and 400 New Yorkers, bringing the army's total to 1,700 men. On September 6 an advance was made against St. Johns, but the Americans soon retired a few miles to the south and laid siege to the British fort. Weak and feverish, Schuyler returned to Ticonderoga, leaving command of the army to Montgomery.<sup>25</sup>

Under great difficulty, Montgomery tried to press the siege of St. Johns. The summer drought was ended by frequent heavy rains which transformed the ground into a swampy mire. "Whenever we attempt to erect batteries," wrote one of the engineers, "the water flows in the ditch, when only two feet deep." Montgomery informed his wife that the soldiers had been "like half drowned rats crawling through the swamp." "We had a very tedious



week of it," noted Lieutenant John Fassett on September 23, "for it was very wet and cold."<sup>26</sup>

Food began to run short, and on September 24 Montgomery was forced to place his men on a half allowance of pork. Four days later, he wrote that the flour supply was also failing. But Schuyler's skillful handling of the supply problem prevented the army from starving. He notified Congress from Ticonderoga of "the anxiety I have suffered since my arrival here, lest the Army should starve, occasioned by a scandalous want of subordination, and inattention to my orders in some of the officers that I left to command at the different posts." "If Job had been a General in my situation," the harassed Schuyler declared, "his memory had not been so famous for patience."<sup>27</sup>

Increasing sickness in the army — 726 men received medical discharges during the period from July 20 to September 25, and 937 men had been discharged by October 12 — prompted a call for more reinforcements. Schuyler had intended to send Brigadier General David Wooster and the First Connecticut Regiment to Canada, but he learned from the regiment's chaplain, Benjamin Trumbull, that "many of the officers and most of the men apprehend being detained in Canada all winter; that they may be prevented by frost from returning; that they will perish with cold or with sickness; that if the Army should be under the necessity of retreating from St. John's, many must fall a sacrifice to the enemy, as there will not be boats sufficient to bring them away." With winter approaching and facing the wilderness with shortages of vital supplies, many soldiers were not eager to proceed any farther from home than Ticonderoga. In addition, the Connecticut troops refused to sign the Continental Articles of War for fear that such an action would "involve them in a service, the end of which was uncertain, and would leave them, perhaps, on no better footing than that of Regulars." Eventually, as a result of the powerful persuasion of Chaplain Trumbull, Wooster's men were convinced to continue northward, but only with "the greatest reluctance." Their ranks were reduced to 335 men; ninety-eight soldiers had received medical discharges between Albany and Fort George, while fifty-one "sick and sham sick" remained at Ticonderoga.<sup>28</sup>

Lieutenant Warham Gibbs complained that the situation of the sick was so dismal that many men were obliged "to sell their blankets and shirts to get bread," while others went "begging on the road." Gibbs warned Governor Trumbull that unless the sick received better treatment it would become impossible to convince any more Connecticut soldiers to join the Northern Army. On October 15, Sergeant Nathan Taylor and twenty of his comrades signed a petition addressed to the Governor and Council of Con-

necticut protesting their poor treatment. The petitioners informed the Connecticut authorities that they had been "obliged to be encamped in low wet ground; the weather being very cold for the time of the year, which occasioned us to take great colds and agues, which have us into bloody fluxes, and all kinds of disorders." After an examination by their regimental surgeons, the disabled men were sent from St. Johns to Ticonderoga where they were subject to a further scrutiny by both Dr. Stringer and General Schuyler. As the sick soldiers arrived at Ticonderoga, Schuyler cursed them and swore, "damned them for their sickness, and said he would pay them for it." Their rations were reduced to four ounces of meat and a gill of rice per day. The men were forbidden "any spirituous liquors," and guards were posted at the doors "to prevent any friends to bring the least support to us." The reduced rations were due to the fact that Schuyler had convinced himself that many of the "sick" were only feigning illness in order to escape more strenuous duties. His conclusions were supported by his conversations with Samuel Stringer. In early September, while on his way to Ticonderoga, Stringer had passed soldiers who "looked very well," but upon inquiry, some of them confessed that they had secured medical discharges by swallowing tobacco juice or by scorching their tongues with hot chocolate to appear sick and feverish.<sup>29</sup>

Schuyler complained to Congress that many of the men that Montgomery had sent to Ticonderoga to recover their health before rejoining him at St. Johns were "so averse to going back that they pretend sickness and skulk about." Unable to force them to do any work, Schuyler discharged them in groups. "Of all the specifics ever invented for *any*, there is none so efficacious as a discharge for *this* prevailing disorder." As soon as Schuyler signed the medical discharges, "it perfected the cure of nine out of ten, who, refusing to wait for boats to go by the way of Lake George, slung their heavy packs," crossed the lake at Ticonderoga, and set off for home "with the greatest good will and alacrity." "The New England troops are the worst stuff imaginable," wrote Montgomery as he struggled with his unruly soldiers. "They are home-sick; their regiments have melted away, and yet not a man dead of any distemper. There is such an equality among them, that the officers have no authority, and there are very few among them in whose spirit I have confidence. The privates are all generals but not soldiers." "I did not consider," he added, that "I was at the head of troops who carry the spirit of freedom into the field, and think for themselves." Montgomery called his New Yorkers, who clashed with the New Englanders on the smallest pretext, "the sweeping of New York streets." And the New Englanders frequently questioned the patriotism of Schuyler

and Montgomery. Aware of his "unstable authority over the troops of different colonies," Montgomery confided to Schuyler that, if he was not "afraid the example would be too generally followed and that the public service might suffer, I would not stay an hour at the head of troops whose operations I cannot direct." Even some members of Congress were angered and dismayed by the soldiers' obstructionism. "The behavior of our soldiers has made me sick," Silas Deane bitterly commented, "but little better could be expected from men trained up with notions of their right of saying how, and when, and under whom, they will serve."<sup>30</sup>

Reinforced by Wooster's men, Montgomery was finally able to press his six week siege of St. Johns to a successful conclusion. When that post surrendered on November 2, the road to Montreal was open. But inclement weather and insubordination in the ranks retarded the American advance on Montreal. "I was obliged, at St. John's," Montgomery wrote, "to promise all such [soldiers] their dismissal as chose it, to coax them to Montreal." Clothing from the British stores captured at St. Johns was handed out to the soldiers. The officers of the First New York Regiment, however, were "very near a mutiny" when Montgomery refused to distribute the clothing of the St. Johns' garrison. "There was no driving it into their noodles," he reported, "that the clothing was really the property of the soldier — that he had paid for it, and that every regiment (in this country especially), saved a year's clothing to have decent clothes to wear on particular occasions." The New Yorkers, on the other hand, without "decent clothes" of their own, and with the rigors of a Canadian winter fast approaching, saw no reason why they should not be entitled to the warm and ample clothing of their vanquished foes.<sup>31</sup>

With British prestige at a low ebb following the surrender of St. Johns, the inhabitants of Montreal made it clear that they would not take up arms against the Americans, and opened the city gates to Montgomery's army on November 13. But the capture of Montreal did little to relieve the epidemic of home-sickness sweeping through the Northern Army. "The troops are very impatient," wrote Chaplain Benjamin Trumbull; they "are averse to enlisting and long to be dismissed home." Although their enlistments did not expire until the year's end, many of the New England troops believed that they had done their duty and that they were entitled to march for home immediately.<sup>32</sup>

At Montreal, on November 13, Montgomery issued a proclamation congratulating the soldiers for "their patience and perseverance during the course of a fatiguing campaign." Bound by his promise made at St. Johns to discharge such men as now chose to return home, he nonetheless called

upon the soldiers not to "lay him under a necessity of abandoning in one Day what had been gained with the Labour and Hardships of so Many Months." Montgomery offered to furnish "every article of clothing requisite for the rigor of the climate" — a coat, a blanket-coat, a waistcoat and breeches, a pair of stockings, two shirts, leggings, mittens, shoes, a cap, a bedsack, and one dollar — to all those who would re-engage in "this honorable cause." The troops were to serve until April 15, but they were to be discharged sooner if reinforcements arrived before that time. But with the capture of Montreal, many men believed that they had fulfilled their obligations as soldiers and as citizens, and no appeal to patriotism could change their minds. With Montreal safely in American hands, more than 300 soldiers held the general to his promise and started for home. "Most of the New England Men embraced the Opportunity," observed Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema, whereas "the Yorkers in general resolved to see an End to the Campaign." "An unhappy home-sickness prevails" in the army, Schuyler declared on November 20. "It might have been expected that men influenced by a sense of liberty would not have required such a promise, and that others, to whom it was not immediately intended, would not have taken advantage of it; but all this flows from the same unhappy source with the other disorders too prevalent in our troops — a want of subordination and discipline, an evil which may prove fatal to us." In the soldiers' rush to return home, tents were left in bateaux, axes and camp kettles were lost, public stores were misplaced, and everything was "running into confusion. The only attention that engrosses the minds of the soldiery is, how to get home the soonest possible," the distraught Schuyler declared.<sup>33</sup>

It should not have been surprising that many in the army were eager to return home. From the soldiers' point of view, they had put up with months of hardship. They had been paid low wages, usually long overdue, and they had been forced to live under less than ideal conditions. As John Fassett noted during the siege of St. Johns, there was "nothing to cover us but the heavens and it was very cold and they flung Boms among us and we had a very tedious night of it indeed." And there were many such "tedious" nights during the fall of 1775. Even a congressional committee sent to investigate conditions in the Northern Army was convinced of "the impossibility" of the troops remaining in Canada in their present situation, "some of them being half naked." The New Yorkers, described as the "best clad," were uniformed only in "a coat nearly worn out and linen underclothes." Furthermore, an examination of the barracks at Ticonderoga and Fort George convinced the committeemen that the soldiers had "suffered greatly for want of bedding." The small blankets issued to the men

were insufficient to keep them warm in "this severe climate," and it was recommended that the damaged tents be cut up and turned into bedsacks — one bedsack for every two soldiers. Disease, too, weakened the troops and further convinced them that Canada was not the best place to spend the winter. The "Bloody Flux took me very hard," one of them wrote, "for I had had the Quickstep for some time before." And, on the march home, many soldiers were beset by an adversary more insidious than disease. "The enemy are very thick among us," one observer noted. "An enemy we have not been troubled with. Some call them Body-lice."<sup>34</sup>

Although more than 300 soldiers held Montgomery to his promise and left the army at Montreal, the rest of the men pushed on toward Quebec. "Over our Heads were thick Clouds, and the snow and Rain came pouring down upon us; before us the Mountains were all covered with Snow, and everything round us wore the uncomfortable Aspects of Winter." It was remarkable, recalled a Connecticut chaplain, "and not unaffecting to see the Americans, fixed with Love to their Country, and a noble Emulation to defend her violated and just Rights, after almost infinite Fatigues and Hardships, and though badly clothed, and badly provided on many Accounts, pressing on to new Sieges and Conquests."<sup>35</sup>

Montgomery allowed the troops two weeks in Montreal to recuperate and then floated down the Saint Lawrence to join Benedict Arnold's ragged and emaciated force of 675 men who had survived the ordeal of a 600-mile march through the wilderness and had emerged on the Saint Lawrence opposite Quebec on November 8. When Montgomery joined Arnold before Quebec early in December he brought with him only 300 men, having left 500 men at Montreal under the command of David Wooster. Together, Montgomery and Arnold could muster barely 800 soldiers fit for duty. Nevertheless, early on the morning of December 31, under the cover of a blinding snowstorm, and faced with the knowledge that many enlistments would expire the following day, the Americans stormed Quebec.<sup>36</sup>

On the evening of December 30, Captain John Macpherson, aide-de-camp to General Montgomery, had written a letter to his father in Philadelphia. "If you receive this [letter] it will be the last this hand will ever write you," he had prophetically stated. "Orders are given for a general storm of Quebec this night; and Heaven only knows what may be my fate; but whatever it be, I cannot resist the inclination I feel to assure you that I experience no reluctance in this cause, to venture a life which I consider is only lent to be used when my country demands it." Macpherson's fellow aide-de-camp, Captain Jacob Cheesman of the First New York Regiment, also sensed a premonition of impending death. Carefully dressing himself

for combat, he slipped five gold coins into his uniform pocket in order to pay for a proper burial.<sup>37</sup>

The snowy New Year's morning of the year 1776 held little prospect for the American soldiers stationed before Quebec. Their assault upon the Canadian citadel had failed. Richard Montgomery lay dead in the snow with the cold bodies of John Macpherson and Jacob Cheesman close beside him. Benedict Arnold lay disabled in a makeshift hospital with a shattered leg. Over 400 Americans had been captured, and at least thirty were dead — possibly more — because many lay buried in the snow. Arnold mustered his strength to send an express to Congress, describing the situation and requesting an immediate reinforcement. Dr. Isaac Senter viewed the army's prospects as "gloomy on every side." Having relinquished the idea of storming Quebec until reinforcements arrived, the Americans contented themselves by maintaining the siege. But even this task was beyond the ability of many soldiers. With breastworks and fortifications constructed of snow, their lines extended for thirty miles, held by an army "a great part of them sick with the small-pox." On February 18, Arnold reported 385 ineffectives, a figure that represented 28.6% of his total force.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the pleas for reinforcements, Schuyler had only a handful of men available to send north. After the completion of the 1775 campaign few soldiers had been willing to re-enlist, and efforts by Schuyler's recruiting officers had turned up a disappointingly small number of new recruits. In addition to the lack of enthusiasm for military service and the demoralization of many discharged veterans, the officers' unfamiliarity with recruiting procedures also contributed to delays in enlistments.<sup>39</sup> Schuyler called upon Seth Warner and on leaders in the Berkshires for two short-term regiments. Officers were promised a month's wages in advance, while enlisted men were to receive a bounty of forty shillings. Wooster begged Warner "to collect as many men as you can, five, six, or seven hundred." Once collected, the soldiers were to be hurried northward "by tens, twenties, thirties, forties or fifties." The response was encouraging. Warner sent off the first of his soldiers within two weeks, traveling over the frozen lakes in scattered bands, clinging to sleighs "like bees about a hive," and sleeping out in the open or under brush shelters. On January 22, Schuyler reported to Washington that "Colonel Warner succeeds fast in sending men to Canada" and that the troops from the Berkshires were also on the march. A month later, Captain John Fassett noted that he was about to set out on another campaign to Canada, "and may God in his infinite mercy preserve me." By early March, more than 400 Green Mountain Boys had reported to General Wooster at Montreal.<sup>40</sup>

Early in January, the Continental Congress resolved to employ nine regiments "for the defense of Canada." Two of the regiments were to be raised from the troops serving in Canada whose time of service was due to expire in April; "an honor due to the merits of those brave men, to have an opportunity of defending a Country, that their valour has rescued from slavery," as John Hancock explained several weeks later. It was eventually determined, however, that there were not sufficient troops in Canada willing to re-enlist, so Congress was forced to supersede its orders concerning those two regiments.<sup>41</sup> Three regiments, two of which were already on the march, were to be sent from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, while the remaining four regiments were to be raised one each in New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts.<sup>42</sup>

Congress had originally decided to provide every "able-bodied effective man" who supplied his own musket, bayonet, and accoutrements with a bounty of \$6.67. However, it was later resolved that each private would be issued a felt hat, a pair of yarn stockings, and a pair of shoes, instead of the bounty. Officers and soldiers were provided with a month's pay in advance in order to purchase the necessary clothing for the march to Canada. Each regiment raised for the Canadian service was to consist of eight companies, and each company was to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer, one fifer, and seventy-six privates. Colonels were paid \$50 per month; lieutenant colonels were paid \$40; majors were paid \$33.33; captains were paid \$26.67; lieutenants were paid \$18; ensigns were paid \$13.33; sergeants were paid \$8; corporals, fifers, and drummers were paid \$7.33; and privates were paid \$5 per month. The staff of each regiment included an adjutant and a quartermaster, each of whom were paid \$18.33 monthly; a chaplain who was paid \$20 monthly; and surgeon who was paid \$25 monthly. In all cases, none but "healthy, sound and able-bodied men, not under 16 years of age" were to be enlisted.<sup>43</sup>

New enlistees were to be furnished with a hunting shirt, the value not to exceed \$1.33, and with a blanket, "provided it can be procured." Each soldier who supplied his own "good new blanket" received a bounty of \$2, and he was allowed to retain the blanket at the termination of the campaign. Soldiers stationed in barracks were to be provided with linen and straw for bedding, firewood, and iron pots for cooking. A camp kettle was to be provided for every six men and a canteen to each soldier. A daily ration was to include either a pound of beef, or three quarters of a pound of pork, or a pound of saltfish; a pound of bread or flour; and a pint of milk. Three pints of beans or peas (or vegetables equivalent), and either

one half pint of rice or one pint of Indian meal were to be furnished to each soldier on a weekly basis. One quart of spruce beer or one quart of cider was the daily allowance for each soldier. At those times when beer and cider were unavailable, nine gallons of molasses were to be distributed to every 100 soldiers each week.<sup>44</sup>

John Hancock had hoped that the Pennsylvania and the New Jersey troops would be on the march before the end of January, but Colonel John De Haas of the First Pennsylvania Battalion and Colonel Arthur St. Clair of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion both encountered unforeseen delays. "Any man would rather work in the mines than undergo the fatigue of the march that our battalion has [endured]," declared a Pennsylvania sergeant. Many of the Pennsylvanians were without mittens and moccasins by the time they reached Albany early in February, but Schuyler promised to provide them "some how or other." He complained that the Pennsylvania soldiers were "greatly infected with the venereal disease," that the medicines in the Albany hospital were nearly expended, and that it was impossible for Dr. Stringer to procure any more. In addition, "a considerable number" of Pennsylvanians had "mutineered," complaining of a lack of pay. Schuyler ordered a court martial to punish the half-dozen ringleaders and hoped that his actions would put an end to such activities in the future.<sup>45</sup>

Colonel William Maxwell of the Second New Jersey Regiment complained that his regiment lacked "a great part of everything but men," and would "make a poor figure" until supplied with guns, bayonets, and warmer clothing than uniforms designed for a New Jersey winter. "For God's sake," Maxwell implored Congress, "do not let them be disgraced for want of their necessaries." "I am distressed beyond measure," he wrote, "to have so fine a parcel of men under my command and yet so unfit for doing their country service when it is so much wanted." Schuyler informed Washington that Maxwell's soldiers and five companies of De Haas's Pennsylvanians had departed Albany for Canada by the middle of February. "They are much thinned by sickness and desertion, and came very ill provided," Schuyler reported. "The better half of their arms required repairs, and the whole were to be furnished with shoes, socks, mittens, etc., which causes a considerable detention and distresses me much, as hardly anything is to be bought in this place."<sup>46</sup>

The New Hampshire regiment requested by Congress was raised on that colony's western frontier. Drawn chiefly from the same New Hampshire rangers who had served with Montgomery, the regiment consisted of eight companies, each with ninety officers and men. Colonel Timothy Bedel commanded and Isaac Butterfield served as major. Suppliers from the Con-



necticut Valley were ordered to furnish the regiment with moose hide for moccasins, with coarse cloth for coats and shirts, and with shoes, blankets, flints, and gunpowder. But the suppliers ran short of cash while trying to fill the order. On March 20, it was reported that the regiment was "not near full nor gone."<sup>47</sup>

On January 22, Colonel Elisha Porter of Hadley was commissioned to raise a regiment of 728 men from Hampshire and Berkshire Counties in Massachusetts. Porter struggled for two months to fill his ranks. "The backwardness of some towns to encourage their men to engage, and the zeal of individuals to hinder any from inlisting in the service, has hitherto prevented my march," he wrote more than a month after receiving his commission. Finally, on the last day of March, Porter reached Albany, which he found to be "a nasty dirty place." His regiment marched by way of Ticonderoga and arrived before Quebec on April 27.<sup>48</sup>

Colonel Charles Burrall of Canaan, Connecticut, was ordered to raise a regiment in the northwestern hill country of Litchfield County. Uniformed in blue, brown, or green coats, Burrall's soldiers wore either cloth or leather breeches and a felt hat. Blankets and muskets were scarce, however, and enlistments lagged. As of March 3, only a single company had reached Albany.<sup>49</sup>

The New York regiment intended for service in Canada was commanded by Colonel Goose Van Schaick, but the responsibility for raising the regiment fell upon Schuyler. The regiment was built around the three independent companies that Schuyler had raised to garrison Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Fort George, while the remainder of the soldiers were recruited in Albany County. Few of the soldiers had moccasins, and many were lacking shoes, caps, mittens, and stockings. Schuyler wrote Charles Lee that he was "greatly distressed" as to how he would furnish the men with the necessary supplies.<sup>50</sup>

Four regiments from Washington's army in New York — the Eighth, Fifteenth, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-fifth Continental Regiments, commanded by Colonel Enoch Poor of New Hampshire, and Colonels John Paterson, John Greaton, and William Bond of Massachusetts, respectively — were ordered to Canada in the middle of April. This contingent, which also included a company of riflemen, was under the command of Brigadier General William Thompson of Pennsylvania until its junction with the forces already in Canada. The soldiers left New York for Albany on April 21, "with our Regiments all Hearty & well & in good Spirits." One of the officers later recalled that the troops "lived well upon our Passage went on Shore got Butter Egg's & every thing we wanted." Perhaps such was the case for

the officers, but at least some of the enlisted men were upset by the conditions in the army. A company of Groaton's Twenty-fourth Continental Regiment, for example, mutinied, refusing to go on guard duty or fatigue. The mutineers, for their part, complained that "they had not a Second Shirt that they were Louzy & had most of them got the Itch." A captain who sympathized with the soldiers' "deplorable" condition noted that the men selected "a very wrong Method to get relief."<sup>51</sup>

By the early part of May, the majority of Thompson's detachment had reached Skenesborough, where many soldiers "took Cold lying on the Ground." In an effort to avoid wading through the cold water at one of the carries, two soldiers "got into an old Canoe above the falls their not minding they were so near the falls they got affrighted." The canoe went "Diving Down the falls" and "Stove to Pieces." One of the soldiers was discovered "hanging to a bush almost Dead," while the body of the other was never recovered even though a "great Search" was undertaken. The episode at Skene's Falls clearly demonstrated the dangers of springtime travel in the northern regions.<sup>52</sup>

Despite the hardship of travel, the soldiers' spirits were high, and some of the men actually feared that "Quebec will be taken before we get there." In some instances, the soldiers were so eager to reach Quebec that their officers were "troubled to Keep the men from rowing beyond their Strength." The soldiers' ardor received a check, however, when they reached Sorel on May 9, learned of the lifting of the siege at Quebec, and met some of the retreating Americans, many of whom were sick with smallpox. "We receiv'd the news of our People's Defeat att. Quebec. & their retreat towards us. which gave us a great Shock Indeed," wrote Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Vose.<sup>53</sup>

The smallpox outbreak had reached epidemic proportions among the American troops outside Quebec by the end of February of 1776. Smallpox, an acute infectious disease, was characterized by fevers, headaches, and back pains. These discomforts were followed by dark red eruptions which first appeared on the forehead and gradually spread over the entire body. The eruptions developed into pimples which eventually burst, producing what one sufferer described as an "extreem fire and itching" that was "very Tedious to bair." The eruptions of "pox" left the distinct scars from which the disease derived its name. During the Canadian campaign, many soldiers' bodies were covered with sores and abscesses due to the lack of medical supplies to combat the disease. Those fortunate enough to survive smallpox passed through an unpleasant recovery phase. As one soldier vividly described his condition, "my stomach Very fowl, breath bad & my whole fraim

Soar." A high mortality rate combined with the possibility of disfigurement for life made smallpox a terrifying disease.<sup>54</sup>

The two most successful means of combating smallpox were isolation and inoculation. Although isolation did very little for the patient, when quickly and efficiently employed, it considerably lessened the chances of the disease spreading out of control. Arnold had employed this method in February without much success. According to Dr. Senter, many soldiers were "very uneasy about the small-pox spreading among them, as but few of them had had it." Although it was contrary to orders, soldiers inoculated themselves because they were "willing to run any hazard rather than take it [smallpox] the natural way." Prior to the introduction of vaccination in 1799, inoculation was the greatest boon in checking smallpox. The technique consisted of transplanting pus from a smallpox victim into an incision in the skin of a healthy person. The resultant infection was usually mild and the chances for survival far greater than in cases of infection through ordinary means. The practice was quite effective in developing an immunity among those inoculated, but it also aroused great opposition. Although the healthy person inoculated with smallpox usually suffered only a mild case, the germs he passed on were virile and potent. Unless competently administered under proper safeguards, inoculation could not only kill or disfigure those who received it, but also bring on or further inflame an epidemic.<sup>55</sup>

Smallpox was still on the increase among the soldiers of the Northern Army when the British reinforcements arrived at Quebec on May 6. The Americans were in "such a scattered condition as rendered it impossible to collect them either for a regular retreat or to bring them into action." Consequently, orders were issued for as many of the soldiers to retreat as time would permit. And, "in the most irregular, helter skelter manner we raised the siege, leaving everything." Hospital supplies and equipment were abandoned along with many of the sick, numbers of whom were "wholly unable to make their escape and were left to the mercy of the Britons." Although more than 200 of the most seriously ill were left at Quebec, "many of those who had the smallpox out thick on them came off, and went through the greatest fatigue, and were exposed to wet and cold, without blankets or anything to cover them." Captain Charles Cushing of the Twenty-fourth Continental Regiment described how the retreating army stumbled into Sorel soon after his arrival there. He reported that the soldiers carried "the small-pox among them, and boat loads with sick with it were landed among us, so that there seemed no possibility of escaping it." Conditions continued to deteriorate so that by the middle of May the army con-

sisted of few more than 2,000 effectives and 1,200 unfit for duty, chiefly with smallpox, which was described as "universal in the country."<sup>56</sup>

Meanwhile, Thomson's detachment of more than 2,000 soldiers had reached St. Johns on May 13. Displaying a total ignorance of the situation, Thompson complained to Schuyler that he was "surprised at the confused manner in which our army retreated from before Quebec." While Thompson admitted that "the confused state of his country is past description," he confidently asserted that "matters will soon be settled." In fact, Congress had already dispatched a commission to investigate conditions in the Northern Army.<sup>57</sup>

The question of inoculation was of primary importance. On May 15, Arnold requested the commissioners' "sentiments in regard to inoculation as early as possible." In view of what he regarded as "the impossibility of preventing the spreading of the small-pox," Arnold proposed to immediately inoculate 500 or 1,000 men and send them to Montreal. This process would be repeated every five days "until the whole receive it, which will prevent our Army from being distressed hereafter." Arnold was confident that if the commissioners approved his plan there would be "more effective men in four weeks than by endeavoring to prevent the disorder spreading." If the Americans had not been pressed by the British pursuit, it is quite possible that Arnold's plan would have succeeded.<sup>58</sup>

While Arnold favored immediate inoculation, not all those in command felt the same way. General John Thomas, a Massachusetts surgeon who had been assigned by Congress to replace David Wooster, was described as "an utter stranger in the country, and much terrified" of smallpox. Thomas feared that the newly inoculated soldiers would only further inflame the epidemic. On the same day that Arnold presented his plan in favor of inoculation, Thomas wrote the commissioners that smallpox represented an "infinite detriment to the service; notwithstanding which, and the most express orders to the contrary, both officers and soldiers privately inoculate themselves." Seth Warner, for example, was reported as telling his men, "If you should take it [smallpox] in the Thigh and Diet for it, it would be much better for you, and they will not find it out." Adjutant Russell Dewey had been inoculated in March. He recorded in his diary: "nothing remarkable hapned except hungry men for we being a fixing for the small pox might not eat nor drink anything except bread and water." Several days later, Dewey remarked that "our Preperation brought us so low that we were almost as light as eagles."<sup>59</sup>

Arnold's plan eventually carried the day, but before receiving the commissioners' formal approval, he issued orders for inoculation, with Col-

onel Elisha Porter's Regiment the first to undergo treatment. Porter noted in his journal on May 17 that 119 of his soldiers were ordered "to inoculate immediately, which was done. Genl. Thomas arrived in ye afternoon — he was much displeased with ye order — ordered them to stop." Thomas decreed that "it should be death for any person to inoculate." Those soldiers already inoculated were ordered to Montreal. Dr. Isaac Senter was directed to report to Montreal and establish a hospital for their reception — "as well by the natural way as inoculation." Unfortunately, most of the army, including General Thomas, had already been exposed to the disease. On May 11, 1,253 men (17.9% of the Northern Army) were returned as sick. Charles Burrall's Connecticut Regiment reported a sickness rate of 46.5%, while in Elisha Porter's Massachusetts Regiment 59.1% of the soldiers were ill.<sup>60</sup>

Dr. Lewis Beebe noticed that General Thomas was "under great indisposition of body" when he issued the orders forbidding inoculation. In ironic fashion, Thomas mustered his strength to warn the commissioners that a great part of the army was "unfit for duty by means of inoculation, notwithstanding everything I have been able to do to prevent it." On May 21, Dr. Beebe called on General Thomas, "who upon first sight evidently had the small pox." Deciding that it would be best for him to retire to Chambly until the disease had run its course, Thomas requested Beebe to care for him during his illness. Arriving at their destination, the doctor and the general discovered but a handful of troops, most of them suffering from smallpox. "To see Large barns filled with men in the very height of the small pox was almost Sufficient to excite the pity of Brutes," Beebe wrote. General John Thomas died on June 2, thirteen days after contracting smallpox. Most of the soldiers were too involved with their own affairs to long mourn the general's passing.<sup>61</sup>

American hopes briefly reawakened as a force of 3,300 soldiers commanded by Brigadier John Sullivan of New Hampshire moved down the lakes to join the Northern Army. This detachment, drawn from Washington's force, contained James Reed's Second Continental Regiment and John Stark's Fifth Continental Regiment, both from New Hampshire, Anthony Wayne's Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion and William Irvine's Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion, and the First and Third New Jersey Regiments, commanded by William Wind and Elias Dayton, respectively. According to an observer of Sullivan's brigade, the "officers appeared to be men of good Education. The Soldiers of a good Stature, and well equipt for an engagement, and when upon the march made a most warlike appearance." The Northern Army, however, continued to retreat as increasing numbers fell

victim to smallpox.<sup>62</sup>

John Sullivan reported to Congress on June 1 that he had done everything possible to gather information on the army's state of affairs. And he could, in a word, inform them that "no one thing is Right. Every thing is in the utmost Confusion & almost Every one Frightened at they know not what." A great part of this fear was the result of the raging smallpox epidemic. The small band of doctors was in such demand that by the end of each day they were "deaf, dumb & blind, and almost dead." "It broke my heart," a surgeon later recalled, "and I wept till I had no more power to weep." The hospital was described as "a dirty, stinking place," filled with dead men, "some Dying, others at the point of death, some Whistleing, some singing & many Cursing & swearing."<sup>63</sup>

As acting commander of the Northern Army in Canada, John Sullivan faced a number of serious problems. In his words, "it is a Serious truth that our Army is Extremely weak . . . this Colony it Seems has been of Late Considered as the General Hospital of America." There were some regiments in which all of the soldiers were sick with smallpox, with "not a Single man fit for duty." Writing from St. Johns on June 13, Arnold informed Schuyler that nearly half of the army was disabled. In Colonel John Groaton's Regiment, for example, 92.8% of the soldiers were returned sick on June 12. With more than 1,500 sick at Chambly and St. Johns, Arnold suggested that the army retreat to Isle aux Noix.<sup>64</sup>

But Isle aux Noix was far from an ideal site to establish a new hospital. The island in the Richelieu River was small, not more than a mile in length and a quarter mile in width, the land was low, the days were hot, and at night there were heavy dews. With so many sick men on so small a piece of land, "the place stunk enough to breed an infection." Dr. Beebe was "struck with amazement" upon his arrival to see the "vast crowds of poor distressed Creatures. Language cannot describe nor imagination paint, the scenes of misery and distress the Soldiery endure." But, according to Beebe, the "most shocking of all Spectacles" was the sight of a large barn crowded full of sick soldiers, many of whom "could not See, Speak or walk — one nay two had large maggots, an inch long, Crawl out of their ears." Lewis Beebe spoke for many when he wrote that "No mortal will ever believe what these [men] suffered unless they were eye witnesses."<sup>65</sup>

Sullivan ordered all of the sick to retreat to Crown Point on June 20. Expressing himself in a letter to Washington four days later, Sullivan found himself "under an absolute necessity of quitting this Island [Isle aux Noix] for a place more healthy, otherwise the Army will never be able to return, as one fortnight longer in this place will not leave us men enough to carry

off the sick." But Sullivan had already delayed too long. When the sick were ordered to Crown Point some regiments were obliged to have soldiers drafted from other regiments to row them over the lake, "they not having well men enough for that purpose." The ragings of smallpox deprived the army of entire regiments within the course of a few days "by their being taken down with that cruel disorder." Those soldiers who remained with Sullivan at Isle aux Noix were "daily dropping off, like the Israelites before the destroying angel." And the conditions at Crown Point were even worse. Death, "a daily visitant in the Camps," was as little regarded "as the singing of birds." "Alas," declared Surgeon Lewis Beebe, "what will become of our distressed army, Death reigns triumphant."<sup>66</sup>

Before the Northern Army could function as an effective fighting force, not only would the smallpox epidemic have to be brought under control, but the soldiers would also have to be fed and clothed.<sup>67</sup> Colonel John Groaton's Regiment had been one of the first to march for Canada in the spring of 1776, and the experience of this regiment was typical of many others. Uniformed in dark brown coats with white facings, buff colored jackets, white pantaloons, and black canvas gaiters, the regiment had marched from Cambridge on March 18. After reaching New London, the troops embarked on transports which carried them to New York. The regiment then boarded sloops which carried them to the next stop on the journey north — Fort Montgomery. An officer described the "very disagreeable Scene" which unfolded when the soldiers arrived at Fort Montgomery on April 9: "The Men grumbling about their Allowance refuse to go on duty & Supported by their Officers, no utensils for Cooking my own Men uneasy." Utensils and provisions were distributed the following day, but the incident served to illustrate the regiment's tenuous sense of military discipline. To further underscore the problem, nineteen soldiers "Mutinized" on April 14. The mutineers were immediately placed under guard, but, as an observer remarked, "they Appear'd Intirely Ignorant of the discipline." The Articles of War were read aloud, and then, "after a verry Humble Acknowledgement & a promise of future good behaviour dismissed them, the Men worked verry well!" The immediate crisis had passed, but the problems of insubordination and a lack of discipline would linger throughout the 1776 campaign.<sup>68</sup>

From Albany northward, the soldiers of Groaton's Regiment had received only pork and flour as a ration, and as they neared the Canadian border even these two staples had become scarce. On some days only half a ration was issued, while on other days there was no ration at all. The Canadians had ample supplies of flour, but they refused to accept paper

money for their foodstuffs. Captain Charles Cushing reported that much of the flour consumed by the army while in Canada had been seized at bayonet point. The Canadians, however, were willing to exchange milk for pork; but only at the rate of two or three pounds of pork per quart of milk. The monetary equivalent for the vegetables and other food items allowed by Congress but not distributed to the soldiers amounted to more than \$2,000 in Greaton's Regiment alone. Captain Cushing commented that it was not the loss of ration money that concerned him, but rather what his men had suffered "for want of those necessities." And Cushing's men were among the more fortunate. He had led a company of seventy-six men into Canada. While there, seventy-four of his soldiers had contracted smallpox and all of them had survived. Hundreds of shallow, unmarked graves between Albany and Quebec testified to the fact that Cushing's men were the lucky ones.<sup>69</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Entries of May 25–May 31, June 1, and June 2, 1775, Arnold, Memorandum Book, FTM; Arnold to N. Y. Congress, May 29, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., II, 847–848; Memorial of Sparding, June 1, 1775, *ibid.*, 873–874.

<sup>2</sup>Arnold to Cont. Congress, June 13, 1775, *ibid.*, 976–977; Arnold to Trumbull, June 13, 1775, *ibid.*, 977–978; entries of June 10 and June 11, 1775, Arnold, Memorandum Book, FTM.

<sup>3</sup>Entries of June 16 and June 17, 1775, *ibid.*, Mott to Trumbull, July 6, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., II, 1592–1593.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*; Instructions of Mass. Committee, June 14, 1775, *ibid.*, 986–988; Arnold to Mass. Committee, June 24, 1775, *ibid.*, 1598–1599; Report of Mass. Committee, July 6, 1775, Lincoln, ed., *Journal Mass. Congress*, 717–719; Mass. Committee to Arnold, June 23, 1775, *ibid.*, 720; Mass. Committee to Cont. Congress, June 23, 1775, *ibid.*, 720–721; Mass. Committee to Trumbull, July 3, 1775, *ibid.*, 722–723; Mass. Committee to N. Y. Congress, July 3, 1775, *ibid.*, 723–724; entries of June 23 and June 24, 1775, Arnold, Memorandum Book, FTM.

<sup>5</sup>Mass. Committee to Cont. Congress, June 23, 1775, Lincoln, ed., *Journal Mass. Congress*, 720–721.

<sup>6</sup>Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, II, 109–110; Washington to Schuyler, June 25, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., II, 1084–1085; Schuyler to Congress, June 28, 1775, *ibid.*, 1123–1124; Schuyler to Hinman, June 28, 1775, *ibid.*, 1133–1134.

<sup>7</sup>Return of forces, July 1, 1775, *ibid.*, 1667; Schuyler to Cont. Congress, July 3, 1775, *ibid.*, 1535–1536; Phelps to N. Y. Congress, July 7, 1775, *ibid.*, 1605. It was estimated that 675 barrels of flour, 367 barrels of pork, 7,232 pounds of butter, 226 barrels of peas, and 1,206 gallons of rice were needed to victual 1,500 soldiers for three months. Account of stores, June 14, 1775, *ibid.*, 1009–1010.



<sup>8</sup>Hinman to N. Y. Congress, July 3, 1775, *ibid.*, 1538-1539; Hinman to Schuyler, July 7, 1775, *ibid.*, 1605-1606; Trumbull to Schuyler, July 17, 1775, *ibid.*, 1676-1677; Bayze Wells, "Journal of Bayze Wells," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 253-259.

<sup>9</sup>Schuyler to Cont. Congress, July 11 and July 15, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., II, 1645-1646, 1665-1666; Schuyler to Trumbull, July 18, 1775, *ibid.*, 1685; Schuyler to Washington, July 18, 1775, *ibid.*, 1685-1686.

<sup>10</sup>Whitney to Peters, July 18, 1775, FTM.

<sup>11</sup>Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, II, 109-110.

<sup>12</sup>Schuyler to Cont. Congress, July 21 and July 26, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., II, 1702-1704, 1729-1730; Schuyler to N. Y. Congress, July 21 and July 26, *ibid.*, 1704, 1731; N. Y. Committee of Safety to Schuyler, July 15, 1775, *ibid.*, 1730.

<sup>13</sup>Washington to Schuyler, July 28, 1775, *ibid.*, 1747-1748; General Orders, July 25, 1775, Schuyler Papers, Huntington Library; Livingston to N. Y. Congress, July 29, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., II, 1753; Schuyler to Cont. Congress, July 31, 1775, *ibid.*, 1760.

<sup>14</sup>Schuyler to Washington, July 31 and Aug. 6, 1775, *ibid.*, 1762-1763, III, 50-51; Schuyler to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775, *ibid.*, 17; Mott to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775, *ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>15</sup>Schuyler to Cont. Congress, Aug. 6, 1775, *ibid.*, 48-49.

<sup>16</sup>Schuyler to Stringer, Aug. 27, 1775, *ibid.*, 443; Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, II, 249-250.

<sup>17</sup>Mott to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 18-19; Hinman to Trumbull, Aug. 14, 1775, *ibid.*, 135; Brown to Trumbull, Aug. 14, 1775, *ibid.*, 135-136; Allen to Trumbull, Aug. 3, 1775, *ibid.*, 17-18; Mumford to Deane, May 22, 1775, *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, II (1870), 234-235.

<sup>18</sup>Welsh to Trumbull, Aug. 5, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 46-47.

<sup>19</sup>Schuyler to N. Y. Congress, Aug. 23, 1775, *ibid.*, 243-244; extract of a letter from Ticonderoga, Aug. 25, 1775, *ibid.*, 434; Van Schaick to N. Y. Congress, Aug. 29, 1775, *ibid.*, 451-452; Livingston to N. Y. Congress, Aug. 29, 1775, *ibid.*, 452.

<sup>20</sup>Schuyler to Lewis, Nov. 9, 1776, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Colls., XII (1879), 39-41; entries of April 20, May 13, and June 4, 1776, Allan S. Everest, ed., *The Journal of Charles Carroll of Carrollton* (Fort Ticonderoga, 1976), 33, 51, 56.

<sup>21</sup>Recruiting forms, muster rolls, and pay vouchers indicate that large numbers of Northern Army soldiers were unable to sign their names except with an "X". As many as one half of the New York soldiers may have been unable to write, while 28% of Captain Joseph Bloomfield's Company of the Third New Jersey Regiment were illiterate. Muster roll of Captain John Wendell's Company, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Colls., XLVIII (1915), 390-397; receipt of Captain Joseph Bloomfield's Company, Nov. 26, 1776, FTM. John Shy, *A People Numerous & Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence* (New York, 1976), 21-33; Shy, *Toward Lexington*, 3-44; Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1979), 373-378; John R. Sellers, "The Common Soldier in the American Revolution," Stanley J. Underdal, ed., *Military History of the American Revolution: Proceedings of the Sixth Military History Symposium, USAF Academy, 1974* (Washington, 1976), 151-166; Robert A.

Gross, *The Minutemen and Their World* (New York, 1976), 146–153; Robert M. Hatch, *Thrust for Canada* (Boston, 1979), 45–46; Berthold Fernow, *New York in the Revolution* (Albany, 1887), 165–253; Fred A. Berg, *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units* (Harrisburg, 1972), 83–85.

<sup>22</sup>Brown to Trumbull, Aug. 14, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 135–136; Schuyler to N. Y. Congress, Aug. 15, 1775, *ibid.*, 141; Schuyler to Washington, Aug. 27, 1775, *ibid.*, 442–443; Van Schaick to N. Y. Congress, Aug. 29, 1775, *ibid.*, 451–452; Bedford to Cont. Congress, Aug. 30, 1775, *ibid.*, 460; Brown to Montgomery, Aug. 23, 1775, *ibid.*, 468.

<sup>23</sup>Extract of a letter from Ticonderoga, Aug. 31, 1775, *ibid.*, 467; Schuyler to Trumbull, Aug. 31, 1775, *ibid.*, 469; Rudolphus Ritzema, "Journal," *Magazine of American History*, I (1877), 98–107.

<sup>24</sup>French, *First Year of Revolution*, 413–414; Schuyler to Washington, Aug. 31, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 467; Schuyler to Trumbull, Aug. 31, 1775, *ibid.*, 469; Schuyler to Commissioners for Indian Affairs, Aug. 31, 1775, *ibid.*, 493–494; extract of a letter from the Carrying Place, Sept. 14, 1775, *ibid.*, 709; John Fassett, "Diary," Harry P. Ward, *The Follett–Dewey–Fassett–Safford Ancestry* (Columbus, Ohio, 1896), 216.

<sup>25</sup>French, *First Year of Revolution*, 415–431; Schuyler to Hancock, Sept. 8, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 669–670; Schuyler to Cont. Congress, Sept. 19, 1775, *ibid.*, 738–740; Schuyler to Washington, Sept. 20, 1775, *ibid.*, 751–754.

<sup>26</sup>Mott to Trumbull, Oct. 6 and Oct. 20, 1775, *ibid.*, 972–974, 1124–1125; French, *First Year of Revolution*, 424; entry of Sept. 23, 1775, Fassett, "Diary," Ward, *Follett Ancestry*, 218.

<sup>27</sup>Montgomery to Schuyler, Sept. 24, Sept. 28, and Oct. 9, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 840, 954, 1096; Schuyler to Hancock, Sept. 25, 1775, *ibid.*, 796–797; Schuyler to Montgomery, Sept. 29, 1775, Schuyler Papers, New York Public Library [and hereafter cited as Schuyler Papers, NYPL].

<sup>28</sup>Schuyler to Hancock, Sept. 25, Oct. 18, and Oct. 21, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 796–797, 1093–1095, 1130–1132; Return of the sick, Sept. 25, 1775, *ibid.*, 797; Bedford to Cont. Congress, Aug. 30, 1775, *ibid.*, 460; Wooster to Schuyler, Oct. 19, 1775, *ibid.*, 1107–1108; Benjamin Trumbull, Diary, FTM; Henry P. Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution* (New York, 1888), 222–223; Rossie, *Politics of Command*, 45–60; Hinman to Trumbull, Oct. 12, 1775, Dennis P. Ryan, ed., *A Salute to Courage* (New York, 1979), 14–16.

<sup>29</sup>Gibbs to Trumbull, Oct. 10, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 1006; Schuyler to Trumbull, Oct. 12, 1775, *ibid.*, 1033–1035; Taylor to Trumbull, Oct. 15, 1775, *ibid.*, 1068; Young to Trumbull, Oct. 16, 1775, *ibid.*, 1074–1075; Return of the sick, Oct. 12, 1775, *ibid.*, 1097.

<sup>30</sup>Schuyler to Hancock, Oct. 18, 1775, *ibid.*, 1093–1095; Montgomery to Livingston, Oct. 5, 1775, Hatch, *Thrust for Canada*, 82; Montgomery to Schuyler, Oct. 13, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 1097; Montgomery to Schuyler, Oct. 31, 1775, Benson J. Lossing, *The Life and Times of Philip Schuyler* (New York, 1860–1873), 427; Jared Sparks, ed., *The Correspondence of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1853), I, 469–471, 480–481; Rossie, *Politics of Command*, 56.

<sup>31</sup>Montgomery to Schuyler, Nov. 13, 1775, Lossing, *Schuyler*, 445–446, 459.

<sup>32</sup>Entry of Nov. 12, 1775, Henry Livingston, "Journal of Major Henry Livingston," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXII, (April, 1898),

27; entry of Nov. 18, 1775, Trumbull, Diary, FTM.

<sup>33</sup>Lossing, *Schuyler*, 463-464; entry of Nov. 13, 1775, Trumbull, Diary, FTM; Ritzema, "Journal," *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, I (1877), 103; Schuyler to Cont. Congress, Nov. 20 and Nov. 27, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., III, 1617, 1681-1682; Schuyler to Washington, Nov. 22, 1775, *ibid.*, 1635.

<sup>34</sup>Schuyler to Cont. Congress, Dec. 8, 1775, *ibid.*, IV, 219-220; Schuyler to Washington, Dec. 15, 1775, *ibid.*, 282; Report of Congressional Committee, *ibid.*, 442-445; entries of Sept. 17, Oct. 6, and Nov. 21, 1775, Fassett, "Diary," Ward, *Follett Ancestry*, 217, 219, 238.

<sup>35</sup>Entry of Nov. 11, 1775, Trumbull, Diary, FTM.

<sup>36</sup>Arnold to Schuyler, Nov. 27, 1775, "Letters written while on an Expedition across the State of Maine to Attack Quebec in 1775," *Maine Historical Society Collection*, I (1831), 383-385; Montgomery to Schuyler, Dec. 5, and Dec. 12, 1775, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 188-190, 309-310; Montgomery to Wooster, Dec. 14, 1775, *ibid.*, 288-289; Schuyler to Washington, Dec. 15, 1775, *ibid.*, 287.

<sup>37</sup>Richard Wheeler, *Voices of 1776* (New York, 1972), 67, 78; James W. LeMoine, *Quebec Past and Present* (Quebec, 1876), 210; extract of a letter from Canada, Feb. 9, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 706-707.

<sup>38</sup>Caldwell to Murray, June 15, 1776, *Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, Manuscripts Relating to the Early History of Canada*, V (1866), 9-13; Isaac Senter, *Journal of Isaac Senter* (Philadelphia, 1846), 36; Cushing to brother, July 8, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 129; Return of forces, Feb. 18, 1776, *ibid.*, 4th Ser., V, 104.

<sup>39</sup>Schuyler to Washington, Dec. 15, 1775 and Jan. 5, 1776, *ibid.*, IV, 282, 580-582; Schuyler to Hancock, Dec. 26 and Dec. 31, 1775, *ibid.*, 463-464, 480; Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, III, 270-272; Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (New York, 1952), I, 99-124, 202-205; Howard L. Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron: The Life of American Revolutionary War Soldiers in the Middle Department, 1775-1783" (unpublished dissertation, Syracuse University, 1966), 11-16.

<sup>40</sup>Wooster to Warner, Jan. 6, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 588-589; Warner to Schuyler, Jan. 22, 1776, *ibid.*, 852; Schuyler to Hancock, Jan. 29, 1776, *ibid.*, 880-881; Fellows to Schuyler, Jan. 27, 1776, *ibid.*, 881-882; Schuyler to Fellows, Jan. 28, 1776, *ibid.*, 882; Smith, *Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony*, II, 186; entry of Feb. 22, 1776, Fassett, "Diary," Ward, *Follett Ancestry*, 243; Hatch, *Thrust for Canada*, 152.

<sup>41</sup>Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, IV, 37-41; Fernow, *New York in the Revolution*, 47; letter from Duane, Feb. 27, 1776, *ibid.*, 74.

<sup>42</sup>Hancock to Mass. Assembly, Jan. 29, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 879; Hancock to Washington, Jan. 29, 1776, *ibid.*, 878-879.

<sup>43</sup>Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, IV, 71; minutes of N. Y. Committee of Safety, Jan. 27, 1776, Fernow, *New York in the Revolution*, 49-50.

<sup>44</sup>Regimental colors, drums and fifes, and all the necessary intrenching tools were to be furnished "at the public expense." *ibid.*

<sup>45</sup>Hancock to Washington, Jan. 20, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 781; Schuyler to Hancock, Feb. 7 and Feb. 10, 1776, *ibid.*, 955-956, 990; Samuel Hodgkinson, "Before Quebec, 1776," *Penn. Mag. Hist. and Bio.*, X (1886), 159.

<sup>46</sup>Maxwell to Hancock, Jan. 23 and Jan. 31, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 813-814, 897; Schuyler to Washington, Feb. 14, 1776, *ibid.*, 1146.

<sup>47</sup>*New Hampshire State Papers* (Concord, 1874), VII, 45; Hatch, *Thrust for Canada*, 152-153; Washington to Bedel, Feb. 1, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 908-909; Schuyler to Hancock, March 12, 1776, *ibid.*, V, 194-195; Johnson to Folsom, March 20, 1776, *ibid.*, 440.

<sup>48</sup>John L. Sibley and Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* (Boston, 1873-1972), XV, 96-100; entries of Jan. 22, March 31, and April 27, 1776, Elisha Porter, *Journal*, FTM; Russell Dewey, "Journal," John H. Lockwood, *Westfield* (Westfield, Massachusetts, 1922), 590-596; Washington to Schuyler, Jan. 27, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 872-873.

<sup>49</sup>Schuyler to Hancock, Feb. 10 and March 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 990, V, 147-148; *Connecticut Courant*, March 18 and April 22, 1776.

<sup>50</sup>N. Y. Committee of Safety to Schuyler, Jan. 31, 1776, Fernow, *New York in the Revolution*, 52; Schuyler to N. Y. Congress, Feb. 6, 1776, *ibid.*, 56; N. Y. Congress to Schuyler, Feb. 22, 1776, *ibid.*, 72; Schuyler to Lee, Feb. 29, 1776, *ibid.*, 81-82; Schuyler to Hancock, Feb. 15, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 1156-1157; Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, IV, 190; Eric I. Manders, "Notes on Troop Units in the Northern Army, 1776," *Military Collector & Historian*, XXVII (Spring, 1975), 9.

<sup>51</sup>Washington to Hancock, April 22, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., V, 1021-1022; Thompson to Washington, April 27, 1776, *ibid.*, 1096-1097; entry of April 20, 1776, Joseph Vose, "Journal," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, VII (1901), 248; entry of April 20, 1776, Lawrence B. Romaine, ed., *From Cambridge to Champlain* (Middleboro, Massachusetts, 1957), 24-25.

<sup>52</sup>Entry of May 4, 1776, *ibid.*, 30; entry of May 1, 1776, Vose, "Journal," *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, VII (1901), 249-250.

<sup>53</sup>Entries of May 4-May 9, 1776, *ibid.*, 251-252.

<sup>54</sup>John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (New York, 1953), 16-112; Arnold to Washington, Feb. 27, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., IV, 1513-1514; entries of May 17-June 11, 1776, Thomas Baldwin, ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Colonel Jeduthan Baldwin 1775-1778* (Bangor, Maine, 1906 [and hereafter cited as Baldwin, *Journal*]), 43-53; entry of June 30, 1776, Frederick Kirkland, ed., *Journal of Lewis Beebe* (Philadelphia, 1935 [and hereafter cited as Beebe, *Journal*]), 14.

<sup>55</sup>Senter, *Journal*, 37; Cushing to brother, July 8, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 129; Arnold to Washington, Feb. 21, 1776, *ibid.*, 4th Ser., IV, 1513; Duffy, *Epidemics*, 16-112; Philip Cash, *Medical Men at the Siege of Boston* (Philadelphia, 1973), 11.

<sup>56</sup>Senter, *Journal*, 38; entry of May 11, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 3; Cushing to brother, July 8, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 129; Arnold to Washington, May 8, 1776, *ibid.*, 4th Ser., VI, 389.

<sup>57</sup>Thompson to Schuyler, May 14, 1776, Washington Papers, Library of Congress; Instructions to Franklin, Chase, and Carroll, March 20, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., V, 411-413.

<sup>58</sup>Arnold to commissioners, May 15, 1776, *ibid.*, VI, 579.

<sup>59</sup>Thomas to commissioners, May 15, 1776, *ibid.*, 589; Hancock to Thomas, March 6, 1776, *ibid.*, V, 84; Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, IV, 186; Senter, *Journal*, 37; Warner to Stephens, Jan. 15, 1846, *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, XI (1943), 111-112; entries of March 24-March 29, 1776, Dewey, "Journal," Lockwood, *Westfield*, 593.

<sup>60</sup>Arnold to commissioners, May 17, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser.,

VI, 593; entry of May 17, 1776, Porter, *Journal*, FTM; Senter, *Journal*, 38; entry of May 19, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 4; entry of May 17, 1776, Vose, "Journal," *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, VII (1901), 253; Return of troops, May 11, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., VI, 411-412.

<sup>61</sup>Thomas to commissioners, May 20, 1776, *ibid.*, 592; entries of May 20-June 2, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 4-8; entry of June 2, 1776, Porter, *Journal*, FTM.

<sup>62</sup>Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, IV, 302; Hancock to Washington, April 23, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., V, 1036; Washington to Schuyler, April 29, 1776, *ibid.*, 1124-1125; entry of June 3, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 8.

<sup>63</sup>Sullivan to Hancock, June 1, 1776, Otis G. Hammond, ed., *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan* (Concord, 1930), I, 212; entry of June 7, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 9; Meyrick to Trumbull, June 1, 1836, John Trumbull, *Autobiography* (New York, 1841), 300.

<sup>64</sup>Sullivan to Washington, June 8, 1776, Hammond, ed., *Letters of Sullivan*, I, 228-230; Arnold to Sullivan, June 11, 1776, *ibid.*, 231; Arnold to Schuyler, June 13, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., VI, 1038; Return of forces, June 12, 1776, *ibid.*, 915-916.

<sup>65</sup>Cushing to brother, July 8, 1776, *ibid.*, 5th Ser., I, 131; entry of June 17, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 11-12.

<sup>66</sup>Sullivan to Washington, June 24 and June 25, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., VI, 1220; Sullivan to Schuyler, June 24, 1776, *ibid.*, 1201; Sullivan to Washington, June 25, 1776, Hammond, ed., *Letters of Sullivan*, I, 267; entries of June 24, June 26, and June 29, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 12-14.

<sup>67</sup>Peter F. Copeland, "Clothing of the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion, 1776-1777," *Milit. Coll. & Hist.*, XVIII (Fall, 1966), 69-74; Charles M. Lefferts, *Uniforms of the American, British, French, and German Armies in the War of the American Revolution*, (New York, 1926), 9-145.

<sup>68</sup>Entries of March 18-April 16, 1776, Romaine, ed., *From Cambridge to Champlain*, 19-23.

<sup>69</sup>Cushing to brother, July 8, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 128-132; entry of April 4, 1776, Dewey, "Journal," Lockwood, *Westfield*, 593.  
To be continued in the next issue.

## **TRIAL AT QUAKER-HILL: "JUSTICE TO AN INJURED COUNTRY" OR "JUSTICE TO . . . INJURED GENTLEMEN"?**

by  
**Don R. Gerlach**

For fourteen months after losing command of his army Major General Philip Schuyler waited for a Congressional inquiry into his conduct of the campaign of 1777. Although a committee was selected to investigate the loss of Ticonderoga on August 27, 1777, a principal cause for Congress's replacement of the New Yorker with Horatio Gates, little headway was made. Would it find evidence of neglect or misconduct and recommend a court martial? As weeks dragged into months the membership of the committee changed. John Adams, Henry Laurens, and Richard Henry Lee were the original members. Late in December, Francis Dana, William Ellery, and John Witherspoon were added. Then Dana was replaced by James Lovell, and late in January 1778 James Smith was also added. While Schuyler fumed and urged that the business be expedited, friends like Henry Laurens, who had become President of Congress, endeavored to prod the committee to report. On February 8, 1778, the committee's evidence was sent to Washington, but the Virginian declined to order a court martial unless charges were made. Moreover, the Commander-in-Chief refused to make them because he did not know how Congress had instructed Schuyler to conduct the campaign of 1777.<sup>1</sup>

Congress again delayed; since the old committee had been discharged, a new one was appointed to investigate the General's case: Eliphalet Dyer, William Ellery, James Lovell, and James Smith. Like their predecessors, these men resisted promptings that they specify charges against Schuyler. Unfortunately, even the General's friends caused more delay; on March 28, William Duer won postponement of the committee's report for "particular considerations respecting Genl. Schuyler. . . ." He and Gouverneur Morris were determined that charges against the Yorker be specified. By mid-April the Chief of Justice of New York, John Jay, prodded Morris much as Schuyler himself had repeatedly done: "Ought not the Tryals of Schuyler, St. Claire and Putnam to be expedited," he asked.<sup>2</sup>

Responding to the latest accounts of the delays, Schuyler wrote President Laurens on April 16 that he by no means blamed the Carolinian for them. He agreed that Washington's refusal to proceed to a court martial without Congressional specification of charges was entirely proper. But while

hoping for speedy action, he promised not to press the "painful subject" for the moment.<sup>3</sup> For the next few weeks the Yorker would be content to remain at home to conduct the business of the Indian Commissioners of the Northern Department and to await Mrs. Schuyler's lying-in which she expected would be the first week of May.

By the end of April 1778 Gouverneur Morris managed to push Congress a step closer to a decision about the cases of both Schuyler and Arthur St. Clair. The awkwardness of the business, as he explained to John Jay, lay in the instructions that previous committees were given merely to collect the facts regarding the loss of Ticonderoga. Now, still another committee consisting of Francis Dana of Massachusetts, William Henry Drayton of South Carolina, and Roger Sherman of Connecticut was directed to examine the evidence and to state charges as well. Morris's only complaint was that their instructions were framed in terms of doing "*Justice to an injured Country*" instead of "*Justice to these injured Gentlemen. . . .*"

With Morris's report in hand John Jay observed that the proceedings in Congress seemed "calculated more to make a noise than decide: perhaps that was their object; if so, you have spoiled the plan," he told Morris. The Yorkers knew all too well that partisans of Horatio Gates, and critics of not only Schuyler and St. Clair but also of Washington, preferred to leave their enemies under a cloud of public odium and suspicion. Yet Jay perceived one danger in having specific charges levelled against the generals: the possible implication neither of neglect nor of criminality — which could be misleading. If one of the charges happened to be Schuyler's absence from Ticonderoga, it must be asked whether it was his business to have been there. Jay thought not; a commander placing himself for six to eight weeks "in salva et arca custodia" (a place of safety and confinement) was no way to extend his care and superintendence to an entire department. But what if the charge should be found to be true? It would not do to say that the commander was not to be censured for it because that would make the charge a futile one. Or it would be tantamount to a public announcement that the General was granted mercy instead of the justice to which he was entitled.<sup>5</sup>

Henry Laurens's assurance to Schuyler that the new committee members would be diligent and attentive in the discharge of their duties did not in fact render their proceedings much speedier than their predecessors'. Although Laurens promised to "take the Liberty to jog them" if necessary, almost six weeks passed before Congress was ready to specify for Schuyler's trial. Toward the end of May, the South Carolinian wrote that Congressman Drayton had shown him parts of the committee's intended report. Then, after Congress acted upon the report on June 12, Laurens was still unable

to send it and the charge to Schuyler for more than a week as he was obliged to wait for copies to be made. And for weeks thereafter the General was forced to wait for Washington to arrange a date for the court martial itself.<sup>6</sup>

The formal charge which Congress voted on June 12 was neglect of duty — a monstrous accusation for a man whose entire career testified to a conscientious pursuit of obligations in both his private life and public offices. More specifically, Schuyler was accused of failing to remain at Ticonderoga (after mid-June 1777) to expedite the fortification of Mount Independence until it was no longer possible to avoid retreat in order to save his troops and their supplies. The General, however, continued to believe that a proper inquiry or trial would acquit him of such charges because of Congress's own instructions in May 1777. By these he had been permitted freedom of movement in his department which was generally defined to include Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix and their dependencies — an entirely sensible order for any commander who had more than a single outpost to defend and duties such as those of the Board of Indian Commissioners to discharge.<sup>7</sup>

Thinking that Schuyler may not have heard that Congress had "at last instituted a Crime against" him, his nephew-in-law, Walter Livingston, penned a notice to the General on July 18 that the Yorker was "hourly expected at Camp to take your trial." But Washington's notice to Schuyler on July 22 indicated that there would be further delays. Two other courts martial, including Arthur St. Clair's, must be held first, he said, and the General would be summoned later.<sup>8</sup>

Either the subsequent summons reached Schuyler not long thereafter, or the Yorker decided to set out for White Plains early. Or perhaps St. Clair asked him to attend his own trial where the General served as one of the principal defense witnesses. In any case on August 6 or shortly thereafter Schuyler set out from Albany, and by the 16th he was in Washington's camp at White Plains where the Virginian had collected the largest body of regular troops yet assembled during the war; of the main army of almost 17,000 between eleven and twelve thousand men were encamped in and around White Plains as Washington warily watched for signs of movement by Sir Henry Clinton. The British in New York seemed strangely quiet, and finally in November, Washington settled his men into winter camps in a semi-circle with a forty mile radius about the city and the Hudson Highlands. Meantime, the lull in activities enabled the Commander-in-Chief to proceed with courts martial for Arthur St. Clair and then for Schuyler.<sup>9</sup>

St. Clair's trial which began on August 23 proved to be a promising



prelude to Schuyler's own ordeal. The charges were similar; both men were accused of neglect of duty, but those against St. Clair included "cowardice, and treachery, in abandoning" Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Point by point St. Clair argued against them, summoning as principal witnesses General Horatio Gates, Thaddeus Kosciuszko (who testified as an engineer that the fortifications were inadequate to withstand the British siege), Brigadier General Enoch Poor, and Schuyler. Gates and Schuyler agreed that St. Clair's army had been too small to defend both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Schuyler specified that St. Clair needed at least 10,000 Continentals to hold both of the posts; and he pointedly noted that he had obtained no answer whatsoever to his early June call for reinforcements until late in July, long after the two positions had been evacuated. Moreover, New England militia had not even begun to arrive on the scene until well after St. Clair's retreat. Those who did appear would not have sufficed to raise the British siege even if St. Clair had been able to withstand it until as late as July 20. Schuyler also argued that St. Clair's evacuation did not stem from his neglect in improving defenses; there simply were not enough men or materials to accomplish that task. St. Clair himself showed that he had not neglected his duty since he had given timely notice of his danger to the department commander, and he had done exactly what Schuyler's council of war had ordered him to do in June — to hold the posts as long as possible, consistent with the safety of the troops and the stores. His entire career, he maintained, revealed no evidence of cowardice; nor could anyone prove that St. Clair had been treacherous. Indeed, saving the army from capture hardly suggested treachery or incapacity as a general; only at the last minute had he evacuated the Lake Champlain posts, and his safe withdrawal had even enabled his troops to participate in subsequent maneuvers which actually checked the British advance.<sup>10</sup>

St. Clair's trial dragged on for a month. At the end of the second week, on the evening of September 4, several of the participants duelled after becoming embroiled in an altercation of several month's standing. Colonel James Wilkinson accused his old commander, Horatio Gates, of derogatory remarks about his conduct at a previous duel in February — an incident which has stemmed from Wilkinson's allegations concerning Gate's ambitious caballing against George Washington. Wilkinson, now attached to St. Clair's cause, challenged Gates for casting aspersions upon his character and motives. Gates's second, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, and John Barker Church, who served as Wilkinson's second, continued to fight after the duel was over. The principals satisfied the demands of honor without bloodshed, but their seconds quarreled about exchanging signed statements of

Gates' apology to Wilkinson and of Wilkinson's admission that Gates was a gentleman.<sup>11</sup>

Church and Kosciuszko signed a statement of Gates's apology, but when Kosciuszko asked Church to reciprocate with a paper declaring Wilkinson's admission that Gates was a gentleman, Church declined. On a visit to Schuyler's quarters to see Church, who was Schuyler's son-in-law, and to obtain a copy of the statement Kosciuszko had signed, Kosciuszko pocketed the paper instead of copying it. He refused to return it unless the statement were altered to include reference to Wilkinson's apology to Gates. Doubtless influenced by his father-in-law, Church refused to supply any certification that Gates's previous conduct was unexceptionable, claiming that he was in no position to verify it. Schuyler could well have instructed Church in the activities of Horatio Gates; in the Yorker's eyes his behavior was, to say the least, notably exceptionable.

On the following morning, September 5, the principals and seconds again met at Arthur St. Clair's quarters with several other officers. Gates declined to surrender the paper which Kosciuszko had obtained from Church unless Wilkinson gave him a certificate stating that Gates's behavior at their February 1778 duel had been unobjectionable. Wilkinson refused; again he challenged Gates, but Gates refused. The fiery officer then denounced Gates as a rascal and a coward. And the quarrel continued between the seconds; Kosciuszko challenged Church to a duel after Church threatened to prosecute the Pole for theft. Church refused to duel and then proceeded to denounce Kosciuszko's dishonorable conduct through the newspapers, explaining that he had stolen the paper which he had signed in testimony of Gates's apology to Wilkinson.

What Schuyler may have thought of his son-in-law's reaction to Gates and Kosciuszko is unknown, but the affair became notorious as word of it spread from the camp at White Plains to the New York and New England newspapers. Before St. Clair's trial was concluded, it also intruded into court martial sessions; at one point Church and Kosciuszko rushed at one another in the very presence of the court, and Church was obliged to flee in order to avoid prosecution for disturbing a military tribunal. Later, at the end of December, Church also dueled with Gates's son, Robert, at Roxbury, Massachusetts. The unpleasant memory of his father's encounter with Wilkinson in September evidently rankled in young Gates, especially as Church had proven to be Wilkinson's friend. Perhaps Church's partisanship for his father-in-law also clouded the men's respective identification with the two sides of the old Schuyler-Gates feud.<sup>12</sup>

Although nothing is known of Schuyler's reactions to his son-in-law's

troubles, he could not have taken much comfort in Church's dueling. However much he may have countenanced the code of honor the Yorker had himself missed the risk of exchanging pistol shots with a provincial assemblyman in 1768. Whereas Church neither killed young Gates nor was killed in any similar encounter, Schuyler's more famous son-in-law, Hamilton, and Hamilton's son, Philip, were not so fortunate. The latter was mortally wounded in 1801, and his father in 1804. Happily, the General had no such cause for sorrow in September 1778.

Until St. Clair's court martial could be concluded, Schuyler found little to do but attend as a witness and prepare for his own trial which was to follow. In this, as with paying for lodgings and necessaries "furnished to Schuyler and Family," John Lansing, Jr. proved to be of great value to the General as a secretary. Other clerical work was apparently minimal — requests to Colonel Morgan Lewis, deputy quartermaster general at Albany, for certain articles and to deliver to Colonel Peter Gansevoort all of Schuyler's Indian Department papers as well as local militia returns — and a letter of introduction to the President of Congress for Dominique D'Eglis. While in command of the Northern Department, Schuyler had sent D'Eglis, or L'Eglise, as an agent to Canada. Having supported him with but small donations for secret service work, the Yorker believed that the Frenchman, only recently escaped from his captors, was entitled to further compensation. The spy's account of his sufferings, he told President Laurens, should be received sympathetically.<sup>13</sup>

In the interim Schuyler also had time to consider whether to attend Congress before it acted on the verdict which he expected his military judges to render. Members of the New York Legislature like Walter Livingston clearly expected him to resume service in Congress well before a court martial had even been ordered. Indeed, Livingston warned that "many who voted for you last March will not do so again unless you repair to Congress speedily." James Duane, however, doubted that such a step would be wise; although his enemies might not dispute it, Duane thought they would place "the worst construction" upon such an act, and hinder the reestablishment of Schuyler's position and influence in the national assembly. When the General received Duane's caution, he announced that it had confirmed his resolution to stay out of Congress until the delegates acted on the proceedings of his court martial. Even then, he said, he might remain aloof "until the Close of the Campaign especially If any movement against the Enemy is In Contemplation." Nor did he seem responsive to Walter Livingston's suggestion that it might "be worth your while to accept of the Quart.<sup>R</sup> Master Generals place and Command the Army" since

Washington was expected to visit Virginia during the winter. Although weary of public life, Schuyler appears to have been willing to accept only Livingston's argument that he remain a member of the New York delegation to Congress.<sup>14</sup>

St. Clair's trial which a "variety of unforeseen events [had] retarded," finally concluded on September 25. Acquitted of all charges "with the highest honor," St. Clair proved as helpful to Schuyler's defense as the Yorker had been to his subordinate's. On September 30 at Fredericksburgh, Washington ordered Schuyler's trial to commence. When assembled at Quaker Hill the court included with but one exception all of the officers who had tried St. Clair; most had also served under Schuyler's command and therefore knew something of his military record and talents: Major General Benjamin Lincoln (president), Brigadier Generals John Nixon, James Clinton, and Anthony Wayne, and Colonel John Greaton. John Lawrence was judge advocate. Assisted by his ex-aide, Richard Varick, and by John Lansing, Jr., his secretary, Schuyler not only presented a voluminous array of papers with which to supplement Varick's and Lansing's testimony, but also called Arthur St. Clair as his principal witness. That St. Clair's case had already been heard perhaps made Schuyler's easier to cover, and the happy verdict in the former surely boded well for the latter.<sup>15</sup>

Before summoning St. Clair, the Yorker reviewed the history of his command of the Northern Army since 1775. Step by step he demonstrated his thorough attention to all of his responsibilities and how he could not have properly discharged them by residing only at Ticonderoga (as the charge against him specified that he should have done). Subordinate officers might be assigned the command of particular fortifications, but a department commander must remain "at large to concert and execute measures for the relief of such posts" exactly as Schuyler had done. Furthermore, Congressional orders in May 1777 had specifically authorized the General to exercise this freedom; without it he could not have dealt properly with the Indians and both northern and western prongs of the British invasion. With typical thoroughness Schuyler presented evidence of orders which "descended to minutiae, in a manner not usual for general officers, and which nothing but the most ardent zeal for the service could have prompted."

When Schuyler asked St. Clair whether he had witnessed any neglect of duty in his commander's behavior, St. Clair told the court simply, "the direct contrary." Similarly, when queried about the "probable consequences" had the Yorker restricted himself to Ticonderoga, St. Clair agreed that the remainder of the department must surely have been neglected. Had Schuyler responded with any degree of readiness to St. Clair's alarms, turn-

ing out both himself and his troops to support him? Yes, said the latter, with great alacrity. When the long streams of testimony ended, Schuyler requested the court to pardon his prolixity; only "Facts and plain narrative, not declamation, have made it so," he noted.

Without any apparent hesitation the judges unanimously pronounced Schuyler not guilty of neglect of duty; "the Court therefore do acquit him," read the verdict, "with the highest honour." At long last the General was vindicated. Would Congress concur?

Before notifying Henry Laurens that the verdict would soon be transmitted to Congress, Schuyler penned reports to James Duane and William Duer on October 4. Explaining that his defense consisted "chiefly In a detail of facts with very few remarks," he proudly told Duane that "not a Single angry word has Escaped me. If I have the happiness of Living a little longer with you," he added, "I shall become the meakest man of the Age, and I shall by no means Esteem that a Misfortune. I begin to make Comparisons between what I was and what you have made [me]. In proportion as I conquer the unhappy propensity to Anger which Inslaved me I feel myself a happier and I hope a better man." Now if Congress would quickly approve the court's verdict, Schuyler was ready to resume the duties of his commission until the close of the campaign. Thereafter, he expected to enjoy "the Luxury of private life which becomes every day more Inviting."<sup>16</sup>

In prompting President Laurens to press Congress for a quick approval of the verdict Schuyler appealed to the Carolinian's humanity, suggesting that further delays would be heartless. Perhaps he could remind the delegates that nearly fourteen months had elapsed since the General's loss of his command. Had he forthrightly resigned or even been deprived of his commission, he might have been freer to pay proper attention to his private affairs. Surely, he pleaded, Congress would not suffer him to languish longer in a situation of all others the most painful. Every moment of his tedious suspension he had borne "with a sensibility far surpassing my power of Description."<sup>17</sup>

In a far different tone the Yorker scribbled a message to his friend William Duer on October 4. Exultant and playful, he chided Duer for a long lapse in his correspondence. Saluting him as "Late a delegate in Congress . . . But now happily partaking of that Bliss which defunct patriots enjoy In the Elisian fields," Schuyler wondered whether he had died and crossed the Styx. "Dear Shade," he wrote, was Duer inhibited from communicating with the inhabitants of earth? Was Charon really the rough, surly, ill-natured fellow described by the poets? Was Minos so severe a judge? If so, how had Duer exculpated himself from seldom having alleviated the

pain of a tender friend who wished to be informed of his health before departing this world? Could he describe the country in which he now found himself? Were female spirits also permitted to cross the Styx? If Duer did not soon reply, Schuyler must conclude that Minos had condemned him to be chained down like Tartarus. Referring to his recent trial "for Supposed Crimes against the American States," Schuyler assured Duer, "Every body here believes that I am acquitted. . . . But how long the Congress may take to determine on the propriety or Impropriety of the Sentence I know not. Pray Employ a Sylph or rather a host of them to Insinuate to the members that It will be vastly Cruel and terribly distressing to your poor old Friend to Continue any Longer in that Kind of Purgatory which he has Indured near fourteen months past."<sup>18</sup>

Schuyler's purgatory, in fact, lasted two more months. Neither the President of Congress nor friends like Duane and Duer were able to free the Yorker until December 3 when Congress finally approved the court's October verdict. Then, as a final gesture of vindication, they offered the long-beleaguered General the president's chair.<sup>19</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Worthington C. Ford *et al.* (eds.), *The Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (34 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1904-1937), VIII, 684-686; X, 66 hereafter cited as *JCC*. G. Washington to President of Congress, 27 Feb. 1778, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington, 1745-1799* (37 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1931-1940), X, 518-519 hereafter cited as *WGW*.

<sup>2</sup>H. Laurens to Schuyler, 8 April 1778, Edmund C. Burnett (ed.), *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (8 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1921-1936), III, 159-160 hereafter cited as *LMCC*. J. Jay to G. Morris, 14 April 1778, Richard B. Morris (ed.), *John Jay: The Making of a Revolutionary, Unpublished Papers, 1745-1780* (vol. I —; New York, 1975- ), I, 468-469 hereafter cited as *Morris, Jay Papers*.

<sup>3</sup>Schuyler to H. Laurens, 16 April 1778, New York Public Library, Schuyler Papers: Letterbook 19 Nov. 1776-1 July 1778, hereafter cited NYPL, S LBK.

<sup>4</sup>G. Morris to J. Jay, 29 April 1778, *Morris, Jay Papers*, I, 471-473; *LMCC*, III, 199; *JCC*, VIII, 688, X, 403.

<sup>5</sup>J. Jay to G. Morris, 3 June 1778, *Morris, Jay Papers*, I, 482-484.

<sup>6</sup>H. Laurens to Schuyler, 8 May 1778, NYPL, S LBK 22 June 1775-16 June 1778. H. Laurens to Schuyler, 28 May, 12, 20 June 1778, South Carolina Historical Society: Laurens Papers *cf.* *LMCC*, III, 287, 308-309 where text is incomplete.

<sup>7</sup>*JCC*, VIII, 375 *cf.* VII, 354; X, 601-602.

<sup>8</sup>W. Livingston to Schuyler, 18 July 1778, NYPL, Schuyler Papers. G. Washington to Schuyler, 22 July 1778, *WGW*, XII, 200-201.

<sup>9</sup>Harmanus Schuyler's receipt, 6 Aug. 1778, NYPL, Schuyler Papers: Personal-Household Accounts. Dated at Albany, the paper (in Schuyler's hand) suggests that he was still in Albany. R. Troup to J. Jay, 16 Aug. 1778, Morris, *Jay Papers*, I, 489-490 indicates Schuyler's presence at White Plains. See also Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, ed. John Richard Alden (2 vols.; New York, 1952), II, 594.

<sup>10</sup>William Henry Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair . . . with his Correspondence and Other Papers* (2 vols.; Cincinnati, Ohio, 1882), I, 447-457 hereafter cited Smith, *St. Clair Papers*.

<sup>11</sup>The Wilkinson-Church imbroglio with Gates and Kosciuszko is treated in some detail but without precise dating in Miecislus Haiman, *Kosciuszko in the American Revolution* (Boston, 1972), 56-68; Samuel White Patterson, *Horatio Gates: Defender of American Liberties* (New York, 1966), 280-281, 284; Paul David Nelson, *General Horatio Gates: A Biography* (Baton Rouge, La.; 1976), 195-196; Thomas Robson Hay and M.R. Werner, *The Admirable Trumpeter: A Biography of General James Wilkinson* (Garden City, N.Y.; 1941), 44-45.

<sup>12</sup>J. Cochran to Schuyler, 19 Jan. 1779, NYPL, Schuyler Papers. Cochran, who was Schuyler's brother-in-law, reported that he had been in Boston and that Church's (alias Carter) "affair" with "Master Gates" had done himself much honor. Cochran judged that it had broken the neck of an "infamous cabal" seeking to destroy Church.

<sup>13</sup>Nicholas Storm's receipt, 14 Sept. 1778 (shows Lansing's payment for Schuyler's expenses), NYPL, Schuyler Papers: Personal-Household Accounts. Schuyler to H. Laurens, 8 Sept. 1788, Papers of the Continental Congress: National Archives Microfilm Reel 173 hereafter cited as PCC, NAR. M. Lewis to Schuyler, 14 Sept. 1778, NYPL, Schuyler Papers.

<sup>14</sup>W. Livingston to Schuyler, 4 July, 30 Sept. 1778, *ibid.*, Schuyler to J. Duane, 6 Sept. 1778, New-York Historical Society: Duane Papers hereafter cited as NYHS. J. Duane to J. Jay, 22/24 Aug. 1778, Morris, *Jay Papers*, I, 491-496.

<sup>15</sup>Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, I, 457. See also "The Trial of Major General St. Clair, August 1778," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (New York, 1881), 1-72. Schuyler's comment about the delay in St. Clair's trial is in Schuyler to H. Laurens, 6 Oct. 1778, PCC, NAR 173. *Proceedings of a General Court Martial . . . Oct. 1 [-3], 1778 . . .* (Philadelphia, MDCCLXXVII) are in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society* (New York, 1880), 7-24.

<sup>16</sup>Schuyler to J. Duane, 4 Oct. 1778, NYHS: Duane Papers.

<sup>17</sup>Schuyler to Henry Laurens, 6 Oct. 1778, PCC, NAR 173.

<sup>18</sup>Schuyler to W. Duer, 4 Oct. 1778, NYPL, Schuyler Papers: Misc. Military.

<sup>19</sup>J. Jay to Schuyler, 8 Dec. 1776, New York State Library (Albany) Manuscript Division: Schuyler Papers. J. Duane to G. Clinton, 10 Dec. 1778, *LMCC*, III, 529-530. J. Duane to Schuyler, 3 Jan. 1779, NYPL, Schuyler Papers.

## GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON'S VISIT TO FORT TICONDEROGA IN JULY 1783

by

John H. G. Pell

It is a source of pride that General Washington visited Fort Ticonderoga on an inspection trip in July 1783. He had heard a great deal about Fort Ticonderoga, described as the Gibraltar of the North, and wanted to see for himself what gave it such a formidable reputation.

The surrender of British General Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19, 1781 marked the end of major hostilities in the American Revolution. Nevertheless, New York City was not evacuated until two years later and British forces remained intact in Canada. The provisional Treaty of Peace was signed in Paris on November 30, 1782, but news of this event did not reach America immediately. Throughout 1782 and most of 1783 there was a mixture of defacto peace but preparedness for war just in case it should be resumed, a sort of cold war. The definitive Treaty of Peace was signed in Paris on September 3, 1783, and New York City was finally evacuated by the British several months later.

During most of 1781 General Washington had maintained his headquarters at New Windsor, near Newburgh, on the west bank of the Hudson River, but in the late summer he went to Yorktown and the glorious victory that marked the denouement of the American Revolution. On the way back, he visited Philadelphia, arriving there on November 26, 1781. After a non-stop round of banquets, he departed Philadelphia on March 22, 1782. Shortly thereafter, he established his headquarters at Newburgh on the Hudson, not far from the New Windsor Cantonment where the main American Army was encamped. From there, the General could keep an eye on the British in nearby New York City and in Canada. For help in monitoring developments in Canada as well as in Vermont, which was at that time an independent republic, General Washington called on his former colleague and lifelong friend Philip Schuyler who lived at Albany and also at Saratoga further to the northward. The General visited the Schuylers at Saratoga on an inspection trip in 1782.

One of the problems of eighteenth century warfare, hot or cold, was that most of the time there was too little to do. The troops could be kept fairly busy with drills and marches but the officers suffered from ennui. General Washington's inspection trip in 1782 was an attempt to solve this problem. Early in April, 1783, Sir Guy Carleton, commanding the British forces in New York City, received word that the Provisional Treaty of Peace



had been signed and that there was to be a cessation of hostilities. He sent Captain Stapleton up to Newburgh to deliver the news to General Washington. On Friday, April 18, 1783, General Washington recorded in his orderly book: "The Commander-in-Chief orders that the cessation of hostilities be publicly proclaimed tomorrow at Twelve at the New Building." On Saturday, May 3 1783, the Commander-in-Chief with Governor Clinton went down to Dobbs Ferry to meet with Sir Guy Carleton who came up the river in a frigate. On Thursday, May 8, 1783, "The American Party dined on board the frigate where they were received with military honours and entertained with stately courtesy by Sir. Guy."<sup>1</sup>

Shortly thereafter, on May 13, 1783, a group of officers met at General Steuben's headquarters at Verplank Point and organized the Society of the Cincinnati. On Thursday, June 19, 1783, a number of officers of the army met at the New Building and elected His Excellency General Washington President General, General McDougal, Treasurer, and General Knox, Secretary pro tempore to the Society of the Cincinnati.<sup>2</sup>

The only trouble was that the army could not be disbanded until the Definitive Treaty of Peace was signed and that event was still several months in the future. Washington therefore decided to repeat his inspection tour of 1782, expanding the tour so as to include Lake Champlain and the forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. He wrote to the President of Congress from Headquarters on July 16: "Finding myself in most disagreeable circumstances here, anxiously expecting the Definitive Treaty without command and with little else to do than to be teased with troublesome Applications and fruitless demands . . . I have resolved to wear away a little time in Performing a Tour to the Northward as far north as Tyconderoga and Crown Point and perhaps as far up the Mohawk River as Fort Schuyler. I shall leave this place on Friday next and shall probably be gone about two weeks."<sup>3</sup>

In addition to writing to the President of Congress on July 16, 1783, General Washington also wrote to Philip Schuyler on that same day: "I have always entertained a great desire to see the northern part of this State before I return to the Southward. The present irksome interval while we are waiting for the definitive Treaty affords an opportunity of gratifying this inclusion. We shall set out by water on 18 July 83 Mr. Dinker Asst. Qr Ms Genl who will have the honor of delivering this letter . . . some light boats . . . transported to Lake George advise Mr. Dinker in what Manner to proceed in this business." General Washington instructed Lieutenant Henry Dinker to make provisions for the servants and horses, to wait on Schuyler and to provide three light boats for Lake George. "I have therefore

concerted with Gov Clinton to make a tour to reconnoiter those places where the most remarkable posts were established.”<sup>4</sup> Washington left headquarters in company with Governor Clinton, passed Albany, Old Saratoga, Fort Edward, Lake George, Ticonderoga and Crown Point and returned by way of Ballston and Schenectady. From there, the party traveled up the Mohawk to Fort Schuyler (formerly Fort Stanwix), and over to Wood Creek, thence down across to Otsego Lake and over the portage to the Mohawk arriving at Albany on August 4, 1783, and at Newburgh the following day.<sup>5</sup>

Since it is indicated that General Washington spent most of the nights while on the trip in taverns, he probably did not take a tent with him. While at Fort Ticonderoga he must have occupied the Commandant's quarters in the west barracks. These quarters had been occupied by Captain De La Place in the early part of 1775 when he surrendered the fort to Ethan Allen on May 10, 1775, “in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.” When General Burgoyne, with a large British Army, recaptured Fort Ticonderoga on July 5, 1777, he pushed on to Saratoga and defeat leaving General Powell in command at the Fort. He was the last officer to occupy the commandant's quarters before the arrival of General Washington in 1783. By then there must have been signs that the Fort was falling into disrepair. But things were undoubtedly spruced up for the arrival of His Excellency General George Washington. His inspection tour in July 1783 was one of his last official activities before his farewell to his officers at Fraunces Tavern in New York City on Thursday, December 4, 1783, and his return to Mount Vernon where he expected to live in quiet retirement for the rest of his days.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>William S. Baker, *Itinerary of General Washington* (Philadelphia, 1892), 293-296.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 299-300.

<sup>3</sup>Washington to President of Congress, July 16, 1783, John C. Fitzpatrick, editor, *The Writings of George Washington* (39 volumes, Washington, 1931-1944), XXVII, 84.

<sup>4</sup>Washington to Schuyler, July 16, 1783, *ibid.*, 66-67.

<sup>5</sup>Baker, *Itinerary*, 302.

## Walden Pell Our Cousin and Fellow Member

The Reverend Walden Pell II, the first headmaster of St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware, died recently at his home in Elkton, Maryland, after a brief illness. He was eighty years old.

Mr. Pell was headmaster of St. Andrew's from 1930 to 1957. He was ordained a deacon of the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1927 and a priest in 1928. He served at St. Peter's Church, Singapore, from 1958 to 1960; the Anglican-Episcopal congregations of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos from 1961 to 1963; and the Augustine Parish, Chesapeake City, Maryland, from 1963 to 1968.

The son of the late Mr. and Mrs. Francis Livingston Pell and the grandson of Dr. and Mrs. Stuyvesant Fish Morris, he was a descendant of Sir John Pell, who transferred 6,000 acres of land for the founding of the French Huguenot city of New Rochelle, New York.

Mr. Pell was the author, with Powel Dawley, of *The Religion of the Prayer Book* and compiler of *A History of St. Andrew's School*.

Mr. Pell was a graduate of St. Mark's School and attended Princeton University from 1920 to 1923. He was a graduate of Oxford University, England, where he was a Rhodes Scholar in 1926, and of Union Theological Seminary, Columbia University, in 1959.

We have every reason to be proud of our cousin Walden. His sterling character is a shining example to all of us. He was always anxious to be helpful and constructive in his attitude.

J.H.G.P.

## REVIEWS

### **Engineers of Independence: A Documentary History of the Army Engineers in the American Revolution, 1775-1783.**

By Paul K. Walker (US Government Printing Office, 1982, 403 pages, \$7.50).

"2,000 Iron Spades . . . 500 pick axes . . . 300 Broad axes . . . 100 pair of Compasses . . . 300 Augers . . . 800,000 10d. Nails . . . 400,000 feet of inch pine Board . . ." These necessary "sundry Articles" were requested

in December of 1776 by Lt. Col. Jeduthan Baldwin, chief engineer of the Northern Army. Their homespun nature provides some keen insight into military engineering during the Revolution. Ravelins and covered ways were fine, but it usually came down to chopping, digging, and hammering.

Paul Walker's well-done documentary history, *Engineers of Independence*, emphasizes anew that the Continental Army had to be built from scratch. To be sure, there were foreign-trained engineers, some with the formal skills of Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Often, though, it was on-the-job training for like Baldwin, and sometimes not to the best results.

Readers of *The Bulletin* will be especially interested in the chapter devoted to the war in the North and Ticonderoga itself. The source materials are not unusual. The words of John Trumbull, Christopher Pelissier, and Baldwin predominate, and give a pretty clear picture of what hard work the appropriately-named "fatigue parties" performed in the service of their country.

Trumbull's autobiography recounts his desperate arguments and artillery demonstrations to convince the high command of the importance of Mount Defiance. Visitors to the fort may nod their heads in sage agreement with Trumbull over this now-obvious point, and raise an eyebrow when he suggests the *economic* benefits of a 500-man garrison at the summit.

Though it does not appear in *Engineers of Independence*, Baldwin has taken his share of abuse on the issue of Mount Defiance, most recently in the Bicentennial television special devoted to Kosciuszko. In that production, Baldwin was set up as a foil to demonstrate the wisdom of the Polish volunteer.

In Walker's book, whose Ticonderoga chapter depends a great deal on the fragmentary entries in Baldwin's well-known journal, that engineer appears as a harrassed, over-worked, and frantic individual. Baldwin was responsible for constructing the bridge to Mount Independence, clearing roads, building hospitals and blockhouses, and the delicate matter of negotiating with civilian "artificers," who made extremely good money for their skills.

Was the fort adequately defended against Burgoyne? General St. Clair was tried by a court-martial a year later on those charges; thanks in part to testimony by Baldwin and Kosciuszko, he was acquitted with honor.

Walker agrees with the general assessment that the lack of fortification on Mount Defiance exposed the rebel's bridge and routes of retreat. He also feels that they would probably have had to abandon Ticonderoga no matter what, because the colonies were not about to provide the 10,000 or so troops needed to garrison the extended positions of Mount In-

dependence and Ticonderoga. Unfortunately, Walker slides over the effective engineering work done by Kosciuszko at Saratoga in a few narrative lines. The skillful fortifications there, especially the river battery, helped solidify Burgoyne's determination to turn inland toward Freeman's Farm and surrender.

Overall, Walker has provided an admirable and inexpensive companion piece to the classic Commager and Morris documentary history, *The Spirit of Seventy-Six*.

BRIAN BURNS

Sturbridge, Massachusetts

## MUSEUM NOTES

A quick review of the 1982 tourist season will bring our reports up to date. While Fort Ticonderoga enjoyed a successful year in all but one category, we were disturbed by a drop of 5% in our fall bus traffic. Normally September and October, with ideal weather and the spectacular fall foliage as added area attractions, give us an attendance plus. In the spring of 1982, we enjoyed the largest bus reservation list in our history. However, with the third week of August, 1982, tour bus companies began to cancel reservations and we ended up with a 5% attendance drop in this category of our operation. It would seem that the state of the national economy was being reflected in our '82 fall bus tour attendance. Hopefully, 1983 will reflect the promises of a turned around economy now being reported in the national press.

In our last issue we reported the story of the auction of the two bronze Schalch guns at Southby Parke Bernet in May of 1982 along with the fact that Mr. John H. G. Pell, President of the Fort Ticonderoga Association bid the guns in. We cannot at the moment report any further progress in this matter since the State of New York has filed a claim to the guns and to date said claim has not been resolved by the courts. We can only hope that soon decisions will be made, title finalized, and that the cannon will once again be exhibited at Fort Ticonderoga.

Among the new acquisitions here at the museum is a large Indian clay pot deposited in the collection by Ephraim Blood in memory of his parents, Wallace and Florence Blood. This clay vessel was unearthed in the clay bank along the southwest shore of Lake Champlain and is an impressive addi-

tion to our collection of Indian artifacts. It measures approximately fifteen inches in diameter by eighteen inches in height and is intact.

Other recent accessions include a "Journal of the Corps of Cadets" from Norwich University to Fort Ticonderoga in 1824. This little journal is a gift of Mrs. James Rogers IV of Glens Falls. It is of unique interest and records a visit to Fort Ticonderoga four years after the purchase of the Fort grounds from Union and Columbia Colleges by William Ferris Pell, and two years before he built his summer home, "The Pavilion" on the lake shore in 1826. Manuscripts material of that period is very scarce and this little item is a most welcome addition to our library.

Another item of great interest is an original edition (Volume II, No. 6, December 1887) of *Scribner's Magazine* containing the first publication of Robert Lewis Stevenson's now famous poem, "Ticonderoga." This item is the gift of Catriona Sopper of London, England, and through the good offices of Sir Douglas Dodds-Parker of the same city.

Two other items added to the museum are a beam from one of the gunboats present at the Battle of Valcour and recovered from Arnold's Bay in 1952 by Dr. Russell Bellico, and a rib from an artillery barge presumably with the Abercrombie expedition of 1758. This rib was also recovered by Dr. Bellico near Floating Battery Island in Lake George.

Recently we have accessioned an unusual item purchased from Mr. Tom Segal of Troy, Michigan. It is a powder horn dated "TICONTIROG OCTOBER 1776." The engraver could not spell nor was he a gifted artist but he has created a crude sketch of the Fort along with two sloops, several battoes loaded with troops, tents and parade formations and a soldier firing a musket. It required little imagination to envisage the original owner or folk artist being a provincial recruit stationed at Fort Ticonderoga and likely assigned to the fitting out of Arnold's little fleet at Ticonderoga — for remember he dated his powder horn October 7, 1776, four days prior to the Battle of Valcour. The graphics are unique and present one nameless Revolutionary soldier's state of mind. The powder horn will be added to our "Valcour" display in the museum as a highlight along with the C. Randle contemporary watercolor, depicting the vessels involved in the Battle of Valcour and titled "God Bless Our Armes."

Two manuscripts of interest have been added to the Fort files, one dated June 22nd 1775 is an order to Jn. Lawrence Esq., Treasurer, of the Colony of Connecticut to "Pay Sam.<sup>11</sup> Mott Esq: One Hundred Pounds in Bills," to enable him to Erect Batteries, Fortifications, etc. at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, he being appointed Engineer for s<sup>d</sup> Posts — Mott was at Ticonderoga in 1775. The second manuscript is a letter from Sam.<sup>1</sup> Mott

to Capt. Peters dated Preston Aug.<sup>t</sup> 16th, 1775 dealing with the expected invasion into Canada.

While the winter of 1982-83 was delightful, the spring months were horrendous, and Fort Ticonderoga suffered along with the rest of the country. At best we can count on about six weeks in which we must renovate the Fort and Museum, inside and out. This year that time span was cut by at least fifty percent. I can't express too emphatically the dedication and effort expended by our staff and it was through that kind of dedication that Fort Ticonderoga was ready to open its doors for visitors on 14 May. Spring storms played havoc with the grounds but one plus of the many trees downed by wind and rain is a plentiful supply of firewood for fireplaces and shop come fall.

The Log House which provides housing for our entrance turnstile, the gift shop, and restaurant, received a fresh coat of paint as did the museum exhibit space, and Archie Snow, always a meticulous caretaker, had our lawns in excellent shape for the opening.

It is a pleasure to report that the highway to the top of Mount Defiance is now fully paved for the convenience of our visitors who wish to enjoy a fantastic overview of the Champlain Valley from the spot where Burgoyne's artillery forced the 1777 evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga.

In January the new Aegis Missile Cruiser, the "U.S.S. TICONDEROGA" was commissioned and is now a welcome addition to America's power on the high seas. Her Captain, Roland G. Guilbault, presented this museum with a splendid framed color photograph of the ship while her crew added a dedicatory plaque for exhibit here. All luck and safe journey to the "U.S.S. TICONDEROGA." We are very proud to display these trophies to our thousands of visitors.

Of special interest in the area of planned programs is a joint arrangement between Fort Ticonderoga and the Champlain Maritime Society, whose chairman is Montgomery Fischer of the University of Vermont. That group with their divers under supervision of Mr. Arthur Cohn of Middlebury College, plan to do exploratory diving in Lake Champlain off the Fort Ticonderoga-Mount Independence headlands. In conjunction with Fort Ticonderoga, the results will be studied and evaluated both for publication and future expanded research.

J.M.L.



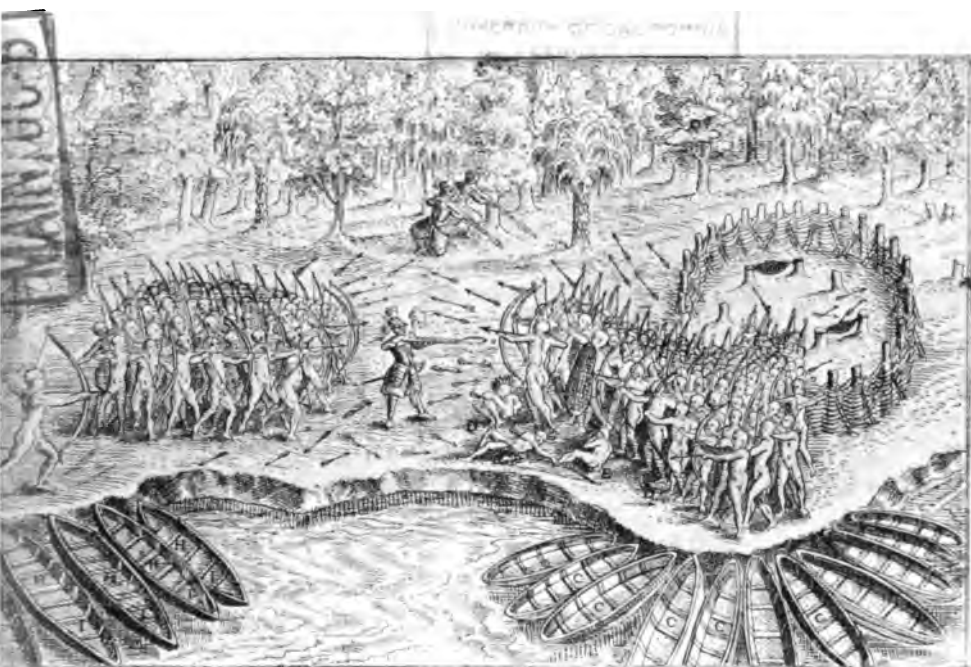


# THE BULLETIN OF THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

Volume XIV

Summer 1984

Number 5



**CHAMPLAIN'S BATTLE WITH THE IROQUOIS**

**July 30, 1609**

# THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

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*President*

John W. Krueger  
Editor of *The Bulletin*

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## Admission:

The Fort and Museum are open from mid-May until mid-October, including Sundays and holidays, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. (6 P.M. during July and August). The admission charge is \$5.00 for adults and \$3.00 for children from ten to thirteen. There is no charge for children under ten or for students of any level in classroom groups, supervised by a teacher, who have made previous arrangements with the Management.

**The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum** is an occasional publication of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, Ticonderoga, New York. The Fort Ticonderoga Museum assumes no responsibility for the statements, interpretations, or opinions of contributors to **The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum**.

Manuscripts about the early history of the Champlain Valley are invited. Address correspondence to John W. Krueger, Editor, Fort Ticonderoga, Ticonderoga, New York 12883.

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## SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE LAKE

by  
Madeleine M. Dufour

As one nears the heart of old Plattsburgh, the Macdonough Monument, city hall, the courthouse, and several church steeples come into view. Closer to the Bay, however, hidden by the trees along the Saranac River, a stately figure seems to overlook both a glorious past and the uncertain future. This statue of Samuel de Champlain has commemorated the tercentenary of the discovery of Lake Champlain at a time, now almost 375 years ago, when the Pilgrims had not yet arrived at Plymouth Rock and Quebec was only one year old.

Through the efforts and success of Samuel de Champlain and a few dozen adventurers, the foundation of Quebec in 1608 had assured the first permanent French settlement on the North American continent. Francis Parkman, the widely respected nineteenth century historian, honored this explorer, warrior and founder in the following words:

At Chantilly, at Fontainebleau, Paris, in the cabinets of princes and of royalty itself, mingling with the proud vanities of the court; then lost from sight in the depths of Canada, the companion of savages, sharer of their toils, privations and battles, more hardy, patient and bold than they, such, for successive years, were the alternations of this man's life. [Champlain was] . . . the romance-loving explorer, the curious, knowledge-seeker traveler, the practical navigator.<sup>1</sup>

Parkman's contemporary, the historian John Fiske, completed the description of le Sieur Samuel de Champlain with the following lines:

His days of exploration over, his mind turned more and more to the extension of the mission. . . . Like Bradford and Winthrop, his contemporaries, he was not only the brave, patient, and wise leader of an epoch-making enterprise, but also an honest and dispassionate historian. Yet this was not all, for to-day he is not less remembered as the adventurous and indefatigable explorer and the curious observer of savage life and manners.<sup>2</sup>

Who was Samuel de Champlain? And why did he come to this lake? Was it pure adventure, economic enterprise or expansionism for France in the service of king and country? Did Champlain have a dream of establishing friendly relations, a peaceful kingdom, with all people, both in France and in New France? On the occasion of the 375th anniversary of the discovery of Lake Champlain, it seems appropriate to address these questions.

In addition to the three titles — navigator, discoverer, and colonizer

— given to de Champlain on the 1959 plaque on the Plattsburgh monument, several other descriptive epithets are found in the literature.

Samuel de Champlain was born around the year 1567 in Saintonge, at Brouage, on the southwest coast of France. This little hamlet was once a prosperous, cosmopolitan and possibly international seaport. Fishermen destined for the Grand Banks of Newfoundland came to Brouage to fill their holds with dry salt crystals which preserved their catch of cod until they reached shore to dry it in the sun.<sup>3</sup> Vessels from Brittany and Normandy as well came to Brouage to buy their domestic provision of salt.

Although little is known of Antoine de Complain, captain in the merchant marine, and Marguerite LeRoy, Samuel's parents, it is probable that the young Champlain benefitted from the cultural and economic prosperity of his time. As he himself wrote to Marie de Medici, Queen Regent of France, "The art of navigation from childhood has stimulated me to expose almost all my life to the impetuous waves of the ocean, and has made me navigate and coast along a part of the lands of America, especially of New France."<sup>4</sup>

The earliest records of Champlain, however, describe him as a soldier. In 1594, he fought under Henry IV when the king was engaged in driving the Spanish invaders out of France. Champlain fought side by side with the English contingent under Sir Martin Frobisher, who was fatally wounded leading an assault. Champlain emerged from the campaign with his first title, making him "Sieur Samuel de Champlain."

In 1599, Champlain's uncle, Guillaume Hellaine or Alline, known as "le capitaine provençal" from Marseille, invited him to join the *St. Julian's* expedition as a guest.<sup>5</sup> During this voyage Champlain learned a new language, improved his navigational skills and observed places, people, fauna, and flora about which he would later draw or write. His first trans-Atlantic voyage on the *St. Julian* took Samuel de Champlain, then about 30 years of age, to the Lesser Antilles, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico and Panama.

The talented Brouage sailor embarked on a new adventure in 1603, with the ship *La Bonne Renommée*, which was owned and commanded by a merchant and a loyal friend, Francois Pont-Grave. On this voyage, le Sieur de Champlain visited the Miquelon island, Cap Perce, and Tadoussac, the main center of the Laurentian fur trade. During this expedition, accompanied by a few Montagnais guides, Champlain went up-river to see Stadaconne and Cap Rouge; although he was unable to locate Hochelaga, the fortified town Cartier had visited during the 1530s.

In 1604, Champlain was given his own small eight-ton vessel and a

crew of eleven men by Jean de Biencourt, seigneur de Poutrincourt. Champlain's enthusiasm kept him in constant contact with the fur traders and with the Indians. He journeyed as far as today's Martha's Vineyard in the Nantucket Sound and called this beautiful island La Soupconneuse (The One Who is Illusive). However, Poutrincourt did not allow Champlain to sail directly to Cape Cod and to follow the coast westerly. Had Champlain done so, the French might have discovered Newport and New York harbor before either the English or the Dutch.<sup>6</sup>

When the French colony at Port-Royal failed in 1607, due to the revocation of the Sieur de Monts' monopoly by the king, Champlain and nine men delayed returning to France as long as possible. He mapped the interior of Cape Breton and recognized the location of Port-aux-Anglais, later known as Louisbourg, and Angonish, an area the Portuguese had attempted to settle around 1508.

In 1608, Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, a native of Saintonge, returned with Champlain to found a permanent trade center at Quebec. As Samuel Eliot Morison noted, "owing to Champlain's persistence and wisdom, this settlement did last and develop into a great city."<sup>7</sup>

The discoveries and writings of Champlain, the first governor of New France, had gained him a great reputation in his native country. With the influence he had thus acquired, he worked successfully at promoting the welfare of the little colony at Quebec. With a sense of mission and dedication to his deep faith, he and a handful of artisans, laborers, and sailors cleared the grounds and constructed habitations, storehouses, and defenses.<sup>8</sup> The trading post thus became the capital of a vast watershed for valuable peltry.

Champlain was honored and respected not only as a founder, but also as the "Father" who enhanced the welfare, peaceful relations, and spiritual life of the colony. If he was a soldier in his youth, he sought harmony with all as explorer of New France and also gained the confidence of the savages whom he encountered on the banks of the St. Lawrence. He had traded with the Montagnais at Tadoussac, but the allies of the Montagnais around Lake Huron and along the Ottawa River were more numerous and more warlike; they were hostile to the Iroquois who occupied what is now the northern part of New York. The Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas comprised the Five Nations of the Iroquois.

While Champlain gained the friendship of many Indian tribes through assisting them against the Iroquois, the part which he took was followed by unhappy results. It increased the enmity of the Iroquois towards the Indians of Canada, without being of much real benefit to these in their defense. It also laid the

foundation of deadly hostility towards the French which was kept up, with infinite harm to the colony, during most of the ensuing 150 years.<sup>9</sup>

During the severe first winter at Quebec, many Frenchmen died, while many famished Montagnais families fed on bread and beans, and shared the lodging of the early settlers. Champlain, not only a philanthropist but also a deeply religious man, had established friendly relations with the savages. He knew, however, that feeding the hungry would not make them faithful allies.<sup>10</sup> Fr. Paul LeJeune, S.J., his spiritual director, later wrote, "It is true that he [Champlain] lived a life of great justice and equity . . . his virtue was so perfect and his piety so great that he amazed us all."<sup>11</sup>

How did Champlain maintain his friendship with the Montagnais, Algonquins and Hurons? Why did Sieur de Champlain come to the lake?

From the earliest periods of settlement in Canada, New England, and New York, the valley of Lake Champlain was a strategic watercourse or highway. Archeologists and geologists have interpreted the meaning of the vestiges left in the rock, in the sand, and in the depth of waters. From its earliest history, war seems to have characterized the lake and its shores.

Why were the lake and its surroundings so characterized? The Indians named the lake "Door of the Country" and later on, Ralph Nading Hill would name it "The Key to Liberty."<sup>12</sup> In order to more fully realize the significance of this lake, one may benefit from reading the account written by Champlain, the governor of Canada, and the first white man to traverse the lake.

During his fourth voyage to the lake, two chiefs, Yroquet and Ochastiguin, met Champlain twenty-four miles past Quebec to ascertain that Champlain would help them wage war against their enemies, the Iroquois. They had previously solicited all the savages along the river to make an alliance with Champlain, but they again insisted that Champlain carry only firearms and no merchandise for barter.<sup>13</sup>

We departed on the following day [July 3, 1609], pursuing our way up the river as far as the entrance to the lake [Lake Champlain]. In it are many beautiful low islands covered with very fine woods and meadows with much wild fowl and animals to hunt, such as stags, fallow deer, fawns, roebucks, bears, and other kinds of animals which come from the mainland to these islands. We caught a great many of them. There are also many beavers, both in that river and in several small streams which fall into it. This region although pleasant is not inhabited by Indians, on account of their wars; for they withdrew from the rivers as far as they can into the interior, in order not to be easily surprised.<sup>14</sup>

On the following day we entered the lake which is some 80 or 100 leagues in length. . . . Continuing our way along this lake in a westerly direction and viewing the country, I saw towards the east very high mountains on the tops



of which there was snow. I enquired of the natives whether these parts were inhabited. They said they were, and by the Iroquois, and that in those parts there were beautiful valleys and fields rich in corn such as I have eaten in that country, along with other products in abundance.<sup>15</sup>

Now as we began to get within two or three days' journey of the home of their enemy, we proceeded only by night, and during the day we rested. . . . Evening having come, we embarked in our canoes in order to proceed on our way, and as we were paddling along very quietly, and without making any noise, about ten o'clock at night on the twenty-ninth of the month [July], at the extremity of a cape which projects into the lake on the west side [Ticonderoga], we met the Iroquois on the war-path. Both they and we began to utter loud shouts and each got his arms ready. We drew out into the lake and the Iroquois landed and arranged all their canoes near one another. Then they began to fell trees with the poor axes which they sometimes win in war, or with stone axes; and they barricaded themselves as well.<sup>16</sup>

Having sung, danced, and flung words at one another for some time, when daylight came, my companions and I were still hidden, lest the enemy should see us, getting our fire-arms ready as best we could, being however still separated, each in a canoe of the Montagnais Indians. After we were armed with light weapons, we took, each of us, an arquebus and went ashore. I saw the enemy come out of their barricade to the number of two hundred, in appearance strong, robust men. They came slowly to meet us with a gravity and calm which I admired; and at their head were three chiefs.<sup>17</sup>

As soon as we landed, our Indians began to run some two hundred yards towards their enemies, who stood firm and had not yet noticed my white companions who went off into the woods with some Indians. Our Indians began to call to me with loud cries; and to make way for me they divided into two groups, and put me ahead some twenty yards, and I marched on until I was within some thirty yards of the enemy, who as soon as they caught sight of me halted and gazed at me and I at them. When I saw them make a move to draw their bows upon us, I took aim with my arquebus and shot straight at one of the three chiefs, and with this shot two fell to the ground and one of their companions was wounded who died a little later. I had put four bullets into my arquebus. . . . The Iroquois were much astonished that two men should have been killed so quickly, although they were provided with shields made of cotton thread woven together and wood, which were proof against their arrows. This frightened them greatly. As I was reloading my arquebus, one of my companions fired a shot from within the woods, which astonished them again so much that, seeing their chiefs dead, they lost courage and took to flight, abandoning the field and their fort, and fleeing into the depth of the forest, whither I pursued them and laid low still more of them.<sup>18</sup>

The victorious Algonquins then returned north with Champlain, who continued to explore and chart this newly discovered territory. He was so impressed with the majesty of the mountains on each side of the lake and with the abundance of fish in the lake, that he chose to name this water highway after himself — Lake Champlain.

In the history of France, the period from Champlain's birth in the late 1560s to his discovery of Lake Champlain in 1609 represented a time of notable expansion, specifically the establishment of the colony in North America. In American history, too, Champlain's incursion into the land of the Iroquois was of great importance.<sup>19</sup>

Explorer, knowledge-seeker, traveler, navigator, pious knight, and loyal founder of New France — Champlain is indeed a deserving recipient of the complimentary titles bestowed on him by Parkman and Fiske. May his dream and vision of friendship bring harmony and brotherhood among all men for the next 375 years.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (New York, 1965 [first published 1865]), 419.

<sup>2</sup>John Fiske, *New France and New England* (Boston, 1902), 92-93.

<sup>3</sup>Samuel Eliot Morison, *Samuel de Champlain, Father of New France* (Boston, 1972), 16.

<sup>4</sup>Quoted in *ibid.*, 17.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>8</sup>Henry H. Miles, *A School History of Canada* (Montreal, 1870), 18.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>10</sup>Morison, *Champlain*, 107.

<sup>11</sup>Quoted in J. T. Campbell, *Pioneer Priests of North America* (1910), 267.

<sup>12</sup>Ralph Nading Hill, *Lake Champlain Key to Liberty* (Montpelier, 1976), 9.

<sup>13</sup>W. L. Grant, editor, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604-1618* (New York, 1907), 152.

<sup>14</sup>H. P. Biggar, editor, *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (6 volumes, Toronto, 1925), II, 89-90.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 90-93.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 94-96.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 97-98.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 98-100.

<sup>19</sup>Grant, ed., *Voyages*, v.

# TROOP LIFE AT THE CHAMPLAIN VALLEY FORTS DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

by  
John W. Krueger

## Chapter IV From Valcour to Saratoga

On July 7, 1776, a council of the general officers of the Northern Army met at Crown Point where the ruined condition of that fort at once convinced them that the position was indefensible. The council members agreed that the colonies could best be defended by increasing American naval strength on the lake and by strengthening defenses in the Ticonderoga region. The general officers unanimously voted to abandon Crown Point and to concentrate the army at a new post (soon to be named Mount Independence) across the lake from Fort Ticonderoga. Healthy soldiers were ordered to the new location while all of the sick, more than one half of the 5,200-man army, were sent to Fort George.<sup>1</sup>

The decision to abandon Crown Point was announced to the army that afternoon. As one soldier reported, the news produced "a universal uneasiness in the Camp." Some soldiers viewed the council's decision as a manifestation of God's displeasure with the army. "God seems to be greatly angry with us," one soldier wrote; "he appears to be incensed against us, for our abominable wickedness." And there were many other signs of the army's "wickedness" as well. According to one soldier, the generals passed their time "riding about the camp — prancing their Gay horses[.] The Field officers, set much of their time upon Court marshals. The Capts. & Subs may generally be found at the grog shops. the Soldiers either sleeping, swimming, fishing, or Cursing and Swearing[,] most generally the latter." Another soldier, convinced that the general officers were determined to surrender "the key of the whole Country," damned them as a pack of villains, traitors, and murderers. Twenty-one field officers led by Colonel John Stark met the next morning and drafted a formal protest denouncing the council's decision.<sup>2</sup>

# THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

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The Fort and Museum are open from mid-May until mid-October, including Sundays and holidays, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. (6 P.M. during July and August). The admission charge is \$5.00 for adults and \$3.00 for children from ten to thirteen. There is no charge for children under ten or for students of any level in classroom groups, supervised by a teacher, who have made previous arrangements with the Management.

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Manuscripts about the early history of the Champlain Valley are invited. Address correspondence to John W. Krueger, Editor, Fort Ticonderoga, Ticonderoga, New York 12883.

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as "a regular, uniform, compact village."<sup>8</sup>

Lieutenant Jonathan Burton arrived at the Skenesborough shipyard in August of 1776. His regiment's experience was typical in that the soldiers either pitched tents or erected brush huts. Although Burton recorded that the soldiers "Lay on the ground Very well contented with our New habitation," a rainstorm altered their opinions when the men awoke "as wet as so many Drowned Rats." New huts were erected and were covered with bark to better protect the soldiers from the elements. Several days later, the regiment was ordered to Mount Independence, where the construction process began anew. In some instances, soldiers partially enclosed their tents with boards. Modified tents such as these were called "wooden tents" by the soldiers.<sup>9</sup>

It was reported that the troops at Skenesborough suffered "by not being covered from the weather." Many of the New Hampshire and Connecticut militiamen were without tents, and precious time was wasted while those regiments built shelters. Fortunately, Mount Independence offered an ample supply of materials for hut building; otherwise, Gates believed, "those corps must soon have felt great distress." The Connecticut soldiers took no chances, however, and when they were ordered from Skenesborough to Mount Independence, they carried boards with them in order to rebuild their huts.<sup>10</sup>

A typical day for the soldiers of the Northern Army began shortly before daybreak with the firing of the morning gun at headquarters. The cannon's echo was followed closely by the sounds of the camp drums beating reveille. Awakened from sleep, the soldiers grabbed their weapons and hurried to their alarm posts — locations previously fixed for that purpose — where they remained with their officers until shortly after sunrise. The soldiers then went through the manual of arms and returned to their quarters for breakfast. Guards and fatigue parties turned out for the seven o'clock troop beating and marched with their sergeants to the parade ground. There they were joined by others, placed under the proper officers, and sent to the guard and fatigue stations as dictated in the daily orders. Work parties were dismissed at noon for dinner and then returned to work from one until seven. Retreat was sounded at sunset. The soldiers returned to quarters, the company rolls were read over, and those persons absent without permission were reported to the company commander. Only commissioned officers were allowed outside the camp after retreat beating, and no person "whatsoever" was permitted to enter camp after the eight o'clock tattoo.<sup>11</sup>

Sentries checked the credentials of all persons who passed through the lines and only proper parties were permitted to enter or exit. Guards posted

at isolated areas contiguous to the camp were called pickets. The main duties of the pickets were to alert the camp to surprise enemy movements and to prevent desertion. Upon a man's approach, the picket commanded, "Halt. Who goes there? Advance and be recognized." The approaching individual responded to a parole, "Unity," with the proper countersign, "Victory," or he was arrested, if not shot on the spot. Sentries and pickets learned to expect periodic visits from patrols sent by the officer of the day. These patrols issued orders, checked security arrangements, and delivered food and drink, but their main duty was to keep the guards alert.<sup>12</sup>

During the summer of 1776, sentries posted along the perimeter of the camps at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence had called out to one another "All is well" from time to time throughout their watches. Not only was such behavior decidedly unmilitary, but it also lessened the sentries' attention and revealed their numbers and locations to the enemy. By September, certain officers had been alerted to the fact that British spies might be lurking in the area. Guards and pickets were warned to be on the lookout for any suspicious persons. All individuals approaching the lines were to be challenged and the countersign was to be demanded. But, despite the warning, many guards continued to be careless about their responsibilities. Sergeant Ebenezer Wild toured the lines on an evening in late September and found the guards "very dilatory of their duty." At least some of the soldiers, however, took the warning to heart. On the evening of October 15, the garrisons of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were alarmed by the sound of gunfire near the camps. The soldiers rushed to their alarm posts, where they remained throughout the night awaiting the expected British attack. But the next morning it was discovered that the shots had been fired at an ox, mistaken by an over-zealous sentry for one of the enemy "for not giving the Countersign when demanded." The orders of October 18 announced that "the Enimy can have no reasonable hope of defeating this Army, unless the Troops posted in the Redoubts and Advanc'd Guards suffer themselves to be surpris'd." Officers and soldiers were urged to "exert their utmost Vigilance whilst on Duty, never omitting the Smallest attention to the Aproch of an Enimy, and constantly giveing the most Vigorous Oposition to all their Attempts."<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately the guards and sentrics were not always as alert as their officers would have hoped. On December 1, 1776, Colonel Anthony Wayne complained that the "shameful Neglect" of the officers in charge of the guards had become so lax that the "Centrics of Late have allow'd their Guns to be stole from them." Determined to punish "such scandalous and unsoldierly Behaviour," Wayne warned the officers to make certain that the

guards remained "more alert and do their Duty as becometh Soldiers." On this particular occasion, however, bitterly cold weather and slightly inebriated sentries may have contributed to the lack of vigilance. Due to "the extream cold Weather," half a gill of rum had been issued to each of the guards before they went on duty.<sup>14</sup>

The building or repairing of fortifications was a major task of those soldiers assigned fatigue duty. The Pennsylvania regiments strengthened and repaired the French Lines northwest of Fort Ticonderoga, the scene of the 1758 battle between Montcalm and Abercrombie. Once formidable works, by the summer of 1776, the French Lines had fallen "very much to decay." Anthony Wayne compared the site to "the ancient Golgotha or place of skulls — they are so plenty here that our people for want of other vessels drink out of them whilst the soldiers make tent pins out of the shin and thigh bones of Abercrombies men." Officers as well as soldiers labored at the French Lines cutting and clearing brush, making fascines, and erecting earthworks. The work was nearly finished by the end of August. The Pennsylvanians had built an earthen rampart, six to eight feet thick, reinforced with fascines, and neatly sodded. To the west of the rampart was a ditch, ten feet wide and five feet deep. Finally, to the west of the ditch was a stockade of sharpened stakes pointed toward the enemy's avenue of approach.<sup>15</sup>

The New England soldiers working on the fortifications on Mount Independence proceeded at a more leisurely pace. As late as July 18, the heavily timbered Mount was still described as "A howling Wilderness." General Gates urged the officers to set a good example and to encourage the soldiers to clear the ground, erect strong defensive works, and prepare to receive the enemy. Jeduthan Baldwin notified each of the brigade commanders of the work to be done, and Gates was confident that "a spirit of emulation" would sufficiently animate each brigade in order to finish the tasks assigned to them. On September 3, Gates called on the soldiers to turn out in a spirited manner. He stressed that the honor of the Northern Army and the preservation of American liberties were dependent upon the "spirited exertions" of the soldiers. At a time when friends and countrymen were hotly engaged with the enemy and every moment bleeding in the cause of liberty, it was shameful, Gates declared, that the soldiers of the Northern Army should be so lacking in spirit. "Let no man at this time murmur or complain, or for an ague fitt give up the service he owes to himself, his family, and his posterity." Unless the soldiers quickly finished the defensive works on the Mount, Gates believed that the country would soon fall a victim to "the unprincipal'd mercenaries of an unrelenting tyrant."<sup>16</sup>



Schuyler reminded Gates on September 23 that, in addition to their other tasks, it would be necessary for the soldiers to build barracks at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence for the winter garrison. He urged Gates to "make every preparation for it in your power," and also to repair the old fort "as soon as you shall be in a condition to do it." Soldiers were also to be employed in cutting firewood and dragging it to Ticonderoga. "If it is long delayed, it will be difficult to procure a stock sufficient for the winter's consumption," Schuyler warned. Gates replied that the soldiers had been at work on the barracks for some time. Three were finished by the end of September, and Gates was confident that there would be "no want of good shelter for a large and strong garrison."<sup>17</sup>

The works on Mount Independence were completed by early October. A battery of two dozen guns had been placed behind an earthen parapet just above the lake level on the northern tip of the peninsula, while a second, semicircular battery had been placed farther up the hill. Fatigue parties began digging protective trenches and laying the foundation for a powder magazine. The lack of tools, however, hindered efforts to further strengthen the defenses and forced the fatigue parties to work in shifts. In mid-October, construction was begun on a log boom, designed to stretch across the lake from the Jersey Redoubt to the Vermont shore in order to prevent British vessels from passing to the south. Several regiments were employed in cutting timber for the boom. The freshly cut logs were dragged 500 yards by hand before they were tumbled into the lake and towed by bateaux to their final destination. Construction was also begun on a footbridge to link Mount Independence with the western shore of the lake.<sup>18</sup>

To the south of Mount Independence was Skenesborough, site of the American shipyard. Although the hills timbered with oak and pine shut out any cooling breezes, and the low, swampy ground where the waters of Wood Creek entered into Lake Champlain was home to thousands of hungry mosquitoes, an iron forge and two sawmills in the area made the unhealthy spot a strategic location for the shipyard. One of the mills had been owned by Philip Skene, while the other was located about a mile northwest of Fort Anne at a place called Cheshire's. Near the end of May of 1776, while the Northern Army was still in Canada, Schuyler had sent thirty carpenters to Skenesborough to put the shipyard in order. The carpenters set to work felling trees, reactivating the mills, and laying the keels of the first vessels. Within three weeks, the first gondola had been completed and a second was almost finished.<sup>19</sup>

Gondolas were flat-bottomed, single-masted craft about forty-five feet in length. Able to sail before the wind, at other times the vessels were pro-

pelled by oars. Each gondola was designed to carry a crew of forty-five men to work the guns, man the oars, and set the sails. Easily and quickly built, gondolas carried considerable firepower for their size. A 12-pounder cannon was mounted in the bow, two 6-pounder cannon were mounted on naval carriages on either side of the craft, and swivel guns were mounted in the bulwarks. Gates, however, was not optimistic about the shipbuilding program. He maintained that the gondolas would prove to be "very unweildly to move, & very indifferent for the purpose intended."<sup>20</sup>

Near the end of June, Schuyler requested a company of fifty ship carpenters from the Massachusetts Assembly and two companies of twenty-five carpenters each from Governor Trumbull. Schuyler expected that each company would be under the supervision of a master workman who was to be paid \$1.25 per day. Each carpenter was to be paid \$1.00 per day. All of the carpenters were expected to provide their own tools; tools could be provided, but their cost would be deducted from the men's wages. Schuyler also promised to furnish each carpenter with a cash bounty of \$7.50 to enable him to gather his equipment and to prepare for the march.<sup>21</sup>

These high wages, more than five times that of a Massachusetts private, were necessary to attract ship carpenters from the coastal towns where shipwrights were receiving high wages for building privateers. Pay commenced the moment that the carpenters left home, and for every twenty miles of travel they received one day's pay. Formal contracts were signed before the carpenters began their march to Skenesborough. The carpenters agreed to begin work at sunrise and to continue until sunset, with the exception of an hour break for breakfast and an hour and a half break for dinner. Rations were to include a pound and a quarter of beef or pork, a pound and a half of flour, and a half pint of rum daily. In addition, four pints of peas and a pint of molasses were to be distributed to each carpenter on a weekly basis.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to the highly paid carpenters, blacksmiths, armorers, house carpenters, wheelwrights, and carriage makers were drafted out of the regiments at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence and hurried off to the shipyard. General David Waterbury arrived at Ticonderoga in mid-July and he was immediately sent to Skenesborough to assume command at the shipyard. Waterbury ordered a small detachment to clear the obstructions from Wood Creek, while another force built a guardhouse to protect the sawmill from Indian raids. The remainder of the Skenesborough garrison gathered timber for the carpenters and served on guard duty. Soldiers assisting the carpenters were paid an additional 12.5¢ per day above their normal allowance of pay while on this duty.<sup>23</sup>

The pace of life at the American shipyard quickened with the arrival of the first company of Connecticut carpenters. By the third week of July, four gondolas had been finished and three more were on the stocks. As soon as the vessels were launched, they were rowed to Ticonderoga, where they were rigged, fitted, and armed. Jeduthan Baldwin commented that the blacksmiths' fires were double-manned, and the soldiers labored night and day in order to get the ships rigged and the artillery mounted. Once finished, the vessels were dispatched down the lake to Crown Point where the fleet was assembling. Three hundred officers and soldiers were drafted out of the various regiments to man the vessels — half of them to serve as seamen and the other half to serve as marines. Soldiers serving on board the fleet received an additional \$1.00 a month above their regular pay.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the summer, scouts and spies arrived at Ticonderoga with news of British activity to the north. Early in July, reports suggested that the British were building three sloops and a schooner mounting a dozen guns. Later scouts reported that the enemy was hauling warships overland from the Saint Lawrence to Lake Champlain. This attempt failed, forcing the British to disassemble their three largest vessels and carry the pieces to St. Johns, where the ships were reassembled. The scouts clearly stressed that the Americans would need something more powerful than gondolas if the British were to be contained. Accordingly, the Americans began construction of four row galleys. Round-bottomed, double-masted craft about seventy-five feet in length, row galleys were characterized by a shallow draft, the ability to withstand harsh weather, and maneuverability under oars. Well adapted to the naval requirements of Lake Champlain, the row galleys were designed to serve as the battleships of the American fleet. Row galleys took longer to build than gondolas did, but they were worth the wait. Each of the row galleys carried a crew of eighty men, and each carried a 12-pounder cannon and an 18-pounder in the bow, two 9-pounders in the stern, and from four to six 6-pounders broadsides. Sixteen swivel guns completed the armament. The first row galley, the *Trumbull*, was under way by mid-July; three others, *Washington*, *Congress*, and *Gates*, followed.<sup>25</sup>

Benedict Arnold, an experienced sailor, arrived at Skenesborough on July 23 "to give Life, & Spirit to Our Dock Yards." The gondolas *New Haven*, *Providence*, *Boston*, and *Spitfire* had already been completed and had been sent to Ticonderoga for rigging. Three more gondolas, *Jersey*, *Connecticut*, and *Philadelphia*, were on the stocks. The row galley *Trumbull* was nearing completion, and a company of Connecticut ship carpenters were cutting timber for the second galley. An additional 100 carpenters from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were expected to arrive soon, and Arnold

hoped to have "a very formidable Fleet" by mid-August. The sawmill at Cheshire's had been repaired and was producing 4,000 feet of boards each day. Cordage, canvas, and food, however, were in short supply. Only 100 barrels of pork and 200 barrels of flour remained in the Skenesborough storehouse. Arnold bombarded his superiors with requests for oakum, pitch, and tar, for thread, needles, and sailcloth, for chalk, nails, and grindstones, for cables and anchors, for pistols and bulletmolds.<sup>26</sup>

By the end of July, the waters of Wood Creek had dropped so low that it had become difficult to pass up or down the creek. Waterbury was determined to keep this important water passage open, and work parties struggled constantly to remove logs and to clear away the obstructions. And there were other difficulties as well. Carpenters complained that when soldiers accompanied them to gather timber for the vessels, the soldiers would sit down under the trees and refuse to help. And, when the carpenters complained about the soldiers' behavior, they claimed that they could get no redress. Soldiers on fatigue duty were supposed to receive a gill of rum each day, but, due to the growing shortage of rum, Waterbury slashed the ration in half. The hard feelings between soldiers and carpenters were exacerbated when the carpenters continued to receive their full allotment of rum. Assurances that the deficiency would later be made up in cash had little impact on the thirsty, disgruntled soldiers.<sup>27</sup>

Schuyler wrote Governor Trumbull on July 31, requesting him to furnish an additional 300 sailors to supplement those soldiers already drafted from the regiments. Captains Seth Warren, David Hawley, and Frederick Chapel each raised a company of seamen, but only after they had been assured of higher wages than those paid to the sailors already in service. Bounties were increased from \$7.50 to \$15.00, and an additional premium of \$2.50 was paid to every man who provided his own musket, cartridgebox, blanket, and knapsack. Wages were increased to \$6.00 a month for seamen, \$15.00 a month for lieutenants, and \$24.00 a month for captains. The premium and the first month's wages were payable before the sailors began their march.<sup>28</sup>

Arnold reported in early August that the row galleys were near completion, that the carpenters were "Very Industrious, & spirited," and that only the shortages of planking and iron would prevent the fleet from sailing on schedule. Since the gondolas required large amounts of the scarce planking and therefore retarded work on the more important row galleys, Arnold ordered that no more gondolas be started once those already on the stocks were completed. Meanwhile, the rigging and arming of the vessels continued at Ticonderoga. Solomon Dyer had been test-firing one of the

cannon on board the gondola *Providence* when the gun fired prematurely and killed him. As one observer reported, "he was blown into many peices & scattered on the water."<sup>29</sup>

The American fleet of ten sail set forth from Crown Point on August 24. Dr. Stephen McCrea, appointed as surgeon to the fleet by Dr. Potts, arrived just in time to sail. Although Arnold was glad that McCrea had arrived, he had been determined to sail with the first fair wind, with or without a surgeon. Several days later, Arnold wrote Gates from Button-mold Bay informing him that an additional seventy-four men were needed to man the vessels. Gates ordered thirty-three soldiers drafted from Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Sixth Massachusetts Regiment to serve as marines, and the same number of soldiers were drafted from Colonel Samuel Brewer's Massachusetts Militia Regiment to serve as seamen. These new arrivals, however, did little to alter Arnold's low opinion of the soldiers serving under his command. "We have but very indifferent Men," he complained. On another occasion, he described the soldiers as "a wretched motley Crew." Arnold pointed out that "a great part of those [soldiers] who shipped for Seamen know very little of the Matter." The drafts from the regiments were "a miserable Set"; the marines were "the Refuse of every Regiment, and the Seamen, few of them, ever wet with Salt Water." Seamen and skilled gunners were desperately needed. In addition, the weather was growing colder and many of the men were "extremely bare of Cloathing." A "Great Part of my Seamen and Marines are almost Naked," Arnold reported on October 1. "The weather has been very Severe for some time. . . . We have Continual Gales of wind & the Duty [is] very Severe." He suggested that if a warm coat, a blanket, and a shirt could be provided for each seamen it would be "of great Service."<sup>30</sup>

On July 13, 1776, Philip Schuyler had written Horatio Gates from Albany informing him that Congress had declared the American colonies to be free and independent states. Two days later, the news of independence reached the Northern Army at Ticonderoga. "God only knows how matters will terminate," wrote one of the soldiers. But since America's cause was a just one, the soldier was confident that God would not allow the country to be overrun by "arbitrary enemies." The New England soldiers who remained at Crown Point received "the Agreeable News of Independancy" on July 16. Kettles of grog were hurriedly produced so that the soldiers could celebrate their "Joy at the News" with a series of toasts to American liberty. Immediately following religious services on July 28, Arthur St. Clair read the Declaration of Independence to the soldiers of the Northern Army. He concluded his remarks with the words "God save the free independent

States of America," and the soldiers responded with three cheers. One observer of the ceremony noted that he was pleased to see the soldiers in such high spirits. "Now we are a people," he wrote; "we have a name among the States of this World."<sup>31</sup>

Although Lieutenant Colonel Matthais Ogden believed that the news of independence was "well relished" by the soldiers, not everyone shared his sentiments. A number of soldiers failed to mention the news in their journals or in their letters. And one soldier who did make mention of the Declaration of Independence wrote that the news "made a little Buze, but soon subsided & was forgotten." On July 21, however, the site of the new encampment, previously called "East point," or merely "the point," was named Mount Independence, in honor of the Declaration of Independence.<sup>32</sup>

Unfortunately, the news of independence did little to relieve the feelings of sectional animosity, perhaps the most intense of the entire war, which divided the army and pitted the soldiers of one state against those of another. Philip Schuyler, whose own patrician background and aristocratic airs did not sit well with many of the more democratic-minded soldiers, complained of the "illiberal and destructive jealousy" which prevailed between the troops raised in different states. A Pennsylvania officer articulated the pervasive sentiment more directly when he described the New England soldiers as "a set of dirty, low, griping, cowardly rascals" who presented "a most wretched appearance." Captain Persifer Frazer was struck by the composition of some of the New England regiments: "among them there is the strangest mixture of Negroes, Indians and Whites with old men and children." James Thatcher, a Massachusetts surgeon's mate, attributed the widespread bad feelings to the fact that the Pennsylvania and New Jersey officers were "gentlemen of education," unaccustomed to the sense of equality that prevailed east of the Hudson River. He argued that no matter how desirable, it could scarcely be expected that men from distant states, so differing in manners and customs, would at once "harmonize in friendly intercourse." "Hence," said Thatcher, "we too frequently hear the burlesque epithet of 'Yankee' from one party, and that of 'Buckskin,' by way of retort, from the other." Some soldiers believed that the feelings of sectional animosity had reached such a pitch that the Pennsylvanians and the New Englanders would as soon fight each other as fight the British.<sup>33</sup>

By early in September, the New England militia had swelled the ranks of the Northern Army. The Massachusetts regiments commanded by Colonels Edward Wigglesworth, Ruggles Woodbridge, and Jonathan Reed were formed into a new brigade — the fifth — under the command of Brigadier

General James Brickett. The Connecticut regiments of Colonel Heman Swift and Colonel Samuel Mott were assigned to the First Brigade, while the New Hampshire regiments commanded by Colonels Isaac Wyman and Joshua Wingate were assigned to the Third Brigade. Massachusetts regiments commanded by Samuel Brewer and Aaron Willard also joined the army during the summer. In addition to these ten militia regiments, two Continental regiments, Asa Whitcomb's Sixth and Edmund Phinney's Eighteenth, were also dispatched to Ticonderoga. As a Pennsylvania soldier remarked, with the arrival of these new regiments, a "more serious and formadable and warlike Aspect seemed to prevade the whole Army."<sup>34</sup>

A company of Mohican Indians from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, under the command of Captain Ezra Whittlesey, joined the army in September. Encamped near the sawmill at the outlet of Lake George, the Indians were distinguished from the enemy's Indians by blue and red caps. Officers and soldiers were warned to take particular notice of this fact "that we may not by mistake kill our friends instead of our enemies." Intended for use as scouts, the Indians proved to be so undisciplined and disorderly that the sentries had strict orders not to let them enter the camp without written permission. After a stay of about five weeks, the Indians were discharged and returned home in October.<sup>35</sup>

The orders issued on October 11, 1776, cautioned the soldiers that the "long stillness and seeming supiness" of the enemy might indicate that the British were planning "some stroke of importance." Soldiers were warned to be vigilant and alert, especially while on guard duty. The warning was timely, because the next day the camp was alarmed by the sounds of gunfire from the north. Late on the afternoon of October 12, Thomas Hartley sent an express from Crown Point to Ticonderoga. "I have so frequently troubled you with false Alarms," he wrote, "that I am almost loath to trouble you on the present Occasion." This time, however, Hartley was quite sure that there had been "an action down the Lake."<sup>36</sup>

The action Hartley referred to, of course, was the engagement between the American and British fleets near Valcour Island on October 11. The superior British firepower took its toll as the American ships were pounded with shot. That evening, however, the Americans were able to take advantage of the fog and slip through the British blockade. On the morning of October 13, the American fleet was overtaken off Split Rock and was almost annihilated. Of the sixteen vessels that had once made up the American fleet, only three escaped to Ticonderoga where they were joined by two other vessels that had not taken part in the battle.<sup>37</sup>

On Sunday morning, October 13, the soldiers of the Northern Army

at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence awoke to the sounds of cannon-fire. Three alarm guns fired from the outpost at Crown Point confirmed the long awaited news that the enemy was indeed advancing. A messenger arrived at Ticonderoga at noon bearing a report of the attack by the "British Butchers" and Arnold's official account of the engagement. News of the fleet's destruction threw the camps into a state of alarm. The soldiers mustered and assumed their positions at the alarm posts. Lewis Beebe recalled that the soldiers presented "a most respectable appearance." Many men were in high spirits as they eagerly awaited the British. "We are all to day preparing to receive them [the enemy] properly, and I hope we shall behave in such a manner as to bring credit on our country and the cause," wrote Captain Persifer Frazer.<sup>38</sup>

Arnold and the shattered remains of the American fleet reached the comparative safety of Ticonderoga that evening. This sorry procession was followed by more than 100 residents of the Champlain Valley. These settlers had abandoned their homes and farms to the enemy and had run through the woods for many miles in order to reach Ticonderoga. Thomas Hartley's detachment brought up the rear after first destroying the fortifications at Crown Point and carrying off all of the horses, cattle, and supplies.<sup>39</sup>

Alarms were sounded throughout the night, and by four o'clock the next morning, October 14, the entire army was under arms peering through the fog awaiting the enemy's approach. The soldiers mustered and manned the lines, but several hours later they were dismissed and returned to their quarters. Fatigue parties constructed additional earthworks and strengthened the existing fortifications. Engineer Baldwin and the artificers mounted cannon while the carpenters and blacksmiths built carriages for the heavy guns.<sup>40</sup>

The orders issued on the morning of October 14 thanked Arnold and the men of the fleet for their "gallant defence" of American liberties. Gates believed that "Such magnanimous behaviour" would serve to establish "the fame of the American army thro the globe." The fleet had done its part. Now it was the army's turn to prove itself "whorthy of the noble cause that they are engag'd to defend." "The loss of our fleet is greater than we at first understood," lamented Persifer Frazer when he learned that only five vessels remained of the American fleet. Nevertheless, the soldiers were reported to be in "high spirits," and at least one officer had great expectations of his soldiers' courage. As for himself, he was unsure as to how he would behave under fire, but he hoped that he would not bring any dishonor upon his family or his country. In any event, death in battle was "far



preferable to a life of infamy.”<sup>41</sup>

But the expected British attack did not materialize. Instead, a flag of truce arrived at Ticonderoga with General David Waterbury and 104 fellow prisoners who had been captured during the engagement near Valcour Island. These prisoners had been allowed to return to their homes by Governor Guy Carleton after they pledged their word that they would not take up arms against the British until they were exchanged.<sup>42</sup>

In the meantime, Dr. Jonathan Potts was turning rags into bandages at the Fort George hospital. Fearing that an attack was imminent, he hurried to Ticonderoga with three assistants to prepare for battle. Before leaving Fort George, Potts discharged all of the soldiers who had recovered their health and hurried them northward. Dr. Stephen McCrea, surgeon to the fleet, was so engrossed in caring for the wounded “of our ruined navy,” that it was impossible for him to send Potts an account of the battle except to state that the action was “as bloody as unfortunate.” Ammi Robbins visited the wounded and was overcome by the “horrible spectacle.” It was only with the greatest reluctance that he consented to accompany the wounded on their journey to the Fort George hospital.<sup>43</sup>

“The near approach of the enemy, has as it were reanimated our officers, and put new life and vigor into our Soldiers,” noted Lewis Beebe on October 16, and his observations were supported by others. A New Hampshire lieutenant recalled that there were “greate Preparations Making In the camps that we Might be Readey for the Reception of those Enemies whenever they come to Desturbe us.” Water casks and supplies of rum were near at hand at each of the alarm posts. A Massachusetts soldier wrote that the men expressed “a strong desire to have an opportunity of displaying their courage and prowess; both officers and men are full of activity and vigilance.” According to Jeduthan Baldwin, the soldiers worked with “life & Spirits” and displayed “a determined resolution to defend the place.” But General Gates was less sure. He urged the soldiers to turn out for duty with spirit and industry. Let it not be said, he cautioned the soldiers, “that the cause of all America was injur’d by the supiness of the Northern Army.”<sup>44</sup>

Anthony Wayne believed that the soldiers could not remain for long in their present state. “The Storm is gathering,” he wrote his wife on October 25, “and [it] will shortly burst on either this [army] or their Army. We are in high Spirits ad long for their Approach.” Major William DeHart was also confident that the next several days would decide the issue. If the British did not attack before the end of October, he doubted that they would attack at all. But if the British did attack, the New Jersey regiments posted

in the Jersey Redoubt would, as DeHart phrased it, "open the ball." Soldiers were advised that as the enemy's attack would probably be rash and sudden, they were not to waste their fire "in a Randum unsoldier like manner." One well directed volley fired at a distance of fifty yards would be more effective than "all the scatter'd random Shotts fir'd in a whole Day."<sup>45</sup>

American scouts continued to arrive at Ticonderoga with reports of British activity at Crown Point. But no one was certain of the enemy's plans; "by our spies we learn that they [the British] have a considerable army at the point, chiefly on the east side; our military officers, conjecture very differently respecting their next movement. Some say they will attack this post [Ticonderoga], others that they will return to Canada, and others that they will winter at the point. But these cold nights must be very uncomfortable in their present situation." The cold October nights were also uncomfortable for the Americans. Half of the soldiers remained at their posts each night while their companions slept, but even the sleeping soldiers were "ready to repair to their alarm posts when commanded."<sup>46</sup>

Finally, between eight and nine o'clock on the morning of October 28, an American lookout boat signalled that the British were on the move. Alarm guns were fired, and within several minutes every soldier able to shoulder a musket was at his post. "All was bustle," recalled John Lacey, as "the whole camp presented a terrific blaze of Fire Arms issuing from every quarter to prepare for Battle." Column after column marched into position, some soldiers armed with muskets and bayonets, and others with poles, twelve feet long and tipped with sharp iron points, which were to be used "against the assailants when mounting the breast works." One officer, pleased by his company's soldierly appearance, described the men as animated and totally fearless. Continental and regimental flags flew from the breastworks as a challenge to the British "to win and wear them."<sup>47</sup>

As the American soldiers assumed their positions, five of the largest British vessels appeared in sight and landed a force of Indians, Canadians, Germans, and Regulars at Three Mile Point. Soon after, two of the boats moved to the eastern side of the lake in order to reconnoitre the American defenses and to sound the depth of the channel. Passing within range of the Jersey Redoubt, the enemy was fired upon and forced to withdraw. In the meantime, British troops continued to land at Three Mile Point. Anticipating an attack from the west, Gates ordered three of the regiments on Mount Independence to reinforce the French Lines. His orders were quickly obeyed, and Gates later noted with satisfaction that "nothing could exceed the spirit and alertness which was shown by all officers and soldiers."

The near approach to Ticonderoga and Mount Independence had provided the British with a "very fair view of every part almost of our works as also of our troops," and the Americans were certain that the British "were not pleased with the sight. The day was fine and nothing but their timidity hindered the fate of Canada & indeed almost of America to be decided & never were men in a better disposition to end the quarrel by conquest or death than our troops." By four o'clock in the afternoon, however, the British had reembarked from Three Mile Point. The American guardboats resumed their stations, "and by sunset it was observed the body of the enemy had retired." For all practical purposes, the campaign of 1776 terminated with the British retreat.<sup>48</sup>

On November 2, Gates dispatched a force of almost 1,000 soldiers to attack the British advanced post at Putnam's Creek. Finding that post deserted, the Americans pushed on to Crown Point just in time to see the last of the enemy embarking on board their vessels "in much confusion." The news was quickly carried to Ticonderoga, but the troops there remained upon their guard, "fearing they [the British] might have done this by way of a stratagem to deceive us." Another soldier explained the British retreat in the following terms: "I rather think, as they had last week a fair view of our camp and strength, they wisely conclude[d] the season is too far advanced to do any great things."<sup>49</sup>

Now that the British had withdrawn to Canada and the immediate threat of an attack had passed, there was a widespread fear that the Northern Army would disband and that the soldiers would return home. Colonel John DeHaas of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion described the condition of his soldiers as follows: "The arms are in tolerable order, but of different calibre. The accoutrements bad, many bayonets wanting. The men almost naked, and have been so two-thirds of the campaign, their clothing, when they marched from Philadelphia, being very scanty, and not a second shirt to their backs. The pitiful supplies of sundry articles which they have received since, were bad of the kind, and at the most exorbitant prices." Considering the hardships that the soldiers had endured, DeHaas believed that there was "not the least reason to think that any of the men will re-enlist." The issue of re-enlistment was of paramount importance as the time of service for DeHaas's Pennsylvanians, as well as William Wind's and William Maxwell's New Jersey soldiers was rapidly running out. Schuyler feared that if these soldiers left camp, it would not only weaken the army, "but greatly dispirit our troops." Schuyler urged Washington to request that Congress offer the soldiers some inducement to remain in service until any danger of a British attack on Ticonderoga had passed. Washington

hoped that the officers would be able to convince their soldiers to remain until their places could be filled by reinforcements. "If the officers are spirited and well inclined," he added, "they may lead their men as they please." "For God's sake," Schuyler wrote Gates, "try to keep the Pennsylvania and New Jersey regiments in service until every possibility of the enemy's crossing the lake this campaign disappears. They may, as you imagine, soon make the attempt. I rather wish they would than delay it five or six weeks longer, as I fear too many of our troops will leave you by that time."<sup>50</sup>

The regiments commanded by DeHaas and Maxwell consented to remain at Ticonderoga for the time being, but Colonel William Wind and many of his soldiers wanted to return to New Jersey as soon as possible. The men had enlisted the previous October to serve for one year and their time was expired. Wind and the majority of his regiment marched from Ticonderoga on November 6, with the reproof of Gates and their companions in arms. The camp drums were sounded "in derision of the Few who had the Baseness to quit their Post in this Time of Danger." The New Jersey soldiers who remained in service were thanked "for the Honour and publick Spirit they shewed in disdaining to follow the infamous Example of their Col., and the deluded Soldiers who accompanied him."<sup>51</sup>

In an attempt to encourage enlistments for a permanent army, Congress in the fall of 1776 offered a bounty of \$20, wages, ration allowances, and 100 acres of land to each soldier who would serve for the duration of the war. There was, of course, a wide range in the proposed pay scale. A colonel's wage was \$75 a month; a major's was \$50; surgeons and chaplains each received \$33.33; a captain \$40; a lieutenant \$27; a sergeant \$8; a corporal \$7.33; and a private \$6.67. While each private was to receive 100 acres of land, officers were to receive land grants in proportion to their rank with 500 acres as the maximum grant. Commissioned officers were permitted to select soldiers from the ranks to serve as their waiters. Officers also drew provisions in proportion to their rank. A colonel was entitled to six rations a day, for example, while a captain drew three rations a day. One ration consisted of either a pound of beef or a pound of pork, a pound of bread or flour, a gill of rum or whiskey, and vegetables when available. Vinegar, salt, soap, and candles were distributed on a weekly basis.<sup>52</sup>

For "the Reward and Encouragement" of each soldier who enlisted for the duration of the war, Congress also promised to provide an annual suit of clothes valued at \$20. Clothing issued for 1777 included two "Linnen Hunting Shirts," two pairs of stockings, two pairs of shoes, two pairs of "Over Alls," a "Leathren or Woolen Jackett with Sleeves," a pair of

breeches, and a leather cap. It was hoped that the "Noble Bounty," coupled with the promise of future land grants, would be regarded as "such an Ample and Generous Gratuity" that no American would "hesitate to enroll himself to defend his Country and Posterity from every Attempt of Tyranny to enslave it."<sup>53</sup>

Colonel Anthony Wayne, "a capable, good officer" with the "health and strength fit to encounter the inclemency of that cold inhospitable region," was appointed to command the winter garrisons at Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. According to one of Wayne's officers, several generals and all of the senior colonels "were sent off the ground" in order to make room for Wayne to assume the command. The garrison of 2,500 men was drawn from six regiments: Wayne's Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, Joseph Wood's Second Pennsylvania Battalion, Elias Dayton's Third New Jersey Regiment, Thomas Hartley's Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion, Charles Burrall's Connecticut Regiment, and Asa Whitcomb's Sixth Continental Regiment from Massachusetts. Dayton's soldiers were engaged until March; Burrall's soldiers were engaged until February; and the rest of the soldiers were engaged through the month of December.<sup>54</sup>

Some regiments of the Northern Army disbanded in mid-November, while others marched south to join Washington. The commanding officers of those regiments preparing to march were accountable that the huts belonging to their respective regiments were left in good condition. Wayne threatened to prevent the soldiers from marching "if their Huts are demolish'd." Soldiers were instructed "to preserve every thing that can in the least Degree be useful" to the troops who remained as the winter garrison. Soldiers were threatened with a flogging of 100 lashes if they damaged any of the huts.<sup>55</sup>

On December 10, 1776, three weeks before the first of the enlistments were due to expire, Philip Schuyler warned Congress that he had "every reason to believe that the Troops at Ticonderoga and the other posts above [Albany] will not tarry five days after the term of their enlistment is expired." And even more alarming was the fact that Schuyler saw "very little probability of replacing them with others." In mid-December, a return of the garrisons of Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Mount Independence listed 2,384 soldiers; but it was reported that a majority of the men were "unfit for duty, and scarcely able to bear the fatigue of being a few minutes on the parade."<sup>56</sup>

Discouraged by his inability to supply reinforcements for the northern garrisons, Schuyler expressed his doubts in a letter to Jonathan Trumbull on December 19. Schuyler was in hopes that "experience would have taught

us not to depend on the patriotism of our common men — they left both armies last year at very critical moments, as soon as the time for which they were engaged was expired." Furthermore, Schuyler was in hopes that measures would have been undertaken earlier to raise additional troops. He had urged such measures himself in August, long before what he termed "the periodical *American* distemper" had taken place. Explaining himself further, Schuyler continued: "As soon as the first cold is felt, we are seized with the home-sickness, and it increases with the severity of the weather."<sup>57</sup>

After receiving a series of distressing letters from their officers at Ticonderoga, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety appealed to Congress for aid for the Northern Army. "The blessing of Heaven can scarcely be expected to attend a cause, however good," the councilmen declared, "while the men who expose their lives in support of it, are so ill rewarded." If not soon reinforced, the "few naked, sickly, and ill-attended troops [at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence], must fall a prey to their own distresses, if not to the enemy."<sup>58</sup>

The Third New Jersey Regiment was one of the regiments reported to be in the greatest distress. In December, the regiment had received orders to move from Ticonderoga to Mount Independence. The New Jersey officers were astonished to learn of their eviction from Ticonderoga's stone barracks and attributed the decision to Wayne's "stomach of a disgust which he has got against us for some reason." The New Jersey officers decided to comply with Wayne's orders, "however distressing they might be." And so, "with great reluctance after so many difficulties and hardships already undergone," the Third New Jersey Regiment crossed the frozen lake and marched into the barracks on the Mount. Unfortunately, the soldiers soon discovered that their new quarters were "very open, without any doors, chamber floor, or anything except just covered and partitioned off." Ebenezer Elmer gathered some wood and built a fire in his room; "but the night was so excessively cold, and the room so open, I could not sleep — indeed suffered most intolerably all night; learning some thing farther of the fatigues of a soldier's life." The next morning, Elmer filled his fireplace with clay to make a hearth and sealed the gaps in the walls "in order to be something more comfortable."<sup>59</sup>

Although the Third New Jersey Regiment had moved across the lake to Mount Independence, it was still expected to furnish the guard for the Jersey Redoubt as well as the "Wood Guard" for the Ticonderoga garrison. Both of these duties were across the lake from the regiment's new quarters, and both were duties that the soldiers took "excessively hard." In fact, merely to cross the frozen lake was described as "extraordinary hard work."<sup>60</sup>

After the soldiers settled into their winter quarters, garrison life took on a somewhat routine face. Once the lake froze, many soldiers amused themselves on the ice. Bayze Wells and several of his comrades staged a race across the ice, while others took advantage of the excellent sledding conditions. Card playing was yet another way for the soldiers to pass the winter days and nights. Whist was a popular game among the officers. "Cards and drinking are the diversions which the whole garrison are daily employed at," recorded a journalist in February of 1777.<sup>61</sup>

French experiences at Ticonderoga during the colonial wars had demonstrated that every 100 soldiers would require approximately 1,500 cords of firewood to see them through the winter. Consequently, the cutting of firewood was a major task of those soldiers assigned fatigue duty. A group of soldiers searching for wood on Mount Independence in January discovered a man "froze and Dead" near the fort. As the winter progressed, it became increasingly difficult for the soldiers to locate firewood. In June of 1777, Philip Schuyler admitted that some of the huts at Ticonderoga had shared the fate of some of the log barricades — "both being consumed in the Course of the Winter by the Garrison as Fire Wood."<sup>62</sup>

Christmas day of 1776 was a lively one at Ticonderoga. The garrison paraded under arms at troop beating, "fresh shaved and powdered." The soldiers went through "sundry manoeuvres" until mid-afternoon, and then, with the men "almost perished" in the cold weather, they were dismissed to enjoy their Christmas ration of rum. Colonel Asa Whitcomb, commander of the Sixth Continental Regiment from Massachusetts, had a son serving in his regiment who had been a shoemaker before joining the army. The son had set up a cobbler's bench in his father's quarters which he used to patch the soldiers' worn shoes. This "ridiculous conduct" had for some time "drawn on the good old man the contemptuous sneers of the gentlemen officers," especially those from Pennsylvania. These would-be gentlemen from the middle states scorned the Yankee officer's lack of grace and social decorum. On Christmas night, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Craig of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion, "being warmed with wine," decided to demolish the shoemaker's bench and to chastise the Yankee colonel for "degrading his rank." Craig rushed into Whitcomb's quarters "in a riotous and mutinous Manner," dispatched the bench, and beat the colonel. The noise and confusion soon attracted a number of officers and soldiers. Wayne's men "actually took to their arms and dared the Yankees, and then proceeded to extremity of firing their guns." Thirty or forty rounds were fired at the barracks of the Massachusetts soldiers, wounding several men of the Sixth Regiment severely. One journalist described the incident as a

"singular kind of riot"; while another called it "a drunken frolick."<sup>63</sup>

Despite Craig's inexcusable assault on a superior officer, Wayne did not take any action to bring the offender to justice. The affair ended in something of a farce when the Pennsylvanians produced a fat bear and invited Whitcomb to the feast. The bear dinner "effected a reconciliation" and induced Whitcomb to overlook the "high handed assault on his own person and on the lives of his soldiers."<sup>64</sup>

Although garrison life soon returned to normal, the Christmas incident had demonstrated that the friction between the New England soldiers and those soldiers from the middle states sometimes made it difficult for the army to direct its hostilities toward the enemy. "It is much to be lamented that such unbecoming Jealousy prevails between the Men of Corps from different States," wrote Philip Schuyler after learning of Craig's beating of Whitcomb. Craig's actions demonstrated that the "unbecoming Jealousy" affected not only private soldiers, but also officers and "Gentlemen, who from their Situation in Life ought to be far above it." A discouraged Schuyler suggested to Washington that in the future the Northern Army be "composed of Troops from as many different States as possible. The Southern people who have a greater Spirit of Discipline & Subordination will in Degrees influence the Eastern people, who without such a Mixture will never require it." Concerning Schuyler's idea of forming the army from "a mixture of Troops," Washington replied that he doubted if it could be done given "the peculiar situation of our Affairs." He explained that "prejudices and Jealousies have prevail'd where those [soldiers] of different States have acted together"; and he believed that such sectional problems were "not likely to be intirely done away." Indeed, since the soldiers' difficulties had not been reconcilable in the past, Washington hoped that in the future their actions "seperately will produce a laudable spirit of emulation, to excel and raise the reputation of their respective States, tending in the end to advance the Interest and weal of the whole."<sup>65</sup>

On the final day of 1776, Ensign Henry Sewall of Colonel Edmund Phinney's Eighteenth Continental Regiment, part of the Fort George winter garrison, wrote in his journal: "*No relief yet.*" Their term of service expiring with the passing of the old year, on January 1, 1777, "the major part" of Phinney's regiment left Fort George and marched for home. The rest of the soldiers left five days later, followed shortly thereafter by their officers. Schuyler was informed that Phinney's officers "pretend[ed] that they could get no Fire Wood, and the Men being come off they were obligated to follow their Example." Lieutenant Colonel Cornelius Van Dyke and 200 soldiers from the First New York Regiment were sent to Fort George to



replace Phinney's men.<sup>66</sup>

Colonel Benjamin Simonds and 300 Massachusetts militiamen arrived at Ticonderoga in early January. Although one soldier scorned the militia as "3 months men," most of the soldiers were happy to see the garrison reinforced. Colonel John Robinson's Massachusetts militiamen arrived shortly thereafter, followed by twenty-four soldiers from Colonel Seth Warner's Continental Regiment. Wayne had assured Schuyler that the Pennsylvania troops would not leave Ticonderoga until they were regularly relieved, "but should the Relief be withheld too long," Schuyler feared that the soldiers' "patience will wear out and they will come away." Although the Massachusetts militia regiments were engaged only until March 18, their arrival allowed Wayne to issue marching orders for four companies from his regiment and for four companies from Wood's regiment. These Pennsylvania soldiers had been a part of the Ticonderoga garrison since July of 1776, and they were very eager to march for home and warmer climates. When the eight companies from the Second and Fourth Pennsylvania Battalions departed, some soldiers from the Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion, forced to remain on garrison duty, "took umbrage, and some of them went off, others fired several rounds, but were at last prevailed on to stay a few days."<sup>67</sup>

Nor were the Pennsylvania soldiers the only ones anxious to be relieved of garrison duty. The time of service of Colonel Charles Burrall's Connecticut Regiment was due to expire on February 1. Late in January, Nathaniel Buel, the regiment's lieutenant colonel, informed Schuyler that the soldiers were without warm clothes, having had no opportunity to purchase any except "at the dearest Rate." "You must be sensible," he wrote, that "we have undergone as many hardships as any regiment on the Ground." More than 120 soldiers had died from disease and the regiment was reduced to fewer than 250 officers and men. The many hardships notwithstanding, Buel pointed out to Schuyler that the Connecticut soldiers had always "done their Duty with Cheerfulness." Such being the case, and since the recently arrived Massachusetts militia could serve as their replacements, Buel requested that his regiment be allowed to march on February 1, "if consistent with the Publick Good." Not only would such an order be greatly welcomed by the soldiers, but it would also "prevent their Leaving the Ground in a Dishonourable Way." Wayne implored the Connecticut soldiers to remain for two additional weeks, but the men refused. On January 31, with their time of service almost expired, the soldiers "went off in the Night." Two days later, Wayne reported to Schuyler that the "chief part" of the Connecticut troops had "run away the night before last taking along

the publick Ammunition which they drew for the defense of this Post."<sup>68</sup>

Early in February, Wayne informed Gates that the garrison under his command consisted of "only four weak Regiments," amounting to about 1,200 soldiers. Given the "debilitated state of the garrison," there was reason for great concern. "No troops coming in, nor any prospect of our leaving the ground, though the men's times are expiring in swift succession," wrote Ebenezer Elmer on February 9. Elmer's "broken regiment," the Third New Jersey, and thirty of Seth Warner's soldiers comprised the entire garrison of Mount Independence. The Ticonderoga side of the lake was held by 900 Massachusetts soldiers — "all raw militia." "A great Majority of this Battalion have friends and property suffering by the Descent of the Enemy upon New Jersey," Francis Barber, commanding officer of the Third New Jersey Regiment, reminded Schuyler in February. Although the soldiers were eager to march for New Jersey, Barber assured Schuyler that "our Regard for the Cause, our General, and our Honor will by no means suffer us to violate the Demands of either, by following an Example too frequently exhibited on this Ground, I mean deserting the Post from a pitiful Excuse of their time's being out." Elmer's hopes soared with the arrival of some fresh troops on February 16. This "gives us some hopes of leaving here some time this spring, at any rate," he wrote. On March 1, Elmer delivered his "bed-ticks" and other articles to the commissary and then attended the regiment's "farewell dinner," where he became "considerably intoxicated . . . by the fumes of wine, egg rum and all-fours." The next morning, March 2, 1777, the Third New Jersey Regiment started for home.<sup>69</sup>

"If the enemy intend to attack us, I assure you, Sir, we are very ill prepared to receive them," Arthur St. Clair, commander of the Ticonderoga garrison, wrote Philip Schuyler on June 13, 1777. The Continental soldiers fit for duty numbered only 1,576. In addition, there were three regiments of New Hampshire militia, "engaged for no particular term," and two regiments of Massachusetts militia engaged for two months. St. Clair noted that among the sick there were some who might "be useful in case of necessity, but at any rate we can not reckon upon more than twenty-two hundred men." When the regiments were mustered, Muster-Master Richard Varick discovered "Many very young Lads" among the ranks. Varick dismissed some of the boys and he would have dismissed many others if St. Clair had not warned him not to "deal too strictly with the Young Soldiers as his Garrisons were already too small." Many of the soldiers were without uniforms, and, in general, the army presented "a very Awkward Appearance." In Varick's opinion, were the "New England Men to be at War half a Century their Troops would not be disciplined under Officers from

their own States.”<sup>70</sup>

On June 20, a council of the general officers of the Northern Army met at Ticonderoga where they decided that the 2,500-man army was “greatly inadequate” to defend both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Accordingly, the council members agreed to evacuate Ticonderoga and to try to hold Mount Independence if the British should attack the two forts. However, as the council also believed that “it would be imprudent to expose the army to be made prisoners by the enemy,” plans for a full-scale retreat were drawn up as well.<sup>71</sup>

Meanwhile, the British were moving ever closer to the Champlain Valley forts. The British strategy for the Northern Campaign of 1777 called for Lieutenant General John Burgoyne to advance southward up the Champlain Valley and on to the Hudson. Burgoyne was expected to reach Albany without any great difficulty, and then he was to cooperate with William Howe as the latter should direct. Communications would be established between New York and Albany, leaving New England isolated from her sister states. In mid-June, Burgoyne’s army of 9,500 soldiers moved southward from St. Johns, and by early July the British had invested Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. On the evening of July 5, 1777, the greatly outnumbered Northern Army abandoned the two posts to the British. The American hold on the Champlain waterway, first grasped by Ethan Allen more than two years before, was gone, and Champlain once again became a British lake.<sup>72</sup>

The fall of Ticonderoga set off shock waves throughout England and America. When news of Ticonderoga’s capture reached London, George III rushed into his wife’s chambers exclaiming, “I have beat them. I have beat all the Americans.” James Thatcher reported that the abandonment of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence “occasioned the greatest surprise and alarm. No event could be more unexpected nor more severely felt throughout our army and country. This disaster has given our cause a dark and gloomy aspect.” John Adams declared from Philadelphia that “we shall never be able to defend a post until we shoot a general.” Arthur St. Clair, the general that Adams intended to shoot, had been forced to abandon an untenable position, but he had saved the army in order to fight again another day. As St. Clair correctly prophesied on July 14, 1777: “By abandoning a post, I have eventually saved a state.” Several months later, the American victory at Saratoga underscored the truth of St. Clair’s prediction.<sup>73</sup>

As the preceding pages have clearly demonstrated, military service at the Champlain Valley forts did not always (or even often) coincide with the material self-interest of the individual soldiers. Why then, considering

the many problems and hardships that confronted them, did sizeable numbers of Americans engage in military service? To some extent, service was motivated by offers of pay, bounties, and land; but economic self-interest provides only a partial explanation.

Revolutionary ideals, patriotism, and a sense of duty explain why some soldiers entered the army. As Corporal Amos Farnsworth remarked after listening to William Emerson preach on April 30, 1775, "An Excellent Sermon he incordiged us to go And fite for our Land and Contry; Saying we Did not do our Duty if we did not Stand up now." In the words of James Thatcher, "Never was a cause more just, more sacred than ours; we are commanded to defend the rich inheritance bequeathed to us by our virtuous ancestors; and it is our bounded duty to transmit it uncontaminated to posterity; we must fight valiantly therefore, for our lives and property, for our holy religion, for our honor, and for our dearest friends. We are not born to be slaves, and we are resolved to live and die free."<sup>74</sup>

Love of family and/or hatred of the British were factors influencing some men to enlist. Soldiers were aware of their duty to posterity, and many men fought to prevent what they viewed as the irreversible enslavement of their children. Lieutenant Samuel Cooper, who was killed at Quebec in 1775, wrote his wife at the outset of the campaign, "the Dangers we are to Encounter I no not but it Shall never be Said to my Children your father was a Coward." Ebenezer Elmer, on garrison duty at Fort George in January of 1777 while the British desolated his New Jersey home, recorded that although "My native place suffers greatly . . . it does by no means discourage me, but rather excites in me a thirst after satisfaction." Awaiting Burgoyne's attack on Fort Ticonderoga in June of 1777, Colonel Alexander Scammell wrote his wife that the "blood of our murder[e]d countrymen cry[s] for Vengeance on those british Villains and I hope we shall be the just Instruments of revenge." As Ethan Allen wrote in 1779, "Ever since I arrived to a state of manhood, and acquainted myself with the general history of mankind, I have felt a sincere passion for liberty . . . so that the first systematical and bloody attempt at Lexington to enslave America, thoroughly electrified my mind, and fully determined me to take part with my country." The words were unmistakably Ethan Allen's, but the sentiments they expressed were shared by many of the soldiers of the Northern Army.<sup>75</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Schuyler to Washington, July 1, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., VI, 1199-1201; Arnold to Washington, June 25, 1776, *ibid.*, 1108; Gates to Hancock, July 16, 1776, *ibid.*, 5th Ser., I, 375-376; Gates to Washington, July 29, 1776, Gates Papers, NYHS; minutes of a council of war, July 7, 1776, Schuyler Papers, NYPL.

<sup>2</sup>Entry of July 7, 1776, Porter, Journal, FTM; entries of July 4 and July 7, 1776; Beebe, *Journal*, 15, 17; Rossie, *Politics of Command*, 111-114; remonstrance of Stark and others, July 8, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 233-234.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>Schuyler to Trumbull, July 12, 1776, *ibid.*, 237; Gates to Washington, July 29, 1776, *ibid.*, 650-651; Schuyler to Washington, May 28, June 17, July 1, and July 24, 1776, *ibid.*, 4th Ser., VI, 608-609, 939-941, 1199-1201, and 5th Ser., I, 559-563; Schuyler to Putnam, June 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 4th Ser., VI, 692; Trumbull, *Autobiography*, 27-29.

<sup>5</sup>Schuyler to Washington, July 12, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 232-233; Gates to Arnold, July 11, 1776, *ibid.*, 206; Gates to Hancock, July 16, 1776, *ibid.*, 375-376; entry of July 15, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entries of July 8-July 11, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 58-59.

<sup>6</sup>Entries of Aug. 22-Sept. 8, 1776, Sewall, "Diary," *BFTM*, XI (Sept., 1963), 77-79; entries of Aug. 23 and Aug. 29, 1776, Wild, "Journal," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, VI (1890-1891), 7-8; entries of Aug. 2 and Aug. 8, 1776, Isaac W. Hammond, ed., *Diary and Orderly Book of Jonathan Burton* (Concord, 1885), 28; entries of May 25 and July 17, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 25, 31; entry of April 26, 1776, Everest, ed., *Journal of Carroll*, 43.

<sup>7</sup>Entry of Aug. 14, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; Schuyler to Hancock, Oct. 16, 1776, *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* (Washington, 1972), VI, 1289-1290; entries of Aug. 10 and Aug. 14, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entry of July 19, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 20; entry of July 12, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 30; entry of July 19, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 61.

<sup>8</sup>Frazer to wife, Oct. 2, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Jan., 1962), 452-453; entries of Aug. 7 and Aug. 14, 1776, Porter, Journal, FTM; entry of Sept. 29, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 26; Gavit to Gavit, Oct., 1759, FTM; Lacey Papers, HSP; entry of Sept. 18, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entry of Feb. 1779, Thatcher, *Journal*, 158-159.

<sup>9</sup>Entries of Aug. 6-Aug. 27, 1776, Hammond, ed., *Diary of Burton*, 28-30; Lacey Papers, HSP; entries of Sept. 2-Sept. 8, 1776, Sewall, "Diary," *BFTM*, XI (Sept., 1963), 78-80.

<sup>10</sup>Arnold to Gates, July 12, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 238-239; Waterbury to Gates, Aug. 1, 1776, *ibid.*, 716-717; Stewart to Waterbury, Aug. 18, 1776, *ibid.*, 1051; Gates to Washington, Aug. 28, 1776, *ibid.*, 1197-1198; Washington to Gates, Sept. 3, 1776, *ibid.*, II, 142-143; Gates to Trumbull, Sept. 16, 1776, *ibid.*, 356; entry of Aug. 24, 1776, Wild, "Journal," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, VI (1890-1891), 7.

<sup>11</sup>Lacey Papers, HSP; entries of July 16, July 19, July 30, Aug. 17, Aug. 18, Aug. 24, Sept. 5, Sept. 8, and Sept. 11, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entries of Dec. 1-Dec. 22, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 108-131.

<sup>12</sup>Entry of Nov. 30, 1776, *ibid.*, 107; Applegate, "Constitutions Like Iron," 132-133.

<sup>13</sup>Entry of Sept. 9, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entry of Aug. 12, 1776, Frazer Orderbook, FTM; entry of Sept. 30, 1776, Wild, "Journal," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, VI (1890-1891), 9; entry of Oct. 18, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 12-13; entry of Oct. 15, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 44; entry of Oct. 16, 1776, Hammond, ed., *Diary of Burton*, 34.

<sup>14</sup>Entries of Dec. 1 and Dec. 15, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 107-109, 120.

<sup>15</sup>Wayne quoted in Edward P. Hamilton, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Boston, 1964), 142-143; entry of July 21, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; Lacey Papers, HSP; entry of July 26, 1776, Frazer Orderbook, FTM; Frazer to wife, July 21 and July 25, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Feb., 1961), 389-391; St. Clair to Allen, Sept. 1, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 111-112; entries of July 24, Aug. 8, Aug. 15, and Aug. 24, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 61, 66, 70-71; entries of Sept. 14 and Sept. 18, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM.

<sup>16</sup>Entry of July 18, 1776, Wells, "Journal," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 267; Gates to Schuyler, July 11, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 206-207; Schuyler to Trumbull, July 12, 1776, *ibid.*, 237; Schuyler to Gates, July 28, 1776, *ibid.*, 629; Frazer to wife, July 15, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Feb., 1961), 386-388; entries of July 21, Aug. 12, and Sept. 3, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; entries of July 30, Sept. 3, and Sept. 11, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; entries of July 8-Aug. 20, 1776, Baldwin *Journal*, 58-71; John A. Williams, "Mount Independence in Time of War, 177-1783," *Vermont History*, XXXV (1967), 89-96; Thomas B. Furcron, "Mount Independence, 1776-1777," *BFTM*, IX (Winter, 1954), 230-248.

<sup>17</sup>Schuyler to Gates, Sept. 23, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 469-470; Gates to Schuyler, Sept. 30, 1776, *ibid.*, 619-620.

<sup>18</sup>Hamilton, *Fort Ticonderoga*, 150; entries of Sept. 27-Oct. 4, Oct. 16, and Oct. 17, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 78, 82; entries of Oct. 6 and Oct. 15, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; Schuyler to Gates, Oct. 18, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 4, 17; Baldwin to Gates, Oct. 18, 1776, *ibid.*, 19; entry of Oct. 21, 1776, Hammond, ed., *Diary of Burton*, 34; entries of Oct. 16 and Oct. 21, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 31-32; entry of Oct. 18, 1776, Thatcher, *Journal*, 64.

<sup>19</sup>Schuyler to Washington, May 31 and June 24, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., VI, 640-641, 1057; Arnold to Washington, June 25, 1776, *ibid.*, 1108; Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (Tokyo, 1972), I, 137-139; Oscar Bredenberg, "The American Champlain Fleet, 1775-1777," *BFTM*, XII (Sept., 1968), 249-263.

<sup>20</sup>List of armed vessels on Lake Champlain, Oct. 12, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1039; Gates to Hancock, July 16, 1776, *Naval Documents*, V, 1099-1100; Harrison K. Bird, *Navies in the Mountains* (New York, 1962), 340-342; Hamilton, *Fort Ticonderoga*, 138-139.

<sup>21</sup>Schuyler to Trumbull, June 25, 1776, *Naval Documents*, V, 733; Schuyler to Massachusetts Assembly, June 25, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., VI, 1074-1075.

<sup>22</sup>Resolve of Massachusetts Assembly, July 1, 1776, *ibid.*, 5th Ser., I, 303-304; Resolve of Massachusetts General Court, July 1, 1776, *Naval Documents*, V, 848-849.

<sup>23</sup>Schuyler to officers bringing carpenters, July 4, 1776, *ibid.*, 915; Arnold to Gates, July 10, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 207; list of artificers, July 10, 1776, *ibid.*, 209; entry of July 20, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; Waterbury

to Gates, July 15 and July 18, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 357, 424; Gates to Waterbury, July 15, 1776, *ibid.*, 358; Gates to Schuyler, July 19, 1776, *ibid.*, 454; Gates to Hancock, July 16, 1776, *Naval Documents*, V, 1099-1100; entry of Aug. 30, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 72.

<sup>24</sup>Trumbull to Schuyler, July 2 and July 12, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., VI, 1222, 5th Ser., I, 239-240; Return of the ordinance at Ticonderoga, July 31, 1776, *ibid.*, 681; entry of July 29, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 63; entries of July 23, Aug. 10, and Aug. 17, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; Gates to Arnold, July 17, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 3, 157.

<sup>25</sup>"Journal of a scout," Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 828-829; Hartley to Gates, July 30, 1776, *ibid.*, 682-683; extract of a letter from Ticonderoga, Aug. 1, 1776, *Maryland Journal*, Aug. 28, 1776; extract of a letter from Skenesborough, Aug. 16, 1776, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Aug. 28, 1776; Frazer to wife, Sept. 21, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Jan., 1962), 451; Bird, *Navies in the Mountains*, 337-339; Gates to Hancock, July 29, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 649.

<sup>26</sup>Arnold to Gates, July 24, 1776, *ibid.*, 563-564; Waterbury to Gates, July 20, 1776, *ibid.*, 474; list of articles, July 20 and July 24, 1776, *ibid.*, 745-746; Varick to Gates, Aug. 12, 1776, *ibid.*, 922-923; Arnold to Schuyler, July 24, 1776, *Naval Documents*, V, 1197-1198.

<sup>27</sup>Waterbury to Gates, July 28, Aug. 1, and Aug. 2, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 629-630, 716, 730; Wynkoop to Gates, July 25, 1776, *ibid.*, 582; Varick to Eddy, Aug. 3, 1776, *Naval Documents*, VI, 34-35.

<sup>28</sup>Schuyler to Trumbull, July 31, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 696-697; Trumbull to Schuyler, Aug. 13 and Aug. 22, 1776, *ibid.*, 937, 1115-1116; Trumbull to Washington, Aug. 16, 1776, *Naval Documents*, VI, 203-204; Varick to Schuyler, Aug. 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 34; Varick to Eddy, Aug. 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 34-35; payrolls, *ibid.*, 984-986.

<sup>29</sup>Arnold to Gates, Aug. 7, 1776, *ibid.*, 98; Arnold to Schuyler, Aug. 8, 1776, *ibid.*, 120; Gates to Waterbury, Aug. 14, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 955; Gates to Hancock, Sept. 2, 1776, *ibid.*, 1267-1268; Gates to Arnold, Sept. 12, 1776, Gates Papers, NYHS; entry of Aug. 8, 1776, Wells, "Journal," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 268; entry of Aug. 5, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 65.

<sup>30</sup>Gates to Hancock, Sept. 2, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 1267-1268; Arnold to Gates, Aug. 16, Aug. 31, and Sept. 7, 1776, *Naval Documents*, VI, 205, 371-372, 734-735; Gates to Arnold, Sept. 5, 1776, *ibid.*, 708; Arnold to Gates, Aug. 23, Sept. 18, Sept. 21, and Oct. 1, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 3, 594, 938, 957-958, 1076; Gates to Arnold, Aug. 23, 1776, *ibid.*, 575; entry of Sept. 4, 1776, Gates Orderbook, NYHS; Arnold to Potts, Aug. 18, 1776, Potts Papers, FTM; Gates to Potts, Aug. 23, 1776, *ibid.*; McCrea to Potts, Oct. 9, 1776, *ibid.*; McCrea to Potts, Oct. 8, 1776, Potts Papers, HSP.

<sup>31</sup>Schuyler to Gates, July 13, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 260-261; extract of a letter from Ticonderoga, July 28, 1776, *ibid.*, 630; Frazer to wife, July 15, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Feb., 1961), 386-388; entry of July 16, 1776, Porter, *Journal*, FTM; Schuyler to Gates, July 18, 1776, Gates Papers, NYHS.

<sup>32</sup>Ogden to Burr, July 26, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., I, 603-604; Lacey Papers, HSP; entries of July 28 and July 29, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 62-63; entry of July 18, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 19-20; entry of July 23, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 32; entry of July 23, 1776, Wells, "Journal," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 267.

<sup>35</sup>Sullivan to Washington, June 25, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 4th Ser., VI, 1221-1222; Schuyler to Hancock, July 17, 1776, *ibid.*, 5th Ser., I, 394-395; Schuyler to Trumbull, July 7, 1776, *ibid.*, 395-396; Schuyler to Washington, July 12, 1776, *ibid.*, 232; Cushing to brother, July 8, 1776, *ibid.*, 128-132; Thatcher, *Journal*, 59-60; Frazer to wife, July 15, July 25, and Aug. 6, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Feb., 1961), 386-388, 390-391, 393-395; Charles Jones, *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada* (Philadelphia, 1882), 122. Pennsylvanian John Lacey described himself and his fellow officers thusly: "We were all Young — and in a good manner unacquainted with human nature, quite novices in Military matters, had everything to learn — and no one to instruct us, who knew any better than ourselves." Lacey Papers, HSP.

<sup>36</sup>Entries of Aug. 11 and Aug. 13, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; Lacey Papers, HSP; Manders, "Notes on Troop Units," *Milit. Coll. & Hist.*, XXVII (1975), 9-12, 113-117; Jones, *Conquest*, 130-131; entry of Aug. 31, 1776, *Baldwin*, Journal, 72. On July 20, the Northern Army at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence was divided into four brigades. The First Brigade, commanded by Arnold, was composed of the Massachusetts Continental Regiments commanded by William Bond and John Groaton, Elisha Porter's Massachusetts Regiment, and Charles Burrall's Connecticut Regiment. The Second Brigade, commanded by James Reed, included his own and Enoch Poor's New Hampshire Continental Regiments, Timothy Bedel's New Hampshire Regiment, and John Paterson's Massachusetts Continental Regiment. John Stark's Third Brigade was made up of his New Hampshire Continental Regiment, William Wind's and William Maxwell's New Jersey Regiments, and Cornelius Wynkoop's New York Regiment. Arthur St. Clair's Fourth Brigade consisted of the Pennsylvania battalions commanded by John DeHaas, Anthony Wayne, Thomas Hartley, and St. Clair. Hartley's soldiers, however, remained at Crown Point to keep watch over the British activities to the north. Entry of July 20, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM.

<sup>37</sup>Entries of Sept. 13 and Sept. 20, 1776, *ibid.*; entry of Sept. 26, 1776, Wheeler, "Journal," *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LXVIII (1932), 373; entry of Sept. 26, 1776, Wild, "Journal," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VI (1890-1891), 9; Brewer to Gates, Oct. 22, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1192-1193.

<sup>38</sup>Hartley to Gates, Oct. 12 and Oct. 13, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 3, 1185, 1201; entry of Oct. 11, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM.

<sup>39</sup>Bird, *Navies in the Mountains*, 196-217; Paul D. Nelson, "Guy Carleton versus Benedict Arnold: The Campaign of 1776 in Canada and on Lake Champlain," *New York History*, LVII (July, 1976), 339-366; J. Robert Maguire, "Dr. Robert Knox's Account Of The Battle of Valcour, October 11-13, 1776," *Vermont History*, XLVI (Summer, 1978), 141-150.

<sup>40</sup>Entry of Oct. 13, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 44; Frazer to wife, Oct. 13, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Jan., 1962), 453-454; entry of Oct. 13, 1776, Hammond, ed., *Diary of Burton*, 34; entry of Oct. 13, 1776, Sewall, "Diary," *BFTM*, XI (Sept., 1963), 80; entry of Oct. 13, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 30.

<sup>41</sup>Entry of Oct. 17, 1776, Joshua Pell, "Diary of Joshua Pell," *BFTM*, I (July, 1929), 7; Frazer to wife, Oct. 13, 1776, *ibid.*, X (Jan., 1962), 453-454; entry of Oct. 13, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 80-81; entry of Oct. 13, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 44; entry of Oct. 15, 1776, Thatcher, *Journal*, 63-64.

<sup>42</sup>Arnold to Schuyler, Oct. 15, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1079-1080; entry of Oct. 14, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 44; entry of Oct. 14, 1776,



Hammond, ed., *Diary of Burton*, 34; entry of Oct. 14, 1776, Wild, "Journal," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, VI (1890-1891), 10; entry of Oct. 14, 1776, Sewall, "Diary," *BFTM*, XI (Sept., 1963), 80; entry of Oct. 14, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 81.

<sup>41</sup>Entry of Oct. 14, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; Frazer to wife, Oct. 13, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Jan., 1962), 454; Maxwell to Livingston, Oct. 20, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1143; Gates to Schuyler, Oct. 15, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 3, 1219.

<sup>42</sup>Entries of Oct. 14 and Oct. 15, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 30; entry of Oct. 14, 1776, Wheeler, "Journal," *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LXVIII (1932), 374; entry of Oct. 14, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 81.

<sup>43</sup>Potts to Varick, Oct. 14, 1776, Gates Papers, NYHS; Clajon to Potts, Oct. 14, 1776, Potts Papers, FTM; McCrea to Potts, Oct. 14, 1776, Potts Papers, HSP; entry of Oct. 15, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 44; entry of Sept. 25, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; Gates to Trumbull, Oct. 22, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 4, 45-46.

<sup>44</sup>Entry of Oct. 16, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 31; entry of Oct. 21, 1776, Hammond, ed., *Diary of Burton*, 34; entry of Oct. 20, 1776, Thatcher, *Journal*, 65; entry of Oct. 16, 1776, Wayne Orderbook, FTM; extract of a letter from Ticonderoga, Oct. 20, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1144; entry of Oct. 18, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 12; entries of Sept. 19 and Sept. 20, 1776, Robbins, *Journal*, 41.

<sup>45</sup>Wayne to wife, Oct. 25, 1776, Wayne Papers, HSP; DeHart to Day, Oct. 26, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1258-1259; Cumming to Scudder, Oct. 25, 1776, *ibid.*, 1244-1245; Observations on the Jersey Redoubt, Oct. 21, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 4, 36; entry of Oct. 27, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 39-40.

<sup>46</sup>Entry of Oct. 22, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 32; entry of Oct. 28, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 43; Munro to wife, Aug. 16, 1776, FTM.

<sup>47</sup>Gates to Schuyler, Oct. 31, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1314-1315; entry of Oct. 28, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 83-84; Lacey Papers, HSP; Frazer to wife, Nov. 15, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Jan., 1962), 454-456; entry of Oct. 26, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 27; entry of Oct. 18, 1776, Thatcher, *Journal*, 64; Baldwin to Gates, Oct. 19, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 4, 19.

<sup>48</sup>Gates to Schuyler, Oct. 31, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1314-1315; entry of Oct. 29, 1776, Wheeler, "Journal," *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LXVIII (1932), 376; entry of Oct. 28, 1776, Hammon, ed., *Diary of Burton*, 35; entry of Oct. 28, 1776, Sewall, "Diary," *BFTM*, XI (Sept., 1963), 81; Trumbull, *Autobiography*, 36; Frazer to wife, Nov. 15, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Jan., 1962), 454-456; entry of Oct. 29, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 44.

<sup>49</sup>Entries of Nov. 2 and Nov. 3, 1776, Wheeler, "Journal," *Essex Inst. Hist. Colls.*, LXVIII (1932), 376; entry of Nov. 2, 1776, Hammond, ed., *Diary of Burton*, 36; entries of Nov. 2 and Nov. 4, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 33; Frazer to wife, Nov. 15, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Jan., 1962), 454-456; entries of Nov. 3 and Nov. 4, 1776, Baldwin, *Journal*, 85; Gates to Congress, Nov. 5, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., III, 526-527; extract of a letter from Ticonderoga, Nov. 4, 1776, *ibid.*, 511; Arnold to Washington, Nov. 6, 1776, *ibid.*, 550; Gates to Schuyler, Nov. 8, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 4, 169-170.

<sup>50</sup>Jones, *Conquest*, 152-153, 155; Schuyler to Washington, Sept. 16, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 352-353; Washington to Schuyler, Sept. 20, 1776, *ibid.*, 416-417.

<sup>51</sup>Wind to Gates, Oct. 9, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 3, 1154; Stockton to Clark, Oct. 28, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., II, 1274-1275; entry of Nov. 6, 1776, Beebe, *Journal*, 33; entry of Nov. 6, 1776, Hammond, ed., *Diary of Burton*, 36; entries of Nov. 5, Nov. 7, and Nov. 14, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 54, 60-61, 77-78.

<sup>52</sup>Entry of Sept., 1776, Thatcher, *Journal*, 60-61; entries of Oct. 30 and Nov. 26, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 46, 101; Ford, ed., *Journal Cont. Congress*, V, 854-856; pay and rations, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., III, 1505.

<sup>53</sup>Gates to Congress, Sept. 23 and Nov. 6, 1776, *ibid.*, II, 470-471, III, 549-550; instructions to recruiting officers, Oct. 22, 1776, *ibid.*, II, 1297-1298; Blanchard to Weare, Nov. 9, 1776, *ibid.*, III, 624-625; Schuyler to Massachusetts Council, Dec. 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 1044; Schuyler to Weare, Dec. 3, 1776, *ibid.*, 1063; entries of Oct. 24 and Nov. 26, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 24-25, 100-102.

<sup>54</sup>Gates to Congress, Nov. 27, 1776, Gates Microfilm, Reel 4, 244-246; Wayne to Gates, Nov. 20, 1776, *ibid.*, 230; entry of Nov. 18, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 84-86; Frazer to wife, Nov. 18, 1776, *BFTM*, X (Jan., 1962), 457-459; Wayne to Schuyler, Nov. 20, 1776, Wayne Papers, HSP.

<sup>55</sup>Entries of Nov. 13, Nov. 24, Nov. 26, and Nov. 28, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 75-76, 97, 102, 104.

<sup>56</sup>Schuyler to Congress, Dec. 10, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., III, 1160-1161; Schuyler to Van Cortlandt, Dec. 11, 1776, *ibid.*, 1174-1175; Varick to Congress, Dec. 21, 1776, *ibid.*, 1352-1353.

<sup>57</sup>Schuyler to Trumbull, Dec. 19, 1776, *ibid.*, 1301-1302.

<sup>58</sup>Pennsylvania Council of Safety to Congress, Dec. 22, 1776, *ibid.*, 1358.

<sup>59</sup>Entries of Dec. 13-Dec. 15, 1776, Elmer, "Journal," *N. J. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, III (1848), 49-50; entries of Dec. 13, Dec. 19, and Dec. 28, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 117-118, 124, 132.

<sup>60</sup>Entry of Dec. 21, 1776, *ibid.*, 125; entries of Dec. 11 and Dec. 15, 1776, Elmer, "Journal," *N. J. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, III (1848), 48, 50.

<sup>61</sup>Entries of Dec. 23, 1776, Jan. 22, Feb. 7, and Feb. 11, 1777, *ibid.*, 51, 56, 91-92; entries of Dec. 9-Dec. 11, 1776, Wells, "Journal," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 290.

<sup>62</sup>Entry of Jan. 18, 1777, *ibid.*, 292; entries of Dec. 31, 1776 and Jan. 3, 1777, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 133, 135-136; John R. Elting, *The Battles of Saratoga* (Monmouth Beach, New Jersey, 1977), 10; Schuyler to Congress, June 25, 1777, Papers Cont. Congress.

<sup>63</sup>Entry of Dec. 24, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 128; entries of Dec. 24 and Dec. 25, 1776, Elmer, "Journal," *N. J. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, III (1848), 51; entry of Dec. 26, 1776, Thatcher, *Journal*, 68-69; Whiting to Schuyler, Jan. 3, 1777, Papers Cont. Congress; Royster, *Revolutionary People at War*, 140-141.

<sup>64</sup>Entry of Dec. 26, 1776, Thatcher, *Journal*, 69.

<sup>65</sup>Schuyler to Trumbull, Feb. 6, 1777, Schuyler Papers, NYPL; Schuyler to Congress, Jan. 25 and Jan. 26, 1777, *ibid.*; Schuyler to Wayne, Jan. 23, 1777, *ibid.*; Schuyler to Washington, Jan. 30, 1777, *ibid.*; Washington to Schuyler, Feb. 9, 1777, Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, VII, 123-125. "This is the first new year that ever the American States enjoyed," noted Ebenezer Elmer on January 1, 1777, "and this they receive with great affliction; may heaven relieve them ere the year

numbers its full days." Entry of Jan. 1, 1777, Elmer, "Journal," *N. J. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, III (1848), 53; entry of Dec. 31, 1776, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 133.

<sup>66</sup>Entries of Dec. 31, 1776, Jan. 1, and Jan. 6, 1777, Sewall, "Diary," *BFTM*, XI (Sept., 1963), 84; Lansing to Schuyler, Jan. 9, 1777, Schuyler Papers, NYPL.

<sup>67</sup>Entry of Jan. 7, 1777, Wells, "Journal," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 292; Schuyler to Trumbull, Dec. 29, 1776, Force, ed., *Amer. Arch.*, 5th Ser., III, 1476-1477; entry of Jan. 8, 1777, Munsell, ed., *Wayne Orderbook*, 140; entries of Jan. 6 and Jan. 25, 1777, Elmer, "Journal," *N. J. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, III (1848), 54, 90; Wayne to Schuyler, Jan. 22 and Feb. 2, 1777, Papers Cont. Congress; Schuyler to Washington, Jan. 15, 1777, Schuyler Papers, NYPL.

<sup>68</sup>Buel to Schuyler, Jan. 22, 1777, *ibid.*; entries of Jan. 30 and Jan. 31, 1777, Wells, "Journal," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, VII (1899), 293; Wayne to Schuyler, Feb. 2, 1777, Papers Cont. Congress.

<sup>69</sup>Wayne to Gates, Feb. 4, 1777, Gates Microfilm, Reel 4, 441-442; Barber to Schuyler, Feb. 1, 1777, Schuyler Papers, NYPL; Varick to Schuyler, Feb. 16, 1777, *ibid.*; entries of Feb. 9, Feb. 11, Feb. 16, March 1, and March 2, 1777, Elmer, "Journal," *N. J. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, III (1848), 92-94; John Calfe, "Journal of John Calfe," H. E. Noyes, *Memorial of the Town of Hampstead, New Hampshire* (Boston, 1899), I, 288-289.

<sup>70</sup>St. Clair to Schuyler, June 13, 1777, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XIII (1880), 14-17; Varick to Schuyler, June 13 and June 17, 1777, Schuyler Papers, NYPL; Schuyler to St. Clair, June 5, 1777, *ibid.*

<sup>71</sup>Major General Philip Schuyler, Major General Arthur St. Clair, Brigadier General Matthias Alexis Roche De Fermoy, Brigadier General Enoch Poor, and Brigadier General John Peterson attended the council. Council of general officers, June 20, 1777, Papers Cont. Congress. On June 14, 1777, the Northern Army at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence totalled 2,541 soldiers. Return of troops, June 14, 1777, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, XIII (1880), 29. Schuyler had arrived at Ticonderoga from Albany on June 17. He wrote Congress that he had been "very disagreeably disappointed to find the troops . . . so miserable clad and armed." Many of the soldiers were "literally barefooted and most of them ragged." Schuyler to Congress, June 25, 1777, Papers Cont. Congress.

<sup>72</sup>For a detailed account of the American evacuation, see entries of July 1-July 14, 1777, Thatcher, *Journal*, 81-86; entries of June 26-July 7, 1777, Thomas Blake, "Lieutenant Thomas Blake's Journal," Frederic Kidder, *History of the First New Hampshire Regiment* (Albany, 1868), 26-28; entries of July 4-July 16, 1777, Calfe, "Journal," Noyes, *Memorial of Hampstead*, 290-291; entries of June 30-July 16, 1777, Baldwin *Journal*, 108-111.

<sup>73</sup>Entry of July 14, 1777, Thatcher, *Journal*, 85; Elting, *Battles of Saratoga*, 34; St. Clair to Hancock, July 4, 1777, William H. Smith, ed., *The Life and Public Service of Arthur St. Clair, with his Correspondence and Other Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), I, 428; John S. Pancake, *1777: The Year of the Hangman* (University, Alabama, 1977), 124-125; Royster, *Revolutionary People at War*, 138-140.

<sup>74</sup>Entry of April 30, 1775, Amos Farnsworth, "Journal of Corporal Amos Farnsworth," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Procs.*, XII (1897-1899), 79; entry of April 21, 1775, Thatcher, *Journal*, 13-14.

<sup>75</sup>Royster, *Revolutionary People at War*, 7; Cooper to wife, July 18, 1775,

Charles H. McKee, "Letters of a Soldier of the American Revolution," *Connecticut Magazine*, X (1906), 25; entries of Jan. 1 and Jan. 8, 1777, Elmer, "Journal," N. J. Hist. Soc. *Procs.*, III (1848), 53-54; Scammell to wife, June 8, 1777, FTM; Allen, *Narrative*, 5.

## THE BRITISH INVASION OF 1780 AND “A CHARACTER . . . DEBASED BEYOND DESCRIPTION”

by

**Don R. Gerlach**

From Canada in September 1780 the British launched a two-pronged invasion of New York, similar to the one attempted by John Burgoyne and Barry St. Leger in 1777. One force moved from Niagara toward the Schoharie Valley, and the other thrust along Lake Champlain toward the upper reaches of the Hudson. The first, comprised of some 800 to 1,000 men, was led by Sir John Johnson, Colonel John Butler, and Joseph Brant. The second, also about 1,000 strong (regulars, Loyalists and Indians), was led by Major Christopher Carleton. Coming as they did after the spring incursions into the Mohawk Valley and north country and at about the time that the treason of Benedict Arnold was uncovered on September 25, there is little wonder that Americans suspected that they were designed to facilitate Arnold's plans. Frontier threats might force a diversion of American troops from West Point. And at the same time, Canadian Governor-General Frederick Haldimand began negotiations with the leaders of the Hampshire Grants. Ethan Allen and his colleagues “were bent on delivering Vermont to the enemy,” although they later changed their story to say that they intended only to force New York and the Confederation government to recognize Vermont as the fourteenth state of the union. Their intrigue with Haldimand began in earnest in August, and early in October over 1,000 British forces crossed Lake Champlain to occupy positions at Ticonderoga and Skenesborough.<sup>1</sup>

While Johnson's western forces menaced Fort Schuyler (October 8), Middle Fort (at Middlebury, October 16), Lower Fort (Schoharie, October 17), Stone Arabia and Klock's Field (October 19) and Kanadesaga (October 22), Carleton's struck at the feeble American garrisons at Lake George, and Fort Ann (October 10-11). Other northern settlements in Charlotte County were burned (Kingsborough and Queensborough) as were parts of the Saratoga district and Ballston. An estimated 150,000 bushels of grain and 200 dwellings were ruined in this final campaign of the season. In all, the British-Indian damages to the New York frontiers in 1780 included the burning of 700 houses and barns; 330 people were killed or captured and nearly 700 head of cattle driven off by the enemy.<sup>2</sup>

At first confined to his Albany house by gout, Philip Schuyler was

able to do little but relay information to Governor Clinton and military officers, advising them of the need for regular troops and militia to check the enemy's approaches. But the erstwhile General, in retirement as when on active duty, endeavored to assist the Patriot cause in whatever way he could.

In early October the Governor was unable to leave Poughkeepsie because of rheumatism, but later in the month Clinton managed to pursue Sir John Johnson's western marauders and to stop their depredations. Meantime, his brother, Brigadier General James Clinton, was dispatched to command troops at Albany and to direct the deployment of General Abraham Ten Broeck and General Robert Van Rensselaer's militia forces. From the Highlands Major General William Heath sent several New York and New Hampshire regiments and an artillery detachment; and he, like the Governor, urged Schuyler to furnish news by a chain of express messengers who were assigned to ride between Albany and the Highlands. Suspicious of Ethan Allen and his Vermonters, Clinton also asked Schuyler to continue his long-standing surveillance of the Hampshire Grants people.<sup>3</sup>

The friendly Oneidas and Tuscaroras also demanded Schuyler's attention in October because of complaints that they lacked the provisions which he and fellow Indian Commissioner Volkert Douw had promised them in August. Their well-being was in some respect important to maintain in light of renewed hostilities on the frontiers. Unable to inspect their situation west of Schenectady because of his illness, the Yorker begged Congress to remember the Indians' pitiful poverty and their lack of clothing. Funds were needed to pay contractors for provisions since none were available in the public stores, and the Indian Commissioners had no money to settle debts or to purchase fresh supplies. Either Congress or the Commissioners, he recommended, might obviate the tribesmen's complaints by contracting for a regular supply of necessary articles.<sup>4</sup> But unable to count on an early response to these pleas, Schuyler urged Governor Clinton to intervene and alleviate the shortage of provisions. On November 6 he also requested Henry Glen of Schenectady, assistant deputy quartermaster general, to house the wretched tribesmen in barracks. Many, however, left Schenectady and moved about twelve miles west of Saratoga for fuel and hunting.<sup>5</sup> Meantime, Colonel William Malcolm, Commander of the Second Regiment of New York Militia, consulted Schuyler about enlisting some of the Indians against the enemy. Malcolm obtained his agreement to employ them in forays west to Lake Otsego and along the Schoharie frontier.<sup>6</sup>

By mid-October, despite lingering illness, Schuyler managed to reach his Saratoga country house, a closer vantage point for watching the enemy's

northern maneuvers. Alerted to their arson at White Creek on October 17, he quickly informed General Ten Broeck of the need for militia. Arriving at Albany on October 16, Governor Clinton learned of Schuyler's plea and ordered his brother, Colonel Stephen Schuyler, to march his regiment to Saratoga. Clinton promised more reinforcements as soon as they could be called out, and he asked Washington to hasten additional troops up the Hudson; after three months' service, he noted, the militia would soon have to be dismissed, and without the Commander-in-Chief's aid, the New York frontiers could be pushed back to Albany and Schenectady. The Governor's major concern for the moment, however, was to remove the enemy's threats to the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys.<sup>7</sup>

On October 26 when he returned to Albany, Clinton was able to tell Schuyler that Sir John Johnson had been forced to flee; after capturing about 40 prisoners and a quantity of baggage and artillery, the Governor was certain that the devastation was halted. Relief of the west had also enabled Clinton to order Colonel Peter Gansevoort's regiment north to Saratoga.<sup>8</sup>

The threats from the north lingered. At first Schuyler feared that Carleton's forces would range as far south as his country estate. By October 19 they had come within five miles of his Saratoga house, having seized Fort George and Fort Ann and burned Kingsborough and Queensborough townships. Since the garrison at Fort Edward had been evacuated and Ballston (some twenty miles southwest of Saratoga) had also been ravaged on October 17, many of "the Inhabitants [were] flying down the Country. I believe," he wrote Hamilton, "my turn will be in a few days unless troops are sent up." Carleton, he said, had 800 regulars and about 200 Tories and an equal number of Indians, but the enemy commander was waiting at Ticonderoga for reinforcements before venturing to raid settlements as far south as the Mohawk River.<sup>9</sup>

Schuyler of course welcomed Governor Clinton's news that Sir John Johnson had been routed at Cagnawaga, but he warned both Clinton and Washington that more troops were needed to repel the menace of Christopher Carleton and to persuade settlers not to flee their homes. And the arrival of 150 militia at Saratoga on October 19 had strained Schuyler's food supplies; having slaughtered all of his livestock that were fit to butcher, he could only hope that requests for more would be met in time to hold the troops which were needed to pursue the attackers of Ballston. The Yorker also found reports of activities of Hampshire Grants people both mysterious and alarming. "A flag under pretext of setting a cartel with Vermont has been on the Grants," he announced on October 31. Ethan Allen had

disbanded his militia and over 1,600 of the enemy were rapidly moving south from Lake Champlain. The Governor, Schuyler urged, should himself lead reinforcements north from Albany, and Washington must likewise furnish aid.<sup>10</sup>

The Governor, however, decided to return to Poughkeepsie to discharge the business of the legislature, but he assured Schuyler on November 2 that Brigadier General James Clinton was enroute to command the army at Albany and that orders had been issued to call up fresh militia levies. Schuyler's request for supplies for the Indians might be met if the Governor discovered that the state agent could respond to the Indian Commissioners' orders.<sup>11</sup> Washington, too, finally responded to the Yorker's cries for troops; on November 6 he ordered General William Heath to send three New York regiments up from the Hudson Highlands if he could "conveniently spare" them. Himself disturbed by accounts of Ethan Allen and his Vermonters' activities, Washington also instructed Schuyler to "concert" with General Clinton about seizing Allen and his papers if there were "palpable proofs" of his connivance with the enemy. The business was admittedly delicate, but the Virginian trusted Schuyler's prudence to decide how to proceed. Perhaps when regular forces had arrived, the Yorker would find a variety of means to circumvent and defeat Allen and the Grants people.<sup>12</sup>

North Country people remained uneasy early in November as Carleton's British forces moved from Lake Champlain to Lake George. Schuyler himself was agitated when a number of militia ordered to remain at Fort Edward abandoned it instead. Colonel Peter Gansevoort, he feared, would be unable to hold the position without reinforcements, and Saratoga militiamen could not be expected to assist him after they began to remove their families for fear of other enemy maneuvers on the Hampshire Grants. Schuyler's efforts to allay their alarm proved wholly useless, but he urged Governor Clinton that it would be prudent to make "the suspicions of the Grant business as little public as possible." Moreover the General was troubled by a number of women and children who were hovering at Saratoga while their husbands and fathers had fled the enemy. Finding the refugees to be utterly "burthensome and detrimental," he requested Clinton to have them sent to Canada or to New York if friends failed to remove them.<sup>13</sup>

Early on the morning of November 2, Schuyler responded to fresh intelligence that the enemy had approached Lake George on October 31. Expecting they had crossed the lake the day before, he guessed they might reach Fort Edward on the 2d. Accordingly, he issued an appeal to militia officers and others of the area to rush at once to Saratoga. Not a single



moment must be lost, he urged; if other militia arrived from Albany, the enemy might be struck a fatal blow. People from the Hampshire Grants, he promised, were hurrying to assist them, but they could not be expected to arrive for effective action unless the nearby militia could “oppose them [the British] in front.”<sup>14</sup>

The General’s allegation that Vermonters were rushing to the rescue must surely have been false. But he was desperate, and on November 3 he fired off another circular appeal to the militia and other inhabitants of the Saratoga district. Ruin and desolation by a cruel and bloodthirsty foe were imminent, he argued; repeated calls for militia had brought few answers, and yet the danger was now advancing from Fort George. Urging his neighbors to avoid the reproach of “being cowardly Spectators of the Enemy’s Insults and depredations,” he wrote, “come on, I entreat you! . . . Let not rain prevent you!”<sup>15</sup>

Although Christopher Carleton’s bands did not again range far south of Lake George, Schuyler sensed their threat until about mid-November. Scouts reported signs of enemy parties around Fort Edward, and during November 5–6 he again lamented the tardy response to his repeated calls for militia; none from Schenectady had arrived, and none of his brother Stephen’s regiment. He could, he told Brigadier General James Clinton, still hope that these as well as other units from Claverack and Kings District, then on the road north of Albany, might be sufficient to rebuff any enemy assault. Indeed, he rather wished Carleton’s men would venture a second visit to Saratoga “as we shall probably chastise them for their Temerity if they venture to attempt a penetration. I think,” he told Clinton, “you should come up.”<sup>16</sup>

Similarly, the Squire of Saratoga struck a note of optimism in his report to his neighbor and political ally James Duane on November 6. Of Carleton’s presence near Ticonderoga he wrote, “I hope we shall be able to baffle him at present,” but had the enemy commander pursued his earlier advantage, he might easily have destroyed the countryside on both sides of the Hudson to within a dozen miles of Albany. Arguing that at least two regiments should be posted for the encouragement of settlers to remain on the frontiers north and west of the city, Schuyler believed that without them the inhabitants would “move into the Interior” during the winter. Although it appeared that General Frederick Haldimand had dickered for the loyalty of the Hampshire Grants people, the Yorker was also hopeful that, save for a few villains among them, most of the people were “staunch friends of the Cause.”<sup>17</sup>

The turn of the season proved to be perhaps a better defense against

Carleton's raiders than all of Schuyler's efforts to assemble an adequate force to oppose them. With Sir John Johnson's flight back into Canada, and winter closing in, Carleton also withdrew. The severity of the season, however, did not halt Haldimand's negotiations with Ethan Allen and his Vermonters. But Schuyler hoped to draw them from temptation by inducing the New York Legislature to surrender the state's jurisdiction and to create a commission to settle disputed land titles. In the meantime he knew that there would be only a respite in the enemy's assaults on the frontiers. By the next campaign, however, he told James Duane, there would be little for them to destroy since so many New Yorkers had already abandoned their homesteads.<sup>18</sup>

Before Carleton's withdrawal from Ticonderoga for the winter Schuyler found occasion to inform the British commander of the Arnold-André affair — a poignant reminder of the gentleman's code that prevailed throughout even the horrors of the war. Commenting on Carleton's correspondence with Colonel Peter Gansevoort about an exchange of prisoners, the General may also have decided that publicizing the failure of Arnold's treason might discourage further incursions on the frontiers and British dickerings with those "bent on delivering Vermont to the enemy." And he could not have been unmindful of the link between Arnold's intention to surrender West Point and the raids out of Canada which appeared to be ploys to divert American military strength from the lower Hudson.<sup>19</sup>

It was probably Hamilton who supplied Schuyler with accounts of Arnold's miscarried treason and Major John André's exemplary behavior before he was hanged as a spy.<sup>20</sup> But it was not until November 10 that the General revealed his knowledge of the West Point episode when he offered his account of it to Major Christopher Carleton. "Altho I believed your curiosity would prompt you to wish for the particulars relative to your unfortunate Acquaintance with Major Andre," Schuyler began, "I had my doubts on the Propriety of sending You the Inclosed papers as they Contain Intelligence which cannot be agreeable to your side of the question, but finding myself Incapable to offer, what might by some be deemed an Insult, I easily concluded that a man of honor and Liberal Sentiments would not consider this as one."<sup>21</sup>

Schuyler's reaction to Arnold's treason, like that of the general public, was one of outrage; Arnold's effort represented a violation of the very heart of the Revolution — public virtue — and a zealous attachment to other ideals supportive of the principle of virtue: honor, integrity, valor, industry and generosity.<sup>22</sup> Certainly, the erstwhile General's letter to Carleton is a revealing commentary on his own devotion to virtue and honor — a state-

ment of the very qualities of character for which the proud patriot justly deserves to be remembered.

While Schuyler sent Carleton copies of André's letters to Washington and Sir Henry Clinton, he recounted the substance of the "whole transaction," relying only upon his memory of a written narrative which he did not then have at hand to copy. Arnold, he said, "early in the Summer communicated his Intention in a letter to Colo: Beverly Robinson, a Correspondence ensued In consequence, between the former And Major Andre on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, and was carried on in a Mercantile Metaphorical Style, under feigned names. Arnold agreed to deliver up the fortifications of which he had the Command and which he had most earnestly solicited." Schuyler did not, however, explain to Carleton that his own sympathy for Arnold, who had not been accorded the recognition due him for his abilities and services, had led him and others like Robert R. Livingston to endorse Arnold's application for the West Point command or some other significant military assignment. Early in June, Schuyler had informed Arnold that he had dined with Washington, who "expressed himself with regard to you in terms of the friends who love you," and that it might be possible for Arnold to choose between a command in the field and that of West Point. For the time being, Washington did not have a place for Arnold, and it was not until August 5 that the importunate officer actually began his assignment at West Point.<sup>23</sup>

Months later, in October, Washington recalled that the suggestion that Arnold might be assigned to West Point had made "little impression on me. . . ." Schuyler, he said, "seemed to have no other view in communicating the thing than because he was requested to do it. . . ." The Virginian, however, clearly held Schuyler in high regard. His confidence in the Yorker's judgement and proven abilities — his intimate knowledge of military affairs, candor, "personal civilities," and warm friendship — Washington maintained was the result of a pretty long acquaintanceship. The villainous perfidy of Arnold could not besmirch Schuyler's reputation, and Washington cited the army's high esteem for the Yorker who had sought so devotedly to alleviate its distresses and tried to promote the very objects for which he had been appointed to a variety of duties.<sup>24</sup>

Like others, Schuyler had of course been duped, and Arnold was deeply involved with his British co-conspirators at the very time that he solicited the Yorker's aid in efforts to return to active military service. After he arrived at West Point, Arnold arranged his conference with Sir Henry Clinton's agents, Beverly Robinson and John André. On September 21 André made the mistake of leaving the *Vulture*, a British sloop of war, when he

went ashore in the vicinity of Stony Point because Arnold refused to board the ship. Forced to drop down river by American artillery, the *Vulture* left without André, who then attempted to return to Sir Henry Clinton's New York headquarters by land. Arnold persuaded him "much against his Inclination to change his dress, and . . . In this disguise and with a pass from Arnold . . . he past [*sic*] the posts at Stoney point, and the Guards below, and had reached Tarrytown, about thirteen Miles from Kingsbridge. . . ." There, on September 23, he was accosted by three lads; he asked, Schuyler explained, "If they were Cow Boys (an appellation given to a set of Mara[u]ders on both sides, ours being called *upper* and the British *lower* Cow Boys) they answered in the affirmative," and when André "enquired wether *upper* or *lower*" they misled him by answering "*lower*." André then requested that they "conduct him to the british lines, on which they seized him, and on examination found a number of papers" proving that he was a spy.<sup>25</sup> On September 25 Washington's general orders announced that "Treason of the blackest dye was yesterday discovered. General Arnold who commanded at Westpoint, lost to every sentiment of honor, of public and private obligation, was about to deliver up that important post into the hands of the enemy."<sup>26</sup>

While Schuyler was grieved by the baseness of Arnold's scheme, he was, like many others, sympathetic to his accomplice, André. At his trial André "frankly avowed" that his civilian dress and "the papers found on him subjected him to the punishment Authorized by the law of nations." His dignity, Schuyler said, "drew the admiration of his Judges and acquired him the Esteem of our whole Army, whose resentment rested w[h]ere every man of sentiment will place It on Arnold, and most Chearfully would Every officer in the army have Interceded for his life If Arnold could have been Substituted. At the place of Execution [October 2] his Conduct was correspondent to that on his trial. Just before his exit," Schuyler noted, André "Observed to a Gentleman that his sentiments In this unhappy Conflict had always been liberal, but If any prejudices had remained, the Candor and affection he had experienced would have erazed [*sic*] them for ever; he certainly was an Ornament to the profession he had adopted, of such strict honor that when It was Intimated that If Arnold was given up his life would probably be saved, he declined hinting It to Sir Clinton. Indeed If he had," Schuyler vowed, "I should have from that moment siezed [*sic*] to esteem him, for altho his life was worth a thousand of Arnolds, It would have been bought at too high a price." Schuyler's final pronouncement on Benedict Arnold agreed very well with another officer's judgment that the ball which hit Arnold in the leg at Saratoga in 1777 should have struck

his heart: "He then would have finished his career in Glory." That Arnold should now be "made a Brigadier In the british line," Schuyler found to be even more offensive. "If he was a mere deserter," he told Carleton, "I should think It probable, but I cannot believe that men of honor can so far sacrifice their feelings as to serve under such a Character, which is de-based beyond description."<sup>27</sup>

Arnold's sordid deed touched others with whom he had been associated, and because of it Schuyler was obliged to intervene on behalf of his former aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Varick. As Arnold's aide Varick, too, was suspected of treason; he was also charged with misuse of government supplies, and Washington ordered his arrest on September 25. By mid-October when Schuyler received Varick's request to attend a court of inquiry and to testify on his behalf, the Yorker begged to be excused. Only a very ill state of health, he said, prevented his travel to West Point where the court sat on November 2-5. For that matter, illness also prevented the General's attendance at the Hartford Convention which met a few days later. But Schuyler did not hesitate to file written testimony of Varick's exemplary character, thereby demonstrating his own standards of public virtue and personal honor. Entirely confident of Varick's attachment to the "glorious cause," Schuyler professed no regret that he had concealed nothing from his former aide. Recounting Varick's military record since 1775, the General remained entirely satisfied with the propriety of his conduct "in every point of view"; so far from believing Varick capable of betraying his country, he insisted "that even if testimony on oath was given against him, it would gain little credit with me, unless the persons giving it were of fair and unblemished characters."<sup>28</sup>

Happily, Varick persuaded the court to acquit him of all suspicion. Witnesses and a variety of depositions agreed with Schuyler's own assessment that "on the whole" he had always found Varick to be "a man of strict honor, probity and virtue, and so I do still believe him to be."<sup>29</sup> Varick's trial coincided with the last of Schuyler's alarms about the northern frontier menace in November, and the Yorker's inability to attend the court was largely the result of his determination to wait out the danger at Saratoga and to avoid the aggravation that travel must give to his illness. By mid-month, however, the crisis seemed to have passed. On November 12, for example, Colonel Marinus Willett reported to Colonel John Lamb that he expected to move his troops from Albany toward West Point on the following morning. Recent alarms about another enemy attack were apparently premature and an account of their crossing Lake George proved to be unfounded. Instead, they had apparently withdrawn to Canada.<sup>30</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Franklin B. Hough (ed.), *The Northern Invasion of October 1780: A Series of Papers Relating to the Expedition from Canada under Sir John Johnson against The Frontiers of New York which were supposed to have Connection with Arnold's Treason* (New York, 1866), 42-47, 63-64. Charles A. Jellison, *Ethan Allen, Frontier Rebel* (Syracuse, N.Y.; 1969), 247-250, 254. Hamilton Vaughan Bail, "A Letter to Lord Germain About Vermont," *Vermont History*, XXXIV (Oct., 1966), 233.

<sup>2</sup>Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse, N.Y.; 1972) 237-238, 240. Howard H. Peckham (ed.), *The Toll of Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1974), 76-77.

<sup>3</sup>G. Clinton to Schuyler, 3, 26 Oct. 1780, Hugh Hastings and J.A. Holden (eds.), *Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777-1795, 1801-1804* (10 vols.; New York, 1899-1914), VI, 275-276, 325-326 (hereafter cited as Hastings, *Clinton Papers*). Schuyler to A. Hamilton, 10 Oct. 1780, Harold C. Syrett et al. (eds.), *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (26 vols.; New York, 1961-1979), II, 457-458 (hereafter cited as Syrett, *Hamilton Papers*). W. Heath to Schuyler, 12 Oct. 1780, New York Public Library: Schuyler Papers (hereafter cited as NYPL: S Papers).

<sup>4</sup>Schuyler to Pres. Samuel Huntington, 10 Oct. 1780, Papers of Continental Congress: National Archives Microfilm Reel 173.

<sup>5</sup>Schuyler to G. Clinton, 27 Oct. 1780, Hastings, *Clinton Papers*, VI, 343-344. Graymont, *Iroquois*, 242, 322.

<sup>6</sup>W. Malcolm to H. Glen, 14 Oct. 1780, Katharine Schuyler Baxter, *A God-child of Washington* (New York, 1897), 446.

<sup>7</sup>G. Clinton to G. Washington, 18 Oct. 1780, Hough, *Northern Invasion*, 108-110. G. Clinton to Schuyler, 18 Oct. 1780, Hastings, *Clinton Papers*, VI, 304-305. Egbert Benson to Schuyler, 19 Oct. 1780, NYPL: S Papers.

<sup>8</sup>G. Clinton to Schuyler, 26 Oct. 1780, Hastings, *Clinton Papers*, VI, 325-326.

<sup>9</sup>Schuyler to A. Hamilton, 19 Oct. 1780, Syrett, *Hamilton Papers*, II, 480-481.

<sup>10</sup>Schuyler to G. Clinton, 20, 27, 31 Oct. 1780, Hastings, *Clinton Papers*, VI, 324-325, 343-344, 358. Schuyler to G. Washington, 31 Oct.-1 Nov. 1780, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington, 1745-1799* (37 vols.; Washington, 1931-1940), XX, 305n (hereafter cited as WGW).

<sup>11</sup>G. Clinton to Schuyler, 2 Nov. 1780, Hastings, *Clinton Papers*, VI, 368-369.

<sup>12</sup>G. Washington to Schuyler, 6 Nov. 1780, WGW, XX, 304-305. See also Washington to W. Heath and to J. Clinton, 6 Nov. 1780, *ibid.*, 305-306.

<sup>13</sup>Schuyler to G. Clinton, 1 Nov. 1780, Hastings, *Clinton Papers*, VI, 364-365.

<sup>14</sup>Schuyler's First Appeal to All Officers of Militia et al., [2] Nov. 1780, *ibid.*, 376-377.

<sup>15</sup>Schuyler's Second Appeal to All Officers of Militia et al., 3 Nov. 1780, *ibid.*, 377-378.

<sup>16</sup>Schuyler to J. Clinton, 5 Nov. 1780, NYPL: S Papers (Box 16 land papers).

<sup>17</sup>Schuyler to James Duane, 6 Nov. 1780, New York State Library: Manuscript Division.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup>Jellison, *Ethan Allen*, 248, 250, 254 and Hough, *The Northern Invasion*, 63-64.

<sup>20</sup>A. Hamilton to Elizabeth Schuyler, 25 Sept., 2, 5 Oct. 1780, Syrett, *Hamilton Papers*, II, 441-442, 448-449, 455-456.

<sup>21</sup>Schuyler to Major C. Carlton, 10 Nov. 1780: British Museum Additional Manuscripts 21835, Haldimand Papers, f. 42.

<sup>22</sup>Charles Royster, "The Nature of Treason: Revolutionary Virtue and American Reactions to Benedict Arnold," *The William and Mary Quarterly*: 3d Series, XXXVI (April, 1979), 163-193.

<sup>23</sup>B. Arnold to Schuyler, 25 May 1780, NYPL: S Papers. Schuyler to B. Arnold, 2 June 1780, New-York Historical Society: Joseph Reed Papers, vol. 7. Cf. Malcolm Decker, *Benedict Arnold: Son of the Havens* (New York, 1961), 358 and James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington* (4 vols.; Boston, 1965-1972), II, 381.

<sup>24</sup>G. Washington to Joseph Reed, 18 Oct. 1780, WGW, XX, 213-215.

<sup>25</sup>See note 21 *supra*.

<sup>26</sup>Washington's general orders, 25 Sept. 1780, WGW, XX, 94.

<sup>27</sup>See note 21 *supra* and E. Oswald to John Lamb, 11 Dec. 1780, New-York Historical Society: Lamb Papers.

<sup>28</sup>Schuyler to President of the Court for inquiring into the conduct of Lt. Col. Varick, 15 Oct. 1780, H.E. Huntington Library.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.* R. Varick to Schuyler, 31 Oct. 1780, NYPL: S Papers. See also Syrett, *Hamilton Papers*, XXVI, 395-399 and Albert B. Hart (ed.), *The Varick Court of Inquiry to Investigate the Implication of Colonel Varick (Arnold's Private Secretary) in the Arnold Treason* (Boston, 1907), 46-48, 51, 67-69.

<sup>30</sup>M. Willett to J. Lamb, 12 Nov. 1780, New-York Historical Society: Lamb Papers.

A Table for SURVEYING  
IRON CANNON in the Several Parts

According to the Description of it, and its parts in the year 1757.

		in Feet
	A C Total Length	60.0
	A D True Port	6.7
	A N Middle Port	2.2
	A T True Port	28.0
	A D Head with Ashagale	1.0
Lengths	A R Cylinder or Body	5.0
	B T Resistant	1.0
	T X Barrel's whole length	1.0
	V X True and Action	1.0
	X T Shows behind the Cannon to the True Port	1.0
	E T Trunnion	1.0
	AB Muzzle	1.0
	CDEFPG Ashagale	1.0
Muzzle's Breadth with Groove	N O True Range's Long	1.0
	GH Second Range's Long	1.0
	ST True Range	1.0
	T V True Barrel with Groove	1.0
	V W Second Barrel with Groove	1.0
	Q S Plain Groove	1.0
	F G Second Range's Long Groove	1.0
	B D Groove	1.0
	T O Middle Groove	1.0
	O P Head	1.0
	J P Distance the Head's Length	1.0
	I Q Beyond the Cannon to the True Port	1.0
	V X Beyond the Cannon to the True Port	1.0
	H Q Beyond the Cannon to the True Port	1.0
	A D Trunnion	1.0
Diameter	I Q Beyond the Head to the True Port	1.0
	P R Distance from Cannon to True Port	1.0
	V X Beyond the True Port	1.0
	T V True	1.0
	V W True Long	1.0
	V X True Groove	1.0
	V Y True Groove	1.0
	V Z True Groove	1.0
	V A True Groove	1.0



## BRITISH ORDNANCE AT FORT TICONDEROGA

Adrian Caruana

In November of 1982 Mr. Adrian Caruana, a resident of South Wales, United Kingdom and an expert on British Ordnance, visited Fort Ticonderoga. He was accompanied by Mr. Edwin Almstead of Mount Holly Springs, Pennsylvania, who shares his interest in artillery history.

Mr. Caruana is a retired British regimental officer and has written a variety of articles on artillery with much of his subject research done at the Royal Artillery Institution at Woolwich, England. Both men were delighted at an opportunity to study at firsthand Fort Ticonderoga's extensive collection of ordnance. As a result of that visit Mr. Caruana has prepared and donated to this library a careful survey and location of the British Ordnance now part of the Fort Ticonderoga Collection, and we now publish this as a preliminary record pending a more detailed study of the guns.

JML

## British Ordnance at Fort Ticonderoga

Locations are in accordance with the attached plan and guns are located by number.

1. A 4 Pr of the reign of George 3, designed by General Armstrong; weight 11-2-5; length 5 feet 6 inches.
2. As 1; weight 11-1-26.
3. A 6 Pr of the reign of George 3, designed by General Sir Thomas Blomefield, cast by the Carron Company of Falkirk, Scotland; weight 21-0-4; length 7 ft 6 ins.
4. As 3, weighing 20-3-14.
5. As 3, weighing 20-3-21.
6. As 3, weighing 21-0-19.
7. As 3, weighing 20-1-21.
8. As 3, weighing 20-3-7.
9. An English pattern 4 Pr; not a government gun.
10. A Swedish gun, but marked as an English government piece by the broad arrow. The bore is blocked and cannot be measured, but it appears, from external dimensions, a 6 Pr.
11. A 24 Pr of the reign of George 3, designed by General Blomefield, cast by Walker and Company of Rotherham; weight partially indecipherable, but apparently 49 Cwt; Length 9 feet 6 inches.
12. As 11, but cast by the Lowmoor foundry and weighing 49-3-14.
13. As 12; the weight is partially indecipherable, but appears to be 49-3-?.
14. As 13, but weighing 50-2-0.
15. As 14, but weighing 49-3-0. The gun is spiked.
16. As 15, but cast by Walker and Company of Rotherham, weighing 50-2-0. Spiked.
17. As 16, but cast by the Lowmoor foundry, also spiked, and weighing 50-3-0.
18. An English 32 Pr Demi Cannon, circa 1685.
19. A 24 Pr, of the reign of George 3, designed by General Armstrong; weight 49-1-16.
20. A 24 Pr, of the reign of George 3, designed by General Blomefield, cast at the Lowmoor foundry, length 9 ft 6 ins, weighing 49-3-0.
21. As 20, but cast by Walker and Co., and weighing 50-1-0.
22. As 21, but weighing 50-0-0.
23. As 22, but cast at the Lowmoor foundry, weighing 50-1-0, and spiked.
24. As 23, but weighing 50-0-2.
25. As 24, but cast by Walker and Co.
26. As 25, but cast by the Lowmoor foundry, and weighing 49-3-21.
27. A 6 Pr of the reign of Queen Anne, designed by General Borgard, and cast by Mathew Bagley at the Moorfield's foundry, London.
28. As 27.
29. As 28, but cast by John Fuller, weighing 19-0-12.
30. An English pattern 6 Pr.
31. As 30.
32. As 27.
33. An English 6 Pr, cast in the reign of William and Mary, probably by the Fuller family at Heathfield, Sussex, weighing 22-0-26.

34. As 33, but weighing 21-3-26.
35. As 33, but weighing 21-3-7.
36. Not English.
37. 9 Pr English pattern.
38. As 37.
39. A 9 Pr cast about 1685.
40. A 6 Pr of the reign of George 3, apparently proved twice, designed by General Armstrong, weight 16-3-19, length 6 feet.
41. As 40, but not twice proved, weighing 16-2-19.
42. As 41.
43. As 41, but weighing 16-0-26.
44. A 9 Pr of English pattern, probably cast about 1690.
45. As 44.
46. Probably a French 8 Pr.
47. Probably English, but not government pattern.
48. A 9 Pr, English pattern, of about 1675.
49. Probably a 12 Pr; English, about 1685. The number 1688 on the left trunnion may be but it is not necessarily the date of the piece.
50. A 12 Pr, English, about 1690.
51. Probably an English 9 Pr, but difficult to establish owing to condition.
52. Probably a French 8 Pr.
53. General Belford's pattern of Light 6 Pr Brass, length 5 feet, weight 6-0-0.
54. As 53.

Note — The sights on 53 and 54 are not standard.

## REVIEWS

**The Role of Fort Chambly in the Development of New France, 1665–1760.** Cyrille Gélinas (Parks Canada, 1983, 76 pages, \$5.25 in Canada, \$6.30 outside Canada payable in Canadian Funds, Cat. No. R64-139/1983E, or in French Cat. No. R64-139/1983F).

Fort Chambly is located on the Richelieu River at the foot of the rapids that block direct access to Lake Champlain from the Saint Lawrence River. Its location on the strategic Champlain Waterway insured Fort Chambly's importance in the history of New France and the Champlain Valley.

Cyrille Gélinas, the author, states that the purpose of this study was “. . . to shed new light on the reasons for the tenacious presence of the French military in the Richelieu region.” Starting with the construction of the first fort at Chambly in 1665 by the Carignan-Salières regiment until its capture by the British in 1760, the author traces this presence and ties it into the history of New France.

For those interested in the history of the French occupation of the Champlain Valley this book contains much valuable information. Along with DeTracy's and Courcelles' campaigns in 1666, the arrival of the Compagnies Franche de la Marine and their life at Chambly during the French regime, Gélinas includes a discussion of the illegal trade between the British in Albany and New France by way of Lake Champlain. It also provides valuable background material relating to the establishment of the other French posts in the Champlain Valley.

Following the establishment of a new French fort at Pointe-à-la-Chevelure in 1731 and at Carillon in 1755 Chambly lost much of its strategic importance. It did, however, become an important staging point and supply base for the forward positions in the Champlain Valley.

The section dealing with the life of the soldiers at Chambly is especially good. It contains much information that is applicable to the garrisons at Fort St-Frédéric and at Carillon. Not only are the military jobs described, but the roles of civilians in the life of the garrison are considered. The living conditions of the troops are also discussed. While the author seems to feel that there was not enough information available on the life of the garrison, this section does provide an excellent feeling of the conditions under which the troops functioned.

As an appendix to the main text the author includes Dollier de Casson's account of the winter of 1665–1666 at Fort St-Anne on Isle LaMotte. This

is probably representative of the conditions at the other forts in the Richelieu Valley at this time, but it is of special interest for persons interested in the early French history of the Champlain Valley as Port St-Anne was the first French settlement on the lake.

In the seventy-six pages Gélinas furnishes an understanding of not only the role of Fort Chambly in New France, but an understanding of French policy and activity in the Richelieu River-Lake Champlain area during the period 1665-1760. The seven-page bibliography provides a good basis for further study of the French presence in the area.

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**MOHAWK: A Game of the French and Indian Wars, 1754-1760.** Tom Loback and Rick Bowes (Aulic Council Publishing Co., 152 W. 26th St., No. 36, NY, NY 10001, \$15).

Francis Parkman needed seven volumes to do unique justice to the French and British rivalry for North America, and many lesser writers have devoted thousands of words to bring that era to life. But never has anyone tried to produce what Tom Loback and Rick Bowes have — a sophisticated strategy game on the conflict's final phase.

The result of their labors is MOHAWK, a flawed but imaginative and intriguing "essay" into the strategies of the time, emphasizing the geographical realities which were the *real* key to the continent.

Strategy games, "conflict simulations," or, to use the unfashionable but correct term, wargames, are generally played out on a stylized map-board by moving pieces of cardboard representing military units. Some sort of battle resolution system settles combat.

MOHAWK generally follows this traditional pattern. The color-coded counters move from point to point, from New York City to Albany to Fort Edward to Fort George to Ticonderoga. As an especially nice touch, the map reads differently depending on your point of view — from the French side it is "Carillon," while Lake Ontario is "Lac du Frontenac." Nice.

A note here is appropriate. *All* historical wargames are complex and require a certain resolve and motivation from the players. This is true for MOHAWK as well, which, alas, will win no prizes for the clarity of its six pages of rules. They are illustrated with maps and engravings, all very flavorful, but "The Death of Braddock" takes up space which might have been more profitably employed with examples of play.

Each of the two players represents one of the principal antagonists, with the French player able to rally most of the Indians to his standard. Other counters represent Regulars, Colonial Regulars, Colonial Militia, Rangers (for the British), and the "Couriers de Bois," unfortunately fractured French which conjures up postal employees hastening through the forest, but in reality represents the *coureurs de bois*, specifically Langlade, Marin, and Joincaire. Different types of units move a varying number of "points" per turn.

Each of the game's seven years takes two turns. The first turn of each year has a "naval phase," a very simple, innovative system which allows the players to run each other's blockades in an attempt to bring reinforcements from the Old World — in the form of troop ships, armament and supply convoys, and gifts and supplies, critical to the French efforts to recruit Indian allies.

And recruit them they must. The *coureurs* scurry hither and yon, rounding up tribes from their generalized historical locations — all but the watchful Iroquois, who await developments with an armed neutrality, watching the winds before entering the fray.

Should Indians be present at a battle the French lose, they all go home, and must be recruited all over again. No quarrel there — the American Indian generally had too much sense to throw good money after bad. But the item which shows that the designers have much more than a shallow grasp on the period follows — after a battle which the French *win*, half the Indians present go home! Why? Loot and prisoners, of course, and the tribesmen have to be recruited again for the next season's campaign.

MOHAWK's Indians are a real high spot, the kind of simple, brilliant design technique which teaches a real lesson. Sure, you've read about the gift-giving, the rum, and all that — but wait until your allies desert you when you need them most. You will never forget.

Unfortunately, the game itself founders on the wide knowledge and ambition of the designers. In an attempt to include as much as they could, perhaps they overreached in a field which has been untouched since the Canadian gem, QUEBEC 1759, was published a dozen or so years ago.

The evocative, detailed map may in fact be the root of the problem. Bright with blues and greens and yellows, it represents North America from Virginia to the Great Lakes, from the Ohio country to the Atlantic. Regrettably, it uses only about half the available space on the board.

The remainder contains inset drawings, not maps, of "typical" terrain — open fields, a town, a fort, a beach, and the omnipresent forest. When combat occurs on the main map, the pieces are withdrawn to the small ter-

rain map of the appropriate type for the volley of dice. While different terrain benefits different unit types (open ground for Regulars, forest for Rangers and Indians), the differentiation does not really demand inset maps. The space would be better used to enlarge the main map, especially considering the generous size of the double-sided counters.

In sum, should you buy MOHAWK?

Since you are reading this publication, the answer is obvious. Despite rules problems and a crowded map, MOHAWK has the right *feel*, and is obviously a labor of love. Make no mistake, they know their — and our — period.

BRIAN BURNS

Sturbridge, Massachusetts

## MUSEUM NOTES

Fort Ticonderoga enjoyed a very successful 1983. For the past three years each one has shown a gain both numerically and financially. But over and above the prosaic statistics it is rewarding to administrative personnel to be able to say that 1983 was most successful museum-wise. In this area we are pleased to report that Fort Ticonderoga Museum has been granted a renewal of its approval by the American Association of Museums. First granted approval in 1972, the AAM in 1982 notified the staff at the Fort that it was time for re-inspection and sent a questionnaire for specifics about the Museum, its purpose and programs. Late in the year they notified us that an independent inspection team would be scheduled. As a result of these review steps we were notified that the Fort Ticonderoga Museum was once more granted approval by the American Association of Museums and we have now received its official accreditation certificate for display.

The Fort and its museum opened for the season on May 14 and we were privileged to welcome some 4000 students on field trips during the months of May and June. These students are of course welcomed without charge so long as advance arrangements are made with the Fort management, and enjoy guided tours of the fortification and its museum. We are most appreciative of the informative tours presented by our own Ruth Fitzgerald.

Flag Day was observed and a local program of such recognition was presented by Ticonderoga's B.P.O.E. #1494 with guest speaker Colonel E. W. Mangine, a West Point liaison officer. The program was well attended

Recognizing the contribution of this ethnic heritage attracted 80 scholars on a day long visit to the Fort and its area history. Welcomed by Dr. John Krueger, the group plans to repeat its tours in 1984.

Final major event of the season was the inaugural "Fort to Fort" 30-kilometer run from the grounds of Fort Amherst or Crown Point to the courtyard at Fort Ticonderoga. Some 92 runners took part in this seasonal event which will be repeated in 1984.

Finally, on December 12, 1983 Fort Ticonderoga was the successful bidder at an auction at Phillips Galleries in London on a contemporary oil painting attributed to Thomas Davies and depicting Amherst's 1759 encampment at the head of Lake George. This painting is unique and a longer and more detailed article will be forthcoming in another issue.

JML



*Presented to the Fort Ticonderoga Museum by Robert G. Goelet.*







**THE BULLETIN OF THE  
FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM**

Volume XIV

Fall 1985

Number 6



**“VIEW OF LAKE GEORGE, 1759”**

by

**Thomas Davies**

# THE FORT TICONDEROGA MUSEUM

Jane M. Lape  
*Curator-General Manager*

John H. G. Pell  
*President*

John W. Krueger  
*Editor of *The Bulletin**

## Admission:

The Fort and Museum are open from mid-May until mid-October, including Sundays and holidays, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. (6 P.M. during July and August). The admission charge is \$5.00 for adults and \$3.00 for children from ten to thirteen. There is no charge for children under ten or for students of any level in classroom groups, supervised by a teacher, who have made previous arrangements with the Management.

**The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum** is an occasional publication of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, Ticonderoga, New York. The Fort Ticonderoga Museum assumes no responsibility for the statements, interpretations, or opinions of contributors to **The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum**.

Manuscripts about the early history of the Champlain Valley are invited. Address correspondence to John W. Krueger, Editor, Fort Ticonderoga, Ticonderoga, New York 12883.

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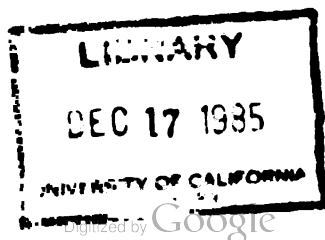
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## THE FORT TICONDEROGA KING'S SHIPYARD EXCAVATION: AN OVERVIEW

by

John W. Krueger

The Fort Ticonderoga King's Shipyard Excavation is a multi disciplinary program incorporating nautical archaeology, historical research, artifact interpretation, conservation, and collections care. The program began with the discovery of three well-preserved submerged wooden hulls dating from the period of the French and Indian War.

Representing as they do both French and British naval architecture, these vessels could prove to be the most significant record of colonial military ship construction ever discovered in North America. The scientific study of these vessels and their associated artifacts can provide valuable information on a variety of topics, notably: the social and economic status and life-style of officers, seamen, and associated civilians in a fairly isolated colonial military outpost; the military and civilian trade networks and supply systems in the Champlain Valley in the second half of the eighteenth century; and the design and construction of military vessels of this period.

The French and British had contested the title to the Champlain Valley, which formed a frontier between the two colonial empires, for more than 150 years. By 1758 the French controlled Lake Champlain by virtue of fortifications at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In addition, the French had constructed a fleet of four 65-ton sloops and a schooner to strengthen their control of the Lake Champlain invasion route.

In 1759 British forces under General Jeffrey Amherst succeeded in driving the French from their fortifications at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In order to continue their advance north into Canada, the British needed to gain control of the lake itself. To that end, Amherst ordered the construction of a 155-ton brig, *Duke of Cumberland*, and a 115-ton sloop, *Boscawen*, at the King's Shipyard at Ticonderoga.

Once launched, the British vessels sought out the French fleet to settle the question of title once and for all. In a questionable maneuver, the French, upon sighting the larger British vessels, intentionally scuttled three of their sloops without a fight. Amherst's forces salvaged the French sloops and rearmed them, and it is one of these vessels that the archaeological team believes is among those it has found in the muddy waters off Fort Ticonderoga.

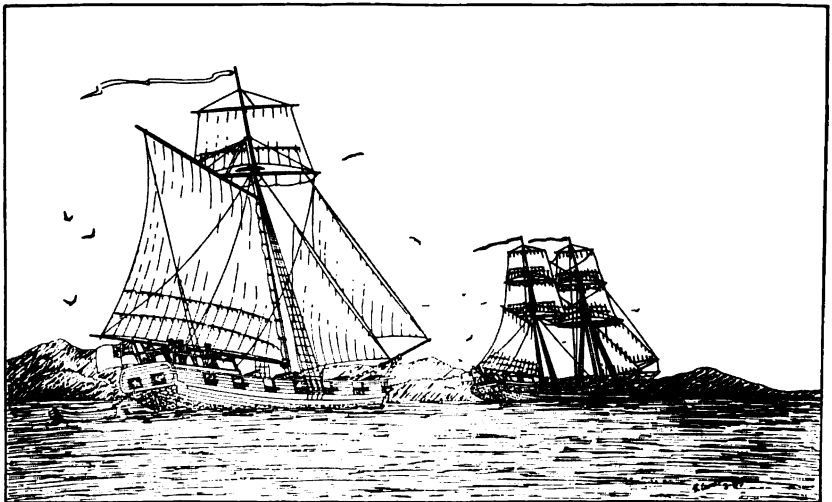
During the war the *Boscawen* was used to transport soldiers and supplies to the British posts along the lake. But with the departure of the French from Canada following the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the strategic significance

of Lake Champlain declined and the *Boscawen*, the *Duke of Cumberland*, and at least one of the French sloops were moored at Ticonderoga. Stripped of their armament and rigging, they gradually sank.

The program methodology calls for the systematic excavation of each of the submerged hulls. Artifacts located will be removed from the water, catalogued, drawn, photographed, and conserved. A representative selection of the artifacts will be interpreted and placed on public display at the Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

After removing the several feet of mud from the wooden hulls, the vessels themselves will be meticulously measured and photo documented, both with underwater video and still camera photomosaic techniques. The data collected will be transformed into reconstructed line drawings and models of a type of craft that to date has been undocumented in the evolutionary chain of vessel design. When each hull has been documented, it will be backfilled with mud and allowed to remain in its stable environment.

Concurrently, an historical research effort by a group of historians is beginning to uncover new data concerning the building, operation, and demise of this colonial fleet. A program of archival research and collaboration with British, French, and Canadian archivists will be completed during the life of the project. When published, this historical data will present a detailed look at the officers, seamen, civilians, and vessels associated with the Fort Ticonderoga King's Shipyard during the important transitional years between the French and Indian War and the American Revolution.





## **THE FORT TICONDEROGA KING'S SHIPYARD EXCAVATION: 1984 FIELD-SEASON REPORT**

by  
**Arthur B. Cohn**

The Fort Ticonderoga King's Shipyard Excavation began in August of 1983 with the discovery of three submerged hulls in the waters just off the shore of Fort Ticonderoga. These finds were located during a Champlain Maritime Society sponsored survey of Lake Champlain around the Mt. Independence-Fort Ticonderoga area for the Vermont Division of Historic Preservation. The primary objective of this survey was to locate the remains of the "Great Bridge" which extended across the lake between those two points. The bridge, which was in fact a floating bridge secured by twenty-four fixed supports or caissons, was built by the American forces while they were in possession of the fortifications during the Revolutionary War.

In preparation for the 1983 field survey, historical research in various repositories of regional information, particularly at Fort Ticonderoga, was undertaken. The research produced documentary evidence relating to the bridge and other maritime related subjects. Regional historians Dennis Lewis, Peter Barranco, John Krueger, J. Robert Maguire, John Williams and Timothy Titus brought forth information they possessed that might have a bearing on the planned survey. Rumor, legend, and folklore, provided by a variety of local sources, were also evaluated and added into the survey strategy.

Relying heavily on the accumulated historical information for defining the boundaries of the search, the survey was to employ a combination of methods. The general survey of the lake bottom around Fort Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence was to include the use of a sophisticated electronic instrument called a "side-scan sonar." The specific areas suspected of having a high degree of maritime activity (dockyards, wreck graveyards, etc.) would also be closely inspected by divers. Unfortunately, at the last minute, scheduling problems with the sonar made it unavailable during the designated survey time. We chose, however, to proceed with the diving portion of the survey in the definable areas of maritime association. These locations proved to be limited in water visibility and seemingly unlimited in weeds.

The underwater survey began on August 14, 1983, when the crew arrived at the "old landing" below Fort Ticonderoga and selected a portion of lake bottom to examine. Historical documents and maps suggested that

the shore at the old landing was the western terminus of the Great Bridge; in addition, there were references to this area having been a shipyard and harbor during the fort's active years. We dropped a series of buoys about 100 yards offshore and set about searching the water between the buoys and the shore.

The survey crew consisted of five experienced divers: William Bayreuther, Scott Cooper, Kevin Crisman, Anne Erwin, and Arthur Cohn. The larger survey area was divided into smaller corridors and the lake bottom in these subdivisions was closely examined. Accustomed though we were to working in zero visibility, the extreme density of the weeds made it difficult to see the lake floor or follow a compass course. By pushing through the tangles of underwater vegetation we quickly located the remnants of Fort Ticonderoga's nineteenth century steamboat landing. The steamboat docks were built of rock-filled wooden cribs, a standard type of lakeside structure during the nineteenth century and a prime example of historic depredation in the name of commercial progress for obviously the stone was quarried from the ruined walls of Fort Ticonderoga. The cribs could be seen breaking the surface at low water, and were believed by many to be support caissons for the Great Bridge. After a preliminary examination of these commercial structures we continued on to look for evidence of the eighteenth century bridge. We didn't have long to wait.

In rapid succession we located several bridge caissons, then one submerged hull, and then a second. The support caissons of the bridge were constructed of round logs, notched together "log cabin" style, with wooden treenails pinning the logs together. In the center of each of the roughly twenty-four-foot square structures were floors of logs and rough planks upon which quarried stones had been placed to hold the caisson on the bottom. Finding the remnants of the bridge was exciting but no surprise. The two hulls, however, were unexpected.

The hulls are almost totally buried in the mud bottom, with only a few frame ends and the stem and stern posts protruding inches above the bottom. It actually took several minutes of groping in the mud to establish a frame pattern before the objects could be identified as vessels. In such situations the imagination goes wild reviewing all the possibilities: did the wrecks date to the Revolution or might they be even older? Or were they a couple of standard canal boats or part of an unusual pier structure?

The hulls were large enough to be just about anything. Hull #1 (the first one found) was over fifty feet in length, while hull #2 was over seventy feet long. That first day we noted frame size, general hull shape, and the few construction techniques that were visible. That night there was a great deal of excitement and speculation among the surveying team. No one

wanted to prematurely label the hulls as historically significant but based on the limited amount we had seen and the historical information we had compiled it began to appear (wishful thinking aside) that these hulls were extremely important. Hull #2 in particular had a frame size that indicated it may have been built as a military vessel, which would place it in the Revolutionary War period or possibly even earlier.

The following day we set out to continue the survey and also gather more evidence that would permit preliminary identification of the two hulls. It proved to be another exciting day. Small test pits were dug in each of the hulls and each hole yielded an impressive array of artifacts, including iron hooks and spikes, a polished stone ax head, and a brass spoon handle. The items were removed, drawn, photographed, and re-buried on the wrecks.

They provided the missing strand of hard evidence that was needed to roughly date and identify the buried hulls. As if this wasn't enough excitement for one day, the continuing general survey turned up a third hull. Taking into account all that we had by way of historical data, artifacts, and the hulls themselves, we arrived at the conclusion that we had ventured into a collection of vessels that were part of the first military squadrons built on Lake Champlain during the French and Indian War.

During the 150-year struggle for empire between the French colonies in Canada and the British colonies to the south, Lake Champlain served as a contested frontier and a pathway for raiding parties. The French attempted to confirm their claim to the region by building two forts, St. Frederic (Crown Point) in 1732 and Carillon (Ticonderoga) in 1755. Feeling themselves threatened, the British resolved to challenge the French expansion.

Their first attempt on the Lake Champlain fortifications in 1758 ended in disaster when an enormous army under the command of General Abercromby was soundly defeated by a smaller French force led by General Montcalm. To further strengthen their hold on the lake, the French built a small naval squadron consisting of four 65-ton sloops (*Musquelongy*, *Esturgeon*, *Brochette*, and *Waggon*), and a 70-ton schooner (*Vigilante*).

In July of 1759 the British sent a new army under General Jeffrey Amherst to seize the French forts on Lake Champlain. After token resistance, the French abandoned Carillon and St. Frederic and retreated down the lake, relying on their fleet to impede the British advance. Amherst realized that control of the lake was essential if he was to carry his offensive into Canada, and to this end he directed Captain Joshua Loring to construct two warships, a 155-ton brig (*Duke of Cumberland*) and a 115-ton sloop (*Boscawen*). These vessels were built and outfitted at Ticonderoga and in the fall of 1759 Amherst ordered them to find and destroy the French squadron.

On October 12 the British squadron spotted three of the French sloops and gave chase. By nightfall the French were cornered behind an island at the northern end of the lake. They avoided battle by scuttling their vessels in the darkness and retreating overland to Canada. The British immediately raised the sloops and pressed them into service.

The capture of the greater portion of the French fleet signaled the end of the French occupation of the Champlain Valley. The following year saw the invasion of Canada on three fronts and the termination of French rule in North America. After the war, the now-useless Lake Champlain warships were taken to Fort Ticonderoga and laid up where they later sank from rot and neglect.

The discovery of not one, but three vessels from this historic fleet was to the surveyors, in a word, overwhelming. Almost before the reality of the finds had a chance to sink in, questions and issues started to appear. The locating of the bridge caissons and the hulls had been exciting and successful, but a cloud of responsibility began to descend almost immediately: the hulls were found and appeared to be the oldest vessels ever found in the lake. This was all well and good, but it was now necessary to formulate a plan to properly protect the vessels and carry out a responsible program of research.

As a postscript to the side-scan portion of the survey, we returned with a sonar system and operator in 1984. We resurveyed the area where we knew the bridge and hulls to be. The bridge remnants appeared like the proverbial sore thumb, with the caissons arranged in an evenly spaced line across the lake. The hulls, however, did not show up. Even though we knew exactly where they lay, the wrecks simply did not appear on the sonar records, a result of their being partially in the mud, and in the midst of dense weeds.

### **Formation of the Project**

The next ten months saw the legal, ethical, and academic parameters of the "Fort Ticonderoga Shipwreck Project" debated and molded into an organized program. From the very start, even before the vessels were located, key support for the underwater work had been offered by Mr. John H. G. Pell, President of the Fort Ticonderoga Association. In the spring, prior to the survey, Mr. Pell had listened to our plans for a Champlain Maritime Society survey around the waters of the Fort, and had immediately provided historical and logistical support for the effort. Now that the survey had born fruit, Mr. Pell was again enthusiastic about the opportunities that a study program presented. Since the hulls lay in waters under the legal jurisdiction of the State of New York, the State would need to be a party to any project plan. A conceptual theory for an archaeological program began to materialize.

The proposed project would try to meet the needs and responsibilities of all the parties, while recognizing the unique and delicate nature of the wrecks. The collaboration which took place put aside partisan considerations, and all parties recognized the unique potential for historical and archaeological research in such a program. The formal signing of the agreements that made the project a reality could not have been accomplished without this recognition and the spirit of cooperation that it created.

New York State, through the Department of Education, had formal jurisdiction over submerged shipwrecks and was the permitting agency that had to sanction the study plan. The proposal worked out with the assistance of the State personnel called for a team from the Champlain Maritime Society to organize and carry out the fieldwork. The original time frame called for a three-year program of study in which one hull would be excavated each year. Each hull would systematically have its mud covering removed. Artifacts found within the hull would be carefully removed, catalogued, and conserved, and the construction of the hulls themselves would be studied for information about mid-eighteenth century naval shipbuilding. An historical research effort would begin to locate contemporary documents relating to the vessels and the period between the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars. At the conclusion of each field-season an annual report would be produced to document the work that had been completed.

The funding for the program would be provided by the Fort Ticonderoga Association and various research grants. The Fort would provide logistical support for the crew during the program's field season. While the State would retain title to the artifacts, Fort Ticonderoga would become the permanent long-term repository for public display and interpretation of the collection. The historical connection of the vessels and their artifacts to Fort Ticonderoga made this component of the agreement both logical and appropriate.

It took the efforts of a great many people to negotiate and finalize the formal agreements. For the State of New York, Commissioner of Education Gordon Ambach and members of his staff Paul Scudiere and Philip Lord are to be commended for their constructive approach to the program. New York State Senator Ronald B. Stafford was also very helpful in assisting to finalize the documents. The staff and administrators of Fort Ticonderoga, led by Mr. John H. G. Pell, and supported by Jane Lape, John and Sarah Krueger, and J. Robert Maguire were another group of enthusiastic and positive participants. The Champlain Maritime Society, its Chairman R. Montgomery Fischer, and Directors John Williams, Peter Barranco, and John Dinse assisted in working out the several formal agreements. The last of the agreements was signed by all parties on June 19, 1984 and the Fort Ticonderoga King's Shipyard Excavation officially began.

### Pre-Project Planning

The planning for the 1984 field-season really began with the locating of the three hulls in August of 1983. To be sure, there were still a series of complex agreements to be worked out between a variety of institutions, but there was a certain feeling of optimism about the ultimate result. The program's specific goals, methods, and estimated costs needed to be worked out for the proposal and budget process. This also aided the planners in visualizing what the working phase of the program would be like. During the months of negotiations and meetings, the recruitment of the archaeological team was begun.

One of the major decisions that needed to be made was which of the three hulls to excavate first. There was some support for beginning with hull #3. It appeared to be the smallest of the hulls, but it was also the hull we knew the least about as it was the most buried. After considerable deliberation it was decided to begin with hull #2. This was the largest of the vessels, and there was some concern about beginning with the biggest of the hulls. In the end, there was one overriding consideration that outweighed all the others. This was the only vessel upon which we could affix a name. Based upon its size, position in the dockyard, and historical data, we speculated that hull #2 was the British 115-ton sloop *Boscawen* built in 1759 at Ticonderoga.

We decided that working on a hull which we could tentatively name would simply be the easiest way to begin. It would certainly make it easier to explain the excavation program to the press and public. Hull #1 was believed to be one of the five previously-named French colonial vessels and the origins of hull #3 remained a mystery. By beginning with the *Boscawen*, we could begin a focused research effort on a specific warship and provide time to improve our research strategy for the remaining vessels.

The recruiting of the crew that would actually carry out the work was a major part of the consideration in preparing for the season. Over the past several years, through the Champlain Maritime Society, an experienced group of divers, archaeologists, and maritime historians had been regularly collaborating on a variety of nautical archaeology projects on the lake. This created a qualified pool of people from which to draw the project staff. All five of the original 1983 survey crew that had located the vessels returned in 1984. Anne Erwin, Scott Cooper and William Bayreuther were the diver/excavators and Kevin Crisman served as project archaeologist. Crisman was also responsible for the technical analysis of the hull. Arthur Cohn was the project director and divemaster.

An able crew was recruited to fill the rest of the positions. David Andrews, who, in addition to the five already named, served as the sixth diver/

excavator. Two talented artists, Terry Stone and Peggy Zak, were enlisted to catalogue and illustrate artifacts. Daniel Brown, a professional photographer from Burlington, was responsible for the photographic recording of the project. Eric Tichnouk and Lee Erwin joined the team as water dredge tenders and handymen. The all-important responsibility of keeping the team fed fell into the capable hands of James Squires. In addition to their other duties, Squires, Stone, Brown, and Tichnouk were also experienced divers who filled in as needed in the diving responsibilities. During the summer we received part-time assistance from William Noel, Patty McGeorge, and Jason Mills.

One of the most important aspects of preparing for the project was anticipating the need to properly handle artifacts. We expected a relatively small number of items, believing that the hulls had been stripped prior to their sinking. However, even a small number of artifacts represented a potentially valuable source of information; in order to properly execute our responsibilities a program for recording and conserving the artifacts was needed. It was our good fortune to enlist the services of Heidi Miksch as our conservator. Besides being a professional conservator with extensive experience in the conservation of waterlogged artifacts, Heidi possessed a genuine interest in seeing the project to completion.

The historical research program was spearheaded by a team of local historians. We anticipated that over the course of the project, this group would contact maritime experts in Canada, France, and Great Britain. The goal was to focus the research on these vessels and their times, and to draw together as much related documentation as possible. Historians Dennis Lewis, Timothy Titus, and Peter Barranco, who had already collectively spent many years in the study of Lake Champlain's colonial history, shared the responsibility for compiling this information.

The program administration, accounting, and publicity were handled by Jane Lape, Curator and General Manager of Fort Ticonderoga. Dr. John Krueger served as liaison between the Fort and the Maritime Society during the project field-season.

As both the project outline and the list of experience personnel took shape, and as progress was made in finalizing the formal agreements, more specific preparations for the day-to-day operation of the project were addressed. This involved anticipating the logistical requirements of the site and crew and working out a detailed excavation plan.

### **Logistics**

The project was scheduled to begin just after the July 4th weekend and run for six weeks. The excavation crew of ten to twelve persons needed

efficient work space and a comfortable place to live. One decision which was made in the early stages of planning was to hire a specific person who would be responsible for preparing the meals. This was a departure from our previous projects, but was seen as essential if the crew was to operate efficiently.

We required buildings for housing the crew, a temporary conservation laboratory, a comfortable place for people to do artwork, small rooms for a darkroom and artifact studio, and a diving headquarters for gear, pumps, and the compressor. These needs were communicated to the Fort staff, and several options were examined and selected for the project.

Half the crew was housed and the whole crew was fed at the "Archy House," so named after a group of land archaeologists who had used it as a headquarters for a study at Mount Independence in the 1930s. The house was situated on the New York shore, about one mile north of the work site. It was a wonderful spot, with the lake on one side and a cornfield on the other.

The other half of the crew was housed at the "Carriage House," a large and beautiful old stone building approximately 300 yards from the work site. The Carriage House became our multi-purpose building, and served as conservation laboratory, drafting headquarters, and photo center. The building was large enough and close enough to the site that all these requirements were comfortably met.

Our diving headquarters couldn't have been more perfectly situated if we had placed the building there ourselves. The boathouse, located on the shoreline at the old landing, was less than 100 feet from the bow of the *Boscawen*. To adapt the building and area for our use, we built a set of outside stairs from the boathouse to a work deck we constructed at the water's edge. Off the deck we assembled and placed a dock for our boat. We had power installed for the air compressor, relocated a nest of pesky hornets, and quickly had an ideal working area.

Our crew was not accustomed to the luxury of a work area so fortuitously arranged. Divers entering the water were twenty-five yards away from their destination. Upon leaving the water the divers could swiftly remove their gear and refill their tanks. As a result, there was more time to spend on the excavation and note taking, rather than on the movement of gear.

Most of the cleaning and preparation of the buildings took place on a pre-project trip. Six of the crew, working as volunteers, went down to the Fort to get a headstart on getting things ready for the whole crew, which was soon to follow. All the buildings we used were cleaned and organized. We expected to receive the construction materials for our grid, but they did not arrive. At the end of three days, everyone went home for the July 4th



holiday, the last break anyone would have for the next six weeks.

A system of organization for the excavation was needed. The dimensions of the *Boscawen's* hull were seventy feet by twenty-three feet. It was buried in up to seven feet of mud. The water depth was shallow, almost eight feet. The visibility was minimal, ranging from complete darkness on bad days to twenty-four inches on good days. The surface mud was very soft and the weed growth was quite dense. The solution that emerged for providing an orderly system was to construct some type of grid over the hull.

The grid was the key to the efficiency and effectiveness of the underwater work, and for some time we tried to conceptualize what the perfect grid would be like. It should be light so it could be easily handled by the crew. It needed to be rigid so that it did not sag. It should be strong enough to keep the divers off the muddy bottom, and provide a platform for the divers to work from. It should be easy to assemble and install, and, if possible, have the ability to be expanded as required. It would be nice if it was also inexpensive and long lasting.

Having designed our requirements in the abstract, we tried to locate something that would meet as many of the specifications as possible. PVC was rejected because in long horizontal sections it sagged unacceptably. We sought the advice of a steel fabrication company, which took our concept and requirements and proposed a 6,000 pound solution. Kevin Crisman and Anne Erwin went from place to place in Burlington, examining different material options and suggestions. In the end they struck upon what can only be described as the perfect solution.

In the course of their travels they were shown some newly-developed electrical channel used by contractors in framing up structures for their electrical needs. The material was light, strong, easily assembled, and had an infinite number of options for connectors and fastenings. The channel was called "Kindorf" steel channel, and was manufactured by Midland Ross. The Kindorf channel appeared to answer or exceed all the criteria we had established. It would allow us to construct two twenty-five-square-foot grids, one to be placed over the bow and one over the stern. By using lighter gauge Kindorf channel the grids could easily be subdivided into five-square-foot excavation units. It provided a system of organization as well as a stable work platform for the divers. It could be easily handled by the crew alone, as each assembled twenty-five-foot-square weighted only 400 pounds. The fastening options made the system easily expandable in any direction. It was indeed perfect.

In an effort to enlist support for the project, Kevin Crisman drafted a letter to Midland Ross explaining the project, and specifically how we would like to use the Kindorf material. The company was so intrigued with

this application that they offered to donate the channel if we kept them informed on how it performed. Hence the channel also met the important criteria of being inexpensive. With the grid structure defined the open questions regarding the excavation format began to be answered.

### **The 1984 Field-season**

Upon our return to the Fort after the July 4th weekend, the first order of business was to get the crew moved in and accustomed to the various areas in which they would be living and working. Work began simultaneously at the Carriage House and at the boathouse. There were a million and one details that needed to be addressed, and the crew pitched in with enthusiasm. The materials for the grid were due at anytime and we tried to complete all the other tasks so that when the materials did arrive we could assemble and deploy the grid and begin the excavation. Another part of the early preparation was assisting the Fort staff in establishing an exhibit that would explain the project to the public. As soon as the drafting area was readied, the artists began to work at interpreting the program. By the time the Fort held its press briefing on the project, the exhibit was ready.

Down at the site, the modification of the boathouse was being completed when a problem arose that threatened to "reek" havoc on the work area — the cows. We discovered that we were to share the waterfront with a herd of approximately forty cows. Besides making walking hazardous, the cows congregated under the boathouse and rubbed against the building supports. Peaceful co-existence was established by our building a fence around the immediate working area.

Another concern was that our activities might attract passing boaters and create a risk to the divers. The wreck of the *Boscawen* was located in a cove that could easily be buoyed off without interfering with lake traffic. After consultation with the Coast Guard, both locally and in New York City, our work area was designated as a "Safety Zone." We displayed seven large white buoys which politely asked boaters not to enter. We talked to many of the local boaters and people at the nearby "Buoy 39" Marina to explain the nature of the work and to ask for their assistance. During the time we were working we received complete cooperation from the Lake Champlain boating community.

By the time these initial preparations were completed, the grid materials and fittings had still not arrived. A trace was begun when the electrical channel for the grid framework finally arrived. However, we still lacked the fittings to put it together. These were finally located in a trucking warehouse in Albany. We dispatched our own truck to retrieve them and by noon on

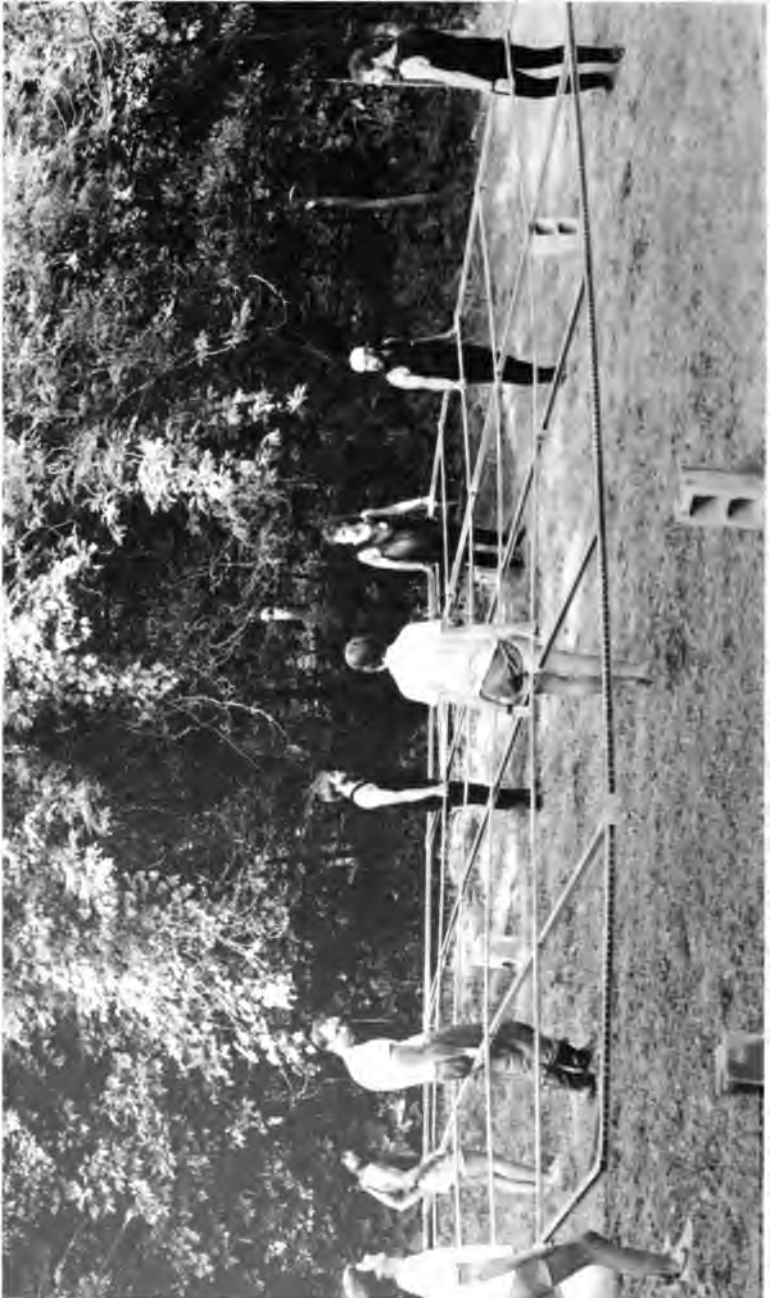
the same day we finally had all the components to construct the grid. What we didn't know was how long it would take to actually assemble the grid and position it over the hull.

The entire crew assisted in the assembly of the grid. The plan was to assemble it on land, carry it to the water, float it over the bow or stern using flotation barrels, and slowly lower it into its vertical supports. After some deliberation, ten-foot-long sections of three-inch PVC pipe were selected for the vertical supports. They would be driven seven feet into the mud and the grid would be attached using standard strap fittings provided by Kindorf. It all looked so easy, and fortunately for us, it was.

The Kindorf material went together like the large erector set it was. Just a few hours after the fittings had arrived, the crew, using only ratchets for tools, had completely assembled the first grid. It was easily carried to the water and floated into position over the bow. The flotation barrels were filled with water and the assembled square slowly descended into position. A centerline rope had been strung along the bottom from stem post to stern post to assist in the alignment. Once over the wreck, it was possible for a single diver to slightly adjust the position of the grid over its pre-selected area.

Once the grid was resting in position on the bottom, a surface raft with an opening in its center was used to install the vertical PVC supports. A diver on the bottom selected a suitable position on the outer edge of the grid and sent up a marker buoy. The raft was maneuvered until the buoy was positioned in the raft's open center. A section of pipe was then sent to the diver who positioned it in place. With one end resting in the mud and the other end protruding two to three feet above the surface, the crew on the raft would begin to "pile drive" the pipe into the bottom. The tool used was a forty-pound section of railroad tie nicknamed "the Persuader." Once the driving end was beneath the surface, a second five-foot "extender" pipe was connected to the pipe being driven and secured with a standard rubber coupling. The extender pipe was then driven until the main support pipe was sunk a full seven feet into the mud. This process was repeated around the outside of the grid and two short pieces were placed in the middle of the hull until the grid was fully supported.

To everyone's surprise, by the end of the same day that the fastenings had arrived, the first grid had been constructed and was suspended over the bow. The grid appeared to be strong, rigid, and a good working platform. It instantly provided a definable system of organization above the muddy bottom. The crew was extremely happy, relieved, and exhausted. The following day the stern grid was assembled and installed. It is safe to say that the Kindorf material had exceeded all of our expectations.



*The Assembled Grid*

### The Dredge

There are two primary tools for underwater site excavation, the airlift and the water dredge. Both devices create a vacuum to “suck up” mud and bottom materials, but each uses a different medium to create the effect. The airlift uses air, pumped down from a surface compressor to the lower end of an upright tube. The compressed air enters the bottom of the tube and rapidly expands and rises to the upper end of the tube. This movement of air through the tube created a “venturi” or suction at the tube’s lower end. While this is probably the most often used device for underwater excavation, it has one definite limitation, depth. In order to get an adequate suction from an airlift, the air must have sufficient depth to rise and expand.

The water dredge works in much the same way as the airlift but uses water instead of air to create the moving force. Water is pumped by the surface water pump down to the end of a horizontal tube. The volume and velocity of the water rushing through the tube creates a “venturi” or suction at the lower end. Unlike the airlift, there is no expansion factor. The suction is determined by the volume of water that can be pumped down from the surface and through the dredge tube. The airlift’s efficiency will vary greatly with the depth of water in which it is used. The water dredge works at a constant pace no matter the depth as long as the volume of water pumped through the unit remains constant.

Due to the shallow water depth, we selected a water dredge system for our excavation tool. We decided to operate two dredges at the same time, one working in the bow, the other in the stern. For water power, two two-inch gasoline pumps with a rated capacity of 8,400 GPH (gallons per hour) were selected, while a third pump was obtained as a back-up. Both pumps were run off a single raft which was permanently moored outside of the hull and midway between the two grids. The water was pumped down to specially constructed PVC dredge heads. At the suction end of the dredge head, a ten-foot length of two-inch flexible suction hose was attached by a rubber coupling. This permitted the driver to attach the rigid dredge head to the grid while using the flexible hose for excavation.

A method was needed to move the excavated mud off the hull, as well as to catch any small artifacts that might be sucked in undetected. We used a fifty-foot length of three-inch suction hose for our discharge line. Suction hose was chosen because it was thick and strong and we felt it would hold up better under the long hours of abrasion it would receive. The discharge hoses were run off the hull to a discharge area and anchored to the bottom with cinder blocks. At the end of this discharge line we designed a quick connect–disconnect strainer to catch small artifacts. The strainer assembly consisted of a two-foot length of three-inch pipe made out of the

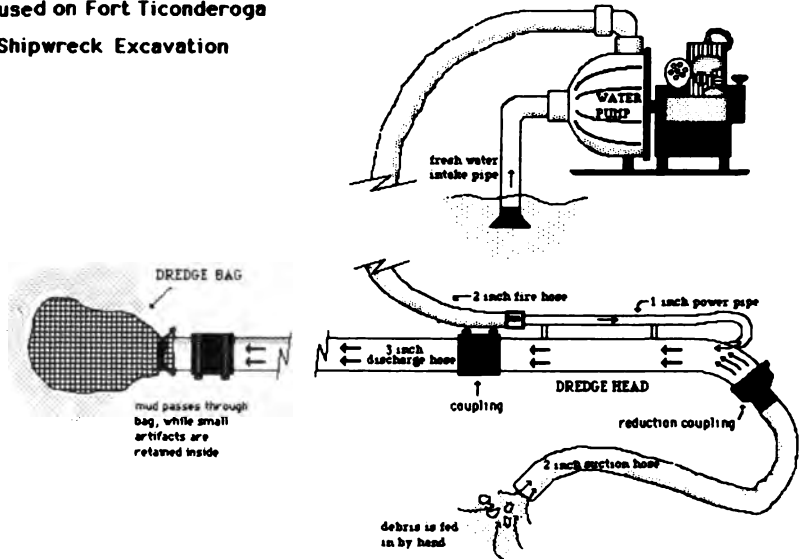
same material as the discharge hose. On one end was a standard rubber coupling which attached it to the discharge hose. On the other end was a net bag to catch artifacts. We called this collective device a "dredge bag."

Working on the raft were pump tenders who saw that the pumps were gassed and running. The raft was also stocked with a variety of spare parts that might be needed by the excavators during their shifts.

#### Components of water-dredge system

used on Fort Ticonderoga

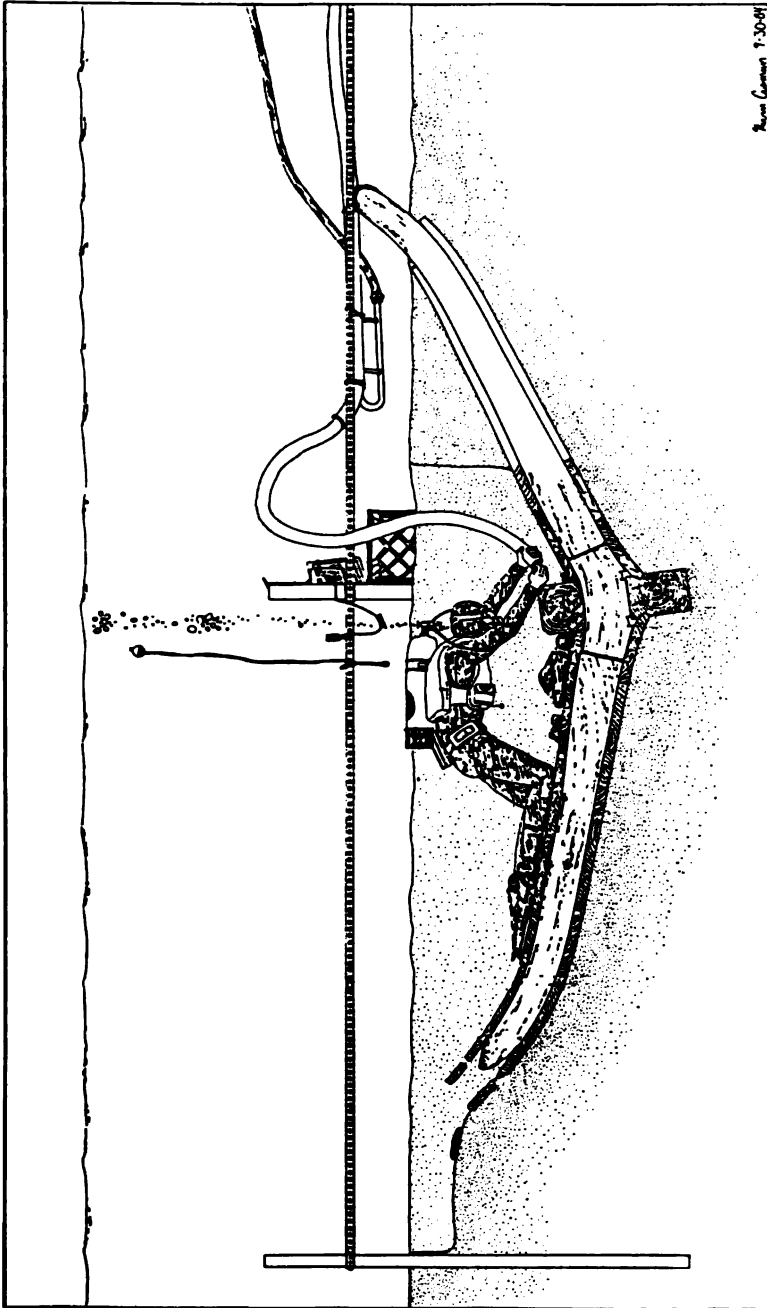
Shipwreck Excavation



#### The Excavation

With the grid, raft, and water dredge system in place, we were ready to begin the excavation. Project archaeologist Kevin Crisman had prepared a working routine, and now, five days after the full crew had arrived, we were ready to begin. Three excavators each were assigned to the bow and stern sections. Each excavator was assigned a specific square from a numbered master schematic plan of the gridded work site.

Two divers, one for the bow and one for the stern, entered the water. Each went to their respective squares and prepared to dig. When ready, the diver surfaced and signaled the pump tender to start the water pump. The diver began the process of removing mud from the square. The working procedure imposed controls on the pace of the digging, as the mud was to be removed in uniform four-inch levels. The diver, working from the grid, leaned into the square with the suction hose in one hand and used the other hand to scrape the mud into the hose. Periodically, the diver took measure-



ments around the square to check the level, using a line level and a weighted tape. The first four-inch level was "A" and each next level deeper proceeded down the alphabet. Dredge bags were changed after the completion of each level. All loose wood, artifacts, and eventually the hull timbers were noted as to position and depth within the square. Each diver was equipped with a clipboard with stenciled mylar sheets breaking the five-foot square down into twenty-five one-foot boxes. All observations and measurements were recorded on the clipboards.

Each excavator worked a ninety-minute shift. When they had ten minutes remaining in their shift, the pump tender would shut down the pump to signal the divers below that they were nearing the end of their rotation. Notice was also given to the next diver to get ready to work. The transition of divers was usually smooth and rapid. The divers that had been digging would wrap up their work and go to the raft to get a clean dredge bag. They then went to the end of their discharge line (which was marked with a surface buoy) and removed the "used" dredge bag and replaced it with a clean one for the next diver. The divers exited the water and turned over their dredge bags to someone from the conservation staff. The divers officially checked out of the water, removed their gear, put their tanks by the compressor to be filled, and began to work on that particular dive's "excavation record." The new divers, once preparation was completed in their square, surfaced, signaled the pump tender, and began the process again. Each diver dove twice a day for ninety minutes, making a total of nine hours of excavation within the bow and stern grids each day by the six excavators.



*A Diver Entering the Water*



In this way, each assigned square was excavated in four-inch levels until the wooden hull was completely exposed. The diver then measured, analyzed, and recorded the hull construction details in the square. When the square was completely studied and recorded, the information was placed on a master wreck plan at the Carriage House. When this was completed, the diver was assigned a new square and the process began again.

### Artifacts

Artifacts were the responsibility of our conservator, Heidi Miksch, who established a system for their movement from water to lab. When an excavator located an artifact or loose wood in a square, it was left in position as long as possible and its location and depth were carefully noted. At the time of removal, a plastic zip-lock bag, tupperware container, netting, or other appropriate vehicle was arranged for transport to the shoreline. Once delivered to conservation personnel, finds were cleaned as needed, assigned a catalogue number, tagged, and placed in wet storage.

The diver's filled dredge bags were dumped into one of several small plastic tubs at the water's edge and the contents were sifted for small artifacts. This proved to be a great source of small finds such as seeds, nut fragments, pipestems, and buttons. Each item located was assigned a catalogue number, and its location was noted by square number and level. At the end of each day the artifacts were transported to the conservation lab at the Carriage House. Here they were sorted and further processed for drawing and photo-recording.

In planning for the project, we had anticipated a small number of artifacts. What we found was something quite different. Almost as soon as we began digging, artifacts began to appear. The deeper we excavated, the greater the concentration of materials. It wasn't long before a large number of extremely well preserved items began to fill our holding facilities. Wooden blocks, iron hooks, brass buttons, tools, military hardware, leather shoes, and a wide variety of other items began to appear in unanticipated numbers. On the one hand, it was clear that the pace of the excavation would have to be slowed. In light of the volume of material contained in the hull, we now calculated that only one-half of the *Boscawen* could be excavated during the 1984 season. On the other hand, the volume, type, and condition of the artifacts clearly constituted one of the finest collections of naval artifacts from the eighteenth century. By the end of the first field-season, over 1,100 artifacts had been processed, of which over 600 were selected for complete conservation.

### Diving

As previously discussed, the top of the hull rested in approximately seven feet of water. The water temperature in July and August was comfortable, and each diver wore full ¼-inch wet suits with hoods. The suits were as much for physical protection from protruding hull spikes and debris as for thermal protection. The visibility was generally poor with twenty-four inches being about the optimum condition. We experimented with wide angle underwater video recording and got some encouraging results.

Divers worked alone in a defined area of the grid. Their bubbles were in plain view of the raft and shore and were regularly monitored. The only complex diving took place at the stem post and the stern post. Here, penetrations of up to ten feet were made into small excavated access spaces in order to measure and analyze construction details. These divers were equipped with separate back-up breathing systems and their dives were closely monitored.

During the six weeks of the project over 800 hours of diving time was logged. We had on-site radio communication and emergency procedures, but fortunately the only diving-related problems were ear infections. These were usually mild, and while the stricken diver kept dry and did land work, a back-up excavator took the rotation. The ear infections stemmed from the constant number of wet hours, combined with diving so near where the cows exercised their poor personal hygiene habits.

### The End of the 1984 Season

In the final week there were numerous details to be completed to bring the 1984 season to a close. Getting the artifact collection ready to travel to the conservation laboratories was a major part of the work. Before they were taken away, artifacts that had not yet been drawn and photographed were completely recorded. As the water work slowed, diving personnel were shifted to the Carriage House to assist this process.

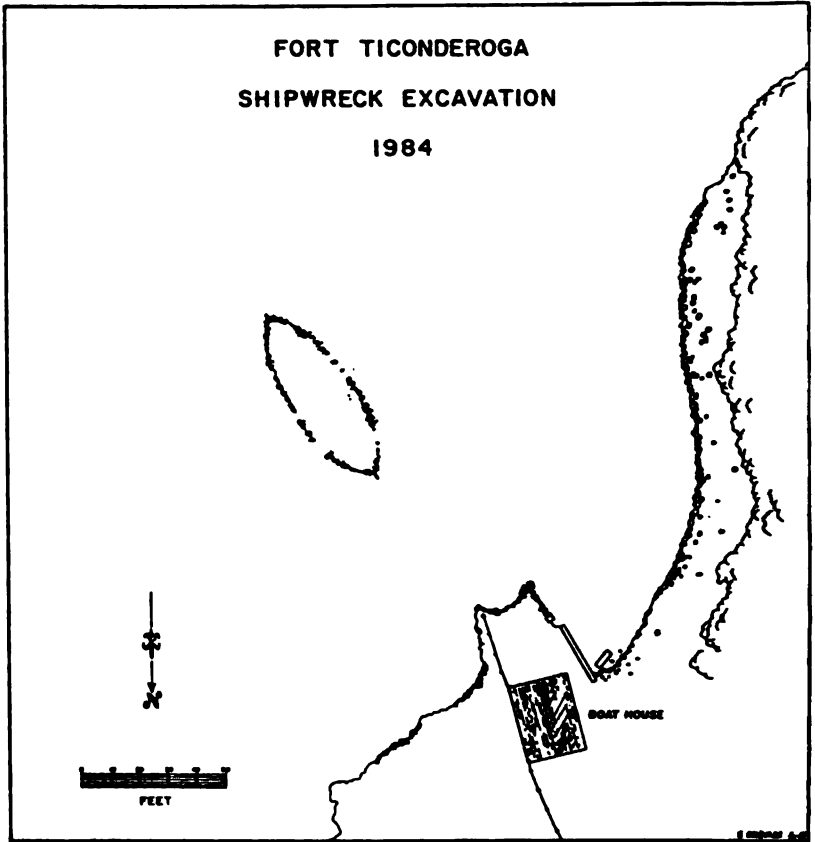
Once the excavation work was completed, the crew began to physically close down the underwater site for the season. The decision was made to leave the grid in place over the winter. In order to secure the hull, a layer of heavy-gauge black plastic sheeting, held in place by sandbags, was placed over the exposed wooded portions of the hull. Although vandalism was not a major concern, we decided to protect the site from casual looters by placing a physical barrier of chicken wire on top of the grid. To create a psychological barrier to any wayward divers, "No Trespassing" signs were placed on the bottom around the hull.

With the artifacts completed and packed for transport, and the underwater site buttoned up for the year, the last task was cleaning and securing

the buildings we had occupied. When this was done the crew was ready to return to the outside world. The six weeks of the field-season had been completed and it was time to take stock.

By our own accounts, the season was a success as we completed our modified excavation goals. The crew had operated safely and efficiently for six weeks and had produced an impressive volume of information and artifacts. The crew had managed not only to stay friends, but to create the spirit of fellowship that comes with shared goals, challenging circumstances, and rewarding accomplishments. Each member of the crew indicated they would like to return in 1985.

In the time between field-seasons, the conservation of this year's artifacts will be completed and a public exhibit will be established at Fort Ticonderoga. The technical data collected on the hull and rigging will be analyzed. The focused historical research begun in 1983 will continue. Interim reports on all the above subjects will be prepared and published. Planning for the 1985 field-season will proceed, but at a slightly more measured gait. We hope in 1986 to share with you the results of another productive season of the Fort Ticonderoga King's Shipyard Excavation.



# THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE *BOSCAWEN*

by

Kevin J. Crisman

Prior to the discovery of the *Boscawen* in 1983, practically nothing was known about her dimensions or construction. Documents relating to the British campaign of 1759 indicated that the vessel was rated at 115 tons, carried sixteen cannon, and was rigged as a sloop. The only contemporary depiction of the warship, in a painting by Thomas Davies of the British encampment at the ruins of Fort St. Frederic, contained very little detail. Davies showed the *Boscawen* with a gracefully curving sheer, a transom stern, and one mast equipped with fore-and-aft sails (there was no evidence of yards for a square topsail). A small boat or launch was towed astern. Beyond this scant information, the Davies painting revealed little about the construction or appearance of the sloop.

Following the location of the *Boscawen*'s weed-shrouded hull in 1983, preliminary measurements were taken of the exposed timbers. The hull rested under six to eight feet of very murky water, about sixty feet from the New York shoreline; it was oriented with the bow nearest shore, pointing in a northeasterly direction. The wreck lay at a right angle to the shoreline, suggesting that it may have sunk while tied up to a wharf or a dock. The hull was entirely filled with mud, and only the stempost, sternpost, and six to twelve inches of the frame tops could be seen. The attitude of the timbers suggested that the vessel was listing slightly to port and was sunk considerably deeper at the stern than at the stem. Measurements indicated that the existing hull was approximately seventy feet in length by twenty-two feet in beam. The tentative identification of the wreck as the *Boscawen* was based on the location of the hull, its overall dimensions, and the substantial construction of the frame timbers.

## Method of Hull Recording

At the beginning of the 1984 excavation season two twenty-five-foot-square grids (each subdivided into five-foot-square excavation units) were suspended over the stem and stern of the wreck. Sections of the vessel beneath the grids were then systematically excavated by two teams of three divers. Within each excavation unit, a diver would remove the overlying mud in four-inch layers until the internal hull timbers were entirely exposed. The timbers were then carefully measured and sketched, to indicate their relationship to each other as well as to show their precise position within the grid. Because the *Boscawen* was built using the English system of mensuration (feet and inches), all timber dimensions were recorded in these units.

After all of the visible construction features within a particular excavation unit had been recorded underwater, the data was re-recorded on the surface, as numerical data in the excavation notes, and as an illustration on a large master wreck plan.

Special efforts were made during the 1984 work to uncover and document key hull timbers such as the stempost, sternpost, and mast step. Extensive tunneling under the wreck was necessary in order to examine the two endposts, and two additional five-foot-square excavation grids were suspended above the wreck aft of the stem grid to permit the location and recording of the mast step.

To gain a partial understanding of the *Boscawen's* design and shape, the curvature of one of the frames (or ribs) was recorded during the 1984 excavation. This involved the removal of all the ceiling (interior) planking over the port side of a frame that was situated twenty feet forward of the sternpost. Once this had been accomplished, the curvature of the frame where it met the outside planking was measured, using a special angle-recording device called a goniometer. The close inspection of a single frame revealed a great deal about the shipbuilding techniques employed by Joshua Loring's carpenters during the Lake Champlain naval race of 1759.

During the 1984 season a total of twenty-nine five-foot-square units were excavated, thereby exposing approximately half of the existing hull for examination and documentation. From this work a great deal was learned, about British naval shipbuilding at Fort Ticonderoga in general, and about the design and appearance of the *Boscawen* in particular. The following is a synopsis of the sloop's construction, presented in the approximate order of her assembly. The term 'moulded' refers to the height of a particular timber, while 'sided' refers to the dimension across its length (the timber width).

### The Keel

The keel of the *Boscawen* was approximately sixty-five feet in length, and was fashioned entirely from white oak. Due to the relatively short length of the hull, it is likely that the keel was cut from one, or at the most two, oaken timbers. It was moulded fourteen inches, sided ten-and-one-half inches at the stem, and narrowed to nine-and-one-half inches sided at the stern.

Horizontal V-shaped grooves, or rabbets, were cut into each side of the keel, two inches below the top. The innermost strakes of external planking, called garboards, were shaped to fit into the rabbets and thereby form a tight join between the keel and outer planking. There was no evidence that the bottom of the keel was ever fitted with a protective timber (the false keel).

The keel was perhaps the most inaccessible member on the buried hull — examination of its shape and construction was possible only at the stempost, the sternpost, and at two locations in the stern grid where its top surface was exposed. Many questions remain to be answered concerning its construction, but continued study and excavation will undoubtedly provide more information about this important timber.

### The Stem

During the 1984 excavation a five-foot-long tunnel was dug along the starboard side of the sloop's stem, beneath the external planking. This tunnel permitted access to the stem timbers and the forward end of the keel, but the subsequent study of these features was hampered by very poor visibility. In spite of the murky water, numerous measurements and sketches of this section of hull were completed, permitting a preliminary description of the stem construction.

The stem of the *Boscawen* was fashioned from three timbers: the main stempost, the outer stempost (or gripe), and an internal reinforcing timber (the apron). All were of white oak. Approximately eleven feet of the main stempost was attached to the hull. The base of the post was flat-scarfed to the forward end of the keel, and the two timbers were drift-bolted together with one-inch diameter iron bolts. The post was sided five and one-half inches on its forward edge, and forward of the keel was moulded approximately eleven inches. The upper corners of the stempost were chamfered to form, with the lower corners of the apron, a rabbet for the outer planking.

The lower nine feet of the outer stempost or gripe was attached to the forward edge of the main post with one-inch diameter iron drift bolts. The gripe was moulded six inches where it butted the forward end of the keel, and expanded to eleven inches moulded. It was sided three and three-fourths inches on its forward face. The stempost and gripe together constituted the external assembly of the stem.

The badly-eroded lower end of the apron, a large internal timber that paralleled the stempost and gripe, was found attached to the top of the stempost. The surviving length of this timber was less than two feet. The apron was moulded and sided sixteen inches, and was attached to the stem with one-inch diameter iron drift bolts. Its lower corners appeared to be chamfered, to form a planking rabbet with the chamfered upper corners of the main stempost.

The stem of the *Boscawen* was constructed of large timbers, and was well-fastened throughout with iron drift bolts. While a great deal of information was recorded on the stem in 1984, more underwater study is necessary before construction plans of the stem may be completed.

### The Stern

A considerable amount of digging was necessary before it was possible to examine the stern assembly of the *Boscawen*. A seven-foot-deep pit was excavated at the after end of the boat to facilitate the measurement of the sternpost and the after end of the keel. Visibility in this pit was similar to that in the tunnel at the stern: nearly non-existent. Nevertheless, a substantial amount of information was recorded about the dimensions and appearance of the stern.

A single sternpost, fashioned from white oak, was fastened to the top of the keel by a pair of iron dovetail plates. This post was moulded nineteen inches at its base, and tapered upwards to thirteen inches moulded. It was sided six inches. The two forward corners of the post featured two-inch-square notches, but to fit the after ends of the outer planking strakes. An iron gudgeon, intended to hold a rudder pintle, was bolted to the sternpost and outer planking, thirteen inches above the top of the keel. Each of the two straps measured two and one-half inches wide; the complete length of each strap was not determined, but each extended well over eighteen inches. This was the only gudgeon or evidence of a gudgeon found on the sternpost, but there would have been at least one more attached to the upper end of the post. No evidence could be found of the rudder or its pintles.

The stern deadwood, an assembly of reinforcing timbers located just forward of the sternpost, consisted of four pieces fastened one atop the other. The lowest timber, seated directly on the keel, was three inches moulded and extended approximately seven feet six inches forward of the sternpost. Atop this was the second timber, four inches moulded and approximately seven feet long.

Seated above the lowest deadwood pieces was the stern knee, a naturally-curved timber that formed a strong join between the horizontal keel and the vertical sternpost. The forward (horizontal) arm of the knee was obscured by the fourth and uppermost deadwood timber, and only the uppermost two feet of the vertical arm could be examined. This portion of the knee was approximately six inches sided on its forward face and tapered upward from eleven inches in moulded dimensions to a point one foot nine inches below the top of the existing sternpost.

The uppermost deadwood timber was seated atop the knee, extended forward from the base of the vertical arm five feet, and butted against the aftermost frame floor timber. It was sided eight inches forward and narrowed to five and one-half inches sided at its after end. All of the timbers narrowed in sided dimensions from fore to aft, to conform to the shape of the *Boscawen's* tapered stern. The deadwood pieces were fastened to the keel and sternpost with iron drift bolts.

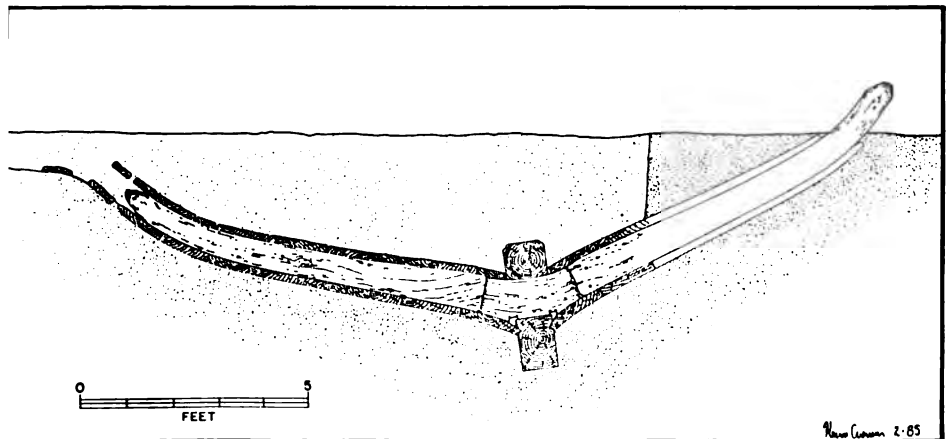


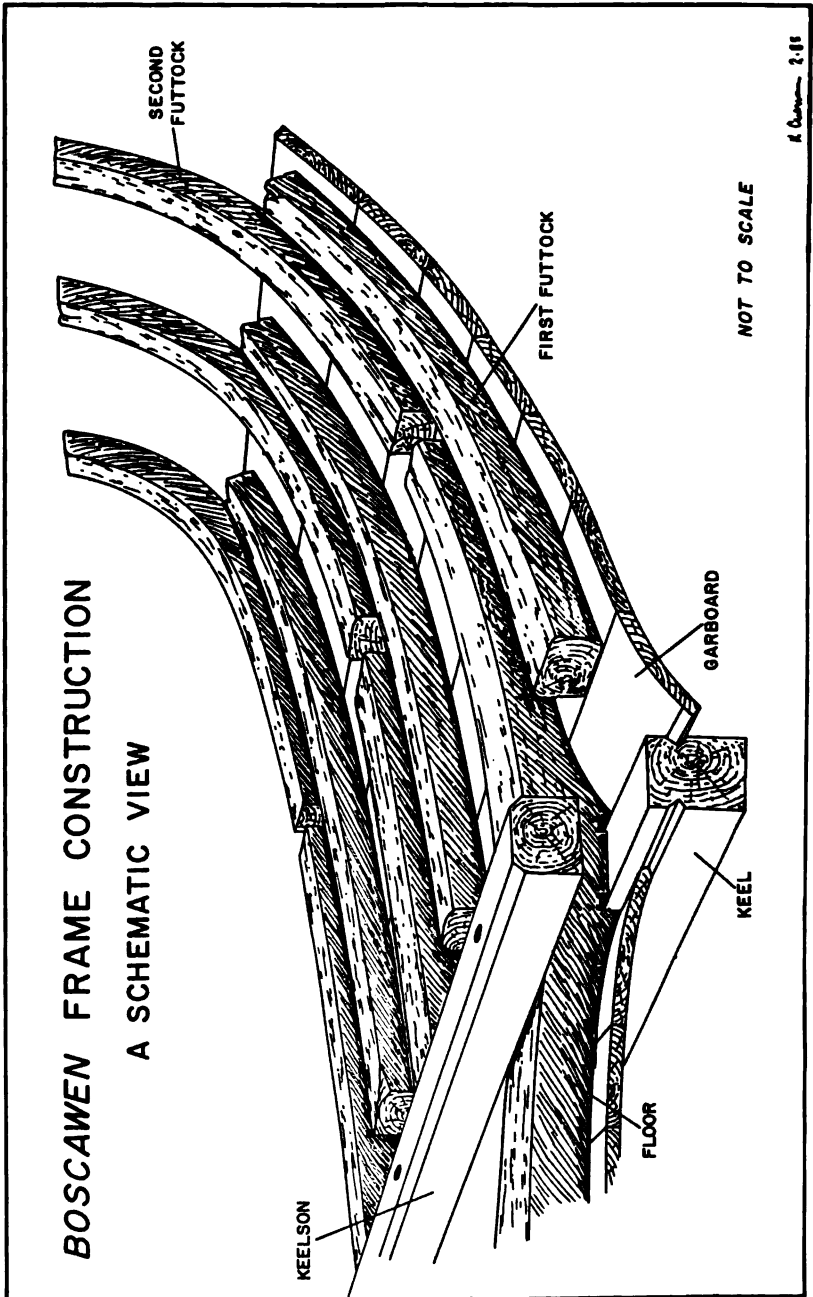
### The Frames

It was not possible during the 1984 season to determine the precise number of frames within the hull of the *Boscawen*, due to the unusual method of frame construction, the overlying mud, and the jumbled state of the wreckage. The number of square and half frames probably falls somewhere between thirty and thirty-five. While further study must be completed before the construction of the frames can be fully understood, the preliminary look at the frames provided a general idea of their design and assembly. Most of the information on the frames was obtained from the single example that was exposed and measured twenty feet forward of the sternpost.

The spacing of the lowest frame timbers (the floors) along the length of the keel varied widely, but their centers averaged between twenty-eight and thirty-four inches. This apparent lack of concern over the spacing of the floor timbers may be one symptom of the sloop's hasty construction. The floors were moulded one foot at the keel, and tapered over their six-foot-long arms to about seven inches moulded. They averaged between eight and one-half and ten inches sided. Each floor was fastened to the keel with a singled iron drift bolt.

The bottom of every floor timber contained two water courses (also called limber holes), that permitted the bilge water to pass under the frames to the pump well, where it could be pumped from the hull. Each of the holes was fashioned by making two two and one-half inch deep parallel saw cuts into the bottom of the floor, about one and one-half inches apart; the wood between the cuts was then removed with a chisel.





BOSCAWEN FRAME CONSTRUCTION  
A SCHEMATIC VIEW

NOT TO SCALE

A. Currier 2-85

'Square frames' are composed of one floor timber which is fastened across the keel, and a series of overlapping timbers (futtocks) on each side of the floor. Probably the most common method of frame construction during the eighteenth century, particularly on large warships, was to fasten the floor and futtocks together to form a complete U-shaped rib, which was then mounted on the keel. The shipwrights who built the *Boscawen* did not use this method of construction, perhaps in the interest of saving time, or possibly because it was not the way they were used to building boats. Instead, they fastened all of the floor timbers to the keel, and then began to plank the outside of the hull. After several planking strakes had been fastened to the floors, the first futtocks were placed between the floors, with their heels about ten inches from the side of the keel, and attached to the outside planking with a combination of iron spikes and wooden dowels (treenails). The planking of the side of the vessel then continued until it was time to place the second futtocks on the outer planking, at the heads of the floor timbers. The construction process of overlapping the futtocks but fastening them only to the external planking continued all the way to the top of the hull (the sheer). Every frame probably consisted of one floor timber and four futtocks on each side, a total of nine timbers.

Before the framing and planking of the hull was under way, the shipwrights may have erected several frames with attached floors and futtocks at intervals along the keel, particularly at the stem, the stern, and at the widest part of the hull (the 'midship frame'). These 'guide frames' would have ensured that the hull was finished to the desired shape and was at least somewhat symmetrical on the port and starboard sides. Guide frames were not found during the 1984 study of the hull, and the identification and measurement of these important members will be an important priority of future work on the *Boscawen*.

Because the futtocks did not have to fit snugly against the floors and each other, they did not have to be uniformly finished, something which must have saved the shipwrights a great deal of time and energy. The first futtocks averaged between seven and ten inches moulded, and between four and eight inches sided. The floors and futtocks, all of which appeared to be of white oak, were very crudely shaped, and the surfaces of some were partially covered with bark. The carpenters at Fort Ticonderoga in 1759 did not put much effort into giving the sloop's ribs a 'finished' appearance.

Two cant frames were recorded at the forward end of the hull. These frames did not cross over the keel, and butted against the sides of the keelson and the forwardmost floor timber. The cant frames were not perpendicular to the keel, but angled forward to accommodate the shape of the rounded bow.

Four or five half frames were measured at the stern of the sloop. Like the cant frames at the bow, the half frames at the stern did not cross the keel, and were fitted against the sides of the stern deadwood. They were angled slightly aft to conform to the narrowing of the stern.

### The Keelson

The keelson of the *Boscawen* extended slightly over fifty-three feet, from the after end of the stem apron to a point ten feet forward of the sternpost. It was composed of two, or possibly three, pieces of white oak, flat-scarfed end-to-end. The keelson did not maintain uniform dimensions over its length: it expanded from six inches moulded and ten inches sided at its forward end to ten inches moulded and eleven inches sided at its after end. The upper corners of the keelson were each chamfered down one inch.

The forwardmost keelson timber measured fifteen feet six inches in length; it was attached with two spikes at its forward end to the apron, and its after end overlapped the next keelson timber with a thirty-six-inch-long flat scarf. Because the center of the hull remained unexcavated in 1984, it was not possible to determine if the remaining length of the keelson was composed of one or two timbers. The keelson was fastened to every other floor timber and to the keel by iron drift bolts spaced approximately five feet apart.

The keelson did not extend all the way to the stern deadwood, but instead terminated at a point about three feet forward of the uppermost deadwood timber. The resulting gap or well between the keelson and the deadwood contained two frame floors and permitted access to the top of the keel. It is not clear if the gap was intended by the shipwrights, or was the result of an error in construction, but this 'dead space' proved to be a natural collecting area for artifacts drifting around the bilges. The excavation unit that overlay this section of the hull, unit 413, contained more artifacts than any other unit uncovered in 1984.

### External Planking

The external planking of the *Boscawen* consisted of white oak planks, two inches in thickness, and averaging between eleven and fifteen and one-half inches in width. The innermost planking stakes, the garboards, were fifteen and one-half inches in width, and were carved to a V-shaped point on the inner edge to fit into the keel rabbet. The planks were fastened to the floors and futtocks with iron spikes, and with treenails of white oak and white ash.

### Ceiling Planking

The ceiling (internal) planking of the *Boscawen* was very similar to the external planking, in that it was two inches in thickness and cut entirely from white oak. The ceiling strakes averaged slightly wider than the external strakes, between twelve and twenty inches. The ceiling planks were attached to the frames entirely with iron spikes, set in a random pattern.

The innermost ceiling strakes, the limberboards, were found in their original positions on either side of the keelson. Limberboards were generally not fastened to the frames to permit access to the bilges, and the *Boscawen* limberboards followed this pattern. They fit very snugly into their spaces, however, and may not have been removed very frequently, if at all. The limberboards were two inches thick and seven and one-half inches wide.

### Mast Step

One of the priorities of the 1984 excavation of the *Boscawen* was the discovery and documentation of the mast step. This hull feature was considered an essential element in the positive identification of this hull as the *Boscawen*. Both the size and construction of the vessel suggested that it was the English sloop, but the uncovering of the single mast step on the keelson, slightly over one-third of the hull length aft of the stem, provided strong additional evidence that our initial identification was correct.

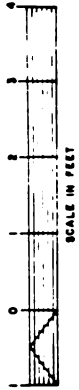
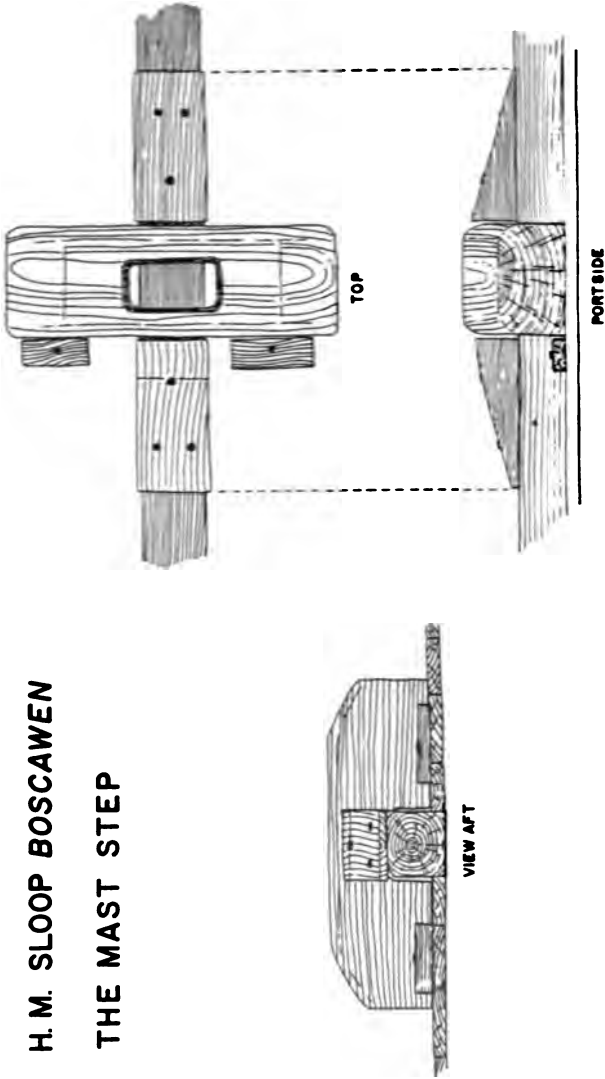
The step proved to be of surprisingly substantial dimensions. It was fashioned from a solid block of white oak, four feet three inches in length, eighteen inches wide, and sixteen inches high. It was notched underneath to fit over the top of the keelson, and was set at a right angle to the longitudinal axis of the hull. The step was held in place by two two-foot-long wedges of wood spiked to the top of the keelson, one forward and one aft of the step. To prevent the block (and mast) from twisting on the keelson, two small rectangular pieces of wood were spiked to the ceiling at the forward edges of the step.

The heel of the mast was contained in the top of the mast step by a one foot four inch long by eight and one-half inch wide slot. The slot extended through the block, and allowed the weight of the mast to rest directly upon the keelson.

### Orlop Deck Beams

Three orlop deck beams were uncovered during the 1984 excavation. The beams consisted of white pine logs, five to seven inches in diameter. The logs were cut to a wedge shape at either end and spiked to the ceiling;

# H. M. SLOOP BOSCAWEN THE MAST STEP



Wm. J. Cameron 1884

the rounded upper surfaces of the logs were chopped flat with an adze to form a platform for the orlop deck. Several pieces of orlop deck planking — three-fourths-inch-thick white oak — were found scattered around the interior of the hull. In the wider portions of the hull the deck beams rested directly upon the keelson, indicating that there was very little space for the stowage of provisions beneath the orlop deck.

### Ballast

Approximately two dozen ballast stones, ranging between six inches and two feet in length, were found within the hull during the 1984 season. The majority of these were recovered along the centerline of the hull in the stern excavation units. The stones were identical in appearance to the bedrock that outcrops along the Fort Ticonderoga shoreline, and it is probably safe to assume that this was the source of the *Boscawen's* ballast.

To complete the study of the ballast it will be necessary to weigh all the pieces and plot their positions within the hull. Despite the incomplete nature of the ballast study it is evident that the sloop was carrying far less ballast when she sank that would have been required for service on the lake; less than 1,000 pounds of stone were recovered in 1984. It therefore seems probable that much of the *Boscawen's* ballast was removed when she was laid up after the war.

### Conclusions

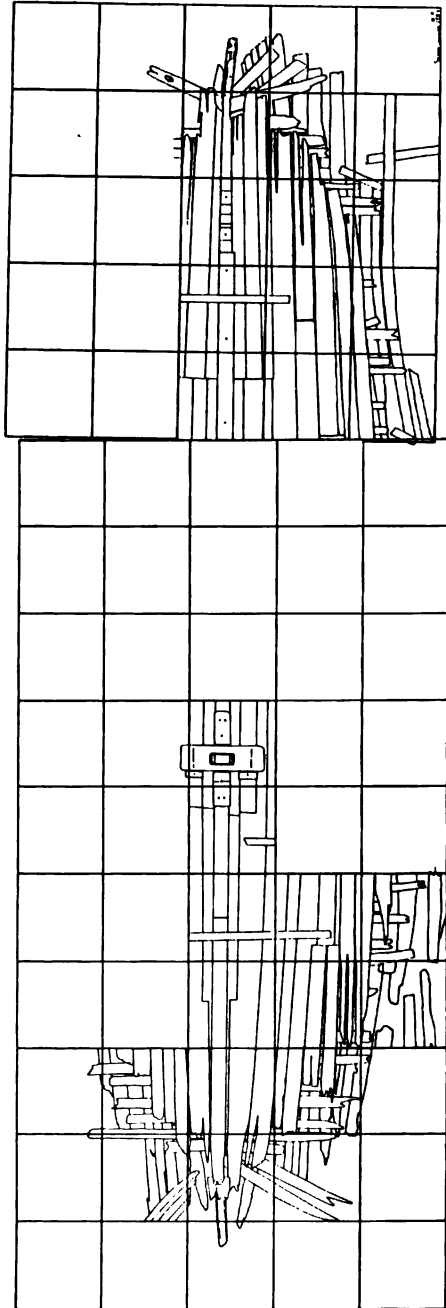
During the first season of archaeological study of the sloop *Boscawen*, approximately one-half of the surviving hull was uncovered. While a comprehensive report on the design and construction of the vessel must await the completion of the excavation, the measurements, sketches, and other descriptions of the hull produced in 1984 provided a general idea of its assembly.

The first year of digging yielded ample evidence to support the conclusion that the seventy-foot-long hull was that of the *Boscawen*. The length and beam of the vessel, the dimensions of the timbers, the methods of fastening employed by the shipwrights, and the single mast step all strengthened our conviction that this was the sloop built by Joshua Loring in the fall of 1759.

Historical documents pertaining to the *Boscawen* indicated that she was launched after less than three weeks on the stocks. The archaeological examination of the hull uncovered evidence of certain shortcuts used by the shipwrights to accelerate the construction of the vessel.

Perhaps the most obvious signs of the sloop's hasty assembly were the lack of uniform timber dimensions and the somewhat sloppy placement

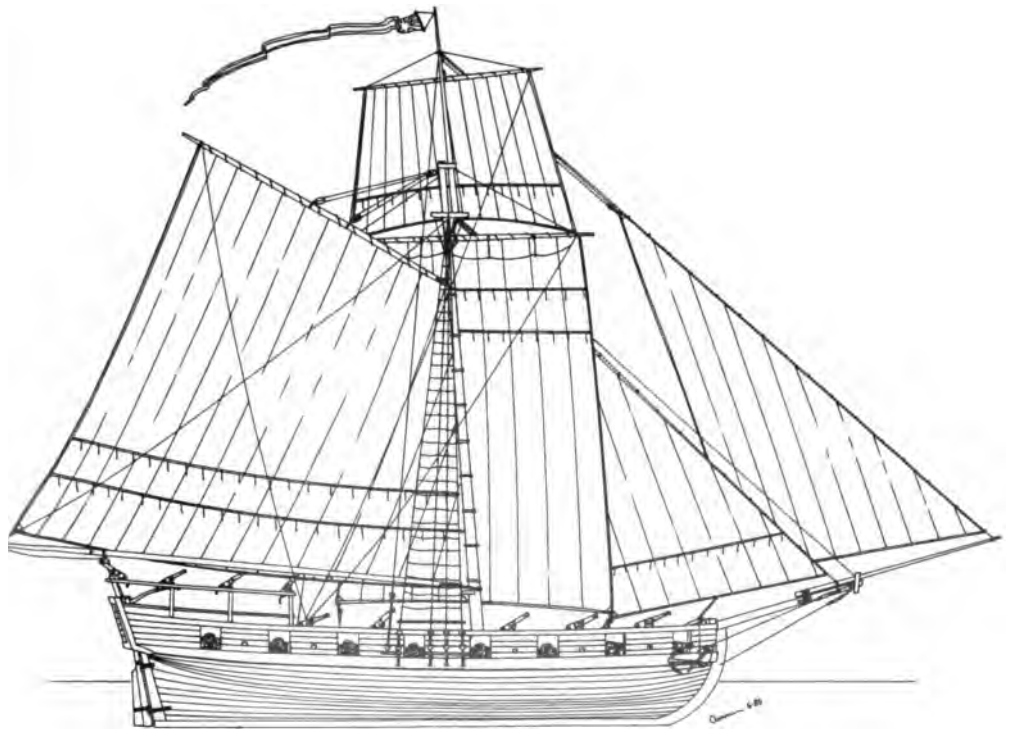
H. M. SLOOP BOSCAWEN  
PRELIMINARY WRECK PLAN





of the timbers within the hull. Many of the principal timbers, such as the keelson, expanded or narrowed in moulded and sided dimensions for no apparent reason. The keelson also terminated three feet forward of the stern deadwood, leaving a puzzling gap over two floor timbers. The frame timbers varied considerably in sided dimensions, and the frame floors were unevenly spaced along the top of the keel. The erratic timber dimensions and placement together suggested that the shaping and fitting of hull members was done almost entirely by eye.

The unusual method of frame construction, that of attaching the futtocks only to the external planking, was no doubt a great saver of time. It permitted the shipwrights to avoid the labor-intensive tasks of drilling lateral bolt holes through the floors and futtocks, and of shaping the frame timbers to fit snugly together. The use of untrimmed pine logs for orlop deck beams was yet another way the *Boscawen's* builders hastened the vessel to completion.



The listing of these shipbuilding shortcuts should not be regarded as a condemnation of the *Boscawen's* construction, for Joshua Loring's shipwrights certainly knew what they were doing. The portions of the wreck examined in 1984 were perhaps crude in their finish and assembly, but the overall impression was of a very strong and durable hull. All of the important hull timbers were of sizeable dimensions, were fashioned from tough, long-lasting white oak, and appeared adequately fastened with drift bolts, spikes, and trenails. The *Boscawen* was clearly capable of enduring the ravages of battle or rough weather without going to pieces.

Perhaps the weakest link in the *Boscawen's* hull was the green timber with which she was built. By using unseasoned wood the shipwrights were able to complete the warship when she was most needed by Amherst, but the hull undoubtedly underwent swift decay in the years that followed the war. This internal rot, combined with neglect, probably led to her sinking at her moorings in the Fort Ticonderoga dockyard sometime in the mid-1760s.

## THE FORT TICONDEROGA KING'S SHIPYARD EXCAVATION: THE CONSERVATION PROGRAM

by  
Heidi Miksch

A great number of artifacts were not anticipated from the Fort Ticonderoga King's Shipyard Excavation. Previous survey work had not yielded many archaeological finds. Nevertheless, it was decided to have whatever material which was found handled in the proper manner to ensure maximum artifact preservation. Conservation was integrated into the project from the beginning. Now, after the first season of excavation has been completed, with approximately half of the *Boscawen* uncovered, nearly 3,000 artifacts have been recovered; thirty times the amount originally anticipated.

Artifacts were generally brought up by hand by the divers who used plastic bags or boxes to collect and secure the finds. Trays and screens were used to raise assemblages of rope and rigging implements. A water dredge system, similar in concept to an underwater vacuum cleaner, was used by the divers to aid in excavation, to clear the squares, and to keep silt down. A net bag was integrated into this system to screen and recover any small artifacts that had been overlooked by the divers. On shore, the net bags were emptied and sorted through for brass pins, buttons, brick shards, and other small artifacts.

The initial processing of the recovered artifacts consisted of cleaning (the removal of mud, extraneous material, and loose encrustations) and cataloging. A system was used similar to the one originated for the *Defence* excavation, Castine, Maine. Each artifact, or group of similar artifacts from a single context, was assigned a catalogue number and entered into the log book under the headings of date, catalogue number, description, diver or dive team, and location. Artifacts were divided into six major material classes, those most likely to be recovered from a wet site: inorganic (general), wood, metals, leather, glass and ceramics, and organic (general). Catalogue numbers were assigned consecutively within each class. Artifacts were numbered either by securing a tag of frosted mylar with the catalogue number written in pencil, or by placing a tag in a plastic zip-lock bag with the artifact. All recovered material was kept wet in pails, pools, or holding pens to minimize the drastic change that the objects underwent upon excavation. An index card was also filled out on site for each cataloged artifact with information from the log book, a simple sketch, dimensions,

and a terse description of the object and its condition. Later, a photographic contact print was attached to the card along with notes concerning illustrations, photography, and conservation of the object. Of the 3,000 items recovered, over 2,000 were felt to be significant or of diagnostic value and were saved to be analyzed and conserved.

Everything, no matter what or where it is, strives to reach a state of equilibrium with its environment. Archaeological material, when first deposited, undergoes a rapid, drastic change. The entire, eventual breakdown of an object can occur as it seeks its most stable state, or the object can be preserved. Slowly, an equilibrium is reached in which little additional degradation occurs. Upon excavation, this equilibrium is shattered. The artifacts again are exposed to a new, altered environment. This change too can be cataclysmic.

Underwater sites, though they have conditions which we would normally equate with degradation, surprisingly have several factors which favor the preservation of many types of artifact material classes. Underwater sites have a constant moisture content, 100%. It does not fluctuate. Also, there is only a slight variance in temperature throughout the seasons and years. There is much less overall change than what we experience in our "normal" environment. These factors and others help to explain the extent of material which is found, why its condition is generally good, and the need for knowledge and proper care of the artifacts immediately upon excavation.

There are other factors generally associated with wet sites that do cause deterioration or damage to artifacts. Dissolved salts are the greatest concern for they affect all types of artifacts. Fortunately, the *Boscawen* was in fresh water, so the extraction of salts from the finds did not have to be dealt with. The water and mud from the wreck site were chemically tested. The water had a pH of 6.2, indicating that it was slightly acidic. The mud was 5.2; ten times as acidic as the water. This was probably due to the decay of organic matter from the lake bed in the formation of mud. Both the mud and water had minimal though detectable amounts of sulfur present. The mud found at the wreck site was very sticky and tenacious and created an anerobic environment. Sealing out oxygen eliminated many problems. It slowed, if not stopped, degradation of the organic material which is caused primarily by an oxygen dependant biological decay process. The mud and other overburden prevented the feeding of marine life on the artifacts and protected them from physical disturbances and movement.

Wood, rope, leather, and other organic materials were recovered from the *Boscawen* in very good condition. Glass and ceramics were also found in good condition though always broken. No complete artifacts were expected to be found. According to historical records, the *Boscawen* was



*Shoreline Cleaning of Artifacts*

stripped of all possessions and equipment prior to abandonment. Any articles of value (whole ceramic or glass vessels) would have been removed at that time. Some staining occurred to the glass and ceramics, however, due to the presence of sulfur. Metal artifacts were the most adversely affected by the burial conditions. Brass and other copper alloys emerged from the water and mud looking very bright, as the acidity of the site prevented the formation of any stable corrosion product on them. However, there was little if any detectable loss of surface metal. Lead and pewter objects were in good condition though dark in color due to the reaction of the lead in them with sulfur. Iron artifacts were the least well preserved. Sulfur is an active corrodent of iron. No stable corrosion product formed on the surfaces of the iron artifacts which could seal and protect the metal from further attack. These objects were severely eroded.

Archaeological conservation is a discipline which strives for the preservation of material rather than cosmetic alterations. Stabilized artifacts can be studied and analyzed in a number of ways. Treatments should be of a minimal intrusive nature so as not to obscure, skew, or possibly eliminate important information. Reassembling shards is done whenever possible in order to discern vessel form. Corrosion might be removed if its existence on the object could prove to be deleterious or if it hides a preserved surface. Otherwise, little cosmetic work is done. Stability is more important.

The archaeological object has a very special history, of being underwater or buried in the earth, and this will show to a certain extent in the condition of the object. It is a very important part of its history which should not be eliminated, but preserved.

Conservation of the *Boscawen's* artifacts has consisted of careful cleaning and close examination. Stains and corrosion products have been removed when they obscured the artifact or where their removal would not compromise the strength or stability of the object. Slow, controlled drying of all of the artifacts has been done so as not to introduce additional stresses to already physically weakened structures. Organic material is very susceptible to damage caused by sudden drying because the presence of water in its structure causes both physical and chemical degradation. Conservation treatment of the organic finds, which has been undertaken by the Archaeological Conservation Laboratory of Groton, Massachusetts, has consisted of dewatering by one of several methods or the impregnation of artifact material with polyethylene glycol. PEG bonds chemically with organic material and strengthens cell walls, enabling the objects to be slow dried with minimal distortion or freeze dried, another means for the extraction of water. When completed, all of the material will be numbered with a coding system which will easily identify the objects and indicate from where in the wreck they were recovered.

Due to the harsh conditions and changes these artifacts have been subjected to in their life spans, they are weaker and more susceptible to further damage than modern day items made out of the same materials. To ensure their continuing preservation, a stable environment, compatible with their present conditions, must be provided. This will establish a new equilibrium for the artifacts to exist in for many years to come.

## THE FORT TICONDEROGA KING'S SHIPYARD EXCAVATION: THE ARTIFACTS

by

Kevin J. Crisman

When the excavation of the *Boscawen* was begun in 1984, it was not anticipated that large numbers of artifacts would be recovered. The sloop sat in ordinary at Fort Ticonderoga for several years before sinking, and it seemed a logical conclusion that the British garrison at the fort would have removed all useful items from the vessel. Only small quantities of mundane artifacts, such as glass, shot, buttons, and bones were expected to be recovered from the interior of the wreck.

In order to control the excavation of the *Boscawen* and to ensure that each artifact was carefully provenienced, we elected to place twenty-five-foot square grids, subdivided into five-foot-square excavation units, over the buried hull. The length and beam of the wreck conveniently fit under the area covered by three twenty-five-foot grids.

The stem and stern of a vessel provide the greatest amount of information on hull design and construction, and for this reason the excavation was begun by suspending one grid over each end of the wreck. These are referred to hereafter as the 'stem grid' and the 'stern grid.' The 'amidships grid' was not set in place in 1984, except where two five-foot-square units were added on to the back of the stem grid to enable divers to uncover the mast step.

Some type of numeric designation for each five-foot-square excavation unit was necessary, and we opted to give each row of units down the length of the hull a prefix number, starting on the starboard side. Thus the first row of fifteen excavation units on the starboard side of the hull were labelled 201 through 215. The row of units overlying the centerline of the hull (the keel and keelson) were labelled 401 (stem) through 415 (stern).

Once excavation began, the field crew encountered a number of surprises. The units in the stem grid yielded the quantities and types of artifacts that we had expected: scattered pieces of lead and iron shot, buttons, glass, gun parts, and similar debris. The units in the stern, however, particularly units 413 and 414, just forward of the sternpost, produced numerous artifacts that were plainly lost through carelessness rather than discarded. These included rigging materials in sound condition, tools, and other objects too valuable to have been intentionally abandoned.

The vertical and horizontal provenience of each artifact encountered while digging was carefully recorded, although small objects recovered in

the dredge bags could only be provenienced by four-inch levels within a unit. After removal from the water, each artifact was cleaned, tagged, bagged, recorded on a catalogue card, and stored in waterfilled tubs. At the end of the excavation season the artifacts were sorted, with the more important pieces being separated for conservation and the remainder being consigned to reburial on the wreck.

The following is an interim report on the artifacts found on the wreck of the *Boscawen* in 1984. For the purposes of classification, the artifacts were divided into categories based on materials (glass and ceramics) or intended use (rigging equipment). Important items in these categories are described by their appearances and dimensions, and a few preliminary observations on artifact quantities and distribution are included. Because of the limited scope of this description, no attempt has been made to provenience artifacts beyond citing the excavation unit from which they were recovered.

It must be emphasized that this is an interim report on the artifacts of the *Boscawen*, and that completion of the excavation will be necessary before it will be possible to obtain a complete picture of mid-eighteenth century life aboard a British sloop on Lake Champlain.

#### **Rigging Equipment**

The hull of the H. M. sloop *Boscawen* produced a remarkable amount of rigging equipment during the 1984 excavation season. Items in this category include deadeyes, single-sheaved wooden blocks, spare sheaves, parral beads, fairleads, iron hooks and thimbles, chain, and fragments of rope and leather. The deadeyes, parral beads, and fairleads were undoubtedly part of the vessel's rigging, while the blocks, iron hooks, and rope may have been for the rigging or may have been remnants of gun tackle. Most of the rigging equipment was recovered from excavation units in the aftermost end of the vessel.

Three round wooden deadeyes were discovered during the course of excavation. Deadeyes, used in pairs, permitted the adjustment of tension on mast-supporting shrouds and stays. The largest of these (02-121), from unit 413, measured ten and one-half inches in diameter and five and one-half inches thick. The deadeye was pierced by three channeled rope holes, and grooved around most of its circumference to hold an iron or rope strop. Unit 406 produced the second deadeye (02-211), similar in appearance to the first but substantially smaller, being five and three-quarter inches in diameter and three inches wide. The third deadeye (02-061 and 02-010) was broken in half and extremely eroded; the two sections were found in units 414 and 415. Its original dimensions appear to have been similar to deadeye 02-211. All three deadeyes were fashioned from black locust.



Nine single-sheaved wooden pulley blocks were excavated in 1984. Wooden blocks containing one or more wheels (sheaves) were an essential component of a sailing vessel's rigging equipment. Nearly all moving lines passed through blocks, making the adjustment of sails and yards both faster and more efficient. Blocks were also deemed a necessary part of the tackle that controlled and shifted every gun carriage on the deck of a warship. The *Boscawen* undoubtedly had dozens of blocks on board when she was outfitted for service on Lake Champlain in 1759.

The nine blocks were found in three excavation units: 406, 413, and 414. Unit 406, just forward of the mast step, contained two blocks, both of which were fashioned from black locust. The larger of the two (02-206) was four and one-half inches long, five and one-eighth inches wide, and two and three-quarter inches thick. It was missing both sheave and pin, but was otherwise in very good condition. The second block from 406 (02-209) proved to be the smallest block found in 1984, and measured only five inches long, four inches wide, and two and one-quarter inches thick. This block was also in good condition and appeared to have little (if any) wear.

Excavation unit 413 near the stern contained four single-sheaved blocks. The first (02-119) was the largest of the blocks found in the hull, measuring eight inches in length, six inches in width, and three inches in thickness. Its sheave was four and one-half inches in diameter and three-quarters of an inch wide. The well-preserved block shell was fashioned from black locust, the sheave was of *lignum vitae*, and the one-inch-diameter pin was tentatively identified as sugar maple. The second block (02-125) was five and three-quarter inches in length, four and one-half inches wide, and two and three-quarter inches thick. The sheave was three inches in diameter, eleven-sixteenths of an inch thick, and turned on a pin three-quarters of an inch in diameter.

The third block (02-126) measured six and three-quarter inches long, four and three-quarter inches wide, and two and one-half inches thick. The body was fashioned from black locust. The *lignum vitae* sheave was three and one-half inches in diameter, three-quarters of an inch thick, and turned on a sugar maple pin seven-eighths of an inch in diameter. The block was in poor condition, since one side of the shell was honeycombed by insect holes. This damage suggests that the block sat in storage at some time in its career, and further indicates that some of the *Boscawen's* rigging equipment was suffering from old age.

The fourth block recovered from unit 413 (02-131) appeared to be unfinished. The roughly-carved elm shell measured seven inches in length, four and three-quarter inches in width, and three inches in thickness. It was fitted

with a seven-eighths inch diameter sugar maple pin, but there was no sheave. The crude, unsymmetrical appearance of this item suggests that it may have been made on Lake Champlain to meet a deficiency in blocks.

Excavation unit 414 in the very stern of the *Boscawen* contained three single-sheaved blocks. The first (02-048) had an ash shell seven inches in length, six inches in width, and three inches in thickness. Its lignum vitae sheave was three and one-half inches in diameter, and turned on a sugar maple pin seven-eighths of an inch in diameter.

The second and third blocks from unit 414 (02-043 and 02-046) differed considerably from the seven other blocks recovered from the *Boscawen*. The two anomalous blocks had nearly flat sides with slight bevels around the edges, and each was painted a dull red color all over. They appeared to have been very crudely fashioned and were well-worn. The other blocks from the wreck (with the exception of unfinished block 02-131) were carefully rounded on their sides and none of them showed any traces of paint.

Blocks 02-046 and 02-043 each measured five inches in length and four inches in width. Block 02-046 was two and three-eighth inches thick, and contained a sheave three-quarters of an inch thick and three and one-quarter inches in diameter. Block 02-043, of ash or elm, was two inches thick and had a lignum vitae sheave one-half inch thick and two and three-quarter inches in diameter. It is possible that these small, roughly-made blocks were intended for gun tackle. They may have been painted red to match the insides of the bulwarks (red was the usual color of the bulwarks on eighteenth century warships), or the paint may simply have been a preservative measure. Further historical research may shed some light on this subject.

Ten spare lignum vitae sheaves and two block pins were found in 1984. The sheaves were in three sizes: small, medium, and large. The small sheaves (02-034, 02-042, 02-059, 02-079) were between two and three-quarter and three inches in diameter, and were one-half to three-quarters of an inch in thickness. They were clearly intended for small (gun tackle?) blocks, like the red-painted examples found in unit 414. Three of the small sheaves were found near the stern, in unit 403, and the remaining one was found next to the stern knee in unit 414. All were badly worn.

Two small five-eighths inch diameter block pins were discovered in close proximity to the small sheaves in stem unit 403. One pin (02-062), which appeared intact, measured two and one-half inches in length. The other (02-034) was broken on one end and measured two and three-eighth inches in length. Both had red paint on one end, indicating that they were from red painted blocks like those found in unit 414.

The medium sized category of sheaves contained two examples, one four and one-eighth inches diameter (02-124), and the other four inches in

diameter (02-095). Both were seven-eighths of an inch in thickness. These sheaves, which did not appear to have been used, would have fit some of the larger blocks recovered in 1984. The two medium sized sheaves were found in unit 413.

The four large sheaves (02-044, 02-065, 02-082, 02-100) were found within four feet of one another, in units 413 and 414. They ranged from six and one-eighth inches to seven and one-half inches in diameter, and one and one-eighth to one and three-quarter inches in thickness. They were intended for large rigging blocks, no examples of which were discovered during the 1984 excavations. The edges of all of the large sheaves were broken in places, suggesting that they had been used and discarded.

Seven donut-like wooden parral beads (also known as parral trucks) were retrieved from the *Boscawen* during the first season of excavation. In use, parral trucks were strung together on a rope and the rope was looped around a mast and attached to the jaws of the boom and gaff. When the sloop's large mainsail was raised, the parral beads allowed the gaff to roll smoothly up to the top of the mast.

The seven beads were similar in dimensions, ranging between two and three and one-quarter inches in length and between two and three-eighth inches and three and one-quarter inches in diameter. The diameter of the rope holes through their centers averaged about one and one-half to one and three-quarter inches. The beads were similar in shape, although some examples were sharp at the ends while others were rounded. Four of the beads were fashioned from black locust, one was of ash, and another was of yellow birch.

Six of the seven beads were found mixed in with the concentration of other rigging materials in excavation units 413 and 414. The seventh bead (02-250) was found beneath the hull and adjacent to the keel in unit 402. This example was also slightly smaller than the others and had a narrower rope hole in the center — only seven-eighths of an inch in diameter.

Three unusual parral bead-like items of black locust were found in unit 413. They consisted of cylindrical pieces two and one-eighth to three inches in length and two to two and one-half inches in diameter, with holes drilled through the center like parral beads. In addition, each of these finds had two grooves, one extending the length and the other the circumference of the bead. They have been tentatively identified as fairleads. Each was probably attached to a standing rigging rope (which fit into the longitudinal groove), and then lashed in place (the lashing fit into the lateral groove). A rigging line was then passed through the central hole, where it could move freely during the adjustment of sails and yards. Two of the fairleads (02-236 and 02-102) were turned on a lathe and had smoothly-finished appearances.

The rough exterior and cylindrical shape of the third fairlead (02-118) indicated that it had been carved by hand.

The wreck of the *Boscawen* produced a number of iron rigging artifacts including a large block strap and hook, seven small iron hooks, four iron thimbles for ropes, and a severely rusted clump of iron chain. The most impressive of these finds was the iron black strap and hook (03-009), found atop the stern knee in the after end of unit 414. It measured eighteen and one-half inches in overall length, the hook being six inches long and four inches wide. The iron strap, which was one-half an inch thick and one and one-quarter inches wide, was shaped to fit around a large block approximately twelve inches long by six inches thick. On opposite sides of the strap the sides flared to three and one-half inches wide and were pierced by one and three-quarter diameter holes, which were no doubt intended to permit the removal or replacement of the block pin. The size of the strap suggested that it held a major rigging block, perhaps one of those that raised and lowered the yards.

Seven small iron hooks were found on the wreck. These ranged in length between five and six and three-quarter inches (six inches being the average), and had eye openings between one-half and one and one-half inches in diameter. Hooks were probably both common and essential items on board the sloop. Each of the sixteen guns would have required six or more iron hooks to secure its tackle, and hooks were generally employed in the standing and running rigging of a vessel. Five of the hooks were recovered from unit 414, one from 413, and one was found adjacent to the stern apron in unit 402.

Four iron thimbles or fragments of thimbles were also found in the *Boscawen*, three of them in association with iron hooks. Thimbles consisted of slightly dished iron rings, fitted in iron hook eyes, and around which the ends of ropes were braided. They prevented excess chaffing and wear on the ropes attached to hooks or eye bolts. The thimbles were roughly one inch wide and two and one-half inches in diameter when intact; since they were fashioned from thin iron they preserved rather poorly. Three, including the unassociated example, were found in unit 414, while the fourth was found with the hook in unit 402.

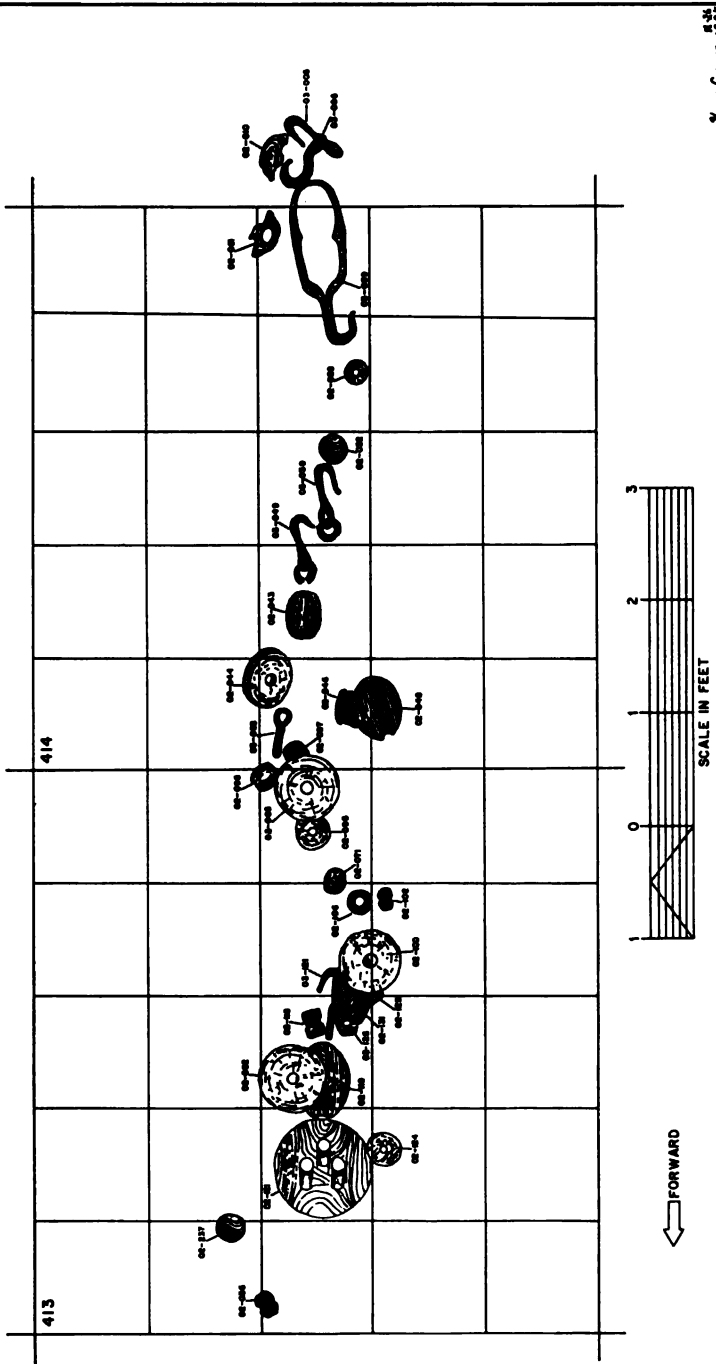
A small clump of iron chain was found in unit 503, on the port side of the hull. The clump, which was heavily corroded, contained approximately twenty small links of chain, each about three inches long and one inch wide. Chain (though not necessarily this chain) was often used in the rigging of warships of this period to fasten yards to the masts before battle. This practice prevented the yards from falling on the heads of the crew if the halyards were cut by shot.

A total of thirty-six lengths and pieces of rope were recovered for preservation in 1984. Of these, eight were from unit 412, five were from unit 414, and the remainder (twenty-three) were from unit 413. All were closely associated with the mass of other rigging items found in this area. The rope encountered in the hull had a mushy texture and was generally in poor condition; it is likely that some of it was not recognized by the divers in the poor visibility and ended up being scoured to oblivion in the dredge bags. The recovered rope came in a variety of sizes and was both coiled and braided. Pieces ranged from three-eighths to three-quarters of an inch in diameter, with most examples averaging about one-half an inch. One piece of rope was found inside of pulley block 02-046 in unit 414. A more detailed examination and description of the rope fragments (and of two pieces of leather wrapping found with the rope) must await the completion of conservation treatments.

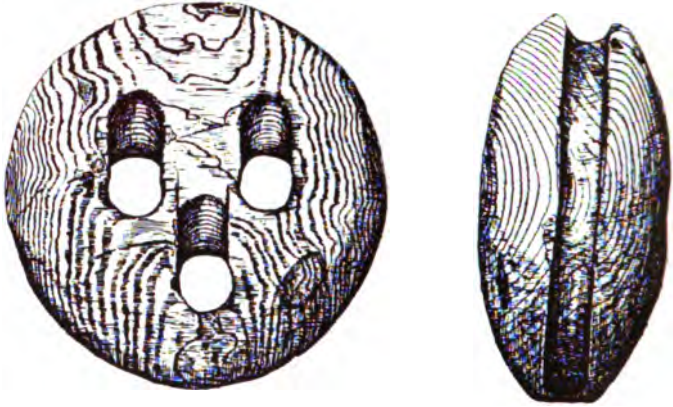
The hull of the *Boscawen* produced an amazing quantity of rigging-related items during the 1984 excavation season. Most of these were intended for the rigging of the mast and yards, but other equipment, particularly the rope, hooks, and small blocks may well have been part of the gun tackle. The majority of the rigging materials were concentrated in two excavation units, 413 and 414, although a few pieces were from the stem units. This suggests that there was some type of bosun's locker in the stern, possibly below the orlop deck. Some items, the worn sheaves for instance, may have been intentionally discarded in the bilges, but most of the hooks, parral beads, deadeyes, and blocks were seemingly in excellent condition and may have been lost through carelessness.



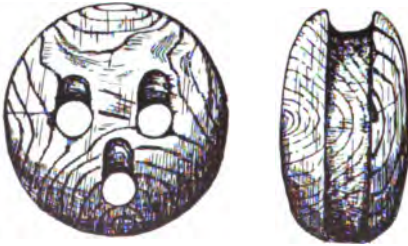
H. M. SLOOP BOSCAWEN  
RIGGING MATERIALS  
EXCAVATION UNITS 413 AND 414



DEADEYES

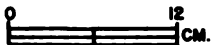
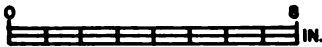


(above) 02-121, Unit 413



(left) 02-211, Unit 406

(right) 02-010 and 02-061,  
Units 414 and 415





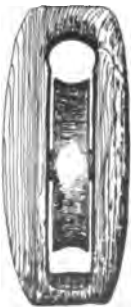
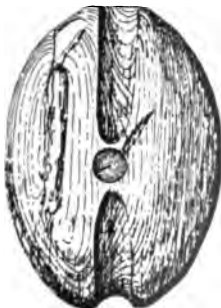
SINGLE-SHEAVE BLOCKS



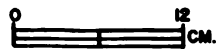
(left) 02-206, Unit 406



(right) 02-209, Unit 406



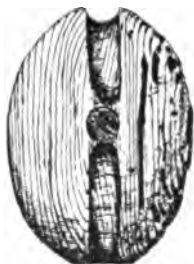
(left) 02-119, Unit 413



SINGLE-SHEAVE BLOCKS



(left) 02-126, Unit 413



(right) 02-125, Unit 413



(left) 02-043, Unit 414



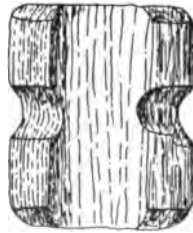
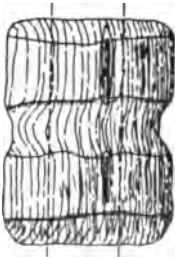
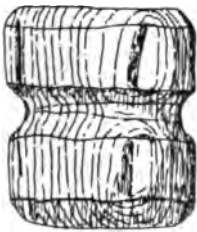
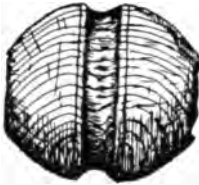
FAIRLEADS



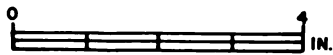
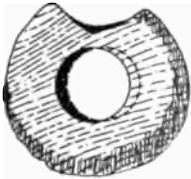
(left) 02-102,  
Unit 413



(right) 02-236, Unit 412



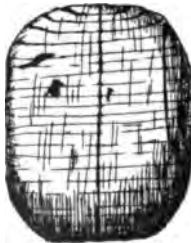
(left) 02-118, Unit 413



PARRAL BEADS



02-032, Unit 414



02-237, Unit 412



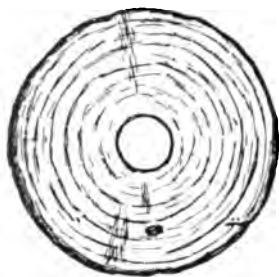
02-106, Unit 413



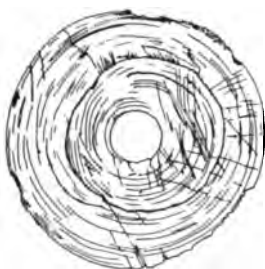
02-250, Unit 402



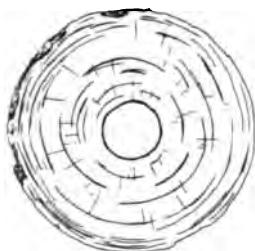
SPARE SHEAVES



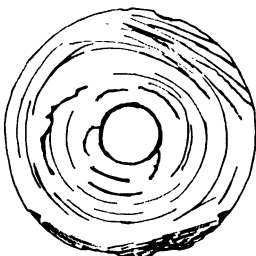
02-082



02-100



02-044



02-065



02-095



02-124



02-079



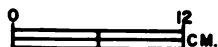
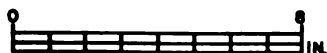
02-042



02-034



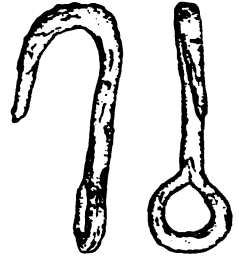
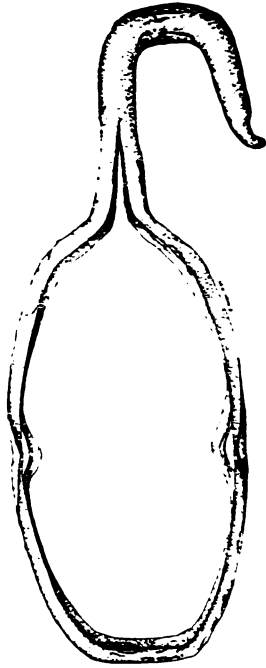
02-059



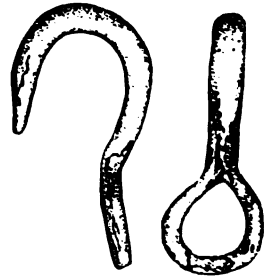
IRON HOOKS AND THIMBLES



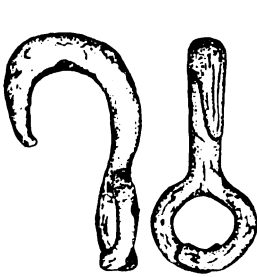
03-009, Unit 414



03-006,  
Unit 414



03-121,  
Unit 413



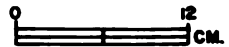
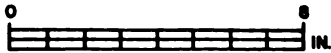
03-005,  
Unit 414



03-039,  
Unit 414



03-008,  
Unit 414



### Tools

During the 1984 excavation of the *Boscawen*, twelve tools or parts of tools were recovered and identified. These were divided into two broad categories: foraging tools and construction tools.

The category of foraging tools includes implements intended for cutting, shoveling, or other land-based work. The hull yielded seven tools of this type: a hatchet head, an ax or hatchet handle, a brush knife (or machete), a billhook (or fascine knife), two iron shovel blades, and a fragment of a wooden shovel blade.

The iron hatchet head (03-124) measured five inches in length and one and three-eighth inches wide at the poll; forward of the haft the blade expanded to three inches wide. One side of the blade was stamped with a broad arrow, signifying that this hatchet was the property of the British government. A crudely-finished ax or hatchet handle (02-130) was found in proximity to the hatchet head. The straight hardwood handle measured twenty inches in length and averaged one and one-half inches in width; it expanded to one and seven-eighth inches at the upper end where it would have been hafted to an ax or hatchet head. The rough-cut appearance of the handle suggests that it was locally made; it did not appear used, and may have been discarded as a result of some manufacturing defect. Although the hatchet head and handle were closely situated in unit 413, the latter appears too large to have been intended for use with the former.

Perhaps the most spectacular tool find during the 1984 season was an iron brush knife or machete, complete with its attached white pine handle (03-203). The knife blade measured two and one-half inches wide by nine and one-half inches long (exclusive of the tang, which was still embedded in the handle). The carved round handle was seven and one-half inches in length and one and one-half inches in diameter. There were no identifying marks on either the blade or the handle, and the homemade appearance of the tool suggests that it may have been locally manufactured. The brush knife was found in unit 511.

A second iron blade (03-071), similar to the brush knife, was found in unit 413. This was a curved billhook or fascine knife, intended for trimming branches or clearing brush. The blade measured eight and three-eighth inches long, and the tang was six and seven-eighth inches long, giving the tool and overall length of fifteen and one-quarter inches. The blade was three and one-half inches wide at the hooked end and narrowed over its length to approximately two and one-half inches. One side of the blade was stamped with the British government broad arrow.

Two deteriorated iron shovel blades were found in the after end of unit 413, stacked one atop the other. The upper blade (03-098) measured thir-

teen and three-quarter inches in overall length and ten and one-quarter inches wide at the shoulders. The socket was four and three-quarter inches long and one and three-quarter inches in diameter. The blade was cracked down its length, but was otherwise complete. The lower iron shovel blade (03-111) was missing its socket and part of one edge. It was nine and one-half inches long and nine and one-half inches wide at the shoulder. Both shovel blades were slightly dished.

A segment of wooden shovel blade (02-215) was recovered from unit 411. Roughly fashioned from ash, the dished blade fragment measured twelve and one-half inches in length and approximately two and one-half inches in width. The now-degraded forward end of the blade was wrapped with a thin sheet of metal, possibly tin, to reduce wear on the wooden edge.

The category of construction tools contains five somewhat dissimilar implements that were retrieved from the wreck in 1984: a hammer head, a mason's trowel, a small awl or gimlet, and two iron punches or fids.

The iron hammer head (03-004) was found on top of the stern knee in unit 414. The head measured four and three-quarter inches in length, one and three-quarter inches in width, and one and one-half inches in thickness. The forward end of the head was octagonal in section, and the hammer face was mushroomed from prolonged use. The haft for the handle measured seven-eighths of an inch in diameter. The back end of the hammer tapered downwards to a point.

The iron mason's trowel (03-331) from unexcavated unit 307, was discovered in the sidewall of unit 407 and removed from the wreck. It measured ten and one-half inches. One shoulder of the trowel was broken off and the surface of the tool rusted. This was the only tool found in the forward end of the *Boscawen*.

Unit 413 yielded a small iron awl or gimlet with its attached wooden handle (02-120). The iron portion of this tool measured four inches in length and was roughly one-quarter of an inch in diameter; its surface was so badly eroded that it was impossible to determine its original function. The lozenge-shaped handle of the tool, set at right angles to the point, measured two and three-quarter inches in length and one inch in width. A small 'X' was incised into one side of the handle. Two similar tools of unknown identity or function were discovered in the stern of the sloop. Both were tapered iron implements, flattened and flared at the back end, presumably to permit the attachment of wooden handles. The first (03-051) from unit 414, was seven and one-half inches in overall length; the tapered section was four inches in length and approximately nine-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. Its flattened portion was pierced for two rivets. The second of the two tools (03-123) was six and one-half inches in overall length; the



tapered section was four and three-quarter inches in length and approximately one-half of an inch in diameter. The flattened area was pierced by a single rivet hole. The exact purpose of these tools remains a mystery, but it is possible that they are badly-deteriorated examples of rigging implements called fids. Fids were tapered pins of wood or iron used to open strands of rope for splicing, or to stretch rigging eyes.

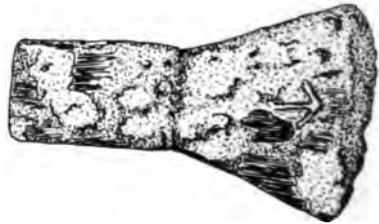
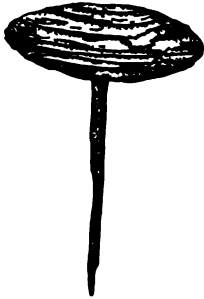
The bilges of the *Boscawen* yielded twelve tools that could be assigned to two loose categories: foraging implements and construction implements. Both sets of tools were likely part of the boatswain's stores carried on board the sloop. The foraging equipment would have been used by shore parties to collect firewood, dunnage (brushwood used to line the inside of a hull and lessen wear on the ceiling planking), sand (for cleaning the decks), ballast, and other materials. The construction tools (with the exception of the trowel) are the type of items that would have been used for maintaining a wooden sailing vessel. The mason's trowel seems out of place, but may have been lost during the construction of the *Boscawen*'s brick cook stove.

The tools were very tightly clustered inside the hull. All items excepting the brush knife, the wooden shovel blade fragment, and the trowel, were found within units 413 and 414, at the very stern of the vessel. These two excavation units also contained the heaviest concentration of rigging equipment. The quantity of ship-related materials in this area suggests that there was a boatswain's locker in the stern of the *Boscawen*, possibly located in the empty space beneath the orlop deck.

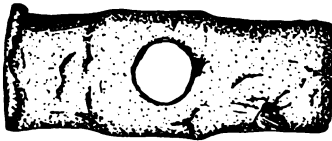
TOOLS



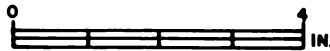
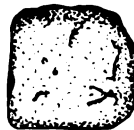
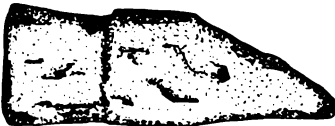
(left) Gimlet or awl 02-120,  
Unit 413



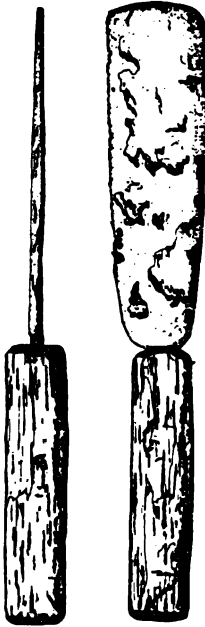
(right) Hatchet 03-124  
Unit 413



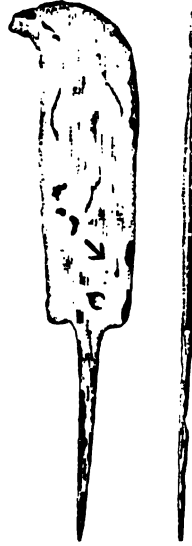
(left) Hammer head 03-004  
Unit 414



TOOLS



Machete  
03-203  
Unit 511



Billhook  
03-071  
Unit 413



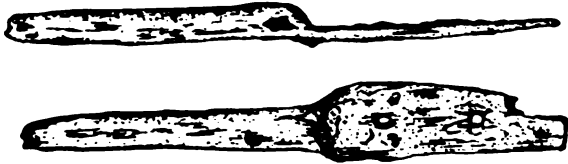
Ax handle  
02-130  
Unit 413



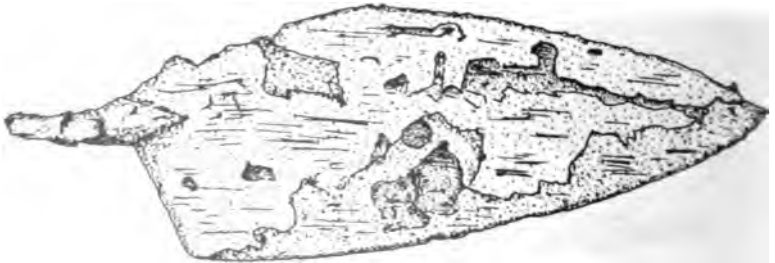
TOOLS



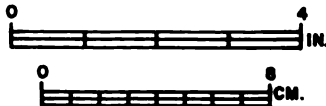
Punch or fid (?) 03-123  
Unit 413



Punch or fid (?) 03-061  
Unit 414

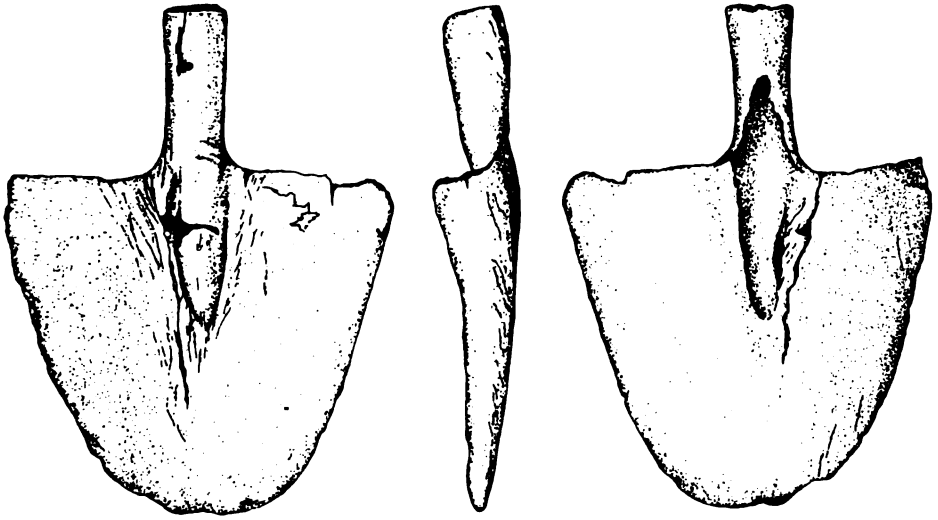


Trowel 03-331  
Unit 407

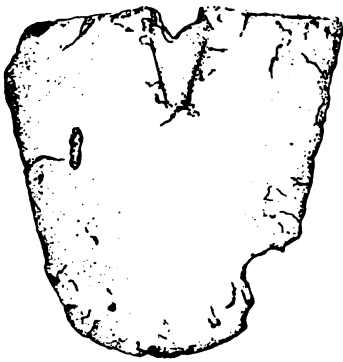


TOOLS

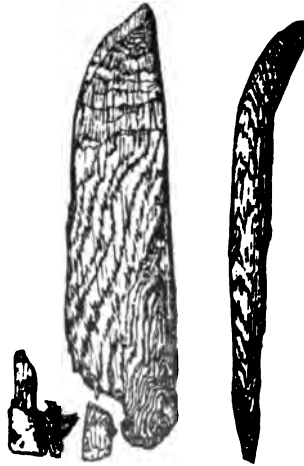
Shovel Blades



03-098, Unit 413



03-111, Unit 413



02-215, Unit 411



### Armaments and Ordnance

The excavation of the interior of the *Boscawen* produced an assortment of small arms parts and accessories, as well as munitions in the form of iron cannon and grape shot, a hand grenade, and lead musket and buck shot. Most of the recovered armament and ordnance items were of metal, and would not have floated freely around the bilges. It may be assumed that their positions within the hull were probably in the vicinity of where they were dropped, thereby permitting us to reach some tentative conclusions about armament repair and ordnance storage in the sloop.

Small arms parts include a complete "Land Pattern" musket lock, a frizzen, the broken after portion of a brass trigger guard, three brass ramrod thimbles, a sheet brass fore cap for a musket, an iron butt plate, and fragments of two ramrods, one of which retains its brass tip. Small arms accessories consist of a brass powder or shot flask, an iron worm, brass and leather remnants from a sword or bayonet scabbard, and fourteen flint gunspalls.

Perhaps the most interesting armament find of the 1984 season was a complete early "Land Pattern" iron musket lock (03-334) recovered on the last day of excavation from unit 614. The Land Pattern musket was standard British military issue from the 1730s to the late 1790s. The *Boscawen* lock has features of the early pattern, which was manufactured until the 1760s (Bailey, 1971: 22-25). The lock has the typical early Land Pattern curve over its length, and corresponds in dimensions to other locks of this style (six and three-quarter inches by one and one-quarter inches). Other distinctive features include the frizzen's round top and a trefoil finial on the frizzen spring. The *Boscawen* lock was found outside of the hull, between detached planks. It dates to the period of the sloop's active career and was very likely lost or discarded by someone on board her, although it is possible that the lock was dropped onto the submerged wreck at a later time.

A badly-deteriorated frizzen (03-099) was recovered from unit 404; its top was squared off, a feature typical of gunlocks pre-dating the Land Pattern lock (Bailey, 1971: 20-21). The broken after portion of a brass trigger guard (03-282) and a cast brass ramrod thimble (03-270) were found in unit 406; both appeared to be standard Land Pattern musket fittings. Three sheet-brass musket fittings were found nearby: unit 403 produced a semi-circular cap for the forend of a gun stock, and units 406 and 407 each contained a crushed ramrod thimble. Sheet brass ramrod thimbles do not appear to have been typical of Land Pattern muskets. A poorly-preserved iron butt plate from a musket was also found in unit 406.

Unit 413 in the stern of the *Boscawen* yielded twelve pieces of broken

wooden dowel, the remnants of two ramrods. One of the ramrod sections, of black walnut, was fitted with a brass ramrod cap (02-145). A second section, of white ash, was carved to fit a ramrod cap, but the cap itself was not found. All other ramrod fragments were of black walnut or white ash.

A number of armament-related accessories were found scattered throughout the hull. A small, sheet-brass powder or birdshot flask (03-133) was found under a frame at the forward end of the wreck, in unit 302. The five and one-eighth inch-long by three and one-eighth inch-wide flask was decorated on each side by an oval ring of raised circles. The flask was badly dented and was missing its pouring spout. A corkscrew-shaped iron musket worm (03-316) was discovered in unit 412; the worm would have been attached to the end of a ramrod, and used to extract unfired cartridges from the barrel of a musket. In unit 413, a small brass stud, used to fasten a bayonet (or possibly sword) scabbard to its waistbelt frog was found. Several badly-decomposed pieces of leather tube, probably the remains of the scabbard itself, were found in close proximity to the stud.

A total of fourteen flint gunspalls were found inside the hull. Most were of brown or grey flint and were rectangular in shape, although a few were of irregular dimensions, the results of prolonged use or sloppy manufacture. The flints were scattered randomly from stem to stern along the centerline of the hull.

One hand grenade and 136 pieces of iron and lead shot were recovered from the wreck of the *Boscawen*. Most of the shot had worked its way to the bottom of the bilges and lay alongside the keelson. Two distinct groupings of shot could be observed in the excavated portions of the hull.

Half of a hollow cast-iron sphere (03-041) turned up in unit 403, the broken remnants of an eighteenth century hand grenade. The grenade measured three and three-eighth inches in diameter and has walls approximately one-quarter of an inch thick. The fuse hole could not be located on the existing portion, and was probably situated in the now-missing half of the sphere. The *Boscawen* was not involved in any boarding actions, and it is therefore likely this grenade was accidentally smashed rather than intentionally exploded.

The wreck of the *Boscawen* yielded five cannon shot in 1984: one twelve-pound, two six-pound, and two four-pound balls. The six and four-pound balls may well have been for the guns of the sloop, but since she carried no twelve-pounder cannon, it is likely that the single ball of this size was lost when the *Boscawen* was serving as an army supply transport. One of the four-pound balls was found beneath the hull and next to the keel in unit 402, and the remaining four cannon shot were recovered from three adjacent units, one in 411, one in 511, and two in 412.

A total of forty-seven pieces of iron grape and swivel shot were located during the first season of the *Boscawen* excavation. The majority of these were two sizes: seven-eighths to one inch in diameter (grapeshot), and one and one-half inches in diameter (probably shot for one-half pounder swivel guns). The table below indicates the number and distribution of each size of grape and swivel shot:

**BOSCAWEN · 1984 EXCAVATION  
GRAPE AND SWIVEL SHOT**

EXCAV UNIT	7/8-1 IN. DIA.	1-1/8 IN DIA.	1-1/4 IN. DIA.	1-1/2 IN. DIA.	1-3/4 IN. DIA.	TOTAL PER UNIT
402	2					2
403		1				1
404	1					1
406	1					1
506	1					1
411	9			1		10
412	19		1	3		23
413	2			3	1	6
414				2		2
TOTAL SHOT	35	1	1	9	1	47

As this table indicates, the iron shot were concentrated in stern units 411, 412, and 413.



A total of eighty-four lead shot were recovered during the first season of excavation. These could be divided into four different sizes: one-eighth to one-quarter inch (buckshot), three-eighths inch, one-half to five-eighths inch, and three-quarter to eleven-sixteenths inch (standard musket shot). The table below indicates the number and distribution of each size of lead shot:

**BOSCAWEN · 1984 EXCAVATION  
LEAD SHOT**

EXCAV. UNIT	1/8-1/4 IN. DIA.	3/8 IN. DIA.	1/2-5/8 IN. DIA.	3/4-11/16 IN. DIA.	1 IN. DIA.	TOTAL PER UNIT
401			1			1
402	2	1	2	25		30
403				2		2
405			1	1		2
406			1			1
407	1					1
504			1			1
411		1	5			6
412	6	4	11	8	1	30
413	1	1	3			5
414			2			2
513			2			2
515			1			1
<b>TOTAL SHOT</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>84</b>

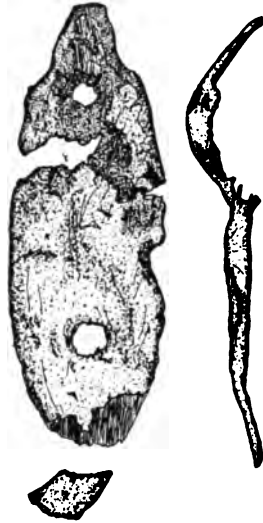
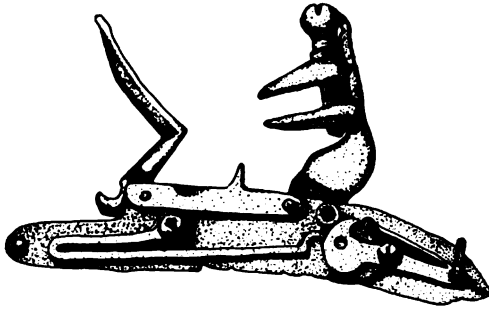
The lead shot were clustered in two areas. There were a large number of three-quarter to eleven-sixteenth inch balls in unit 402 at the stern, and a concentration of lead shot of all sizes in units 411, 412, and 413 in the stern.

The distribution of armament parts and ordnance inside the wreck shows three obvious concentrations. The scatter of broken musket parts forward of the mast step, in units 403, 404, 406, and 407 suggests that small arms repair was conducted in the forward end of the sloop. There was a grouping of three-quarter to eleven-sixteenth inch lead shot at the forward end of the hull, in unit 402. This may have been the location of an ammunition locker, but the likely explanation is an accidental spilling of a container of musket shot. Units 411, 412, and 413 in the stern contained a great quantity of cannon, grape, swivel, and musket shot. The number and diversity of shot strongly suggests that there was once a shot locker in this portion of the hull.

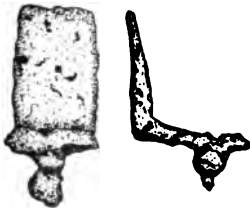
ARMAMENTS AND ORDNANCE



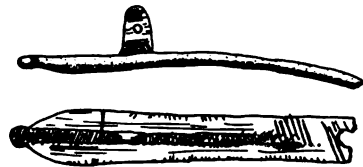
Gunlock 03-334  
Unit 614



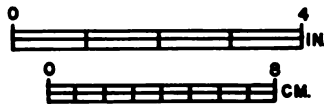
Butt plate 03-250  
Unit 406



Frizzen 03-099  
Unit 404



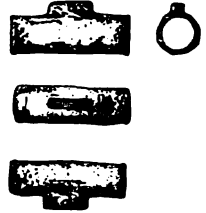
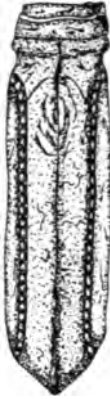
Trigger guard 03-282  
Unit 406



ARMAMENTS AND ORDNANCE



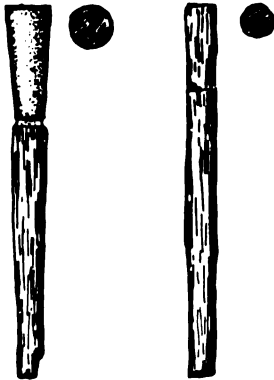
Powder flask 03-133  
Unit 302



Ramrod thimble 03-270  
Unit 406



Ramrod thimble 03-252  
Unit 406



Ramrod ends 02-145  
Unit 413



Ramrod thimble 03-328  
Unit 407



Scabbard stud  
03-109, Unit 413



Stock cap 03-061  
Unit 403



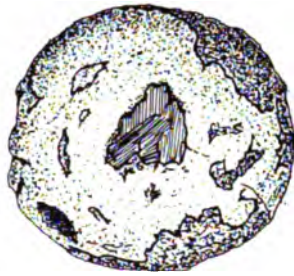
Worm 03-316  
Unit 413



ARMAMENTS AND ORDNANCE



12-Pdr. shot 03-238  
Unit 411



6-Pdr. shot 03-242  
Unit 412



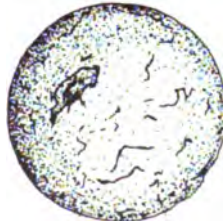
03-041



4-Pdr. shot 03-265  
Unit 412



Grenade 03-041  
Unit 403



4-Pdr. shot 03-235  
Unit 402



Swivel shot



### Staved Containers

A small number of staved container parts and pieces were recovered during the 1984 excavations at Fort Ticonderoga. These included portions of five or six wooden lids to barrels and kegs, a single stave to a small keg, barrel hoop fragments of iron and withey, and a wooden stave from a small tankard or firkin.

The wooden lids were of two sizes: those for kegs and those for barrels. Three examples of the former were found in unit 413. The first piece (02-023) consisted of exactly half a keg lid. It had a thickness of five-eighths inches, and was originally nine and five-eighth inches in diameter. The second and third lid fragments (both 02-141) may have been from separate lids or the same lid. Both were originally ten inches in diameter. All three keg lid pieces were of white oak.

Three larger lid pieces, probably from barrels, were discovered in units 411, 412, and 413. The piece discovered in 413 (02-122) consisted of half a lid, seventeen inches in diameter, of white oak. The fragments found in 411, (02-214) and 412 (02-242) may have been part of the same lid, which originally had a diameter of twenty-two inches. All of the lid pieces were beveled on their edges to fit into the ends of kegs or barrels.

A single keg stave (02-142) was found in the hull in 1984, in unit 413. The stave, part of a diminutive container, measured sixteen inches in length, three and one-half inches wide at the center and two and five-eighth inches wide at either end. It was only one-quarter of an inch thick. No other keg or barrel staves were identified during the excavation.

Two examples of barrel hoops were recovered: a portion of an iron strap (03-233) from unit 412 and a fragment of whithey hoop (02-146) from unit 413. The iron piece was three-quarters of an inch wide, nine and one-half inches long, and very badly corroded. The whithey piece was six and one-half inches long by one-half inch wide.

A single wooden stave from a tankard or firkin was located in unit 411. It consisted of a smoothly finished wooden piece five and one-half inches long, and tapering from three-quarters to five-eighths inches wide. Its edges were slanted slightly inward. The original wooded container was probably not very big, perhaps six inches in diameter at the base. Hopefully more staves from this interesting piece will turn up in future excavations.

Surprisingly few pieces of staved containers were found during the 1984 excavation. Most of the daily rations of the *Boscawen's* crew were probably carried in barrels, and many other stores, including powder and cordage, were similarly shipped. The dearth of staves and other barrel components suggests that it was customary for wooden containers to be re-used, or if

broken, to be burned or discarded over the side of the sloop.

It is possible that the lids and other barrel fragments may have floated around the bilges for awhile before being trapped in one spot, but the concentration of container pieces in units 411, 412, and 413 suggests that the area near the stern was used for the storage of victuals or other supplies.

### Shoes

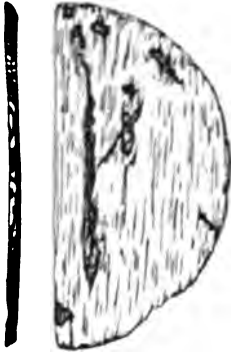
The remnants of over a dozen leather shoes were recovered from the wreck of the *Boscawen* in 1984. The leather was deteriorated and weakened after 225 years under water, and considerable care had to be taken in the excavation, removal, and cleaning of the shoes. The threads holding various shoe pieces together were entirely disintegrated, and most shoes were recovered as a collection of pieces. Shoe finds included several nearly-complete examples and various identifiable parts and unidentifiable fragments. Because these items were so fragile, no attempt was made to draw or photograph them until the completion of conservation treatments.

A total of five nearly-complete shoes were recovered in 1984. These consisted of multi-layered soles with attached (or accompanying) heels and/or portions of the uppers. The uppers (when complete) consisted of the vamp (or forward section), two right and left side pieces, toe protecting pieces, and welting (strips of leather used to attach the uppers to the sole). The right and left side were sewed together in the back to form the heel, and included straps which curved over the front of the wearer's foot and fastened with a buckle. No identifiable complete examples of shoe buckles were discovered in 1984 (see 'small finds' for more information on buckles). Four of the 'nearly-complete' shoes were found in unit 413 and the fifth was recovered from unit 405.

Other identifiable shoe fragments consisted of four heels, seven soles (which averaged ten to ten and three-quarter inches in length), eleven toe pieces (or possibly sections of vamps), eleven strips of welting, and eighty-six pieces and fragments (some of which appeared to be side pieces). When all of the shoe parts have been conserved it should be possible to entirely reconstruct several complete specimens (minus the buckles).

The shoe parts were tightly concentrated in two areas on the hull. In the stem grid, leather fragments were found in centerline units 402 to 406, with the greatest number in unit 404. In the stern grid, shoe parts turned up in centerline units 411 to 414.

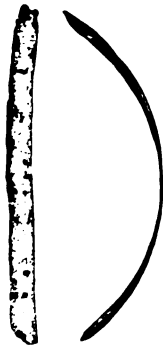
STAVED CONTAINERS



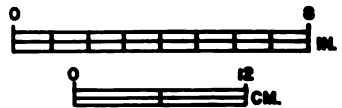
Keg lid 02-073  
Unit 413



Barrel lid 02-122  
Unit 413



Iron hoop fragment 03-233  
Unit 412





### Glass and Ceramics

The hull of the *Boscawen* yielded a small collection of fragments from glass and ceramic containers. While much of the work of reconstructing the glass and ceramic items from the wreck will have to await the completion of excavation, it was possible to identify by diagnostic shards several vessels, including liquor and medicinal bottles, a wineglass, a small tin-glazed earthenware storage jar, and a Chinese export porcelain bowl or cup.

The most common type of glass fragments were from dark green liquor bottles. In 1984 divers recovered a complete bottle, three round bases, two square bases, ten rims and necks, and 139 unidentifiable shards. The whole bottle (05-041) was recovered in pieces from unit 413 and reconstructed. It measured ten inches in length, three and three-quarter inches in diameter at the base, and one and one-half inches in diameter at the neck. The base of the bottle featured a pronounced 'kick-up' with a pontil mark. The shape of the bottle resembled that of other bottles dated to the late 1750s and early 1760s (Noel Hume, 1982: 67). The three round base shards and ten rim and neck shards appeared to be from bottles with similar shapes and dimensions.

Non-dark green glass was relatively rare on the *Boscawen*, and was represented by the base of a small bottle (possibly a medicinal bottle), the stem and base of a wineglass, and eight shards of bottle and window glass tinted light blue or light green.

The bottle base (05-019) was found in unit 504. It was light green in color, one and one-half inches in diameter, and had a rough pontil mark on its base. The stem and base of a clear-glass wineglass (05-012) were found adjacent to the stern knee in unit 414. An additional base fragment (05-006) was found outside of the hull in unit 415, illustrating how some of the artifacts shifted positions as the wreck disintegrated and settled into the mud. The stem of the wineglass tapered downwards and terminated in a round blob. The base of the glass, below the blob, was originally about two and one-half inches in diameter, and was decorated around the rim by a narrow painted ring.

Ceramic finds from the *Boscawen* included twenty-seven fragments of white undecorated tin-glazed earthenware (delft), four fragments of glazed redware, and three decorated shards, including one of Chinese export porcelain.

A total of twenty-four of the twenty-seven fragments of white delft were found in the forward grid, principally in units 403 and 404. Most of these shards originally composed a round storage jar with vertical sides, six and one-quarter inches in height and approximately five and one-half inches in diameter. Further description of this jar, the only identifiable

ceramic vessel yet recovered, will be possible when its reconstruction has been completed.

The decorated ceramic fragments included a small white rim shard with a raised blue design, and another white shard with parallel brown stripes. In both cases the type of ware was not determined. The third decorated fragment, from unit 404, was a rim section from a Chinese export porcelain cup or bowl, with cobalt-blue decoration on one side.

The fragments of bottle glass were scattered throughout the hull, although the greatest number of shards from any single unit — sixty-two — were found underneath the hull in unit 402. The few ceramic shards located in 1984, on the other hand, were mostly recovered from the forward end of the wreck, in and around units 403 and 404.

#### **Buttons, Cufflinks, Buckles, Pins, and a Bell**

This category contains small items used to decorate or fasten clothing and includes decorated and undecorated buttons of brass, pewter, wood, and leather, cufflinks of brass and glass, brass and iron buckles, brass pins, and a single brass bell.

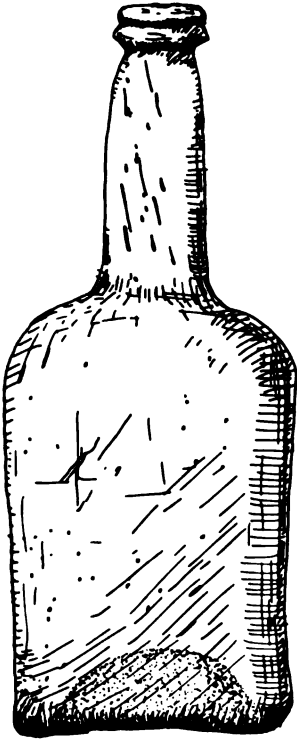
For the purposes of description, the thirty-seven metal buttons found in 1984 were divided into two broad categories: two-piece hollow (most of which appeared to be of brass) and solid cast (most of which were of pewter). These two groupings were further subdivided by the presence or absence of external decoration on their forward faces.

A total of four 'hollow decorated' buttons were recovered in 1984. Two of these were missing their back half and consisted only of the dome-shaped forward face, while the two complete specimens were lacking their wire shanks. Three of the buttons measured three-eighths of an inch in diameter and the fourth was thirteen-sixteenths of an inch in diameter. All were decorated with a floral motif.

The greater number of metal buttons were of the 'hollow undecorated' type. A total of eighteen were recovered. One third of these consisted only of the forward half of the button, but no recognizable hollow button backs were found. The dearth of hollow-button backs suggests that the crew did not replace broken uniform buttons on board the *Boscawen*. The buttons averaged one-half inch thick and ranged in diameter from one-half to seven-eighths of an inch, with most being either five-eighths or three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The majority of the hollow undecorated buttons were missing their shanks.

The category of 'cast decorated' buttons contained only two examples. One of the buttons was three-quarters of an inch in diameter, and the other was seven-eighths of an inch in diameter; both were one-sixteenth of an

GLASS CONTAINERS



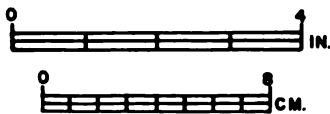
05-041, Unit 413



05-115, Unit 411



05-019, Unit 504



inch in thickness. Each was decorated on its forward face with a geometric floral design.

The fourteen 'cast undecorated' buttons found on the *Boscawen* exhibited a considerable range of sizes, designs, and materials. Three of the buttons were flat discs of brass, measuring three-quarters, seven-eighths and one and one-sixteenth of an inch in diameter. These buttons originally had wire shanks attached to the back with solder, although only one of the three still retained the shank. The remaining eleven buttons appeared to be of pewter, with flat forward faces and shanks that were cast as part of the button or were attached pieces of brass or copper wire. One of the cast pewter buttons (03-116) had the raised letters 'S E' on its back face, separated by the shank. Eight of the undecorated cast pewter buttons were five-eighths of an inch in diameter, and the remaining three were one-half, three-quarters, and seven-eighths of an inch in diameter.

Seven wooden buttons were found in 1984: three were five-eighths, two were three-quarters, and two were seven-eighths of an inch in diameter. They averaged between one-eighth and one-quarter of an inch in thickness. Six of the buttons had only a single hole in the center (for a metal shank?), and the seventh had five holes through it.

Four unusual leather discs were discovered during the first excavation season. These discs were not pierced for thread or for button loops, but their shapes and sizes were suggestive of buttons, and for lack of a more precise identification they were included in the button category. The four ranged between eleven-sixteenths and seven-eighths of an inch in diameter and were one-eighth of an inch thick. All were decorated on one face by a series of four inscribed lines that crossed in the center, thereby dividing the surface into eight equal wedges. The fifth (undecorated) leather button was one-half inch in diameter, one-eighth inch thick, and was pierced by three thread holes.

Four brass wire shanks were discovered in 1984, in units 402, 404, 407, and 412.

Seven cufflinks or parts of cufflinks were identified among the assemblage of *Boscawen* buttons. Three of these were simple brass buttons and links, and four consisted of faceted glass beads fit in a brass setting.

One complete set of decorated brass cufflinks (03-097) was discovered in unit 413. The octagonal buttons were seven-eighths of an inch wide and decorated on the forward face with an inscribed floral pattern. They were connected to one another with a S-shaped link of brass wire. One broken button (03-130) from a similar set of cufflinks was also discovered in unit 513. It was nearly identical in size and shape to the complete set of cufflinks, but had a less elaborate floral motif on the outside face, and was

missing the shank on its back face. The third brass cufflink (03-309) consisted of a dome-shaped brass button one-half inch in diameter and one-eighth inch thick. A wire shank was soldered to the back, and a one-half inch long oval link was attached to the loop.

The four single glass bead cufflinks were one-half inch in diameter and thickness, and consisted of a faceted glass bead fixed in a circular brass setting. One of the cufflinks (03-143) had a green bead and a decorated brass setting. The other three had clear glass beads, and two of these had one-half inch long links attached to their shanks.

Three small buckles, two pieces of larger buckles, and a clasp were recovered from the *Boscawen*. Two of the small buckles were of brass or copper. The first (03-056), from unit 414, was one and one-eighth inches long on each side, while the second buckle (03-231), from unit 511, was one and one-quarter inches long by one and one-eighth inches wide. The third buckle (03-146), from unit 413, was of iron, and was one inch long by seven-eighths of an inch wide. A piece of leather strap was found with this buckle. All three buckles consisted only of the frame and were missing their central tongues and hooks. These buckles appeared too small to have been for shoes and were probably intended for belts or other narrow straps.

Two corner fragments of large brass shoe buckles were found in stem units 402 and 405. The two pieces, each less than one inch long, were the only evidence of shoe buckles found in 1984.

A small brass clasp (03-046) was found in unit 403. It consisted of a semi-circular loop, with three protrusions for rivets on its flat end, and two hooks on its curved end. The clasp measured one and one-quarter inch long by three-quarters of an inch wide.

Seventeen brass pins were recovered from the wreck in 1984. All were from centerline excavation units in the stern grid: five pins from unit 411, eight from 412, three from 413, and one from unit 414. The pins averaged one inch in length, although one example was one and five-eighths inches long. All but one of the pins were recovered from dredge bags; it is likely that more slipped through the mesh and were lost.

A round, brass 'rumbler' bell (03-255) badly dented and missing its iron ball, was retrieved from a crack between two ceiling planks in unit 411. The bell was five-eighths of an inch in diameter, one-half inch thick, and had a wire shank attached to its back.

The distribution chart for buttons, cufflinks, and the bell shows that the greater number of these artifacts were found in stern grid units 412 and 413. The buttons and other clothing attachments were small and light and may have been washed around the bilges to some degree.

## BUTTONS

## Hollow decorated



03-290, Unit 412



03-143, Unit 413



03-108, Unit 413

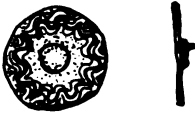


03-234, Unit 412



03-034, Unit 413

## Cast decorated



03-151, Unit 413



03-101, Unit 404



BUTTONS

Hollow undecorated



03-272, Unit 412



03-283, Unit 412



03-272, Unit 412



03-116, Unit 414



03-101, Unit 404



03-103, Unit 303



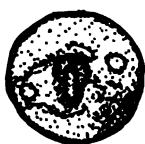
03-314, unit 412



03-314, Unit 412



03-155, Unit 505



03-234, Unit 412



BUTTONS

Cast undecorated



03-299, Unit 412



03-116, Unit 414



03-151, Unit 413



03-220, Unit 505



03-283, Unit 412



03-266, Unit 412



03-137, Unit 413



03-040, Unit 415



03-266, Unit 412



03-181, Unit 512





BUTTONS AND CUFFLINKS

Leather discs



04-028, Unit 404



04-057, Unit 505



Wood buttons



02-101, Unit 303



02-244, Unit 412



02-137, Unit 413



02-244, Unit 412



Cufflinks



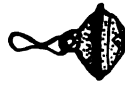
03-143, Unit 413



03-153, Unit 413



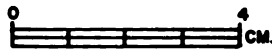
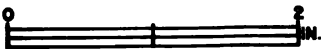
03-160, Unit 413



03-097, Unit 413



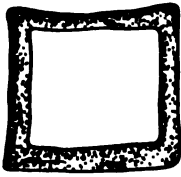
03-309, Unit 411-611



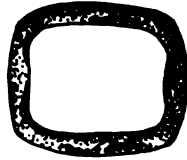
BELL AND BUCKLES



Bell 03-255, Unit 411



Buckle 03-056, Unit 414



Buckle, 03-231, Unit 511



Clasp 03-046, Unit 403



Buckle fragment 03-224  
Unit 402



BOSCAWEN · 1984 EXCAVATION  
BUTTONS AND CUFFLINKS

EXCAV UNIT	HOLLOW DEC.	HOLLOW UNDEC.	CAST DEC.	CAST UNDEC.	BUTTON SHANKS	DEC BRASS CUFFLINKS	BEAD CUFFLINKS	BRASS BELL	WOOD BUTTONS	LEATHER DEC.	LEATHER UNDEC.	TOTAL PER UNIT
402		2			1							3
404	1	2	1		1					1		6
405				1							1	2
407					1							1
303		1							1			2
505		1		1						1		3
411		2				1	1	1				6
412	1	4		7	1				2			15
413	2	3	1	3		1	3		3	1		16
414		1		1						1		3
415		1										1
512				1								1
513						1						1
613		1										1
	4	18	2	1	4	3	4	1	7	4	1	62

### Pipes

The hull of the *Boscawen* yielded a small collection of fragmented clay smoking pipes during the 1984 excavation. The fragments consisted of small pieces of stems and bowls and two larger examples of broken bowls with attached stems. All of the pipes represented by the fragments appeared to have been molded from fine-textured white kaolin clay. Many of the pieces had discolored tan surfaces, but this was probably the result of their having been buried in mud for over 200 years.

Seventeen pipestem sections were located in 1984. Eight were under one inch in length, seven were between one and two inches, and two were over two inches (two and one-quarter and three and one-half inches long). The stem pieces averaged one-quarter inch in outside diameter.

In 1954 archaeologist J.C. Harrington published the results of an extensive study of early clay pipes. In this report he noted that the holes in pipestems became smaller through the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century. He concluded that it would be possible to loosely date a site by recording the mean hole diameters of pipestems found in that site (measured in sixty-fourths of an inch). Several years later archaeologist Lewis Binford devised a mathematical formula for obtaining the mean date of a collection of pipestems:  $Y = 1931.85 - 38.26X$ . Y represents the mean date of the pipestems, 1931.85 the date at which the stem holes would have disappeared if the hole diameters had continued to decrease at their seventeenth and eighteenth century rates, and 38.26 the number of years between each sixty-fourth-of-an-inch decrease in hole diameters. X represents the mean hole diameters of a group of stems from a particular site. The larger the collection of stems from a site, the more accurate the mean date is likely to be (Noel Hume, 1982: 297-299).

The pipestem dating formula does not have much relevancy as far as the *Boscawen* is concerned, since the sample of pipestem fragments is quite small and the dates of the vessel's active career (1759 to approximately 1764) have been well-established. On the other hand, the wreck of the *Boscawen* has provided an opportunity to test the accuracy of Binford's formula.

It was possible to obtain hole diameter measurements of fourteen of the pipestems: one was three-sixty-fourths of an inch, five were four-sixty-fourths of an inch, seven were five-sixty-fourths of an inch and one was six-sixty-fourths of an inch. The mean hole diameter of these stems was  $4.571/64$  of an inch. Thus:  $y = 1931.85 - (38.26 \times 4.571)$ . The mean date arrived at through these calculations was 1756.89, or when rounded to the nearest whole number, 1757. In the case of the *Boscawen*, Binford's ceramic pipestem formula was remarkably accurate, with the result predating the sloop's construction by only two years. It will be instructive to recalculate

the mean date when the excavation has been completed, and all stems on the wreck have been recovered.

Eight small fragments of pipe bowls were found in 1984, five in the stem grid and three in the stern grid. At least four were charred black on the inside, evidence of previous use. One bowl section, from unit 402, was decorated by a row of small, square impressions around the outside of the rim.

Two large pipe fragments, comprising portions of both the stem and the bowl, were found in unit 413. The first (05-025) consisted of a two and one-half inch length of stem attached to the back portion of a broken bowl. The interior of the bowl was blackened, indicating that it was used before being broken and discarded. There were no identifying letters or decorations on the surface of the pipe.

The second large pipe section (05-052) consisted of an entire bowl and spur with a short length of attached stem. The bowl was found in five pieces, but was reassembled; it measured one and one-half inches in length and was seven-eighths of an inch or slightly less in diameter at the top of its oval rim. The right side of the bowl bore a raised cartouche containing the letters 'G E'. The manufacturer of this pipe was probably George Ebbery of Bristol, England, who was in business from 1721 to 1781. Similar examples of 'G E' pipes have been found in other colonial sites around eastern North America (Walker, 1977: 1119; Petersen, 1963).

Only twenty-seven pieces of pipestems and bowls were recovered during the first season of excavation, a seemingly small quantity when the size of the *Boscawen's* crew is considered. The sloop's abbreviated career perhaps partially accounts for this low number, but another explanation may have been 'safety regulations.' A wooden vessel like the *Boscawen*, filled with barrels of explosive gunpowder and large quantities of other flammable supplies, could have caught fire and burned very easily. To prevent such a disaster, smoking on board may have been discouraged, or regulated, particularly below decks. The completion of the excavation and further study of the pipe fragments will undoubtedly shed more light on the smoking habits of the sloop's crew.

### Bricks and Mortar

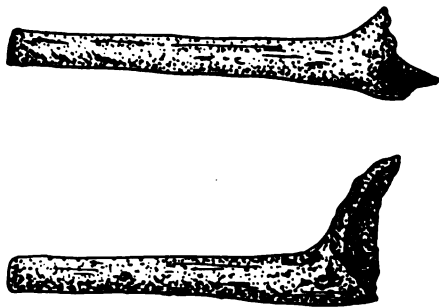
Most eighteenth century warships carried a brick or cast iron cookstove on board, generally situated aft of the forwardmost mast. The area immediately aft of the *Boscawen's* single mast was not excavated in 1984, but evidence of the sloop's stove was encountered throughout the hull in the form of whole and fragmented bricks and small pieces of mortar.

For the purposes of description the collection of bricks was subdivided

PIPES



05-052, Unit 413



05-025, Unit 413



into three categories: whole bricks, large fragments with two or more identifiable original surfaces, and unidentifiable fragments.

The first category, whole bricks, contained three examples, one from unit 412 and two from underneath the hull in unit 402. The brick from unit 412 was seven and one-quarter inches in length, three and one-half inches in width, and one and three-quarter inches in thickness. The two from unit 402 were slightly larger.

The second category, large brick fragments with two or more identifiable original surfaces, was comprised of twenty-six pieces. The majority of these were halves or quarters of bricks with one end intact. The pieces ranged between one and three-quarters and two and one-half inches thick, with most around one and three-quarter inches. The large brick sections were scattered along the centerline of the hull (the '400' units), with a few also turning up on the port side of the hull (the '500' units).

The third and largest category of brick finds consisted of unidentifiable fragments, of which there were 760. These ranged from pea-sized to fist-sized, and were fractured over most of their surfaces. The unidentifiable brick pieces were also scattered along the centerline and portside units, with their concentration increasing towards the amidship area of the hull. However, unit 402 beneath the hull yielded 259 fragments, the largest number from any single unit.

Only eighteen bits and pieces of brick mortar were recovered from within the hull, a small quantity when the large quantity of brick fragments is considered. Most of the mortar was found in centerline units 401 through 404.

The bricks and brick pieces removed from the *Boscawen* showed a remarkable diversity in size, color, and texture after they were allowed to air dry. Some were blackened on one face from use. While brickmaking in the eighteenth century was hardly an exact science (Noel Hume, 1982: 81-82), the wide range in dimensions and appearances of the *Boscawen*'s bricks suggests that the sloop's stove was constructed of materials scrounged from different sources, most likely from French buildings around Fort Ticonderoga.

The increasing concentration of brick fragments towards the amidship (unexcavated) portion of the hull seems an indication that the area behind the mast was the location of the vessel's brick fireplace. Excavation of the amidships section will hopefully reveal remnants of the stove or of the stove's foundation.

### Small Finds

This catch-all category of finds recovered from the *Boscawen* in 1984 includes eating utensils, mess tags, coins, wooden gaming pieces, a jew's harp, a key, brass navigational dividers, and the wooden back to a brush. Most of these items could be considered personal possessions of soldiers and sailors aboard the sloop.

Several eating utensils were found in the hull, including two metal spoons, a wooden spoon, two iron knife or razor handles, and a fragment of a pewter plate.

The first spoon (03-007) was found on top of the stern knee in unit 414. It was missing its bowl and consisted only of a brass or pewter handle, four and three-quarter inches in length. The back of the handle was stamped with a large 'X' and the nearly illegible words 'URFORD [or possible BUR-FORD?] GREEN.' The second metal spoon (03-078), of pewter, was found in unit 413. This spoon was complete, although slightly bent and worn. It measured seven and one-quarter inches in length, with a bowl one and five-eighth inches in width. The back of the handle was scratched with a zig-zag pattern and the initials (possibly the owner's initials?) 'H E'. The third spoon (02-136), also found in unit 413, was a carefully carved and finished wooden piece that resembled a small ladle. It measured six and one-quarter inches long, with a bowl two and three-quarter inches wide.

Two badly-deteriorated iron knife or razor handles were found in adjacent units 512 and 412. Both were slightly over three and one-half inches long by five-eighths inches wide. The single fragment of pewter plate, from unit 404, was bent and folded by member of the *Boscawen's* crew, perhaps as a preliminary to re-melting. It was decorated with a single beaded edge, and an 'X' scratched on the back.

Two small wooden pieces found in unit 411 may have been mess tags, the identification markers that sailors tied to a piece of salt beef or pork prior to boiling. The tags ensured that each 'mess' of a half dozen or so sailors recovered the same piece of meat that they had selected from the brine tub. The first mess tag (02-203) was two and three-quarter inches in length, three-quarters of an inch wide, and three-eighths of an inch thick. Near one end V-shaped notches were cut into opposite edges. The other piece (02-219) was two and five-eighth inches in length, and seven-eighths of an inch wide; it was rectangular in shape, and expanded at one end to a rounded head. If these were in fact mess tags, then they must have been identified by shape, since neither had any symbols scratched into their surfaces.

Three and one-half coins were found in and around the sloop during the 1984 excavation. This small sample contained a surprising diversity in



**Origins.** One and one-half of the coins were French two sou (or sol marque) pieces. The whole coin (03-307) was found in unit 612, while the other specimen (03-223) from unit 505 was snapped in half. These thin coins, made of an alloy of copper and silver called billon, were badly worn on their surfaces and nearly illegible. The intact coin was fifteen-sixteenths of an inch in diameter and was dated 1753.

An unusual coin was found outside of the hull and adjacent to the sternpost in unit 415. The copper piece (03-048) was three-quarters of an inch in diameter and very thin. The relief lettering on the obverse face consisted of an ornate 'F' with a crown above it, while the other side bore the legend '1 BAYREUTHER HELLER,' and a date. The two central numbers of the date were drilled through, leaving an enigmatic 1....2. Later research by archaeologist William Bayreuther identified this coin as a '1-Heller' piece, issued by the German state of Brandenburg-Bayreuth between 1750 and 1753; this coin was therefore minted in 1752. The piece was not found within the wreck, but its close association to the hull suggests that it may well have fallen from the *Boscawen* as the sloop's topsides deteriorated.

The only British coin found on the wreck (03-287) was a copper farthing approximately one inch in diameter, found in unit 412. The obverse side of the piece bore the words 'GEORGIUS REX' and a profile of King George the First. On the reverse side Britannia was seated with a shield and a trident, surrounded by the word 'BRITANNIA' and the date 1718. The coin had suffered some surface wear.

A total of seven round and eight square pieces of wood, presumed to be gaming pieces, were recovered from the wreck during the first season of digging. All but one were found in excavation units overlying the center of the hull, and eleven of the fifteen were from stern units 412 and 413. The round pieces averaged between five-eighths and eleven-sixteenths of an inch in diameter, and the square pieces averaged between three-eighths and five-eighths of an inch on a side; all were between one-eighth and five-sixteenths of an inch thick. Seven of the square pieces and all of the round pieces had a large 'X' incised on one surface, suggesting that these items were intended for some type of game. Further research on games of the eighteenth century will undoubtedly provide information on these pieces.

An iron jew's harp was found among the other artifacts in unit 413. The bow of the harp measured two and one-half inches in length, one and one-half inches wide at the loop, and three-eighths of an inch wide at the narrow end. The harp's vibrator was broken off, probably the reason the instrument was discarded in the first place. The harp and the gaming pieces were the only 'recreational items' discovered on the wreck in 1984.

A five and three-eighths inch-long iron key was found atop the stern

knee, in unit 414. The handle or 'bow' was one and one-eighth inch long and one and one-half inch wide, and the key shank was approximately one-quarter of an inch in diameter. The blade was thirteen-sixteenths of an inch long and contained two notches on its opposite ends.

Unit 413 produced a finely-crafted set of brass dividers, minus their points. The dividers were two and one-half inches in length, and when folded the semi-circular arms fit together to form a shaft approximately three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The upper (hinged) end of the instrument resembled a ball divided into eight sections by longitudinal lines. The craftsmanship shown on these dividers was truly impressive. The presence of this navigational instrument suggests that maps and charts of the lake or the lake valley may have been employed on board the *Boscawen*.

The final item of 'personal effects' found was a brush back fashioned from a block of American beech. The back was six and one-half inches in length, two and three-quarter inches in width, and five-eighths of an inch thick. It was pointed at one end, squared off at the other, and contained forty-six evenly-spaced holes for the bristles. The brush back was recovered from unit 413.

Most of the small finds from the hull of the *Boscawen* were concentrated in the area just forward of the stern deadwood (units 412 and 413). The one group of artifacts in this category scattered throughout the hull was the small sample of coins.

### Nuts, Seeds, and Bones

Much was learned about the diet of the *Boscawen*'s crew by careful sifting through the contents of the dredge bags to recover seed husks and nut shells. These botanical remains were air-dried under controlled conditions and then examined by University of Vermont botanist Peter F. Zika.

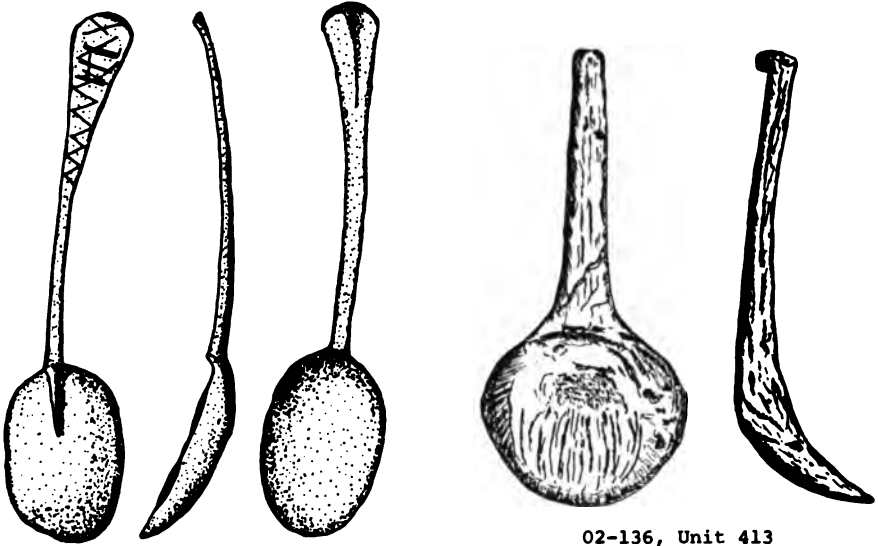
Zika identified nine edible plant species and eight inedible species. The most common edible remains were those of shagbark hickory nuts (*Carya ovata*). A total of 615 whole nuts and fragments of nuts were recovered. These were particularly concentrated in stern units 411, 412, 413. Unit 412, with the highest concentration, contained 294 hickory nut fragments.

The next two most common edible plant remains were twenty wild plum pits (*Prunus nigra*) and fifteen squash seeds (*Cucurbita pepo*). The plum pits were found in small numbers in excavation units along the centerline of the vessel, and were particularly concentrated in unit 413, which contained eight pits. The squash seeds, probably pumpkin, were concentrated in centerline units 403 through 405 in the stem.

Small numbers of other edible plant species remnants were also identified, and included acorns (*Castanea dentata*), hazelnuts (*Corylus*

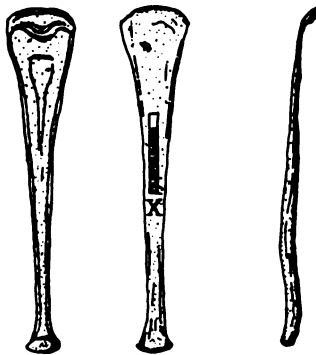
SMALL FINDS

Spoons



03-078, Unit 413

02-136, Unit 413



03-007, Unit 414

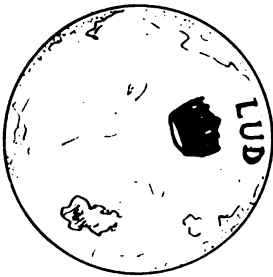


## SMALL FINDS

## Coins



Farthing 03-287, Unit 412  
Actual size: 1 inch diameter



Sou 03-307, Unit 612  
Actual size: 15/16 inch diameter



Heller 03-048, Unit 415  
Actual size: 3/4 inch diameter

SMALL FINDS  
Gaming pieces



02-066, Unit 413



02-138, Unit 413



02-188, Unit 402



02-110, Unit 413



02-232, Unit 412



02-232, Unit 412



02-232, Unit 412



02-232, Unit 412



02-232, Unit 412



02-223, Unit 412



02-110, Unit 413



02-132, Unit 413



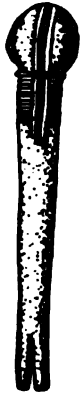
SMALL FINDS



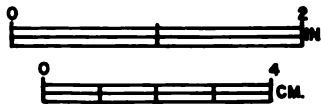
Mess tag (?) 02-203  
Unit 411



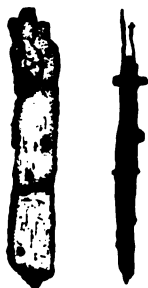
Jews harp 03-091  
Unit 413



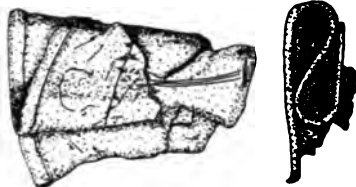
Dividers 03-132  
Unit 413



SMALL FINDS



Knife or razor handle 03-193  
Unit 512



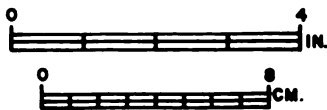
Pewter plate fragment  
03-080, Unit 404



Brush back 02-108  
Unit 413



Key 03-064  
Unit 413



americana), butternuts (*Juglans cinerea*), cucumber (*Cucumis sativa*), a possible peach pit (*Prunus persica*), and a peanut shell (*Arachis hypogaea*). The peanut shell was undoubtedly a recent addition to the site, and did not date to the active career of the *Boscawen*.

Seeds from several inedible plants species were also discovered on the wreck. These included several avens species, white spruce, black oak, oak species, arbor vitae, basswood, hemlock, viburnum species, and cocklebur. These seeds may have been attached to brushwood that was carried on board for firewood or dunnage, or they may have settled inside the hull after it sank.

We did not have a trained botanist on the field crew in 1984, and it is possible that some small seeds and nuts, both edible and non-edible, were overlooked during our inspections of dredge bag contents. However, it is apparent that the crew of the *Boscawen* gathered and ate local wild foods, including shagbark hickory nuts, wild plums, butternuts, acorns, and hazelnuts. They also consumed some type of squash, probably pumpkin.

A surprisingly small number of bones were recovered during the excavation of the hull. Inspection and identification of faunal remains will have to await the completion of the conservation treatments, but most of the bones appeared to be butchered pieces of large animals, presumably cattle and pigs. One long bone, tentatively identified as part of a deer leg, was found in unit 411 and was an indication that the crew occasionally hunted for fresh meat.

### Unidentified Finds

While the majority of the finds from the *Boscawen* could be identified by the material they were composed of, the purpose of some items remained a mystery. Finds on the 'unidentified list' consisted for the most part of chips, fragments, lumps, and other bits of wood, leather, iron and brass. For the purposes of brevity, only a few of these unknown objects will be mentioned here.

Hundreds of detached pieces of wood, small and large, were removed from the interior of the wreck in 1984. Most of these could be separated into three categories: disintegrated pieces of the hull, waste chips from the construction of the hull, and branches and sticks brought on board either for firewood or dunnage. Among the scrap wood fragments were occasionally found wood objects that had been carved into interesting shapes and then for unknown reasons discarded in the bilges. Particularly common were wooden sticks four to seven inches in length and roughly one-half of an inch in thickness, whittled to a sharp point at one or both ends (02-204, 02-207). In some cases, one of the ends was charred. Conjectured uses for



these sticks were as meat skewers, crude eating utensils, or home-made reamers for cannon touch holes.

Yet another unusually-shaped wooden object (02-103) was found in unit 413. It consisted of a block of white pine, ten and one-half inches in length, three and three-sixteenth inches in width, and three-quarters of an inch thick. It was rounded on one end, pointed on the other, and all of the edges on one side were bevelled. The appearance of the object suggested either a crude toy boat or perhaps a shoe last. Whatever the block was intended to be, its crude and unfinished appearance suggested that the maker committed an error in his carving and tossed the piece away.

A two-foot diameter mass of straw was found between units 411 and 511. The purpose of this material on board a military warship was open to considerable speculation: was it part of the stuffing for a mattress? Animal fodder being stored below deck? Discarded packing material? Further excavation of the hull and examination of historical documents will hopefully provide clues to explain the presence of straw.

Four unidentified leather objects (04-004, -006, -007, and -008) were found stacked together on top of the stern deadwood, in the forward end of unit 414. Each consisted of a folded-over piece of thick leather, two and one-quarter to two and one-half inches in width and of varying length (one was three and one-quarter inches in length, two were four inches, and the fourth was five and one-quarter inches). The two halves of each folded piece were stitched together along the sides, and a large hole, about one and one-half inches in diameter, was cut through the center. The two halves of each piece were also stitched together around the outside of the hole. A smaller hole was cut between the large hole and the fold, and a small strip of leather, tied in a knot, was attached. On two of the artifacts the knotted leather pieces had become detached, but they were recovered during the excavation. The purpose of these leather items and their accompanying toggles was a complete mystery. They were incorrectly shaped to have been used as sailmakers' palms, and the large central hole and toggle would not have been necessary if they had been intended as spacers between parral beads. These objects were found in close proximity to the rigging stores found in units 413 and 414, and may have had some function in the gun or rigging tackle of the sloop.

Unit 503 in the stem produced a small iron object (03-062), four and one-half inches in length, three-sixteenths of an inch wide, and one-eighth of an inch thick. The piece was hooked at one end and had a small hole through the center. The shape and delicate construction of this piece suggested that it was part of a tool or mechanism (perhaps a gunlock?), but identification has so far not been possible.

Perhaps the strangest object found on the *Boscawen* during the 1984 excavation season was a six-legged brass stand (03-069). We would have been inclined to regard this artifact as an intrusive piece of trash from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, but its context (beneath rigging artifacts in unit 413) left no doubt that it predated the sinking of the sloop.

The hollow-cast stand originally consisted of a circular central portion, three and three-eighth inches in height and four and one-half inches in diameter, with six projecting, tapering legs. The legs averaged four inches in length and one and five-eighth inches in width where they attached to the center of the stand. The flat top of the central portion was decorated with two concentric cast rings, and a projecting socket, seven-eighths of an inch high and seven-eighths of an inch in diameter. The one-half inch-diameter hole in the center of the socket was threaded.

The stand had received considerable ill-treatment before it was abandoned in the bilges. One of the legs was broken off where it attached to the center and could not be found on the wreck. The other legs were also bent, cracked, or otherwise damaged.

What this stand was intended for, and what it was doing in the *Boscawen's* bilges, are questions that have so far remained unanswered. The shape, construction, and the threaded socket of this item suggest that it was a stand, but what it was supposed to support cannot be determined. It does not look like something that would have been necessary for the British campaign of 1759, and the possibility must be considered that this stand was French in origin, and was discarded or captured on Lake Champlain or in Quebec. The mangled condition suggests that the piece was partially broken up for scrap before it found its way into the hold of the English sloop.

Bailey, D. W. *British Military Longarms, 1715-1815*. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1971.

Noel Hume, Ivor. *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. New York, 1982.

Peterson, Eugene T. "Clay Pipes: A Footnote to Mackinac's History," *Mackinac History*. 1963.

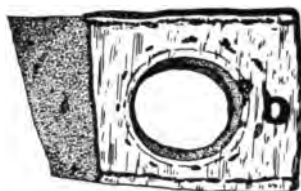
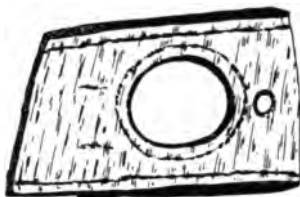
Stone, Lyle M. *Fort Michilimackinac 1715-1781*. East Lansing, Michigan, 1974.

Walker, Ian C. *Clay Tobacco Pipes With Particular Reference to the Bristol Industry*. Parks Canada, 1977.

UNIDENTIFIED FINDS



Pointed sticks (l) 02-227, Unit 406;  
(r) 02-204, Unit 411



Leather object 04-004  
Unit 414



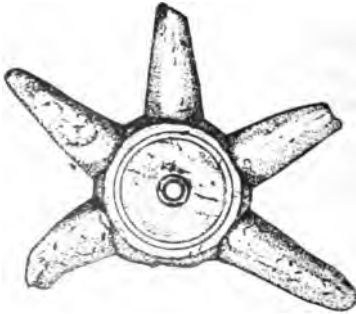
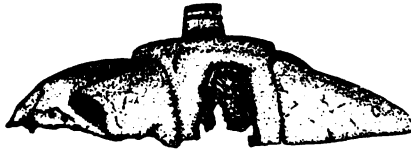
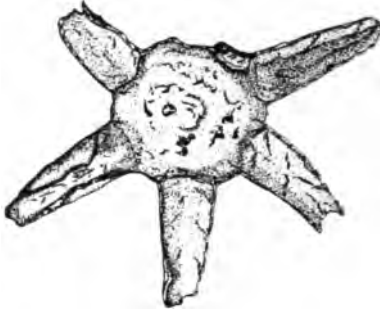
Wooden object 02-103, Unit 413



Iron object 03-062, Unit 503



## UNIDENTIFIED FINDS



Brass stand 03-069, Unit 413

Actual size: 11-7/16 inches overall length

## MUSEUM NOTES

by

**Jane M. Lape**

Exciting events have become almost routine at Fort Ticonderoga recently. It was during the summer season of 1983 that one of the most intriguing events in museum history evolved. A letter of inquiry crossed your curator's desk initiated by Nicholas Wadhams, researcher for Phillips Fine Arts Auctioneers of Blenstock House, London, England. Mr. Wadhams was seeking identification of a recently consigned painting, obviously to him, a North American scene, possibly the north end of Lake George.

To your curator, a native of the Lake George — Lake Champlain area, it was Lake George with no question, but actually the southern end of the Lake with Dome Island and Black Mountain predominant. A courteous answer to the Phillips researcher denied knowledge of the art work save to observe that stylistically it resembled the painting of Thomas Davies and thereby hangs a tale.

Thomas Davies was born c. 1737 near Woolwich in England, of Welsh extraction. In 1755 he received an appointment to the Royal Military Academy, an institution founded in 1741 for the training of young men as officers in the Royal Artillery. It was the expertise acquired in his training at the Academy that was to serve Davies well all his life, both for vocation and avocation.

In 1756 Davies became an officer in the Royal Regiment of Artillery. In 1757 he was promoted to second lieutenant and that year marked his first assignment to North America and the beginning of a career and travels that he recorded in his sketches and watercolors. Davies served at Louisbourg, and in various campaigns in Canada, and in 1759 made the Lake Champlain thrust northward under General Jeffrey Amherst against French dominion in North America.

Undoubtedly it was in the course of this campaign that Davies made the sketches depicting Amherst's camp at Lake George — sketches later worked into his charming painting of that camp and its surrounding landscape.

A check of London records revealed that the painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1774. Not only is this painting one of the earliest, if not the earliest, "View of Lake George," but historically it reveals much additional information. Prominent in the foreground is an Indian complete with war paint, and alongside a uniformed Ranger; who could well be Robert Rogers himself. It is nice to so imagine! The lake shore provides at least three anchored vessels and while on a very small scale, they indicate the

type of shipping used in the 1759 campaign.

Another facet of Thomas Davies' personality was his interest in ornithology. Three American eagles grace this canvas, seeming to emphasize the abundance of the bird that was to become our national emblem.

In any event, Phillips Galleries offered the painting for sale in December of that year. We are greatly indebted to one of our board members, J. Robert Maguire and his wife Polly, who volunteered to fly to London for the sale and a successful bid on behalf of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

The final tidbit of the story was to come later, after the canvas had been secured and shipped to Ticonderoga. On arrival it was sent to the conservation laboratory at Williamstown for cleaning and any needed minor repairs. In the course of the work and under the so-called "black light" the following was revealed in the lower left hand corners of the canvas: "T. D. Pinxit 1774." An exciting and rewarding finish to a challenging museum venture! The painting is reproduced as our cover for this issue of *The Bulletin*.

Equally exciting is the initiation in 1984 of major wall repair. The annual meeting of that year saw the appointment by President John H. G. Pell of a "walls committee" and the authorization of a then-current engineering survey by the Boston consulting firm of Cleverdon, Varney and Pike, a firm whose association with Fort Ticonderoga dates back to the 1950s.

In September, with the completed survey and recommendations in hand, the committee voted to begin the excavation and repair of the north curtain wall which showed bulges and signs of serious stress. To do the actual work a local construction organization headed by the Reale brothers of Ticonderoga was employed. To date, the north curtain is virtually complete with the excavation and support structures of the northwest bastion well along. With reasonable weather conditions that bastion also should be completed and paved before cold weather.

Helping to further all these projects in a very material way was the settlement and final payments of the Duncan C. Pell V bequest to Fort Ticonderoga. Great credit is due to Sarah Pell Dunning who as co-executor of Duncan Pell's estate was instrumental in carrying out Mr. Pell's last wishes.

1984 saw another major venture by the Fort Ticonderoga Association. The discovery in 1983 of three sunken hulls along the shoreline of Lake Champlain just north of the Grenadier's Battery sparked curiosity in the area of naval research. Arrangements were worked out with the Champlain Maritime Society under the presidency of R. Montgomery Fischer to enlist the help of a group of experienced divers headed by Mr. Arthur Cohn of that Society and Mr. Kevin Crisman, currently working on a master's degree

in underwater archaeology at Texas A&M University.

A working agreement for a permanent association with the State of New York was arranged with Commissioner Gordon Ambach whereby any artifacts recovered from an underwater exploration of these vessels would become the property of the State, but would be permanently loaned to, interpreted, conserved, and exhibited by Fort Ticonderoga. Permits for the research were secured and the *Boscawen* was the vessel chosen for the initial survey. Details of that survey are reported elsewhere in this issue.

In mid-August of 1984 our good friend and Association member William Pagenstecher presented the Fort Ticonderoga Museum with some 300 volumes, all related to his great interest in the history of the American Revolution and the Lake Champlain area. The gift was a welcome addition to our library resources.

Another exciting and major contribution to Fort Ticonderoga began in December of 1984 with a telephone call from Mr. Robert Pettigrew of Casper, Wyoming, to ask if we would be interested in a bronze gun currently located at his father's home in Tappahannock, Virginia. Needless to say, we were interested and via correspondence and a series of telephone calls, the following story came to light.

It seems that in 1954 a group headed by H. Jermain Slocum and accompanied by Whitney Bascom made a trip to Haiti in search of cannon. In the course of the trip, they visited the Dauphin Plantation near Fort Liberté of which Mr. Robert Pettigrew, Sr. was then overseer. It was that trip which led Mr. Robert Pettigrew, Jr. to call Fort Ticonderoga when the question of disposing of his father's cannon became a problem twenty years later. It seems that Mr. Pettigrew, Sr. had retired from his plantation duties and had brought the cannon to his home in Tappahannock, Virginia where it graced his estate, and where it rested until March of 1985.

There is an intriguing account of Haitian conflicts and the story of this cannon in particular in W. B. Seabrook's book, *The Magic Island*, chapter X. In any event Mr. Pettigrew, Sr., who was clearing jungle along the shore and east of the city of Cap Haitien preparatory to planting sisal, discovered and rescued the old cannon, a relic of Haitien conflict and revolution.

Mr. Robert Pettigrew, Jr., in cooperation with his father, Robert Pettigrew, Sr., and his son, Robert Pettigrew III, presented the gun to Fort Ticonderoga where it now rests on its carriage in the angle of the south curtain wall and the southeast bastion.

It is a bronze cannon, cast in France, bore  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " , length 7'8" , dated 1773, and signed on the base ring "Dartien." The name "L' Quateur" is emblazoned on the tube and the weight mark on the right trunnion is "P140."

The tube number on the left trunnion is "No. 60."

The old gun after a long and varied career now lifts its sights to the many visitors at Fort Ticonderoga and that Museum is deeply appreciative to three generations of the Pettigrew family for their awareness of historic values and their readiness to secure their preservation.

Finally, mention must be made of Ticonderoga's excellent summer tourist season and our celebration on 6 July of the annual military tattoo staged in the courtyard or Place d' Armes. The 78th Fraser Highlanders from the David M. Stewart Museum and the Olde Fort at Montreal under Colonel J. Ralph Harper of that able unit along with the Pipes and Drums of the Black Watch Royal Highlanders and the concert band of that Regiment as well as the marching men of the reconstituted La Sarre Regiment provided a military extravaganza of exciting proportions. Even unstable weather and that we had, did not diminish the enthusiasm of the audience which responded to the able master of ceremonies duties of General James Preston King of the USMC, (Ret.).



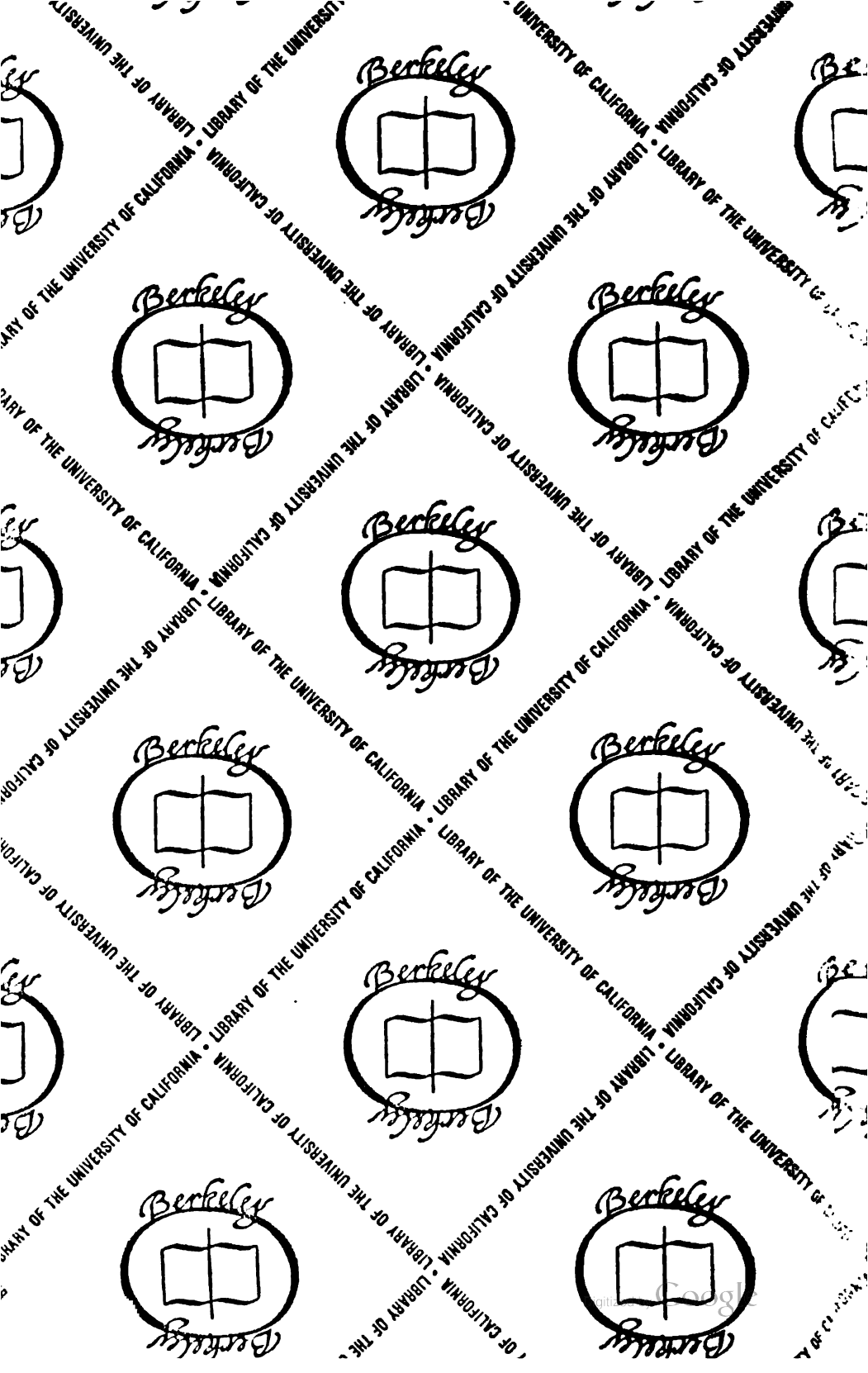












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