

The Burgoyne Campaign

Oriskany and Bennigton Haver Island and it's Fortifications

by Ethan Allen, 1738-1789

Illustrated with Pen Drawings by Buckland.

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Table of Contents

Preface



**Burgoyne' First Expedition in 1776
Bemis Heights**

**Hauver Island and its Fortifications
The Campaign of 1777
The First Battle of Bemis Heights
The Second Battle of Bemis Heights**



Notes



Preface

to the second Edition

A desire to search out and record in some permanent form the history of the occupation by an American army in 1777, of Hauver and Van Schaick's islands, at the sprouts of the Mohawk, gave rise to these pages. The remains of fortifications on Hauver island, are undoubtedly the best preserved of any relics of the revolutionary struggle. A study of the history of these interesting remains opened to the whole history of Burgoyne's campaign and preceding events in the Champlain, St. Lawrence and Hudson valleys. In connection with the historical record, the writer sought to preserve by art, accurate representations of historic localities as they appear to-day. On account of the great cost of illustration, the difficulties were considerable. Happily there fell into the writer's hands the circular of a Boston house, the Photo-Electrotype Company, announcing a new discovery by which the art of illustration was rendered comparatively inexpensive. The method was tested and the illustrations of these pages are the result. They have defects, nevertheless they are faithful and accurate, having been reproduced with the greatest fidelity from original sketches by H. Buckland. We trust they may add to the knowledge of the localities now so interesting, and may guide our readers to a more complete understanding of the operations of the two armies engaged in the valley of the upper Hudson.

For valuable aid and encouragement in the preparation of these brief pages, we are greatly indebted to Hon. James Forsyth, B.H. Hall, N.B. Sylvester. Dr. C.C. Schuyler, grand-nephew of Gen. Philip Schuyler, and H. Buckland, the artist. The principal object of these pages is to briefly describe the two great battles on the field of Bemis Heights, which finally decided the fate of Burgoyne's army in 1777.

TROY, N. Y., Sept. 19, and Oct. 17, 1877. H.c.M.

Burgoyne' First Expedition in 1776

For a good understanding of the Burgoyne campaign of 1777, a brief review of preceding operations in the north is necessary. After the first collision at Lexington, April 19, 1775, it was the intention of the patriots to seize and hold the gateway to Canada, and, if possible, induce that province to join in the struggle for liberty.

The provincial assembly of Connecticut, through a few of its members, immediately agreed upon a plan to seize Ticonderoga and the munitions of war stored there. One thousand dollars was appropriated to cover the expense. Edward Mott and Noah Phelps were entrusted with the raising of troops and examination of the fortress. If expedient, they were to surprise and capture the garrison. They collected 15 men in Connecticut, and at Pittsfield, Mass., were joined by Col. Easton and John Brown. Col. Easton enlisted volunteers from his regiment of militia, about forty being engaged by the time he reached Bennington. There, Ethan Allen, who had energy enough for a brave and determined man, and energy to spare, joined the expedition with his Green Mountain Boys. The whole party, two hundred and seventy strong, reached Castleton, fourteen miles from Skenesborough (now Whitehall) on the evening of the 7th of May. There Allen was chosen commander, with Col. Easton second, and Seth Warner third. The expedition was divided into three detachments, Allen leading the one which was to cross the lake, from a point directly opposite the fortress. One party was to go by way of Skenesborough, and capture young Major Skene and confine his people, afterwards to seize boats and proceed to Ticonderoga. The third party was dispatched by way of Panton beyond Crown Point. Before the troops moved from Castleton, however, Benedict Arnold, who had marched to Cambridge with his company from New Haven, immediately after the battle of Lexington, appeared with a commission from the Massachusetts committee of safety, giving him command of an expedition, which he was to raise to reduce Ticonderoga. As he had not raised such an expedition, he was not allowed to supersede Ethan Allen. Arnold then went with Allen as a volunteer. During the night

Illustration:

Ruins of Ticonderoga by moonlight

of the 9th, Allen with his little force reached the lake. The officers and eighty-three men had crossed, under the guidance of a farmer boy named Beman, when day began to dawn. Without waiting for the other detachments, Allen determined to enter the fort. With Arnold at his side, Allen led his men to the covered entrance. The sentinel snapped his piece at them and fled, the patriots following him into the works. Another sentry resisted, but he was made a prisoner.

What occurred thereafter is a matter of dispute. The following account is undoubtedly the correct one. It is from Matthew Dunning, who went from Williamstown, Massachusetts, and who was third behind Allen as he entered the fort. These are his words:

The line formed at the front of the barracks. The commandant slept at the head of the stairs in the second story. The prisoner sentinel pointed out the room. I was directly in front of the stairs, the door being open. Allen⁽¹⁾ rapped upon the officer's door with his sword violently. The officer sprang from his bed in his night clothes, and opening the door asked, "What do you want?" Allen replied, "This fort." The commander asked, "In whose name?" "In my own name, and in the name of the Continental Congress, and by God I will have it." The officer said, "very well," and started to go down stairs. Allen said, "You are not going down before my men naked, are you? Go back and put on your clothes." The officer then dressed and came down.

Mr. Dunning survived until nearly 1830 and was greatly respected.

According to Lossing, the commandant Delaplace, appeared in his night dress, "with the frightened face of his pretty wife peering over his shoulder." It is also stated that he and Allen had been old friends, and that when Allen was roughly asked his errand, he replied pointing to his men, "I order you instantly to surrender."

"By what authority do you demand it," said Delaplace.

"In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" thundered Allen. The surrender then followed. Seth Warner arrived just as the surrender was completed.

Ticonderoga was a valuable fortress. It was fortified by the French in 1755 and had been greatly strengthened by the English after its capture by Lord Amherst in 1759, and contained valuable stores and over a hundred and fifty cannon and mortars. On the 12th Crown Point surrendered to Seth Warner. This too was a strong fortress. A fort had been built near its site by the French in 1731, which they called Fort St. Frederick. This was deserted when Amherst captured Ticonderoga, and the English immediately began the erection of the fort on Crown Point. This cost, according to Lossing, \$10,000,000, the fort being part of Pitt's plan to utterly crush French power in America. After its capture by Allen and Warner, it was not regarded of very great importance. Col. Allen was installed as commander of the two forts after a sharp controversy with Arnold, who claimed authority. The prisoners, forty-eight in number, were sent to Hartford.

Arnold and Allen pushed on to St. John's, and Arnold captured the fort and a British vessel lying there. The * * *

Illustration:

American works on the river flat opposite Bemis

Bemis Heights

Sept 19th and Oct 7th, 1777

Hauver Island and its Fortifications

For a good understanding of the two great events on Bemis Heights, September 19 and October 7, 1777, a brief review of preceding operations in the north is necessary. After the first collision at Lexington, April 19, 1775, it was the intention of the patriots to seize and hold the gateway to Canada, and if possible induce that province to join in the struggle for liberty. By the aid of the provincial assembly of Connecticut, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, of the New Hampshire grants (now Vermont), Col. Easton of Pittsfield, Mass., accompanied by Benedict Arnold, of New Haven, Conn., as a volunteer, seized Ticonderoga on the 10th of May, 1775 and the fortress of Crown Point on the 12th. Both were strong. Crown Point was fortified by the French in 1731, and afterwards strengthened by the English. Ticonderoga was fortified by the French in 1755. The continental congress elected George Washington commander-in-chief on the 15th of June, 1775, and appointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam major generals, Horatio Gates adjutant general, and Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan and Nathaniel Greene brigadier generals.

After precious time had been wasted Gen. Schuyler and Gen. Montgomery set out for the conquest of Canada. St. John's was besieged near the close of August, 1775, by Montgomery, General Schuyler⁽²⁾ retiring to Ticonderoga on account of severe illness. On the 25th of September Col. Ethan Allen was captured in an ill-starred expedition from St. John's against Montreal, and was sent to England in irons. St. John's fell on the 3rd of November and Montgomery soon after entered Montreal in triumph. He pushed on to Quebec, arriving December 5th, having joined Col. Arnold who had arrived November 9th, and for a time had invested the city with about a thousand men, having made a terrible march of thirty-two days from Cambridge through the wilderness of the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers. In Arnold's expedition, Capt. Daniel Morgan of Virginia, who was afterwards so conspicuous at Bemis Heights, commanded a body of riflemen. Quebec was immediately besieged and an assault was made December 31st, when Arnold was wounded and Montgomery killed.

For his gallant service Arnold was made a brigadier general. Quebec was defended by Sir Guy Carleton, governor of the province, and a brave, humane and skillful general. Arnold became chief in command of the defeated army and hopelessly continued the siege of Quebec, his troops enduring a rigorous winter. He was relieved April 1st, 1776, by Gen. Wooster, Arnold assuming command at Montreal. Wooster was in turn relieved by Gen. Thomas, who arrived at Quebec May 1. He made an unsuccessful attempt to take the city on May 3rd, and on May 6th was driven from Quebec by the arrival of British ships and reinforcements from England under Gens. Burgoyne and Riedesel. Gen. Thomas retreated to the mouth of the Sorel, the outlet of Lake Champlain. He was prostrated by small pox, and carried to Chambly, where he died June 2nd, 1776. Gen. John Sullivan then took command of the little army, June 5 and, threw up fortifications at the mouth of the Sorel. Part of Sullivan's force was defeated at Three Rivers, by the British advance under General Frazer. The Americans were commanded by Thompson and Wayne. On the 14th of June. Sullivan on the approach of the British fleet retreated to Chambly, and being joined by Arnold, from Montreal, retreated thence to St. John's, soon after to Isle Aux Noix, and early in June, 1776, to Crown Point. In order to fully understand this disastrous ending of the American invasion of Canada, let us briefly glance at the British plans and operations in that province.

During the winter of 1775 and 1776 the British ministry had prepared to drive the Americans from Canada and retake Crown Point and Ticonderoga. For this purpose and to reinforce the British army in America, the British government, in the face of strenuous opposition in Parliament by Chatham, Burke, the Duke of Richmond and others, concluded treaties with the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt (treaty dated January 5, 1776,) the duke of Brunswick (treaty dated January 9, 1776,) and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, (treaty dated January 15, 1776,) for the hire of 17,300 men for service in America. These troops were mostly forced from their homes and impressed into service, being first shut up in fortresses and subjected to the severest discipline. They were loaded down with the heaviest arms and accoutrements. One of their drums captured at Bennington, now in the hall of the Massachusetts senate, weighs twenty pounds. Their guns were very heavy and their swords of enormous size and weight. Stedman the historian, and a staff officer of Cornwallis, said that the hats and swords of the German soldiers weighed very nearly as much as the whole equipment of one of the English, and that the worst British regiment could easily march two miles to their one. The canteens of the Germans held a gallon, and when full weighed ten or twelve pounds. Their caps had a heavy brass front with the legend, *nunquam retrorsum* (never backward). Many of these men were seized while at church, and most of them were excellent citizens. Many deserted in Europe, and after reaching America. Some of our best citizens were descended from these Germans, who were bought to be shot in America. They were the best disciplined men in the British army. It is related by Major General Heath, of the American army, in his memoirs, that at the battle of Brandywine, the Hessian grenadiers, after crossing Chad's ford, "halted at the foot of the hill, below the Americans, under a warm fire, and with great deliberation changed their hats (undress) for their heavy brass caps, and then ascended the hill, from which the Americans were obliged to retire." For these men the German princes were paid a subsidy, and seven pounds four shillings and four pence sterling for each soldier, and as much more for every one killed.

The first division of these troops, Brunswickers, destined for Canada, embarked at Stade, March 17, 1776. They were commanded by Major General Friedrich Adolph Riedesel, an honorable gentleman and brave and skillful officer. Under him were Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich Baum, (killed at Bennington, August 16, 1777), Colonel Johann Friedrich Breyman, (killed at Bemis Heights, October 7, 1777), Colonel Johann Friedrich Specht, Lieutenant Colonel Praetorius, Lieutenant Colonel Gustav von Ehrenkrock, Colonel Wilhelm von Speth, and other brave officers. The Brunswickers numbered about 4,000. The command sailed under convoy from Spithead, April 4, 1776. Gen. John Burgoyne, who had witnessed the battle of Bunker Hill, and subsequently returned to England, followed the next day with Gen. William Phillips. Riedesel's troops arrived at Quebec about the first of May, Gens. Burgoyne and Phillips arriving about the same time. This army joined Carleton, who was commander-in-chief and after defeating the Americans at Three Rivers drove them out of Canada. Gen. Carleton proceeded with part of his forces to Chainblly and St. John's. At the latter place he built a fleet, consuming the entire summer.

Illustration:
Washington

In response to repeated requests by Gen. Schuyler to aid the army in Canada, congress on the 17th of May voted to send an experienced general to Canada. Without consulting Washington, Congress directed him to send Gen. Horatio Gates⁽³⁾ to command in Canada. He was given absolute power of appointment and removal of all officers of the army operating in Canada by simply notifying the changes to Congress for their approval. John Adams who was chairman of the board of war believed in Gates above all men. Other New England delegates who then formed a strong faction in Congress also believed that Gates was the man who could best conduct military operations, Gates had recently been promoted to a major general, and it is known that John Adams already had him in training to succeed Gen. Schuyler in command of the northern department. The infatuation of Adams and his compeers is unaccountable. The instructions given to Gates made him in many respects the superior of both Washington and Schuyler, thanks to the egotism and strenuous partisan ship of Adams. Gen. Gates arrived in Albany to find his occupation gone, the broken American army having retired from Canada to Crown Point. Notwithstanding this, Gates was determined to take absolute control of the army that had been in Canada, although it had left that province. Gen. Schuyler made an issue with him and was sustained. Gates finally proceeded to the north, subject to the orders of Gen. Schuyler. Upon the appointment of Gates, Gen. Sullivan left the northern department and joined Gen. Washington. A council of officers under Gates decided to abandon Crown Point and retire to Ticonderoga with the consent of Gen. Schuyler. Washington regretted this movement.

In the meantime a portion of the British and German troops, destined for America, independent of those already arrived in Canada under Gen. Burgoyne, had arrived and landed at Staten Island. By the middle of July, 30,000 troops were encamped on Staten Island under command of Gen. Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, ready to fall upon Washington's army at Brooklyn.

Under the direction of Gates and Arnold, a small fleet was constructed at Ticonderoga during the summer of 1776 and placed under command of Arnold, who, on the 11th of October, fought a naval battle with Gen. Carleton's fleet, in the channel between Valcour island and the western shore of Lake Camplain. Arnold, after a desperate battle, was defeated with the loss of seven of his vessels, the rest escaping to Ticonderoga. Gen. Carleton occupied Crown Point on the 14th of October. It was too late, however, in the opinion of Carleton, to attempt a junction with Howe, although Burgoyne and Riedesel desired to push on. Hearing nothing from Howe, the position of the Americans was reconnoitered, and on the 3rd of November Carleton retired from Crown Point to winter quarters in Canada. His cautiousness cost him his command, for Burgoyne was selected to command an expedition the coming season, that was to penetrate the country by the valley of the Hudson and cut the rebellious colonies in two. He sailed for England on the 26th of October to confer with the ministry and complete his plans.

On August 27, 1776, Washington was defeated on Long Island. He was driven from Harlem Plains September 16, was defeated at White Plains October 28, but gained a victory at Trenton December 26. and at Princeton January 3, and withdrew to winter quarters at Hometown, in East Jersey. By permission of Gen. Schuyler, Gen. Gates left Ticonderoga in the beginning of November and

proceeded to Philadelphia to continue his efforts for the chief command in the north.

Illustration:
Mortar

The Campaign of 1777

THE winter at Ticonderoga was a gloomy one. The garrison had dwindled to a few hundred men in February, 1777. The garrison was under command of Col. Anthony Wayne, afterwards the hero of Stony Point.

Thaddeus Kosciusko, the eminent Pole, was at Ticonderoga during the winter. Under his direction, the fortress on Mount Independence, on the east side of the lake, was strengthened, and a boom was constructed to prevent the passage of vessels to Skenesborough (now Whitehall). Every effort in his power was made by Gen. Schuyler to strengthen and properly garrison Ticonderoga, but on account of the opposition of John Adams and others, in New England, Schuyler's efforts were crippled, and he was compelled to defend himself, which he did in an inquiry he demanded of Congress, he having been chosen a delegate from New York. A committee of inquiry was appointed on the 18th of April. This committee, after a tardy examination, reported favorably, and Congress confirmed him in his command.

Before Gen. Schuyler's case had been examined, or any opportunity for defense had been furnished him, Congress had ordered Gates to repair immediately to Ticonderoga to take command there, and employ Gen. DeFermoy and such other French officers as he thought proper. Gen. Arthur St. Clair was also ordered to Ticonderoga to report to Gates. On the 17th of April, the day before the Schuyler inquiry was ordered, Gates arrived in Albany with the officers detailed to act under him.

Gen. Schuyler arrived in Albany on the 3rd of June, where he was received with great joy. Gen. Gates was still at Albany, but his occupation was gone again, John Adams having made another failure. But Gates again proposed to hold to the commission of Congress in spite of Gen. Schuyler, but he failed again and returned to Philadelphia, much incensed. Generals St. Clair and DeFermoy, by command of Gen. Schuyler, proceeded to Ticonderoga on the 5th of June. Gen. St. Clair had command, having been made a major-general in February preceding. As the summer advanced recruits began to reach Ticonderoga slowly.

Lieutenant General Burgoyne, after fully perfecting his plans, left London for Canada on the 27th of March, 1777. Although in high spirits, the great opportunity had been lost, and he was bound on a bootless errand. On the 6th of May Burgoyne arrived at Quebec with the commission of commander-in-chief of the troops in Canada. Nevertheless the command of the home garrison was delegated to Gov. Carleton, and Burgoyne only commanded the expedition. On the 12th of May thirty-nine vessels arrived at Quebec with 400 of the troops purchased from Hanau, eleven companies from England, a number of cannon

and a large quantity of war material. By the 18th of June the whole of the expedition had arrived at Cumberland Head on Lake Champlain.

In addition to the formidable army of Burgoyne, an expedition set out from Montreal under Lieut.-Col. St. Leger, who had been commissioned by George the Third to lead an independent force into the Mohawk country, to make a way to Albany, in the rear of the main army of the Americans. The expedition consisted of a force of British, Canadians and Indians, with Sir John Johnson, of Johnstown, and a body of his retainers and Tories.

About the middle of June, Gen. Schuyler heard of Burgoyne's advance and plans. Every effort was made by Schuyler to reinforce Ticonderoga, but with little success. Troops were sent by Washington to Peekskill, but they remained there until it was too late.

Burgoyne moved from Cumberland Head to the mouth of the Bouquet, in Essex county, where he encamped on the 21st and addressed the Indians who had joined him. His army was a splendid body of men. It was composed of three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four British, rank and file; nearly four thousand Germans, mostly Brunswickers; two hundred and fifty Canadians, four hundred Indians and four hundred and seventy-three artillerymen; in all between eight thousand and nine thousand men. Its train of bronze artillery was the finest that ever

Illustration:

One of Burgoyne's cannons, now in the Watervliet Arsenal

was marshaled with an army of like size. The artillery was under command of Major-General Wm. Phillips, who had distinguished himself in the wars in Germany. The Germans were commanded by Major-General Riedesel, a brave and experienced Brunswick officer. The remainder of the force was commanded by Burgoyne, and Brig.-Gen. Simon Frazer, a gallant Scotch officer upon whom Burgoyne greatly relied. The preceding cut is taken from one of Burgoyne's twelve pounders, surrendered by the convention of Saratoga, October 17, 1777. It is of bronze, highly ornamented with coats of arms and inscriptions. It has inscribed upon it the following, which is significant in connection with the notable failure of the British army in the south to co-operate with Burgoyne:

The Right Honorable Lord G-eo. Sackville,
Lieut.-G-en., and the Hesc of the Principal Officers
of His Majesty's Ordnance.

Lord George Sackville, afterward Lord George Germaine, secretary of state for the colonies, according to Lord Edward Fitzmaurice, in his life of the Earl of Shelburne, properly signed the dispatches to Burgoyne, which had been settled upon, and they were sent off in an early packet, but the dispatches to Gen. Howe, ordering him to co-operate with Burgoyne were not well copied, and Lord Germaine did not sign or wait for another copy, but posted off to his country seat to take his pleasure. When he was ready in London again to sign, Burgoyne's dispatches had been gone some time. The vessel which carried Howe's orders was detained on its voyage, so that Howe went off in the wrong direction leaving Burgoyne to his fate. After the dispatches were received, Howe did what he could, but it was too late.

On the 25th of June Burgoyne moved to Crown Point and issued a pompous proclamation, stating that he "had come to put an end to the enormities of the people," and invited all well disposed to join him, and threatening vengeance upon the hardened enemies of Britain, through his Indian allies. His bombast only excited ridicule. On the first of July he moved upon Ticonderoga in two divisions with his fleet between them. The corps of Gen. Phillips was upon the west shore and the Germans of Gen. Kiedesel upon the east.

To oppose the formidable army of Burgoyne, Gen. Schuyler had two thousand five hundred and forty-six Continentals and nine hundred militia, the latter almost wholly without bayonets, entrenched at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. The garrison was wholly insufficient to man the works. Gen. Schuyler was at Albany awaiting the reinforcements from Peekskill.

On the second of July, St. Clair abandoned the old French lines toward lake George. On the 3rd Generals Phillips and Frazer occupied Mount Hope north of and commanding the outlet of Lake George. On the east side Col. Breyman threatened the road to Castleton, Vermont. On the night of the 4th of July, by advice of Burgoyne's engineer, Lieut. Twiss, a road was made to the summit of Mount Defiance on the south side of the outlet of Lake George and cannon dragged to the top, thus commanding the American works.

Illustration:

One of Burgoyne's howitzers

On the morning of the 5th, St. Clair and his officers decided to evacuate. At two o'clock on the morning of the 6th the garrison was put in motion. The main body set out for Castleton with Col. Ebenezer Francis of Massachusetts commanding the rear guard. The sick, with the provisions, under a convoy and troops under Col. Long, proceeded by batteaux to Skenesborough. Before leaving Mount Independence Gen. De Fermoy set fire to his quarters, revealing the retreat to the British. Gen. Frazer immediately began pursuit. Riedesel and Breyman joined in the pursuit with their Germans, but owing to their heavy accoutrements they were slower than Frazer, who came up with the rear guard of the Americans under Francis and Col. Seth Warner at Hubbardton, 22 miles from Ticonderoga, on the road to Castleton, on the morning of the 7th of July. Frazer immediately attacked. The Americans gave him a warm reception, displaying signal bravery. But Hale's regiment ran away and was captured, leaving but 700 men to fight the British and Germans. The men under St. Clair refused to return and fight. After Riedesel's Germans came up and charged, chanting a psalm, the Americans were compelled to fall back with the loss of Col. Francis and 324 killed, wounded and prisoners, exclusive of Hale's party. At one time the Americans got the advantage of Frazer. The British loss was only 183, including Major Grant. This was the only battle fought in Vermont. Col. Warner retreated to Manchester, and General St. Clair, after wandering in the forests of Vermont for nearly a week, reached Fort Edward on the 12th of July with 1,500 men.

The retreat of the Americans from Ticonderoga to Skenesborough was disastrous. The British broke the boom between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence and with armed vessels, a body of the 9th British Infantry under Lieut.-Col. Hill, and savages, pursued, and were upon the Americans as they landed. Col. Long burned the boats and storehouses and the whole party fled to Fort Anne, reaching there on the morning of the 7th of July. Being reinforced,

Col. Long marched out to meet the advance of Col. Hill on the 8th, defeated the British, but retreated to Fort Anne on account of lack of ammunition; burned the fort (an old stockade), and retreated to Fort Edward.

The fall of Ticonderoga produced the greatest consternation, and the settlers in northern New York and western Vermont fled from their homes in utter terror.

In the meantime Gen. Schuyler had waited impatiently at Albany until the 7th of July for the arrival of troops from Peekskill to reinforce St. Clair. On that day he set out for the north with a few militia, the Continentals failing to arrive. On the route, between Stillwater and Saratoga, Gen. Schuyler learned of the disaster, the full extent of which was not known until St. Clair reached Fort Edward on the 12th.

New England and John Adams now had their hour of triumph. They had shamefully neglected to provide for the defense of the fortress of Ticonderoga, and it had fallen. But the New England faction did not take any blame to themselves but attributed all the misfortune to Gen. Schuyler. The good Samuel Adams even declared in a letter to Gen. Lee that "it was no more than he expected when Schuyler was again appointed to command." He added, "Gates is the man of my choice." All of this condemnation was freely vented before any of the particulars had reached Congress or New England. Gen Schuyler was even accused of treason, and that silver balls were fired by the British into Ticonderoga and delivered to him by St. Clair. This ridiculous story was believed by many. Gen. Washington cheered Schuyler, writing to him: "We should never despair." The army had lost nearly everything but a few stores at Fort George, on Lake George.

Burgoyne arrived at Skenesborough on the 10th of July and waited for his tents, supplies and artillery. The delay was his defeat and ruin. His splendid train of artillery⁽⁴⁾ became an encumbrance and mastered him. He thought

Illustration:

Mortar surrendered by Burgoyne Oct. 17, 1777

he was a victor and immediately issued an exultant order detailing the success of his arms, and calling upon the people to join him. Schuyler answered him in vigorous style. Burgoyne was joined at Skenesborough by 1,000 Indians and thought himself strong, and waited. The plan of Burgoyne was for his main body to move on to Fort Edward, while a column under Phillips was to proceed up Lake George, reduce Fort George at its southern extremity and join the main body at Fort Edward. By this plan Burgoyne subjected himself to the delay of clearing two roads to Fort Edward. It is stated that General Riedesel favored a route from Fort George directly south through the wilderness instead of marching along the Hudson.

While Burgoyne waited, Schuyler was active. He removed the stores from Fort George and cut trees and destroyed bridges and choked Wood creek with fallen timber, completely blocking Burgoyne's road. He also called on the inhabitants to drive their cattle and horses out of Burgoyne's reach. Schuyler's militia was destitute of proper food and shelter and were deserting. Still he toiled bravely and wrote in every direction for help to oppose Burgoyne. Regarding Fort Edward untenable, with the aid of Kosciusko, the famous Pole, he fortified a position at Moses creek, four or five miles below. He asked for an experienced general officer, and the brave Gen. Benedict Arnold was sent by Washington.

General Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts was also sent to command the eastern militia. This was opportune, for the New England militia were deserting by regiments to secure their harvests.

Illustration:

Coat of arms from one of Burgoyne's twelve pounders

On the 21st of July Burgoyne began his advance toward Fort Edward. The labor was severe. Gen. Phillips began to cut his way through the obstructions from Fort George and Gen. Frazer advanced laboriously from Skenesborough by way of Fort Anne, outstripping Phillips. By tremendous effort Frazer's advance, consisting of savages, appeared before Fort Edward on the 26th of July and drove in the outposts. Frazer came up on the 27th and Burgoyne on the 31st. Only a small force was in the fort, but the inhabitants in the vicinity immediately took shelter in it.

On the 27th a reconnoitering party under Lieutenant Palmer was sent from the fort. The party fell into an ambush a mile north of the fort and fled for their lives. The Indians pursuing shot and scalped eighteen. When near the fort Lieutenant Palmer was shot. The Indians rushed forward and entered the house of a Mrs. McNeil, who was a cousin of Gen. Frazer, and being a loyalist, had not entered the fort for protection. The Indians there seized Mrs. McNeil and Jane McCrea, who was there as a visitor, and bore them toward Gen. Frazer's headquarters in the direction of Sandy Hill. On the way Jane McCrea was murdered and scalped in sight of the fort. Her body was buried next day by a party from the fort. There are many different versions of this affair. Mrs. McNeil was taken to Gen. Frazer nearly disrobed. Miss McCrea's lover, David Jones, was attached to Burgoyne's army as a lieutenant. This wanton murder did more to rouse the lagging colonists than any event that had yet occurred. The story touched all and roused the people to vengeance.

On the 28th of July, Fort Edward was abandoned and on the 31st, the army of Gen. Schuyler retreated from Moses Creek to Saratoga, (now Schuylerville), and a few days later to Stillwater. In the meantime Gen. Lincoln had been sent to the New Hampshire Grants, to raise a force in addition to Col. Seth Warner's, and was ordered to hang upon the flank and rear of Burgoyne.

At Fort Edward, Burgoyne found the difficulties in supplying his army increase. He had no horses to mount his dragoons or haul his supplies, and his men were compelled to bring provisions from Fort George to supply the troops from day to day.

At this time, Tryon county, into which St. Leger was advancing from Oswego, was asking Gen. Schuyler for aid. In June, 1776, Gen. Schuyler had sent Col. Dayton to repair the works at Fort Stanwix, where the city of Rome now stands. He made partial repairs and named the fort Schuyler. In the last of April, 1777, Col. Gausevoort, with the Third New York regiment, 750 strong, was sent to supply his place.

Gen. Schuyler again asked Washington for reinforcements, but Washington could spare only Glover's brigade, as he was intently watching Howe, confidently expecting he would move up the north river to support Burgoyne. Howe had not received Lord George Germaine's dispatches, and consequently acted in a way that sorely puzzled Washington.

On the first of August, the forces of St. Leger, 1700 strong, appeared before Fort Stanwix. On the 2nd the fort was invested. In July, Lieut.-Col. Marinus

Willett, of New York, had joined the garrison under Gansevoort. The garrison amounted to 750 men. General Herkimer called out the Tryon county militia and marched to the relief of the garrison fighting the desperate and bloody battle of Oriskany on the 6th of August, as he was approaching the fort. Gen. Herkimer was mortally wounded and died a few days after. A sortie from the fort on the same day, was very successful, the enemy losing a great quantity of baggage and stores with five stands of colors. Gansevoort refused a summons to surrender, and Col. Willett and Lieut. Stockwell volunteered to pass through the enemy's lines to apprise Gen. Schuyler. They left the fort on a stormy night and started on their journey. On the 12th of August they reached Stillwater and asked for reinforcements. Gen. Schuyler was then quartered in the Dirck Swart house, still standing in the northern part of the town. A sketch of the house is presented in another place. On the 13th a council of war was held. The officers opposed sending reinforcements and intimated that Gen. Schuyler meant to weaken the army. Gen. Schuyler heard the remark and immediately replied with considerable anger that he took the responsibility himself, and called for volunteers the next day. The brave and impulsive Arnold volunteered, and on

Illustration:
General Benedict Arnold

the next day set out with 800 men to relieve Fort Stanwix. He arrived at Fort Dayton on the 20th and pressed forward as rapidly as possible. He sent forward from Fort Dayton a tory prisoner, Hon Yost Cuyler, with an exaggerated story of Arnold's force, and his clothes shot through with bullets. He reached St. Leger scamp, told his story, which was corroborated by an Oneida Indian who followed, and created such a panic that the Indian allies of St. Leger precipitately fled on the 22nd of August, compelling him to follow, leaving his tents and artillery. Burgoyne, at Fort Edward, had heard by courier of St. Leger's arrival before Fort Stanwix and determined to push on to Albany to cooperate with him. But Burgoyne needed provisions. Major Skene advised an attempt to seize the American stores at Bennington. Gens. Philips and Riedesel opposed the measure as very hazardous. But Burgoyne, trusting to the loyalty of the region, determined to make the attempt. On the 9th of August he detached Col. Baum to Bennington with 500 Germans, Canadians and Tories, and 100 Indians and two small cannon. He was to try the affections of the country, mount Riedesel's dragoons, obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, carriages and stores. He set out on the 12th, reached Cambridge on the 13th, skirmished with the Americans and learned that the Americans were 1800 strong at Bennington, and sent word to Burgoyne. On the 14th Baum captured a mill at Sancoik, driving Col. Gregg with a party of 200 Americans before him. Gregg being reinforced by Stark's troops at Bennington, Col. Baum did not force the fighting, but withdrew to a wooded height on the Wolloomsack, four or five miles north-west of Bennington, in the state of New York, intrenched, and awaited reinforcements. By order of Burgoyne, Col. Breyman set out on the 15th, with 500 heavily armed Germans, with two field pieces, to reinforce Baum.

Gen. Stark, an experienced soldier who had retired to his home in New Hampshire after the battle of Princeton, because congress had not promoted him instead of junior officers, had been induced by his state to take command of a force to repel any incursion of Burgoyne into New England. At the time of Baum's invasion he was at Bennington holding an independent command from

New Hampshire, having refused on the 8th of August to join Gen. Schuyler. Stark heard of Baum's approach on the 13th and dispatched Col. Gregg to meet him, in the meantime sending for aid to Massachusetts and to Manchester, Vermont, to Col. Seth Warner, who, with General Lincoln, was acting under Gen. Schuyler's orders. On the 14th Gen. Stark marched out to meet Baum, the latter being well intrenched on two heights. On the 15th it rained heavily. Warner's regiment was on the march from Manchester. Warner himself was on the ground in time to aid Stark in his dispositions on the 16th. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th Stark, having a force estimated at from 1,800 to 2,500, fell upon Baum in his intrenchments and crushed him. Baum was on the summit of the hill and was killed, while nearly all his men were either killed or taken prisoners. Breyman came up the Cambridge road to reinforce Baum, while Stark's men were scattered for the plunder they had been promised. A running fight ensued. Baum's cannon were finally turned upon Breyman, who was fired on from the woods on both flanks, and Seth Warner's regiment coming up from Manchester, after drying themselves in Bennington, put Breyman to flight, with the loss of his two pieces of cannon. In all 207 of the enemy were killed and seven hundred made prisoners.

After dispatching Baum to Bennington, Burgoyne moved down the east side of the Hudson to the mouth of the Battenkill, nearly opposite Old Saratoga. He made his headquarters at the house of Wm. Duer (then in congress), near Fort Miller. He constructed a bridge of boats across the Hudson and threw over Frazer's corps to fortify the heights and plains of Saratoga north of Fish creek, the ground upon which he afterward surrendered. Old Saratoga was south of Fish creek. On the 17th of August Burgoyne heard of the disaster to Baum and Breyman and, greatly excited, put himself at the head of his army and went out to meet Breyman. Breyman came in and encamped with the army on the plain at the junction of the Battenkill and Hudson. On the 26th of August Burgoyne heard of St. Leger's retreat from Fort Stanwix and was very despondent. Hearing nothing from Howe he lost heart, and instead of acting with vigor, sat still, and waited for supplies and reinforcements.

Illustration:

General Schuyler at the sprouts of the Mohawk

Illustration:

Remains of the Eastern redoubts on Hauver Island,
south of Waterford

THEN Gen. Schuyler held a council at Stillwater on the 13th of August to decide upon reinforcing Fort Stanwix, it was also decided to take up position at the mouths or sprouts of the Mohawk. This movement was imperative, as on that date, Gen. Schuyler had not one militiaman from the east and but forty from New York. Besides, the position was one of great strategical importance at that time, being on the road to Montreal and the route from the Mohawk valley. In case of the success of St. Leger the American army would be in position to prevent an attack in the rear from his victorious forces. The movement was made on the 14th of August, before the battle of Bennington or Walloomscoik, and when an advance of Burgoyne was momentarily expected. The main army encamped on Van Schaick's Island opposite Lansingburgh and redoubts, (see

map and cuts,) three in number, connected by intrenchments, were thrown up on the north end of Hauver Island opposite Halfmoon, (now Waterford). These redoubts are in an excellent state of preservation, the cuts which we present being from accurate sketches made last summer, (June 1877.) The redoubts commanded the fords of the north sprout⁽⁵⁾ of the Mohawk and of the Hudson opposite Halfmoon Point. They were thrown up under the direction of Gen. Kosciusko.

Halfmoon had been a halting place for troops on their way to the north since 1775, when Col. Waterbury of Connecticut halted there in August, 1775 with his regiment on their way to join Schuyler's expedition into Canada. His troops were employed in repairing the old road to the north so that supplies could be more easily forwarded.

While Gen. Schuyler had been making the best preparation possible to meet Burgoyne, his enemies in Congress had been busy. Although Gen. St. Clair took the entire responsibility of the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and Schuyler had received but little support in his patriotic efforts to stop Burgoyne's advance, John Adams and his faction saw their opportunity to put Gates in Schuyler's

Illustration:

Centre redoubt on Hauver Island, opposite Waterford

place. On the 1st of August, Congress passed a resolution ordering Gen. Schuyler who was then facing Burgoyne at Moses Creek with a handful of men, "to repair to headquarters, and that Gen. Washington be directed to order such general officer as he shall think proper to repair immediately to the northern department to relieve Major General Schuyler in his command there." This resolution, with one passed July 29th directing an inquiry into the evacuation of Ticonderoga, was forwarded to Gen. Schuyler on the 5th of August. He received them on the 10th but determined to continue his arduous labors with patriotic spirit until his successor should arrive.

Gates's New England friends were so anxious that he be appointed that they drew up an impertinent letter praising Gates and requesting Washington to appoint him. The letter was in the handwriting of Samuel Adams and was first signed by John Adams, the other New England delegates following.

Illustration:

West redoubt on Hauver Island

[The trees growing upon the redoubts pictured in the two preceding cuts are of large size and are doubtless sprung from seed dropped in the fresh earth thrown up by Gen. Schuyler's army a hundred years ago. The present owner of the island, A.A. Peebles, a grandson of John G. Van Schaick,⁽⁶⁾ who was the owner in 1777, has jealously guarded these mementoes of the past.]

Gen. Washington did not like this impertinence and in a letter to Congress on the 3rd of August, declined to act. He had,

Illustration:

Major General Philip Schuyler

in fact, lost confidence in Gates, but had the greatest esteem for Schuyler. Schuyler was Washington's peer in almost every sense of the term, while Gates was a man of mean spirit. Congress then, through eastern influence, immediately appointed Gates, giving him absolute power (subject to Congress) of removal and appointment in his department, a power which he afterward exercised in humiliating Arnold. The army was not greatly pleased with the change, the New England general officers having joined with others in expressing regret at the necessity which compelled Gen. Schuyler to leave the command of them. Arnold, who was the bravest general and best soldier in the army, had a profound respect for Schuyler and his military skill. It is safe to say that Arnold would have ended his career differently, had he not been subjected to the meanness of Gates and the coldness of John Adams.

Gen. Schuyler gracefully delivered his command to Gen. Gates, who arrived at Van Schaick's on the 19th of August. On that day Gen. Schuyler had congratulated Gen. Stark on his victory at Bennington, and Stark, acceding to General Schuyler's wish, subsequently joined the army under Gates on Van Schaick's Island. Gen. Schuyler continued with the army for some time, but Gen. Gates ignored him, and he did not intrude. In December, Congress acquitted him of all blame for the loss of Ticonderoga. He then left the army to the great regret of Washington.

Gen. Poor's brigade was encamped at Loudon's Ferry, five miles up the Mohawk. Poor was joined toward the last of August by Col. Daniel Morgan, with his corps of riflemen, which had been detached from Washington's force, reaching Gates army, by forced marches. Gen. Arnold also encamped at Loudon's Ferry after his return from the relief of Fort Stanwix. The army, while resting at the sprouts of the Mohawk, was clothed, paid and reorganized.

With a dense forest between him and Burgoyne's force, Gates knew little of the enemy. About the first of September Dr. Wood, surgeon to General Burgoyne, arrived at Van Schaick's with a letter from his general complaining of the treatment of the prisoners captured by Stark at Bennington. On the second of September Gates answered Burgoyne in a public letter reciting the murder of Jane McCrea⁽⁷⁾ and the cruelties inflicted by the savages following the British army. This letter aroused the Americans and greatly aided in strengthening the army. In Parliament, Burke used the story told by Gates with powerful effect.

As the heroine of the sad romance, which had such an effect upon the fortunes of the * * * colonies, Jane McCrea, well deserves the place given her in these pages, The portrait which we present is ideal, but made from a careful study of her personal appearance, as described by those who knew her history and character. Charles Neilson, author of *Burgoyne's Campaign*, received from his father, who lived on the field of Bemis heights, and those who knew Jane McCrea, a description of her appearance. Mr. Neilson writes: "At the time of her death she was about twenty three years of age, of middling stature, finely formed, dark hair, and uncommonly beautiful."

In 1848 Lossing visited, at Glen's Falls, Mrs. ***, then sixty years old, the granddaughter of Mrs. McNeil, who was captured with Miss McCrea. She related the story as follows: "Jane McCrea was the daughter of a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman of Jersey parish, then known as Paulus Hook. Mrs. McNeil was an intimate acquaintance of Miss McCrea's father, and when he died, the latter went to live with her brother at Fort Edward, where Mrs. McNeil then also resided. Near her brother lived a family named Jones, and Miss

McCrea and young David Jones became attached to each other, and were betrothed. The Joneses took the royal side when the war broke out and in the autumn of 1770, David Jones and his brother Jonathan raise! a company of men under pretense of going to swell the garrison at Ticonderoga, but continued down the lake and proceeded to Crown Point, where they joined the British army, When Gen. Burgoyne advanced to Fort Edward in 1777 David Jones was a lieutenant in the corps of General Frazer. Mrs. McNeil was a cousin of General Frazer, and a staunch loyalist. Miss McCrea's brother was a staunch Whig, and when the British approached he left Fort Edward and went to Schuyler's army at Moses creek. His sister lingered with Mrs. McNeil, with a faint hope that she might see her lover. Her brother sent repeated requests for her to join him, and on the 25th of July he gave her a peremptory order to that effect. She promised to leave the next day."

Early on the morning of the 27th the Indians appeared. Nearly everybody but the loyalists had taken refuge in Fort Edward. The two women were seized and carried off toward Gen. Frazer's camp, Miss McCrea on horseback. The Indians nearly disrobed Mrs. McNeil and took her into camp. Soon after they appeared with a scalp which she recognized as that of Miss McCrea, she charged them with murdering Miss McCrea, but they said she was killed by a bullet from a party of Americans who pursued from the fort, and they saved the scalp. Mrs. McNeil relieved the story, and Lossing was also inclined to believe it. Lossing says Miss McCrea's "hair which hung from the scalp, was of extraordinary length and beauty, measuring a yard and a quarter. She was then about twenty years old, and a very lovely girl." The version of Miss McCrea's death given by Lossing is only supported by the tale of the Indians who witnessed it and took her scalp. Mrs. McNeil did not know how Miss McCrea died.

Neilson's version of the affair received from Caleb Baker, Esq., of Sandy Hill, is probably the correct one. Caleb Baker was but six years old at the time of the murder, but his father who lived at Sandy Hill was in the fort and saw the whole affair. Neilson writes: From that place, then in plain view of the scene he saw Jane McCrea shot from her horse by the Indians. On that day no one dared venture from the fort, but at dawn of the morning of the 28th, Mr. A. Baker, in company with a file of men from the fort, went in search of the body of Jane, and found it naked and mutilated, about twenty rods from the spot where they had seen her fall the day before, together with the body of an American officer, both stripped and scalped. Neither Mr. C. Baker nor his father, A. Baker, found the murdered Jane while still breathing, nor were the Indians surprised by an American scout. There was no such scout."

There is no proof that the Indians were sent for Miss McCrea by any one in the British camp. They were merely a marauding party ready to murder, scalp and mutilate anyone who came in their way. They doubtless quarrelled over Miss McCrea and she was shot in the melee. The manner of her death is a mystery like that of the lost dauphin and the man in the iron mask.

Burgoyne denied Gates's charges indirectly, although, he must have known that Whigs and Tories had been alike wantonly murdered. The whole family, six in number, and three negro slaves of John Allen, a Tory of Argyle, were murdered the same day that Jane McCrea lost her life. Burgoyne did not dare to punish his red allies, for many had already deserted. They helped to work his ruin by arousing the people to vengeance.

Illustration:

Jane McCrea

In the south Howe, without the orders, which as we have seen, lay in the office of Lord George Germaine in London, or belated by his indolence, were on a storm-tossed vessel, went skylarking after glory by the capture of Philadelphia, instead of moving up the Hudson to help Burgoyne. As Burgoyne advanced on Ticonderoga, Howe evacuated New Jersey, and on the 5th of July put his army from 17,000 to 20,000 strong, on transports, and lay within Sandy Hook until the 22nd, a puzzle to Washington, who expected he would move up the Hudson. Clinton was left at New York but was indolent, and had no orders. Before putting to sea Howe turned toward the Hudson, and Washington hurried Lord Stirling with his division to Peekskill; but Howe turned about and went up the East river, and then put to sea on the 23rd of July. He had a stormy time. For seven days he was beating about the capes of the Delaware. Twenty-six days he tacked to the southward to enter Chesapeake bay. Washington learned about the first of August that Howe was off the Delaware capes, but feared that the movement was a feint. So he marched and countermarched until the 22nd of August when he learned that Howe had entered Chesapeake bay. On the 25th Washington reached Wilmington, Delaware. Howe landed at Elktown on the 25th, 54 miles south of Philadelphia. He had lost his horses by his stormy voyage and was crippled. Washington, on the 9th of September, took position north of the Brandywine creek, and Howe attacked and defeated him there on the 11th, but owing to the loss of his horses could not gather the fruits of his victory. Washington retreated to Germantown.

The First Battle of Bemis Heights

Sept 19th, 1777

On the 8th of September Gen. Gates broke camp at Van Schaick's Island and marched to Stillwater, arriving there next day. According to Lossing, Gates's army then out-numbered Burgoyne's, which had been depleted by the battle of Bennington and the necessity of garrisoning Ticonderoga, Carleton refusing to perform that service. Other authorities place Gates's army at about 6,000, when it arrived at Stillwater. It was at first decided to intrench there, but by the advice of Kosciusko a more eligible position was selected three miles up the river on the right bank at Bemis Heights, so named from a man named Bemis who kept a public house at the foot of the river hills on the old road to Skenesborough. Here the wooded river hills, about a hundred feet high, and seamed with ravines, approached to within about forty rods of the river. The road at that time ran along the river bank. Northward from Bemis's the river flat widens by a bend in the stream, narrowing to a few rods at Wilbur's Basin about two miles above Bemis's tavern. The ravines run back to the west gradually decreasing in depth as the ground rises, until at three-quarters of a mile there are

Illustration:

Thaddeus Kosciusko

considerable areas of level land fit for the movement of troops. In 1777, there were a few rude clearings on the heights west of the river, the principal one being on Freeman's farm. This was an oblong space in front of the Freeman cottage (see map), its length extending east and west and containing some twelve or fourteen acres. There were also clearings on Bemis Heights, about three-quarters of a mile northwest of Bemis's tavern. This ground, the highest in the vicinity, was then occupied by John Neilson and is now owned by his son's widow, Mrs. Charles Neilson. These points are accurately indicated on the map of the field here presented.

Illustration:
Map of Bemis Heights

Along the brow of the river hills, Kosciusko⁽⁸⁾ located breastworks, strengthened at intervals with redoubts for cannon. On each side of Bemis's tavern, on the hills, strong redoubts were erected. The lines ran from Bemis's north ward, bending to the west in circular form with a strong re'doubt at the sharpest turn. This is the northeast redoubt

Illustration:
American works on the river flat opposite

Illustration:
Ground plan of American works on the river flat

commanding the plain and river, and is on a sandy hill. Within this redoubt is now a neglected burial place of the Vandenburg family, with a few monuments still standing. The elder of the Vandenburgs was an ardent republican, and his house on the river below was burned on the 19th of September. From this redoubt to the west, the lines follow the bend of a ravine. At the head of this ravine, on an eminence, about 50 rods east of the old Neilson house, was subsequently erected another redoubt, designated on the map as the "centre redoubt." Of these lines, hardly a vestige remains. According to Neilson the American lines did not extend westward much beyond the northeast redoubt on the river hills, at the time of the first battle. Lossing says the American intrenchments at that time reached the heights where the Neilson house now stands. The lines were about three-quarters of a mile in extent from the river. From the foot of the abrupt height of the river hills, an intrenchment extended across the narrow flat to the river

Illustration:
American works on the river flat as they appear today

opposite Bemis's tavern, with a redoubt on the river bank commanding a floating bridge. These intrenchments are in an excellent state of preservation and are very interesting. Military engineers who have examined them, say they are in excellent form to resist attack in front and from the river. About a half mile above Bemis's tavern, a short line of breastworks, with a redoubt, was thrown up, south of Mill Creek, where the road crossed that stream.

Burgoyne rested at the mouth of the Battenkill on the east bank of the Hudson, until the 11th of September, gathering supplies for 30 days. Without consulting his officers, he surprised them on the 11th with an order to be ready to move forward next day. It had been intimated to Burgoyne by some of his officers, that it would be wisdom to fall back to Ticonderoga. He felt compelled to obey the orders given him by the British ministry, and moved forward. The British generals in this campaign obeyed orders

Illustration:

The old Neilson house on Bemis Heights,
with a view of Burgoyne's camp at Wilbur's Basin

too strictly, instead of using common sense. Burgoyne went forward hoping to push through to Albany by some piece of good luck. As Gates said of him, he was "an old gamester," and had a certain respect for chance. From the time he gave the order his movements seemed to lack decision. It is said of Burgoyne by the Baroness Riedesel, who joined her husband in the early summer with her three children, that high revel and debauch rendered him unfit for the proper discharge of his duties. The German historians, Von Elking especially, attributed Burgoyne's defeat to neglect of duty. He crept toward his goal at a snail's pace, giving the Americans time to rally. The bridge upon which Frazer had crossed the Hudson to the heights of Saratoga, had been carried away by a freshet, and a new one was constructed of rafts just above the mouth of the Battenkill. A redoubt was thrown up and cannon planted to cover this bridge. Remains of this embankment still exist on the east shore. The 12th of September was consumed in preparation. On the 13th and 14th the army of Burgoyne crossed by the bridge and a ford below the Battenkill.

Just as Burgoyne moved, Gen. Lincoln, then in Vermont, sent Col. Brown with 2,000, Thacher says 500, men to attack the forts on Lake Champlain and Lake George. He surprised Fort George, captured a vessel conveying provision, captured a post at the outlet of Lake George, destroyed a large number of boats and armed vessels, released one hundred Americans, captured 289 prisoners and five cannon, occupied Mount Hope and Mount Defiance with the old French lines, and summoned Ticonderoga to surrender.

The commandant refused and as Col. Brown's artillery was deficient, he rejoined Gen. Lincoln. Without giving attention to this raid in his rear, Burgoyne pressed on to the south. On the 15th he moved from Saratoga, but was detained by the repairing of bridges which Gen. Schuyler had destroyed, and it was the 18th before he reached Wilbur's Basin. He slowly dragged his great train of artillery,

Illustration:

General Lincoln

including two heavy 24 pounders and a heavy baggage train. His movements had been watched by Lient.-Col. Colburn from the high hills east of the Hudson, and reported to Gen. Gates. By the 10th Gates was fully prepared. The right wing composed of the brigades of Glover, Nixon and Patterson, under the immediate command of Gates, occupied the brow of the hill and the lines by the river. The left wing, commanded by Arnold, occupied the western portion of the

line about three-fourths of a mile from the river. Arnold's old headquarters now form the wing of the Neilson house.

Arnold's command consisted of Gen. Poor's New Hampshire brigade, the New York militia regiments of Pierre Van Courtland and Henry Livingston, two Connecticut regiments and Major Dearborn's Massachusetts infantry with Morgan's corps of riflemen. The centre was composed of Massachusetts and New York Continental troops, and consisted of Learned's brigade, with Bailey's, Wesson's, and Jackson's regiments of Massachusetts, and James Livingston's of New York. On the 17th, Arnold, with 1,500 men, was ordered forward to harrass Burgoyne's advance. On account of the impracticable ground on the wooded river hills, he could not well attack in flank and would not attack so powerful a force in front, and retired after a skirmish having captured a number of prisoners. About this time some of the New Hampshire militia were inclined to insubordination, and had determined to return home. Gates succeeded in holding them by offering a bounty of \$10 each, until the arrival of Gen. Stark, who had been left behind on account of illness.

Illustration:
General John Stark

Burgoyne on examining the ground determined to march around the left wing of the Americans, while a feint was made in the direction of the American works on the flat. This plan well-nigh succeeded, and would have been fully accomplished had it not been for Arnold, who by great exertion, persuaded the timid and indolent Gates to permit an attack on the British flanking force before it should be come dangerous to the American position, which had no protection but the woods on the left.

Burgoyne fortified his camp at Wilbur's Basin by redoubts on the river hills and entrenchments extending across the river flat. Frazer was posted on the plateau back of the second hill north of the Basin, where what is known as "the great redoubt" was situated, (see map).

Burgoyne formed his forces in three columns. The right, composed of British grenadiers, British light infantry, the 24th Brunswick grenadiers, and a battalion with eight six- pounders under Lieut. Colonel Breyman, was led by the gallant General Simon Frazer, his front and flanks being covered by Indians, Canadians and Tories. Burgoyne was with the centre column, consisting of the 9th, 20th, 21st, and 62nd regiments with six six-pounders, led by Brigadier General Hamilton. The left wing, commanded by Generals Phillips and Riedesel, was principally composed of Germans, and the heavy artillery, with a force of Canadians and Indians in advance. Frazer took a circuitous route along a new road to its intersection with the road leading northwest from Bermis Heights (Fort Neilson of the map), thence he

Illustration:
Major Gen. Horatio Gates

proceeded south toward the American left to some high ground at the head of the middle ravine, about one hundred and fifty rods west of Freeman's cottage. Burgoyne followed the stream now forming Wilbur's Basin for a half mile and then moved to the southwest to a point a little south of Freeman's cottage near

the middle ravine. Phillips and Riedesel moved down the river road. At eleven o'clock Burgoyne fired a signal gun notifying the left wing that he was in position. The British advance then moved forward. On the flats the Canadians and Indians marched through the woods to the attack but were scattered with considerable loss by the American pickets. The movement on the flats was but a feint to distract Gates, and it succeeded; for he refused to withdraw troops from that quarter after Riedesel had marched away to reinforce Burgoyne. From the beginning Gates was in his quarters and did not understand the battle. It is even asserted, and recorded by Lossing, that he was not in condition to understand it on account of intoxication. Burgoyne and Earl Balcarras, it is also asserted, drank wine to a late hour the night before the 19th, but were on the field, and handled the British with great skill. If Gates was indolent and timid, Arnold was alert. When the Canadians and Indians began to swarm in the woods in his front and on his left, he knew that the enemy meant to flank him, and that the battle must be fought in the woods and on the hills, instead of behind intrenchments, as Gates intended. Arnold implored Gates to permit a movement to thwart the enemy's intentions.

Finally Gates consented to detach Col. Daniel Morgan, (afterward a general,) with his riflemen, and allowed Arnold to support him. With this permission Arnold began the battle vigorously. Morgan about noon attacked the Canadians and Indians advancing in front of Burgoyne at the middle ravine, south of Freeman's cottage, and drove them back. Reinforced by the British, the Canadians drove Morgan back, when he was reinforced by Dearborn and at one o'clock the battle was renewed. At this time Arnold with his command attacked Frazer's right,

Illustration:
Gen. Daniel Morgan

intending to turn it, but not succeeding counter marched and attacked Frazer's left to cut him off from the center. Frazer in turn attacked Arnold's left. The fighting was on and about Freeman's farm. Arnold was gaining positive advantage when troops from the British center fell on his right and compelled him to withdraw. Arnold being reinforced rallied to the attack, again causing the British line to waver; when Gen. Phillips followed by Riedesel and his Germans, who had marched up from the flats through the thick woods, appeared. Phillips, in advance of the heavily accoutered Germans, attacked, but with little effect. But Riedesel, moving to the attack on a line nearly perpendicular to that of Arnold, compelled him to give way. Riedesel thus saved Burgoyne from disaster. For a while the conflict ceased, and both armies rested. While this battle was raging Gates was inside the intrenchments, stubbornly refusing further to reinforce Arnold, although with reasonable diligence he might have learned that Riedesel had reinforced Burgoyne.

Burgoyne renewed the battle by a cannonade and bayonet charge across the clearing of Freeman's farm, but the Americans sent him back as quickly as he came, following his retreat. At this time Arnold was at headquarters vainly asking for reinforcements, although Neilson says Learned joined him. Arnold returned again to the field and, encouraging his men, the battle raged more furiously than ever, the opposing lines swaying back and forth across the clearing of Freeman's farm. A British field battery of four guns was repeatedly taken and retaken, but finally remained with the enemy. The American fire was

terribly destructive. Night put an end to the conflict, the British resting upon the field, though badly crippled. The British loss exceeded six hundred. The Americans lost in killed, wounded and missing three hundred and nineteen men. Arnold was the hero of the day, and his success made Gates envious. Gates refused to renew the engagement next day, when requested by Arnold, and would give no reason. He finally admitted that it was lack of ammunition. This was evidently Gates's neglect. Gen. Schuyler then sent up from Albany a supply of window leads for bullets. Arnold was diligently insulted from the day of the battle. In his report Gates did not mention him, but said the battle was fought by detachments from the army; and Wilkinson, Gates's adjutant, insisted that the return of Morgan's rifle corps be made to him although it was in Arnold's division. Arnold and Gates finally came to an open rupture, and Gates exercising his arbitrary powers removed him from command. The general officers prepared an address asking him to stay with the army as another battle was imminent. This was withheld, although Arnold was appraised of it. Gen. Lincoln, who had arrived with 2,000 men on the 29th of September, was placed in command of the right wing.

Burgoyne withdrew a little on the 20th and intrenched himself, his lines resembling in contour those of the Americans (see map). Breyman, with his Hessians, held a flank redoubt on the extreme right, the Light Infantry under Earl Balcarras, and Frazer's command occupied the intrenchments about Freeman's cottage, with Hamilton's brigade on the left extending to the north branch ravine. The rest of the army, including Riedesel's command, was on the river hills and the flat by the river.

A section of the British works still remains in a good state of preservation in the woods on Pine Plains, south-west of the present residence of E.R. Wilbur, on the road running west from Wilbur's Basin.

Illustration:

Ground plane, British works on Pine Plains
September 19 and October 1

The ground on which these works are situated is owned by Edward and William Lerrington. The ground of the two battles is now owned by John Newland of Scillwater, the widow of Isaac Freeman and Asa F. Brightman. Joseph Rogers owns the ground where Frazer fell, and Ebenezer Leggett owns the ground of the Hessian flank redoubt, commanded by Breyman, where Arnold was wounded. William Dennison owns the site of Gates's headquarters.

The Americans completed and strengthened their works, erecting a strong redoubt on the heights a few rods north of the present site of Neilson's house, where stood a log barn which was converted into a block house and named Fort Neilson. The lines were also run to the south from this point, and flank defences were constructed.

On the 21st Burgoyne received a promise of assistance from Sir Henry Clinton at New York.

On the 4th of October Sir Henry and General Vaughan moved up the Hudson river. On the 6th he captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery. Fort Montgomery was commanded by Governor Clinton, and the other post by his brother, Gen. James Clinton. The British ships broke the chain across the Hudson between Fort Montgomery and Anthony's Nose and sailed

Illustration:
Sally port of British works on Pine Plains,
as it appears now

up the river. On the 9th Governor Clinton captured a messenger from Fort Montgomery to Burgoyne. He was seen hastily to swallow something, and was given a dose of tartar emetic, throwing up a silver bullet containing a dispatch from Fort Montgomery, saying the way was clear to reach Gates's army. Upon the 13th of October the fleet moved up and burned Kingston. Clinton arrived too late to save the town, but immediately hung the spy upon an apple tree. Lossing says he saw the bullet a few years ago in possession of Charles Clinton, a grandson of General James Clinton.

The British pushed on as far as Livingston's Manor, but there heard of Burgoyne's defeat on the 7th of October and returned to New York.

The Second Battle of Bemis Heights

October 7, 1777

AFTER the 19th of September militia flocked to Gates's army from all quarters, and at the close of the month he had a formidable force. Gates moved his quarters from Bemis's to the left of the line. On the 1st of October Burgoyne put his army on short allowance. On the west, the wings of the two armies were within cannon shot. On the fourth, Burgoyne consulted Riedesel, Phillips and Fraser. Burgoyne proposed another attempt to turn the American left. Riedesel advised a retreat to Port Edward. Frazer was willing to fight. On the 7th of October, shirking the responsibility of ordering a battle, Burgoyne ordered a reconnoissance in force. This resolution to fight, after the experience of the 19th September, and when hopelessly outnumbered is unaccountable, except on the theory that Burgoyne was too proud to retreat or had lost his grip as a cautious general, through indolence and excesses. Whatever happened he was certain of reproach if he did not succeed, so he fought. Burgoyne with 1,500 men, eight cannon and two howitzers, marched out on the morning of the 7th and formed on an eminence (indicated on the map) west of the British right wing. Five hundred rangers and savages were sent to make a circuit to the rear of the American left and produce a diversion. They drove in the American pickets and advanced toward the breastwork south of Fort Neilson, but were driven back by a sharp fire. Before Burgoyne had formed his line the Americans were on the alert.

The American left was composed of two brigades under Generals Poor and Learned, with Morgan's rifle corps and New England Militia. Morgan, with about fifteen hundred men, was ordered out to an eminence on Burgoyne's right, while General Poor's brigade and a part of Learned's moved to attack the British left and center. Morgan first became engaged with the Canadians and savages whom he drove back to the main British line. On the left of the British line, which had moved forward to a wheat field, was Major Ackland with the artillery under Major Williams. The center was composed of Brunswickers

under Riedesel, and British under Phillips. The light infantry under Earl Balcarras was on the left. In advance of the right was Frazer with five hundred (Neilson says a thousand) picked men. At half-past two o'clock the Americans attacked both flanks of the British. The British artillery on the left fired over the heads of the Americans, who rapidly advanced and delivering their fire opened to right and left, sheltering themselves by the woods fronting the British to avoid the sweep of the artillery, then charged to the very mouths of the cannon. Five times one of the cannon was taken and retaken, finally remaining with the Americans, the British falling back. The Americans greatly encouraged pressed the British on every side. Major Ackland⁽⁹⁾ was shot through both legs and made a prisoner, and Major Williams was captured.

On the British right Morgan made a furious attack and drove Frazer back to the main line. Morgan moved quickly to the left and again attacked the British right, throwing it into confusion. While changing position to meet Morgan, Major Dearborn attacked the British in front. The British right then gave way, but was formed again in the rear by Earl Balcarras and brought into action. Arnold, though deprived of command, had watched the battle, and becoming greatly excited, sprang upon his horse, and without orders, placed himself at the head of three regiments of Learned's brigade, and led them against the enemy's center. The troops were inspired by the presence of their old and trusted commander, and made such a charge that the British center was broken, giving way in disorder. When Gates learned that Arnold had joined the battle he sent Major Armstrong to order him back, but Armstrong could not follow where the intrepid commander led and did not come up with him until he was wounded in carrying Breyman's redoubt.

Arnold and Morgan were now the leading spirits, and inspired by them, the British were pressed from every quarter. Frazer, the bravest and best of Burgoyne's officers, was making every effort to rally the troops and hold the line. He was everywhere conspicuous on an iron grey charger. He alone could bring order out of the confusion, and wherever he rode the troops fought with new spirit. In the thickest of the fight he was shot by one of Morgan's riflemen (Timothy Murphy), it is said, at the suggestion of Arnold.

A panic seized the British and Burgoyne took command in person, but the master spirit had fallen, and the Americans being reinforced by three thousand men under General Ten Broeck. The whole British line gave way and fell back to their intrenchments, leaving their cannon behind, most of the artillerymen and horses being slain. The Americans pursued; and led by Arnold the lines commanded by Earl Balcarras were assaulted, but without success. Arnold then assaulted the British, between Breyman's redoubt and Earl Balcarras's line, defended by Canadians and Tories. Here at length the British gave way. Arnold then ordered a general assault while he with the regiment of Brooks assaulted the German flank redoubt commanded by the thickest of the * * * Breyman and already engaged by Learned. Arnold rushed into the sally port with his powerful horse, spreading terror among the Germans who had seen him unharmed in fight.

The Germans fled giving a parting volley which shattered Arnold's leg that had been wounded at Quebec, and killing his horse. Breyman was mortally wounded and died on the field. Major Armstrong, with a message from Gates found Arnold wounded in the redoubt. Arnold's bravery had again crowned the American arms. Night, or the loss of Arnold in the field, put an end to the conflict. For his daring and ability to skillfully handle troops in action, a

modern writer has named Arnold the Ney or Desaix of the American revolution. Arnold was borne to camp and thence to a hospital at Albany, where he was under the care of the good Dr. Thacher.⁽¹⁰⁾ While Arnold was winning the battle, Gates (according to Wilkinson, his adjutant), was in his camp discussing the merits of the struggle with Sir Francis Clarke, Burgoyne's aid, who, wounded and a prisoner, afterward died. Gates in his report, which he insultingly sent to congress instead of Washington, barely mentioned Arnold and Morgan.

About midnight General Lincoln's division, which had remained in camp, marched out to the relief of those upon the field. The American loss in killed, wounded and missing did not exceed one hundred and fifty, and Arnold was about the only officer wounded, The British lost seven hundred. The field of Freeman's farm where the most desperate fighting occurred and where the British dead were hastily buried, has been prolific in interesting relics. Elisha Freeman, whose grandfather owned the farm, and was an American scout, has a large collection.

Illustration:

Relics from Freeman's farm

In 1823, Ebenezer Leggett came from Westchester county to the old Freeman farm. At that time the British redoubts were well defined. Mr. Leggett has plowed up great numbers of skeletons, rifle and cannon balls, and twenty or thirty years ago plowed up the well-preserved skeleton of an officer wrapped in a blanket. A part of the red uniform was entire, the color being unchanged.⁽¹¹⁾ He still exhibits it to curious visitors. He also has well-preserved skulls. When Mr. Leggett moved and repaired a barn on the Freeman farm, about 1846, he found quite a large sum of money. British gold and silver, guineas and half-joes. It was scattered over a space of about forty square feet near where a log house stood in the time of the revolution. The sum is stated by Mr. Leggett at between eighty and ninety dollars. It is reported, however, in the neighborhood that the sum made a good fortune.

Breyman's redoubt captured by Arnold was the key to the British position, and on the night of the 7th, Burgoyne moved his artillery and stores to a point a mile north of his first position at Wilbur's Basin, still holding the redoubts on the river hills north of the Basin.

The gallant Frazer was conveyed to the house of John Taylor near Wilbur's Basin where he expired on the morning of October 8th. The house was standing until 1846. The Baroness Riedesel, who occupied the house on the day of the battle writes: "About four o'clock in the afternoon instead of the guests, which I expected, General Frazer was brought on a litter, mortally wounded. * * * General Frazer said to the surgeon, *Tell me if my wound is mortal; do not flatter me.* The ball had passed through his body. * * * He was asked if he had any request to make, to which he replied that if General Burgoyne would permit it, he should like to be buried at six o'clock in the evening, on the top of a mountain, in a redoubt which had been built there. * * *

"I could not sleep as I had General Frazer and all the other wounded gentlemen in my room. About three o'clock in the morning I was told he could not hold out much longer; I had desired to be informed of the near approach of this sad crisis, and I then wrapped up my children in their clothes, and went with them into the room below. About eight o'clock in the morning he died.

After he was laid out, and his corpse wrapped up in a sheet, we came again into the room, and had this sorrowful sight before us the whole day. * * * We knew that General Burgoyne would not refuse the last request of General Frazer, though by his acceding to it, an unnecessary delay was occasioned, by which the inconvenience of the army was much increased. At six o'clock the corpse was brought out, and we saw all the generals attend it to the mountain. The chaplain, Mr. Brudenell, performed the funeral service, rendered unusually solemn and awful from its being accompanied by constant peals from the enemy's artillery. Many cannon balls flew close by me, but I had my eyes directed toward the mountain where my husband was standing amid the fire of the enemy."

Illustration:

Site of the great redoubt where Frazer was buried

The mountain with the redoubt upon it, of which the Baroness speaks, is what is known as the "great redoubt" and is the second spur of the river hills north of Wilbur's Basin. It now shows no vestiges of a redoubt, the plow having done its work.

Two lonely pines guard the resting place of the gallant officer who fought for a coronet and found his grave there. Much interest attaches to this hill. The American cannon which fired upon the burial party were posted on the plain southwest of the redoubt, the Americans having advanced and occupied the British intrenchments and pushed parties forward to harrass Burgoyne's flank. It is said the Americans fired minute guns when they ascertained it was a burial party.

The burial hill is a conspicuous landmark. Mrs. Catharine Barker, a daughter of Fones Wilbur, from whom Wilbur's Basin was named, and granddaughter of John Mc Carthy, who first bought the land about the Basin, 200 acres, from the Schuyler patent, relates that within her recollection, (she is now aged 82), the burial hill was covered with excavations made by parties searching for Frazer's remains or for money. To her knowledge, and she is a very intelligent and active lady, no traces of Frazer's remains were ever discovered. She has come to question the fact of his burial there, and is inclined to believe that it is not known where Frazer was buried. She is quite certain that his remains have never been removed, although some English gentlemen visited the region a long time ago to ascertain his burial place.

Benjamin Silliman, who visited the spot in 1797, and again in 1819, is quite certain that Frazer's remains were removed. He writes in his *Tour*, descriptive of a journey made in the autumn of 1819: "It has been disputed which is the redoubt in question, [where Gen. Frazer was buried], but our guide,⁽¹²⁾ stated to us that, within his knowledge, a British sergeant, three or four years after the surrender of Burgoyne's army, came and pointed out the grave. We went to the spot; it is within the redoubt, on the top of the hill nearest to the house where the general died, and corresponds with the plate in Anbury's travels, taken from an original drawing, made by Sir Francis Clarke, aid to General Burgoyne, and with the statement of the general in his defence, as well as with the account of Madam Kiedesel. * * * The place of the interment was formerly designated by a little fence surrounding the grave. I was here in 1797, twenty-two years ago;

Illustration:

Catharine Barker

the grave was then distinctly visible, but the remains have been since dug up by some English gentlemen and carried to England."

Silliman gives no authority for this statement, but makes it as though he were positive. It is probable that he was misinformed. There is a tradition at Wilbur's Basin that the remains

Illustration:

General Simon Frazer

were removed, but it can be traced to no reliable source, and there is no certain knowledge of it. It would be well worth while to make an effort to ascertain the truth by consulting English authorities. If his remains still rest on the little hill, it would be appropriate to erect a simple monument to his memory.

After the burial of Frazer, on the night of the 8th, Burgoyne retreated without his sick and wounded, in a heavy rain, reaching Saratoga on the evening of the 9th. Twelve hours were wasted, near Wilbur's Basin, in paying funeral honors to Gen. Frazer, according to his request, before the retreat was commenced. Burgoyne has been greatly blamed for this delay. The Americans were enabled to take up strong positions on Pine Plains, although they did not show that energy in pursuit which would have compelled a surrender then and there. The timid Gates was always a mile or two behind the army, and did not follow up his successes. Burgoyne could have been shut in between the hills and river and compelled to capitulate. He undoubtedly desired it, and waited for the inevitable, but was compelled to march slowly off, with a show of escaping. He knew what a good general with Gates's force would have done,

Illustration:

The burial of Frazer

but Gates disappointed his enemy. Burgoyne could not very well surrender, unless he were asked. Frazer knew, before he died that surrender was inevitable. So good a soldier as Frazer, even in the hour of death, would never have asked delay for his burial had he not been convinced that capitulation was the only alternative. It was related by Samuel Woodruff of Connecticut, a volunteer in the American army, that Frazer on his death bed advised Burgoyne to propose terms of capitulation to Gates and prevent further bloodshed; because the situation of his army was now hopeless; it could neither advance nor retreat. The army was but a handful. The Canadians and Tories, whom Burgoyne had pushed to the front to receive the first deadly fire of the Americans and to save the regulars, in both battles, had deserted or been killed. The Indians, after working untold mischief, had fled. Silently, on the night of the 8th the little band, only about 3,500 strong, officers and men, retreated from their position at Wilbur's Basin. The camp fires were kept brightly burning and were piled with fagots as the army marched away. So silent was the march in the drenching rain, that the Baroness Riedesel kept a handkerchief over the mouth of her little daughter Frederika, lest her crying might reveal the retreat to the Americans. The army halted for rest at Dovegat

and reached Saratoga on the evening of the 9th. The army did not cross the Fish creek, and rested, wet, cold and discouraged, though much preferring to retreat. While the baroness was sitting by a great fire trying to dry her drenched clothing, General Phillips, who was an old friend of her husband, having served with him in the seven years war, came up. The baroness writes in her memoirs: "I asked General Phillips why he did not continue our retreat while there was yet time, as my husband had pledged himself to cover it and bring the army through?"

Illustration:
Gen. William Phillips⁽¹³⁾

Poor woman, answered he, I am amazed at you! Completely wet through, have you still the courage to wish to go farther in this weather! Would that you were only our commanding general! He halts because he is tired, and intends to spend the night here and give us a supper. In this latter achievement, especially, Burgoyne, was very fond of indulging. He spent half the nights in singing and drinking, and

Illustration:
The Baroness Riedesel

amusing himself with the wife of a commissary, who was his mistress, and who as well as he loved champagne."⁽¹⁴⁾ Burgoyne was completely discouraged, and was seeking ignoble relief from the cares of a responsible general. The army crossed the Fish creek on the 10th and took up positions for defense. On the 8th detachments of the army under Gates had pushed forward. General Fellows, on the evening of the 8th, erected a battery on the east bank of the Hudson, south of the Battenkill, which swept the British camp on the heights of Saratoga. A detachment of two hundred men under Col. Cochran was pushed forward to occupy Fort Edward. The heights of Saratoga were occupied by the Americans when Burgoyne arrived, but they fell back.

On the 10th the Americans were so well posted on the opposite side of the river that the British camp was under their fire, and the Baron Riedesel told his wife

Illustration:
The Riedesel house

to take refuge in a house a little to the north of the position of the main army and a safer place. There was quite a gathering about the house as the baroness moved there, and the Americans deeming it the quarters of officers, trained their guns upon it and the whole party was compelled to take refuge in the cellar. The house is still standing. The baroness⁽¹⁵⁾ in her memoirs best describes the terrible sufferings of herself and the army up to the time of surrender. After the knot of soldiers and officers had disappeared, the cannonade ceased. The baroness writes:

"After they had all gone out and left me alone, I for the first time surveyed our place of refuge. It consisted of three beautiful cellars,

splendidly arched. I proposed that the most dangerously wounded of the officers should be brought into one of them; that the women should remain in another; and that all the rest should stay in the third, which was nearest the entrance. I had just given the cellars a good sweeping, and had fumigated them by sprinkling vinegar on burning coals, and each one had found his place prepared for him, when a fresh and terrible cannonade threw us all once more into alarm. Many persons who had no right to come, threw themselves against the door. My children were already under the cellar steps, and we would all have been crushed, if God had not given me strength to place myself before the door, and with extended arms prevent all from coming in. Eleven cannon balls went through the house, and we could plainly hear them rolling over our heads. One poor soldier, whose leg they were about to amputate, having been laid upon a table for this purpose, had the other leg taken off by another cannon ball, in the very middle of the operation. [This man was a British surgeon by the name of Jones.] His comrades all ran off, and when they came back they found him in one corner of the room, where he had rolled in his anguish, scarcely breathing. Often my husband wished to withdraw me from danger by sending me to the Americans; but I remonstrated with him. * * * Our cook saw to our meals, but we were in want of water; and in order to quench thirst I was often obliged to drink wine, and give it also to my children. * * *

"As the great scarcity of water continued, we at last found a soldier's wife [seventy-seven wives of Brunswick soldiers accompanied them to America and remained with the army] who had courage to bring water from the river, for no one else would undertake it, as the enemy shot at the head of every man who approached the river. This woman, however, they never molested. * * * I endeavored to divert my mind from my troubles by constantly busying myself with the wounded. I made them tea and coffee, and received in return a thousand benedictions. * * * In this horrible situation we remained six days. Finally, they spoke of capitulating, as by temporizing for so long a time, our retreat had been cut off. A cessation of hostilities took place, and my husband, who was thoroughly worn out, was able for the first time in a long while to lie down upon a bed."

The house in which the baroness took refuge is now owned by Mrs. Jane M. Marshall.

While the events just narrated were transpiring, St. Leger arrived at Ticonderoga by way of Montreal, to aid Burgoyne. He was too late to be of any service. He held the fortress until the autumn of 1781, since which time it has been unoccupied.

On the 10th Burgoyne burned Gen. Schuyler's house and sent a party to Fort Edward to repair the roads and ascertain if retreat were practicable in that direction. The road builders were driven in by the Americans who swarmed everywhere, and the garrison of 200 at Fort Edward made a great display of fires, conveying the idea that it was held by a strong force. General Gates, who was a mile in the

Illustration:

Col. Barry St. Leger

rear, heard that Burgoyne had retreated to Fort Edward, and immediately ordered the brigades of Generals Nixon and Glover, and Morgan's corps to cross Fish creek and fall upon Burgoyne. The latter, more wide-awake than Gates, prepared a trap for the American general. Morgan crossed on the 11th, under cover of a fog, and received a warm reception from the British pickets. He then believed the rumor of a retreat was false, and decided to give the information and await further orders. He met Adjutant-General Wilkinson, who agreed with him. In the meantime Nixon had crossed the creek near old Fort Hardy, built in 1755 by General Lyman. Glover was about to follow when a deserter came in, who said the British army was in force. Morgan and Nixon were in a perilous situation, and the former was compelled to maintain it until Gates, who was in the rear, could be consulted. Some authorities say that Nixon retreated without orders from Gates, just in time to save his brigade from the strongly posted batteries of Burgoyne, which were revealed when the fog lifted. Morgan, who crossed farther up the creek, was soon supported by Learned and Patterson. When their danger was discovered Learned and Patterson recrossed Fish creek, but Morgan moved to the left through the woods, and took position upon the heights on the flank and rear of Burgoyne. Thus by the 12th Burgoyne's position was completely invested. On that day a council of officers decided to retreat by night, leaving the artillery and baggage. The information brought in by scouts showed that this course was impracticable. On the 13th a council of all the officers was called, but while it was being held a cannon shot passed across the table and disturbed the deliberations. It was resolved to open a treaty for surrender. Lieutenant Colonel Kingston proceeded to Gates's headquarters with a note from Burgoyne, proposing a cessation of hostilities to arrange terms of capitulation. General Gates ordered a cessation of hostilities until sunset, and sent a series of proposals to Burgoyne for his approval. The first proposition of Gates was for the British to ground their arms in their camp, but Burgoyne proposed to fight before submitting to terms so humiliating.

Finally it was agreed that the British should march out with the honors of war and pile their arms at the word of command. On the 10th the terms⁽¹⁶⁾ were agreed upon and hostilities ceased. On the 17th the convention was signed and the British marched out and piled their arms in the meadows bordering the river near old Fort Hardy. Gen. Burgoyne delivered his sword to Gates in the American camp, and it was immediately returned. According to Fonblanque, the number killed and wounded during the campaign was 1,306, and the number who surrendered 3,500, officers and men. Gates's army, at this time, numbered 17,000 effective troops. The terms of surrender were most advantageous to the British, and not at all to the credit of Gen. Gates. The latter was frightened with a rumor that Clinton was coming in his rear, and made terms as easy as possible, without delay, although he could have utterly crushed Burgoyne in a day. Burgoyne accurately describes the causes of his disaster in the following, written to Phillipson from the residence of Gen. Schuyler at Albany, on the 20th of October: "This army has been diminished by scandalous desertions in the collateral parts, by the heavy drain of the * * * at Ticonderoga, and by great loss of blood. It has been totally unsupported by Sir William Howe."

Burgoyne wrote to his nieces from Albany: "I have been with my army within the jaws of famine; shot through my hat and waistcoat; my nearest friends killed around me."

The Canadians were to be sent to their homes on parole.

The Baron Riedesel and his wife spent three days with Gen. Schuyler at Albany, and then set out for Boston. The baron concealed the colors of the German regiments at Saratoga, and eventually took them safely to Germany. Arrived near Boston, Burgoyne's army was quartered at Cambridge, waiting for the promised transports and the fulfillment of the terms of capitulation. That fulfillment never came. The timid Gates had given the army back to England, so every man could be put in garrison, and the men thus relieved, sent to fight the colonies. Congress did not like the prospect, and never ratified the convention signed at Saratoga. Burgoyne complained that the prisoners at Cambridge were badly treated by Healy, who had charge of them. Healy was brought to court-martial and Burgoyne conducted the prosecution, but Healy was acquitted. In Albany, where the wounded prisoners were held, Dr. Hayes, one of Burgoyne's surgeons, wrote to his commander: "On the 31st of May, an order was, by direction of the commanding officer, (a Gen. Starke of noted in fame) stuck on the door of the Dutch church at Albany, in these words: *All British officers and soldiers, prisoners, who are seen ten rods from their quarters, shall be taken up and whipped two hundred lashes, on their naked backs, without the benefit of court-martial.* This order was probably a hoax, as it was never read to the troops. The troops quartered at Cambridge were marched to Virginia in November, 1778, and reaching Colle and Charlottesville in February, 1779. Many deserted. Most of the prisoners were not released until the close of the war. Burgoyne went to England on parole in April, 1778, and defended himself in Parliament.

NOTES:

Nearly all of the histories state that Burgoyne reached Wilbur's Basin before the battle of the 19th of September, and fortified his camp. This is a mistake which the writer copied. It was first made by Wilkinson. Burgoyne made all his movements on the 19th from Sword's house, more than a mile north of Wilbur's Basin.

On page five, third line, read "May 26th," instead of "6th."

In next to the last line on page six read last of May instead of "first of May."

On 34th page, undercut, read: "with a view of Willard's mountain" in stead of "Burgoyne ricamp."

⁽¹⁾ Ethan Allen was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, Jan. 10, 1737, and died in Burlington, Vt., Feb. 12, 1789. He moved to the westward of the Green Mountains in 1766, and was one of the most active partisans in the struggle of the New Hampshire Giants against the state of New York. The headquarters of these partisans was at the old Catamount tavern in Bennington. He was brave, generous, rash and eccentric. When the revolution began he turned all his powerful energies to assist the colonies. His daring capture of Ticonderoga and subsequent surrender at Montreal are recorded in another place. He was exchanged May ***, 1778, and returned to Vermont. Before the end of the war he removed to Bennington, thence to Arlington, and finally

to the vicinity of Onion river, where he died. The picture of Allen presented on the title page is from the statue by Stephenson, surmounting the monument at Burlington. This statue was unveiled July 4th, 1873. The monument upon which the statue stands is in the old cemetery on the ridge east of Burlington, overlooking a wide scene the Adirondacks on the west, and Allen's loved Green Mountains on the east. The shaft is of granite forty-two feet high, and of the Doric order. It stands upon a square pedestal which is inscribed upon each of its four faces. The western face has: *Vermont to Ethan Allen, born in Litchfield, Conn., 10th Jan., A.D. 1737, O.S. died in Burlington, Vt., 12th Feb. A. D. 1789, and buried near the site of this monument.* The southern face bears the following inscription: *The leader of the Green Mountain boys in the surrender and capture of Ticonderoga, which he demanded in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.* East face: *Taken prisoner in a daring attack on Montreal and transported to England, he disarmed the purpose of his enemy by the respect which he inspired for the rebellion and the Rebel.* North face: *Wielding the pen as well as the sword, he was the sagacious and intrepid defender of the New Hampshire Grants, and master spirit in the arduous struggle which resulted in the sovereignty of the state.* When the state of Vermont moved in 1858 to erect this monument, it was impossible to find the exact place of Allen's interment. His remains were known to repose within a certain enclosure, but an examination of the spot revealed nothing. So, without the people's knowledge, in the course of those seventy years their hero had become traditional. The statue is heroic. The face is ideal. The form and features of the hero hid passed into tradition, and it was believed at the time the model was executed that not a lineament of his features or form had been preserved, although it is stated somewhat doubtfully that Trumbull made a painting of him which is still in existence. In view of the uncertainty, the people of Vermont indulge their imagination to the fullest extent, picturing their hero a man nearly seven feet high, and endowing him with all the manly qualities which distinguish the sons of that state.

(2) General Philip Schuyler was born at Albany on the 22nd of November, 1733. His grandfather, Peter Schuyler, was mayor of Albany and commander of the northern militia in 1690. His father, John Schuyler, married Cornelia Van Cortlandt and Philip was their eldest son. He inherited the vast estate of his father, by the custom of primogeniture, but generously shared his wealth with his brothers and sisters. Young Schuyler commanded a company under Sir William Johnson at Lake George in 1755. He became a favorite of Lord Howe, and when that officer fell before Ticonderoga in 1758, Col. Schuyler conveyed his remains to Albany. After the peace of 1763 he was active in the civil government of New York. In the Colonial Assembly of New York, he was a powerful opponent of the aggressions of Great Britain. He was elected to the Continental Congress which assembled in May 1775, and was appointed a Major General on June 15th following. He was placed in command of the army in Northern New York and an expedition to Canada. After most eminent service in which he performed wonders in spite of the factious opposition of John Adams and a powerful New England influence, he was superseded in the command of the northern army on the 19th of August, 1777. After the constitution was formed he was elected a senator with Rufus King, and subsequently in place of Aaron Burr in 1797. He died in Albany, November 18th, 1804, aged 71 years. His daughter Elizabeth was the wife of Alexander Hamilton.

(3) Gen. Horatio Gates was a trained British soldier, the son of an English clergy man. He was born in Essex, England, in 1728. He entered the army at an early age and was sent to America to fight against the French and Indians. He was wounded in the unfortunate expedition under Braddock. After peace with France he settled in Virginia. At the commencement of the revolution he tendered his services to Congress and was chosen Adjutant General. He assisted Washington in the discipline of the forces at Cambridge in Ills. He was a good tactician, but that is about all that can be said in his favor. He profited by the labor of others. With Adams friendship and his own presumption he achieved a considerable reputation at one time, but lost it all by plotting against Washington, and by utter failure in the south.

(4) A great number of Burgoyne's fine bronze cannon are now among the trophies at the Watervliet arsenal. The cuts which we present are from accurate drawings of these guns. This artillery was very fine for a London parade, but too cumbersome for a campaign in the forests of the North. His train consisted of forty-two pieces.

(5) At that time there were no bridges across either the Hudson or Mohawk. The only ferry on the Mohawk between Van Schaick's Island and Schenectady was Loudon's about five miles up the river, where Arnold was posted with the left wing of the American army, for the purpose of preventing a passage at that place. There was another ferry near Halfmoon Point. To cross the Hudson would only have been leading Burgoyne out of the way on the opposite side of the river;

besides the conveying so large an army over that stream in a common row boat, and at the same time subject to the opposition of the Americans who lay nearby, would have rendered such an undertaking impracticable. These being the facts, Burgoyne's course necessarily lay across the sprouts, as they were called, or mouths of the Mohawk, which, except in time of freshets, were fordable, and by four of which that stream enters the Hudson; the second and third forming Van Schaick's Island, across which the road passed, and was the usual route at that time. ***'s History.

(6) John G. Van Schaick was a brother-in-law of Col. Peter Gansevoort, the brave defender of Fort Stanwix, and himself a sterling patriot. He loaned to Gen. Gates \$10,000 in gold to pay the army, taking for security continental notes of credit, which were never redeemed, many being now in possession of his descendants. Gen. Gates had his headquarters for a time at Van Schaick's house, which is still standing opposite Lansingburgh. The island had been in possession of the Van Schaicks since about 1643, it being part of the Halfnoon patent, which extended for several miles up the Hudson and up the Mohawk. John G. Van Schaick is well remembered by the oldest residents of Troy and Lansingburgh as the last man who wore a cocked hat and knee-breeches, in this vicinity.

(7) General Gates wrote: "That the savages should, in their warfare, mangle the unhappy prisoners who fall into their hands, is neither new nor extraordinary; but that the famous General Burgoyne, in whom the fine gentlenvm is united with the scholar, should hire the savages of America to scalp Europeans; nay more, that he should pay a price for each scalp so barbariously taken is more than will be believed in Europe, until authenticated facts shall in every gazette confirm the horrid tale." He added: "Miss McCrea, a young lady, lovely to the sight, of virtuous character and amiable disposition, engaged to an officer of your army, was, with other women and children, taken out of a house at Port Edward, carried into the woods, and there scalped and mangled in the most shocking manner. Two parents with their six children, were treated with the same inhumanity, while quietly resting in their own happy and peaceful dwelling. The miserable fate of Miss McCrea was particularly aggravated, by being tressed to receive her promised husband; but met her murderers employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women, and children have perished by the hands of the ruffians, to whom, it is assorted, you have paid the price of blood." This letter was effective, although the facts were not carefully stated.

(8) Thaddeus Kosciusko was born in Lithuania; in 1736, from a mient and noble family. He was educated in France. There he became acquainted with Dr. Franklin, and was by him recommended to Gen. Washington. Before leaving Poland he had eloped with a beautiful lady of high rank. They were overtaken in their flight by her father, who made a violent attempt to rescue his daughter. The young Pole had either to slay the father or abandon the young lady. Abhorring the former act, he sheathed his sword and *** after fled the country. He came to America and joined the patriot army as a volunteer, Oct. 18, 1776.

(9) Major Ackland was carried to General Poor's quarters (the Neilson House) where his wife, Lady Harriet Ackland, who had been with him in the British army since 1776, joined him two days after the battle. This beautiful and accomplished lady, with a letter from Burgoyne, was carried in an open boat accompanied by Chaplain Brudenell and an attendant, from Burgoyne's army, north of Wilbur's Basin down the river during a drenching rain storm and landed at the American intrenchments on the river flat. When the sentinel hailed them Lady Harriet answered. She was then conveyed to her wounded husband. Major Ackland at a dinner party, after his return to England, warmly defended American courage against the asperdions of Lieutenant Lloyd. A duel followed in which Major Ackland was shot dead. Lady Harriet was insane for two years on account of his death, but recovered and married Chaplain Brudenell.

(10) Thacher in his Military Journal says that Arnold in the desperate charge at Breyman's redoubt, "had so little control of his mind, that while brandishing his sword in animating the officers and soldiers, he struck Captain Pettingill and Captain Brown, and wounded one of them on the head without assigning any cause. These officers the next day requested Colonel Brooks to accompany them to Arnold's quarters to demand an explanation. He disavowed any recollection of the fact, and denied that he had struct an officer; but when convinced of it, readily offered the required apology. Dr. Thacher also wrote in his Military Journal on the 12th of October: "The last night I watched with the celebrated General Arnold, whose legs was badly fractured by a musket ball while in an engagement with the enemy on the 7th inst. He is very peevish, and impatient under his misfortunes and required all my attention during the night."

(11) This group consists of a cartridge box, bayonet, silver knife, tomahawk, a large button, from the uniform of Colonel Peter Gansevoort (presented to Mr. Freeman by Gansevoort's descendant?), and a small military button worn by a member of the 24th British regiment.

(12) Ezra Buel, called Major Buel, at the time of Silliman's visit seventy-five years old, was in the battle as a guide and, according to Mrs. Barker, claimed to be one of the sharpshooters who climbed trees to pick off British officers.

(13) This picture of General Phillips is taken from Graham's painting of Frazer's burial. His eyes are cast down, gazing sorrowfully upon the grave of his gallant comrade in arms.

(14) "While the array were suffering from cold and hunger, and everyone was looking forward to the immediate future with apprehension, Schuyler's house was illuminated and rung with singing, laughter, and the jingling of glasses. There Burgoyne was sitting, with some merry companions, at a dainty sapper, while the champagne was flowing. Near him sat the beautiful wife of an English commissary, his mistress. Great as the calamity was, the frivolous general still kept up his orgies. Some were of opinion that he had made that inexcusable stand merely for the sake of passing a merry night. Riedesel thought it incumbent on him to remind Burgoyne of the danger of the delay, but the latter returned all sorts of evasive answers." German Auxiliaries in America.

(15) The portrait of Madame Riedesel which we present is from a picture by the celebrated German artist, Tichjein, in 1762. It represents her at the age of sixteen. The picture was made with other ladies of her acquaintance, representing the four seasons, just before her marriage. Madame Riedesel, then Frederika von Massow, represented Spring. One of her daughters was named America, in remembrance of her mother's experience in this country, Frederika another daughter, who, a mere child, passed through the Burgoyne campaign with her mother, became one of the most distinguished women of her day, being a friend of Humboldt and Baron Stein. On the retreat, after the burial of General Frazer, little Frederika was so badly frightened that her mother held a handkerchief over her mouth to prevent her cries reaching the Americans, and disclosing the movement. The children who accompanied this noble baroness on her journey to America were Gustava, aged four; Frederika, aged two, and Caroline ten months old, whom the baroness nursed herself. The baroness was one of the noblest of wives and bravest of Christians. While on board ship, coming to America with her three little children, in the spring of 1777, she wrote in her diary: "I know not whether it was the hope of so soon again seeing my husband that gave me good spirits, but I found the sea not so dreadful as many had painted it to me. I was conscious of fulfilling my duty, and was calm because I trusted in God that he would bring me palely to my dear husband." The general wrote to his wife from Chambly, closing with: "Farewell, and do not be uneasy. God will be your and my protector in every event that may befall us."

(16) The following are the principal articles of the convention:

The troops under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honors of war, and the artillery of intrenchments, to the verge of the river where the old fort stood, where the arms and artillery are to be left; the arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers.

A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops, whenever General Howe shall so order.

All officers to retain their carriages, battle horses and other cattle, and no baggage to be molested or searched; Lieutenant General Burgoyne giving his honor that there are no public stores secreted therein. Major General Gates will, of course, take the necessary measures for the performance of this article. Should any carriages be wanted during the march, for the transportation of officers baggage, they are, if possible, to be supplied.