







THE SARATOGA MONUMENT

Erected by the Saratoga Monument Association to commemorate the Surrender of Burgoyne's Army to Gen. Gates, October 17, 1777, the grand finale of one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. It stands on the site of Burgoyne's fortified camp, on the hill overlooking the place of his surrender. The corner stone was laid with civic and military ceremonies, October 17, 1877, and completed in June, 1883.

Height, 155 feet; Base 40 feet square; 184 steps lead up to the last windows, which command an enchanting view of from ten to eighty miles in all directions.

THE
STORY OF
OLD SARATOGA
AND
HISTORY OF SCHUYLERVILLE

BY

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By JOHN HENRY BRANDOW



DEDICATION

*To the
Patriotic Societies
in the United States
and to all Americans who revere
the characters and cherish
the heroic deeds
of their
forebears
I dedicate this book*

PREFACE

THIS book, like many another, is a growth from a small beginning; the outcome of a brief sketch made for another purpose. The author never dreamed that he would be guilty of perpetrating a book. When he began the aforesaid sketch he supposed that the history of the locality had been thoroughly written up and that nothing of interest could be found which had not repeatedly been spread before the interested public.

This surmise was certainly true of the Burgoyne campaign with its battles and auspicious ending which occurred within the bounds of Old Saratoga. All of this had become well threshed straw before we began our task; hence, we have been able to add but a little to what has already appeared in print concerning it, except a few anecdotes of a personal nature. We can claim nothing more with respect to that decisive campaign in the great struggle of the fathers for independence than that we have redrawn the picture from the view point of the "Heights of Saratoga," and have put into the scene a series of details which heretofore had appeared only as scattered and disjointed fragments.

Our excuse for the book is this: While hunting for Colonial or ante-Revolutionary data relative to the history of this locality we discovered that there was very much more to it than had yet appeared in any form accessible to the public; and, what is more to the point, we found that this is the only locality, worthy of it, in the valley between New York City and Plattsburg, whose Colonial history had not been

carefully explored and written up. With this in mind we resolved to dig down and get at the roots of its history; so we have diligently examined everything we could hear of or find that would throw any light on that shadowy epoch in Old Saratoga's story; and we trust that those who are interested in such matters will agree with us that we have been measurably paid for the trouble. In the meantime we believe we have also discovered several important historic sites, together with the name of the one local annalist, the anonymous Sexagenary, which had long been lost.

It is a pity that there had not been more chroniclers to record the many interesting incidents which must have occurred here, particularly during the period of King George's war, and yet more is the pity that many of the records that were made have been lost. Still, as it is, we feel that we can assert without fear of successful contradiction that outside the cities of New York and Albany, Old Saratoga is the most interesting historic locality in New York State, and New York was the battle ground of America in Revolutionary and Colonial days. But notwithstanding the fact that this is the scene of so many events, tragic, thrilling, and heroic, in their character; events far reaching and superlatively beneficent in their effects on our civilization, Saratoga is a name that has been made little of by American writers, and is seldom used to conjure with in speech or story.

We have in this work kept the military history separate from the civil in the belief that the average reader will find it less confusing, and hence more satisfactory, than any attempt at mixing the two together, and yet we confess that the line of demarkation be-

tween the civil and the military is sometimes pretty hazy.

That we have been enabled to carry this work to completion grateful acknowledgments are due, first, to the many interested citizens of Schuylerville, without whose encouragement we would not have dared to embark on such a venture; to Mr. W. L. Stone, the accomplished Revolutionary historian, and to Gen. J. Watts De Peyster, military critic and prolific author, for valuable facts and suggestions; to Miss Fanny Schuyler, for the loan of Schuyler manuscripts and for criticising a portion of the work; to Mr. W. B. Melius, the erudite keeper of the Albany County records, for help in our search for data; to Mr. Hugh Hastings, State Historian, and Henry Harmon Noble, his efficient assistant, for their hearty encouragement, timely suggestions and valuable hints concerning historic manuscripts preserved in the State Library; and to Mr. Arnold J. F. van Laer, State Archivist, for invaluable assistance in deciphering some of the ancient manuscripts under his care.

We are also especially obligated to Mr. C. W. Mayhew of Schuylerville for the free use of his library, rich in historic works; to Miss Anna Hill for generously typewriting a large portion of the manuscript; to Mrs. John H. Lowber and Mrs. Jane Marshall for courteously permitting a careful examination of their historic homes, and for interesting facts connected therewith.

We also feel deeply indebted to Rev. F. C. Scoville of Greenwich, N. Y., for valuable assistance in our search for the author of the *Sexagenary*.

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INTRODUCTION

It would be impossible to write an intelligible narrative of Old Saratoga, now Schuylerville, without sketching the broader field of history of which it forms a part. As well attempt a satisfactory description of a two-mile section of the majestic Hudson that flows before it without telling whence the river rises and whither its gleaming waters go. Old Saratoga is but one link in a chain of marvellous story. We must at least catch a glimpse of the whole chain or we shall never come to appreciate this one golden link.

That the place now called Schuylerville has become historic is due neither to the size of the town, the famous deeds of its inhabitants, nor because someone whom the world calls specially great was born here. It was well known to two great nations while yet it was a howling wilderness, and had obtained world-wide renown before any one had yet dreamed of the village of Schuylerville. Its place in history is due mainly to its location. Here, in military language, was one of the few strategic points in the great Hudson valley. Whoever held these points held the whole valley, and whoever held this valley could hold the continent.

How is that? you may ask. Well, take a good map of New York State and you will notice that an extraordinary depression or valley extends from the river St. Lawrence, in Canada, directly south to New York bay. This valley is the result of some mighty convulsion in nature, which rent the mountains asunder, leaving this chasm between the ranges, to be further hollowed out and smoothed down by the action of those giant rivers of

ice, the glaciers. The highest point of the divide, or watershed, in this depression is between Fort Edward and Fort Ann, and this is only 147 feet above sea level. This elevation is remarkably slight in a distance of 350 miles, especially when one considers the mountain ranges between which the valley runs. With the exception of some twenty miles this whole distance between New York and Montreal was navigable for small craft before the dams were built in the Hudson.

Besides this valley running north and south, another depression, starting from Schenectady, stretches westward and cleaves the great Appalachian mountain range in twain, forming an open gateway toward the setting sun. Through this runs the Mohawk.

Scan your map of North America closely from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Florida and you will learn to your surprise, mayhap, that from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico there is no other wide-open portal except the Mohawk, to the west, through those mighty barriers which the great Appalachian range has thrown across the pathway to the imperial domain of the Mississippi valley. Thus, if you have a military eye, you can readily see that, before the days of railroads, whoever held the Hudson valley held the key to the continent from the east.

Turn to your map of New York State again and you will notice that the country where dwelt the Iroquois is drained by the St. Lawrence through the Black, the Seneca and the Genesee rivers; by New York bay through the Mohawk and Hudson rivers; by Delaware bay through the Delaware river; by Chesapeake bay through the Susquehanna river, and by the Gulf of Mexico through the Allegheny and Ohio rivers.

Those old "Romans of the West," the Five Nations or Iroquois, somehow discovered the strategic value of their position and took advantage of it. Having formed a civil confederacy, and then uniting their military forces, they became a menace and a terror to all their neighbors. The trails leading up and down these various rivers they transformed into warpaths. Ere long their fierce war-whoop was heard westward to the Mississippi, northward to the Saguenay, and south to the great gulf, and from every whither they returned as conquerors, proudly bringing with them those spoils so dear to the savage heart, scalps and captives. These conquests were completed by the year 1715 when they brought back the Tuscaroras from the Carolinas, and admitted them into their confederacy. After that they were called the Six Nations.

The Adirondack region, including the Champlain and Hudson valleys, as far south as the old district of Saratoga extended, was reckoned specially desirable as a possession, and had ever been disputed territory between the Algonquins of the north and the Iroquois. Long before the white man set eyes on this region it was known to the red man as "the dark and bloody ground." Against all opponents, the indomitable courage and persistency of the fierce Iroquois had quite won the day when the white man appeared on the scene as a new contestant for the valuable prize. When he entered the field, he was destined to add some still darker chapters to its already bloody history.

BOOK I

MILITARY HISTORY

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY OF THIS VALLEY

OUR first introduction to these natural pathways leading northward and westward is connected with the meeting of a party of whites and Indians drifting south from Canada on discovery intent, and a party of painted Iroquois hastening north, on war and pillage bent. The leader of the party from the north was Samuel de Champlain, the founder of Quebec, and the first French Governor of Canada. The Algonquins had told him of a wonderful inland sea that stretched far southward into the land of the terrible Iroquois. He became curious to see it, and so in the spring of 1609, with two white companions and 60 native warriors with their canoes, he started on the eventful voyage. They reached the lake in July and paddled south leisurely, till they arrived in the vicinity of Crown Point, as is supposed, where in the night they met the party of two hundred Iroquois painted and plumed for war. Of course, there was trouble in the wind at once. By mutual consent they postponed the fight till daylight, when the apparition of three strangely-dressed men with white faces, a thing never before dreamed of by them, together with the thunder of their arquebuses and the terrible execution they wrought, quickly decided the day, and the Iroquois fled precipitately, not pleased with their first taste of the white man.

Champlain came no farther, but the beautiful lake which he had discovered and described, fittingly bears his honored name.

Six weeks after this event, by a strange coincidence, Hendrick Hudson, an Englishman, commanding a Dutch ship, sailed into the splendid harbor now known as New York bay, and laying his course due north entered what he fondly hoped would prove to be the much looked for passage to the East Indies, but which turned out to be only a river, yet a river far more beautiful than any his eyes had ever beheld. Wishing to learn the character and size of his great find, he worked his way as far north as Troy or Cohoes. Then he returned to report his discovery. He, too, was honored by having his name affixed to the southern portion of this marvellous valley and its noble river. Five years thereafter a trading post was established 150 miles north of New York bay, and which for fifty years bore the name of Fort Orange, after the noble house whose sons had successfully led the Netherlands in their eighty years fight for liberty against Spain. But a 100 miles of this valley from Troy to Crown Point was as yet *terra incognita* to the white man, and remained so for one-third of a century.

During all this time the Iroquois of Central New York had refrained from war against the north: but they by no means forgot their humiliating defeat at the hands of the white men who were the allies of their ancient foes in Canada. For thirty-three years they had nursed their wrath and drilled themselves in warfare with other tribes, to the west and south, when in the spring of 1642, after themselves becoming possessed of fire-arms and practiced in their use, they decided that the time had come to blot out their disgrace in

the blood of the Algonquins and French. And had it not been for the timely arrival of some French troops the Canadian settlements would have been utterly exterminated.

Among their captives was a noble Jesuit priest, Father Isaac Jogues, who in company with several helpers and converts were returning, with their canoes loaded with supplies, to a mission already established among the Hurons in the distant west. He, with two assistants, Couture and Goupil, and a number of Hurons, were horribly tortured; then they were bound and headed south for the Mohawk country. It was about the 1st of September when they arrived at that bold promontory jutting out into Lake Champlain, since become famous as Ticonderoga. Rounding this they turned west where soon they were stopped by the churning rapids and chiming falls of a goodly stream, the outlet of another lake. Here the Indians landed, shouldered their canoes, followed up the stream, and soon with their captives launched forth upon the crystal waters of Andiatarocte. Here, for the first time since the dawn of creation, eyes, that could appreciate, looked upon the rare beauty of that "fair Naiad of the ancient wilderness," Lac St. Sacrament, as it was christened two years later by Father Jogues.

These savage warriors, with their hapless victims, duly landed where now stands that handsome hostelry, Fort William Henry Hotel, and straightway plunged into the dusky woods and followed the ancient war trail. This trail led from Lake George to the bend in the Hudson a few miles west of Glens Falls, thence southwestward till it struck the Mohawk in the vicinity of Amsterdam. Arrived at their castles, the captives

were again ferociously tortured for the entertainment of savage women and children. Finally Goupil was murdered, Couture having struck the fancy of the Indians by some act of bravery, was adopted into the tribe; Father Jogues lived for months in daily expectation of being murdered. He was given to an old Indian as a slave and performed for him the most menial tasks. In the following March he accompanied his master on his spring fishing trip. They repaired to a lake four days distant. On reasonable grounds this is supposed to have been Lake Saratoga. If so he was the first white man who ever gazed upon the placid surface of that beautiful sheet of water.

About the 1st of August, 1643, he accompanied a party of Indians on a fishing trip down the Hudson some twenty miles below Albany. Before the main body were ready to leave he secured permission to return with a few Indians who were going up the river in a canoe. At Albany he was very kindly treated by the Dutch who urged him to escape. They had previously made a fruitless attempt to ransom him. Finally he concluded to make the attempt, slipped away from his custodians, and secreted himself. But the Indians made such an ado about it, that to pacify them Megapolensis, the good Dutch Dominie, and Arendt Van Curler, the subsequent founder of Schenectady, collected enough goods to ransom him. The Albany Dutchmen then gave him free passage to France. At New York Gov. Kieft exchanged his squalid and savage dress for a good suit of Dutch cloth and placed him aboard a small vessel bound for his home. On his arrival there he was received as one risen from the dead, for they had heard of his capture. He at once became an object of curiosity and reverence. He

was summoned to court and Queen Anne of Austria kissed his mutilated hands.

Soon he returned to Canada. In 1646 he was ordered by his superior to go to the Mohawk country on an embassy of peace for the government. He with Sieur Bourdon, an engineer, and two Algonquin Indians started the middle of May, laden with rich gifts to confirm the peace. They reached Lake George on the eve of Corpus Christi. From this fact he named it Lac St. Sacrament, a name which was retained for more than a hundred years. From Lake George they took the trail to the Hudson, where, being greatly fatigued from their load of gifts, they borrowed some canoes from an Iroquois fishing party and descended the Hudson, passing Old Saratoga to Fort Orange. Here the Dutchmen, to whose sacrifices he owed his life, heartily welcomed and entertained him. After a few days he left them for the Mohawk council where he was received with grudging courtesy.

His mission having ended successfully, he started for home, but with the determination to return and found a mission among the Mohawks. With this purpose in mind he left behind a small chest containing a few trinkets and necessities. But the Indians were persuaded that it harbored some malignant spirits that would work mischief among them. Sure enough there was sickness in the village that summer, and the caterpillars ate their corn. This was of course all laid to the evil spirits left in that box. Hence, when Father Jogues returned, there was a case against him. He was foully murdered on the 18th of October, 1646. "Thus," as Parkman says, "died Isaac Jogues, one of the purest examples of Roman Catholic virtue which this Western

continent has seen.”¹ (The shrine at Auriesville is erected on the traditional site of his martyrdom.)

Thus, when Father Jogues reached Albany in 1646 the whole of the Champlain-Hudson valley had been traversed by the white man. It is also interesting to note that he and Sieur Bourdon were the first to see the site of Schuylerville.

The reader will recall the fact that New York and Albany had been occupied as trading posts since 1614, and had been permanently settled or colonized since 1623.

CHAPTER II

SARATOGA—SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAME

THE name Saratoga passed through many vicissitudes at the hands of public officials before the spelling became settled. Note the variety of spelling as it appears in the Documentary History of New York: Cheragtoge, Sarachtitoge, Sarachtoga, Saractoga, Saraghtoga, Saragtoga, Saratoge, Saraktoga, Sarastague, Sarastaugue, Schorachtoge, Sarasteau, Saraston, Saratogo, Sarrantau, Serachtague, Seraghtoga, Soraghtoga, *Saratoga*. Thus the modern spelling of this name affords a good example of the survival of the fittest in orthography.

To most people outside the boundaries of this county, the name Saratoga is coupled only with the great watering place twelve miles west of the Hudson whose medicinal waters gush forth “for the healing of the nations.” Whereas its adoption there, was a long after-thought.

¹ See Parkman's *Jesuits in North America*.

Indeed, the name as applied to a river district was known to white men for a hundred years before the springs were discovered.

Saratoga is an Indian word. The red men applied it to one of their favorite hunting and fishing grounds located on either side of the Hudson river, extending from three to five miles back from the stream, and an indefinite distance both north and south of Fishcreek, which empties into the river at Schuylerville. The colonists adopted this name and applied it as the Indians did to a district covering both sides of the Hudson and extending from the mouth of the Mohawk, north to the vicinity of Fort Miller. Afterward it began at Mechanicville instead of Cohoes. But when they began to build forts at the north to protect their frontier settlements, the one placed at the junction of Fish creek with the Hudson was then called the fort at Saratoga.

As to the significance of the name several traditions are extant. One is, that it means, "the hillside country of the great river;" another says it means "place of the swift water," in allusion to the rapids just above Schuylerville which disturb the quietness of the river's flow. A Canadian Indian told the historian Hough that Sar-a-ta-ke means "place where the track of the heel shows," referring to depressions like heel prints which he claimed could be seen in some rocks in this vicinity. Mr. J. L. Weed of Ballston, N. Y., told the writer that an old uncle of his, Joseph Brown, an early settler, who had native Indians for neighbors on Saratoga lake, used to say that the word means "place of herrings," suggested by the vast number of those fish which they used to catch in the river and creeks hereabouts. To the writer this seems the most satisfactory for the reason that both the Dutch

and English gave the analogous name Fishkill or Fishereek to the outlet of Saratoga lake because of the myriads of herrings which used to swarm up through it in the spring of the year into that lake; and secondly, because of the extensive fish weirs which the Indians constructed at the outlet of the lake for catching herring.² This same Joseph Brown used to relate an Indian legend in this connection. These fishing grounds and especially the weirs at the lake were accounted a valuable possession by the Indians far and near, and were often the occasion of wars and bloody encounters. Once a small party of Iroquois Indians were catching and curing herring there, when they were apprised of the approach of a powerful body of Algonquins from the north. They decamped at once, but a decrepit old chief refused to go because he would hinder their flight, and might thus prove their destruction. He could serve them better by staying where he was. They reluctantly yielded to his wishes and left him to his fate. Soon the intruders appeared on the scene and questioned the old man as to the whereabouts of his people, but he gave evasive answers, whereupon they put him to the torture which soon quenched the little spark of his remaining life; but without evoking the desired information.³

² Remains of those old Indian weirs were visible within the memory of some of the older inhabitants.

³ This same story greatly elaborated and highly colored in true Indian style is told in Stone's *Reminiscences of Saratoga*.

CHAPTER III

THE OLD INDIAN TRAILS—FIRST EXPEDITION FROM CANADA INTO THE MOHAWK COUNTRY UNDER COURCELLE AND DE TRACY

As has already been intimated, Schuylerville, or rather old Saratoga, owes its historic importance to its geographical location. In colonial days it was regarded by military men as an important strategic position. From this point important lateral trails diverged from the main one, which ran like a great trunk line up and down the Hudson valley. These lateral trails started here because at this point two large streams empty into the Hudson; the Battenkill (or Di-an-on-de-howa, in Indian) from the east, and the Fishcreek from the west. The one afforded easy access to the Connecticut valley, while the other offered ready passage from the north and east over into the valley of the Mohawk. In short, here was a sort of Indian "four corners."

Two trails led from the north or Champlain valley into the Mohawk valley. One started at Ticonderoga, passed through Lake George, thence across country, passing the Hudson not far west from Glens Falls, thence through the towns of Moreau and Wilton turning west through the pass south of Mt. McGregor at Stile's Tavern, over near Lake Desolation, southwest through Galway, thence into the Mohawk valley a little west of Amsterdam. This was called the Kayadrosseras trail.⁴ The other started at Whitehall, thence to Fort Edward and down the Hudson to Schuylerville, up the Fishcreek to

⁴ Sylvester's Hist. of Saratoga County. Edition of 1878, p. 32.

Saratoga lake, thence up the Kayadrosseras river to the Mourningkill, thence over a carry into Ballston lake, over another carry into Eel creek, and down this into the Mohawk river. This was called the Saratoga trail. If on their expeditions to the north the Mohawk Indians chose to build their canoes at home before starting, they came down the Saratoga trail because it was a waterway. If they decided to build their canoes at the head of the lake, then they took the Kayadrosseras trail overland, for it was shorter.

These trails were already ancient and warworn before the white man appeared on the scene. He promptly appropriated them to his own use for purposes not only of warfare but of commerce.

COURCELLE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THE IROQUOIS

This region was frequently seen and traversed by the white man years before the name Saratoga appeared in printer's ink, or official correspondence. For years prior to 1666, bands from the Five Nations, or Iroquois, had harrassed the French settlements in Canada, at Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, murdering and carrying the settlers into captivity. Finally a full regiment of French soldiers was sent to their defence. The French governor, Samuel de Remi Sicur de Courcelle, impatient of delay after they came, started out with a force of 600 men and a number of Algonquin Indians as guides to wreak vengeance on the hated savages. Equipped with snow shoes and with provisions loaded on toboggans, drawn by mastiff dogs, they started from Quebec on October 29, 1665. They slowly and laboriously made their way south over frozen lakes and the wilderness of snow till they arrived at the Hudson about February 1st, 1666. Their Indian

guides failing them on account of too much "fire-water," they missed the Kayadrosseras trail, their intended route, and took the Saratoga trail instead. This brought them down to the mouth of the Fishcreek at Schuylerville, up which they went to Saratoga lake and so on. The 9th of February they discovered to their chagrin that instead of being near the Mohawk castles, or palisaded forts, they were within two miles of the Dutch trading post at Schenectady. Here they fell into an ambush set by the Mohawk Indians and lost eleven men. The Indians fled and gave the alarm. Nearly exhausted from cold and exposure, but receiving some timely succor from the Dutch, they abandoned the enterprise, and hastily retreated by the way they came, down through Old Saratoga and up the Hudson and Lake Champlain.⁵ That trip of some 700 miles over a frozen desert, void of human habitation, in the teeth of howling blizzards and biting cold, was an achievement never excelled before that day.

DE TRACY'S EXPEDITION

Stung to madness by the murder, that summer, of Sieur Chazy, a favorite captain in the regiment, at the hands of these same Iroquois, a new expedition was organized. In October of the same year, 1666, under the efficient leadership of the Marquis de Tracy, a force of 1,300 men and two cannons started on their mission of vengeance. They came with boats instead of toboggans and snow shoes, and as their flotilla of some 250 canoes and bateaux swept over the crystal waters of Lac St. Sacrament, (Lake George) it formed the first of those splendid

⁵ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. III., pp. 118, 126.

military pageants which were destined to render forever famous that pellucid gem of the old wilderness. This force took the Kayadrosseras trail and plunged boldly into the woods, reaching the Mohawk in due time, where they succeeded in utterly destroying the strongholds of the Indians and laying waste their fields, yet capturing and killing but few of their wily foes. Then with a vast deal of flourish and gusto, de Tracy caused a cross to be erected, the arms of France elevated on a pole, and a high sounding proclamation read, declaring all this territory to belong to His Majesty, the King of France, by the right of conquest. Then they went home by the way they came without the loss of a man.⁶

DESCENT OF THE IROQUOIS UPON CANADA

After de Tracy's punishment of the Mohawks they kept shy of the Canadians for more than twenty years. The peace then conquered would have doubtless continued indefinitely had not Canada been most unfortunate in one of her governors. Denonville, greedy for trade and the extension of the French dominions, tried to woo the Iroquois from their English allegiance. Failing in this he trespassed on their territories, attacked some of the villages of the Senecas, and killed and captured a number of their people. This roused the slumbering hate of the whole Confederacy, and war to the death was declared.

Their forces having assembled, they paddled down the Mohawk river in their bark canoes, passed the little frontier village of Schenectady, and landed at Eel place creek about the 1st of August, 1689. They had decided upon

⁶ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IX., pp. 56, 79.

the Saratoga trail. A flotilla of about 250 canoes filled with 1,300 plumed and painted warriors, the fiercest in the new world, must have been a stirring sight as they debouched from the Kayadrosseras and floated out upon the tranquil bosom of Saratoga lake. It was a fit forerunner of the showy regattas seen on the same waters 200 years later.⁷ And again when they struck into Fishcreek, lined with tamaracks, and embowered with birches and maples and oaks, festooned with the wild grape and clematis vines, could we have stood that day, say at Stafford's Bridge, behind some bushy screen, we would have witnessed a splendid pageant of over a mile in length. They swept down the crooked and tortuous Fishcreek to where Victory is now located, whence they carried their canoes down the south side to the Hudson, and then lustily paddled north on their bloody mission. Their descent upon the settlements about Montreal was as a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, so unlooked for was it. This was the most dreadful blow sustained, the most terrible event recorded in Canadian history. Their buildings were burned, their garnered harvests destroyed, between three and four hundred French settlers and soldiers⁸ were butchered, and 130 were brought back to be tortured for the entertainment of those left at home, or to supply their savage feasts with unusual and dainty meats. The Indians returned, most of them, as they had gone, by the Saratoga trail. The ancient forest then standing here, echoed that day to the sighs of those hapless captives, and the soil of old Saratoga was moistened with their tears, as they toiled up the carry from the river to the smooth water of Fishcreek above Victory. That

⁷ Sylvester's Saratoga County Hist., p. 34.

⁸ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IX., pp. 431, 434.

was one procession at Schuylerville none of us, I fancy, would care to have beheld, unless prepared to rescue the unfortunate victims.

CHAPTER IV

DESTRUCTION OF SCHIENECTADY AND RETALIATION

DURING the year of the above described foray, 1689, war was declared between France and England, which, of course, could not but involve their colonies. This war grew out of the English Revolution of 1688, which dethroned James II of England and enthroned, in his place, William and Mary of Holland.

Count de Frontenac was sent over by the French in October, 1689, to displace the impolitic Denonville. He resolved to be the first to strike a blow in that war on this side the water, and accordingly, fitted out three expeditions. One from Quebec against Maine, the second from Three Rivers against New Hampshire and the third from Montreal against Albany.

The force designed for Albany, numbered 210 men, ninety-six of which were Indians under the command of two Canadian officers, *Sieur la Moyne de St. Helene* and *Lieut. Daillebout de Mantet*. Forgetful of the experience of *de Courcelle*, twenty-three years before, they, like him, start out in the dead of winter. Having reached the head of Lake Champlain, near Ticonderoga, they halted and held a council. The Indians demanded to know whither they were bound. *De St. Helene* replied that he wished to surprise and take Fort

Orange (Albany). The Indians, remembering the defeats which the French had lately sustained, strongly objected and said: "Since when have the French become so brave?" Still undecided they continued their march for eight days, toward Albany, till they came to the parting of the ways here at Old Saratoga,⁹ (Schuylerville). On their own motion the Indians left the Hudson here, turned to the right, and took the trail leading toward Schenectady, and the French followed after without serious protest. A thaw had set in and they waded knee deep through the snow and slush. It must have been dreadfully exhausting work, for it took them nine days to make the trip from Schuylerville to Schenectady, a distance of thirty-seven miles by the route they took. But just before they reached their goal one of those sudden and extreme changes occurred, so common to our winters in this latitude. A blizzard came howling down from the north-west, which chilled them to the marrow. The snow fell knee deep. They had intended to defer the attack till about two o'clock a. m., but they were forced to proceed at once or perish from the cold. They afterward said, had they been attacked at that time, or had they met with resistance when they attacked, they would have been forced to surrender, so benumbed were they by the cold. There was no need, however, for delay on their part, for they could not have imagined better arrangements for their reception than they found.

The Revolution in England naturally created two parties; those who sided with and those who sided against the dethroned King James. These parties were duplicated in the colonies. There were many here who were

⁹ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IX., p. 466.

intensely loyal to James, as well as many who were eager to swear allegiance to William and Mary. Of course, this caused trouble and divisions throughout the realm. Party strife fanned into a flame by the acts of the usurping governor Leisler, had become so fierce in Schenectady that neither faction would do a thing for the town's protection, though they well knew that war existed between France and England, and they were liable to an attack from the north. The two gates of the little town fronting east and west were left wide open and a dummy sentinel made of snow, in mockery of the few troops quartered within the town, stood guard before the western portal.

Everybody, even the soldiers, were sleeping in fancied security. A body of Mohawk Indians had been engaged by the Albany authorities to scout to the north, but the love of the fireside proved more alluring than the charms of fire-water and Dutch gold, and so they had lingered at Schenectady.

Guided by some captured squaws, the Canadians crossed the Mohawk on the ice and appeared before the western gate. Silently, as if shod with wool, they glided in and posted themselves next the palisades that surrounded the village. Then the hideous warwhoop was raised, and before the stupefied inhabitants could realize what it all meant, the work of destruction and butchery was under way. For two hours hell was let loose in Schenectady while Satan and his imps held high carnival. It would be useless to attempt a description of the horrors crowded into that brief space. Suffice it to say that at the end of it sixty men, women and children lay stark in death, horribly mutilated, or roasting in the flames of their former homes. Between eighty and ninety were reserved as

prisoners while a few escaped in their night robes, and with bare feet, carried the dreadful tale to Albany, seventeen miles away.

After refreshing themselves a little, the victors started on their retreat, the following morning. Leaving behind the old men, the women and children, and retaining twenty-seven of the younger men and boys as prisoners, they hastened away, taking the Kayadrosseras trail toward Canada. But they were not allowed to return unmolested. They were chased to Lake Champlain and eighteen of their number killed or captured by a band of Mohawk Indians.¹⁰

WINTHROP'S EXPEDITION

The fight was now on in dead earnest; for the colonists could not allow so cruel a deed to go unavenged.

The authorities at Albany on the 26th of March, 1690, ordered Capt. Jacob de Warm to proceed to Crown Point with a party of twelve English and twenty Indians to watch the motions of the enemy. On the 30th, Capt. Abram Schuyler was sent to Otter Creek, Vt., which was the usual starting point for forays into Massachusetts, with nine men and a party of Indians to do like service at that point.

Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, New York and Maryland resolved upon an invasion of Canada. Each agreed to furnish its quota of troops. Fitz John Winthrop of Connecticut was commissioned major-general to lead the expedition. The troops from Massachusetts and Plymouth did not materialize. Winthrop brought 135 of those promised by Connecticut. Maryland sent fifty.

¹⁰ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IX., p. 466.

New York furnished 150 men besides 180 Indians. 515 men was not a very formidable array to be led by a major-general.

On the 30th of July, 1690, the Yankees with the Dutch troops collected at Albany and from down the Hudson set out from Albany and camped the first night at the Flatts, the old Schuyler homestead. August 1st they marched to the Stillwater, "soe named," says Winthrop, "for that the water passeth soe slowly as not to be discerned."

"August 2d," continues the journal of Winthrop, "we marched forwards and quartered this night at a place called Saratogo, about 50 English miles from Albany, where is a blockhouse and some of the Dutch soldiers."¹¹ This blockhouse had been built by orders of the Council to protect the house of Bartel Vrooman and six others who had settled here a year or two previously. The site of this blockhouse is a matter of conjecture. Certainly it was on the west side of the river for the army marched on that side. It was as certainly on the south side of Fishcreek, for the first settlement was made there, and the creek would be one of its defences against the north. It probably stood on the ground afterward occupied by Forts Saratoga and Clinton.

Thus, in this, the first of many expeditions against Canada, Saratoga (Schuylerville) looms up as an important point. Here Winthrop established his depot of supplies, for on August 7th he says "I sent 30 horse under the command of Ensign Thomlinson to Saratoga for more provition."

The little army got no nearer Canada than Whitehall, through lack of canoes and provision, and because of

¹¹ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IV., pp. 194, 195.

sickness among the troops. This according to Winthrop. But Capt. Johannes Schuyler of Albany, only twenty-three years old, commanding those Dutch troops that Winthrop was moved to praise so highly because of their superior efficiency, was clearly dissatisfied that the expedition should be abandoned without an attempt to strike a blow. And this not alone because of its depressing effect upon the colonists, but he was especially fearful of the effect of failure upon the Indians who were just then wavering in their allegiance between the French who were so belligerent and the English who showed so little fight. He therefore resolved that as for his single self he would not return to Albany without an effort to bring back something to show for all the trouble. He applied to Gen. Winthrop for permission to go forwards. Winthrop cheerfully granted it and commissioned him captain for the venture.¹²

At once he beat up for volunteers; forty whites and 100 Indians responded. Loading their canoes with sufficient provision, they cut loose for the north. They surprised La Prarie, south of Montreal, killed a number of the inhabitants, took many prisoners, did great damage to property and returned with but little loss to themselves. This was the first armed force that ever penetrated Canada from the English colonies. They reached Albany on the 31st of August, only eleven days after Winthrop and his hundreds had sheepishly crept back. This Johannes Schuyler was the grand-father of General Phillip Schuyler.

¹² Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol IV., p. 196.

EXPEDITION OF 1691

The success of Johannes Schuyler's raid seemed to whet the appetite of the Albany Dutchmen, and also of the Indians, for more experience of like flavor. Hence on June 21, 1691, another expedition started from Albany, this time led by Mayor Pieter Schuyler, brother of Johannes, the hero of the campaign of '90. They started with 120 whites, and sixty river Indians (Catskills and Schaghticokes). The first night they camped at Stillwater. "On the 24th," says Schuyler's Journal, "we marched to Saraghtoga, 16 miles distant, and camped about 2 of the clock afternoone."

"June 26th. We continued at Saraghtoga; foul weather, where we were joined by 15 Mohawks commanded by one Schayavanhoendere." These Mohawks came over by the Saratoga trail from Schenectady and were from a party of ninety-five or more, which later joined the expedition at Ticonderoga.

Pieter Schuyler¹³ followed the tracks of his brother of the year before, fought and won two battles in one day, August 1st; killed many of the enemy, paralyzed the plans of Frontenac for that year, and returned with a goodly number of prisoners and much glory, and what was of much more consequence at that time, they had won for their fighting qualities the high esteem and firm allegiance of the Iroquois. The French account of these actions declares that Schuyler's party was practically annihilated. Schuyler reports thirty-seven of his men captured and killed, and twenty-five wounded, out of a force of 260.¹⁴

¹³ This Peter Schuyler was the first Mayor of Albany, and gained unbounded influence over the Indians, by whom he was called Quider, pronounced Keeder, which was as near as they could speak the name Peter.

¹⁴ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. III., pp. 781-795, 800.

The French admitted in their report to the home government, that these battles were the "most obstinate ever fought in Canada," and that after the battle in the woods they could not pursue, the "men able to march being sent to the fort for assistance to carry off the wounded."

John Nelson, an English gentleman taken prisoner by the French, arrived at Quebec about the time when the news of Schuyler's expedition was received. In his memorial to the English government on the state of the colonies, he says: "In an action performed by one Skyler of Albanie, whilst I arrived at Quebec in the year 1691, when he made one of the most vigorous and glorious attempts that hath been known in these parts, with great slaughter on the enemie's part, and losse on his own, in which if he had not been discovered by an accident, it is very probable he had become master of Monreall. I have heard the thing reported so much in his honor by the French, that had the like been done by any of their nation, he could never missed of an acknowledgement and reward from the court, tho I do not hear of anything amongst us hath been done for him."¹⁵

There is nothing in the records to indicate that the home government ever took any notice of these most heroic deeds performed by the Schuylers at a very critical juncture in our colonial history. It is acknowledged by all who are familiar with the situation in 1690-1 that those two successes preserved the friendship of the Iroquois, and their friendship at that time was absolutely essential to England's hold on New York, and New York was the key to the situation. Bancroft styles Pieter Schuyler "the Washington of his times."

¹⁵ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IV., p. 209.

THE FRENCH GET EVEN WITH THE MOHAWKS

For the next year and a half the Iroquois, especially the Mohawks, so harrassed the Canadian settlers that Count de Frontenac determined to exterminate them utterly. Collecting a force of 625 French and Indians he started for them in January, 1693. The party endured the usual hardships, but no cold could chill their ardor, nor blizzard beat them back, so determined were they upon vengeance. They took the Kayadrosseras trail from Lake George, reached the Mohawk valley and took the Indians wholly by surprise. They stormed and destroyed all their towns save one, which was several miles back from the river, captured over 300 prisoners, had a grand jubilation and started back with their booty.¹⁶ But most of their prisoners escaped or were rescued before they reached Canada.

Fortunately for New York, the peace of Ryswick in 1697 put an end to King William's war. In fact, the war had proven especially costly to Albany county, comprising as it then did all the northern settlements in the colony of New York. It is interesting at this day to read the comparative census of the years 1689 and 1698. In 1689 Albany county had only 2,016 white inhabitants. At the end of the war in 1698, 567 were missing. That left but 1,449 with which to begin the 18th century. The Indians lost more than half their number. In 1689 they had 2,800 warriors, in 1698 only 1,320. It was about time for all concerned to bury the hatchet.

¹⁶ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IX., pp. 649-656: also Vol. IV., pp. 173, 180.

CHAPTER V

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR—FIRST SETTLEMENT OF OLD SARATOGA—NICHOLSON'S EXPEDITIONS AGAINST CANADA.

FOR the next ten or twelve years the old northern wilderness had rest from war. During this time we find several notices of Old Saratoga in the records of the period. From Col. Romer's report,¹⁷ in 1698, we learn that no less than seven families had settled here before King William's war in 1689. The name of one of these settlers, that of Bartel Vrooman, has come down to us. The report says, "the farms were ruined," that is the log houses were burned, and the settlers abandoned the locality as a result of that war. It is probable that these first settlers had left the place for the winter of 1689-90 else they would have been discovered and the fact of their capture would have appeared in the French report of the expedition against Schenectady in 1690.

The next we hear of Saratoga as a military post is in the report of the governor, Lord Cornbury, dated September 24, 1702. There among other recommendations he says: "I propose there should be a stockadoed fort at Saractoga, a place six and twenty miles above the Half Moon upon Hudson's River *and is the farthest settlement we have.*"¹⁸

Again in his report of June 30, 1703, he is about to set to work on the fort, for he says: "There are but few families there yet, and these will desert their habitations if they are not protected."

Meanwhile war had again broken out between France and England, known in England as the war of the Span-

¹⁷ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IV., p. 441.

¹⁸ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IV., p. 969.

ish succession. In this war the French and Indians seemed to wreak their vengeance specially on the New England settlements; for example, Deerfield, Mass., was destroyed in 1704, and Haverhill in 1708. Why New York escaped was not known to the settlers at the time, but subsequently it was learned that the Iroquois and their Roman Catholic relatives in Canada had made a treaty not to molest each other's domain in that war.

One Congreve reports, in 1704, most of the forts on the northern frontier to be out of order, among which was the fort of 1689 at old Saratoga.¹⁹

The many outrages from Canada, at last impelled the colonists of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey to unite for an invasion of Canada. A fleet was to attack Quebec while a formidable army of 1,500 was to reduce Montreal. This force rendezvoused at Albany and got under way the fore part of June, 1709. The main body had been preceded by a force of 300 Dutchmen from Albany and vicinity under Col. Peter Schuyler. First this pioneer force built a stockade fort at Stillwater, which Schuyler called Fort Ingoldsby, after the governor; then they moved up to Saratoga and built a similar fort on the east side of the river, evidently to guard the ford which crossed just north of the island over which the bridge and highway to Greenwich now pass.

The next was built at the Great Carrying place (Fort Edward), which he named Fort Nicholson, and the next at the forks of Wood creek, which he called at first Queens' Fort, but later Fort Anne in honor of the reigning English sovereign.

Moreover Colonel Schuyler and his pioneers built the

¹⁹ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. IV., p. 1128.

first military road in this country of which we have record. This road began here at Old Saratoga, at the ford no doubt, on the east side of the river and ran up that side of the stream to Fort Edward, thence to Wood creek. It had to be cut most of the way through the primeval forest. The road to Fort Edward has no doubt been practically the same ever since.

This army was under the command of General Francis Nicholson, who, Governor Hunter declared, had never seen an army in the open field.²⁰ This was the first time the red-coated British regular appeared on the scene and trod this old war-worn trail which was so soon to become familiar tramping-ground to him.

Gen. Nicholson marched bravely up, garrisoned the several forts which had been built for him and then, like Micawber, sat down at Fort Anne and waited for something to turn up. The first thing that turned up was a malignant disease in his camp by which he lost more men than if he had hastened forward and fought a disastrous battle with the French. The next thing that did not turn up was the British fleet, which had been promised to co-operate with him on the St. Lawrence. In the midst of such calamities what was there left for a brave man like him and his army to do but to turn their backs upon Canada and march down the hill again to Albany? Which thing they did.

In 1711 another campaign was organized for the conquest of Canada. The plan was a duplicate of the previous one. Only the force that marched up through Old Saratoga was about twice as formidable, numbering nearly 3,000 regulars, colonists and Indians. This time they selected the Lake George route instead of the Fort Anne and

²⁰ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. V., p. 451.

Whitehall, evidently because it was the healthier. This was wise, but the redoubtable Gen. Nicholson had no sooner reached Lake George than he heard that the fleet on which he depended for support had been scattered by the winds and wrecked. At once he threw up his hands in despair, burned forts Anne and Nicholson and marched back ingloriously. Thus the third attempt at conquering Canada failed, mainly through the inefficiency of its leaders. Had John, or Peter Schuyler been at the head of the expedition we feel sure that that army would have been heard from in Canada, but no New York Dutchman could hope for any worthy recognition from either Old or New England. The fort at Saratoga was thus left the unmost military post of the colony facing the ever frowning north.

The treaty of Utrecht between France and England put the finale on Queen Anne's war.

CHAPTER VI

KING GEORGE'S WAR—THE BUILDING OF THE FORTS

In all the early histories of New York much is made of the sack and massacre of Schenectady in 1690, and that of Cherry valley in 1778, while little or nothing is said of the equally tragic fate of Old Saratoga in 1745. One cannot but wonder why that event should have received from the historians such scant courtesy. The only reasons for it that suggest themselves to the writer are first: That most of the people who made up the village at that time were doubtless illiterate. There were none of the survivors nor any of their friends possessed of sufficient literary ability, or interest in the event to write up a worthy account of the fate of this frontier vil-

lage. Apparently the only one present who could have done it, died bravely fighting for his honor and his home, and "dead men tell no tales." That was Capt. Philip Schuyler, uncle of the general.

A second reason which suggests itself is the existence of fiercest political dissension between the people and their governors, which largely absorbed the thought and time of the thinkers. About the only detailed accounts that we possess of the massacre are found in the reports given by the French of their exploit.

In order to the better appreciation of that event it will be well to glance at such of the fragments of history as have been preserved that relate to the planting and growth of the settlement at Old Saratoga.

As we have seen, the first settlers were obliged to abandon the place at the time of King William's war in 1689-'97. Just when these settlers ventured back the record saith not, but there were a few families here in 1703 as we have already learned.

During the long peace which followed Queen Anne's war the little settlement at Saratoga developed gradually under the fostering care of the enterprising Schuylers. The settlers by no means confined themselves to the west side of the river, but cleared for themselves many a broad acre of those rich bottom lands on the east side. There too, substantial homes were reared, and no doubt one of the houses on that side was built in blockhouse style for their common defence, and called The Fort. Where it was located we know not.

The French and the English of those days were very anxious to extend the sphere of their influence in the great American wilderness, just as they now are doing in Asia and Africa. The French looked with covetous eyes

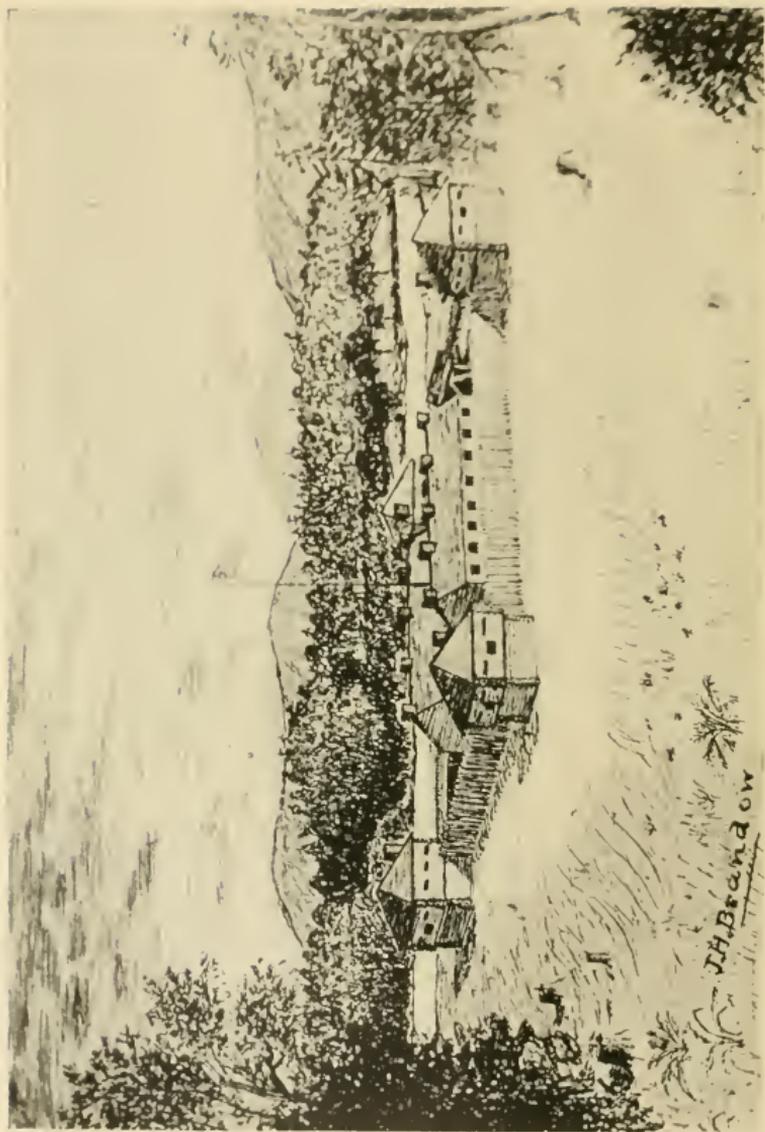
upon the colony of New York especially, for she had already discovered that whoever held New York could have it all. Hence we are not surprised at seeing her attempt to move her frontiers as far south as the elastic treaty of Utrecht and the patience of the English would permit. In 1731 she determined to appropriate that natural stronghold Crown Point to herself.²¹ Brooking no delay, she began to fortify it, first by a stockade, then soon by a substantial stone work which she called Fort St. Frederic. This was a menace to both the New York and New England colonists, who viewed the movement with deepest apprehension and chagrin. As a counter move they should have fortified Ticonderoga, but political strife and jealousies between the several governors and their legislatures seemed to paralyze every effort looking toward the public safety and welfare.

The building of this fort together with the constant efforts to win over the Six Nations and steal away the fur trade greatly exasperated the colonists. And whenever the relations between France and England became especially strained the New Yorkers would think about their defenses toward the north.

One of those crises occurred in 1721, when the authorities decided to delay no longer in building a fort at Saratoga for the defense of the northern frontier. This was erected in the months of September and October of that year under the superintendency of Philip Livingston.

The bill of items presented by Livingston for the building of this fort, with many receipts from the workmen, are still preserved in the archives at Albany. The document is a fine specimen of penmanship. The bill as rendered amounted to 153*£* 11*s.* 4*d.* Johannes Schuyler,

²¹ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. VIII., p. 345.



BLOCK-HOUSE FORT AT SARATOGA

A reproduction by the Author

proprietor of the first sawmills erected here, furnished much of the material for the above fort.²²

Captain William Helling²³ was the first commandant of this fort; whether he had any successors does not appear.

Another crisis occurred in 1739. As a result of this one, Lieut.-Governor Clarke reporting to the Lords of Trade in London, says that he had persuaded the Assembly to make provisions for building several forts, among the rest, one at "Sarachtoga;" but as no appropriation for this fort appears in the Act to which the governor refers, we are left in the dark as to when it was begun or finished; but subsequent events make it evident that the fort was really built at that time. For example, Governor Clinton, reporting to the Lords of Trade June 5, 1744, says, he is about to send "a party of troops to the fort at Saratoga for the defense of that place."²⁴ A few years later we see the Assembly squaring its accounts with a large number of individuals for work done in 1745 in rebuilding this fort.²⁵ Since the old records say that the effective life of those wooden forts was only five to seven years, this "rebuilding" would indicate that there was a fort built here at least as early as 1739. The fort as rebuilt in the winter and spring of 1745 was square with a blockhouse on each corner.²⁶

The long peace of thirty-one years was broken in 1744 by France declaring war against England. In fact pretty

²² N. Y. Colonial MSS. Vol. LXIV., pp. 39, 40.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 45.

²⁴ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. VI., p. 255.

²⁵ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. VI., p. 648.

²⁶ A block house was built of heavy logs, with the second story projecting over the first about two feet, and pierced for small arms and, some times, cannon. In a fort these block houses were connected by palisades of logs set in the ground and extending from 10 to 12 feet above ground. A gallery was built inside the palisades and high enough from the ground to enable a sentinel to walk about and look over.

much all Europe was involved in that war. It started with a quarrel between rival claimants to the Austrian throne. The chief competitors were the noted Maria Theresa, daughter of the late Emperor Charles VI., and Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria. England sided with Maria Theresa while France took the part of Charles. It was called in Europe the War of the Austrian Succession, but it is usually set down by Americans as King George's war. The representatives of the two belligerent nations on this continent cared precious little about who should sit on the Austrian throne, but they did care very much about who should hold the sceptre over the imperial domain of this continent, and for this they were ready to fight.

In this war the English struck the first blow. Early in 1745 an expedition was organized against Louisburg, a stronghold of the French on Cape Breton island. The French had spent some \$5,000,000 and thirty years of labor on the fortifications there, and it was called by them the Gibraltar of America. Each of the New England colonies furnished its quota of troops, while New York appropriated 5,000*l* in aid of the expedition. The campaign was entirely successful; Louisburg fell and great was the rejoicing in both Old and New England. New England troops did about all the fighting, but the Old England officers and troops got all the rewards.

The French forces at that time in Canada were not very numerous, but with such as they had they must avenge such a disaster as best they could. Where should they strike? Why, of course, where they could do the most harm with the forces they had, and that "where" lay through the open gateway of the Champlain and Hudson valleys.

CHAPTER VII

DESTRUCTION OF SARATOGA

THE governor of Canada planned an expedition in the fall of that same year, 1745, with the design of striking the New England settlements along the Connecticut river.

The force was put under the command of M. Marin. It consisted of 280 French and 229 Indians, in all 509. The chaplain was the Abbe Francois Picquet, who afterward became famous as the founder of the Mission La Presentation at Ogdensburg, N. Y.

They started from Montreal the 4th of November and arrived at Crown Point the 13th.

In the council convened at Crown Point the Indians held, that it was too late in the season to go over the mountains into the Connecticut valley. Then, the Abbe Picquet, displaying a map of the Hudson, pointed out Saratoga among other places as worthy of capture. The map showed thirty-one houses and two forts, (one on each side of the river no doubt). After much expostulation and argument M. Marin concluded to yield to the wishes of the Indians, and so the doom of fair Saratoga was sealed.

Embarking again they paddled south for a distance, then left their canoes and took up their march along the north shore of South Bay, thence over the Fort Anne Mountains heading for Fort Edward. They lost their way, however, and spent several days wandering about before they got out of the woods. At last on the morning of the 27th of November they struck the Hudson near the house of John H. Lydius, a bold trader who had dared to establish himself so far away from his white neighbors. His was a large house built on the site of

old Fort Nicholson, (Fort Edward). Here they captured a boy and hired man, Lydius and his family having retired to Albany for the winter. In a house near by, the Indians found three men; all these together with two Schaghticoke Indians, captured the day before, they placed in the Lydius house under a guard of twenty men. Then the men, having received absolution from the priest, who remained behind, hastened on, taking the old military road built by Peter Schuyler in 1709. Marin went ahead down the river with a few men in canoes to find a suitable fording place. On the way, the Indians captured six or seven men in a house near the road. They were sent to keep company with the other captives at Lydius'. About four and a half miles from Saratoga the army met a man and his wife returning from Schuyler's Mills with some bags of flour. After some parley the man and woman were given to Atagaronche, a chief, while the French appropriated the flour and horses. As the woman started for Lydius' she said, in hopes of frightening them off: "You are going to Saratoga, but you will find 200 men in the fort waiting to give you a warm reception." This did not disturb them, for the two Schaghticoques, above mentioned, had told them that the fort was empty.

The place selected for crossing was evidently a little below the State dam, at Northumberland, for it was south of Fort Miller where the man and woman were captured, and in describing the crossing the journal of the expedition says: "Happily we found ourselves near an island and a waterfall, whose sound mingled with the noise we made in crossing the river." The island mentioned is doubtless the one just below the State dam, over which the electric road now passes.

It was about mid-night before they got across. Then says the journal: "The night was very cold, and had it not been for a little fire, which the bed of a creek sheltered by two hillocks enabled us to make, some would have run the risk of freezing their feet, as we all had wet feet." The "*creek*" mentioned is evidently the little stream that crosses the highway perhaps twenty rods south of the residence of Mr. E. W. Towne, and about five rods south of where a road turns up the hill to the west. The "hillocks" are either the steep banks of the creek, or the steep wooded hill back of Mr. Towne's, and the bare hill back of Mr. D. A. Bullard's farm buildings. The first theory is doubtless preferable.

While the main body was thus trying to thaw itself out and make itself comfortable, M. Beauvais was sent forward with a scout to make a reconnoissance of the doomed hamlet.

A generation had passed since this ancient war-path had been pressed by hostile feet. Most of the inhabitants of this now sleeping village knew not what war and pillage meant except from hearsay. One need not stretch his imagination to form a pretty correct picture of Old Saratoga as it looked on the 27th of November, 1745.

Here were at least thirty dwellings with their usual outbuildings, barns, granaries, pens, etc.; four mills, a blacksmith shop, perhaps a store of general merchandise, and the frowning fort, made up the material portion of this primitive hamlet. These buildings were all strung like beads on a single narrow, lane-like road running north and south for perhaps a half mile above and two miles below Fish creek. There was no bridge across the creek at that time. It was forded a few rods above the

present canal aqueduct. The only brick house in the place was owned and occupied by Philip Schuyler, uncle of Gen. Philip Schuyler; this was located twenty rods directly east of the present mansion. This house was designed for defense, being pierced above and below for small arms. The original road ran east of that house. The fort stood a half mile below the creek on the flats. Most of the houses were about and below the fort. The fort, though much had been done on it, was still in bad repair, so much so that the troops claimed that they could not stay there with comfort or safety. Instead of there being 200 in the garrison as the woman told the Frenchmen, there had been only ten privates stationed there in charge of one Sergeant Convers, who in turn had gone over to Schenectady, leaving his corporal in command. Governor Clinton had left it optional with the Lieutenant of the company whether the men should remain or withdraw. Their stay was to depend on the treatment they should receive at the hands of the Indian Commissioners, who seemed to be the source of supplies and repairs. The little garrison withdrew only a short time before the attack, and reported at Albany. It is a wonder that the settlers did not follow them, as they must have known that they were liable to an attack at any time from the north. But thirty years of peace seems to have lulled their fears to sleep.

The settlement had evidently enjoyed a prosperous season. The barns, the granaries, and the cellars were full to repletion; many goodly stacks of hay and grain nestled close to the buildings. Herds of sleek cattle and plump sheep were feeding in their stalls; great piles of lumber were awaiting shipment to the markets below,

and the mills were grinding and sawing night and day, seemingly rushed with orders. , "The evening meal had been eaten; the mother had sung her lullaby over the cradle; the fires were all 'raked up' on the hearthstone, and all had gone to rest," save a few men at the sawmill.

"Boast not thyself of to-morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth," is an oracle that was tragically, yes luridly, illustrated in the fate of Saratoga on the morning of November 28, 1745. For, owing to the wariness of the invaders its people had not received the least intimation that that morning should not be just as peaceful as any that preceded it.

On the return of M. Beauvais from below with his report, Marin gave orders for the advance and attack. From this point let the journal of the French adjutant be our guide.²⁷

"The Nipissing and Abenakis followed the eastern shore of the river under the lead of Messrs. de Courtemanche and Niverville with a few French volunteers." to look after the settlement on that side.

"November 28. On the return of Beauvais we began to move quietly, and in good order with all the officers at their posts. We marched through the woods about a league along a very good road and then came to the houses. When we reached the first one M. Marin ordered me to detail four Frenchmen and ten Indians to go and surround it, but did not permit them to attack it until daybreak, which was the time when we were all to make the attack together. We had not gone more than an eighth of a league when they fired a gun and uttered their death yells, rushing to the assault. The Abenakis,

²⁷ This journal was found in the archives at Quebec after its capture by Wolfe in 1759. It was placed in the hands of Col. Philip Schuyler, as the one most interested.

[on the east side], who until then had awaited the signal, took upon themselves to make the attack, and from that time it was not possible to exercise any control. However, we went on to the edge of the wood in good order. M. de Beauvais having told M. Marin that we were discovered, he directed us to follow him. We passed a very rapid river [Fish creek], for which we were not prepared, and came to a sawmill, which two men (a negro and a Dutchman), were running, and in which there was a large fire. M. de St. Ours and M. Marin's son were disputing the possession of the negro with an Indian, although another Indian said that it was Marin who had captured him. His father, with whom I was, told him this was not the time to dispute about prisoners, and that it was necessary to go on and take others. A large party attacked a blacksmith's house on this side of the river [creek], when a native unfortunately killed a child twelve or fourteen years old. It was doubtless the darkness of the night and the fear of the river that separated us.

"Coming out of the mill we went to the house of a man named Philip Schuyler, a brave man, who would not have been seriously incommoded if he had only had a dozen men as valiant as himself. M. Beauvais, who knew and liked him, entered the house first, and, giving his name, asked him to give himself up, saying that no harm would be done him. The other replied that he was a dog, and that he would kill him. In fact, he fired his gun. Beauvais repeated the request to surrender, to which Philip replied by several shots. Finally Beauvais, being exposed to his fire, shot and killed him. We immediately entered and all was quickly pillaged. This house was of brick, pierced with loop-holes to the ground

floor. The Indians had told us that it was a sort of guard house where there were soldiers. In fact, I found there more than twenty-five pounds of powder, but no soldiers. We made some of the servants prisoners, and it was said that some people were burned who had taken refuge in the cellar.

“We burned no more houses before reaching the fort, as this was the last. We had captured everybody, and had no longer any cause to fear lest anyone should go and warn the fort of our approach. It was at quite a considerable distance from the houses where we had been. We found no one in it. We admired its construction. It was regularly built, and some thought one hundred men would have been able to defend it against 500. I asked M. Marin if he wished to place a detachment there? He replied that he was going to set fire to it, and then told me I might go and do my best. This permission gave several of us the pleasure of taking some prisoners, and it did not take us long to get possession of all the houses below the fort, breaking the windows and doors in order to get at the people inside. However, everyone surrendered very peaceably. We had never counted on the facility with which all the houses were taken and the pillage accomplished. We set fire to everything good and useful; for instance, more than 10,000 planks and joists, four fine mills, and all the barns and stables, some of which were filled with animals. The people who were in the fields were in great part killed by French and Indians. In short, according to our estimation, the Dutch will not repair the damage we caused short of 200 marks. The barns were full of wheat, Indian corn and other grains. The number of prisoners amounted to 109, and about a dozen were killed and

burned in the houses. Our achievement would have been much more widely known and glorious, if all the merchants of Saratoga had not left their country houses, and gone to spend the winter at Albany; and, I may add, had we met with more resistance.

"The work was complete at 8 a. m., when M. Marin issued orders for the retreat. On our return we reached Fort St. Frederic, December 3d, and Montreal, December 7th."²⁸

Such is the French account of that deed of savagery. The chronicler, apparently somewhat ashamed of their work, strives to paint the barbarities of that night in as light a shade as they will bear. The number of prisoners given is no doubt correct, because he was in a position to know, but the number mentioned as butchered is palpably incorrect. The savages, greatly exasperated over the recent execution of seven of their braves by the English, would not be content with ten or a dozen scalps. Nor could any individual in that party possibly know how many perished. It was night and they were concerned only to do their work of destruction as quickly as possible and retire. Governor Clinton gives the number killed as thirty. This is doubtless much nearer the truth. Only one family escaped by flight.²⁹

Thus what we saw to be a busy, thriving hamlet on the 27th of November was a scene of blackened ruins and an utter solitude on the 28th. The prisoners, men, women and children, many of them half clothed and barefooted, were collected, bound together and headed toward the frowning north, doomed to a fate which, to many of

²⁸ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. X., p. 76; also G. W. Schuyler's Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. II.

²⁹ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. VI., p. 288; Vol. X., p. 39.

them, was worse by far than death. Some died in prisons. A few were ransomed from the Indians and returned, but most of them never saw the old home-land again.

A thrill of horror ran through the colonies as the news of this catastrophe spread. A storm of indignation broke over the heads of the governor, the Assembly, and on everyone who could, in any way, be held responsible for the defenseless condition of this frontier post.

Captain John Rutherford, who commanded the company from which the men were detailed to garrison the fort, demanded a court of inquiry, which was granted. The men swore that the fort was neither habitable nor defensible; that there was no well for water, nor oven for baking bread. Lieutenant Blood testified that Governor Clinton had given him orders to withdraw unless the Indian Commissioners should repair and equip it as they had promised. They failed to do so, and therefore he had withdrawn the men as per orders.

There is little doubt but that the men exaggerated the facts considerably, as they probably found it dull business doing garrison duty at such an out-of-the-way place, and naturally wanted to get away, and keep away.

That the fort was untenable is disproved by the testimony of the Frenchmen above quoted. They thought it to be admirably built, and that 100 men could hold it against 500.

The only English account of the massacre at Saratoga which has been preserved, aside from Governor Clinton's brief report to the Lords of Trade appears in a letter to Sir William Johnson. It is dated

Albany, Nov. 28, 1745.

Sr.

I have received your favor of the 23d instant &c.

The bearer hereof In obedience to your Request therein shall herein give you as brief and true account of that unfortunate Affair which happened on the 17th³⁰ [O. S.] Instant at Saraghtogue—as I am Every Other Night & day on the watch, and my houses full of people soe That I cannot be at Large herein,—Viz: at Break of Day or one hour or two before Day a Number of 400 french & 200 Indians appeared and did Besett all the houses there, Burnt and Destroyed all that came Before them. Left only one Sawmill standing which stood a little out their way it seems; took along with them such Booty as they thought fit & kilt and took Captives 100 or 101 persons, Black and white. I guess the Black most all prisoners, and the number of them exceeds the number of the white. The unfortunate Capt. Philip Schuyler was kilt in this Barbarous action, they say certain true; hoped He may Rather Be prisoner, the Latter is not Believed.³¹

Sr,

Your friend, well wisher,
& Very Humble Servant

ROBT. SANDERS.

The Assembly severely blamed the governor for withdrawing the garrison. Instead of doing that, he should have reinforced the post with some of the many idle troops camped below Albany, where they were of no use to anybody. Once at the fort they could have repaired it speedily, dug a well, and built an oven as a matter of agreeable employment and exercise.

³⁰ The English at this time used the old style of reckoning, which was eleven days behind that of the French, who used the new style. The English dated the massacre of Saratoga November 17th; the French November 28th.

³¹ Johnson MSS. Vol. XXIII., p. 18.

The truth is that the Governor and the Assembly were both to blame; for each was more anxious to spite the other than to care for the public interests.

The secret of this animosity was that Clinton, like his predecessors, was an absolutist, very jealous of the King's, and his own, prerogatives. On the other hand the Assembly, as representing the people, who were largely Dutch trained to republicanism before they emigrated, was equally jealous of its rights and liberties, and would neither be cajoled nor bullied into giving up a single privilege it had gained, but constantly pressed for more. The struggle for liberty and independence and the drill for self-government in these colonies began long years before the Revolutionary war. The Dutch of New York and the Pilgrims of New England had tasted the sweets of civil and religious liberty, and self-government in Holland, before they came here, and they were not disposed to yield them up at the beck and call of despotic governors who did not believe that colonial subjects had any rights which they were bound to respect.

CHAPTER VIII

FORT CLINTON—ITS SITE—ITS FATE

IMMEDIATELY after the destruction of Saratoga, Colonel Schuyler (cousin of the general) suggested to the governor that the fort be rebuilt. The governor and council took the matter under advisement at once. As a result, Clinton ordered it to be rebuilt immediately, trusting that the Assembly would furnish the means with alacrity.³²

³² Minutes of Council in MSS. Vol. XXI., p. 66.

The Assembly appropriated to this purpose 150£ (\$750) on the 24th of December, 1745; a sum wholly inadequate, as this sixth fort in the series was to be considerably larger than the one destroyed. The work was started, and much of that winter was apparently spent in the work of reconstruction. In March it was ready for occupancy and was named Fort Clinton after the governor, but great difficulty was found in getting the militia up to garrison it. Dread of the French and Indians was doubtless the reason.

In June, 1746, the fort is said to have been in bad repair, which probably means that it lacked completion. What troops made up the first garrison has not been ascertained.

A party of Indians hovering about Saratoga in July, of that year, reported to the French that there were 300 at the fort. Still another party reported to the French that no person went outside the fort except in parties of thirty. This was about August first of that year, 1746.³³

Early in September a band of fourteen Abenaki Indians, headed by *Sieur de Montigny*, who had been detached by *M. Rigaud*, after his attack on Fort Massachusetts,³⁴ came over this way to keep an eye on Saratoga, and learn about the rumored English expedition against Crown Point. One day they caught a party of twenty soldiers outside the fort, escorting a wagon loaded with clay for making a chimney, fell upon them, took four of them prisoners, and scalped four; the rest threw themselves precipitately into the fort, some of whom were badly wounded.

³³ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. X., p. 59.

³⁴ Fort Massachusetts was located at Williamstown, Mass. Its site is marked by a liberty pole and can be seen from the train a little way east of the B. & M. Station.

About October 23 a scouting party of thirty-three Indians and four Frenchmen, under M. Repentigny, hovering about the road somewhere between Saratoga and Waterford, heard a great noise through the woods toward the river. The Indian chief skulked down to the road to see what was up and discovered a great train of wagons escorted by several hundred troops bound for Fort Clinton. There were a few carriages in the cavalcade occupied by finely-dressed officers. The enemy stationed themselves near the road in a thicket and waited their chance. Seeing a couple of carts somewhat separated from the rest they pounced upon the drivers, killed both of them, scalped one, and scattered in the woods before any one could come to the rescue.³⁵

This was no doubt the New York militia, under the command of Captain Henry Livingston, who was commandant of the fort from November, 1746, till March, 1747. The wagons were loaded with ammunition and camp belongings, provisions, etc.

In December, '46, a French and Indian scouting party observed the fort [no doubt from the top of some trees on the high ground toward Victory], and reported that it was twice as large as the old one; that the English had a large storehouse erected near the fort, and that the garrison numbered perhaps 300.³⁶

Early in March, '47, Lieutenant Herbin at the head of a party of thirty French and Indians struck a blow near Saratoga. They fell upon a detachment of twenty-five on their way to Albany, killed six of them, captured four, and the remaining fifteen threw away their muskets and took to flight. These prisoners reported some interest-

³⁵ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. X., p. 75.

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 89.

ing facts concerning Fort Clinton, viz: That there were twelve cannon at the fort, six eighteen-pounders and six eight-pounders; that 100 bateaux had been built for the proposed expedition against Crown Point; that a great sickness had prevailed that winter at Albany and was still raging there and at Saratoga, where a great many of the soldiers had died.³⁷ A letter was found in the pocket of the commanding officer, who was killed, written by Commandant Livingston. This letter declares that "all the soldiers are ill; that the garrison is in a miserable condition; that no more than a hundred men are fit for duty; that we are in want of every succor," and then adds: "Were we killed in this expedition against Canada it would have been an honor to us; that the fort is in the worst condition imaginable, and I pity the men who are to succeed us." Verily, when two mother hens spend their time fighting each other (as did Gov. Clinton and the Assembly) the chickens are pretty sure to suffer.

It is not known who immediately succeeded Captain Livingston, but John H. Lydius, of Fort Edward fame, in a letter to Sir Wm. Johnson, dated Albany, June 16, 1747, relates the following incident found in a letter received from Captain Jordan of Saratoga. A fleet of 300 birch canoes had passed down the river, and that when the fort opened on them with cannon they replied with small arms and hastened on toward Albany.³⁸ A Captain Jordan, no doubt, was here as commandant, but the story about that number of canoes filled with Indians deliberately paddling by a fort within easy range of its cannon is decidedly improbable, for the Indian ever had a mortal dread of the "big guns" of the white man.

³⁷ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. X., pp. 93, 96.

³⁸ Johnson MSS. Vol. XXIII.

From the beginning of the war there had been much talk and preparation for the conquest of Canada. The colony of New York spent 70,000£ (\$350,000) on it; but it all evaporated in talk and preparation.

Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland were all to help, but only a few troops ever assembled at Albany. After the fall of Louisburg an army of 3,000, well led and officered, could have marched from end to end of Canada without very serious opposition; for she had but few troops with which to defend herself at that time. But jealousy and inefficiency then ruled in the seats of authority in these colonies, and so nothing was accomplished.

“In union there is strength;” but first get your union.

LA CORNE ST. LUC'S EXPEDITION AGAINST FORT CLINTON, 1747

The reader has no doubt been impressed with the thought that the French kept themselves thoroughly posted on the situation at Saratoga (Schuylerville). As a result they felt themselves justified in making another attempt at the fort's reduction. M. Rigaud had charge of the next expedition. From Fort St. Frederic (Crown Point) he detached M. de la Corne St. Luc with twenty Frenchmen and 200 Indians of various tribes to strike the blow. The journal of that expedition is worth the reading, so we give it here:

“June 23d. Started from Fort St. Frederic at midnight for Sarastau to endeavor to find an opportunity to strike some good blow on the English or Dutch garrison at Fort Klinton, as they called it.

“26th. Left his canoes and slept near the river of

Orange [Hudson], which he crossed, the first in a little pirogue. Had five canoes made of elm bark. Left Messrs. de Carqueville and St. Ours to cross their men. All were over at two o'clock in the afternoon.

"28th. At early dawn the Abenakis told him he was exposing his men very much, and they wished to form an ambuscade on a little island in front of the fort, in order to try and break somebody's head. He told them they must go to the fort.

"He sent *Sieur de Carqueville* with seven Indians of the Saut and *Nepissings*, to see what was going on at the fort. They reported that some forty or fifty English were fishing in a little river [the Fish creek], which falls into that of Orange, on this side of the fort. He sent *Sieur de Carqueville*, a *Nepissing*, and an Abenaki to examine where the fort could be approached. *M. de St. Luc* said he should give his gun, a double-barreled one, to the first who would take a prisoner, and told them that after the first volley they should charge axe in hand. He said the same thing to the French. *Sieur de Carqueville* arrived, and said the English had retired into the fort. I sent *M. de St. Ours* to see where the river [Fishcreek] could be crossed, and to watch the movements of the fort. He returned to say that he had found a good place; that several Englishmen were out walking. They crossed the river [creek] and spent the remainder of the day watching the enemy.

"29. They all crossed half a league above [Victory Mills], though the Abenakis were opposed to it. Waited all day to see if any person would come out. Sent twenty men on the road to Orange [Albany], who returned under the supposition that they were discovered, passing near the fort. Made a feint to induce them to

come out. He demanded of the chiefs six of their swiftest and bravest men; commanded them to lie in ambush, on the banks of the river, within eight paces of the fort at daybreak, to fire on those who should come out of the fort, and to try and take a scalp, and if the fort returned their fire to pretend to be wounded and exhibit some difficulty in getting off so as to induce the enemy to leave the fort. Those in ambush neither saw any person nor heard any noise; they came to say they thought they were discovered. The chiefs assembled around the officers and said that they must retreat; that they were surrounded by 400 men who had just come out of the fort. These gentlemen told them that it was not the custom of the French to retire without fighting, when so near the enemy and that they were able to defend themselves against this number of men, should they be so bold as to come and attack them.

They sent out the six scouts to lie in ambush at their appointed place, and to pass the night on their arms. He commanded the French and Indians to discharge their pieces in case a large number of people came out and to let them return the fire, and then to rush on them axe in hand, which was done.

“30th. Those who lay in ambush fired on two Englishmen who came out of the fort at the break of day on the 30th, and who came towards them. The fort made a movement to come against our scouts who withdrew. About a hundred and twenty men came out in order of battle, headed by two Lieutenants and four or five other officers. They made towards our people, in order to get nearer to them by making a wheel. They halted at the spot where our scouts had abandoned one of their muskets and a tomahawk. [Another account says they were

lured some distance from the fort.] De St. Luc arose and discharged his piece, crying to all his men to fire; some did so, and the enemy fired back, and the fort let fly some grape, which spread consternation among the Indians and Canadians, as it was followed by two other discharges of cannon ball. Our men then rushed on them, axe in hand, and routed the enemy, who they pursued within thirty *toises* [about 200 feet] of the fort, fighting. [Another account says St. Luc surrounded them.]³⁹ Some threw themselves into the river and were killed by blows of the hatchet, and by gunshots. Forty prisoners were taken and twenty-eight scalps. The number of those drowned could not be ascertained. One lieutenant, who commanded, with four or five other officers, were killed and one lieutenant [named Chews] was taken prisoner. Only one Iroquois of the Saut was killed, he was attacked by three Englishmen; five were slightly wounded.

“The attack being finished, *Sieur de St. Luc* collected the arms and withdrew his men. He remained with three Frenchmen and as many Indians, watching the enemy’s movements. About 150 men, as well as they could judge, came out of the fort, without daring to advance. Of the 120 or 130 who might have been in the sortie from the fort, some twenty or twenty-five only appeared to have re-entered it.”

The above quotation is given at length chiefly that the interested reader might have the data from which to form his own opinion as to the location of Fort Clinton. It has been a bone of historic contention for many years. Some writers, taking their cue from the description given by the Swedish traveller Kalm, have placed it on a hill

³⁹ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. X., p. 112.

east of the Hudson.⁴⁰ Others insist that it was located north of the Fishcreek on or near the site of Fort Hardy.

After a careful reading of the above journal, the present writer ventures to claim that Fort Clinton, like the blockhouse and the two wooden forts which succeeded it, (of 1739 and 1745) was also on the west side of the Hudson and south of Fishcreek, and near the bank of the river.

Note, first, that the whole force crossed the Hudson to the west side on the 26th of June, and they nowhere speak of *re-crossing* to get at the fort. Second. The "little river" was no doubt the Fishcreek, as in Marin's journal. The French called all such streams rivers. Third. The main body crossed this "river" a half league above its mouth. (Of course that "river" could not be the Hudson.) The rapids at Victory Mills answer that particular. Fourth. "The road to Orange" (Albany) was on the west side of the Hudson, and according to the journal this "passed near the fort." Fifth. The ambush or decoy of six men was to lie on the bank of the river within eight paces of the fort. This would be impossible, were the fort on the high bluff east of the Hudson where Kalm puts it. Sixth. Again, as the official records say, that Governor Clinton ordered the fort, which was destroyed in 1745, to be "rebuilt," and since no objection to the old site anywhere appears, it is a fair presumption that the

⁴⁰ "Saratoga has been a fort built of wood by the English to stop the attacks of the French Indians upon the English inhabitants in these parts, and to serve as a rampart to Albany. It is situated on a hill on the east side of the River Hudson, and is built of thick posts, driven in the ground, close to each other, the manner of Palisades, forming a square, the length of whose sides was within the reach of a musket shot. At each corner are the houses of the officers and within the palisades are the barracks, all of timber. The English themselves set fire to it in 1747, not being able to defend themselves against the attacks of the French and their Indians."—*Peter Kalm's Travels. Vol. II., p. 287.*

word "rebuild" here means to erect another fort on the site of its predecessor. Seventh. Moreover, the "little island" mentioned in St. Luc's journal as "in front of the fort" is still in the old place about a half mile below Fishcreek. This landmark together with the statement in Marin's journal that the fort burned by them in 1745 "was quite a considerable distance from the Schuyler houses where we had been" suggested to the writer the place where we ought to look for the site of old Forts Saratoga and Clinton. So one day he asked Mr. E. A. Chubb, whose father for many years owned the flats in that locality, if there was not a spot opposite or nearly opposite the little island on which in plowing they sometimes found broken bricks and loose stones. He replied: "Yes, there is such a place there, and it is the only place on the flats where you can find a stone big enough to throw at a cow; and, besides, we used to find many lead balls, and grape shot and brass buttons, and we also found several cannon balls, and father used to imagine that there might have been an old fort or something of that kind there."

The writer soon thereafter verified this by an examination of the ground. The place is a few rods below the "little island," which, by the way, having been denuded of trees has for years been wearing away.⁴¹ There scattered over ground a little higher than the rest, he found many brick-bats and rough stones which had no doubt formed part of the "twenty chimneys" and fire-places in the old fort. The space over which these fragments are scattered is about 225 feet square. Loads of them have been dumped over the bank, doubtless to get rid of them.

⁴¹ The remnants of a little island directly in front of the fort can be seen at low water.

On a later visit Mr. George Hathaway, the present owner, called the writer's attention to what appeared to be sections of heavy stone walls embedded in the bank 100 feet or more below the dumping place, and which recent freshets had exposed; for the river is rapidly cutting away the banks here. There, plainly visible, are some foundations of the old fire-places, three in a row, together with a stratum of broken brick, stone and charred wood about sixteen inches below the surface. In laying them the builders had dug three feet below the surface. Many thin brick of the old Holland pattern lie about mingled with the stone that have tumbled down. About 100 feet north of these we discovered another foundation which had been partially disclosed by an enterprising woodchuck. We also picked up many old hand-made nails in the charred wood embedded in the steep bank. Another person recently found in the same place an English half-penny dated 1736.

In addition to the above Mr. F. B. Pennock, an intelligent citizen of Schuylerville, told the writer that many years ago while staying in Whitehall, N. Y., he became acquainted with an aged St. Francis, or Abenaki Indian, who told him that his grand-father was present at the attack on Fort Clinton, and was afterward down here with Burgoyne. He exhibited an old sketch map of Saratoga on which he pointed out the location of several points of interest, among which was the site of Fort Clinton. After returning here it occurred to Mr. Pennock to go to the place indicated by the Indian, and see if he could discover any signs of a fort or other structure. He found the stones in the bank and the old bricks, etc., lying around which certified him that the Indian knew what he was talking about. He spoke of it to several

of the older citizens, but they were incredulous and so he let the matter drop. The spot located by Mr. Pennock and that fixed upon by the writer are one and the same.

Eighth. A careful reading of Kalm's account leads one to conclude that despite the fact that the fort, seen by him, had been set on fire, much of it was yet standing, else he could not have given so detailed a description of its construction; whereas, the French account declares that nothing remained of Fort Clinton but twenty chimneys. Kalm's fort must have had log chimneys lined with clay or plaster, for there are no sufficient remains of stone chimneys, or brick fire-places on either the hills or the flats east of the river to warrant the belief that such a fort had stood there; and furthermore, there are no stones suitable for chimney construction to be found within several miles of the site of it. In support of this theory we offer the following certificate presented by Philip Livingston with his bill for building the fort:

Nov. 11th, 1721.

This is to certify that John Campbell was detained at the Block House at Saraghtogue, after the rest of the men was sent home, upon the account of his trade, and has wrought nine days making the chimbley's Backs and pounding the Hearths.⁴²

WILLIAM HELLING, (Capt.)

This would indicate that the chimneys were lined with, and the hearths made of clay, as stone chimneys would need no lining.

Again, Kalm's fort was square, whereas, Fort Clinton was oblong according to French measurements. The fort described by Kalm was doubtless the one built by

⁴² N. Y. Colonial MSS. Vol. LXIV., p. 45.

Philip Livingston in 1721, and kept in repair as a refuge for the people on the east side of the river. Kalm evidently did not inspect the west bank of the river, and hence did not see the remains of Fort Clinton. In a speech at Albany in 1754 King Hendrick chides the English for having burned their "forts at Saratoga," which leaves room for Kalm's fort in addition to Fort Clinton. (See below). Recall also the two forts marked on Father Picquet's map in connection with Marin's expedition against Saratoga. Kalm obviously describes the one of the two located on the east side of the river.⁴³

Soon after the withdrawal of St. Luc, M. Rigaud came against the fort in the hope of finishing what his lieutenant had so auspiciously begun. But after sitting around in the woods watching for three days without catching anyone outside, he concluded that the loss of a hundred men had made the garrison very cautious, and that he could not carry the fort except by a regular siege. This together with the desertion of most of his Indian allies, compelled him to abandon the enterprise and return.⁴⁴

The following letter written to Sir Wm. Johnson the day after the attack is of so interesting a character and in certain particulars tallies so closely with the French account that we insert it:

⁴³ On invitation of the writer, Messrs. Samuel Wells, William S. Ostrander, George R. Salisbury and W. E. Bennett, prominent lawyers in Schuylerville, went down and looked the ground over carefully. He thereupon read to them the above journals, and his conclusions therefrom, when they agreed that the spot answers all the conditions, and the remains and relics which have been discovered here, confirm the fact that this must be the site of those two Colonial forts known as Saratoga and Fort Clinton. Forts Clinton and Hardy alone, of the eight or more that were erected here, received a name; the others, each in its time, were always spoken of as the block house, or fort at Saratoga. See, e. g. the above quoted certificate.

⁴⁴ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. X., p. 115.

“Saratog, Saturday night, June 20th, [O. S.]

July 1st. [N. S.] 1747

“I wrote you last night which was giving you an account of the unhappy ingagement we had yisterday with the French, and have thought proper to write you again this evening for the following Reasons. This morning, at ten of the clock, A French Indian Came running towards the Garrison, and made all the signs of a distressed person, fired off his Piece, laid it down, and came up to the Garrison, and Desired to be admitted; which was granted, and has made the following discourse, to wit: He says he came out of Crown pt under the command of one Monj^r Laicore [La Corne St. Luc] who is commander in Chief of the whole party which consists of Twelve Companies. And since [then] he has Tould us he has Four Thousand French and Indians. And he further tells us that Monsr Lacore went up to the place of Rendesvous, which is The Great Carrying Place, [Fort Edward] after the engagement, with Mr. Chews who with the rest of the prisoners are sent to Crown pt. Monsr Lacore has left Monsr Lagud [Rigaud] as commanding officer of 300 men who are constantly seen in the woods Round the Garrison, and he says his desire is to intercept all parties coming from Albany; And that Monsr Lacorn is expected down from ye Carrying Place with the rest of the forces under his command this Evening, and are determind to stay here until they can have several Guns, Provisions &c. that they have sent for to Crown pt. as thinking it impossible to reduce this place without them, tho he says they have got hand-grenades, Cohorns, shovels & spades, & fire-arrows in order to fire the Block Houses, which that party attempted to do that

fired upon the Rounds [sentries] from under the Bank. The person appointed to perform the same had a Blankit carryed before him that we should not Discover the fyer upon the point of the arrows. They not finding [the] thing according to their mind thought it best to come the next night and undermine ye Blokhouse No. 1, which they understood the Maggazine was in. But now I have rendered it impossible by Levelling ye Bank, and am in such a posture of Defense which will render it impossible to take ye Garrison with small arms, or anything else they have with them."⁴⁵

Here the letter ends, apparently unfinished, and is without signature. This officer certainly displays a good deal of pluck and resolution after the severe losses of the day before, and despite the threatening disclosures of the Indian says not a word about reinforcements. The letter written the day before, describing the attack has been lost.

Peter Kalm, the noted Swedish naturalist, passed up through here on a tour of exploration just two years after this famous attack on Fort Clinton. He tells the story of it in his book as he had heard it from the lips of participants on both sides, and since it throws some new light on the situation here at the time we give it herewith.

"I shall only mention one out of many artful tricks which were played here [at Saratoga], and which both the English and the French who were present here at that time told me repeatedly. A party of French with their Indians, concealed themselves one night in a thicket near the fort. In the morning some of the Indians, as they had previously determined, went to have a nearer view of the fort. The English fired upon them as soon as they saw them at a distance; the Indians pretended to be

⁴⁵ Sir William Johnson's MSS. Vol. XXIII., p. 44.

wounded, fell down, got up again, ran a little way and dropped again. Above half the garrison rushed out to take them prisoners; but as soon as they were come up with them, the French and the remaining Indians came out of the bushes, betwixt the fortress and the English, surrounded them and took them prisoners. Those who remained in the fort had hardly time to shut the gates, nor could they fire upon the enemy, because they equally exposed their countrymen to danger, and they were vexed to see their enemies take and carry them off before their eyes, and under their cannon. There was an island in the river near Saratoga much better situated for a fortification.⁴⁶

The last garrison that served in Fort Clinton was made up of New Jersey troops under Colonel Peter Schuyler. These troops seem to have fared worse at the hands of the public than any of their predecessors. Governor Clinton insisted that the New York Assembly should provide for them; but the Assembly refused on the ground that since this was a general war, and all the colonies alike interested in the defense of the frontiers, it was the duty of each colony to subsist its own troops, wherever they were on service.

During the latter part of the summer of 1747 the Assembly becoming apprehensive that the garrison would desert because of lack of subsistence, apprised Governor Clinton of the facts, and asked that a sufficient number of the forces recently levied in New York for the proposed expedition against Canada, be sent to garrison the fort at Saratoga, or that a hundred of the regulars be sent up, assuring him that they had an abundance of provision for their own troops.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Kalm's Travels in North America. Vol. II., pp. 289, 290.

⁴⁷ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. VI., p. 618.

Finally the storm, which had been for sometime brewing and apprehended, broke in September of that year, when the majority of the garrison resolved to right their wrongs in their own way. So on the morning of the 20th, at the word of their leaders, they shouldered their muskets and started for Albany. The official account of the incident is still preserved in manuscript, which we shall herewith put in type, for the first time, and as one reads it he cannot but wish that the soldier's side of the story had also been preserved.

This letter was addressed to Governor George Clinton then in New York city.

“Albany, Sept. 22d, 1747.

“Sir:

“On the 20th inst. deserted from the garrison of Fort Clinton (after the provision arrived there and the party had come away) [Provisions were finally sent from Albany on the 18th, but evidently too late] about 220 of the troops under Coll Schuyler's command and left him with about forty men. I immediately summoned a council of war, who join with me in the opinion, as there were not a sufficient number of men able to go to Saraghtoga without leaving the City and Quarters, with the sick entirely defenseless, that the cannon and other warlike stores belonging to His Majesty ought (conformable [to] the Paragraff of your Excellencie's letter of the 10th instant) to be brought away to Albany. I have accordingly ordered a Detached party from the whole, except your Excellency's Company who go down by the Douw [name of a sloop perhaps], for that service with horses, carriages, &c, as is necessary for that purpose, [and] which are just marched. The Mayor and Corporation this

morning applied to me to request that I would, if possible, prolong the time of removing the artillery, &c, till the Return of an Express they now send down with the utmost dispatch, with one of their Aldermen to apply to your Excelency and Assembly, that a Proviton may be made for maintaining that Garrison, which they are convinced cannot be by the new Levies in their present situation. I have consented to it provided the Corporation would be at the expense of keeping the horses and workmen so many days longer than otherwise would be necessary, which they have agreed to; Especial as they assure me it will occasion most of the Inhabitants of this City deserting it, and be a further prejudice to us in regard to our Interest with the Indians. I have therefore wrote to Coll. Schuyler to this purpose and have desired him to prolong the time of the preparation as will be necessary for removing; as Corking batteaux, &c., and that I would send your Excel'cy's commands up the Instant the Express returns, which beg may be as soon as possible; for I can have no dependence on the present Garrison, nor is there well men enough to relieve it.

"I have, however, advised Coll. [Peter] Schuyler if he finds he cannot maintain the Garrison till he hears from me, and it is your Excel'cy's Orders that the artillery, Stores, &c., belonging to His Majesty be all brought down to Albany. I take this opportunity of writing, and as I have but a quarter of an hour's notice, hope you will forgive the hurry I am obliged to write with,⁴⁸ I am

Sir, Your Excel'cy's Most

Obliged & Humble Serv't,

J. ROBERTS [Colonel.]"

⁴⁸ N. Y. Colonial MSS. Vol. LXXVI.

On the receipt of this letter, Sept. 26th, Clinton immediately convened his council, laid the communication before them, and asked their advice. The council, which was wholly subservient to the governor, advised the abandonment and burning of Fort Clinton, and the saving of as much of the timber as could be used in the construction of a new fort at Stillwater.

Accordingly the governor, despite the pleas and protests of the Albany delegation, sent up orders to burn the fort and remove the cannon, stores, etc. On the 14th of October following he laid before the council the aforesaid orders together with a statement that the fort was in ashes, and that the cannon, etc., were removed to Stillwater.⁴⁹ But there was no fort built at Stillwater to take its place.

Fort Clinton must have been dismantled and the torch applied about October 5th, 1747, when the men, we may suppose with alacrity, turned their backs on the whole business, and left Saratoga to its pristine solitude, to savage beasts and the still more savage men from the north. The governor said in excuse for his orders that he had learned that the only persons interested in having a fort there were the Schuylers and a few others who wanted it as a protection for their wheat fields.⁵⁰ When he made this statement he seems to have forgot those Commissioners who came to plead, in behalf of Albany and English prestige with the Indians, that the fort be preserved and regarrisoned. Hence the act of the governor smacks far more strongly of personal spite than of solicitude for the public treasury and the public safety.

At the end of November, 1747, Sieur de Villiers, at the

⁴⁹ Council Minutes. Vol. XXI.

⁵⁰ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. VI., p. 630.

head of a troop of seventy Indians and French, while out on a foray, visited Saratoga and were greatly surprised to find Fort Clinton in ashes. They describe it as about 135x150 feet in size; that twenty chimneys were still standing; and that the well had been polluted.⁵¹

Thus Old Saratoga and her forts seem to have been doomed to hard luck, judging from the records. No story of heroic deeds done by the garrisons, has been preserved, if they were ever performed. Their neglected and half-starved condition seems to have sapped their energies, and quenched their fighting spirit.

That the Albany people were right in their contention with the governor that the destruction of Fort Clinton would hurt the standing of the English with the Six Nations is evidenced by the following.

In a General Colonial Council, held at Albany, in July, 1754, to confer with the Indians, and endeavor to retain their allegiance, King Hendrick, the great sachem of the Mohawks, in his speech said this among other things:

“’Tis your fault, brethren, that we are not strengthened by conquest; for we would have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us. We had concluded to go and take it, but we were told that it was too late, and that the ice would not bear us; instead of this you burnt your own forts at Saratoga, and run away from them, *which was a shame and a scandal to you.* Look about your country and see! you have no fortifications, no, not even to this city. ’Tis but a step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of your doors!’⁵²

⁵¹ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. X., pp. 147, 148.

⁵² Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. VI., p. 870.

The treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, in May, 1748, put an end to King George's war and gave the colonists a breathing spell, but not for long.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

THERE could be no permanent peace on this continent so long as both the French and English laid claim to all the vast territory west of the Alleghany mountains, and so long as their representatives here were each straining every nerve to make good that claim.

The war which afterwards became general in Europe and was known there as the Seven Years War, began here in 1754 with a blow struck for English sovereignty in western Pennsylvania by a detachment led by a young man, with an old man's head on his shoulders. That young fellow was George Washington by name, and only twenty-two years old at the time.

England had begun to realize the value of her possessions here, and decided to do more for her colonies now than she had in the last war. Three separate expeditions against the French were to be organized; one led by General Braddock against Fort Du Quesne; one by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, against Niagara, and the third, directed against the very vitals of French power in Canada, must of necessity take the ancient war trail up the Hudson against Crown Point, and Quebec, if possible.

The latter was entrusted to the command of William Johnson, then a colonel of militia, and a great favorite with the home authorities. The army was made up of

five thousand provincials from the neighboring colonies, and collected at the ancient rendezvous of councils and armies, Albany. There too, that brave old Mohawk Sachem, King Hendrick, assembled his dusky warriors. Early in July six hundred pioneers went forward to clear the path to Lake George, and build at the Great Carrying place a fort. This they called Fort Lyman, in honor of the brave General who was leader of the party. Soon afterwards Johnson renamed it Fort Edward, in honor of the Duke of York and brother of George III. On the 8th of August, General Johnson, as he was now called, started from Albany, and the whole war-like procession passed through Old Saratoga about three days thereafter.

Since Saratoga figured so little in the war of 1754-'60, we shall give but a brief resume of the thrilling events of that period, referring the reader to the many excellent histories of that epoch.

Johnson's mission was the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. He reached Lac St. Sacrament in due time, and at once took the liberty to rechristen it Lake George, in honor of his sovereign, and, as he said, "an assertion of his king's right of dominion there." Having reached there he showed no anxiety about proceeding farther. The French were more aggressive, and since their foe did not come to them they would go to him and attack him on his own ground. Baron Dieskau marched around by South Bay and Fort Edward and attacked Johnson on the 8th of September. Johnson was able to beat him off, yet with great loss to both sides. Johnson failed to follow up his victory, while the scare of it was on the enemy and spent his time building a fort at the south end of the lake instead of

taking the one at the north end, which he was sent to do, and which he might have done, had he been a Baron Dieskau. He named it Fort William Henry. "I found," he said, "a wilderness, never was house or fort erected here before." So that campaign failed of its object, but it gave the provincials a higher and truer notion of their own fighting qualities. Philip Schuyler took a hand in the battle of Lake George as a captain of the Albany County Militia. While nothing specially belligerent occurred at Old Saratoga during the French and Indian war, yet the Johnson MSS. contain a few items which throw some light on the material conditions here at that time.

General Johnson, on his march to Lake George, found the roads in a most wretched state. After the battle we find him taking steps to repair them, and improve the means of communication with Albany. In his letters and orders concerning these we find that Saratoga figures quite prominently. Early in October, 200 men were set to work on the road between Albany and Saratoga; a large number were also set to similar work between Saratoga and Fort Edward on the east side. His soul was mightily vexed at the tardy manner in which his orders about these roads were obeyed, and at the way in which the soldiers "sojered." As Saratoga was the point where the supply trains crossed the river, much attention had to be given to the ways and means of the crossing. It appears that the point where his army crossed on the advance was not the best possible; for in a report to Governor Hardy, dated, Camp Lake George, 7th October, 1755, he says among other things: "Mr. Wraxall informs me that at the north end of an Island, opposite the House of Killaen DeRidder's, if the

Bank on the west side is dug away & a waggon passage made, the Ford of the River is not above Horse knee High,⁵³ whereas thro the usual Ford, unless the waggons are uncommonly high the water generally comes into the wagons by which means the Provisions have been often damaged."⁵⁴

Again as the river could be forded only at low water, provision had to be made for crossing at high water, and also for defending the passage against an enemy. A large scow boat was therefore built for ferrying the wagons, etc., over the Hudson. This ferry-boat was built near the house of one Hans Steerhart on the west side of the river at Saratoga. A picked company of fifty men from a Massachusetts regiment was posted here, during the fall of 1755, to guard the supplies and crossing, and to help the wagoners, etc., over.⁵⁵

CAMPAIGN OF 1756

Another expedition was planned the next year with the same objective, but under a different commander. This time it was led by General John Winslow. He started from Albany, about the first of June, with a force of 5,000 men. He built a fort at Stillwater, and honored it with his own name. But he, like so many of his predecessors, marched up the hill and then marched down again, with nothing accomplished. It is to be presumed, however, that the General and his

⁵³ The river bank has been greatly worn away on the west side at this point, but remains of the old dug-way are still visible, and stock yet pass down it for water. From this point the ford passed to the north end of the island, thence north-east to where the line fence between Mrs. S. Sheldon's farm and Walsh's reaches the river.

⁵⁴ Johnson MSS. Vol. —, p. 45.

⁵⁵ Johnson's MSS Vol. III., pp. 131, 158.

warriors bold had a pleasant summer outing on Lake George, at the public expense. Philip Schuyler, disgusted with the inaction and incapacity of the leaders, left the service at the end of this campaign, but afterward served in the quartermaster's department.

CAMPAIGN OF 1757

The next campaign against Crown Point was under the leadership of the most spiritless, sneaking poltroon that had yet led the soldiery of these colonies to inaction and disgrace, General Daniel Webb.

The efficient and stirring Montcalm, leader of the French forces, organized an expedition the same year against Fort William Henry. He was before it with 6,000 men, 2,000 of which were Indians, by the 2d of August. The fort was defended by two thousand two hundred men under Colonel Monroe. Webb, with an army of four or five thousand, was at Fort Edward doing nothing. And when called upon for help virtually refused to give it, and traitorously allowed Fort William Henry to be besieged and captured without lifting a finger to give it succor. For example, Sir William Johnson, having obtained Webb's reluctant consent, started with a body of provincials and Putnam's rangers for the relief of Monroe, when, after proceeding a few miles Webb sent an aide and ordered him back.

Webb was clearly a coward. On hearing of the fall of Fort William Henry, he at once sent his own baggage to a place of safety far down the Hudson, and would have ordered a retreat to the Highlands had it not been for the timely arrival of young Lord Howe, who succeeded in assuring him that he was in no immediate danger. And Lord Loudoun, the commander-in-chief

in America for that year, and who, if possible, was a bigger coward than Webb, was utterly paralyzed by the news, and grimly proposed to encamp his army of twelve or fifteen thousand men on Long Island "for the defense of the Continent"! The French could not possibly muster over seven thousand men in all Canada at the time.

It was during this campaign that an incident occurred on the east side of the river opposite Saratoga of some local interest. It is related by the Sexagenary, whose father was one of a body of wagoners returning from a trip to Fort Edward. He says: "The main body of wagoners returned by the west side of the river, but my father and his friends kept on the east side, and when they reached the Battenkill, they discovered on crossing the bed of the creek the wet print of a moccasin upon one of the rocks. They were confident from this circumstance that hostile Indians were near them, and that one must have passed that way but a few minutes before. To go back seemed as dangerous as to go forward. They therefore pushed on towards the river [at the ford] but had scarcely reached its bank when the distinct report of a musket in their rear brought with it the confirmation of their fears. When this firing was heard, a detachment from an escort guarding the wagoners on the west side came across to ascertain the cause. On searching, they found in a garden belonging to a Mr. De Ruyter [De Ridder] the body of a dead man, still warm and apparently shot while in the act of weeding, and then scalped."

It was during this year, 1757, that the authorities again decided to adorn Old Saratoga with another fort. It was built on the north side of Fish creek in the angle made by it with the river, and named Fort Hardy, after

the then royal governor of the province. It was by far the largest and most elaborate of the forts built here, covering some fifteen acres. It could have been of no practical use at that time further than a shelter for troops and a depot for supplies, because it was commanded by hills on two sides within easy cannon shot.

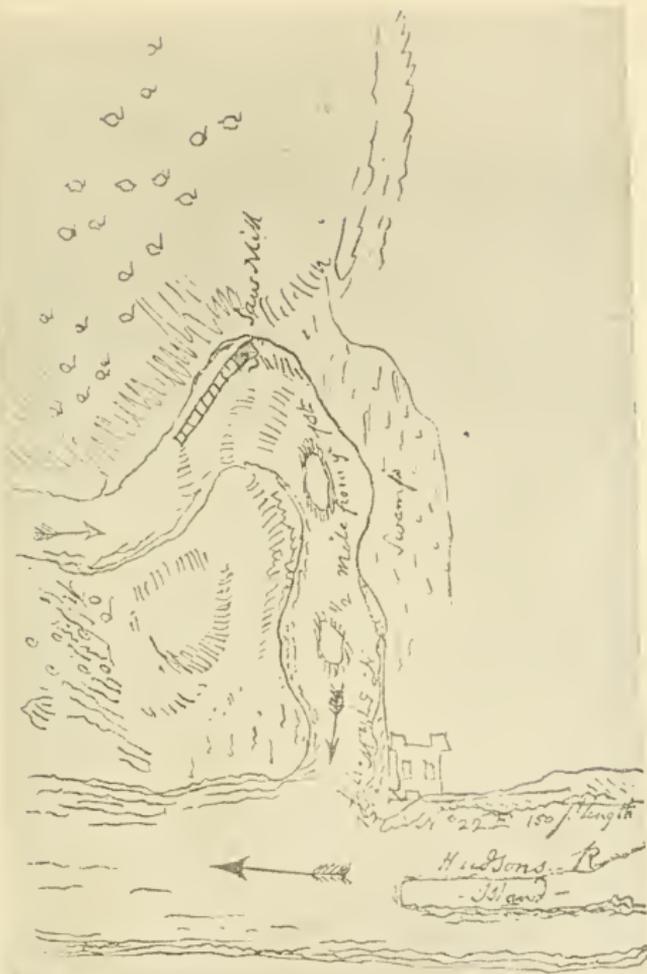
Concerning this fort as with old forts Saratoga and Clinton, there has been much diversity of opinion. One historian argues from its bad strategical position, and the silence of all Revolutionary writers (as he claimed) regarding it, that there was no such fort here. Others affirm that it was built by the French under Baron Dieskau, in 1755. As to Baron Dieskau the fact is he never got further south with his valiant Frenchmen than the vicinity of Fort Edward. He himself, however, was brought down after the battle of Lake George in a boat, wounded and a prisoner of war.

This dispute over Fort Hardy furnishes a good test case on the value of silence, on the part of contemporary writers, as tending to prove the existence or non-existence of an object, custom, or alleged fact. Here it is shown to be untrustworthy. The writer rummaging about the State Library in Albany came across the official journal of the engineer who laid out and superintended the building of the fort.⁵⁶ It was Colonel James Montessor, chief of the Royal Engineers in America. He was commissioned to build forts the same year at Albany, Schenectady, Halfmoon, Stillwater, Fort Edward and Fort George on Lake George. Fort George, like Fort Hardy, was of no value for defense, and for a long time was known as Montessor's Folly. He began work on Fort Hardy

⁵⁶ Collections of the N. Y. Historical Society. Vol. XIV.

August 19th, 1757. For some time he had considerable trouble to get help, but on the 7th of September he had about a hundred men at work and six teams. There had been a sawmill on the north side of the creek, about where the gristmills are now located, but the provincial soldiers had torn it to pieces for firewood, so this work had to be done with whip-saws run by hand power. The stone was drawn from the hills, presumably from the ridge west of the old north burying ground, as old residents say loose stone was most plentiful there. The brick was brought down from Fort Edward in bateaux, or scow boats. Thus early Fort Edward had its brick yards. The timber was procured up the river on both the mainland and islands, floated down and dragged out with ox teams. The first buildings finished were three storehouses, these were placed on posts three feet high to preserve the stores from water in case of inundation. The capacity of the three was 2,596 bbls. of flour. The barracks for the soldiers were 220 feet long; the officers' rooms were 14x16 feet in size. One day the mechanics all struck work because the commissary tried to put them off with a gill of rum instead of their regular ration. The trouble was that "the jug was out."

This journal discloses another particularly interesting fact, that there was already standing in that same angle, north of the creek, a blockhouse, or stockaded fort. Its size and location, as also that of the afore-mentioned sawmill, appear in the adjoining pen-sketch map reproduced from the journal. It took several days to tear it down. When and by whom this fort was built is a mystery. The silence of the writers, however, does not establish its non-existence.



MONTRESSOR'S SKETCH MAP OF FISH CREEK
AND OLD BLOCK HOUSE

CAMPAIGN OF 1758

The army mobilized for the campaign of 1758 was the most formidable and imposing that had yet appeared on the American Continent. This also was put under the command of one of those chicken-hearted but titled incompetents which royalty persisted in selecting for positions of grave responsibility. This time it was General James Abercrombie. He led an army of 16,000 men up the old war path through Saratoga. It must have been a thrilling spectacle to see those gaily caparisoned warriors swinging along with measured tread to the skirl of the bagpipe and the more stirring music of fife and drum. The trains of supply wagons, ambulances, and the batteries of artillery must have seemed well nigh endless to the onlooker. One French scout counted 600 oxen in one drove that were being driven north to feed this army of British beef eaters.

Perhaps Lake George never served as a setting to so magnificent a pageant, as when, embarked in over 1,000 boats, with flags and pennants flying, this embattled column swept majestically over its crystal waters toward Ticonderoga.

But how great the change wrought upon this supposed invincible host in a single day of battle with the doughty Montcalm! Through bad generalship, or rather through the lack of all generalship, we see this splendid army defeated, shattered, and panic stricken, scuttling back to Fort William Henry with its boats laden with the dead and dying. In one of these was borne the body of the brave young Lord Howe, the very soul, and the acknowledged idol, of the whole army. On reaching the head of the lake, Philip Schuyler, now a major, whose deep affection he had won, begged and received

permission to convey the body of his hero to Albany, where he was buried in St. Peter's church. Of those who died from their wounds many were buried at Fort Edward, and some were buried here at Old Saratoga (Schuylerville), but all in nameless graves.

CAMPAIGN OF 1759

For the first time in her hundred years of occupancy, England selected as leaders for this year men who bore the semblance of generals—Amherst and Wolfe. Satisfactory results were soon apparent. With an army of twelve thousand, Amherst followed Abercrombie's line of advance, and within a week's time from landing at the foot of Lake George both Ticonderoga and Crown Point, for so long the dread and envy of the English, were in their possession. It is but fair, however, to state that owing to Wolfe's menace of Quebec, the garrisons at these forts had been greatly weakened. That same year the brave Wolfe captured Quebec, Canada's Gibraltar, and so all Canada became an English possession by the right of conquest.

CHAPTER X

THE REVOLUTION—THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

THE scope and purpose of this work will admit of nothing more than a glance at the reasons which led the colonies to declare themselves independent of the sovereignty of Great Britain.

There were but few people in England that knew much or cared much about America, and still fewer understood the Americans. The fact that they were colonists seemed of itself to reduce them to a lower plane racially than

themselves. The English behaved as though they thought the colonies were of use only to be exploited for the imperial glory and commercial profit of Great Britain. Their asserted right to self-government in matters local was a thing rarely known in England, and of course, could not be tolerated by her in the colonies. The royal governors had all fumed and fretted themselves into hysterics over the wilfulness and perversity of colonial assemblies. But so long as France was powerful here, England dare not attempt to thwart the will of her colonists too much; for she needed their assistance to maintain herself against the assumptions of her great rival. But when France was well out of the way, and England had a free hand on this continent, she at once began to assert her sovereign authority over her refractory subjects.

The Seven Years War had left her deeply in debt; she would make the colonies help her pay that debt through her Stamp Acts. She forgot that they had already borne the brunt of the conflict and the expense of that war in so far as it was waged in this country. Next she set about depriving the colonial assemblies of their inherent legislative rights. She began to interfere in matters of "internal police," and was rapidly moving toward placing the administration of all law and government in the hands of men responsible to no one but the Crown. All this without consulting with, or asking the consent of, the colonists. Her repeated acts of tyranny finally aroused the provincials to realize that they were in imminent danger of losing even the commonest liberties of an Englishman, and not till they found that all other efforts at obtaining redress had failed, did they resort to the arbitrament of arms.

EVENTS OF 1775 AND 1776

The final break came and open hostilities began in 1775. This was a year big with success and inspiration to the patriots. It was the year of Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill; the important capture of Ticonderoga, and Crown Point; the invasion of Canada, with the capture of St. Johns, of Chambly, and of Montreal by Montgomery under Schuyler, a campaign which, if it had received a decent and patriotic support from the citizenship and soldiery of the north, and something more substantial than resolutions from Congress, would have gained Canada for the Union, but which ended in defeat on the last day of December, and the irreparable loss of the noble Montgomery, who breathed out his heroic life with the expiring year under the granite walls of Quebec. The end of this year also witnessed the siege of Boston under Washington, with good auguries of success.

The year 1776 brought some more good cheer at its beginning, with the expulsion of the British from Boston, the successful defense of Fort Moultrie in South Carolina, and the Declaration of Independence. This in turn was followed by disaster, in the ejection of the Americans from Canada, the defeat of Arnold on Lake Champlain, and also of Washington at the battle of Long Island, the loss of Forts Washington and Lee, and finally the chase of Washington by the British across New Jersey into Pennsylvania. But as a breath of life to one well nigh asphyxiated, came the unlooked-for smashing of the Hessians at Trenton; the outgeneralling of Cornwallis and whipping of the British at Princeton, and the virtual expulsion of the enemy from the Jerseys in the

end of that year. And all this by that same Washington after Howe and Cornwallis had solemnly and unanimously agreed that he had just received his quietus at their hands.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777

After the evacuation of Boston by the British, General Burgoyne, who was present during its investment, went to Canada and served under Carleton during 1776, but becoming dissatisfied with his position he returned to England. There, closeted with King George and his favorite ministers, they planned a campaign which was certain, as they thought, to put an end to the war and reduce the colonies to submission.

The scheme was to get possession of the Hudson valley, sever the colonies, paralyze their union, and so, holding the key to the situation, conquer them in detail.

To this end an ample force under St. Leger was to move up the St. Lawrence to Oswego, strike into New York from that point, capture Fort Schuyler, (formerly Fort Stanwix, where Rome, N. Y., now stands) and sweep down through the Mohawk valley to Albany. Another army under Howe was to move up the Hudson from New York toward Albany; and the third under General John Burgoyne was to take the old route from Canada south through Champlain and down the Hudson, when they would all concentrate at Albany to congratulate each other, and divide the honors and the spoils. This admirable plan was adopted and its execution was placed in the hands of Burgoyne, under the title of Lieutenant-General.

FIRST PERIOD OF THE CAMPAIGN

Early in June Burgoyne started from Canada, animated with the highest hopes and brightest anticipations. Should he succeed, as no doubt he would, he expected to find a title of nobility among other good things in his Christmas stocking. Certainly all things looked favorable for his success.

His was not the largest, but it was the best appointed, army that had yet appeared on these shores.⁵⁷ It was made up of British, 4,135; Germans, 3,116; Canadians, 148; Indians, 503; total, 7,902. Later the 22d regiment joined him.

Some of those regiments, both British and German, were ancient and honorable organizations, and were veterans of a hundred battles. Europe could furnish no better soldiers.

On the 1st of July, Burgoyne was before Ticonderoga, which he at once invested. Through lack of sufficient force, General St. Clair, the commandant, felt obliged to abandon his line of communication with Lake George, likewise "the old French lines" just west of the fort. He had not over 3,500 men all told, while the works were so extensive that it would require ten thousand to man them properly. Of course, the British seized the points of vantage at once and made the most of them. Still with his meagre force and contracted lines, St. Clair felt confident that he could keep the enemy at bay for a respectable while, and time was valuable just then to Schuyler, who was laboring to collect an army and get up reinforcements to him.

⁵⁷ "The brass train that was sent out on this expedition was perhaps the finest, and probably the most excellently supplied as to officers and men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of an army."—*Lieutenant Digby's Journal*, p. 226.

The British, once on the ground, the practiced eye of that veteran artillerist, General Phillips, noticed a mountain across a stretch of water to the south which appeared to be unoccupied, and which looked to be within range of the fort. He had it inspected and the officer reported it to be within easy cannon shot, and though difficult of ascent, still accessible. One night's labor built a road and put several cannon on the summit of the mountain, which the British then christened Mount Defiance; an appropriate name under the circumstances, and the one it still bears. When daylight came, on the 5th of July, the garrison was paralyzed with amazement to see the crest of that mountain blossoming with red-coats, and frowning with a brazen battery. A council of war was called immediately which decided that the works were now untenable, and that nothing was left but evacuation. That night, as soon as it was dark, the sick and the non-combatants, together with as much of the stores as they could load on the bateaux, were sent to Skenesborough (Whitehall) with an escort of six hundred men under Colonel Long. Having spiked the guns, the army quietly withdrew at 2 a. m. on the 6th over the floating bridge that connected Ticonderoga with Fort Independence, and started for Castleton, Vt. But the accidental, (some say intentional) burning of a house on the Fort Independence side betrayed their movements to the British, who straightway prepared for the chase. On the second day they caught up and the unfortunate battle of Hubbardton, Vt., was fought.

In the morning after the evacuation the British fleet, having broken through the barriers placed in the lake between Ticonderoga and Independence, gave chase, caught up with and captured several

of the flying galleys and bateaux. The Americans, having set fire to everything valuable at Skenesborough, hastened toward Fort Ann. A detachment of British regulars under Colonel Hill pursued the fugitives the next day far toward the fort. The morning of the 8th, having heard of their approach, Colonels Long and Van Rensselaer sallied forth and gave battle to Hill, in a narrow pass a little to the north-east, and would have annihilated him had it not been for the, to him, timely arrival of a body of Indians, and the failure of the American ammunition.⁵⁸ Fort Ann was immediately evacuated and burned; but the British retiring to Skenesborough (Whitehall). The Americans returned and occupied the post till the 16th.

WAS SCHUYLER TO BLAME FOR THE LOSS OF
TICONDEROGA?

Consternation and dread filled the hearts of the patriots over this unlooked-for disaster. They had fondly nursed the delusion that Ticonderoga was a veritable Gibraltar, impregnable; and this apart from the question as to whether it was properly manned or no. As soon as the direful news spread through the country, a storm of indignation and obloquy broke over the heads of Generals Schuyler and St. Clair. "They were cowards," "they were traitors," "they had sold their country for naught," "they had been bribed by silver bullets shot into the fort by Burgoyne." John Adams, in Congress,

⁵⁸ In the action at Fort Anne the Americans lost their colors, "a flag of the United States, very handsome, thirteen stripes alternate red and white, [with thirteen stars] in a blue field, representing a new constellation."—*Digby's Journal*, p. 234.

This fact found in a British journal is especially interesting as connected with the early history of Old Glory.

said: "We shall never gain a victory till we shoot a General." This disaster gave occasion to the enemies of Schuyler to resurrect their old prejudices formed against him before the war in connection with the boundary disputes between Massachusetts and New York, and the quarrels about the New Hampshire Grants, in which Schuyler had taken a prominent part officially. They set to work to poison the minds of the delegates to the Continental Congress against him, and magnify the virtues of General Gates, who improved the opportunity to openly declare that New York had been wholly in the wrong in those disputes.

It is worth our while to tarry a bit and glance at the principal facts that we may the better know how much blame to lay at Schuyler's door. First, as to his failure to occupy Mount Defiance; that, no doubt, was a fatal error of judgment; but that astute Frenchman, Montcalm, and Generals Wayne and St. Clair, and Gates himself, had all been in command there, and yet none of them had thought Sugar-loaf, as they called it, any cause for serious apprehension, though their attention had been called to it by a competent engineer. Abercrombie's failure to see it in 1758 cost him 2,000 men and defeat. A case exactly analogous occurred at Boston the year before. The British General Howe neglected to fortify Dorchester Heights, Washington seized it, planted his batteries, and the British forthwith evacuated Boston before he fired a shot at them from that point.

Again: Why the insufficient garrison at Ticonderoga and the general lack of preparation in his department? Because, after he had labored all the previous winter, heartily seconded by Washington, to put his department

in a proper posture of defense, General Schuyler found, when spring opened, that he had accomplished but a fraction of what he had resolutely set out to do. And all this first, because of the apathy of the populace, and of most of the authorities to whom they unremittingly appealed. Again, because Gates and his friends through their intrigues had effectually blocked his efforts with the Continental Congress and various Legislatures by traducing his character, and minimizing his abilities. Again; because of the desertion and chronic insubordination of most of the militia organizations; because of jealousies among his subordinates, and rascality and sluggishness among contractors and commissaries. Again, because troops ordered in time by Washington to reinforce him, reported themselves for service weeks too late.

Meanwhile Gates and his satellites had been more successful in their winter's work in that they procured an order early in the spring summoning Schuyler to appear at the bar of Congress, and give an account of himself, the outcome of which was that he was vindicated of all charges and restored to his command with increased power. On his arrival in Albany, June 3d, after an absence of two months, he found that Gates, who had been sent to take his place, had attempted little or nothing in the way of preparation. At once he threw himself into the work with renewed energy because rumors were now rife of the advance of Burgoyne from the north, and of St. Leger from the west, but he was met on every hand with the same old indifference and languor, though he warned the authorities of possible disaster unless they should awake to the gravity of the situation.

Schuyler was in Albany in a fever of expectancy and impatience, waiting for the four Massachusetts regiments which Washington had ordered up to his support from Peekskill, and as each day failed to bring them he finally fixed on the 6th of July as the last day of his wait; for he must be away to the north, if only with the few hundreds of militia at hand. But the Continentals failed to appear. So instead of the 10,000 he had called for, he had not more than 5,500 poorly-equipped, half-clad men and boys with which to meet Burgoyne's splendid army of veterans.

Just at daybreak on Monday, the 7th of July, he answered a loud knock at his door, when a messenger thrust into his hand a despatch announcing the evacuation of Ticonderoga. Of course, he was stunned by the news, not being able to account for the suddenness of the move, but he was not utterly cast down as were those around him, even though he knew that a storm of public fury awaited him. Immediately he mounted his fleetest horse and started for the north. At Stillwater and Saratoga he dispatched messengers everywhere announcing the dreadful tidings coupled with urgent pleas for help.

SCHUYLER BLOCKS UP BURGOYNE'S PATHWAY

Schuyler reached Fort Edward the morning of the 8th, where he immediately issued orders for obstructing Burgoyne's advance from Skenesborough, and for the driving off all cattle, horses, etc., and the removal of all wagons out of the reach of the enemy. Brigades of axemen were sent to fell trees across the roads, to break up bridges, and destroy the corduroy roads that led through that savage, swampy, wilderness that stretched from

beyond Fort Ann to Fort Edward. So effectually was this work done that on some days Burgoyne could not advance over a mile. In all this Schuyler showed himself a master of what in military parlance is called practical strategy, which often proves more effective than pitched battles in vanquishing an enemy. As a result of this work it took Burgoyne twenty days to get his army from Whitehall to the Hudson, which time was greatly recovered their spirits; it also enabled them to most valuable to the patriots, for during this period they bring away their war material and provisions from Fort George and transport it down the river. Among other things Schuyler saved 40 unmounted cannon. These were left at Saratoga (Schuylerville), where he ordered carriages to be made for them. For this purpose his mills located here were kept running night and day sawing up the stock of oak logs which had been collected for the building of bateaux for transport. Some of these cannon afterward defended the American camp at Bemis Heights, and were later used in the investment of Burgoyne at Saratoga (Schuylerville).

STAMPEDE OF THE INHABITANTS

The patriotic inhabitants on the upper Hudson and near the lakes, seized with panic at the fall of Ticonderoga and the sudden appearance of Burgoyne's Indians, hastily gathered together their most valuable effects, loaded them on carts or wagons, or the backs of horses, and in some cases leaving everything behind, started pell-mell for Albany, or Manchester, Vt., whichever was the more convenient. In their panic, and dread of the Indians, whom they fancied were right at their heels, they often forgot the ordinary claims of humanity. Those

on horseback or in wagons paid no heed to the pleas of tired mothers, trudging along afoot, trying to escape with their children. "Everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost" was the code that too often ruled in those fugitive crowds.

CHAPTER XI

SECOND PERIOD OF THE CAMPAIGN

WHEN Burgoyne reached Skenesborough on the 7th of July he found himself in a most happy frame of mind. Thus far it had seemed as if all that was necessary for him to do was to pass along, jar the trees, and the ripened plums of success fell of their own weight into his lap. So elated was he that on the 10th of July he ordered a Thanksgiving service to be read "at the head of the line, and at the head of the advanced Corps, and at sunset on the same day, *a feu de joie* to be fired with cannon and small arms at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Skenesborough and Castleton." That was indeed a bright day in Burgoyne's career, but alas! for him, he never again saw as bright a one. Here ended the first period of the campaign, as he calls it in his "State of the Expedition."

He retained his headquarters at the house of Colonel Skene, after whom the place was named, till his men had cut their way, under a broiling July sun, through a tangled mass of tree-trunks and tree-tops, harassed night and day by exhaustless and persistent hordes of punkies and mosquitoes. When the road was cleared Burgoyne advanced with his host to Fort Ann on the 25th, and on the 28th caught his first sight of the Hud-

son. Then he congratulated himself and his men that their troubles were over; but they had hardly begun. The first unpleasant discovery which he made was that Schuyler had so effectually stripped the country of food and forage that sufficient supplies could not be secured for love nor money; he was therefore obliged to halt there till stores and provisions could be brought from Canada by the way of Fort George and Skenesborough, over wretched roads made worse by incessant rains.

THE JANE MCCREA TRAGEDY

While Burgoyne was encamped between Fort Ann and Sandy Hill there occurred an event, which he perhaps thought trifling, but, which wrought as powerfully for his defeat as any other one thing in the campaign. That was the murder of Jane McCrea, between Fort Edward and Sandy Hill, on the 27th of July. She was a beautiful young woman visiting a Tory family at Fort Edward, and was engaged to a young Lieutenant of Provincials in Burgoyne's army, named David Jones. She and Mrs. McNiel, with whom she was staying, were seized and carried from the house (still standing in Fort Edward) by some Indians, part of a band who were in pursuit of an American scouting party which had fled to their camp, near the old fort. She was placed on a horse and while on the way to General Fraser's camp north of Sandy Hill she was shot accidentally by a party sent to their rescue, and then scalped by one of the Indians. This is one version of the story. Another version is, that the savages who had been sent for her by her lover quarreled over the promised reward on the way, and in their rage one of them shot her from the horse she was riding and scalped her. Her beautiful

tresses were soon seen up at the camp dangling from the belt of the Wyandotte Panther. It was generally believed at the time that her murder was wholly the work of Burgoyne's Indians. The news of this shocking tragedy drove her lover frantic, while her story, with many embellishments, flew everywhere and aroused the people to a sense of their personal danger as nothing else had been able to do. Every man felt that his daughter, wife, mother, or affianced might be the next victim of the murderous savage. This occurrence served mightily to arouse hatred against the British for employing savages against their kith and kin. The result was that scores and hundreds who had been wavering before seized their muskets, hastened to the nearest recruiting station and volunteered for service against Burgoyne and his Indians.

SCHUYLER'S MOVEMENTS

While Burgoyne was eager to get himself and his army out of Skenesborough and over to the Hudson, Schuyler, seated at Fort Edward, was just as eager to block his way and prepare a desert waste there for his reception, and this he executed with such a measure of success as we have already seen. On the 12th of July, General St. Clair joined him at Fort Edward with some two thousand men, the remnant of the army which he brought away from Ticonderoga. The same day Nixon brought up his brigade from Peekskill, but instead of the four regiments ordered by Washington, he had only 575 effectives, many of whom were mere boys.

Schuyler now found himself at the head of some four thousand five hundred troops, about fifteen hundred of which were raw militia. Here the calumnies so indus-

triously circulated against Schuyler and St. Clair began to produce their effect on the army, and this together with anxiety about ripening harvests, and the total lack of shelter for the troops, engendered so much discontent and insubordination, that the militia deserted faster than he could supply their places. In this desperate situation Schuyler appealed afresh to the Committees of Safety and other authorities in New York, and the Eastern States, to Congress, and to Washington for more men with which to stem the tide of invasion, but little help came to him; Congress was notably apathetic, and for more than a month hardly so much as lifted a finger for his aid and encouragement. Washington alone appreciated the situation. He wrote urgent letters to the militia generals in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, pointing out the danger to their homes and country should Burgoyne be left unopposed. He also sent General Arnold to Schuyler's assistance, and part of Glover's brigade, but he could do nothing further, as his own heart and hands were full with Howe and his erratic movements in the vicinity of New York. And yet in this hour of deepest gloom Schuyler writes to the Committee of Safety of New York: "I thank God I have fortitude enough not to sink under the load of calumny that is heaped upon me, and despite it all I am supported by a presentiment that we shall still have a merry Christmas."⁵⁹ He surely proved himself to be a prophet that time.

Fort Edward possessed no fort during the Revolution, only a camp, and this being badly situated for defense, Schuyler withdrew the main body of his army on the 22d of July, four miles south to Moses' Creek, where Kosciusko, the noted Polish engineer, had laid out an

⁵⁹ Collections of the N. Y. Historical Society. Vol. XII.

intrenched camp. Here he prepared to dispute Burgoyne's passage; but the army became so dispirited and so depleted by desertion, that he, with the approval of his officers, ordered a retreat further down the river, and nearer the source of supplies. The movement began on the 30th. His right wing under St. Clair took the west side of the river, and his left, under Arnold, kept down the east side. The movement was accomplished by easy stages, the army destroying the roads and bridges behind them. They reached Fort Miller on the first day's march, thence to Saratoga on the 31st of July. Here the army lay for two days. Schuyler's mills, and other buildings, located here, were full of public stores; these had to be removed. General Schuyler and his staff spent all the first of August in the saddle looking for a suitable place hereabouts to entrench and make a stand against the enemy, but failing in their quest, he ordered the retreat to be beaten on the 2d, and on the 3d the army reached Stillwater. Here he selected a place and began to entrench, and while here made the house of Dirck Swart (still standing), his headquarters.

It was at Stillwater, where he received news on the 8th of August, of the bloody battle of Oriskany, fought by the brave Herkimer and his Tryon County militia on the 6th, four miles east of Fort Schuyler (Rome). And from here he sent Benedict Arnold, on the 13th, with a detachment for the relief of Fort Schuyler. This was contrary to the wishes and advice of most of his generals, who feared to weaken the army; but Schuyler resolutely assumed all responsibility, sent Arnold with a picked corps and Fort Schuyler was relieved, and St. Leger, with his Indians and Tories, abandoning their camp were sent scurrying to the northward. And thus Burgoyne

was hopelessly crippled in the right arm of his strength, while patriot hearts thrilled with new hope in consequence, and Schuyler's little army was gladdened by the assurance of a speedy accession to its strength.

Schuyler having concluded that Stillwater was untenable with his present force, he withdrew to the "sprouts of the Mohawk," a place at that time admirably adapted for defense. General Winfield Scott on visiting this spot eighty years later, pronounced it the best strategic position to be found for the defense of Albany and the lower Hudson against the north at that time.

MOVEMENTS OF BURGOYNE

Returning to the north we find that Burgoyne remained in the vicinity of Sandy Hill and Fort Edward till the 14th of August, when he moved down with his center to Fort Miller. Brigadier General Fraser, commanding his right wing, had already been sent forward, and on the 13th we find him camped at the Battenkill. Following him came Colonel Baum, at the head of his 521 dragoons, his Indians, and Tories, equipped for the expedition against Bennington, Vermont. Its purpose was to provide Burgoyne with a lot of much needed horses for cavalry, artillery, etc., besides other supplies, all of which had been stored there for the use of the American army.

THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON

Baum moved up the Battenkill, from what is now Thomson's, or Clark's Mills, on the 13th of August, but he went to his own death and the destruction of his corps of gallant men. He got within about six miles of

his prey when he found his further advance blocked by a body of resolute militia under the redoubtable Stark. Baum sent back for reinforcements and prepared for battle. He was furiously attacked on the 16th; the Colonel himself was mortally wounded and his force completely cut to pieces before Colonel Breyman arrived with the expected succor. When Breyman appeared on the scene he found himself confronted by a body of men flushed with victory and reinforced by Colonel Seth Warner and his regiment of 500 Green Mountain Boys. After a desperate fight, in which his force was practically annihilated, Breyman escaped with a remnant of sixty or seventy men under cover of the night. Burgoyne lost nearly a thousand men in that affair, a thousand stand of arms, besides four valuable pieces of brass artillery. So this venture, from which so much was expected, brought far more foreboding than forage to the royal army waiting by the Hudson. Burgoyne was now badly crippled in the left arm of his strength. Lieutenant Digby, in his *Journal* (page 286) says, the British officers all carried sober faces after Bennington.

La Corne St. Luc, the leader of the attack on Fort Clinton in 1747, had command of most of the Indians in this expedition. He, with many of his Indians, was with Colonel Baum when attacked, but the battle had hardly opened when they ran. Nor did they stop running when they reached the camp of Fraser at the Battenkill, but hastily collecting their effects they all, with the exception of about eighty, started at night for Canada.⁶⁰

The two battles of Oriskany and Bennington caused the hitherto depressed Americans to believe that what they had done with Burgoyne's lieutenants they could no

⁶⁰ Hadden's *Journal*, p. 134. Digby's *Journal*, p. 253.

doubt do with Burgoyne himself, so they began flocking to the standard of Schuyler at the mouths of the Mohawk, and that of General Lincoln at Manchester, Vt.

SCHUYLER RELIEVED BY GATES

Some days before these happy events at Bennington, and Fort Schuyler occurred, General Schuyler had been called to Albany on business. On the morning of the 10th of August, as he was about to mount his horse and return to the army, an officer approached and handed him a dispatch. After breaking the seal and reading it an observant onlooker would have noticed an involuntary compression of the lips, a flush of passion crimson his face, and a gleam of righteous anger shoot from his darkling eyes. The dispatch was a resolution of Congress relieving him of his command. Oh, the injustice of it! Was this his reward for all the unselfish toil, wasting anxiety, and limitless sacrifices he had been making for his country? Well, so it seemed.

Smothering his resentment he dismissed the messenger courteously, and started for Stillwater. His first impulse was to abandon the army immediately, but an imperious sense of duty together with the urgent appeals of his officers, prominent among whom were the New England generals, decided him to remain and serve till the coming of his successor, whose name was then unknown. We may judge, however, that he was not much surprised when General Horatio Gates, the appointee of Congress, arrived in camp on the evening of the 19th of August to relieve him. He was received by Schuyler with every mark of distinction, who immediately turned over to him all useful papers, and offered to render him every assist-

ance in his power; but Gates met every offer coldly and repaid his courtesies with studied slights.

Gates arrived just at the turning of the tide in Schuyler's ill fortune; in time to reap what he had been sowing; to profit by the successes at Fort Schuyler and Bennington and by all the delays and harassments he



SCHUYLER RESIGNING HIS COMMAND TO GATES

had inflicted upon Burgoyne. Morgan and his corps of incomparable riflemen, ordered up by Washington, appeared about this time, and the troops set free by the late victories began to pour in. Moreover Congress had freely voted to Gates every aid and authority which had been asked by Schuyler but studiously withheld. Schuy-

ler finding himself totally ignored withdrew to his home at Albany, resolved however, still to serve his country in some way during this crisis. And this he did zealously and efficiently. Thus he put his own nobility of character and largeness of heart in startling contrast with the littleness and coarseness of Gates.

ESTIMATES OF SCHUYLER'S CHARACTER

The appearance of such exalted characters from time to time serves to hold us to our faith in the perfectability of human nature, and should stimulate all who contemplate them to cultivate the grace of unselfishness. Daniel Webster once said to General Schuyler's grandson, Geo. L. Schuyler: "When a life of your grandfather is to be published I should like to write the preface. I was brought up with New England prejudices against him, but I consider him as only second to Washington in the services he rendered to the country in the war of the Revolution." Said Gov. Horatio Seymour in his Centennial speech: "We could not well lose from our history his example of patriotism and of personal honor and chivalry. We could not spare the proof which his case furnishes, that virtue triumphs in the end. We would not change, if we could, the history of his trials. For we feel that they gave luster to his character, and we are forced to say of General Schuyler that, while he had been greatly wronged, he had never been injured."⁶¹ And Fiske, perhaps the greatest of living American historians, says of him: "No more upright and disinterested man could be found in America, and for bravery and generosity he was like the paladin of some mediæval romance."

⁶¹ Memoir of the Centennial Celebration of Burgoyne's Surrender, p. 60. W. L. Stone.

BURGOYNE'S ADVANCE DELAYED BY BENNINGTON

It had been Burgoyne's purpose to move right on toward Albany as soon as Baum should return with the spoils of Bennington, and he had already given orders to that effect. Indeed General Fraser had actually crossed the river on a bridge of rafts and boats August 14th, and spent a day or two with his men at Saratoga,⁶² but the disaster to Baum and Breyman obliged a change of plan. In the meantime his bridge had been swept away by a freshet. Fraser with his corps got back to their entrenchments north of the Battenkill the best way they could on small boats and rafts, while the whole army was detained an entire month, till supplies could be hauled down from Lake George. This, through lack of sufficient draught animals, was a herculean task, men being forced to do the work of mules and oxen.

This respite gained for us by the battle of Bennington was most opportune, because it afforded the needed time for recruiting and thoroughly organizing the American army, which was now progressing so rapidly at the "sprouts of the Mohawk."

Fraser threw his first bridge across the Hudson, somewhere above the State Dam at Northumberland, but finding a narrower and better place below the rapids constructed the next one there. It was a pontoon bridge, or bridge of boats, about 425 feet long, and its exact location is still marked by the cut through the bank on the west side, and the road excavated by the British down the east bank. The road is clearly visible from the new iron bridge, in the rear of the house of Mr. John A. Dix. Mr. Dix has very considerably left this historic road

⁶² Hadden's Journal, p. 137. Digby's Journal, p. 249.

intact, and also much of the breastworks thrown up by Burgoyne, behind which he placed a battery to defend the crossing. Amid so much spoliation and vandalism which has been exhibited hereabouts it is refreshing to feel that there are some among us possessed of a proper reverence for such monuments of the heroic past.

For a month after Bennington the British lay strung along the river from Sandy Hill to the Battenkill. Fraser was at the Battenkill, Burgoyne and Phillips with the center at Fort Miller or "Duer's House," and Riedesel, with the left, at Fort Edward and Sandy Hill.

BURGOYNE BEGINS HIS FINAL ADVANCE

On Saturday, the 13th of September, the crossing began under the lead of Fraser. Colonel Breyman followed immediately to cover his left wing. Next, on the 14th, came Burgoyne and Phillips with the train of artillery. To expedite the crossing the 20th regiment forded the river instead of crowding the bridge. Burgoyne took up his quarters in the Schuyler mansion that night.

The Marshall house and one other, standing where the old parsonage of the Reformed church now is, were then the only dwellings north of the creek. The military barracks built by the Americans in the northwest angle formed by Broadway and Spring street, were also standing. Fort Hardy was then a ruin. The heights above Broadway were nearly all densely wooded at that time; hence it was extremely hazardous for the advance guard to separate itself from the main body, cross the river, and camp in a position difficult of defense.

That the British fully appreciated this we are assured from the fact that after Burgoyne was over, and while

his center was crossing, he and his generals inspected the heights and decided where each division should be posted in the event of an attack. In fact the advance or right wing camped for two nights on the heights in three columns, in order of battle.⁶³

On the 15th Riedesel with the left wing crossed, when, at once, Burgoyne severed his communications with Canada by breaking up the bridge. The advance was beaten and the invading host forded the Fishkill and started forth to find the enemy posted somewhere in the woods to the south. Singularly enough Burgoyne had not provided himself with scouts, or if he had them, did not use them; hence we have here the unique spectacle of an invading army groping its way through an unmapped wilderness for an enemy, native to the soil, without sending out feelers or using its eyes to ascertain their exact whereabouts.

The British advanced in three parallel columns, one by the river along the flats, the artillery and baggage by the main road, and the right wing a half mile or more to the west through the woods. Sometimes it was difficult for the columns to keep up communication with each other. In addition to this a flotilla of bateaux, loaded with supplies, floated down the river and kept abreast of the columns. That day the army advanced only as far as Dovegat⁶⁴ (Coveville) and encamped.

⁶³ Digby's Journal, p. 267.

⁶⁴ Dovegat is a word whose etymology has been much in dispute. That it is of Dutch origin is not doubted. The writer consulted Mr. Arnold J. F. van Laer, State Archivist at Albany, a cultured linguist, and a native of Holland. He concludes that it is a corruption of the Dutch *duivenkot*, equivalent to the English dove-cote. It must have been a favorite haunt or nesting place of wild pigeons. Burgoyne, and Hadden, and Digby, all wrote it Dovegot.

While stationed here, Burgoyne occupied the house shown in the picture, and which was but recently torn down.⁶⁵

The army remained at Dovegat all of the 16th, while several regiments personally conducted by Burgoyne, and accompanied by some two hundred workmen, started forth to repair bridges, and learn the whereabouts of the enemy. So rapid was their movements that they covered nearly three miles that day; they saw no enemy, but heard the sound of beaten drums in the woods to the south calling the men to arms. On the 17th the army advanced and took up its position at Sword's house.⁶⁶

While the British army was lying at Sword's house, a party of soldiers and women strolled out in front of the encampment a few hundred yards to dig some potatoes in a field. While thus engaged a party of Americans swooped down upon them, killed and wounded quite a number, and carried away some twenty of them as prisoners.⁶⁷

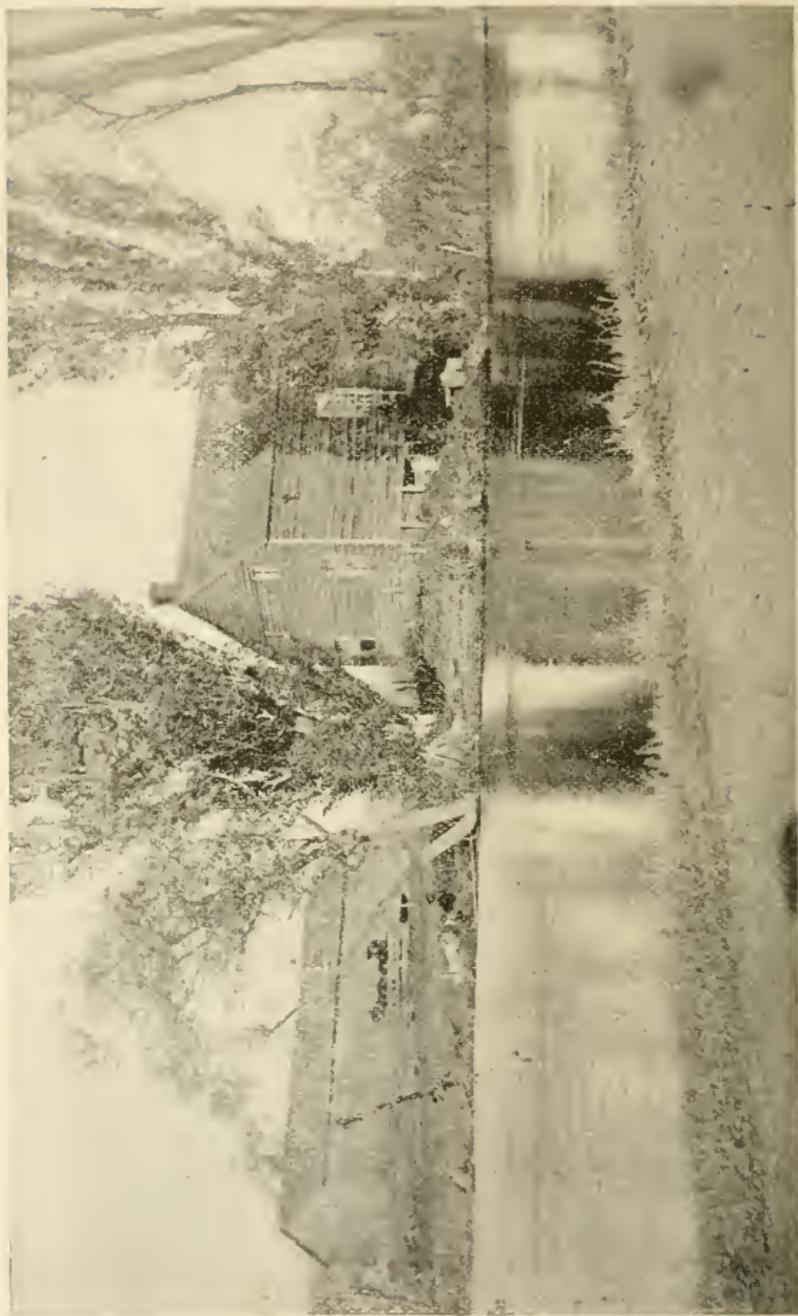
MOVEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY

Soon after he had superseded Schuyler, Gates felt himself strong enough to start northward to dispute

⁶⁵ When this photo was taken the house stood on the north side of the canal, but when the canal was straightened in 1888 it was left on the south side. Its exact location was just west of the south abutment of Mr. Charles Sarle's canal bridge. The large elm tree, still standing, was perhaps two rods from the south-east corner of the house. The barns in the photo stood on the north side of the present canal.

⁶⁶ The site of Sword's house is on the south side of a spring brook, about fifty yards west of the canal. To find it, take the private road running westward, just north of Searles' ferry, cross the canal bridge, and on a knoll a little to the left you will find a slight depression, at the foot of a higher hill. That is where Sword's house once stood. Mr. Robert Searles told the writer that his father tore it down, and that the hall was so large that he could turn a yoke of oxen around in it.

⁶⁷ Hadden's Journal, p. 160.



THE DOVECAT HOUSE

the advance of the enemy. This movement began on the 8th of September. He first settled upon Stillwater as the place where he would make his stand and began intrenching there, (some of these works still remain); but the finding by Kosciusko of a more defensible position at Bemis Heights decided him to advance to that point, and there, on the 13th, he began to intrench himself.

Gates' right rested on the river, his left on the high ground to the west. The whole camp was fortified by strong batteries and breastworks as well as by the natural defenses of ravines and thick woods. A deep intrenchment ran from the foot of the hills to the river at Bemis' tavern, and was defended at the river end by a battery. From here a floating bridge was thrown across the river, defended on the east side by a *tete du pont*. A similar work was thrown up farther north at Mill creek. Several redoubts crowned the hills facing the river. A strong earthwork was constructed on the high knoll at the northwest angle of the camp, a mile or more west of the river. This was thrown up around a log barn, which was strengthened by a double coating of logs and named, after the patriotic owner of the property, Fort Neilson. In addition to breastworks the left and front on the high ground were made difficult of approach by an abatis formed of trees felled with their tops outward. The defenses on the high ground were not completed till after the first battle. A flank intrenchment was also begun on a knoll a little west of Fort Neilson.

Midway between Wilbur's Basin and Bemis Heights Mill Creek empties into the canal. Following up this creek you will enter first a wide and deep ravine which soon turns northward. This again separates into three principal ravines which lead toward the west. The one

called the Middle Ravine was recognized as the dividing line between the hostile camps after the first battle. This figures largely in all descriptions of the movements and incidents connected with the battles.

Arnold had command of the left wing till after the first battle. Under him were Morgan and Poor, with their headquarters in the Neilson house, still standing. Gates reserved to himself the command of the right, with his headquarters at Bemis' tavern. When he gave command of the right to General Lincoln he moved up on the hill into a house owned by Ephraim Woodworth, whose site is now marked by a granite tablet. A fairly correct idea of the lay of the land, the plan of the camps, and relative positions of the hostile armies, may be had by reference to the map.

CHAPTER XII

BATTLE OF THE 19TH OF SEPTEMBER

EARLY on the 19th of September, Lieutenant-Colonel Colburn of the New Hampshire line with a small scouting party posted themselves in the trees across the river from Sword's house to observe the British camp. From there they counted no less than eight hundred tents, but observed also something of far more consequence, namely, a movement among those tents that strongly indicated an advance. This being immediately reported to Gates, he put his men on the alert.

The surmise of the scout proved to be correct. Burgoyne had resolved to advance, ascertain the position and strength of his enemy and outflank him if possible. The movement was made in three columns. The right

under General Fraser, composed of the 24th regiment, the English and German grenadiers, a body of Provincials and Canadians, and a light German battalion with eight six pounders under Colonel Breyman took the road west from Sword's house till about where the Quaker Springs road now runs, and there turned south. The center column, led by Burgoyne, composed of the 9th, 20th, 21st, and 62d regiments, with a body of Indians and Canadians, took the same road for half a mile west, when he turned southeast till he struck the Wilbur's Basin ravine, crossed it and then turned west. Burgoyne's advance was very slow and laborious, as many obstructions had to be removed and several bridges thrown across ravines for the passage of his artillery. The intention was to form a junction with Fraser near the head of the Middle ravine and then attempt to turn the American left. Phillips and Riedesel, with the balance of the army, were to follow the river road to within a half mile of the American works and there await the report of three minute guns as notice that the aforesaid junction had been made, when they were to threaten the American right until Burgoyne had executed his flanking movement, then the advance was to be general.

Gates, although apprised of these movements by his scouts, had planned to await the enemy from behind his defenses. But Arnold, divining the intention of Burgoyne, urged Gates to permit him to go out with his men and attack the enemy before he could reach the camp, urging as arguments that if beaten in the attack they would still have their intrenchments to fall back on, and that if Burgoyne should get near enough to the camp to use his artillery, it would be impossible to hold their

position. This brings to mind Napoleon's dictum, "It is a maxim of the military art that the army which remains in its intrenchments is beaten." If that be correct then Arnold here proved himself to be the better general.

Finally Gates yielded so far as to permit Morgan, and soon thereafter Dearborn, with their rangers and riflemen, to go out to observe and harass the enemy. About 12:30 P. M. they met Burgoyne's Indians and Canadians under Major Forbes scouting near the Freeman cottage. These were driven back, with considerable loss, every officer in the party being either killed or wounded. Morgan's men eagerly pursued and unexpectedly struck the main body in the edge of the woods, northeast of the cottage where, after a stubborn contest, they were routed and badly scattered in the woods. Morgan, though greatly disconcerted by this accident, was soon able by the vigorous use of his "turkey call" whistle to rally his men about him. Having been strengthened on his left by the arrival of Cilley's and Scammel's regiments, they renewed the attack about one o'clock, but with indifferent results.

Burgoyne formed his line of battle in the woods on the north side of a clearing owned by one Isaac Freeman. It contained 12 or 15 acres and extended east and west about sixty rods. This clearing, called Freeman's farm, was the principal scene of the action of the 19th. Fraser with the right wing had reached the line of low hills just west of Freeman's farm when the action began. After the termination of the first skirmish, and when the contest had been vigorously renewed, Fraser wheeled to the left for the purpose of flanking Morgan and the other regiments when, to his surprise, he encountered, in the woods

near the head of the Middle ravine, Arnold with several additional New York and New Hampshire troops intent on separating Fraser from Burgoyne. It is needless to say that the dogs of war were unleashed at once, and a furious struggle ensued. The two most fiery leaders in either army were here personally opposed to each other. Arnold and Fraser both seemed ubiquitous, rushing hither and yon in the thick of the fray, giving orders and encouraging their men. The battle here raged for more than an hour, and Fraser seemed in imminent danger of being cut off from the main body when Colonel Breyman with his German grenadiers and a few pieces of artillery appeared on the field and assailing Arnold on his right forced him back. But he retired only to catch breath and regain his strength, for soon being reinforced by two regiments of Connecticut militia he returned to the field, and then the battle raged all along the line. Fraser having formed his junction with Burgoyne, the chief struggle was now on Freeman's clearing and in the open woods just to the west. The Americans attacked the British furiously and drove them into the woods on the north side, where they were rallied, and charging with bayonets drove the Americans back across the same field into the cover of the woods to the south, where they in turn recovered themselves and hurled the redcoats back with great slaughter. Morgan's sharpshooters, posted in trees, did terrible execution among the British officers as well as the rank and file. Both sides exhibited the most desperate valor, and bloody hand to hand contests were frequent, especially about the British field battery, which was taken and retaken at every charge, but the Americans, having no horses nor matches could neither get them off the field nor fire them. Gates, having been

persuaded to reinforce the tired patriots, about five o'clock sent out Learned's brigade, which renewed the fight with such spirit that Burgoyne, finding himself on the perilous edge of defeat, sent to his left for reinforcements. Riedesel responded promptly and reaching the field about dusk, struck the American right, folded it back, and posted Pausch's battery on the hill south of Freeman's cottage, which was served with such efficiency that the patriots were obliged to give way and retire. Though nearly dark Riedesel and Fraser were on the point of following up their success when Burgoyne, neither energetic nor wise enough to improve his advantage, called a halt, to the infinite disgust of both generals and common soldiers. Thus twice during that eventful day the Germans saved the British army from rout, and yet Burgoyne scarcely mentioned them in his dispatches home.

Of course Burgoyne claimed a victory, but like Pyrrhus' victory over the Romans, another such would prove his ruin.⁶⁸ Indeed it had been an unusually fierce and sanguinary struggle. On the British side the 62d regiment was nearly cut to pieces. It had three or four ensigns or color bearers killed; only sixty of the four or five hundred men who entered, with five or six officers, reported for duty, and thirty-six out of forty-eight men in Captain Jones' artillery company were either killed or wounded. The Americans lost in killed and wounded three hundred and nineteen, or ten per cent. of those engaged; the British lost six hundred or twenty per cent. of those actually engaged. And as to the question of

⁶⁸ It was a dear bought victory, if I can give it that name, as we lost many brave men . . . and no very great advantage, honor excepted, was gained by the day.—*Digby's Journal*, p. 273.

victory: Since it was Burgoyne's purpose to advance and not simply to hold his ground, while Gates' purpose was to hold his ground and check the advance of Burgoyne, the reader can judge for himself to whom the palm should be given. Moreover, the Americans learned that they were a match for the dreaded British regulars, which discovery was worth a victory in itself to them.

Burgoyne issued orders for a renewal of the conflict in the morning. Accordingly, ammunition and rations were served early to the men, but a dense fog hindered any movement at the appointed hour. While waiting for it to clear up, Fraser observed to Burgoyne that since his grenadiers were greatly fatigued after yesterday's fighting, it might be well to wait till the morrow, when they would be in far better spirits. Acting on this suggestion, Burgoyne countermanded the order and the men returned to their quarters. The Americans, apprised of this proposed movement by a deserter, manned their works and awaited the attack in dread suspense. Had Burgoyne attacked that morning, as he had planned, in all probability he would have carried Gates' works; for the American stock of ammunition was practically exhausted, and several days elapsed before the magazine was replenished.⁶⁹

The following night a dispatch from Sir Henry Clinton reached Burgoyne to the effect that he was about to move up the Hudson from New York to his aid. This decided Burgoyne to remain where he was until the expected diversion should cause either the withdrawal or diminution of Gates' army.

⁶⁹ It was due to General Schuyler's diligence in collecting powder and lead that this deficiency was supplied. For this purpose he had the leading stripped from the windows and roofs in Albany, and sent up to the army.

WHY HOWE FAILED TO CO-OPERATE WITH BURGOYNE

For many years after the event, students of the Revolutionary war, in both England and America, cogitated much over Howe's failure to execute his share of the carefully draughted plan of campaign. The question was, Why did he not advance up the Hudson simultaneously with Burgoyne's descent from the north? Clinton's attempted diversion in Burgoyne's behalf was afterward learned to be wholly on his own motion. This served rather to complicate than to clear up the problem. But a memorandum left by Lord Shelburne, and quite recently brought to light by Lord Edmund FitzMaurice, has solved the mystery. A number of orders, dispatches, etc., duly prepared, awaited the signature of Lord George Germaine, the colonial secretary. Among these were the orders to Howe giving explicit directions for co-operating with Burgoyne. Lord George called in the office on his way to attend some social function or fox hunt down in Kent. He hastily signed the several papers, but when he came to this particular one, on glancing it over, he refused to sign it on the ground that it was not "fair copied." Always impatient of anything that interfered with his plans, the fairer "copy" must await his signature until he returned from his holiday. But when he came back the matter had wholly slipped his mind. And thus the document on which hung the fate of an army, and the retention of a vast empire, got pigeon-holed, where it was discovered, unsigned, long after Saratoga had tipped the balances in favor of American liberty and independence. Thus Howe being left to his own devices, planned a campaign to the south, placed Clinton in charge at New York, and left Burgoyne to shift for himself.

Those of us who believe that the Almighty Ruler takes a hand in the affairs of men and nations, reckon this to be a conspicuous proof that he favored this people in their mighty struggle for a freer and nobler life. Indeed this whole campaign is full of astonishing Providences for those who have an eye to see them.

Gen. J. Watts De Peyster, an acknowledged authority in military science, in a letter to the writer, says: "The American success of 1777 was due to 'the strategy of Providence' and not of men, as Kingsley puts it: certainly not to Gates, who was another of those English military phantasms, as he demonstrated in South Carolina in 1780."

THE INTERIM BETWEEN THE BATTLES

The morning after the battle the field presented a most distressing spectacle. The dead lay everywhere like autumn leaves in the forest. Some were still clutching their weapons, or the grass and twigs they had grasped in their death agonies, and some were mangled beyond all recognition. Shallow trenches were hastily dug on the field, into which the bodies were flung (each one of them no doubt was most precious and sacred to loved ones far away) and thinly covered with earth. Here note one of the horrors of war: a violent death, far from friends; and burial like a beast in a nameless grave. The writer has heard old residents on these battle-fields tell of seeing human bones turned up by the plow and skulls of grenadiers adorning stumps in the field.

As soon as Burgoyne had resolved to await Clinton's coming, he moved the major part of his army up on the heights, occupied a portion of the late battle-field and began the construction of a fortified camp. The right

embraced the Freeman farm, and also took in a hill about sixty rods to the northwest of the Freeman cottage, since called Breyman's hill.⁷⁰ On this a strong redoubt was erected; another was placed about fifteen rods north of the cottage, and the spot is now marked by a granite tablet; another, called the Great Redoubt, was located on the knoll a few rods southwest of the old battle well. This defended the southwest angle of the camp. Others were located at proper intervals from this point east across the plain to the crest of the bluffs near the river. These redoubts were connected by strong intrenchments. The interval between Breyman's hill and the next redoubt to the southeast was defended by a breastwork of two parallel tiers of rails laid up between perpendicular posts and the space between filled with earth. At Wilbur's Basin, a pontoon bridge was thrown across the river, its eastern end was defended by a *tête du pont*. This bridge was intended for the use of foraging parties chiefly. On each of the three hills just north of Wilbur's Basin a redoubt was erected. The middle one was called the Great Redoubt. In addition to these defenses, breastworks of logs were thrown up at intervals along the brink of the Middle ravine as cover to the advanced pickets. Burgoyne had his hospitals and magazine on the river flats below the hills. These were defended on the north by a line of breastworks. His headquarters were with the center on the high ground.

Burgoyne's army was disposed as follows: Fraser's brigade held the right wing; Breyman, with his Brunswickers and artillery, defended the hill with its redoubt at the extreme right; next to him were the Indians and Canadians, behind the rail breastworks; next to the left

⁷⁰ The residents in the vicinity now call it Burgoyne's hill; a misnomer.

was Earl Balcarras, with the light infantry, and the English grenadiers. These manned the other redoubts on the right. Fraser's left rested on a ravine running north and south across the camp ground, and east of the Freeman cottage. Hamilton's brigade occupied the center at Fraser's left, while Riedesel, with his Germans, held the left wing on the plateau overlooking the river; a part of the 47th regiment and a few German companies defended the hospitals, magazines, etc., on the river flats. It is interesting to note, by the way, that the 47th took part in the battle of Bunker Hill.

Thus the hostile camps, each the counterpart of the other, were separated by the distance of a cannon shot only. Indeed so close together were they that the British officers in their journals say they could often hear talking and shouting in the American camp, while the sound of chopping and the rattle of chains were daily reminders that the Americans were strengthening their defenses. But the thick woods effectually screened each camp from the other.

Though well able to defend himself against attack, yet Burgoyne and his men were allowed precious little peace or rest. He was subjected to constant harassments at the hands of the vigilant Americans. His advanced pickets were frequently gathered in by venturesome parties, his scouts and messengers were waylaid and captured, and no foraging party dare move abroad without a strong guard. Packs of wolves attracted by the thinly covered bodies of the slain hovered about the camp and rendered the nights hideous with their dismal howls. No soldier slept without his clothes. No night passed that the officers were not up and abroad, repeatedly, to assure themselves against surprise, while everybody was

invariably up and equipped for action an hour before day. Thus two weary weeks had passed and yet no further tidings came from Clinton. Meanwhile the stock of provisions was running perilously low.

Gates though urged to attack, wisely declined, feeling that time was fighting for him more efficiently and cheaply than could bristling battalions and belching batteries, in that his own army was augmenting, while Burgoyne's was decreasing, and furthermore, a thing of far weightier import was the fact that gaunt famine could not be far away from his belligerent neighbor across the ravine to the north.

On the other hand the American camp was not altogether a heavenly place. For some time Gates had been treating Arnold with growing coolness, for reasons that were not apparent to the ordinary observer. Colonel Brockholst Livingston, writing from the camp at Bemis Heights, says it was because Arnold was an avowed friend of General Schuyler. But after the battle of the 19th this coolness rapidly developed into an open rupture. Gates in his report to Congress of the battle did not so much as mention the name of Arnold, nor did he speak of Morgan approvingly, though it was notorious that the checking of Burgoyne's advance was wholly due to Arnold's judgment and skill, ably seconded by Morgan. And when Arnold called his attention to this slight, Gates, assuming lofty airs, treated him as an impertinent meddler. Arnold, not being specially gifted with docility and sweetness of spirit, resented this, when high words ensued, which resulted in Gates depriving him of his command. General Schuyler, replying to a letter from Colonel Richard Varick, then in the camp, says: "I wonder at Gates' policy. He will probably be indebted to

him for the glory he may acquire by a victory; but perhaps he is so very sure of success that he does not wish the other [Arnold] to come in for a share of it." This conjecture of Schuyler's soon developed into a fulfilled prophecy. At the earnest entreaties of the officers of his division, Arnold pocketed his insults and determined to remain with the army till after the next battle, which then seemed imminent.

CHAPTER XIII

BATTLE OF THE 7TH OF OCTOBER

BURGOYNE, not having heard anything from Clinton, and his commissariat running low, called a council of his principal officers on the evening of the 5th of October, laid the situation before them, and asked their advice. Riedesel advised a hasty retreat to Fort Edward; Fraser conceded the wisdom of this, but was willing to fight; Phillips declined to give an opinion. Burgoyne, strongly averse to a retreat, decided to ascertain first, the position and strength of his enemy, by a reconnoissance in force; and second, learn if the high ground to the west commanded Gates' camp; then if he should think it unwise to attack, he would retreat. With a body of fifteen hundred picked men, and two twelve pounders, six six pounders, and two howitzers, he set out from the camp between ten and eleven o'clock on the morning of the 7th. Generals Phillips, Riedesel and Fraser accompanied Burgoyne to assist in the reconnoissance. They moved toward the southwest about two-thirds of a mile and deployed in an open clearing and sat down while a detail of drivers

and batmen from Fraser's brigade foraged in a wheat field. The place is the southern slope of the rise of ground just north of the Middle ravine. The highway running from Quaker Springs to Bemis Heights passes through the left of the center of the British position. The light infantry, under the Earl of Balcarras, were stationed on the right, Riedesel, with his Germans and a battery of two six pounders under Captain Pausch, held the center; Majors Ackland and Williams, with the grenadiers and most of the artillery, were posted on the left. General Fraser with five hundred grenadiers had occupied some high ground in advance with the intention of stealing around to the left of the American works and holding their attention while the main body could gain the high ground to the west of the American camp.

Gates having been apprised of the movement, sent out his adjutant, Wilkinson, to ascertain if possible its purpose. Having posted himself on the high knoll at the turn of the road, about fifty rods south of the Middle ravine bridge he saw the enemy arrayed in the fields over against him, and several officers posted on the roof of a house, with glasses, trying to get a glimpse of the American works. He reported that Burgoyne apparently offered battle. Gates said, "what would you suggest?" Wilkinson replied, "I would indulge him." Then, said Gates, "order out Morgan to begin the game." After a little consultation it was decided that Morgan should make a circuit to the west and strike the enemy in flank. General Poor, with his brigade, was to assail their left flank, while Learned's brigade and Dearborn's riflemen were to engage the center and left. Sufficient time was to be given Morgan to reach his position before the attack should begin. General Poor having formed his line of

battle ordered his men not to fire till after the first volley from the enemy.

At about 2:30 P. M. the advance began, and Poor's men descended into the ravine with perfect coolness and ascended the opposite bank with the steadiness of veterans. They were well up and were nearing the enemy before a shot was fired, when suddenly a tremendous volley of musketry and cannon thundered forth, but the pieces being elevated too much, the missiles of death harmed only the tree tops in their rear. At once they rushed forward in open order and forming again on their flanks, they literally mowed down the grenadiers with their accurately aimed volleys. Then charging, they closed with the enemy, and a desperate hand to hand conflict ensued; the combatants surging back and forth as each for the moment gained an advantage. The most furious contest, however, raged around Williams' battery. One of the twelve pounders was taken and retaken no less than six times, till finally Major Williams was taken prisoner, and Major Ackland, of the grenadiers, was seriously wounded, when the men, seized with panic through the loss of their leaders, abandoned the contest and fled. Colonel Cilley at this moment leaped upon the much disputed gun and having "sworn it true to the cause of America," turned it upon its late defenders.

About the time the action began on the right, Morgan having discovered Fraser in his advanced position, managed to gain the ridge to the west and then rushing down upon him like an avalanche, compelled him to retire to the main body; then by a quick movement to his left he soon placed himself where he could flank the British right, and then struck with such tremendous force as to fold them back and compel Balcarras to change front.

Almost simultaneous with Morgan's flank attack, Dearborn with his men leaped the fence and charged their front with such effect as to force them to give way, but Earl Balcarras, their skilful and intrepid leader, rallied and formed them again behind a second fence, where they held their ground for a little time; but being overborne by numbers and skill in the use of the deadly rifle, they soon broke into disorderly retreat.

But where is Arnold all this while? Arnold of the quick eye and lightning action; Arnold the thunderbolt? Why, he is being held in leash by the will of the jealous Gates. There deprived of all command he is pacing the ramparts of Fort Neilson like a caged lion. He hears the roar of battle; his ear catches the shouts of the combatants, but half a mile away, and the trumpet tones of command. A passing breeze brings to him a whiff of the battle's smoke. That, sir, is his native element; it kindles a raging fire in his veins; his soul is in his face; his eyes are ablaze; all the instincts of his nature urge him thither. He has asked Gates to allow him to serve as a volunteer in the ranks, but has been refused. The stress is too great for his unruly spirit. Breaking through all restraint he mounts his splendid bay, rushes through the sally port and is off for the scene of action in a trice. Suspecting his intention, Gates dashes off a dispatch ordering his instant return, and giving it to Major Armstrong, bade him deliver it to him at once "lest he should do some rash thing."

Once on the field Arnold took in the situation at a glance, and putting himself at the head of a detachment of Learned's brigade, he directed them in a furious charge against the Germans at the center; but being stoutly repelled by them again and again, he finally in a

charge, which he personally led, forced himself through their lines closely followed by his men. Their lines thus broken, they retreated in confusion. Meanwhile Major Armstrong had been trying to fulfil his commission, but Arnold, divining his errand, managed to keep out of his way, till finally his course becoming so erratic and perilous, Armstrong decided to await a less hazardous occasion.

But let us glance at the struggle from the British standpoint. Burgoyne was evidently disconcerted by the suddenness and vigor of the American attack. Fraser having been forced back from his advanced position, put in where he could be of the most service. Nor was there any lack of opportunity. Under the withering fire and tremendous pressure of the American attack, the lines were being constantly broken. Fraser on his splendid iron gray charger rushed fearlessly here and there rallying and animating the men and directing their movements. When the right wing was broken and in danger of being cut off, Burgoyne ordered Fraser to form a second line to cover and reinforce them. This movement was executed with such energy that Morgan's men were effectually held in check. The falling back of both wings uncovered the center, but the Germans stubbornly held their ground. It was at this juncture that Arnold's desperate charge forced them into disorderly retreat. Fraser noticing their peril, hastened to their relief with the 24th regiment, which soon brought order out of chaos. Indeed wherever Fraser appeared everything seemed to prosper for King George, for the men believed in him and would follow him anywhere. Morgan, who was directly opposed to his brigade, noticing that the contest seemed to be wavering in the balances, called for a few of his best sharpshooters and directing their attention

toward the enemy, said: "That gallant officer on the gray horse is General Fraser; I admire and respect him, but it is necessary for our cause that he should die—take your station in that clump of trees and do your duty."⁷¹ But a few minutes had elapsed when the gallant Fraser fell mortally wounded, and was tenderly borne from the field by a detail of his brave grenadiers.

After the fall of Fraser, General Burgoyne assumed the personal direction and bravely exposing himself, tried to rally his men and stem the tide, but in vain; for at this juncture General Tenbroeck, at the head of his brigade of New York militia appeared on the field, and the British overwhelmed and beaten at every point, were forced to abandon the field and seek refuge in their intrenched camp, leaving nearly all their artillery in the hands of the Americans.

To avoid confusion on the part of the reader it will be well to note that the rout of the two wings and the center of the British force was nearly simultaneous, and that from the opening of this part of the contest to the retreat of the British only fifty-two minutes elapsed.

The British in retreating to their defenses were hotly pursued by the Americans, who assailed the front and entire right flank of Fraser's camp. The war demon raging in Arnold's bosom, not yet sated with blood and carnage, prompted him to lead portions of Glover's and Patterson's brigades in a dare-devil assault upon the

⁷¹ Some said that the suggestion to rid themselves of Fraser was made by Arnold to Morgan. Indeed it sounds more like Arnold than Morgan.

^{71a} Admitting that in the present state of the moral world, and under certain conditions, war is sometimes necessary and right, yet the deliberate singling out of a noble officer for death solely because he is a brave and powerful antagonist is *murder*, even though in the opinion of some the exigencies of the case seem to warrant it. That particular battle would have doubtless been won without such resort to specialized butchery.

Great Redoubt, which defended the southwest angle of the British camp. He drove the enemy through and beyond the abatis at the point of the bayonet, and then made desperate attempts to scale the works, but was finally beaten off with loss. This place proved to be a veritable "bloody angle" to the Americans, because in assaulting the redoubt they found themselves exposed to the fire of a strong battery shotted with grape and canister, and with little shelter to themselves save stumps and brush. Suffice it to say, they got out of that. Arnold seeing little chance for success here, recalled the men and then darted off alone northward toward the extreme British right in search of a more favorable opening. On his way he insanely urged his horse between the firing lines, but escaped unscathed. Meanwhile the redoubt on Breyman's hill, with its flanking breastworks, the strong defense of the British extreme right, had been thoroughly invested, but no assault had as yet been attempted. General Learned having just appeared on that part of the field with his brigade, asked Wilkinson, Gates' aide, who had surveyed the situation, where he could "put in to the best advantage." He replied that he had noticed a slack fire from behind the rail breastworks in the interval between Breyman's redoubt and Balcarras' camp, and suggested an assault there. On his way to the place, Arnold appeared on the scene, and putting himself at the head of the brigade (Arnold was of right Learned's superior officer) led the assault. It chanced that there were but few men to defend those works at the moment, as the Provincials and Indians stationed there had been withdrawn for scouting and other service before the battle, and had not yet been returned to their places; hence the slack fire from that point. The few that were there

finding themselves overmatched by the assaulting party, soon abandoned the position and fled. This left the flank of the Brunswickers in the redoubt exposed. Arnold following up his advantage, razed the breastworks, rushed with his men through the opening, struck them in the rear, and quickly possessed himself of that important work without serious opposition. The Germans who defended it fled precipitately, but left their brave commander, Colonel Breyman, behind in the works shot to death. Arnold had his horse shot under him by the parting volley and himself was wounded in the same leg that was hurt at Quebec. There in the moment of victory he was overtaken by Major Armstrong with the order for his return to camp "lest he should do some rash thing." He was now ready to go, but had to be carried. And he had done a very "rash thing," he had gone to the field without any official authority to fight, much less *to command*, and had contributed greatly to the winning of one of the most important battles in all history. A blessed thing it had been for his memory had that bullet gone through his heart instead of his leg.

Lieutenant Colonel Speht, then in Balcarras' camp, hearing of Breyman's disaster to the right, undertook to recover the position, but having trusted himself to the guidance of a supposed royalist, he with his four officers and fifty men, were delivered into the hands of an American detachment and found themselves prisoners.

The Americans thus possessed of this right flank defense, found it to be an open gateway to the whole British camp. The British recognizing the significance of its capture, knew that the game was up for them. But night put an end to this struggle, as it did to

the battle of the 19th of September. Both conflicts also ended on practically the same ground. The loss to the British in this battle in killed and wounded and missing was about seven hundred. The loss of General Fraser alone was equal to that of a small army; there, too, were Sir Francis Clerke and Colonel Breyman wounded to death, and Majors Ackland and Williams, and Lieutenant Colonel Specht prisoners in the hands of the Americans; the loss of these men was well nigh irreparable. The American loss was inconsiderable, there being only one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. Arnold was the only commissioned officer wounded. This wide diversity in casualties was chiefly due, no doubt, to the superior skill in marksmanship on the part of the patriots.

Colonel Wilkinson having occasion to pass over the field just after the British had retreated from their first position, records the following among other things which he saw: "The ground which had been occupied by the British grenadiers [where the battle was begun by Poor's brigade] presented a scene of complicated horror and exultation. In the square space of twelve or fifteen yards lay eighteen grenadiers in the agonies of death, and three officers propped up against stumps of trees, two of them mortally wounded, bleeding, and almost speechless. With the troops I pursued the flying enemy, passing over killed and wounded until I heard one exclaim, 'protect me, sir, against this boy.' Turning my eyes, it was my fortune to arrest the purpose of a lad in the act of taking aim at a wounded officer who lay in the angle of a worm fence. Inquiring his rank, he answered, 'I had the honor to command the grenadiers;' of course I knew him to be Major Ackland, who had been brought from the field

to this place by one of his men. I dismounted, took him by the hand and expressed hopes that he was not badly wounded. 'Not badly,' replied the gallant officer, 'but very inconveniently, I am shot through both legs; will you, sir, have the goodness to have me conveyed to your camp?' I directed my servant to alight and we lifted Ackland to his seat, and ordered him to be conducted to headquarters."

Note the difference in spirit exhibited by the generals in chief in these two battles. Whatever the failings of General Burgoyne, he certainly was not lacking in the grace of personal courage; for he exposed himself right in the thick of the fight in both battles, a target for sharpshooters, who succeeded in putting a ball through his hat, and tearing his clothes but failed to touch his person. Gates, on the other hand, never ventured within a mile of either field, nor even got a whiff of the smoke of battle, unless, perchance, there was a stiff wind from the north that day. Besides being a coward, Gates again showed himself to be the small minded, jealous ingrate, that we have already noticed, in that he barely mentioned Arnold or Morgan⁷² in his report of the battle, and meanly

⁷² Col. Daniel Morgan was living on a farm in Virginia when the news of the battle of Lexington reached him. He mustered a picked company of riflemen and marched with them to Cambridge, Mass., a distance of 600 miles, in twenty-one days. It was in the dusk of evening when Morgan met General Washington, who was riding out to inspect the camp. As they met, Morgan touched his broad-brimmed hat, and said: "General—from the right bank of the Potomac." Hastily dismounting, Washington "took the captain's hand in both of his, and pressed it silently. Then passing down the line, he pressed, in turn, the hand of every soldier, large tears streaming down the noble cheeks as he did so. Without a word, he then remounted his horse, saluted, and returned to headquarters."

At the close of the second day's battle, Gates approached Morgan with a proposition to desert Washington, and support his pretensions to the chief command; but was indignantly repelled by Morgan, who replied: "I will serve under no other man but Washington." For this reply Gates revenged himself by not mentioning his name in the report of the battle in which he rendered such distinguished services. On returning to Virginia he christened his farm SARATOGA. See Graham's *Life of Daniel Morgan*, also a sketch of Morgan by John Esten Cooke.

ignored the commander-in-chief, General Washington, in failing to report to him at all, which, to say the least, was a gross breach of official courtesy.

On one of his returns from the battle field with reports Wilkinson found that Sir Francis Clerke had been brought from the field badly wounded and was laid upon Gates' bed, and that while the conflict was still raging, and the outcome was yet trembling in the balance, Gates was engaged in a heated argument with Sir Francis over the merits of the questions at issue between England and America, apparently more anxious to win in that wordy contest than in the awful life and death struggle raging just outside his camp. Gates not being able to make his wounded prisoner yield to the force of his arguments, turned away in unconcealed disgust and said to Wilkinson: "Did you ever see such an impudent son of a b—h!" The whole scene discloses the real fibre of the man's character.

CHAPTER XIV

THIRD PERIOD OF THE CAMPAIGN—THE RETREAT .

BURGOYNE now finding his position on the heights untenable, withdrew his army during the night of the 7th to the low ground near the river, retaining, however, so much of the high ground as lies immediately north of the Wilbur's Basin ravine. His leading generals urged him to abandon his heavy artillery and unnecessary camp equipage and push with all speed for Canada. But, No! life on the way would not have been worth the liv-

ing without that precious park of artillery, his generous stock of liquors, and his packs of showy millinery; so all must be risked that they might be kept.⁷³

The ancients had a saying that, "Whom the gods mean to destroy they first make mad." While a commission of lunacy would hardly have voted General Burgoyne *non compos mentis*, yet for the next few days his behavior was so lacking in sound sense and vigorous action that had he been really mad he could not have compassed the ruin of his army with greater certainty or celerity than he did.

General Fraser died the next morning after the battle. Before his death he requested that he might be buried at 6 P. M. within the Great Redoubt on the second hill north of Wilbur's Basin. Such a request proves that General Fraser was not himself, or that he did not realize the situation when he made it. It was no time for Burgoyne to take counsel of sentiment, yet he resolved to fulfil the dying soldier's request to the letter; so he spent that, to him, precious day in preparing leisurely for retreat and in sharp skirmishes with the advanced lines of the Americans who had occupied his old camp ground. On this day the American General Lincoln, anxious to reconnoiter the enemy's position, and getting a little too close to the lines, was badly wounded in the leg by one of the British sharpshooters. Wilkinson writes that the same day (the 8th): "The enemy refused a flag with which I attempted, at every point of his line, to convey a letter to Lady Harriet Ackland from her husband, a prisoner in our hands."

⁷³ It took thirty carts to transport Burgoyne's personal baggage. No other officer in the army was allowed a single cart for his private use after they left Fort Edward.—See *Hadden's Journal*, p. 314.

DEATH OF FRASER

General Fraser died in a small farm house which at the time was occupied by the Baroness Riedesel, wife of the General of the German contingent. The house was located near the foot of the hill whereon he was buried. When the road was changed it was moved and stood on the present highway near the river till 1873, when it was torn down. The Baroness in her Memoirs gives a touching account of the death of the General.

On the morning of the 7th, before the reconnoissance and battle, Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, and Fraser had promised to dine with herself and husband, and she was still waiting for them when General Fraser was brought in on a litter mortally wounded. Afterward, when told that his hurt was fatal and that he had but a few hours to live, she heard him exclaim repeatedly and sadly: "Oh fatal ambition! Poor General Burgoyne! My poor wife!" Then he frequently begged the Baroness' pardon for causing her so much trouble, because he was laid in her apartment, and she was so assiduous in her efforts to add to his comfort. His brave spirit took its departure at eight o'clock A. M. of the 8th. The corpse having been washed and wrapped in a sheet, was laid on the bed and she, with her two children, was obliged to remain in the room most of the day.

Precisely at 6 P. M. he was carried by his beloved grenadiers to the spot he had selected for his sepulture, accompanied by the chaplain Brudenell, the generals and all other officers whose duties would permit them to be present. The Americans noticing the procession, and imagining that some hostile movement was on foot, opened a battery upon them. The balls flew thick and

fast, some of them tearing up the ground and scattering the dirt over the participants during the ceremony; but learning in some way that it was a funeral procession, they greatly honored themselves as well as the dead by substituting for the savage cannonade the solemn peal of the minute gun.⁷⁴

BURGOYNE DESCRIBES FRASER'S BURIAL

Burgoyne's eloquent description of the burial of Fraser is well worthy of a place here. He says: "The incessant cannonading during the solemnity, the steady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dust, which the shot threw up on all sides of him, the mute but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation upon the mind of every man who was present, the growing duskiness added to the scenery, and the whole marked a juncture of such character that would make one of the finest subjects for the pencil of a master that the field ever exhibited. To the canvas and to the pen of a more important historian, gallant friend, I consign thy memory. There may thy talents, thy manly virtues, their progress and their period find due distinction, and long may they survive, after the frail record of my pen shall be forgotten."

RETREAT AND DELAY AT COVEVILLE

After the burial service was fittingly closed, Burgoyne issued orders for the retreat, an order sadly at variance with his grandiloquent orders of three months previous that "this army must not retreat." He felt obliged to leave behind him his hospital, with some four

⁷⁴ This is one of those pleasant traditions which, though not fully authenticated, one likes to believe.

hundred sick and wounded, whom he commended to the tender mercies of General Gates and his insurrectionists. His confidence in their humanity was not misplaced.

It was nine o'clock before the army got under way. During the night a pouring rain set in, which, together with the inky darkness and the narrow road, permitted only a snail's pace movement. Burgoyne reached Dovegat (Coveville) about 4 A. M., the same hour that his rear guard left Wilbur's Basin, or two hours before day, when he ordered a halt. It was generally supposed that this was for the better concentration of the army, and that they would move on again shortly; but, to the unspeakable chagrin and disgust of the whole army, the delay was protracted till 4 P. M. before the retreat was resumed. This was a criminal blunder under the circumstances; for not only was much precious time lost but the continued rain rendered the roads so soft that further movement with his artillery and baggage train was well nigh impossible. As a result he was obliged to abandon most of his tents and camp equipage, which, by the way proved a most acceptable contribution to the comfort of the Americans, who promptly appropriated such as were not too badly damaged by the fire set by Burgoyne's orders.

During this interval of twelve hours the British army was strung along from within a mile of Saratoga to below Coveville, General Riedesel in charge of the advance and General Phillips bringing up the rear.

WOES OF THE BATEAUMEN

Burgoyne's bateaumen on their retreat up river were greatly annoyed by the American militiamen, who posted themselves along the bank to waylay them. An interest-

ing writer who, as a boy, native to this locality, followed up Gates' army after the battles "to see what was going on," relates the following incident in this connection: "A few bateaux and scows were passing along as I arrived—they were loaded with military stores, the baggage of the officers, and the women who followed their 'soger laddies.' A few well directed shots brought them to the bank. A rush took place for the prey. Everything was hauled out and carried back into a low swampy place in the rear, and a guard placed over it. When the plunder was divided among the captors, the poor females, trembling with fear, were released and permitted to go off in a boat to the British army, a short distance above. Such a collection of tanned and leathern visages was never before seen. Poorly clad, their garments ragged, and their persons war-worn and weary, those women⁷⁵ were objects of my sincere pity."^{75a}

LADY ACKLAND'S ADVENTURE

While Burgoyne was delaying at Dovegat, there occurred one of those incidents which display in the most engaging light the heroic fortitude of womankind under the most trying conditions, particularly in cases where her affections are involved. The heroine on this occasion was the Lady Harriet Ackland, before mentioned, wife of Major John Dyke Ackland, of the grenadiers. She had already nursed him back to health in a miserable hut at Chambly, in Canada, and afterward when she heard that he was wounded at the battle of Hubbardton, Vt., she, contrary to his injunctions, came up the lake to

⁷⁵ There were over 300 women connected with Burgoyne's army.—*Hadden's Journal*, p. 81.

^{75a}. The Sexagenary.

Skenesborough (Whitehall) with the determination not to leave him again. From there she shared his tent through all the vicissitudes of the campaign. Judge then of her state of mind when word was brought from the field that her husband was mortally wounded and a prisoner in the hands of the Americans. After spending two nights and a day in an agony of suspense, she resolved to ask General Burgoyne for permission to go over to the enemy's camp to seek out and care for her husband. She was urged to this step also by the Baroness Riedesel. Burgoyne was astounded by such a request from a woman of her quality at such a time, and especially as she was then in a most delicate condition. Finally he yielded to her importunities, furnished her with a boat and crew, and allowed the chaplain Brudenell⁷⁶—he of the steady nerves—and her husband's valet, to accompany her, and then armed with a letter of commendation from Burgoyne to Gates, she set out in the edge of evening, during a storm of wind and rain, on her venturesome trip. She reached the American advanced pickets about ten o'clock, and being hailed, went ashore, where she was courteously received and hospitably lodged for the night by Major Dearborn, who was able to relieve her mind with the assurance that her husband was in a most comfortable and hopeful condition. In the morning she passed on down the river to Bemis Heights, where she was met and most graciously received by General Gates, whence she was taken to her husband, who was lodged in the roomy tent of one Joseph Bird. General Burgoyne's letter to

⁷⁶ The Rev. Edward Brudenell, chaplain to the artillery, was nearly lost in a man-of-war's barge while coming over Lake George, July 27th, in one of those sudden squalls so common on that sheet of water.—*Hadden's Journal*, p. 106.

Gates in her behalf, though written in haste and on a piece of dirty wet paper, has ever been regarded as a model of gracefulness and point in epistolary literature. Here it is:

“SIR:

Lady Harriet Ackland, a Lady of the first distinction by family, rank, and by personal virtues, is under such concern on account of Major Ackland, her husband, wounded and a prisoner in your hands, that I cannot refuse her request to commit her to your protection.

Whatever general impropriety there may be in persons acting in your situation and mine to solicit favors, I cannot see the uncommon perseverance in every female grace, and exaltation of character of this Lady, and her very hard fortune, without testifying that your attentions to her will lay me under obligation.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. BURGOYNE.

October 9, 1777.

MAJOR GENERAL GATES.”

FELLOWS ANTICIPATES BURGOYNE'S RETREAT TO SARATOGA

General Gates, in anticipation of an early retreat on the part of Burgoyne, had sent forward General Fellows, before the battle of the 7th, with thirteen hundred men to occupy the heights of Saratoga, north of Fish creek (whereon Schuylerville stands) to waylay stragglers and dispute the passage of the creek with any advanced parties of the enemy that might be sent forward. The day after the battle the Americans discovering signs that

the British were preparing to decamp, Gates sent two messengers, one on each side of the river, to apprise Fellows of the probable movement and order him to recross the Hudson and defend the ford. This ford was located at the upper end of the island over which the Schuylerville and Greenwich highway bridge now passes. Before this notice reached him General Fellows had a narrow escape from surprise and possible capture.

On the night of the 8th, and some hours before his army started, Burgoyne had sent forward Lieutenant Colonel Sutherland with a scout to make observations. He discovered Fellows' situation, and guided by the fires, he completely encircled his camp without once being challenged. He hastened back and begged Burgoyne to allow him to go on with his regiment and attack him, assuring him that since they lay there unguarded he could capture the whole body. Burgoyne refused peremptorily; but had he permitted it, in all probability, Sutherland would have succeeded. The reasons for the refusal were probably, first, because he had no men to lose, and secondly, he had neither place nor provender for so large a body had they been captured.

At four o'clock P. M. on the 9th, the British army was again set in motion, and wading the now swollen Fish creek, bivouacked wet, shivering and hungry, without tents or covering, on the cold wet ground. They were over just in time to see the rear of General Fellows' detachment ascend the eastern bank of the Hudson prepared to bar their passage that way and to take possession of their old camp north of the Battenkill. Previous to his withdrawal across the Hudson, Fellows destroyed the bridge over Fish creek.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Digby's Journal, p. 297.

Burgoyne did not forget to make himself very comfortable that night, though his men were most miserable. He remained on the south side of the creek and occupied the Schuyler mansion, retaining Hamilton's brigade as a body guard. The officers with their men slept on the cold, wet ground, with nothing to protect them but oil-cloth. Nor did the wives of the officers fare any better.

DISCOMFORTS OF THE LADIES

Supposing that Burgoyne's advance to Albany would be little else than a triumphal march, with but feeble opposition to overcome, these fine ladies, with adventurous spirit, had come along to enjoy a novel excursion and picnic, and, incidentally, to select for themselves a fine mansion from the estates sure to be confiscated from the rebels. Among these were Lady Ackland, as we have seen, and the Baroness Riedesel, wife of the General (pronounced Re-dáy-zel; the British soldiers called him Red-hazel), a woman of rare culture, intellectual force, and vivacity of spirit, and withal possessed of unusual literary ability. Colonel Wilkinson, Gates' adjutant general, speaks of her as "the amiable, the accomplished and dignified baroness." She was accompanied by her children, three little girls. Of her experiences on this particular night she writes: "Toward evening, we at last came to Saratoga, which was only half an hour's march from the place where we had spent the whole day. I was wet through and through by the frequent rains, and was obliged to remain in this condition the entire night, as I had no place whatever where I could change my linen. I, therefore, seated myself before a good fire, and undressed my children;

after which, we laid ourselves down together upon some straw. I asked General Phillips, who came up to where we were, why we did not continue our retreat while there was yet time, as my husband had pledged himself to cover it, and bring the army through? 'Poor woman,' answered he, 'I am amazed at you! completely wet through, have you still the courage to wish to go further 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, General Burgoyne was very fond of indulging. He spent half the nights in singing and drinking, and amusing himself with the wife of a commissary, who was his mistress, and who as well as he, loved champagne."

THE MARSHALL HOUSE CANNONADED

Early in the morning of October 8th, General Gates, expecting that Burgoyne would retreat, had ordered General Bailey, with 900 New Hampshire troops, to cross the Hudson and hasten to the aid of General Fellows, opposite Saratoga. Captain Furnival was ordered to follow with his battery. The same evening they were reinforced by a Massachusetts regiment under Colonel Moseley. On the evening of the 9th Captain Furnival was ordered to cross the Battenkill and erect some earthworks. This battery was placed on the hills north of Clark's Mills, and was erected during the night of the 9th of October.⁷⁸ General Matoon, then a lieutenant of

⁷⁸ Mr. Hiram Clark, of Clark's Mills, told the writer that he could remember the remnants of that work. It consisted of two lengths of heavy timbers, locked together at one end, placed at an obtuse angle, and filled in with dirt behind.

this company, relates that on the morning of the 10th, "seeing a number of officers on the steps of a house [The Marshall house] opposite, on a hill a little north of the mouth of the Battenkill surveying our works, we opened fire on them. I leveled our guns and with such effect as to disperse them. We took the house to be their headquarters. We continued our fire till a nine or twelve pounder was brought to bear on us, and rendered our works untenable."

This battery, in company with a Massachusetts regiment, was then ordered to Fort Edward to defend the fording place there, which they did effectually till recalled on the 14th, after the armistice was declared.⁷⁰ There was no more cannonading from this hill during the siege of Burgoyne.

On the 10th the force of General Fellows on the east side of the Hudson was augmented to three thousand, made up of New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops, chiefly militia.

CHAPTER XV

THE SIEGE

BURGOYNE waded Fish creek the morning of the 10th, dragged across his heavy artillery, and seeing that it was now too late to cross the river at the Battenkill, took up the positions he had determined upon on the 14th of September previous, in case of an attack at that time. He erected a fortified camp on Prospect Hill, or the heights

⁷⁰ Burgoyne's Campaign, by W. L. Stone, p. 376.

of Saratoga, as it was then called. This camp began north of the house of Counsellor William S. Ostrander, and embraced Prospect Hill Cemetery, also the land between the cemetery and the terrace east of George M. Watson's orchard and extended south into the Victory woods. Part of the 20th, and six companies of the 47th regiment, with the German grenadiers and Berner's battalion, had their camp on the flat where Green and Pearl streets now run and north of Burgoyne street. The German Yägers (riflemen) and Canadians camped each side of the Saratoga road on the flat or terrace above the Fitchburg R. R. station. The balance of the 20th British regiment, and the Germans under Riedesel, occupied the ground north of Spring street, bounded on the east by Broadway and on the west by a line running north from Dr. Webster's house and reaching toward the Marshall house. The artillery was parked on the spur of high ground east of Broadway and on the continuation of Spring street, now called Seeleyville.

The same day (the 10th) Burgoyne sent forward two regiments under Lieutenant Colonel Sutherland to reconnoiter the road on the west side toward Fort Edward and to repair the bridges. This detachment got within an hour's march of Fort Edward, and was preparing to mend the chief bridge, when the officer received orders to return. This was because Burgoyne had been apprised of an attack by the Americans.⁸⁰

GATES' TARDY PURSUIT

Through some mismanagement in the commissary

⁸⁰ Burgoyne's State of the Expedition, p. 55. Edition of 1780.

department, Gates could not immediately follow up the advantage which the victory of the 7th gave him. In consequence of this, his main body was not ready for the pursuit till about noon of the 10th. Colonel Wilkinson in his "Memoirs" says: "It rained and the army did not march until the afternoon; our front reached Saratoga about four o'clock, where we discovered the British army encamped on the heights beyond the Fish creek, General Fellows' corps on the opposite bank of the river, and the bateaux of the enemy at the mouth of the creek, with a fatigue party busily employed unloading and conveying their contents across the plain to the heights. The commanding officer of artillery, Major Stevens, ready to improve every advantage, ran a couple of light pieces down on the plain near the river, and opened a battery upon the bateaux and working party at the landing, which soon dispersed it; but he drew the fire of the enemy's whole park upon him from the heights, which obliged him to retire after the loss of a tumbrel, [ammunition cart], which was blown up by a shot from the enemy, and caused a shout from the whole British army."

"The army took a position in the wood on the heights in several lines, their right resting on the brow of the hill, about a mile in the rear of the Fish creek, Colonel Morgan being in front and near the church."⁸¹

The same authority says that Gates appropriated a small hovel about ten feet square with a dirt floor for his headquarters. It was located at the foot of a hill, along the road something over a mile south of Fish creek. It

⁸¹ Wilkinson's Memoirs. Vol. I.

was probably the older portion of what is now the Edward Dwyer house.⁸²

After Gates had posted his army south of the creek, Burgoyne ordered the Schuyler mansion with the mills and other outbuildings, to be set on fire. These with their contents were valued at \$50,000.

GATES' ABORTIVE ATTACK

That same evening (the 10th) word came to Gates that Burgoyne had gone on toward Fort Edward, and that only a guard was left behind with the baggage. His informant had mistaken the two regiments sent ahead for the whole army. Gates at once issued orders for the entire force to cross the creek in the morning and assault the British camp under cover of the fog, which usually rises from the river and remains till after sunrise at that season of the year.

⁸² Benson J. Lossing, in his *Field Book of the Revolution*, asserts that what is now (1900) the Edward Dwyer house was Gates' headquarters. He gives a cut of the house and then adds this: "It is of wood and has been enlarged since the Revolution. It was used by General Gates for his quarters from the 10th of October until after the surrender of Burgoyne, on the 17th. It belonged to a Widow Kershaw, and General Gates amply compensated her for all he had, on leaving it."

Lossing got his information from Walter Van Veghten, in 1848. Walter was a son of Col. Van Veghten, of Revolutionary fame, and succeeded to the old homestead at Coveville. Despite Wilkinson's statement, several facts make Van Veghten's assertion altogether probable. It is the uniform testimony of other writers that at the time of the surrender, Gates had his quarters much nearer the front. This would indicate that he must have moved up after negotiations had opened to avoid loss of time in transmission of dispatches. Since Wilkinson does not mention this removal, which must have occurred, it is quite probable that he in writing his *Memoirs* some years later, got the two places mixed in his mind, and in his story transferred the "hovel" down to where the house stands, which, according to Lossing, was but a small affair at the time. Walter Van Veghten was in a position to know the facts, and being an intelligent and also a prominent citizen, was not liable to be in error as to such a matter.

L Burgoyne in some way received notice of this proposed assault and posted his men to the best advantage to receive it.

Agreeable to orders, Morgan crossed the creek at Victory Mills, below the old dam at the stone bridge, and advancing through the fog soon fell in with a British picket, which fired and cut down a lieutenant and two privates. This led him to think that there must be some mistake about the retreat of the British, which misgiving he reported to Colonel Wilkinson, who came up at this moment. As a result Generals Learned and Patterson were sent to his support with their brigades.

Wilkinson then hastening down to the right, learned from a deserter, and from a squad of thirty-five of the enemy just captured, that Burgoyne had not retreated, but was posted and waiting the American attack. At once he dispatched an aide to Gates with the message: "Tell the General, that his own fame and the interests of the cause are at hazard; that his presence is necessary with the troops." But in obedience to orders, Nixon's and part of Glover's brigades had forded the creek and were deploying for action; Captain Nathan Goodale,⁸³ of Putnam's regiment, swung to the right and captured a party of sixty men at the mouth of the creek and also the bateaux they were guarding. Suddenly the fog lifted and disclosed to their astonished gaze the whole British army drawn up and ready to give them a fiery greeting. They at once opened with musketry and cannon upon the

⁸³ This Capt. Nathan Goodale was one of the most efficient of Gates' scouts. He gave Gates the first reliable information concerning the situation of Burgoyne's army during its advance as it lay along the river opposite and above Saratoga. Before the surrender of the British army, no less than 121 prisoners fell into his hand. In 1899 a descendant of Captain Goodale erected a tablet to his memory on Prospect Hill, near the monument. He was killed by the Indians, in Ohio, in 1796.

Americans who, realizing their ugly situation at a glance, broke for the south side of the creek, without much regard as to the order of their going.

Wilkinson fearing that the left might be badly entrapped, hastened up and found Morgan and Learned within two hundred yards of Burgoyne's strongest position on Prospect Hill, and just entering ground which had been cleared by the enemy in front of their works. He found Learned near the center and begged him to halt, which he did. Wilkinson said to him (quoting from his Memoirs), "You must retreat. Learned asked me 'have you orders?' I answered, 'I have not, as the exigency of the case did not allow me time to see General Gates.' He observed, 'Our brethren are engaged on the right, and the standing order is *to attack*.' I informed him 'our troops on the right have retired, and the fire you hear is from the enemy;' and, I added, 'although I have no orders for your retreat, I pledge my life for the General's approbation.'" Several field officers coming up and approving the proposition, the order for the retreat was given. They were hardly turned when the British, who had been quietly awaiting the assault, fired a volley and killed several men, among whom was an officer.

Thus Gates got out of a tight place, and escaped dire disaster, by a very narrow margin. Had he been the great general that his friends pictured him, he would not have ordered such an attack without knowing for a certainty whether the main body of his enemy had decamped or not. For this escape, as for his victories, Gates could thank his subordinates. He never allowed his sacred person to be seen along danger lines if he could avoid it. Only once during the Revolution was he

under fire, at Camden, S. C., and then he beat the record in getting away; for he made two hundred miles on horseback in three days.

Burgoyne had hoped great things from this move on the part of Gates, feeling sure that he could annihilate the assaulting force, but was sorely disappointed at the outcome. He described it as "one of the most adverse strokes of fortune during the campaign."

GATES DECIDES UPON A REGULATION SIEGE

Gates now decided to starve Burgoyne into a surrender by siege, rather than compel him by force of arms as some of his officers urged, thus avoiding much bloodshed. He at once took steps to make sure of his prey by completing his lines of circumvallation. Morgan and his Virginians, Learned's brigade, and a Pennsylvania force occupied the high ground to the west of Burgoyne. Their lines stretched from the creek, up back of the Victory school house, through the French burying ground, in the rear of the house now owned and occupied by Mr. David H. Craw, and along the elevated ridge to the north. The east side of the river was held by New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut troops, while New York, New England and New Jersey held the south. New Hampshire and Vermont, under the redoubtable Stark, a day or two later filled the gap to the north, and so practically corked the bottle. Thus New England, the Middle and Southern States were all represented at that crucial moment in our national history, and all very appropriately had a share in the decisive stroke that determined the severance of these colonies from the mother country, and assured their independence.



COLONEL MORGAN

But as late as the 12th there was still a chance for Burgoyne to escape. There was an opening northward on the west side of the river, as it had not yet been occupied by our people. He called a council of his generals, laid the situation before them, and asked their advice. Riedesel strongly urged that they should leave artillery and baggage behind, and, thus lightened, attempt to escape by avoiding Fort Edward, now held by the Americans, cross four miles above, and strike for Ticonderoga through the woods on the west of Lake George. Orders were at once issued to move out that night if the provisions could be distributed by ten or eleven o'clock. Precisely at ten o'clock Riedesel notified Burgoyne that the provisions had been distributed, and everything was ready, when he and all the rest were astounded to receive orders to stay where they were, as it was now too late. What decided him that it was "too late" is not known. But when the morning broke, sure enough, it was too late; for during the night Stark and his men had crossed the river just above the mouth of the Battenkill on rafts, occupied the gap and erected a battery on a hill, (probably the bare one back of Mr. D. A. Bullard's farm buildings). This was the springing of "the trap," about which General Riedesel had talked, the corking of the bottle which sealed the fate of the British army.

They were now completely surrounded. Gates had thrown a floating bridge across the Hudson below Fish creek. The approach to this bridge was just below the mouth of the deep ditch that runs east from Chubb's bridge. This gave easy communication with Fellows to the east; and on this with the raft just built above, Gates could pass in safety all around his foe, if he dared.

The Americans now made it very warm for the Britons.

Fellows' batteries on the bluffs, east of the river, were echoed by Gates' from the heights south of Victory, and then the new battery on the hill to the north bellowed Amen! we are with you! while Morgan's sharpshooters to the west, and the Yankee marksmen everywhere else popped at any hostile head that dared show itself from behind a tree, or above the breastworks. All this, with the answering thunder of Burgoyne's heavy artillery, must have made terrific music, such as these Saratoga hills never heard before nor since.

WOES OF THE BESIEGED.

The experiences of those shut within this fiery and thunderous arena whereon Schuylerville now stands, must have been appalling beyond description. There were but few places of safety except behind trees, in a few hollows, or immediately behind breastworks. Hundreds of dead horses and oxen lay everywhere, which had been killed by cannon or musket shots, or which had died from starvation. Without hospital tents or any hospital conveniences, the sick and wounded soldiers would drag themselves to some sheltered spot and there breathe out their lives in agony on the cold, damp ground. There were but few places where the surgeons could dress the wounds without being interrupted by cannon shot dropping or crashing through the trees. Fellows' battery on the bluffs opposite Schuylerville was especially annoying to the British, and they were unable to silence it. It was from thence that the Marshall house was chiefly cannonaded;⁸⁴ from there the shot was fired that carried off the ham from Burgoyne's table, and so broke up one of his

⁸⁴ See Baroness Riedesel's account, which immediately follows.

dinner parties,⁸⁵ and from thence the cannon ball came that lodged in an oak tree by the side of which General Burgoyne was standing.⁸⁶ No soldier dare lay aside his arms even to sleep. There was constant firing on the picket lines, and the men on duty there hardly dared show themselves from behind a tree, or their heads above a rifle pit, lest a whistling bullet should perforate him. And though there were rivers of water all about, yet for those beleaguered Britons there was hardly a drop to drink. A few springs and the rivulets running down the hills could not supply the needs of six thousand men with their horses and cattle. Any man who attempted to reach the creek or river became a mark for a dozen rifles. Some of the wives of the common soldiers risked a trip to the river with their buckets for water, and found the Americans too chivalrous to harm a woman. And, by the way, there were no braver hearts in that army than beat in the breasts of those women. Baroness de Riedesel tells of one who supplied the occupants of the Marshall house, and how they rewarded her.

BARONESS RIEDESEL RELATES HER EXPERIENCES

The account given by that most estimable lady of her experiences in the Marshall house are of so interesting and thrilling a character that we would wrong our readers not to allow her to tell them her own story. She proved herself to be a veritable angel of mercy to those poor officers and men, yes a forerunner of Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton. She writes:

“About two o’clock in the afternoon [of the 10th], the firing of cannon and small arms was again heard, and

⁸⁵ Burgoyne’s State of the Expedition. Edition of 1780, p. 55.

⁸⁶ Digby’s Journal, p. 304.



THE BARONESS RIEDESEL.

all was alarm and confusion. My husband sent me a message telling me to betake myself forthwith into a house not far from there. I seated myself in the calash with my children, and had scarcely driven up to the house when I saw on the opposite side of the Hudson river five or six men with guns, which were aimed at us. Almost involuntarily I threw the children on the bottom of the calash and myself over them. At the same instant the churls fired, and shattered the arm of a poor English soldier behind us, who was already wounded and was also retreating into the house. Immediately after our arrival a frightful cannonade began, principally directed against the house in which we had sought shelter, probably because the enemy believed, from seeing so many people flocking around it, that all the generals made it their headquarters.⁸⁷ Alas! it harbored none but wounded soldiers, or women! We were finally obliged to take refuge in a cellar, in which I laid myself down in a corner not far from the door. My children lay down on the earth with their heads upon my lap, and in this manner we passed the entire night. A horrible stench, the cries of the children, and yet more than all this, my own anguish, prevented me from closing my eyes. On the following morning [the 11th], the cannonade again began, but on a different side.⁸⁸ I advised all to go out of the cellar for a little while, during which time I would have it cleaned, as otherwise we would all be sick. They followed my suggestion, and I at once set many hands to work, which was in the highest degree necessary; for the women and children being afraid to venture forth,

⁸⁷ This was from Furnival's battery, north of the Battenkill.

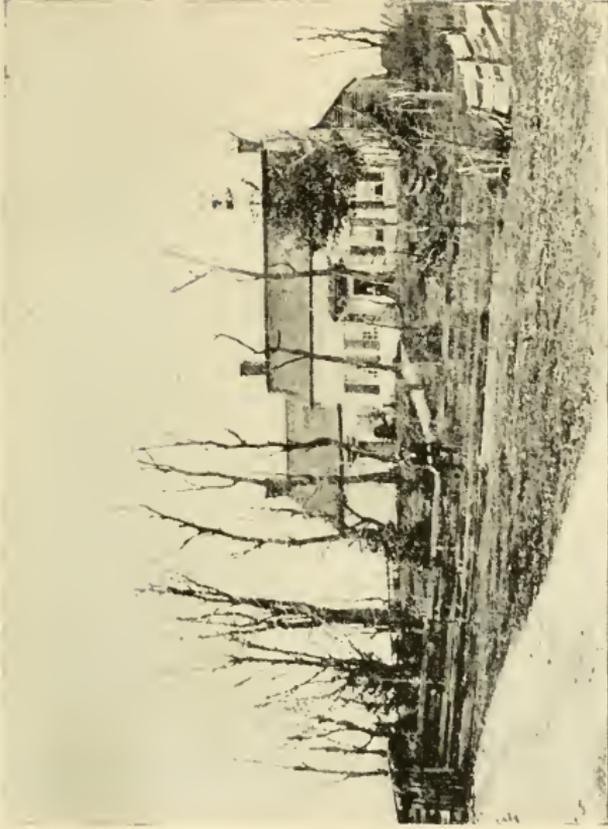
⁸⁸ This was from Fellow's battery, opposite Schuylerville and south of the Battenkill. Furnival's battery had been ordered to Fort Edward.

had soiled the whole cellar. 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 in, 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; otherwise every one of us would have been severely injured. Eleven cannon balls went through the house, and we could plainly hear them rolling over our heads. One poor soldier, [a British surgeon by the name of Jones], 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 midst of the operation. His comrades all ran off, and when they again came back they found him in one corner of the room, where he had rolled in his anguish, scarcely breathing. I was more dead than alive, though not so much on account of our own danger, as for that which enveloped my husband, who, however, frequently sent to see how I was getting along, and to tell me that he was still safe.

“The wife of Major Harnage, a Madam Reynels, the wife of the good lieutenant who the day previous had so

kindly shared his broth with me, the wife of a commissary, and myself, were the only ladies who were with the army.⁸⁹ We sat together bewailing our fate, when one came in, upon which they all began whispering, looking at the same time exceedingly sad. I noticed this, and also that they cast silent glances toward me. This awakened in my mind the dreadful thought that my husband had been killed. I shrieked aloud, but they assured me that this was not so, at the same time intimating to me by signs, that it was the lieutenant—the husband of our companion—who had met with misfortune. A moment after she was called out. Her husband was not yet dead, but a cannon ball had taken off his arm close to the shoulder. During the whole night we heard his moans, which resounded fearfully through the vaulted cellars. The poor man died toward morning. We spent the remainder of this night as the former ones. In the meantime my husband came to visit me, which lightened my anxiety and gave me fresh courage. On the following morning [the 12th], however, we got things better regulated. Major Harnage, his wife, and Mrs. Reynels made a little room in a corner, by hanging curtains from the ceiling. They wished to fix up for me another corner in the same manner, but I preferred to remain near the door, so that in case of fire I could rush out from the room. I had some straw brought in and laid my bed upon it, where I slept with my children—my maids sleeping not far from us. Directly opposite us three English officers were quartered—wounded it is true, but, nevertheless resolved not to be left behind in case of a retreat. One of these was Captain Green, aide-de-camp of General Phillips, a very valuable and agreeable man. All three

⁸⁹ Seventy soldiers brought their wives with them also.



THE ORIGINAL MARSHALL HOUSE

The refuge of Baroness Riedesel and the wounded officers

assured me, upon their oaths, that in case of a hasty retreat, they would not leave me, but would each take one of my children upon his horse. For myself one of my husband's horses constantly stood saddled and in readiness. Often my husband wished to withdraw me from danger, by sending me to the Americans; but I remonstrated with him on the ground that to be with people whom I would be obliged to treat with courtesy, while perhaps, my husband was being killed by them, would be even yet more painful than all I was now suffering. He promised me, therefore, that I should henceforward follow the army. Nevertheless, I was often in the night filled with anxiety lest he should march away. At such times I have crept out of my cellar to reassure myself, and if I saw the troops lying around the fires, (for the nights were already cold), I would return and sleep quietly. On the third day, I found an opportunity for the first time to change my linen, as my companions had the courtesy to give up to me a little corner; the three wounded officers meanwhile standing guard not far off.

"Our cook saw to our meals, but we were in want of water; and in order to quench our thirst, I was often obliged to drink wine, and give it also to the children. The continued danger in which my husband was encompassed, was a constant source of anxiety to me. I was the only one of all the women whose husband had not been killed or wounded, and I often said to myself—'shall I be the only fortunate one?'

"As the great scarcity of water continued, we at last found a soldier's wife who had the courage to bring water from the river, for no one else would undertake it, as the enemy shot at every man who approached the river. This woman, however, they never molested; and they told



CELLAR OF THE MARSHALL HOUSE
Corner occupied by Baroness Ittedescl and her children

us afterward that they spared her on account of her sex.

"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. Often, also, I shared my noon day meal with them. One day a Canadian officer came into our cellar who could scarcely stand up. We at last got it out of him that he was almost dead with hunger. I considered myself very fortunate to have it in my power to offer him my mess. This gave him renewed strength, and gained for me his friendship. One of our greatest annoyances was the stench of the wounds when they began to suppurate.

"One day I undertook the care of Major Bloomfield, adjutant to General Phillips, through both of whose cheeks a small musket ball had passed, shattering his teeth and grazing his tongue. He could hold nothing whatever in his mouth. The matter from the wound almost choked him, and he was unable to take any other nourishment except a little broth, or something liquid. We had Rhine wine. I gave him a bottle of it, in hopes that the acidity of the wine would cleanse his wound. He kept some continually in his mouth; and that alone acted so beneficially that he became cured, and I again acquired one more friend.

"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.

"On the 17th of October the capitulation was consum-

mated. Now the good woman who had brought us water at the risk of her life, received the reward of her services. Everyone threw a handful of money into her apron, and she received altogether over twenty guineas. At such a moment the heart seems to be specially susceptible of gratitude."

CHAPTER XVI

THE CAPITULATION.—BURGOYNE SUMMONS COUNCIL OF WAR

BURGOYNE knowing himself to be surrounded by overwhelming numbers; for the American militia had been pouring in from everywhere since the battles; called a council of war on the 13th, laid the situation before it, and inquired if in its opinion a proposition to surrender would be warranted by precedent, and would it be honorable. The council agreed that surrender was the wisest course. They were doubtless urged to this conclusion by a forceful argument in the shape of a cannon ball that swept across the table about which they were sitting.

Accordingly General Burgoyne sent a flag of truce asking if Gates would receive a "field officer from him, on a matter of high moment to both armies." Gates replied that he would receive such an officer at 10 o'clock the next morning, the 14th. Major Robert Kingston, of Burgoyne's staff, was selected to bear the message to Gates. The next morning at the appointed hour Kingston descended the hill, and, crossing the creek on some sleepers of the bridge that had been left, was met there by Colonel Wilkinson, who represented Gates, and who, after blindfolding him, conducted him on foot down to headquarters, over a mile away.

BURGOYNE SUES FOR AN ARMISTICE

Through him Burgoyne asked for a cessation of hostilities while terms might be arranged for an honorable surrender. General Gates sent back the terms on which he would accept the surrender of the British army, and granted a cessation of hostilities during the negotiations. Gates' terms seemed to offend the pride of Burgoyne and his generals, who thereupon refused point blank to treat upon such conditions. The offensive articles were, first: that the British should surrender as prisoners of war; and, second: that they should lay down their arms within their intrenchments at the command of their adjutant general.

At sunset Burgoyne returned Gates' propositions with the answer that he and his army would die to a man rather than submit to conditions involving such humiliation. Along with this answer he presented the terms on which he would consent to a surrender. Gates, evidently frightened by the news just received that Sir Henry Clinton had broken through the obstructions and had passed the forts in the Highlands; that he had destroyed Kingston, and was advancing upon Albany, tamely accepted Burgoyne's proposals, and thus allowed the British general to dictate his own terms.

TERMS OF SURRENDER AGREED UPON

But before any treaty could be signed, there were several subordinate questions and items which must be settled; for this purpose two men from each side were selected, at Burgoyne's suggestion, who were to meet at some convenient place, to be selected, to arrange the final terms. A tent was pitched upon the bluff, just south of the Horicon mill, where the

representatives met and, after due discussion, signed and exchanged the articles of capitulation, and moreover agreed when they separated, at 8 P. M. of the 15th, that their respective chiefs should sign and exchange in the morning: Burgoyne expressed himself as well pleased with everything, but objected to calling the instrument a "treaty of capitulation;" he would term it a TREATY OF CONVENTION. To this also Gates agreed.

During the night of the 15th, a spy managed to get through to the British camp with the news that Clinton was on the way with relief, and was now nearing Albany. Burgoyne saw here a ray of hope, and the next morning called another general council of his officers, told them what he had heard, and asked whether in their opinion he would be justified, under the circumstances, in repudiating his agreement with the American General. The majority decided that the public faith had been pledged, and therefore voted that it would be dishonorable to abrogate the treaty. However, instead of signing the Convention, as he had agreed, he sent Gates an evasive letter, in which he charged him with having reduced his army since negotiations were opened, and asked that two of his officers might be permitted to inspect his army, that he might know if it was as large as reported. Gates was evidently nettled by the rudeness and impudence of the request, but sent Wilkinson to allay Burgoyne's apprehensions. This parley was spun out to such a length that finally Gates got impatient, drew up his army, and sent Burgoyne word that he must either sign or fight. Burgoyne, urged by his generals, came down from his perch, on Prospect Hill, signed the Convention and sent it over to Gates in proper form.



ELM TREE UNDER WHICH BURGOYNE SIGNED THE CONVENTION

ARTICLES OF CONVENTION

The instrument as finally agreed to and executed is herewith subjoined.

Articles of Convention between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-General Gates.

I.

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

II.

"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."

III.

"Should any cartel take place, by which the army under General Burgoyne, or any part of it, may be exchanged, the foregoing article to be void as far as such exchange shall be made."

IV.

"The army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest, most expeditious and convenient route; and to be quartered in, near, or as convenient as possible to Boston, that the march of the troops may not be delayed when transports arrive to receive them."

V.

"The troops to be supplied on their march, and during their being in quarters, with provisions by General Gates' orders at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army; and if possible, the officers' horses and cattle are to be supplied with forage at the usual rates."

VI.

"All officers to retain their carriages, batt-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 due 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 by the country at the usual rates."

VII.

"Upon the march, and during the time the army shall remain in quarters in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers are to be quartered according to rank, and are not to be hindered from assembling their men for roll call, and other necessary purposes of regularity."

VIII.

"All corps whatever, of General Burgoyne's army, whether composed of sailors, bateaumen, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and followers of the army, of whatever country, shall be included in the fullest sense and utmost extent of the above articles, and comprehended in every respect as British subjects."

IX.

"All Canadians and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, consisting of sailors, bateaumen, artificers, drivers, independent companies, and many other followers of the army, who come under no particular description, are to be permitted to return there; they are to be conducted immediately by the shortest route to the first British post on Lake George, are to be supplied with provisions in the same manner as the other troops, and are to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest in North America."

X.

"Passports to be immediately granted for three officers, not exceeding the rank of captain, who shall be appointed by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to carry dispatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain, by the way of New York; and Major-General Gates engages the public faith, that these despatches shall not be opened. These officers are to set out immediately after receiving their despatches, and are to travel the shortest and in the most expeditious manner."

XI.

"During the stay of the troops in Massachusetts Bay the officers are to be admitted on parole, and are to be allowed to wear their side arms."

XII.

"Should the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne find it necessary to send for their clothing and other baggage to Canada, they are to be permitted to do it in the most convenient manner, and the necessary passports granted for that purpose."

XIII.

"These articles are to be mutually signed and exchanged to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, and the troops under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne are to march out of their intrenchments at three o'clock in the afternoon."

(Signed) "HORATIO GATES, Major-General.

(Signed) "J. BURGOYNE, Lieutenant-General.

"Saratoga, Oct. 16th, 1777."

THE SURRENDER

"All was decided here, and at this hour
 Our sun leaped up, though clouds still veiled its power.
 From Saratoga's hills we date the birth,—
 Our Nation's birth among the powers of earth.
 Not back to '76, New Yorkers' date
 The mighty impulse launched our 'Ship of State'
 'Twas given here—where shines our rising sun
 Excelsior! These hills saw victory won.
 This vale the cradle where the colonies
 Grew into States—despite all enemies.
 Yes, on this spot—Thanks to our gracious God
 Where last in conscious arrogance it trod,
 Defil'd as captives Burgoyne's conquered horde;
 Below their general yielded up his sword,
 There to our flag bowed England's, battle-torn.
 Where now we stand th' United States was born."

—*J. Watts De Peyster.*⁹⁰

⁹⁰ From ODE read at the laying of the corner-stone of the Saratoga monument, October 17, 1877.

As the echoes of the sunrise gun reverberated through the valley, on that eventful morning of the 17th of October, it awoke within the breasts of the thirty thousand warriors encamped within and about the arena whereon Schuylerville now stands, emotions as diverse as the antipodes. On the one hand was the sense of utter defeat and humiliation, on the other was felt the very ecstasy of lofty achievement and success.

This was a high day in liberty's history, a red-letter date in the annals of humane progress, and that there should be no lack of artistic setting worthy of the occasion, dame Nature had decked herself in her most gorgeous apparel. It was one of the rarest of those rare Autumnal days when all the elements seem to conspire to give a witching charm to the calm landscapes of October. The progress of the month had been like the stately march of an Orient army, with all the splendor of blazing banners, and the wealth and pageantry of olden story. The forest primeval, then regnant here, looked as though the glories of the sunset had been distilled into it. Here and there were clusters of trees, decked with the glowing hues of crimson and scarlet and gold, that lighted up those ancient woods like pillars of fire. The scarlet uniform of the Briton, and the blue and white of the Teuton, fitted admirably into this picture of beauty; but neither showy uniforms nor their proud wearers had availed against the embattled farmers, innocent of all uniform save the uniformity of homespun, and zeal for liberty.

But, alas! to the vanquished this autumnal glory was only the glory of fading leaves, the hectic flush

that presages a speedy dissolution, the approach of a barren and cheerless winter. And as the haughty Briton looked out upon the scene, from the heights of Saratoga, he could exclaim with the still more haughty Roman of old: "Sic transit gloria mundi." As fades these leaves, so fades the glory and prestige of British arms amid this people; as falls the leaves, so this day must witness the fall of these puissant weapons from our grasp, the assertors of England's authority over this self-willed people, and here comes on apace "The winter of our discontent."

To the American, on the contrary, the scene was suggestive of far brighter things; for recalling that every falling leaf leaves behind it a fully-developed bud which the coming spring will awaken to a larger life, so the fall of British power and pride here gave room and occasion for the rise of a nobler and broader civic life, which the rising sun of freedom would surely quicken and nourish into a grandeur as yet undreamed.

THE FORMAL SURRENDER

In the early hours of that day Colonel Wilkinson had been dispatched by General Gates to the British camp, to wait upon General Burgoyne and serve him in any way that courtesy might suggest. Burgoyne, having arrayed himself in his most showy regimentals, mounted his horse and, together with Wilkinson, visited and inspected the ground where his army was to lay down their arms. From there they rode out to the bank of the river, which he surveyed attentively for a few moments, and then inquired if it was not fordable there. "Certainly, sir!" was the reply, "but

do you observe the people on the opposite bank?" "Yes," replied he, "I have observed them too long."

He then suggested that he be introduced to General Gates. At once they wheeled, retraced their steps and crossed the Fish creek at the ford, General Burgoyne in the lead with his staff, followed by General Phillips and the Baron de Riedesel, with the other General officers and their respective suites according to rank. Says Wilkinson: "General Gates, advised of Burgoyne's approach, met him at the head of his camp, Burgoyne in a rich royal uniform, and Gates in a plain blue frock. When they had approached nearly within sword's length they reined up and halted; I then named the gentlemen and General Burgoyne, raising his hat most gracefully, said: 'The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner,' to which the conqueror replied, 'I shall always be ready to bear testimony that it has not been through any fault of your excellency.' Major-General Phillips then advanced and he and General Gates saluted and shook hands. Next the Baron Riedesel and the other officers were introduced in their turn, and as soon as the ceremony was concluded I left the army and returned to the British camp." Gates' leading officers were now in their turn introduced. With them also appeared General Schuyler, in citizen's dress, who had come up from Albany to congratulate Gates on his success, and share in the delights, if not the honors, of the occasion.

In the meantime General Riedesel had sent for his wife, who came over to the enemy's camp with much fear and trembling, but met with a reception which soon allayed her apprehensions and quite won her



GATES



BURGOYNE

heart. Let her tell her own story, for she takes occasion to eulogize and exalt one whose memory Schuylerville especially delights to honor. Says she: "In our passage through the American camp, I observed with great satisfaction that no one cast at us scornful glances. On the contrary, they all greeted me, even showing compassion on their countenances at seeing a mother with her little children in such a plight. I confess I feared to come into the enemy's camp, as the thing was so entirely new to me. When I approached the tents a noble-looking man came toward me and took the children out of the wagon, embraced and kissed them, and then, with tears in his eyes, helped me also to alight. He then led me to the tent of General Gates, with whom I found Generals Burgoyne and Phillips. Presently, the man who had received me so kindly, came up and said to me: 'It may be embarrassing to you to dine with all these gentlemen; come now with your children into my tent where I will give you, it is true, a frugal meal, but one that will be accompanied with the best of wishes. 'You are certainly,' answered I, 'a husband and a father, for you show me so much kindness.' I then learned that he was the American General Schuyler."

At eleven A. M. the British army left its camp, marched down the hill to the flat and piled their arms just to the east of the Champlain canal. General Matoon, who afterward inspected them, said that the piles reached from near the creek to the vicinity of the Marshall house. The only Americans present to witness this part of the program were Colonels Wilkinson and Morgan Lewis, who had been appointed by Gates for this purpose.

It was with dread reluctance that those brave men parted with their weapons. Some, with tears in their eyes, kissed them as they gave them up; some gnashed their teeth and slammed them down with vengeful oaths; while others ruined their muskets or stamped in their drum heads.

Lieutenant Digby, in his *Journal of the Expedition* (p. 320), describes the grief of heart exhibited by the officers on the eve of the surrender. In the last council of war Burgoyne could with difficulty control himself sufficiently to speak. "As to my own feelings," says he, "I cannot express them, Tears (though unmanly) forced their way. I could have burst to give myself vent."

After leaving "the field of the grounded arms," the captured army forded the creek, and at once passed between the lines of the American army, which had been drawn up on either side of the road. But no shout of exultation greeted them, neither taunting word nor scornful look wounded their feelings, at which they were greatly astonished, and for which they afterward confessed themselves as profoundly grateful. This was by the order of General Gates; a most considerate and humane act, by which he greatly honored himself and his army. They were, however, met by an escort of soldiers and a drum corps, which could not refrain from administering a small dose of poetic justice to these captive Britons in the form of that good old martial tune, "Yankee Doodle." The words, and perhaps the tune, had been composed by a British humorist during the French and Indian war in mockery of the variegated and ludicrous costumes of the provincial troops and citizenship. It was sure to

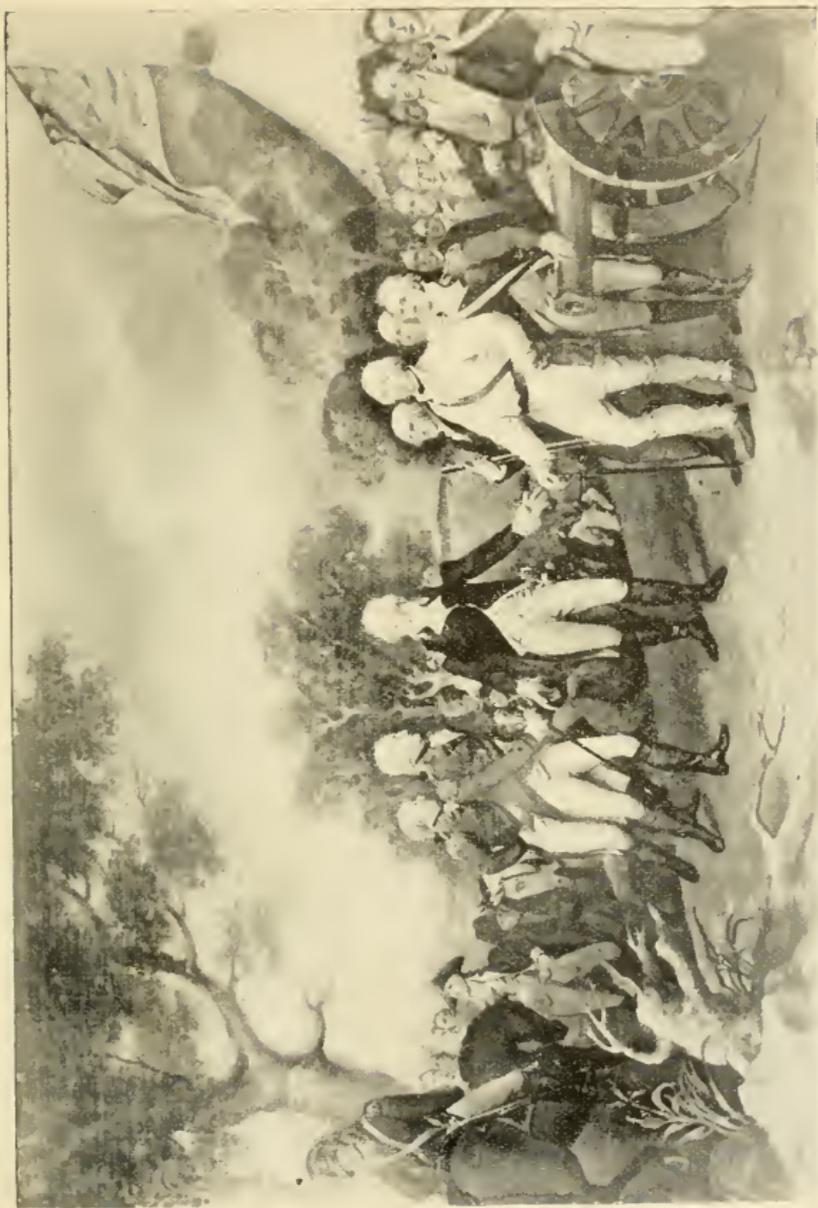
he played whenever a colonial regiment marched by on parade. It had been British property exclusively till Saratoga, and now the waggish drum-major thought it a good time to put "Yankee Doodle" on the other foot. It took so well with our people that it was immediately adopted as an American martial air.⁹¹

It is also worthy of special note, that at the same time and place our American flag, Old Glory, was unfurled for the first time to grace a victory. It had been adopted by the Continental Congress, June 14th, previously.⁹²

After the meeting of the Generals, and their mutual introduction, dinner was served in the marquee, or tent, of General Gates, which he had had pitched nearer the advanced lines during the negotiations. It was not a full course dinner, but, no doubt, those half-starved captives never afterward enjoyed anything

⁹¹ During the Albany Bi-Centennial celebration the "Argus" gave a brief sketch of the "Crailo," the old Van Rensselaer homestead in Greenbush. In that sketch the writer says: "It was in the rear of this mansion that Yankee Doodle was composed. While Abercombic's army was encamped there [in 1758] by the old sweep well at the rear of the house, waiting for reinforcements, the country people came straggling in, in all manner of costumes and dress. Their ludicrous appearance so excited the humor of a British surgeon [Dr. R. Shuckburg] that he, while sitting by the bed, composed the original version of 'Yankee Doodle,' words and music both."

⁹² Regarding this flag the following facts were communicated to the writer by Mr. E. R. Mann, of Ballston, N. Y., an enthusiastic student of American history. They were related to him by Mr. George Strover, in 1877, who got the story from his father, who was a resident in the neighborhood, at the time, and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne. "When it became apparent that Burgoyne must surrender, the ladies of the settlement and the wives of some of the American officers took their flannel petticoats, etc., of the required colors, and made them into a United States flag, having heard of the adoption of the Stars and Stripes, in the preceding June, by the Continental Congress. They presented it to General Gates, and when, on October 17th, Burgoyne approached Gates' marquee to make the formal surrender, that flag was hoisted to the top of the staff and the fifes and drums saluted it with 'Yankee Doodle.'"



SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE

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more toothsome. Burgoyne magnanimously drank the health of Washington, whereat Gates, not to be outdone, drank to King George.

Dinner being over, they stepped outside, and for a time watched the royal army as it passed by toward Stillwater. Then at a pre-arranged signal, the two generals faced each other, when General Burgoyne drew his sword and presented it to General Gates, in view of the two armies. Gates received it with due courtesy, and in a few minutes returned it to Burgoyne. General Schuyler witnessed this ceremony, and no doubt felt that in all justice that sword should have been placed in his hands.

On this occasion he showed his rare exaltation of character and magnanimity, when General Burgoyne expressed to him his regret at the great loss he had inflicted upon him in the destruction of his property, valued at \$50,000. To which he replied: "Think no more of it, General, the occasion justified it according to the rules of war." And after all this, he opened his fine home in Albany to Burgoyne and a suite of twenty persons, and made him a welcome guest so long as he stayed in that city.

The number of prisoners surrendered amounted to five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one. Four of the eleven on General Burgoyne's staff were members of Parliament. Besides these our people already had eighteen hundred and fifty-six prisoners, including the sick and wounded, which had been abandoned to the Americans. The American force which, as we have already seen, had been rapidly augmenting during the last few weeks, at the time of the surrender was composed of nine thousand and ninety-three Continentals,

or regular soldiers, and some sixteen thousand militia, in all about twenty-five thousand men. Hence there were assembled here in the wilderness, on that day of grace, over thirty thousand soldiers, besides the camp followers and civilian visitors, who had flocked hither to witness the last act in that heroic drama. It is worthy of note that the largest American army mustered during the Revolutionary war was assembled here at that time.

SARATOGA A DECISIVE BATTLE—WHY?

Historians by common consent regard the battle of Saratoga as one of the few decisive battles in history. The average reader will naturally inquire; what is meant by a decisive battle, and what did Saratoga decide? Hallam, a great English historian, in his "Middle Ages" defines decisive battles as "those battles of which a contrary event would have essentially varied the drama of the world in all its subsequent scenes." Mr. E. S. Creasy, late professor of history in the University College of London, acting on this suggestion found only fifteen among the thousands of battles that have been fought that answer to Hallam's standard; the first was Marathon, fought 490 B. C., the last was Waterloo, fought in 1815. The one preceding this in his list is Saratoga. Of it he says: "Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777." Take notice: that is the judgment of an Englishman! Momentous indeed were the results that followed upon Saratoga in which all the world is interested.

First, It preserved to the cause of liberty in America the precious Hudson valley by which New England and the Southern colonies were linked together, and which was absolutely necessary to their unity and coöperation.

Second. It taught the Americans that they could meet, and overthrow, in a fair contest, what they had been taught to believe were invincible troops; hence their hopes of success were amazingly strengthened, and from that day the leaders believed that our independence was assured.

Third. The outcome of Saratoga convinced European nations that the Americans could fight and win battles, and that their union possessed elements of stability: hence the French immediately thereafter acknowledged our independence and entered into an alliance with us. She sent us fleets, and armies, and money, by whose aid we were able to give the finishing stroke to English power, over these colonies, at Yorktown.

“Saratoga was the wand that ‘smote the rock of the national resources.’ It was the magic that revived the ‘dead corpse of public credit.’”⁹³

Holland, after Saratoga, also gave most substantial aid, in supplying us with the sinews of war, in the shape of seven million guilders.⁹⁴

Fourth. Having once seen how Saratoga not only made possible but probable our independence, anyone can see how after independence came naturally the establishment of this glorious republic which has proven herself a fount of all material, civil and religious blessings, not only to her own citizens, but to the whole world besides. This is a much better world,

⁹³ Hon. S. S. Cox, in the U. S. Senate, 1884.

⁹⁴ Bolle's Financial History of the U. S. Vol. I., p. 258.

and the average of human comfort and happiness has been vastly raised, because of the birth, the development, and example of this republic.

"17th. A day famous in the annals of American history"

Lieut. Digby, of Burgoyne's army, uses the above as the opening words of his journal for October 17, 1777. He packed far more of truth in that sentence than he dreamed.

In the Fifteenth Century humanity cried for more room, and Christopher Columbus, by the grace of God, discovered a continent. In the Eighteenth Century humanity cried for greater civil liberty and the citizen soldiery of America, under the smile of the Almighty, won it at Saratoga. All hail then the morning of the 17th of October, 1777! Light from the four corners of heaven streams upon thee, making thee the brightest that had yet dawned upon this virgin continent. Farewell ages of tyranny; farewell sceptred brutes and crowned despots! The triumphant day here dawned which assured to every man the privilege of becoming equal to every other man, and which should see every man anointed a king and every woman a queen in their own right, and ushered in the era that should witness the realization of that dream of the poet: "The parliament of man, the federation of the world."

"The nation that forgets its Marathon
Has lost the choicest glory it has won. -
Then let yon granite shaft of grace
Forever be a rallying place
For liberty and honor, till the day
The stone is dust, the river dried away."

—C. H. CRANDALL.

The reader will remember that this crushing defeat inflicted on England by no means ended the war, which dragged its slow length along through five more weary years, but the stroke at Saratoga tipped the scales in freedom's favor, it turned the tide which thenceforward set unflinching for victory and independence.

THE FATE OF THE TWO ARMIES

The captured army marched south and stayed the first night on their old camp ground at Wilbur's Basin, whence they had been driven ten days before. The next day our people separated the Germans from the British. The British crossed the river on the floating bridge which had been thrown across by Gates at Bemis Heights, and took the old Hoosac road through Northampton, Mass., for Boston. The Germans crossed in boats near Mechanicville, and stayed the next night at Schaghticoke; thence marched south through Troy and Kinderhook to Claverack; thence east through the Berkshires by the way of Springfield to Boston.

Congress did not keep the contract made by Gates to send the surrendered army back to England immediately. The reason for this was that several of the regiments, in defiance of the capitulation, failed to surrender their colors; but which with the military chest were effectually concealed in various ways by the officers. And furthermore, rumors reached Congress, and it was led to believe that the British soldiers meant to break their parole, join Howe's army and renew the fight against us. So they marched them from Boston down to Virginia, thence they were moved hither and yon till after peace was declared.

Washington himself advised Congress to this course. Burgoyne was permitted to return to England, where

he received but a cold reception at the hands of the king and people. Afterwards, however, he largely regained his popularity. He died in 1792, and was honored with burial in Westminster Abbey.

Three days after the surrender Gates' host of militia started for their various homes and so vanished from the scene like the mists of the morning.⁹⁵ Morgan, with his illustrious corps, and several brigades, was reluctantly and tardily returned by Gates to the grand army under Washington. The regulars lingered here at Saratoga for some time, restored the barracks destroyed by Burgoyne, and helped General Schuyler to resurrect from the ashes the home which the same enemy had wantonly cremated. So much of the army as did not finally go to reinforce Washington wintered at Saratoga and Albany.

GUIDE TO THE SARATOGA BATTLE FIELD—HOW TO GET THERE

From Schuylerville. If you are a good walker go first by electric car to Wilbur's Basin. From there walk to Freeman's Farm, one and one-half miles to the west. After crossing the canal take first left hand road up the hill. From there it is a straight road to the battlefield. After crossing the ravine turn in at the first house on the left. You are then at the place.

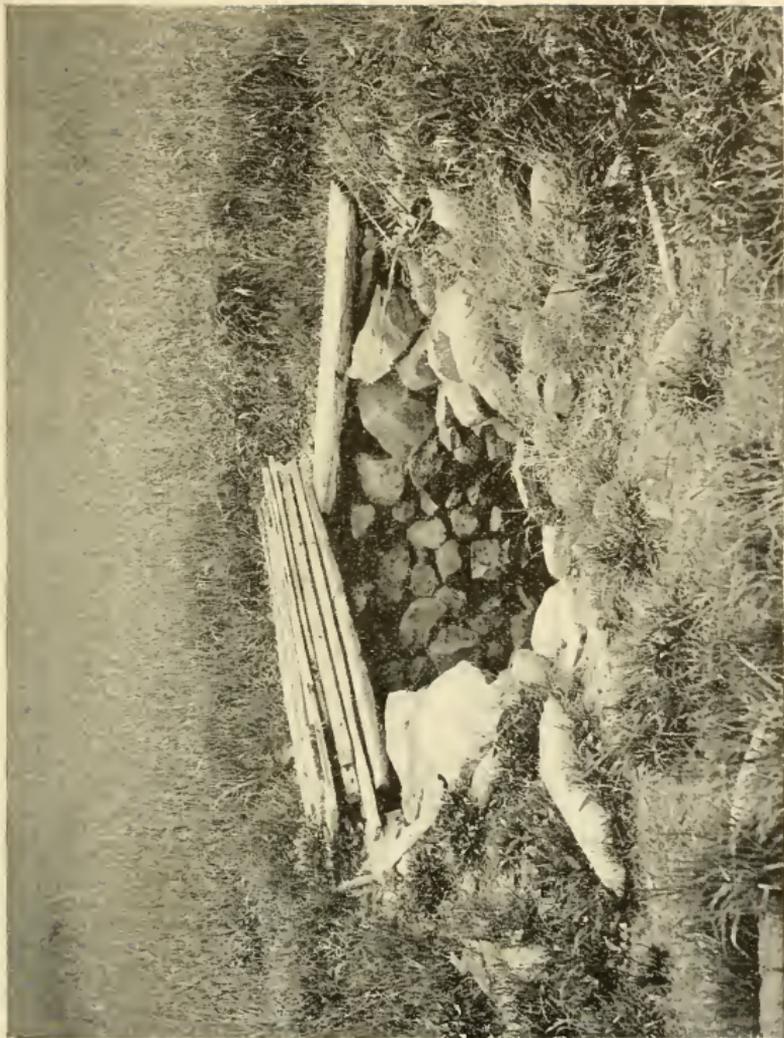
If you are not a walker, then take a carriage at Schuylerville. Perhaps you better go by Quaker Springs and return by the River road. The scenery from Quaker Springs to the battle field is superb. After leaving Quaker Springs, up the second road to your left came General Fraser on the morning of the 19th of Septem-

⁹⁵ The Sexagenary, p. 124.

ber, 1777, on his way to the battle. Near here he turned southward. After passing the Quaker meeting house, a half mile farther on you come to a fork in the roads, keep to the left; then take second road to the left and turn in at the first house you come to on the right. You are then at the Freeman's Farm House (now Esmond's).

From Saratoga Springs. It is nine miles to the battle field. You will need to take a carriage, and a lunch, as it will be quite late before you get back. Drive out Union Avenue to Moon's; then down the hill back of his place, cross the trestle bridge over the foot of the lake; then along the shore of the lake for a mile and a half to the Cedar Bluff house. Take first left hand road beyond this up the hill. On top of the hill turn to the right, a little farther on turn to the left, then southwest for half a mile till you meet a road running directly east, take this over hill and dale for three miles, passing three cross roads from the north, till you come to a school house and the Quaker meeting house. Arrived at this turn you are on historic ground. It was near here that General Fraser with his brigade, coming up from the river on the morning of the 19th of September, 1777, turned to the south on his way to the battle field. Now turn up the hill to the right past the school house and church. About half a mile south of the church you come to a fork in the roads, keep to the left; then take second road down the hill to your left, turn in at the first house you come to on your right; this is Freeman's farm (now Esmond's).

From Mechanicville and the south. Take electric car to Stillwater or Bemis Heights; there get a carriage to the battle field. Turn up the hill at Bemis Heights. About a mile up the hill another road comes in from the north. Follow this road for a mile and a half turning to



OLD BATTLE WELL

the right at the second cross road, then down the hill, and turn in to the right at the first house you come to; this is Freeman's farm.

Arrived at Freeman's farm, first obtain permission to look over the grounds. Then as you stand at the front of the house facing the west you are looking out on the field of the first day's battle. The original Freeman cottage stood to your left near the west line of the barnyard. It was at and about this cottage that Morgan met the British scouts under Major Forbes. He drove them back into the woods just north of the road, and was there in turn driven back and scattered by Burgoyne's main body. Burgoyne formed his line of battle just north of the ravine which runs parallel with and a little to the north of the road. Then he advanced and the battle raged for four hours back and forth across the open clearing both to the east and west of the cottage, but principally to the west. The battle ended when the Germans coming up from the river occupied the knoll to the south of the barns with reinforcements and turned the American right wing, just at dark.

After the battle the British held the field and fortified themselves. See map for location and direction of their lines. Here they remained for seventeen days. Let us now look over the grounds a bit.

THE OLD BATTLE WELL

FIRST: In the hollow just beyond the barnyard at the south you see the old battle well. About this well many poor fellows were found dead after the battle, who in their last moments had dragged themselves thither to quench their raging thirst, a condition which always follows loss of blood.

THE GREAT REDOUBT

SECOND: From the well, climb the knoll and pass to the southwest till you come to the fence. It was on this knoll that Riedesel posted his infantry and cannon whose attack decided the battle of the 19th of September, 1777, for the British. About the knoll the British built a strong redoubt, which served as the southwest defense of their camp. Against this redoubt Arnold led the ineffectual charge after the retreat of the British on the 7th of October. On the little rocky knoll, a few rods to the west of you, the British had an outwork.

REMAINS OF BURGOYNE'S CAMP DEFENSES

THIRD: Should you wish to see the only remains of Burgoyne's camp defenses, take the road one-half mile to the east to Mr. E. R. Wilbur's. The ravine you cross on the way was the line between Hamilton's and Fraser's camps. About a half mile from Mr. Wilbur's to the south, in the bushes, are some well preserved breast-works. Their location and form are marked on the map, as is also the location of Burgoyne's headquarters tent. When there, look for remains of old camp well over the fence to the west.

These are on the land of Mr. Eugene Curtis, and it is hoped that they may be preserved intact, as relics of the historic past are becoming more scarce and more interesting as the years go by.

BREYMAN'S HILL

FOURTH: About sixty rods to the northwest of Freeman's farm, and north of the road, is Breyman's hill, called by the residents Burgoyne's hill, a misnomer.

This defended the extreme right of the British camp, and was held by the Germans under Colonel Breyman. The capture of this strong position by Arnold ended the second day's battle, and forced Burgoyne to retreat. Arnold broke through the breastworks between the road and the first clump of trees. Once within the works, he quickly compelled the defenders to retreat. In the contest which followed his entrance he was wounded, and Colonel Breyman was killed. The tablet is placed on the line of the works, while Arnold was doubtless wounded a little to the rear, to the east. Hardly a suggestion of the old earthworks remain here.

WHERE GENERAL FRASER WAS SHOT

FIFTH: Returning to the road, pass up the hill to the west and turn to the left. It was this high ground, over which the road runs, that Fraser occupied and held during the first day's battle. Just after you have passed three houses, look on the right side of the road for the tablet which marks the place where General Fraser was shot. The basswood tree over the tablet grew out of the stump of the original one, under which the tragedy occurred. The man who shot him, Timothy Murphy, doubtless stood some eight hundred or a thousand feet to the west or south-west of this point.

SCENE OF SECOND DAY'S BATTLE

SIXTH: Passing on you will notice, as you descend the hill, a tablet on the right of the road, against the fence. This is about on the line where Burgoyne posted his forces before the second battle. The British grenadiers, under

Major Ackland, were posted from near this point around the base of the hill to the left. The British light infantry, with one cannon, occupied the hill over to the right and also a part of the plain this side of the hill. The Germans held the center. The artillery was posted at intervals from the right of Ackland's grenadiers to the center of the German lines. The twelve-pounders, over which there was such a stubborn fight, were posted in the rear of the German left, a little up the hill.

The battle opened with an attack by the Americans under General Poor on the grenadiers at the extreme left; at nearly the same time Dearborn and Learned struck both the British and German lines in front, while Morgan charged up the hill at the rear of the British extreme right, and forced them to retire. Soon Arnold compelled the Germans to give way when, after fifty-two minutes of fiercest fighting the entire force of the British were compelled to hurry back to their camp, which was stormed by Arnold and their right defense taken, as previously stated.

THE MIDDLE RAVINE AND OBSERVATION HILL

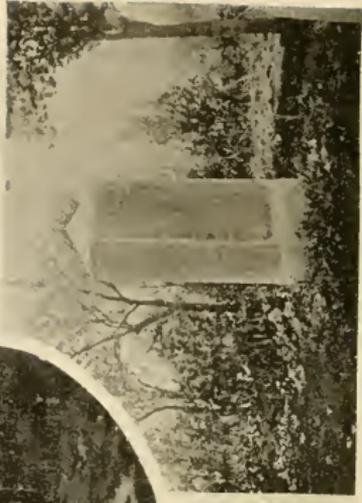
SEVENTH: Leaving the second day's battle ground, you pass toward the south, over a stone bridge. This bridge spans the Middle ravine, which figures so prominently in the history of the hostile camps, and the two battles. Passing on you soon come to an isolated hill crowned with farm buildings. From the top of the log house, which then stood there, Colonel Wilkinson observed the British army deploying into line and apparently offering battle, which fact he reported to General Gates, who at once ordered the attack. At the foot of this hill stands a tablet whose inscription gives the impression



TABLET AT FREEMAN'S FARM



TABLET AT BREYMAN'S HILL



TABLET AT FORT NEILSON

that from here General Fraser was shot. This could not be for two reasons: first, because Morgan and his men were not here, but were engaged with the British right, half a mile and more to the north-west; and second, because the shoulder of the hill would prevent seeing General Fraser from here, or if not the hill, the trees, and also the smoke of battle, would screen him at this distance.

FORT NEILSON

EIGHTH: Passing on three-fourths of a mile toward the south-east, and climbing the hill, we come to the site of Fort Neilson, which defended the north-west angle of the American camp. The barns stand on the site of the old log barn about which the ramparts were thrown up. The wing to the rear of the main house is the identical one occupied by Morgan and Poor as their quarters. The interior has been kept intact. From this point Arnold no doubt mounted his horse and rushed into battle without orders. For the location and direction of the American works, and the point of departure of the divisions into battle, see map.

GATES' HEADQUARTERS

NINTH: After leaving Fort Neilson, as you continue down the road toward the south, somewhere down in the field to your left stood the ammunition magazine of the Americans. At the intersection of the roads, as you turn to the left, you will observe a tablet. A little way back of this in the field was Gates' headquarters, and up to the right of it was the hospital. Here Gates stayed during the second day's battle, and here he had the heated argument with Sir Francis Clerke.

a wounded prisoner, over the merits of the questions at issue between the Americans and British, apparently more anxious to win in the battle of words than in the life and death struggle waging beyond the sally port of his camp.

BEMIS' TAVERN AND RIVER DEFENSES

TENTH: When you reach the foot of the hill at the river, you will see on your left, next the fence, a tablet marked Bemis' tavern. Fothem Bemis kept tavern here, and owned part of the heights to the west. Hence the name, Bemis Heights. The old tavern stood over in the fields a little way to the north. Now turning northward, you will soon see another tablet in front of a house to your left. From here ran strong entrenchments to the river, where a floating bridge spanned that stream. Note here the narrowness of the passage between the hill and river. It was a veritable Thermopylæ. Burgoyne acknowledged in his testimony before the court of inquiry that he dare not attempt to force it. The crest of the hills, as you pass northward, were crowned with strong breastworks and batteries. Three-fourths of a mile to the north of Bemis', you will see another tablet on the right side of the road in front of a barn. This marks the site of the advance works of the Americans. Those entrenchments, however, were near the river to the south-east. See the map. A little farther on you will notice two houses, some distance off to your right, next the river. The lower farm was Vandenburg's, and served as a stopping place over night for the frightened inhabitants on their way from the north to a place of safety. The highway ran along the river till after the Revolution.

BURGOYNE'S RIVER DEFENSES. FRASER'S GRAVE

ELEVENTH: Two miles to the north of Bemis Heights we come to Wilbur's basin. Here just to the north of the buildings Burgoyne had his hospital, his park of artillery, and his magazines. At the river bank were tied his transportation boats, and thrown across the river was a pontoon bridge. Up to the left you will notice three hills. On each of these was placed a battery for the defense of his camp and stores. On the middle one General Fraser was buried, and his body was never removed, so far as is known. Consult map for locations. The fourth house to the north along the river is Ensign's, where Neilson had his struggle with the big Indian described in the chapter of anecdotes.

SWORD'S HOUSE

TWELFTH: Nearly two miles north of Wilbur's basin you come to Searle's ferry. Forty rods above the ferry is a farm house. Turn to the west just north of the barns, pass over the canal bridge, and a few rods to the west of the bridge, on a rise of ground, and a little to your left, you will see a depression in the ground. That marks the cellar of Sword's house, which Burgoyne occupied two days as headquarters, and in the vicinity of which his army was encamped.

WILLARD'S MOUNTAIN

THIRTEENTH: Throughout the day you have noticed a high mountain on the east side of the river, about six miles away. That is Willard's mountain, so called from the fact that a Mr. Willard posted himself on that mountain during the latter days of Burgoyne's advance and signaled his observations to General Gates.

CHAPTER XVII

ANECDOTES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Introductory—The Sexagenary—Who was He?

AMONG the very few early residents of the upper Hudson valley who left behind them a written record of incidents connected with Colonial and Revolutionary days was one who signed himself the Sexagenary, (that is, the man in his sixties). Indeed, he gives us about the most entertaining and realistic pictures we have of the hardships and sufferings, the toils and sacrifices, which the common folk of those days had to undergo, especially the dwellers in those communities into whose precincts the common enemy chanced to intrude himself. His real name was never divulged, so far as we can learn, hence his identity has ever remained a profound mystery, but at the same time a prolific cause of wonderment and conjecture on the part of students of New York history.

On the first reading of the Sexagenary's book, the writer was inclined to regard it as largely fictitious; but after a more critical study of it he discovered the author to be thoroughly accurate in all cases where it has been possible to verify him. His constant reference to sites, and localities and personages, in and about Old Saratoga, showed a familiarity with the lay of the country and its people which was possible to one only after a protracted residence. All this served to arouse the curiosity of the writer to the point of getting on his track and running down this coy and evasive author. The clues were fur-

nished us chiefly by the book itself, showing that the author did not cover his tracks as thoroughly as he fancied.

First, we undertook to locate the home of the Sexagenary's father, about whom he has so much to say. From his book we learned the author was born in Schoharie, N. Y., the year of the Stamp Act, 1765; that his father removed to the vicinity of Saratoga, apparently about 1770, and bought a farm on the east side of the Hudson, opposite "Schuyler's Flats;" that the house was situated about one-quarter of a mile from the river; that it was south of the ford across the Hudson, and was located on a bluff, or bank, that ran parallel with the river. Just to the north of the house was a hollow, and a ravine running east into the high bluffs, or river hills, which was suitable for and was frequently used as a place of refuge from the periodic raids of Indians and Tories. From beneath the bank in said hollow, or ravine, gushed a spring. Having set down all the landmarks given in the book that referred to his home, the writer set to work diligently to find the place and after a misadventure or two finally succeeded in locating it beyond all question. It is on the east side of the river. Everybody familiar with the drive has noticed the stately mansion adorning the bluff up to your left, on the way southward, and overlooking the river, about two miles south of the bridge. The place now comprising 226 acres is owned by Mrs. John B. Eldredge, but for many years was known as the Slade place. This was the early home of the Sexagenary, though the original house was removed to make room for the present brick structure.

Having located his abode, we thought by searching the records we could easily find who owned that property

from 1770 to 1785 or '90, but to our chagrin, could find nothing either in the clerk's office of Washington county, nor in the archives at Albany. We learned that but few records of conveyances were kept at that time. Not to be baffled in this way, we turned again to the book, hoping to find some other clue which we had overlooked; ere long we discovered that the author's name was John—a fatal slip if he really wanted to conceal himself. Remembering that he speaks of himself as having settled upon the Battenkill soon after the Revolution, we at once turned to the history of Washington county, and looked up all the "Johns" who had attained any prominence in the towns of Greenwich and Easton between 1790 and 1825, and found quite a number of them. Turning to his book again, with this clue in mind, we noticed that on the flight of the inhabitants at the approach of Burgoyne, his father and family sought refuge among their relatives in Bethlehem, south of Albany, who received them very kindly. Happening to have some relatives of our own among the old families in that locality, we called to mind among others the name Becker. Turning to our list of "Johns," we found there a John Becker. Here at last was something tangible and hopeful. Now the question was, Were there any Beckers in Schoharie, whence the Sexagenary says he came with his father? Not having read as yet his reminiscences of the Schoharie valley, we seized his book for another search. We had not gone far before we read, on page 166, in his description of Sir John Johnson's raid down through that valley, in 1780, and his attack on Middleburg, that the fort there was situated midway between the hill and the creek (which is true), and that it consisted, as he said, "of a picket and some minor de-

fenses" thrown up about what was "well known by the appellation of Becker's stone house." Then he says: "When the alarm was given my grandfather was in the fort, and his son was in a mill which belonged to the family about a mile from the place." It occurred to us that the most natural place in the world for an old man to be found, in the country especially, would be in his own house. But still, so natural an inference did not verify the fact that the grandfather's name was Becker, he might have been making a call at the time. If, however, it could be found that the "mill" which was "about a mile from the fort" was owned at the time by a Becker, it would prove beyond reasonable doubt that the Sexagenary was a Becker, for it "belonged to the family."

The Hon. George L. Danforth, of Middleburg, N. Y., who has made a special study of the history of that locality, writes us that "Johannes Becker owned the house which was fortified as the Middle Fort. There were two grist mills within about a mile of the fort, as you can see from the ancient map of the territory, published in 'General Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians;' one was Becker's, and the other was Eckerson's."⁹⁷ This proves beyond reasonable doubt that the name we are after is Becker. Adding to this what we had already discovered, we have the combination, John Becker.

Returning to Old Saratoga and vicinity, we discover some additional confirmation for our conclusion. In the Records of the (Dutch) Reformed Church, at Schuylerville, we find that when it was re-organized, in 1789, Peter Becker and Colonel Cornelius Van Veghten were elected as elders. Now the Sexagenary speaks of his father as

⁹⁷ General Sullivan's Indian Expedition, p. 288.

being an attendant of the church at "Schuyler's Flats," and also of Colonel Van Veghten as being a great friend of his father's. These two men being active patriots, and both of them active members of the same church, are facts that afford ample ground for such friendship. Furthermore, Peter Becker's name appears in the history of Washington county as one of the early settlers in the town of Easton, which is east of the Hudson, and opposite Saratoga. On inquiry among the Beckers of Easton, who are posted in family history, we found that none of their ancestry settled along the river as far north as this, but that they came from Schaghticoke way. This would indicate that Peter Becker came from elsewhere, which leaves room for the inference that he is the one who emigrated from Schoharie, and hence was the father of the Sexagenary. Peter Becker's election to the eldership of the aforesaid church when the Sexagenary was only twenty-four tends to strengthen the theory of such relationship.⁹⁸

Finally, in closing his "Reminiscences," the Sexagenary says: "After the war I married and removed to a beautiful farm on the Battenkill that to this day (1832), bears my name. Prosperity filled my sails, and when my father died, his blessing seemed to rest upon my head." Then he recounts a series of disasters which swept away his

⁹⁸ The name of John P. Becker also appears quite frequently in the early records of the Reformed church at Schuylerville, especially in connection with the baptism of his five younger children. In connection with these baptisms we learn that his wife's name was Margaret Van Buren.

The following are the names of the children born to John P. Becker and Margaret Van Buren; Martin, born (?); died February 10th, 1808, age 20; Garret, born December 1st, 1789; Jeremiah, born September 7th, 1792; Maria, born May 1st, 1794; Caty Ann, born August 29th, 1796; Walter, born December 19th, 1798. The wife of Peter Becker, the father of John P., was Annetie Acker, a name also common in Schoharie.

property, and left him a poor old man at the time he undertook his literary work. On investigation, we found that one John P. Becker figures in the early history of Greenwich, which is on the Battenkill. He had much to do with the founding of the (Dutch) Reformed Church of Union Village, as Greenwich was then called, in 1807-10.⁹⁹ and for sometime served as its treasurer. In 1810 he was elected as the second president of Union Village.¹⁰⁰ These facts indicate that he was a man of some standing in the community, as one would expect from the author of such a work.

On visiting Greenwich, to ascertain if there were any who could remember Mr. Becker, we found that the Hon. Charles R. Ingalls, judge of the Supreme Court, has a clear remembrance of him as an old man who used to call at his father's house, in Greenwich, when he was a small boy. He recalls him as one who was spoken of as having had considerable means; that he once owned the Mosier place, now the beautiful home of Henry Gray, M. D., No. 18 Church street; and that he had lost his property; especially did he remember him as one who in his visits used often to fall asleep in his chair and snore sonorously. The Judge's recollection tallies closely with the Sexagenary's account of himself, especially with reference to the loss of his property.

Our deduction from all these facts is, that John P. Becker and the original of the Sexagenary are one and the same individual. In this deduction, Judge Charles R. Ingalls, of Troy, N. Y., and other prominent citizens to whom the facts have been submitted fully concur.

⁹⁹ Thurston's Historical Sketch of Greenwich, p. 48.

¹⁰⁰ History of Washington County. Edition of 1878, p. 343.

The contents of the book were first published as contributed papers in the *Albany Gazette*, in 1831-3, and now on file in the State Library. The first number of the series was published in the issue of December 20, 1831. By way of preface, the editor of the *Gazette* says:

"We commence this day the publication of a series of numbers furnished us, and edited by a gentleman of this city which we hope will not prove without interest to those who look with kindness on the reminiscences of our old inhabitants."

The gentleman who furnished and edited the papers was S. Dewitt Bloodgood, a prominent citizen of Albany at the time, and a regular contributor to the press. In 1866 these papers were collected and re-edited by Dewitt C. Bloodgood, presumably the son of the preceding, and then published in book form by Joel Munsell, of Albany, in his Historical series, but neither the final editor nor the publisher knew the author's name.

The following statement of the Sexagenary, concerning himself and the circumstances under which he published his Reminiscences, was left out by editor number two in preparing the papers for publication in book form. This, we think, ought not to have been done, as it helps one to understand how a man, lacking in literary experience, could have his story presented in so readable a form.

"Induced by the cares of poverty, which now press upon me with a weight unfelt in happier years, I have, at the instance of a gentleman who has befriended me in adversity, consented to entrust to his hands the incidents of my life for publication."

We find that one writer, who published in 1844 a local history of Revolutionary times, copied very largely from

the Sexagenary papers without giving any credit to his source, and that several later writers have quoted this copyist, apparently supposing him to be the original publisher of the stories.

The book deserves to be more widely read, as it is written in a very entertaining style, and is thoroughly trustworthy in everything where the author was in a position to know the facts from experience, or could consult the witnesses, and he attempts to meddle with very little else. The book being out of print and quite rare, we have taken the liberty to quote it very freely in these pages.

After the above was set in type the writer was surprised one day by a visit from a grandson of John P. Becker. We had failed in all our attempts at finding hereabouts a descendant of Mr. Becker's. This was Mr. A. J. Smith of Saratoga Springs, who had through the local press become aware of our researches. He stated that the above facts regarding the early home of his grandfather, his presence at the surrender of Burgoyne and the main facts connected with his later life were known to him to be correct. He, however, knew nothing of his great-grandfather Peter Becker, nor was he aware that his grandfather had allowed to be published the incidents of his life. Evidently in his desire to hide his identity the old man had not disclosed his literary venture even to his own children, else it would not have so long remained a secret. Mr. Smith stated that his grandfather became blind in the last years of his life, and that he and his son Walter, who was a physician, were both killed in a runaway accident on the way from Salem to Greenwich in the year 1837.

CHAPTER XVIII

ANECDOTES

Stampede of the People—Its Cause

DURING the entire period of the Revolution the farmers up and down the valley, who happened to possess teams of horses, were frequently pressed into service as wagoners; compelled to leave their own homes and business to serve the public. Mr. Becker (the Sexagenary) tells how his father, like his neighbors, was frequently made a victim of this presumably necessary policy. Once, while a boy of only eleven, he was forced to drive one of his father's teams all the way to Montreal, in the dead of winter, with supplies for General Montgomery's army. They used the ice on Lakes George and Champlain as a highway.

The following incident, related by Mr. Becker, occurred after the fall of Ticonderoga, and just after the vanguard of Burgoyne's army had reached the Hudson at Fort Edward:

"For some days no information was received from our troops, who were supposed to be intrenched at Moses creek for the purpose of making a stand. We were wrapped in fond security until our danger was suddenly brought home to us by one of the startling incidents attendant on an enemy's approach. It was in August, and we had just risen from dinner, when one of my uncle's negroes came running to the house with eyes dilated with terror. After waiting for a few moments for the return of his natural functions, we learned from him that an Indian had been seen in the orchard near the house, evidently intending to shoot a person belong-

ing to the family, who was at work in the garden; the blacks, however, had given the alarm, and the man escaped into the house, while at the same time six other savages rose from their place of concealment and ran into the woods. This was on our [the east] side of the river. The savages that remained with Burgoyne were continually, for miles in advance of him, on his flanks, reconnoitering our movements, and beating up the settlements. My father, on learning the fact of their approach, went immediately over to his brother's house, which was about one-fourth of a mile off, to ascertain what was to be done for the safety of the families. He found him making every exertion to move away. During my father's absence, my mother, who was a resolute woman, one fitted for the times in which she lived, was industriously placing the most valuable of her clothing in a cask; and at her instance, I went out with some of our servants to catch a pair of fleet horses, and harness them as fast as possible to the wagon." Several loads were hastily taken down to the river placed in a light bateau, some of the farming utensils were buried in the road; a half dozen porkers were turned loose into the woods; the father and family, with a couple teams, ferried¹⁰¹ themselves across the river to Schuyler's Flats, while the son, who tells us the story, with a black, paddled down the river. They reached H. Vandenburg's [now Ephraim Ford's place], between Wilbur's Basin and Bemis Heights, that night. "We found, on landing there, a number of people who, like ourselves, had been driven from their homes. I

¹⁰¹ The cut in the bank, excavated by the Beckers as an approach to their private ferry, and mentioned by the Sexagenary in connection with the above story, is still used for a crossing place in the winter, and for drawing ice from the river by the neighboring farmers.

scarcely ever witnessed a greater scene of hurry and confusion than was now presented to our view. I had been amused by the novelty, and pleased with the variety of incidents which attended our own flight, but the distress of the groups around us changed the current of my feelings and excited my deepest sympathy. Some of them obtained accommodations that night within doors; some were happy to be under the cover of the cattle sheds, while others stretched themselves in their wagons, and endeavored to snatch a few moments of repose. The next morning my father, with a few congenial spirits, went back home to try to save some of their stock, which they succeeded in doing safely. At the same time the whole body of people at Vandenburg's moved off toward Stillwater; a general panic now prevailing among them, which seemed every hour to increase. Our procession of flying inhabitants wore a strange and melancholy appearance. A long cavalcade of wagons, filled with all kinds of furniture not often selected by the owners with reference to their use or value on occasions of alarm, stretched along the road, while others on horseback, and here and there two mounted at once upon a steed panting under a double load, were followed by a crowd of pedestrians. These found great difficulty in keeping up with the rapid flight of their mounted friends. Here and there would be seen some humane person assisting the more unfortunate, by relieving them of their packs and bundles with which they were encumbered, but generally a principle of selfishness prevented an interchange of friendly offices." After many vicissitudes, young Becker, with his father and family, reached Bethlehem, about ten miles below Albany, where they found refuge among relatives.

EXPERIENCE OF THE MARSHALL FAMILY

Mrs. Thomas Jordan, a daughter of Abram Marshall, who settled upon the farm now owned by W. H. Marshall, south of Victory, in 1763, related to Benson J. Lossing, the historian, in 1848, her experience of the Burgoyne campaign. She was a young lady of twenty when independence was declared, and was living with her parents on their farm when Burgoyne came down the valley. She was then betrothed, but her lover had shouldered his musket, and was in Schuyler's camp. When the people were hastily fleeing toward Albany, on the approach of Burgoyne, she and her parents were among the fugitives. So fearful were they of the Indian scouts sent forward, and of the resident Tories, who were emboldened by the proximity of the invaders, that for several nights previous to their flight they slept in a swamp, apprehensive that their dwelling would be burned over their heads, and themselves murdered. When they returned home, after the surrender of Burgoyne, all was desolation. "It was a sad return, for we had but little to come to," she said. "Our crops and our cattle, our sheep, hogs and horses, were all gone, yet we knelt down in our desolate home and thanked God sincerely that our house and barns were not destroyed." She wedded her soldier lover soon after his discharge. He had been in the bateau service. She was personally acquainted with General Schuyler, and used to speak feelingly of the noble-heartedness of himself and lady in all the relations of life. Thomas Jordan cleared and owned the farm now occupied by Mr. Frank Marshall, who is a grand-nephew of Mrs. Jordan.

EXPERIENCE OF THE ROGERS FAMILY

Among the interesting incidents of Revolutionary times connected with citizens who have been prominent in the history of Schuylerville, one of the most thrilling relates to the ancestry of Rev. Thomas L. Rogers, for a number of years pastor of the Baptist church here.

His grandfather, James Rogers, son of Rev. James Rogers, was living, in 1777, with his family, on a farm at the junction of the Battenkill with the Hudson river, at the place now known as Clark's Mills. When the army of Burgoyne was approaching that point, he thought it wise to seek shelter under the protection of General Stark, at Bennington, about thirty miles to the eastward. Hastily packing a wagon with such of his goods as he could carry, he started, with his wife and two young children, for Bennington, on August 13th, 1777. He reached Walloomsac on the eve of the 15th, and camped for the night. The next morning he saw coming down the creek some American soldiers, and soon after saw, coming up the valley, some British troops; in fact, he was right between the lines, and a battle was imminent, for Stark had come out to prevent Burgoyne's men, under Colonel Baum, getting to Bennington. The mother and children were hastily secured in the cellar of a hut by the creek, and the father and the oxen were impressed into the service of Stark. Baum planted his cannon to stop the Yankee advance, but they were soon taken by a charge (the first charge upon a battery in the open field made by Americans in the Revolutionary war). Soon thereafter those guns were hauled to the rear by James Rogers' oxen. One of them was exhibited and fired in the salute at the dedi-

cation of the Bennington battle monument, August 16, 1891.

Mr. Rogers and his family remained in the vicinity of Bennington for two weeks, during which time the younger child died. He returned as soon as it was safe to his farm, where he died in September, 1793. He left three sons and four daughters, all of whom married and settled in Greenwich. James Rogers was only 49 when he died, but his wife lived to the age of 88 years, dying in 1837. She is well remembered by her grandchildren, one of whom, Samuel Rogers, of Bald Mountain, is still living at the age of ninety-three.

The farm of James Rogers has been held continuously in the Rogers family since 1770, being now occupied by A. Yates Rogers, Esq.

The maiden name of Mrs. James Rogers was Mercy Tefft. Her family emigrated to Greenwich from Rhode Island and was among the earliest and most substantial settlers of that town.¹⁰²

JOSEPH WELCH'S NARROW ESCAPE

Joseph Welch was one of the ante-Revolutionary settlers in Old Saratoga, and perhaps was the only representative from this locality who fought in the battle of Bunker Hill. Sometime after this, he had the misfortune to be captured by some Indians and taken to Canada. They evidently intended to adopt him into their tribe if they could tame him. They kept him pretty snug for a time, but he managed in various ways to win their esteem and confidence. One day the chief asked him if he had a squaw and any papooses back home, and

¹⁰² The above facts were kindly given the writer by Mr. Thomas L. Rogers, of Boston, Mass., son of the Rev. Thomas L. Rogers.

he said no, which was not true, for he had a young wife and a child or two. The chief then said: "Before many moons, we will give the white man a squaw."

After a while they allowed him to go out hunting with them, but he was too politic to allow himself to shoot more game than the Indians, lest he should arouse their jealousy. But all this time Welch was only "playing possum." By no means had he forgotten his old home and loved ones, nor had his determination to see them again abated; for after he had been with the Indians, perhaps a year or more, and noticed that they had relaxed their vigilance, he began to lay his plans for escape. He secreted some provision, secured a hatchet, and finally one summer night, when all were sound asleep, he arose, wrapped his blanket around him, stole out of the wigwam, and was off for liberty, intending to make the nearest English settlement or military station.

Of course, the next morning he was missed, and at once the Indians gave chase. Ere long he discovered that they were on his track, and despite every effort to elude them, found that they were gaining on him. Finally he espied a hollow log, and in sheer desperation, crawled into it. His pursuers were soon up with him, and losing the trail, hunted around for it in the vicinity of the log the balance of the day, and in fact camped near him for the night. The next morning they gave up the search and went off.

He crawled out of his cramped hiding place, congratulated himself on his escape, took his bearings, and made a new start. He had not covered many miles ere the tire of the previous day's race, together with the sleepless watchfulness of the last night, compelled him to stop and rest, so he lay down alongside a big log, threw

his blanket over him,—head and all,—to keep off the mosquitoes, and went to sleep. He had not lain there long before he was awakened by a loud stamping and a whistling snort. He seized his hatchet, thumped it over a stone, and a clatter of heels told him that the herd of deer, which had disturbed his slumbers, were off. He knew what they were as soon as he heard the peculiar snort.

After his rest he renewed his journey, and on reaching a large stream was startled by seeing a man coming up the opposite bank. At first he thought him an Indian, but on a closer view saw that he was a white man. Then he disclosed himself, related his experiences, and asked the way to the nearest settlement. The man guided him to an English military post, where he was received and treated as a prisoner of war, but was soon thereafter exchanged. Shortly after his return he enlisted as a Continental, and became a member of the "4th N. Y. Regiment of the Line" (Regulars), and served till honorably discharged.

It was apparently before the Revolutionary war that he had the following adventure. While roaming the woods, and evidently far from home, he espied a party of Indians coming down the banks of a stream, near which he chanced to be. On their closer approach he noticed that one of them was carrying a white baby, which they had, no doubt, stolen away from its mother. He revealed himself, and soon saw them trying to still the infant's cries, and satisfy its hunger by feeding it some water, into which they had steeped or soaked some crushed hickory-nut meats. He succeeded in buying the baby of them, perhaps for a little powder and tobacco, and then he took it into the first white man's cabin he

came across and gave it into the hands of a motherly woman, who cared for it, but who, on ultimately finding its parents, gave them back their lost baby.

Joseph Welch emigrated from Ireland, and came to Saratoga (Schuylerville) about 1770. For some time he worked for General Schuyler. He was a shoe-maker by trade. After the Revolution he leased a farm of the General, made a clearing, built a log house, and settled down for life. His farm was the one now owned by J. E. McEckron, in the angle formed by the road to Grangerville and the back road to Bacon hill. He married a Miss Bowen; they had a large family, and are the ancestors of the numerous Schuylerville Welch's. The old patriot and his wife are buried in the Finch burying ground up near the monument.

We obtained these facts from Mrs. Isaac Bemis, of Bacon Hill, a granddaughter of Joseph Welch, and who heard them from the lips of the old man while sitting on his knee as a little child, and also from John B. Welch, a great-grandson.

NEILSON'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE BIG INDIAN

The two following anecdotes are selected from "Burgoyne's Campaign," by Charles Neilson. His father, John Neilson, owned the property and buildings at the north-west angle of the American works at Bemis Heights, and from whom it was named Fort Neilson. The property is still in the Neilson family.

This first event must have been nearly coincident with the preceding ones. The writer says: "About this time, small parties of Indians were seen prowling about

the vicinity, of whom my father and a few resolute fellows had been in pursuit. On their return, he had occasion, while the others passed on, to call at a Mr. Ezekiel Ensign's, who afterwards, and for a number of years, kept a public house a little north of Wilbur's Basin. While sitting there, about nine o'clock in the evening, in conversation with Mr. Ensign, a ferocious-looking giant-like Indian, armed and accoutred in the usual costume of an aboriginal warrior, ushered himself into the room, and after eying them sharply for a moment, he, with one hand drew from his belt a huge tomahawk, which he flourished about his head in true Indian style, and with the other a long scalping-knife, with which he exhibited, in pantomime, his dexterous manner of taking scalps. At the same time, with eyes flashing fire, and turning alternately from one to the other, as they sat in opposite directions, he accompanied his daring acts in broken English with threats of instant death if they attempted to move or speak. Ensign being crippled in one arm, having at some former time accidentally received a charge of shot through his shoulder, and feeling his own weakness, should resistance become necessary, and being in momentary expectation of receiving the fatal blow, became fixed and immovable in his chair with a countenance of ashy paleness. On the other hand, my father being a man of great muscular strength, and of uncommon agility, and having had many encounters with the Indians, for which they owed him a grudge, prepared himself with much presence of mind for a desperate encounter. To this end, while the Indian would momentarily direct his attention to Ensign, he would imperceptibly and by degrees turn himself in the chair, and in this manner

would, from time to time, keep silently moving, by little and little, until he succeeded in placing himself in a position in which he could grasp, with both hands, the back of his chair. Thus situated, and knowing the lives of both of them depended altogether on his own exertions, he watched his opportunity, and the moment the Indian turned his eye from him he grasped the chair and, with almost the rapidity of lightning, sprang upon his feet, whirled the chair over his head, and aimed at him a desperate blow; but the chair raking the ceiling above, and the Indian at the same time dodging the blow, he missed him. The Indian, having recovered his position, immediately sprang with a hideous yell, and with his tomahawk uplifted, ready to strike the fatal blow. But before he could effect his direful purpose, the chair was brought around the second time, and with redoubled force, athwart his head and shoulders, which brought him to the floor.

“No sooner had he fallen than his assailant, dropping the chair, sprang upon him and wrenched from his firm grasp the dreadful weapons of death; and would have disabled him on the spot, had not Ensign begged of him not to kill him in the house. He then, holding him in his firm grasp, called for a rope, and then, with the assistance of Ensign, he succeeded, though not without a dreadful struggle, in binding the savage monster. By this time two neighbors, who had been alarmed by some female of the family, came in, when he was shut up in an outhouse, and left under their guard.” But while they slept he managed to escape, to the extreme disgust of his captor.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ This farm is still owned by a descendant of Ezekiel Ensign.

CHAPTER XIX

ANECDOTES—Continued

Capture of the British Picket by Young Farmers

BETWEEN the first and second battles, and “while the two armies were thus encamped near each other, about twenty of the most resolute inhabitants in the vicinity collected together for the purpose of having a frolic, as they termed it, of some kind or other. After their arrival at the place of rendezvous, and a number of propositions had been discussed, they finally concluded, with more courage than prudence, that by a *coup de main* they would go and bring in one of the British advanced pickets, which was posted on the north bank of the Middle ravine. Having with much formality selected their several officers, and furnished themselves with suitable arms and other equipments, they marched off in *ir-regular* military style. Thus they ventured forth about ten o’clock at night, fully determined to conquer or die in the glorious cause of their beloved country.

“As they approached within musket-shot distance of their unsuspecting enemy, they formed themselves in order of battle, and advanced in three *grand* divisions; one by a circuitous route, to gain their rear, while the other two posted themselves on their flanks. After giving time for each party to gain their several positions, the resolute captain, who was prepared for the purpose, gave the preconcerted signal by a deafening blast on an old horse trumpet, when all with fearless step, ‘rushed bravely’ on with clattering arms, through rustling leaves and crackling brush, with the usual parade of a hundred

men. As they closed in, the leader of each division, in a bold and commanding voice, and before the guard could say: 'Who comes there?' called, or rather bawled out, 'Ground your arms, or you are all dead men!' Supposing they were surrounded by a much superior force, and deeming resistance of no avail, the officer of the guard gave the orders, when their arms were immediately grounded, and the thirty British soldiers surrendered themselves 'prisoners of war' to only two-thirds of their number, and those undisciplined American farmers."

The following is related by Wilkinson in his Memoirs: "Prior to the action of the 19th [Sept.], Lieutenant Hardin had been detached with a light party to the rear of the British army to take a prisoner and pick up intelligence. On his return, near Saratoga, on the 22d, he met an Indian courier in a path on the summit of a sharp ridge [south of Victory Mills]. They were within a few paces when they caught sight of each other, presented and fired at the same instant; the Indian fell, and Hardin escaped with a scratch of his antagonist's ball on his left side. Letters of Burgoyne to Powell, and several others, were found in the shot pouch of the dead Indian, and delivered by the Lieutenant to Gates at headquarters."

THE SAVING OF THE OLD DUTCH CHURCH

The following incidents are taken from the Sexagenary: "It was the 8th of October, if I am not mistaken, [the 9th], that Burgoyne's retreat was first discovered. The news created an intoxication of joy in the American camp. My father being well mounted and anxious to see everything that could be seen, and also having a thorough knowledge of the country roads, proposed to

two friends, Mr. (Dirck?) Swart, and Mr. Schuyler, [not the General], to go forward for the purpose of obtaining intelligence. They started, taking a private road which came out at Saratoga opposite the church, [which then stood in the fork of the river and Victory roads, south of the creek], and there, at a short distance from them, actually saw the British troops passing by. In consequence of their excessive fatigue and a tremendous rain, they were all day getting there. My father always claimed the credit with his companions for having saved the old church from being burned. A soldier was seen approaching it with fire when they shouted to the man with all their might. He dropped the brand and ran off. They in the same instant turned their horses into the woods, and made off at full speed. My father, although he arrived late that afternoon in the camp, obtained a fresh horse, and reached Albany at 11 o'clock that night, bringing the joyful news of Burgoyne's retreat."

RETURN TO SARATOGA

"The intelligence brought by my father [Peter Becker] was indeed joyful to us. He ordered the black to get three horses ready, early in the morning, to take us back to Saratoga. Early as the day dawned, all were on the move, but my mother, who remained behind. We met on the road great numbers of wounded men, belonging to both armies. A great many were carried on litters, which were blankets fastened to a frame of four poles. I never saw the effects of war until now. In camp there was something of 'pomp and circumstance,' which rather animated than depressed the spirits. But the sight of these wretched people, pale and lifeless, with counte-

nances of an expression peculiar to gun-shot wounds, as the surgeons have truly informed us, and the sound of groaning voices, as each motion of the litter renewed the anguish of their wounds, filled me with horror and sickness of heart. And is public happiness then bought at the price of individual wretchedness? Must blood and tears and sorrow be the result of even the most just and righteous controversies? The human heart, 'a tangled yarn,' brings a curse on its own plans.

"We reached the American camp, and drove through it to the bank of the river, opposite my uncle's farm. We got out and walked along the bank to see if there was any chance to get across. My father luckily recognized a Captain Knute, of the bateaumen, who kindly offered us the use of a scow, and indeed saw us safely over the river. We drove that night to our own home. But, oh, how much changed! It looked like a military post, to which use it was actually converted. A thousand eastern militia were quartered around the premises. We began to think we had not gained much by coming on at this juncture." They secured lodgings in their house that night, however. "The next day brought its variety; we discovered that our fellow lodgers were troops from Sheffield, Mass., and, if I remember right, were some of those militiamen who refused to stay with the army until Burgoyne should be compelled to surrender."

THE CANNONADE OF THE OLD DUTCH CHURCH

Young Becker, with a companion, made numerous excursions over to the American camp "to see what was going on." On one of these trips the following occurred: "Every moment the scene was growing more interesting. As we came near the main body of the enemy, which we

approached within three-fourths of a mile, and while we were looking round to observe the movements of the different detachments about us, which we could do very distinctly, we observed a flash from a cannon, and almost instantly saw a ball come out of the Saratoga church, apparently deadened by the resistance it had met. It passed over our heads, with a slight whizzing, and struck in the bank behind us, at the distance of three hundred yards. In a few moments another, its fellow, passed through the church in the same manner, and struck in the bank behind us.¹⁰⁴ I judged that the range of these shots was about a mile. The church long exhibited the marks of the balls; but it was pulled down some years ago, [1822] and another of more modern appearance is now devoted, in its place, to religious worship. We did not remain in our position longer. We concluded that we had seen enough for the present."

THE CAPTURE OF BURGoyNE'S HORSES

"An anecdote recurs to my recollection, which shows the daring of our soldiers. It is well known that the east side of the river was lined with militia. One of them discovered a number of the enemy's horses feeding in the meadow of General Schuyler's, opposite; he asked permission of his captain to go over and get one of them. It was given, and the man instantly stripped, and swam across the river. He ascended the bank, and, selecting a bay horse for his victim, approached the animal, seized him, and mounted him instantly. This last was the work of a moment. He forced the horse into a gallop, plunged

¹⁰⁴ These shots must have been fired from the battery stationed on the bluff at what is now called "Seeleyville." From statements made by various writers of the time, we conclude that the banks of the river and creek were then practically free from trees.

down the bank, and brought him safely over to the American camp, although a volley of musketry was fired at him from a party posted at a distance beyond. His success was hailed with enthusiasm, and it had a corresponding effect on his own adventurous spirit. After he had rested himself, he went to his officer and remarked, that it was hardly fitting that a private should ride a-horseback while his commander went on foot. 'So, sir, if you have no objections, I will go and catch another for you, and next winter when we are home, we will have our fun driving a pair of Burgine's horses.' The captain seemed to agree with him, and gave a ready consent. The fellow actually went across a second time, and with equal success brought over a horse that matched exceedingly well with the other. The men all enjoyed this prank very much, and it was a circumstance familiar to almost every one in the army at that time."

ROMANCE OF THE MAGUIRES

"During the time of the cessation of arms, while the articles of capitulation were preparing, the soldiers of the two armies often saluted, and talked with each other from opposite banks of the river. Among the British was a soldier of the 9th regiment [which had its camp just south of the monument] named Maguire, who came down to the river side with a number of his companions, and engaged in conversation with a party of Americans on the further shore. In a short time something was observed to strike the mind of the Hibernian very forcibly. He suddenly jumped up and darted like a flash down the bank and into the river. At the same moment one of the American soldiers seized with a like impulse, resolutely dashed into the water. The wondering sol-

diers beheld them eagerly swim toward the middle of the river, where they met. Fortunately it was shallow enough for them to stand on the bottom. They embraced, and hung on each other's necks and wept; and the loud cries of 'my brother! my dear brother!!' soon cleared up the mystery to the astonished onlookers. Indeed they were brothers; one had emigrated to America, while the other had entered the British army, and unbeknown to themselves had been engaged in mortal combat against each other."¹⁰⁵

REMINISCENCES OF THE SURRENDER

On the day of the surrender the "Sexagenary," being only a boy, was allowed by some good-natured officers to get very near to the tent, or marquee, of General Gates, where he had an opportunity to witness what there occurred. He, boy like, watched his chance to peep into the tent while the generals were at dinner. He relates the following, among others things he saw: "At the moment they [the British troops] stepped foot within our lines, our drums and music struck up 'Yankee Doodle.' At this moment the two generals came out together. The American commander faced the road, and Burgoyne did the same, standing on his left. Not a word was said by either, and for some minutes, to the best of my recollection, they stood silently gazing on the scene before them. The one, no doubt, in all the pride of honest success; the other, the victim of regret and sensibility. Burgoyne was a large and stoutly-formed man, his countenance was rough and hard, and somewhat marked with scars, if I am not mistaken, but he had a

¹⁰⁵ Stone's Campaign of Burgoyne.

handsome figure and a noble air. Gates was a smaller man with much less of manner, and destitute of that air which distinguished Burgoyne." His description of the delivery of the sword tallies with that already given. He next describes the captured troops as they passed. He says: "I saw the whole body pass before me. The light infantry, in advance, were extraordinary men. Finer and better looking troops I never saw. They were not seen to much advantage, however, for their small clothes [stockings] and gaiters having been wet in the creek, the dust¹⁰⁶ adhered to them in consequence. Some of the officers were very elegant men.

"The Hessians came lumbering in the rear. I looked at these men with commiseration. It was well known that their services had been sold by their own petty princes, that they were collected together, if not caught at their churches, and if we may credit the account given us, they were actually torn from their homes and handed over to the British government at so much a head, to be transported across the ocean and wage war against a people of whose history, and even of whose existence, they were ignorant. Many of them deserted to our army before and after the convention of Saratoga. Fifty have been known to come over in one party before the surrender.

"A very remarkable disease prevailed among them, if the accounts of some respectable officers attached to Burgoyne's army may be credited. While on their way down from Canada a presentiment would take possession of twenty or thirty of them at a time that they were going to die, and that they would never again see their father-

¹⁰⁶ The "dust" proves that they had clear weather at the time of the surrender.

land. The impression could not be effaced from their minds, notwithstanding every exertion of their officers and the administering of medicines. A homesickness of the most fatal kind oppressed their spirits and destroyed their health; and a large number actually died of this disorder of the heart.

“The Hessians were extremely dirty in their persons, and had a collection of wild animals in their train—the only thing American they had captured. Here you saw an artilleryman leading a black bear, who every now and then would rear upon his hind legs as if he were tired of going upon all fours, or occasionally growl his disapprobation at being pulled along by a chain. In the same manner a tamed deer would be seen tripping lightly after a grenadier. Young foxes were also observed looking sagaciously at the spectators from the top of a baggage wagon, or a young raccoon securely clutched under the arm of a sharpshooter.

“On the evening of the surrender a number of Indians and squaws, the relics of Burgoyne’s aboriginal force, were brought over for safe keeping to my uncle’s farm, and quartered under a strong guard in the kitchen. Without this precaution their lives would not have been safe from the exasperated militia. The murder of Miss M’Crea was but one of a number of their atrocities which hardened every heart against them, and prevented the plea of mercy from being interposed in their behalf. Among those savages were three that were between six and seven feet in height, perfect giants in form, and possessing the most ferocious countenances I ever saw. [Neilson claims that the big Indian with whom his father had his life and death struggle at Ensign’s was one of these.]

"It was three days after the surrender that our camp began to be broken up. The militia were assiduous in exploring the fields for plunder and the concealed treasure of the vanquished. Immense quantities of camp furniture and fragments of every description were strewn about, 'and they spoiled the Egyptians.' Opposite our own house my father found a large number of hides and a considerable quantity of tallow. This, however, neither graced his store nor greased his boots. Our friends, the *irregulars*, spared him the trouble of carrying them home. In this way closed the eventful history of Saratoga. Blood and carnage were succeeded by success and plunder. My father once more commenced the labors of a husbandman, and after preparing the ground in a great hurry, and sowing his winter wheat, went off to Albany to bring home his wife."

JACOB KOONS GETS EVEN WITH BURGOYNE

The following story was furnished the writer by Mr. John W. Koons, of Quaker Springs, township of Saratoga, a grandson of the hero of the tale:

Jacob Koons was born in Dutchess county, N. Y. His parents came from Holland and were among the first settlers in that part of the State. Jacob, when a young man, removed to Rensselaer county, and there married one Polly Wheeler, of the town of Brunswick. When the war of the Revolution broke out he was among the first to enlist in the American army. Koons was taken prisoner, with about a hundred and fifty others, doubtless in some engagement connected with General Montgomery's expedition into Canada, and was incarcerated at Quebec.

After Burgoyne landed in the spring of 1777, equipped for his expedition down the Hudson valley, and while he tarried at Quebec, he would, every few days, assemble all the American prisoners, and for their entertainment and worriment, would point to his fine army, then on parade, and tell them what he was about to do. He was going to march down through their country, join St. Leger at Albany, and there celebrate Christmas with a big feast. But while he was working his way down the lake and through the woods toward his goal, Koons with others was exchanged as prisoners and had rejoined his command. He was present at the surrender of Burgoyne at Schuylerville, and, fortunately for him, was placed as a sentinel before the General's tent. This was doubtless at Wilbur's Basin, on the night of the 17th of October, after the surrender, on his way down to Albany. Koons, being a pretty plucky Dutchman, watched his chance, and boldly reminded the General of the boastful language he had used to the American prisoners at Quebec, about his proposed conquering march through the country and eating his Christmas dinner in Albany. This tradition doesn't relate how Burgoyne received this, what he no doubt regarded as an impertinence, from a common soldier.

Jacob Koons had two sons, John and David. John Koons entered the army in the war of 1812, and was wounded at the battle of Chryslers Fields. To John Koons was born seven sons, five of whom, filled with the patriotic enthusiasm of their father, enlisted and fought for the preservation of the Union in the war of the Rebellion. John W. Koons, who contributed this sketch, was a lieutenant in Company G of the 7th Reg. N. Y. S. Volunteers.

ELBOW ROOM FOR BURGOYNE

"I'll make the rebels give me plenty of elbow room when I get in Albany!" was one of the many boasts uttered by Burgoyne on his way down from Ticonderoga, and which happened to be overheard by some one, who, besides being a rebel, was likewise guilty of eaves-dropping.

By some means the above expression became known in Albany before his arrival. Generals Burgoyne and Riedesel were riding side by side, attended by some American generals. Many people had assembled from the surrounding country to witness the grand *entree*.

As the cavalcade struck the pavement in North Market street (Broadway), there appeared suddenly, a little in advance of the generals, a witty, waggish son of the Emerald Isle, accompanied by a few kindred spirits. At once he began elbowing his comrades right and left and shouting with stentorian lungs: "Now, shure and ye'll shtand back an' giv' General Bergine plenty av ilbow room right here in Albany! I say, ye darty ribles, fall back an' giv' th' great General room to come along here in Albany! Och, fer hiven's sake, ye cowardly shpalpeens, do ye shtand aside to th' right and lift and make more ilbow room for General Bergine or, by Saint Patrick, I'll murther iv'ry mother's son av ye!!" The proud General was not a little disconcerted and annoyed by these hard rubs of this Irish *quidnunc*, but apparently not so much as the German General.¹⁰⁷

Burgoyne was greatly astonished when, after halting and dismounting before a palatial residence, he was ushered into the presence of Mrs. Philip Schuyler, wife of the

¹⁰⁷ Simm's *Frontiersmen of New York*. Vol. II., p. 132.

General, and found that the man whom he had so greatly injured was to be his host. He afterward paid a glowing tribute to Schuyler's generosity in a fine speech delivered in the British Parliament.

After the surrender, General Schuyler remained at Saratoga to look after his private affairs. He sent on Colonel Varrick to Mrs. Schuyler, in Albany, to announce the speedy coming of some guests from the vanquished army. He sent thither the Baroness Riedesel and her children in his own carriage, while Generals Burgoyne and Riedesel, and officers of their staffs, were escorted on horseback, the latter in company with General Glover. Mrs. Schuyler received these guests with her accustomed cordiality, and all of them, with the Baroness and her little daughters, were treated as friends and not as enemies.

Not long after their arrival one of Madame Riedesel's little girls, after frolicking about the spacious and well-furnished mansion, ran up to her mother and, with all the simplicity of youthful innocence, inquired in German: "Mother, is this the palace father was to have when he came to America?" The blushing Baroness speedily silenced her child, for some of the family were present who could understand German.

SARATOGA AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE BRITISH

It is certain that a good-sized force wintered here at Old Saratoga after the surrender, but it was withdrawn in the early spring and sent southward. This left the inhabitants hereabouts utterly defenseless, whereat General Schuyler and many others protested vigorously.¹⁰⁸ This was remedied soon afterwards.

¹⁰⁸ Public Papers of George Clinton. Vol. III., p. 177.

The Sexagenary has bequeathed us several interesting facts connected with that period. He says:

"During the winter, [of 1777-'78] notwithstanding the utter annihilation of anything like a regular and effective force by the capture of Burgoyne, yet the country was considered liable to the incursions of small parties of the enemy. Among other things, the church at Saratoga was occupied as a public depot, and the commissary in addition had it partitioned off inside and lived in it. Many a time have I seen barrels of pork and beef rolled in at the sacred porch, which so often had been proclaimed the gate of Heaven. One of the evils of war is the perversion of the most sacred things to the necessities of the moment. In Boston the famous Old South church was converted into a riding school by the British officers. A church in New York was made a prison for our sick and captured countrymen. The conversion of the church at Saratoga into a commissary's store was the only instance within my knowledge of a similar voluntary abuse by the Americans. [This was no doubt because the church was the only building of size left in the vicinity.] During the same winter, General Schuyler had twenty-four men constantly in attendance at his residence as a life guard, and, if I am right in my recollection, during the remainder of the war."

THE SEARCH FOR CANNON, ETC.

During the season of 1778 a part of the 1st N. Y., Van Schaick's regiment, was stationed here. The troops were under the immediate command of Lieutenant-Colonel Van Dyke. That summer, Colonel Quackenboss of the quartermaster's department came up to Saratoga with boats and all proper equipments to look for cannon,

which Burgoyne was supposed to have sunk in the river between the rapids and the mouth of Fishcreek. They hunted diligently and the only thing found was a barrel of British smoked hams of royal quality. That same summer a militia captain from Schenectady, by the name of Clute, while swimming in the river where Quackenboss had dragged, discovered a small brass howitzer. Calling on some of the neighboring farmers for help, he succeeded in landing it. He sold it to the government for a good round sum. It was then dragged up to the barracks.¹⁰⁹ In 1779 the above-mentioned force was relieved by a detachment, whose identity we have not been able to discover.

RAIDS OF TORIES AND INDIANS

The following year, 1780, the inhabitants north of Albany and Schenectady were kept in continual alarm by the frequent raids of Indians and Tories from the north. It was the year when Ballston was pounced upon by Colonel Munro with two hundred followers, who captured and carried into Canada Colonel Gordon and a number of his neighbors. The *Sexagenary* writes of this time:

"In Saratoga we continued constantly exposed to the harassing incursions of the Tories and Indians. Almost the whole country was alarmed by them, and, with the subtilty peculiar to the savage intellect, they seemed to escape every attempt at capture. Often we have seen them running across the fields upon the opposite [west] side of the river, now stooping behind fences which afforded them a partial cover, and now boldly running across the open ground, where the fences were down, to some other enclosed field, along which they skulked as

¹⁰⁹ These facts are taken from the *Sexagenary*.

before. During these alarms our neighbors used to come and live with us for weeks together, until the danger was over. The principal men of the county had guards stationed at their dwellings."

COLONEL VAN VEGHTEN'S NARROW ESCAPE

"One of our neighbors, a Colonel Van Veghten, who lived about three miles below the barracks [at Coveville], had a narrow escape about the same time. He was in the habit of riding from his own house up to General Schuyler's and to the barracks in order to receive and communicate intelligence.

"Those acquainted with the road will remember the ravine and creek just before you reach the [Dutch Reformed] church. [It is just south of what is now called Chubb's canal bridge.] In this ravine, concealed behind the trees, a Tory placed himself to shoot Van Veghten as he passed, who had rendered himself obnoxious to the partisans of the English by his constant assiduity in the service of his country. As he approached, mounted on his favorite gray, the assassin raised his gun to fire. His finger was on the trigger, when, as he afterwards confessed, the bold and manly air which Van Veghten possessed, joined to his unsuspecting manner, unnerved his arm. The weapon of death dropped from its position, and Colonel Van Veghten rode by unharmed. It so happened, however, that an alarm, which was given while he was at Saratoga, about a body of Indians and Tories having been seen, induced him to take the river road on his way home, and to give it the preference ever afterwards."¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ This indicates that there was a road at the time of and before the Revolution, near the river bank, as there still is north of Wilber's Basin, and used to be between Wilber's Basin and Bemis Heights.

THE DOG GAGGED BY A GARTER

The following incident was related to the writer by Mrs. E. M. McCoy, daughter of the late George Strover:

Her grandfather, John Strover, lived on his farm, over near Bryant's bridge, during those precarious times. The refuge selected for his family in case of danger was a sort of cave under the bank of the creek, and not far from the house. This could be entered only at low water during the summer. One day, being warned of the approach of Tories and Indians, she, with her children and a little dog, ran to the cave. For fear lest the dog, a noisy little cur, should bark and betray their hiding place, she took off her knitted garter and wrapped it tightly around his muzzle. It proved to be a most effective gag, and they escaped without being discovered.

DUNHAM'S DARING CAPTURE OF LOVELASS, THE SPY

It was during this or the previous season that the following incident occurred. Thomas Lovelass, a bold, resolute, and powerful man, was a noted leader among the Tories. He had succeeded in the capture of a number of his neighbors and in the destruction of much property among the patriots, and was considered a most dangerous partisan.

A godly number of the people hereabouts were attending some entertainment or social function. While there, a boy was seen to emerge from the woods on horseback, and then riding up to the house asked if he could buy some rum there. On being answered, No, he

went on down the river road. Among those present who observed him were Colonel Van Veghten and Captain Hezekiah Dunham. Dunham was a captain of militia, and a man of large influence among his neighbors. There was something in the behavior of the boy which aroused their suspicions, so he decided to watch the outcome. In a little while the boy was seen to ride back up the road at full speed, re-enter the woods and vanish. Dunham turned to Colonel Van Veghten and said: "The enemy is near us, the Tories are in the neighborhood, and not far off." They separated with a determination to act immediately. Dunham, when he reached home, went to see a person by the name of Green, who was a kindred spirit and a great leader among his neighbors. On relating the circumstance to him, they went and got three other men, and with these started out on the search. Every suspected place was carefully examined. They continued the search until near daylight without avail, when they separated; Green and one man going in one direction, and Dunham, with two, taking another course. The latter, as a last resort, returned to the house of one Odeurman, who he believed would be in communication with an enemy, if near him. Near the house they discovered a path leading through a meadow toward a thicket about three acres in size. At once they suspected that this led to the object of their search. Following it they passed nearly around the thicket, when it entered the bush. Toward the center a big log blocked the way; on peeping over it cautiously there, sure enough, was the remains of a camp-fire and a group of five fierce-looking men. They were in the act of putting on their shoes and stockings. And one thing more which Dunham particularly observed was a musket by the side of

every man, ready for instant service. He drew back, reported to his companions and in a whisper asked, "*Shall we take 'em?*" A nod of assent was the answer; then moving forward to the log, they all mounted at the same instant, and Dunham shouted, "Surrender, or you are all dead men!" All of them but their leader seemed petrified by the suddenness of the apparition. He was not disposed to yield without an effort at defense. Twice he was reaching for his gun when he found Dunham's rifle ominously near his head, at which he prudently desisted. They were then ordered out, one by one, when they were securely bound. Immediately they were marched off to the barracks at Saratoga.

They were tried and condemned at a court martial, of which the celebrated General Stark was the president. Lovelass alone was adjudged worthy of death, as he was considered too dangerous a man to be allowed to escape. In defense, he protested that he had been taken with arms in his hand, and ought therefore to be accounted a prisoner of war. But the court was inexorable.¹¹¹

He was hung on the top of the gravel hill, just south of the Horicon mill, which then extended beyond the present highway to the east. The traditional spot is just east of the angle made by the picket and board fences and across the road from the brick house. He was buried in an upright position. John Strover was present and marked the spot. He told his son, George, about it, and when the bank was excavated for the Whitehall turnpike he was on hand and identified the skeleton. The skull of the Tory is preserved by Mrs. J. H. Lowber in the Schuyler mansion.

¹¹¹ Abridged from the Sexagenary's account.

CHAPTER XX

WAR OF 1812 AND THE CIVIL WAR

THE war of 1812, our second war for independence with old England, naturally aroused a great deal of interest in this quarter, and awakened not a little apprehension among the dwellers in this valley. For they knew not but they might be called upon to undergo a repetition of the sacrifices and sufferings of the fathers in Revolutionary days. But fortunately for them, the scenes of actual warfare, in this department, were confined to the northern end of Lake Champlain. The glorious naval victory of Macdonough in Cumberland bay, and of General McComb at Plattsburgh, on September 11, 1814, put an effectual end to British attempts at entering the country through this ancient gateway. It is interesting to note in passing that Macdonough's flagship was named the *Saratoga*; and right worthily did she behave herself that day, under her heroic commander, brightening the halo of glory which already surrounded the name. This locality sent its full quota of soldiery at that time to aid in the general defense. No armies of size passed up through this way during that war, as was expected, and even feared.

THE CIVIL WAR

Fourscore years after our Revolutionary fathers had "brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the" realization of the proposition that all men's inalienable rights should be

acknowledged and defended by the government under which they live, we found ourselves engaged in a great civil war, "testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived, and so dedicated, could long endure."

SPLENDID EXHIBITION OF PATRIOTISM

Many at the time believed that the spirit of patriotism was practically dead in our land, and when brought to the test, few would be found ready to venture "their lives, their fortunes, or their sacred honor," in the "deadly breach" for the preservation of the nation's life. But when the crisis arrived, it was found that love of country, so far from being dead in the hearts of the people, exhibited a more vigorous life than had ever yet been seen; that when the people found themselves face to face with the awful question of union or dis-union and our ultimate disintegration as a nation, their patriotism arose to such a pitch of enthusiasm that they counted no sacrifice too great, if only by such sacrifice the nation's life could be preserved.

The way in which the people of the North arose to the occasion when the news spread that the flag had been fired on, and blood had been spilt by traitorous hands, affords one of the grandest and most thrilling spectacles in the history of the nations.

New York State stood second to none of her eighteen sisters, at the North, in the ardor with which she devoted her sons and poured forth her treasure to insure a sufficiency of force with which to repel the invader, and crush out the rebellion. No county in the State excelled Saratoga in the alacrity with which she responded to every call made upon her to take up and bear her share

of the burdens, and no township in the county was represented by a larger proportion of her sons on the perilous edge of battle than was Old Saratoga.

"BULL RUN" DISPELS AN ILLUSION

The first troops that hastened to the defense of the Nation's capital, when menaced by the insurgents, were the militia regiments, which were already old organizations. Soon President Lincoln felt constrained to issue a call for 64,000 men for the army and 18,000 for the navy, in the belief that the insurrection could be quelled in a hundred days. Quite a number from this township responded to that call. But the disastrous battle of Bull Run effectually dispelled the illusion that the rebellion could be easily, or speedily, put down, and wrought mightily in awakening the country to the gravity of the situation. Soon the President issued a proclamation calling for 300,000 men to serve for three years, or during the war.

JUDGE MCKEAN'S CALL TO ARMS

The Hon. James B. McKean, of Saratoga Springs, the representative in Congress from this district at that time, issued the following stirring circular to his constituents:

"FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE FIFTEENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT:—Traitors in arms seek to overthrow our constitution and to seize our capital. Let us go and help to defend them. Who will despond because we lost the battle of Bull Run? Our fathers lost the battle of Bunker Hill, but it taught them how to gain the victory at Bemis Heights.

"Let us learn wisdom from disaster, and send over-

whelming numbers into the field. Let farmers, mechanics, merchants, and all classes—for the liberties of all are at stake—aid in organizing companies. I will cheerfully assist in procuring the necessary papers. Do not misunderstand me. I am not asking for an office at your hands. If you who have most at stake will go, I will willingly go with you as a private soldier.

“Let us organize a Bemis Heights Battalion, and vie with each other in serving our country, thus showing that we are inspired by the holy memories of the Revolutionary battle fields upon and near which we are living.

“JAMES B. MCKEAN.

“Saratoga Springs, August 21, 1861.”

Judge McKean followed this up by a campaign of patriotic speeches throughout his district. At once the young men began to enlist by scores and hundreds, and military companies were organized here and there and began to drill. Soon Saratoga Springs was appointed as a recruiting station and rendezvous. The fair-ground was appropriated for the camp, and was christened Camp Schuyler. Thither the recruits were sent, and by the middle of November, 1861, had been drilled into some semblance of a regiment.

Judge McKean was fittingly selected as colonel of the regiment, and he proved to be a most excellent selection. At first this body called itself the Bemis Heights Battalion, but in the numbering of the regiments of the State, the number 77 fell to it, which, considering the fact that it was chiefly raised and recruited in Saratoga county, and that the great battle of Bemis Heights, or Saratoga, was fought in 1777, that number seemed eminently appropriate.

On Thanksgiving Day, November 28, 1861, the regiment marched out of camp, 864 strong, and started for Washington, where it arrived December 1st. On the 15th of February following, it joined the 3rd Brigade, of the 2nd Division, of the 6th Army Corps, which connection it retained throughout the whole period of its service. Immediately on coming into close proximity with the enemy, the usual sifting process began. The poltroons and cowards got out on one pretext or another, leaving only the true hearts and brave to face the music. But fortunately the latter were in the vast majority:

HARDSHIPS DECIMATE THE REGIMENT

The regiment received its first baptism of fire at Lee's Mills, Va., on the 4th of April, 1862. But that proved to be only the preliminary skirmish of many a hard-fought battle. The Peninsular Campaign, which immediately followed, with its hardships of mud marches, and battles, and camp fevers, sadly decimated the regiment. Because of this, some of the most efficient officers were sent back to recruit the depleted ranks. Colonel McKean, among others, lost his health and was forced to retire.

SCHUYLERVILLE RAISES A COMPANY

At that time Schuylerville greatly distinguished herself by raising an entire company of men, which became known as Company K of the 77th. The first ten men received a bounty of ten dollars apiece. Those who enlisted afterward received all the way from fifty to three hundred dollars, bounty money. The company chose for its captain, John R. Rockwell, then editor of

the *Saratoga American* (the local paper). First lieutenant, William H. Fursman; second lieutenant, Cyrus F. Rich. This company by no means represented all that went from this township; for no less than 340 marched from this historic town to the defense of the Union. Three-fourths of them, however, were members of the 77th, and shared in the glory of her achievements. Colonel W. B. French became commander of the regiment after the retirement of Colonel McKean. Quite a number of the men from this township served in other distinguished regiments, as the 30th and the 44th, also in other arms of the service.

LIST OF BATTLES IN WHICH THE 77TH PARTICIPATED

The history of the achievements and experiences of each of these regiments, especially the 77th, and the famous Sixth Corps, of which it formed a part, is well worthy of the volumes that have been written upon them. Dr. George T. Stevens' history of the 77th is specially worthy of perusal. To that and other works we would refer the interested reader for details. We must give space, however, to the following important facts: The 77th served under McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, Meade and Grant, each of whom for a time had command of the Army of the Potomac. It went through the Peninsular Campaign in 1862, the Campaign of 1863, which took it again into Virginia and afterward into Maryland and Pennsylvania. In 1864 it served for a time in the Wilderness Campaign under Grant; but after Spottsylvania it was withdrawn with the Sixth Corps for the defense of Washington; thence it was sent into the Shenandoah Valley, where it served through that remarkable campaign under Sheridan, participating in the battles of

Winchester and especially of Cedar Creek, where a reinforcement of one man (Sheridan) turned ignominious defeat into a glorious victory.

The 77th was in the following battles :

- Lee's Mills, April 4, 1862.
- Williamsburg, May 5, 1862.
- Mechanicsville, May 24, 1862.
- Golding's Farm, June 5, 1862.
- Garnett's Hill, June 28, 1862.
- Savage Station, June 29, 1862.
- White Oak Swamp, June 30, 1862.
- Malvern Hill, July 1, 1862.
- Crampton Gap, September 14, 1862.
- Antietam, September 17, 1862.
- Fredericksburgh, December 13, 1862.
- St. Marye's Heights, May 3, 1863.
- Franklin's Crossing, June 5, 1863.
- Gettysburg, July 2 and 3, 1863.
- Spottsylvania, May 10, 1864.
- Defense of Washington, July 13, 1864.
- Winchester, September 19, 1864.
- Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864.

It was at Cedar Creek that the stand made by the 6th Corps, of which the 77th formed a part, saved the day, and was holding the Confederates in check when Sheridan arrived on the scene—"From Winchester, twenty miles away."

MUSTERED OUT

Says Colonel French, in his sketch of the 77th, "With this grand and wonderful battle, the fighting experience

of the 77th regiment closed, and its term of service having expired, it was ordered to Saratoga Springs to be mustered out, where it arrived on the 23rd of November, 1864, just three years after the day of its mustering in. The regiment of 105 men and 14 officers, all that returned of the 1,369 that had served with it, was received with all the love and honor a patriotic people could bestow. They were received by a series of speeches in the public hall, and were then treated to a splendid banquet, tendered by the citizens of Saratoga Springs, at the American hotel." [So much of Company K as returned at this time to Schuylerville, after having marched through the streets, were given a collation by the ladies of the Reformed church.]

"This is the history in brief of Saratoga county's pet regiment, the 77th, a record of noble deeds without a single blot. It never, by any act on the field or in the camp, on the march or in the fight, disgraced the county from which it was sent. It never flinched or wavered from any duty, however perilous, which was assigned to it, nor until properly ordered, did it ever turn its back upon the foe. From the beginning to the end of its service the regiment bore its colors untouched by the hand of the enemy. They were often shattered and torn by shot and shell, often leveled to the dust by the death or wound of their bearers, but they were always kept sacred, and on the muster out of the regiment, were deposited in the Bureau of Military Statistics at Albany."

What Colonel French has said of the 77th could be said with equal truth, we are assured, of the other regiments which were partially recruited from the town of Saratoga.

SUFFERING AND SACRIFICES OF THE WIVES AND MOTHERS

Thus we see that many of the boys who marched forth returned no more forever; those who came back were greatly changed. The health of many was shattered. Some were maimed and crippled in body, most of them returned with new habits and altered ambitions. There were empty places in almost every household in those days. Everywhere was to be seen the badge of mourning worn by women; old and young were in black gowns, or, if there was no crape on their persons, it was quite sure to be upon their hearts. For the men at home as well as at the front, there was excitement in the description of a charge, the fierce struggle and victory. But precious little excitement or consolation was there in this for the wife, the mother or the betrothed, left behind at home; no glory in it for her, only silent suffering and abiding anxiety. No adequate history could ever be written of the women of the Civil War; but it is strange indeed, that no great sculptor, or architect, has been commissioned to erect some mighty monument to commemorate in enduring marble and bronze her heroism, her sacrifices and her achievements.

Most fittingly has the poet said:

“The maid who binds her warrior’s sash,
With a smile that well her grief dissembles,
The while beneath her drooping lash
One starry teardrop hangs and trembles,
Tho’ heaven alone record the tear,
And fame shall never know her story,
Her heart doth shed a drop as dear
As ever dewed the field of glory.

"The wife who girds her husband's sword
 'Mid little ones who weep and wonder,
And bravely speaks the cheering word
 What though her heart be rent asunder,
Doomed nightly in her dreams to hear
 The bolts of war around him rattle,
Hath shed as sacred blood as e'er
 Was poured upon a field of battle.

"The mother who conceals her grief
 When to her heart her son she presses,
Then breathes a few brave words and brief,
 Kissing the patriot brow she blesses,
With no one but her secret God
 To know the pain that weighs upon her,
Sheds holy blood as e'er the sod
 Received on Freedom's field of honor."

BOOK II

CIVIL HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE NAME

SCHUYLERVILLE is fittingly named, and yet the student of the history of this locality cannot repress a sentimental wish that the ancient name (Saratoga) had been retained. Indeed, the older inhabitants hereabouts speak of the district between here and Coveville as Old Saratoga. We have not been able to ascertain when the name Schuylerville was given to the place, but can trace it back to 1820.

THE SARATOGA PATENT

The circumstances under which the white man first settled here are as follows: In the year 1683, four Albanians, Cornelis Van Dyk, Jan Jansen Bleecker, Peter Phillipsen Schuyler and Johannes Wendel, purchased from the Mohawks their old hunting grounds called "Ochserantogoe, or Sarachtogie."

On November 4, 1684, Governor Dongan granted a patent for this tract to seven persons, Cornelis Van Dyk, John J. Bleecker, Pieter Phillipse Schuyler, Johannes Wendel, Dirck Wessels, David Schuyler and Robert Livingston, for which they were to pay an annual rental

to the crown of twenty bushels of wheat. This was confirmed by Lord Cornbury, in June, 1708. In this confirmatory patent the name of Johannes Schuyler appears in the place of Johannes Wendel.

This patent took in both sides of the Hudson river, from the Anthony's Kill, at Mechanicville, north to opposite the mouth of the Battenkill, and from the Hoosac river north to the Battenkill (then called Dionoondahowa), on the east side. It extended six miles back from the river on both sides, and being, as was supposed, twenty-two miles long, made a tract of 264 square miles.

The next year the patentees made a division of the arable lands lying along the river. The division was made by five disinterested men, then seven numbers written on slips of paper were thrown in a hat, and the children of the patentees drew the numbers. Lot 4, which lay just south of Fish creek, fell to Johannes Wendel; Lot 5, north of the creek, fell to Robert Livingston; Lot 6, which extended south from the Battenkill to Titmousekill, fell to David Schuyler. In March, 1686, David Schuyler sold his seventh share to Robert Livingston and Peter Schuyler for 55£ 16s (\$279). Livingston took the part opposite his own Lot 5, and Schuyler that part opposite Lots 2 and 3, which would take in from opposite Bemis Heights to opposite a point about a mile and one-half north of Coveville. On this section lived a Frenchman by the name of Du Bison.

Johannes Wendel seems to have taken immediate steps to improve his property. The inducements were sufficiently strong to lead several to venture up this way and settle. But at that day, and for a long while after, it proved to be a very risky undertaking.

FIRST SETTLERS

We get our first hints of any settlement at Saratoga from the minutes of the Council of Albany. There we learn that several families were living in the region of Stillwater and Saratoga in the winter of 1688-9. Most of them were French refugees. Those were the days of religious persecution, now happily a thing of the past. It was then the policy of the French to permit none but Roman Catholics to settle in Canada, and to banish all others who might find their way there. The province of New York being the most accessible, the exiled Huguenots were sent this way, and several of them found a home in Albany or its vicinity. A few families were induced to settle on the Saratoga patent. After they were thus located, it was suspected, and with good reason, that the Canadian government caused some of its friends to emigrate and settle among them as refugees, and then acting as spies, to keep them acquainted with what was going on among the English colonists. During the winter of 1688-9 the Council caused several of the suspected ones to be arrested on the rumor that they were aiding soldiers to desert to Canada. The names of those arrested were Antonie Lespenard, John Van Loon, Lafleur and Villeroy. They proved to be innocent. Antonie Lespenard afterward moved to New York, where he became the founder of a prominent family. One of the streets of America's metropolis still bears his name.

It was in the mid-summer of 1689 that the Iroquois confederacy made its famous raid into Canada, which came near wiping out that infant colony in flames and blood. On the 1st of September, that year, a report

reached Albany that three people had been killed at Bartel Vrooman's, at Saratoga, by some Indians from Canada: the first blow struck on this side the big waters in King William's war, and the forerunner of Schenectady. The Council assembled and resolved to dispatch Lieutenant Jochem Staats, with ten men, to Sarachtoge to learn the situation and report at once. Robert Sanders and Egbert Teunise were also commissioned to go with some friendly Indians on a scout thither for the like purpose.

At the same session (September 5th), the Council resolved to build a fort around Vrooman's house, and "that twelve men be sent there to lie upon pay." Their stipend was 12d per day besides provisions. Schaghticoke Indians were to act for them as scouts.

This fort, together with the houses it protected, were evidently abandoned for the winter of 1689-90, else the French and Indian expedition against Schenectady, which came this way and from this point took the Saratoga trail, would have been discovered by these settlers.

Johannes Wendel died in 1691, and left his Saratoga property to his son, Abraham, who in turn sold it to Johannes Schuyler, in 1702, for 125*£* (\$600).

From Colonel Romer's report, in 1698, we learn that there had been seven farms here which were ruined in the late war, and he recommended the building of another fort "to maintain possession, and to encourage the farmers to rebuild their houses."

Schuyler was soon able, after he got possession, to induce some families to venture up this way again, for Lord Cornbury reports their settlement here in 1703, and adds that they should be protected by a fort or they would probably desert the locality. In 1709, the fort

was built, as preliminary to an expedition against Canada, by Peter Schuyler, but it was located on the east side of the river. This was in Queen Anne's war, during which period Saratoga was made a depot of supplies for the invading armies. It is well to recall that Pieter and Johannes Schuyler, large owners in the Saratoga patent, were among the chiefest heroes of that war in this country.

A long peace of thirty-two years ensued after Queen Anne's war, which furnished both the time and the conditions necessary for colonial development.

The Schuylers, being energetic men, improved their opportunity; settlers flocked in, to whom they sold no land, but gave long leases. There being here an excellent water power, and the means of transportation good, saw and grist mills were erected, and the products of the soil and forests found a ready market down the river, whither they were floated on bateaux or large flat boats.

LOCATION OF OLD SARATOGA AND THE MILLS

The old village of Saratoga and all the mills were on the south side of the creek till after 1765. The Livingstons apparently did little to develop their holdings here, where Schuylerville now stands, so long as they owned it. There seems to have been not more than one or two houses north of Fish creek at the time of the massacre, in 1745. The village and the fort were half a mile or more below the creek, on the flats.

But few records have been preserved concerning Old Saratoga, between Queen Anne's war, 1709, and King George's war, 1745. The following may prove of some interest to modern Schuylervillans.

In 1720, we find the Indian commissioners reproving

some Mohawk Indians for killing cattle at Saratoga.¹¹² Domestic animals were unknown to the Indians before the advent of the white man, and the idea of personal ownership in an animal so large as cattle, sheep, horses, etc., was apparently hard for them to grasp. The deer and the elk, that roamed the forests, belonged to any one who could get them.

In 1721, they began to take an interest in the improvement of highways in this part of the colony. The Legislature appointed as first commissioners for the district of Saratoga, north of Half Moon, Robert Livingston, Jr., Col. Johannes Schuyler and Major Abraham Schuyler. Livingston then owned the site of Schuylerville; Johannes Schuyler was the grandfather of Gen. Philip Schuyler.¹¹³

In 1723, several families of Schaghticoke Indians were living here. Through fear of the New England Indians, they emigrated to Canada.¹¹⁴

In 1726, the Legislature, in pursuance of a petition from a number of those primitive Saratogans, passed an act prohibiting swine from running at large, as they had heretofore, to the great annoyance and damage of the good people. The limits of that provision were from "Dove Gatt" northward, on both sides of the river.¹¹⁵

In 1729, the names of Philip Schuyler, Garrett Ridder and Cornelius Van Beuren appear as the highway commissioners, by appointment.¹¹⁶ These names are all familiar to this locality. This Philip Schuyler, son of Johannes, was the one shot in his house in the massacre.

¹¹² Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. V., p. 566.

¹¹³ Colonial Laws of N. Y. Vol. II., p. 69.

¹¹⁴ Documents relating to Colonial Hist. of N. Y. Vol. V., p. 722.

¹¹⁵ This is the first time the name Dovegat (Coveville) appears in the records.

¹¹⁶ Colonial Laws of N. Y. Vol. II., p. 301. Ibid, p. 516.

The De Ridders settled on the east side of the river. When they came does not appear, but the fact that Garrett (De) Ridder's name appears as such a commissioner, would indicate that he was already located in this vicinity, or, at least, had property interests here.

The tragic story of the destruction of Old Saratoga has already been told in our military annals. Unfortunately the names of none of those carried captive into Canada have been preserved.

RESETTLEMENT AFTER THE MASSACRE

Despite the hard and bitter fate of those primitive Saratogans, there were found a number of people willing to venture hither and settle again on the land that had but recently been wet with the blood and tears of so many victims of the late war. Who they were, we have not as yet been able to discover. De Ridder is the only name preserved to us from that lot of plucky pioneers who dared, immediately after King George's war, to attempt the resurrection of Old Saratoga from the ashes.

VISIT OF KALM

Peter Kalm, the great Swedish naturalist and traveler, came up through here in the summer of 1749, on his way to Canada. He has left behind a very interesting record of his travels and observations in America.

On the 22d of June, 1749, he started for the north, from Albany, in a white pine dugout, or canoe, accompanied by two guides. They lodged the first night in the vicinity of the falls at Cohoes. On their way up the river, the next day, they had great trouble in getting over the rapids. The greater

part of both sides of the stream was densely wooded, though here and there was to be seen a clearing, devoted to meadow and the growing of maize.

He says: "The farms are commonly built close to the river-side, sometimes on the hills. Each house has a little kitchen garden, and a still lesser orchard. Some farms, however, had large gardens. The kitchen gardens afford several kinds of gourds, [squash] water-melons and kidney beans. The orchards are full of apple trees. This year the trees had few or no apples, on account of the frosts in May, and the drought which had continued throughout the summer."¹¹⁷

He tells of seeing quantities of sturgeon toward evening, leaping high out of the water, and how he saw many white men and Indians fishing for them, at night, with pine-knot torches and spears. Many of them, which they could not secure, afterward died of their wounds, lodged on the shore, and filled the air with their stench.

"June 23d. This night we lodged with a farmer, who had returned to his farm after the war was over. [This must have been in the vicinity of Stillwater.] All his buildings, except the great barn, were burnt. It was the last in the Province of New York, toward Canada, which had been left standing and which was now inhabited. Further on we met still with inhabitants; but they had no houses, and lived in huts of boards, the houses being burnt during the war."

That night, the 24th of June, he accepted the hospitality of a settler at Saratoga and lodged in one of those huts. We have elsewhere given his version of the French attack on Fort Clinton. The morning of the 25th, he resumed his journey north-

¹¹⁷ Kalm's Travels in North America. Vol. II., p. 284.

ward. They had a hard struggle getting up the rapids, below the State dam, at Northumberland, and were obliged to abandon the boat entirely at Fort Miller. He described the road to Fort Nicholson (Fort Edward) as so overgrown that it was reduced to a mere path; while the site of Fort Nicholson was a thicket, well-nigh impenetrable. The mosquitoes, pun-kies, and wood-lice, made life miserable for them on their way to the head of Champlain, at Whitehall.

The fact that there was a sawmill on the north side of Fish creek, and that a blockhouse fort had been erected here as early as 1755, would indicate that there were a goodly number of families living hereabouts at the beginning of the French and Indian war.

ITS DEVELOPMENT UNDER PHILIP SCHUYLER

In 1763, the heirs of Johannes Schuyler divided his property among themselves. About this time, we find Philip Schuyler in possession of that part of the ancestral estates located here at Saratoga. In 1768, we learn that he purchased some four thousand acres north of the Fish creek, from the Livingston heirs, and afterwards other large tracts hereabouts.

With characteristic energy, he at once set to work to develop his holdings. He rebuilt the saw and grist mills destroyed by the French in 1745. According to the map of Saratoga, made by Burgoyne's engineer, in 1777, and Sauthier's map of 1779, (preserved in the State Library, Albany), these mills were all, with one exception, on the south side of Fish creek. He found a ready market in New York and the West Indies for all his surplus products.

Philip Schuyler had an eye for all improvements in agriculture and manufacture, and was in correspondence with the most progressive men in both England and America. Here at Old Saratoga he erected and successfully run the first flax, or linen, mill in America. Soon thereafter he read a paper before the Society for the Promotion of Arts, in which he gave a detailed statement of the workings of the machinery, and compared its output with that of hand power. The Society was so highly pleased with his venture, and considered the enterprise of such great public importance and utility, that it decreed a medal should be struck and given him, and voted him their "thanks for executing so useful a design in the Province."¹¹⁸

The productions of his farms and mills became so great that he found it to his advantage to establish a transportation line of his own between Albany and New York, consisting of a schooner and three sloops. The freight was taken down the river from here (Schuylerville) on flat boats and rafts.

Before 1767 he had built his first country mansion here. It was located a few rods south-west of the brick one assaulted and burned by the French, as we have before mentioned. After the building of this house, he spent more than half of each year at Saratoga, that he might give his personal attention to his extensive and growing business.

All fear of further war-like incursions from the north being removed by England's late conquest of Canada, and Schuyler and other landed proprietors offering sufficiently attractive inducements, settlers began to pour in from the east and the south, and from across the sea.

¹¹⁸ Lossing's Life of Phillip Schuyler. Vol. I.

Soon many open spaces began to appear in the interminable woods back and away from the river, in the midst of which the sturdy pioneer erected his log hut and made ready to start life anew.

MRS. GRANT ON COLONEL SCHUYLER'S SARATOGA
ENTERPRISE

Mrs. Grant, of Lagan (Scotland), in her "Memoirs of an American Lady," draws a very interesting picture of Old Saratoga as it appeared about 1768, as also of the master spirit who was then the director of its fortunes.

"The Colonel, since known by the title of 'General Schuyler,' had built a house [yet standing] near Albany, in the English taste, comparatively magnificent, where his family resided, and where he carried on the business of his department. Thirty miles or more above Albany, in the direction of the Flatts, and near the far-famed Saratoga, which was to be the scene of his future triumph, he had another establishment. It was here that the Colonel's political and economical genius had full scope. He had always the command of a great number of those workmen who were employed in public buildings, etc. They were always in constant pay, it being necessary to engage them in that manner; and were, from the change of the seasons, the shutting of the ice, and other circumstances, months unemployed. At these seasons, when public business was interrupted, the workmen were occupied in constructing squares of buildings in the nature of barracks,¹¹⁹ for the purpose of lodging artisans and

¹¹⁹ These are the barracks spoken of by Burgoyne in his *State of the Expedition*, and by Sergeant Lamb, as having accidentally caught fire on the night of the 5th of October, 1777.

laborers of all kinds. Having previously obtained a large tract of very fertile lands from the Crown, on which he built a spacious and convenient house, he constructed those barracks at a distance, not only as a nursery for the arts, which he meant to encourage, but as the materials of a future colony, which he meant to plant out around him.

"He had here a number of negroes, well acquainted with felling of trees and managing of saw mills, of which he erected several; and while these were employed in carrying on a very advantageous trade of deals and lumber, which were floated down on rafts to New York, they were at the same time clearing the ground for the colony the Colonel was preparing to establish.

"This new settlement was an asylum for everyone who wanted bread and a home. From the variety of employment regularly distributed, every artisan and every laborer found here lodging and occupation; some hundreds of people, indeed, were employed at once. Those who were, in winter, engaged at the sawmills, were in summer equally busied at a large and productive fishery.¹²⁰

"The artisans got lodging and firing for two or three years, at first, besides being well paid for everything they did. Flax was raised and dressed, and finally spun

¹²⁰ The "fishery" here alluded to was doubtless one of shad and herring, and perhaps sturgeon. During the months of May and June, annually, immense schools of these fish used to run up the river and its tributary creeks, before the dams were erected in the Hudson. Local tradition says that farmers used to drive into Fish creek and with a dip or scoop-net literally load their wagons with shad and herring. Stephen Newberry, an aged resident of Greenwich, told the writer that he could remember helping his older brothers fish with a seine in the river below the rifts at Thomson's Mills, near the iron bridge. They salted down the shad in barrels and sold them to merchants and farmers. This is also confirmed by Mr. D. A. Bullard.

and made into linen there; and as artisans were very scarce in the country, everyone sent linen to weave, flax to dress, etc., to the Colonel's colony. He paid them liberally, and having always abundance of money in his hands, could afford to be the loser at first, to be amply repaid in the end.

"It is inconceivable what dexterity, address and deep policy were exhibited in the management of this new settlement, the growth of which was rapid beyond belief. Every mechanic ended in being a farmer—that is, a profitable tenant to the owner of the soil; and new recruits of artisans, from the north of Ireland chiefly, supplied their place, nourished with the golden dews which this sagacious projector could so easily command. The rapid increase and advantageous result of this establishment were astonishing. 'Tis impossible for my imperfect recollection to do justice to the capacity displayed in these regulations. But I have thus endeavored to trace to its original source the wealth and power which became afterwards the means of supporting an aggression so formidable."¹²¹

This pleasant description of Old Saratoga and its famous proprietor, leads one to the conclusion, if the picture is correct, that in his notions about co-operation, and the proper relations which should subsist between the employer and his employees, Philip Schuyler was a hundred years and more ahead of his time. One thing, however, we cannot fail to note in passing, that, from earliest times, Old Saratoga has been a manufacturing and milling center.

¹²¹ *Memoirs of an American Lady*. Edition of 1846, p. 228.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST PERMANENT SETTLERS

AMONG the earliest permanent settlers in this locality were the De Ridders. They settled on the east side of the river, just across from Schuylerville. We include them here because that was part of Old Saratoga, and because they figured largely in the early history of this place.

The first of this family, whose name appears, is that of Garrett De Ridder. His name is found in connection with Philip Schuyler (uncle of the General) and Cornelius Van Beuren, as a road commissioner for the district between Saratoga and Half Moon, in 1729. Again, in 1750, Garrett De Ridder, Killian De Ridder and Waldron Clute are appointed to the same office.

Tradition says that five brothers De Ridder came over from Holland. Their names were Walter, Simon, Hendrick, Killian and Evert. Though there is no direct authority for it, still it would be fair to presume that they were the sons of Garrett De Ridder, who appears in history 21 years before the others. Killian was a bachelor, and appears to have been the largest land-holder among the brothers, at least in this locality. Walter De Ridder's house stood on the east bank of the Hudson, just north of the road as it turns east from the river going to Greenwich. This house was ruined by the ice in a freshet. Some of the timbers in this old house are in the one now called the Elder Rogers' house. This latter house was built by General Simon De Ridder, for his son, Walter. Walter was the father of Mrs. C. W. Mayhew and Miss Katherine De Ridder. General

Simon's house stood on the site of the house now owned by Robert and William Funson. The original house was of brick, burned on the farm, and was twice as large as the present structure. The present kitchen is a relic of the original mansion, which was burned in 1837.

The De Ridders are now the oldest family that have lived continuously in this locality.

Abraham Marshall came from Yorkshire, England, leased a farm of Philip Schuyler about 1763, and situated perhaps a mile south of Victory village. This farm is still owned by his grandson, William H. Marshall. He and his family suffered all the hardships incident to the Revolution. Many of his descendants are still residents in this vicinity. Besides the above, we recall Mr. John Marshall, a prominent citizen on Bacon Hill; Mrs. William B. Marshall, still the owner of the house made historic by the experiences and writings of the Baroness Riedesel, and also Mr. Frank Marshall, of Victory, a great-grandson.

Thomas Jordan came here before the Revolution. He was then a young man. He served in that war as a bateaman. After the war he married a daughter of Abraham Marshall, settled upon and cleared the farm now occupied by Mr. Frank Marshall.

Conrad Cramer (Kremer), a German, came about 1763, and settled on the farm now owned by John Hicks Smith. He married Margaret Brisbin, by whom he had five children. His descendants are numerous, but are now scattered far and wide. A grandson, Hiram, and great-grandson, Charles, still cling to the old haunts.

John Woeman was living near Coveville in 1765. William Green also settled here about the same time. His sons were Samuel, John and Henry.

Thomas Smith moved from Dutchess county about 1770, and settled on the place still owned by his great-grandson, Stephen Smith, on the hill about four miles west of Schuylerville.

About 1770, John Strover bought the farm now owned by the Cornings. He was an active patriot during the Revolution, and did valuable service as a scout. He held the rank of orderly sergeant. His son, George, bought the old Schuyler mansion about 1838, which is still owned by two of his daughters.

Hezekiah Dunham was also one of those sturdy pioneers who was not only strong to clear the forests, but was equally efficient in clearing his country of tyrants. He was a captain of a militia company, and was one of the most prominent patriots in these parts. He was leader of the captors of the notorious Tory, Lovelass. He settled on the farm now owned and occupied by Hiram Cramer.

James I. Brisbin made his clearing on the farm now owned by Michael Varley, previously owned by Oliver Brisbin.

George Davis settled the farm still called the Davis farm. The stone quarry known as the Ruckatuc is on that place. The following story is told as an illustration of pioneer honesty, which measures up pretty close to the ideal: On one occasion James I. Brisbin and George Davis swapped horses. But on reaching home and looking his horse over very carefully, Brisbin concluded that he had the best of the bargain, and that he ought to pay over about five dollars to even the thing up. Strangely enough, Davis had also been going through the same judicial process with his conscience and had arrived at Brisbin's conclusion, precisely. Both concluded to go

over at once and straighten the thing up while in the mood. They met each other about half way, but just how they settled it the tradition saith not. It would perhaps be hazardous to assert that Saratoga horse-fanciers have ever since invariably followed this model in similar transactions.

James Brisbin settled, before the Revolution, on the farm until recently owned by his great-grandson, James Caruth Brisbin, but now by Hiram Cramer.

Peter Lansing, of Albany, built what is now known as the Marshall house in 1773, for a farm house, but who occupied it is not known.

Sherman Patterson was the first settler on the place now bounded by Spring street and Broadway, and owned by Patrick McNamara. That was before the Revolution.

A Mr. Webster, one Daniel Guiles, and a Mr. Cross, lived here before the Revolution. Mr. Cross' place was near the present one of Mr. Orville C. Shearer. Mr. Guiles lived where Victory village now is.

Three brothers by the name of Denny came to this town as early as 1770, and built three log houses on what is now the John McBride place, near Dean's Corners.

Col. Cornelius Van Veghten was among the first settlers at Coveville. He had three boys, Herman, Cornelius and Walter, and was a very prominent Whig in the Revolution. He was a friend of General Schuyler, and was most cordially hated by the Tories. The story of his narrow escape from assassination at the hands of one of them is told elsewhere. The old Van Veghten homestead is now owned and occupied by Mr. Charles Searles.

The historic Dovegat house is supposed to have been built by Jacobus Swart; at least, according to an old field book in possession of Mrs. Charles Searles, he owned

it soon after the Revolution. At the time of Burgoyne's excursion down through here, another man, by the name of Swart, lived just south of Coveville, near Searles ferry. Burgoyne's trip down through here also develops the fact that a man by the name of Sword lived two or more miles below Coveville, where the Britons camped the 18th of September, 1777. It is now owned by Robert Searles. A short distance below Sword's, lived Ezeziel Ensign, on a place still owned by a descendant, George Ensign.

A little further south was the house of John Taylor in which General Fraser died. The first settler on Taylor's place was John McCarty, who ran away from home, in Limerick, Ireland, to avoid marrying a red-headed girl whom his parents had selected for him. In 1765 he leased from Philip Schuyler the land just north of the Wilbur's Basin ravine, and on which are the three hills fortified by Burgoyne, and on one of which General Fraser was buried. The lease called for one-tenth of the produce as rental. The original parchment, signed by the contracting parties is now in the possession of Edwin R. Wilbur, at Wilbur's Basin, a great grandson of John McCarty. Evidently John found a wife better suited to his tastes in America. F. Patterson's little barn west of the canal stands on the site of McCarty's house. Near him Thomas and Fones Wilbur had settled before the war. Frederick Patterson now owns the homestead of Fones Wilbur. Wilbur's Basin received its name from these brothers. Below Wilbur's Basin, on the flats near the river, were two homes owned by J. Vernor and H. Van Denburg. Joseph Holmes now occupies the Vernor place, and Ephraim Ford the Van Denburg homestead. It was here that the fugitive inhabitants stopped over night in

1777, as told by the Sexagenary. The buildings were burned by the British on the 19th of September, 1777.

Next below Van Denburg's was Bemis' tavern, occupied by Gates as headquarters for a short time. Fothem Bemis was the first settler at Bemis Heights. (Bemus is the spelling in the original document in the county clerk's office, Albany.) On the heights back from the river Ephraim Woodworth purchased a farm and built a house afterward occupied by General Gates as headquarters. We are already familiar with the historic home of John Neilson, also with Isaac Freeman's cottage and farm, the site of the great battle. A number of other clearings had been made and log cottages put up in that immediate vicinity. According to Neilson one Asa Chatfield owned the one just south of the middle ravine, from the top of whose house Colonel Wilkinson reconnoitered the British as they deployed into line of battle just before the second day's fight. Simeon Barbour and George Coulter owned the clearings and cottages where the second day's battle opened, and one S. McBride had his homestead to the north of them, apparently where the farm buildings of the late Mrs. Ebenezer Leggett stand.

Gabriel Leggett and Isaac Leggett were settled near the borders of Stillwater and Saratoga when Burgoyne came down to make good Englishmen of them. They were prominent Friends, and we presume therefore that neither they nor their co-religionists shouldered a musket to stop his progress.

David Shepherd's pioneer home has also become hereditary in his family; it now being owned by his grandson, David Shepherd. John Walker also settled in the southern part of the town of Saratoga. His descendants now

own part of the battlefield. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that E. R. Wilbur, a grandson of Fones Wilbur, married Phœbe Freeman, a granddaughter of Isaac Freeman, and that they now own that part of the camp ground of the British army whereon Burgoyne had his headquarters.

Besides the above there were doubtless many others settled in this town whose names have thus far escaped the searching eye of the historian.

CHAPTER III

HOW THE PIONEER FATHERS LIVED

A FEW years since the writer spent some time on the western frontier in what was then the Territory of Dakota. He was among a people just settling and building their new homes. While there he was struck by the evident scarcity of idlers. The useless, the inert, the somnolent, so much in evidence in the populous east, were entirely wanting. Furthermore there were no dudes, no snobs, no society exquisites, whose highest ambition in life is to shine in a drawing room, or pose as a form on which to display the latest product of the tailor's art. On the other hand he saw none who could be classed among the coarse, the vulgar, and low-bred; but he did see a splendid aggregation of energy, self-reliance, courage and hopefulness. Their houses were plain in the extreme. The three leading styles of architecture which prevailed there were the dugout, the board shanty, and the sod house. These were usually bare of what we account necessary comforts; over such lack, however, they worried but little, for they believed that the future had all those things in store for them.

Those people were pioneers, brave, stalwart and intrepid. To our mind the pioneer should be classed among the most heroic of humankind. He is the pathfinder to better and larger things, the creator of conditions for new and better civilizations, the founder of States. And though some of the exquisite and super-refined among his great grandchildren might smile at his plain apparel, his rugged figure and somewhat awkward manners, yet for nobility of heart and downright usefulness in the world many of such descendants are not worthy to "stoop down and unloose the latchet" of their ancestors' shoes.

What the writer saw on the western frontier was, no doubt, a picture in duplicate of the pioneers of this Saratogan frontier one hundred and thirty-five years ago. Here, as elsewhere, the time honored program was followed. The young man would go forth in the early spring prospecting, locate his farm, blaze a path through the woods, fell the trees on a few acres, build his log cabin, collect and burn the wood on his clearing, and then when winter set in return to the old home. The next spring with his young wife and babies, and an outfit consisting of some indispensable household furniture, a few primitive agricultural tools, a team of oxen, a cow, a couple of pigs, and maybe some barnyard fowls, start for the new home, perhaps accompanied by some other young man whom they had persuaded to go out to find a home and settle near them.

It required a tremendous amount of pluck and energy to turn their backs on old friends, a comfortable home, and take a one to four weeks' journey to the new home located in what was literally a howling wilderness, where their nearest neighbors would be wolves, bears, panthers

and other savage denizens of the forest. For a long while their outlook would be closed in on all sides by the dense and unsightly forest, until some other hardy pioneer had enlarged his opening in the woods to meet theirs.

Once on the ground, and the scanty furniture disposed in the house, the young settler, if he had not done it the year before, would proceed to build a strong shelter for his stock. The pen for his swine must be made of heavy logs, and covered also with big logs as a protection from wolves and particularly bears, who have a great weakness for pork. The barn must also be equally strong as a protection for his cattle, sheep and fowls. Then, too, he must break up the soil on his clearing for his first crop of corn, wheat and potatoes. After that more clearing.

It is both interesting and profitable to recall how the fathers lived, and note the wide difference between their creature comforts and ours.

HOW LOG HOUSES WERE BUILT

The first house was built of logs by the aid of few tools save the axe, an augur, and a saw. It seldom contained more than one room and an attic, reached by a ladder. It had no more than two windows whose panes might be glass, but very likely white paper oiled. The fire place generally filled one end of the cabin; this was usually the sole furnishment for heat, light and cooking. The kettles were hung on the crane, the bread, etc., was baked in the ashes, or in sheet iron receptacles buried in the coals; roasts, spare-ribs, etc., would be hung on a wire and cord and slowly turned around before the coals to broil. Later they built a brick oven out doors. Cooking stoves were rare until after 1830.

HOW FIRES WERE STARTED

Friction matches did not come into use until about 1830. The fathers kindled fire with the flint and steel, striking the sparks into tinder or tow, the sun glass was sometimes used, but often when the fire went out on the hearth the children were sent over to a neighbor's to borrow live coals. For light they used the tallow dip, and when tallow was scarce the pine knot was the favorite illuminant. By the light of the latter the housewife could see to spin or weave.

TABLE FURNITURE

The table furniture was usually of the simplest order. In the average family there would be one large wooden dish in the center of the bare table, no table cloths or napkins, mind you. In this dish the viands would be deposited, or the porridge or pap (pronounced pop) would be poured. If pap or porridge, the family, furnished with wooden spoons, all dipped from the one dish to their mouths. If more solid food, it would be transferred to freshly cut chips, or wooden plates, when bone handled knives and two-pronged forks would be used, if they could afford them, otherwise spoons and fingers. People of larger means had pewter dishes and spoons.¹²² When the spoons became hopelessly bent or broken they were recast in a brazen mould. For special occasions they would bring out their table cloth, their earthenware, etc., according to their wealth.

¹²² Mrs. William B. Marshall of the "Marshall house" has several of these plates, remnants of "the good old times."

CARPETS

Carpets were a rarity except in the homes of the well-to-do before 1825; and these were usually confined to the sitting room and spare bed room. Among the country folks the first carpets were commonly rag, and later a carpet woven from coarsely spun wool, and home dyed, was considered very fine.

WEARING APPAREL

Wearing apparel, made exclusively from flax and wool, was usually homespun, home dyed, and home woven. Those who could afford it would take their finest wool cloth to a fuller to have it fulled and dressed. The Schuylers built the first fulling mill in this vicinity. This fulled cloth was used for the best suits and dresses, and a suit of it would frequently last for years, especially as the fashions seldom changed. This fabric was usually dyed butternut, or London brown. All this spinning, weaving, sewing and knitting kept the housewife and her girls pretty busy in those days, for sewing and knitting and washing machines were then undreamed of; everything had to be done by hand. The women ironed nothing in those days but the starched clothes. The wide-awake housekeeper, provident of her time, would carefully fold the other white goods, place them in the chair seats and direct the heavy weights of the family to sit on them during meal time, and thus they were ironed.

TAILORING

In those good old times the housewife was expected to serve her family as dressmaker, milliner and tailor; and in cases where she possessed little genius for fitting, her

husband and children might easily be mistaken for scarecrows. It was this wide diversity in fashion and fit that caused so much merriment among the British soldiers in Colonial days when the Provincial militia appeared on parade. It was this that inspired a British wag to write Yankee Doodle. Of course all who could afford it employed an itinerant tailor to come in and clothe up the men folks.

FOOTWEAR

Until quite recent times all footwear was entirely hand made. But in the earlier days the farmer would get his own deacon (calf), and cowskins tanned, and dressed, and then call in an itinerant shoemaker to shoe up his family for the year. The shoemaker's technical term for this service, in some localities, was "whipping the cat." A Mr. St. John served as one of those itinerant shoemakers in this locality. Rubber overshoes were introduced within the last forty-five years; before that well greased boots served for the men, though over in Vermont they made overshoes for men of flexible leather tanned with the hair on; moccasins or thickly knitted leggins drawn over the shoes were much worn by women in the winter when traveling.

MEDICINAL HERBS

The prudent housewife always had an eye out for medicinal herbs in the summer time; hence, in every well appointed home bunches of catnip, and boneset, and wormwood, and pennyroyal, and yarrow, and lobelia, etc., would be hung up in the garret against the hour of need. There, too, could always be seen hung up great "risks," or braids of selected corn, which the farmer had saved for seed.

FARMING TOOLS

Through colonial days, and during the earlier years of the nineteenth century, the farmer had no scientifically built plow, no cultivators, no grain drills, no mowing machines or reaping machines, no horse-rakes or threshing machines, no fanning mills or windmills. His tools were first a clumsy, ill-shaped wooden plow, with an iron point which had to be frequently sharpened. This must not only break up the soil, but must serve as marker, cultivator and hiller. His hoes and pitchforks were of tempered wrought iron and easily bent. He harrowed in his grain with tree tops, or brush, reaped it with a sickle, a tedious process, threshed it with a hand flail, and winnowed it with a large fan, shaped like a dust pan, standing in the wind. The grain cradle did not appear until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the reaper about 1865. He cut his grass with a scythe, raked it by hand, and pitched it on and off the wagon by hand. The farmer's team had an easy time before the advent of machinery.

MILLING

When he needed flour or meal he would throw a bag of grain across his horse's back, mount and ride from one to fifteen miles to mill, wait until it was ground, give one tenth of it to the miller for toll, and then return. In times of hurry, the girls were often sent to mill in this way. Later, when roads became better, and wagons more common, he would take a larger grist to mill. Schuyler's mill here at Old Saratoga was the only grist mill within twelve miles for many years.

AMUSEMENTS

The modes of diversion and amusement in those days were exceedingly limited. Books were rare and costly; in the average home three or four books made up the library, and most of these were quite sure to be of a religious character. Only here and there was a man who felt that he could afford a weekly newspaper. Magazines and periodicals, such as we have, were then undreamed of. Holidays and occasions for public gatherings were rare. The weekly church service was that which more than any other helped to break up the monotony of rural life. There the people got together not only for worship, but incidentally to exchange a bit of gossip and compare notes on the crops, etc. In those days most everyone went to "meetin'" on Sunday. The church was then the most influential factor in the moulding of public and private character, and it did a splendid service judging from the kind of men and women it turned out. There were usually two services, each from two to three hours long, with an intermission for lunch, relief and warming up; for they had few fires in churches until after 1800.

The "logging bees" and "raisin's" often punctuated the humdrum of farm life for the men, and the "quiltin' bees" for the women. The pioneer farmer would fell an acre or so of timber, cut it up in suitable lengths for handling, then call in his neighbors for miles around with their teams to help him draw them together in piles for burning. They would usually respond with alacrity, for after the logging came a bountiful repast for which they had no lack of appetite. For raising the heavy frame of a new barn, for example, he required similar help, which was ever readily given. Hard cider, and plenty to eat,

besides a chance to get together were the attractions. On all such occasions the boys and young men would get to scuffling, wrestling, and in all sorts of ways would test their comparative strength and agility. The quilting bees were more of a social event, for after the quilting the "men folks" usually came in to tea, and then "all hands" would stay and spend the evening.

In the fall the husking-bees and the paring-bees were very popular, especially among the young folks. For the husking-bee a pleasant evening, a big bon-fire out in the field, the corn arranged conveniently around, or stripped from the stalks and distributed about in piles were the ideal conditions. Here a jolly crowd of youngsters would gather, and whenever a young fellow found a red ear he had the right to kiss his best girl, and if perchance she should find one, she was sure to be similarly maltreated. We can imagine how eagerly those red ears would be sought for—by the boys. After the husking came the feast and frolic. The paring or apple-bees were gotten up more especially for the young folks. Bushels of apples were first pared and quartered for the hostess to dry, and then came the feed and the fun. "Measuring tape," "picking cherries" and other kissing games predominated. These events filled the place of the modern parties and hops. We notice, since there was so much to be done in those days, that they always managed to mix a little work with the play. Women never went to make a call or visit unless they took along their knitting. Martha Washington, the first lady in the land, set a good example in this particular.

Subsequent to the Revolution what was called General Training became the great public event of the year in rural districts. Fourth of July celebrations stood next

to it in favor. Under the old militia system the different companies of a regiment were required to assemble at some appointed place on a specified day for inspection and training before a general officer. This usually occurred in September. The place for the general training in this district was at Emerson's Corners, a popular resort. Everybody looked forward to this day as a general picnic and holiday. All within a radius of twenty miles, who could possibly arrange it, would be sure to go to "General Trainin'." Besides the pomp and circumstance of military display, and the stirring music of fife and drum, there was lots of visiting to be done, the occasional fakir to be watched, and what was of more consequence to the small boy and girl, the stands and wagons where they sold birch beer and gingerbread, had to be interviewed. Hard cider and scrub horse races also received their full share of attention. The general training was done away with about 1850, when the County Fair took its place. Up to the time of the Civil War the Fourth of July celebration, with its processions, its grandiloquent orations, and its fireworks, was enormously popular.

TRANSPORTATION

The means of transportation in the early days were very primitive. In the first place the roads were poor and rough beyond anything we know in these days; and yet to this day we have abundant cause for complaint. The easiest mode of travel by land was a-foot, or on horseback. Wagons were then very heavy and without springs. Steel springs did not come into use until 1835 or '40. Coaches and fine carriages were hung on leather straps, called thorough-braces, which helped to ease the

jolts. It was a day's journey by wagon from Old Saratoga to Troy or Albany in 1800, and for years afterwards. D. A. Bullard told the writer that about 1830 Philip Schuyler, 2d, had a team of blacks which would take him to Albany in three hours. They were the admiration and wonder of the whole countryside. From Albany to New York by sloop was a voyage of from three to eight days. Hence in those days few people ever got far from home, and a journey to New York quite distinguished a man among his neighbors. The swiftest mode of communication then was by relays of horses, for both post riding and coaching; for they had no steamboats before 1807, nor steam cars before 1831, nor trolleys, nor automobiles, nor bicycles, no telegraphs nor telephones. New York was as far from Saratoga then as are San Francisco and Liverpool from New York now in 1900. And yet life was worth the living in 1800.

CHAPTER IV

REVOLUTIONARY TRIALS

AFTER the conquest of Canada by Britain in 1760, people very naturally believed that Old Saratoga had seen the last of war and bloodshed, hence, as we have learned, they began to flock to this fertile vale. But hardly had they settled here in appreciable numbers before Mother England began to stir up strife with her Colonies. Parliament started in to vex the righteous souls of the Colonists with the most unwise and impolitic legislation. Their constitutional rights as freeborn subjects were ruthlessly circumscribed. Naturally enough this was resented, and respectful remonstrances were sent to the

home government in the hope that the obnoxious acts might be reconsidered, but in vain. The Stamp Act of 1765 aroused the indignation of every thinking and self-respecting freeman. But nowhere did the flame of resentment burn more fiercely than in the province of New York. In New York City the first liberty pole was erected, and there that patriotic order of the Sons of Liberty originated which did so much to nerve the people for the struggle.

THE PEOPLE TAKE SIDES

News traveled very slowly in those days, but all of it finally reached the inhabitants of this district and kindled the same fires in their breasts as it had elsewhere. But when they came to talk about armed resistance to England's encroachments, here, as in other localities, there was a diversity of opinion, and heated discussions were sure to be held wherever men congregated. But when the news came that British soldiers had wantonly spilt American blood, at Lexington and Concord, many of the wavering went over to the majority and decided to risk their all for liberty. Some, however, remained loyal to the king. In this they were no doubt conscientious, and their liberty of conscience was quite generally respected except in the cases of those violent partisans who took up arms for Britain against their neighbors or gave succor to the enemy.

Philip Schuyler had several times been chosen to represent the County of Albany in the New York Colonial Assembly. Says Lossing in his *Life of Schuyler*: "Schuyler espoused the cause of his countrymen from the beginning, fully understanding the merits of the controversy. His judgment, his love of order, and his social

position made him cautious and conciliating till the time for decisive action arrived." But when that time came we find him standing alone in the Assembly with George Clinton and one or two others against the satellites of King George, for the rights of the people and the constitution. He was also chosen a delegate to the Provincial Convention, after that assembly had refused to coöperate with the other colonies in their hostility to the unlawful acts of Parliament. By that convention he was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress on the 20th of April, 1775.

THE NEWS OF LEXINGTON

The news of the battle of Lexington reached New York on the 23d of April, just after Schuyler had started for his home. It followed him up the river, but did not overtake him till he reached Saratoga, on Saturday afternoon the 29th; *i. e.*, the news was then six days old in New York and ten days old in Boston. That same evening, writing to his friend John Cruger, he said among other things: "For my own part, much as I love peace, much as I love my domestic happiness and repose, and desire to see my countrymen enjoying the blessings of undisturbed industry, I would rather see all these scattered to the winds for a time, and the sword of desolation go over the land, than to recede one line from the just and righteous position we have taken as freeborn subjects of Great Britain." That this was not mere gush and sentiment is proven by the fact that Philip Schuyler lived right up to the level of that heroic declaration, as we have already seen. In a private letter to James Duane, dated here at Saratoga, December 19, 1778, he says: "I am £20,000 (\$100,000) in specie worse off than when the war began," and that was five years before the war closed.

Excepting Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, it would be interesting to know if the struggle for Independence cost any one man more in money and property than it did Philip Schuyler.

The next day after the receipt of the aforesaid news Schuyler, as was his custom, attended divine service at the old (Dutch) Reformed Church, then standing in the angle of the river and Victory roads. The "Sexagenary" (John P. Becker), who was present at the same service, writes of it thus: "The first intelligence which gave alarm to our neighborhood, and indicated the breaking asunder of the ties which bound the colonies to the mother country, reached us on Sunday morning. We attended at divine service that day at Schuyler's Flats. I well remember, notwithstanding my youth, the impressive manner with which, in my hearing, my father told my uncle that BLOOD *had been* SHED at *Lexington*. The startling intelligence spread like fire among the congregation. The preacher was listened to with very little attention. After the morning discourse was finished, and the people were dismissed, we gathered about Gen. Philip Schuyler for further information. He was the oracle of our neighborhood. We looked up to him with a feeling of respect and affection. His popularity was unbounded; his views upon all subjects were considered sound, and his anticipations almost prophetic. On this occasion he confirmed the intelligence already received, and expressed his belief that an important crisis had arrived which must sever us forever from the parent country."

This news had a very warlike ring to it. Soon after this the militia began to organize hereabouts and train for service. It is to be presumed, however, that when those good people heard of Lexington that Sunday morning,

they did not dream that the dogs of war were about to be let loose at their own doors, and that they would soon be called upon to pass through a very gehenna of suffering and loss, the like of which neither Lexington, nor Concord, nor Boston ever knew. Nor had these dwellers in this warworn valley long to wait before they began to experience the realities of the mighty struggle thus inaugurated. In less than two weeks after the news of Lexington had reached them the country was electrified by news of the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, just to the north.

About this time Schuyler left for Philadelphia to be in attendance at the Continental Congress. On the 15th of June he was appointed as one of the four Major Generals. He was immediately placed in command of the Northern Department, which included the Province of New York, north and west of Albany. Not long thereafter the farmers and others along the upper Hudson, who owned teams of horses, were employed to transport part of the captured military stores to safer places south and east.

FARMERS IMPRESSED INTO SERVICE

At the beginning of the winter, 1775, these farmers were again pressed into the service of Congress to transport some of the captured cannon from Lake George to Boston, where Washington needed them to help persuade the British that they should evacuate that city and leave it to its lawful owners.

Among those in this vicinity who assisted in that work was Peter Becker, the father of the "Sexagenary," who lived across the river from Schuylerville. Col. Henry Knox, who afterward became the noted General, and chief of artillery, was sent on to superintend their

removal. He first caused to be constructed some fifty big wooden sleds. The cannon selected for removal were nine to twenty-four pounders, also several howitzers. They already had been transported from Ticonderoga to the head of Lake George. From four to eight horses were hitched to each sled, so that when once under way, they made an imposing cavalcade. They were brought down this way to Albany, taken across the river, thence down through Kinderhook to Clavarack, thence east to Springfield, Mass. There the New Yorkers were dismissed to their homes, and New England ox teams took their places. Those cannon once in the hands of Washington proved to be potent persuaders indeed, for when the morning of the 5th of March, 1776, dawned the British were astounded to see a whole row of them frowning down from Dorchester Heights, prepared to hurl death and destruction upon them. The British lion loosed his grip at once and got out.

During the fall of that same year, 1775, the army under Schuyler and Montgomery, destined for the conquest of Canada, passed up through here. Subsequently there followed in its wake great trains of supply wagons, or fleets of bateaux, carrying provisions for its sustenance. The following spring the people here were compelled to witness the harrowing spectacle of detachments of the wounded, the diseased and dispirited troops returning from that ill-starred expedition. The barracks located here were filled with the sick and disabled soldiers, many of whom died and were buried here in nameless graves.

THE FLIGHT

But it was the year of 1777 that was fullest of distress for those pioneer Saratogans. In our military annals we

have endeavored to depict the way in which they were compelled to abandon their homes, and seek shelter among their sympathetic compatriots below. While the loss of Ticonderoga, that year, filled the hearts of the patriots everywhere with despondency, it spread consternation among the people hereabouts who lived right in the track of the invading host, and who felt that it would soon be upon them.

General Schuyler had agreed to give timely notice to the leading citizens here, should he feel compelled to retire before Burgoyne; but apparently he had not reckoned upon the peculiar tactics of Burgoyne's Indians. They slipped by him on either side and spread terror down through the valley of the Hudson by their many atrocities. It was their appearance, not Burgoyne's main army, that caused the sudden stampede of the inhabitants. Seized with panic they, in many cases, abandoned much valuable property, which might have been saved. Cattle and sheep were often turned into the woods, which might have been driven along; and many of their household treasures could have been carried away or hidden had they been a little more deliberate in their departure. But it is always easy to say what ought to have been done after the event.

AFTER THE RETURN, TORY RAIDS

After the surrender of Burgoyne many of the fugitive families ventured back to their homes; but if they fancied that the annihilation of his army had conquered an immediate and unbroken peace for this locality, they were doomed once more to disappointment. While no considerable force ever again ventured this way from Canada, yet small bands of malignant Tories, accompanied by

Indians, made frequent forays, destroying property and carrying away leading citizens into Canada. These periodic raids kept the inhabitants on the rack of apprehension until the end of the war.

Gen. Edward F. Bullard, in his Fourth of July (1876) address on the History of Saratoga, relates the following incident characteristic of that time: "The raid of May, 1779, more immediately affected this locality, and the few inhabitants scattered in the interior fled from it to avoid certain destruction. After the surrender of Burgoyne, Conrad Cramer had returned to his farm (now the John Hicks Smith place) and was living there with his wife and four small children, when, on the 14th of May, they had to flee for their lives. They hastily packed their wagon with what comforts one team could carry, and started on their flight southerly. They reached the river road and proceeded as far south as the farm now owned by Jacob Lohnas, about five miles south of Schuylerville, when night overtook them. At that place there was a small house used as a tavern, but as it was already full, the Cramer family were obliged to remain in their wagon, and that same evening the mother gave birth to a child (John Cramer) who afterward became, probably, the most distinguished person ever born in this town. He weighed less than four pounds at his birth, and his parents had little hopes of rearing him. At manhood he became a very broad-chested, large-headed man, with an iron constitution and a giant intellect. The next morning the family continued its flight to what is now known as the Fitzgerald neighborhood, about three miles below Mechanicville, where they obtained a small house in which they remained until it was considered safe to return to their home in the wilderness."

The "Sexagenary" relates how their family had been threatened by the Tory Lovelass and his band one night, but that he had been frightened off by the barking of their dogs, which clamor also awoke the family and put them on their guard. He also relates how the farmers made watch towers of their straw and hay stacks, leaving a sort of nest on the top, in which two watchmen would station themselves, one remaining on guard while the other slept.

After the farmers had threshed their grain in the fall, they would take it down to Albany for safe storage; going after it from time to time as they needed it. During the Burgoyne campaign, Gates' quartermasters often compelled the farmers, along the valley, to give up their grain, etc., for the use of the army. These goods were appraised, and receipts were given. These receipts were really governmental promises to pay the price of the goods named therein on presentation of the same. But few of those receipts were ever honored; because of an empty public treasury.

It is a fact which has never been sufficiently emphasized that the inhabitants of the Mohawk and upper Hudson valleys paid, as their share of the price of our precious liberties, a sum out of all proportion to their numbers and wealth. Parts of New Jersey, however, suffered much; but not one of the states suffered as did New York in life and property, and yet she was the only one who furnished her full quota of men to fight the common battles.

It is well for us to at least attempt an estimate of what our liberties have cost, that we may the better realize their value, and so be the more ready to guard them.

CHAPTER V

THE SEVERAL SCHUYLER MANSIONS AND THEIR
OCCUPANTS

THE house now standing is the last of a series of three. Its predecessors met with a tragic fate, as we have already had occasion to notice. They were both offered as a burnt sacrifice to the insatiable Moloch of war. A brief résumé of their story, however, seems necessary as a fitting introduction to the history of the present mansion.

MANSION NO. I

When the first of the three was built is not known; but it was doubtless erected by Johannes Schuyler anywhere between 1720 and 1745. All we know certainly about it is, that it was of brick, two stories high, with thick walls pierced for musketry, and was designed to serve as a fort as well as a dwelling. It was burned by the French on the night of the 28th of November, 1745. Its sole defender on that awful night was Philip Schuyler, the son of Johannes, and uncle of General Ph. Schuyler. The Frenchman, Beauvais, who confesses to the slaughter of Schuyler, says that on summoning him to surrender, he replied by calling him bad names and by shooting at him. Beauvais then gave him one more chance for his life, but receiving the same defiant answer, thereupon he fired and shot him dead. Having pillaged the house, they then burned it over his bleeding body. An indefinite number of other occupants having sought refuge in the cellar, perished in the flames. Beauvais compliments Schuyler by saying that had the house been defended by a dozen men as brave and resolute as himself they would have



JOHANNES SCHUYLER AND WIFE

been unmolested. Such is the Frenchman's story. The picture drawn by him, as is perfectly natural, is no doubt presented in the lightest shades possible. It makes one wish, however, that he could know Capt. Philip Schuyler's side of the story.

This house stood about twenty rods directly east of the present structure, on the bank of the canal. When the canal was widened in 1855, part of the cellar walls were exposed, and in 1895 they were completely unearthed, when many interesting relics were found in the ruins. The terrace on which the house stood has been excavated for a long distance back by the canal authorities. Twenty-six feet was the north and south dimension of the house, or at least of the cellar; but the work of excavation proceeded so slowly, the walls being removed in the process, that the east and west dimension was never ascertained. One regrets that those walls, and the well-preserved fire place there discovered, could not have been preserved as relics of, and monuments to, the brave but hapless victims of that frontier village.

MANSION NO. 2

For some eighteen years after the massacre old Saratoga remained but sparsely settled, until another Philip Schuyler appeared on the scene about 1763. Soon after his advent the mills began to whirr and the meadows blossom again. Under his magic touch the business developed so rapidly here that he found he must spend less time in Albany and more in Saratoga, so he built a spacious summer home for himself and family here about 1766. Tradition has it that this house was considerably larger and more pretentious than the present one. The ground plan of it, given on Burgoyne's map of Saratoga,

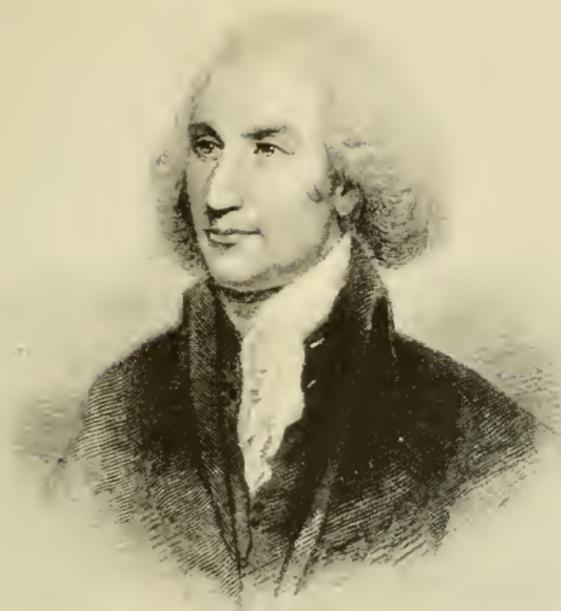
tends to confirm this tradition. We have copied this plan, as also of the other buildings, in our map of old Saratoga (which see). This second house was located about twelve rods southeast of the present mansion. Part of its walls were unearthed and removed by the ruthless hand of the canal excavator. Many relics of pottery, etc., were found at that time.

This house served as the summer home of the Schuylers seven or eight months in the year, for at least ten years. During that period its illustrious owner was less occupied with public affairs than at any other period in his active life and could give more attention to the demands of the home and his private business than at any other subsequent time.

PHILIP SCHUYLER AND FAMILY

Philip Schuyler was the son of John Schuyler and Cornelia Van Cortlandt, and grandson of Johannes Schuyler, the hero of the French expedition of 1690. He was born at Albany in 1733, corner of State and Pearl streets. Catherine Van Rensselaer, daughter of Angelica Livingston and John Van Rensselaer, who became his wife, was born in the Crailo, Greenbush, (still standing), in 1734. Philip Schuyler, at the age of twenty-one, was commissioned Captain of an Albany company in the French and Indian war. It was after the battle of Lake George, September 8th, 1755, where Johnson defeated Dieskau, that his Colonel considerably granted him a furlough to return home and consummate his marital bargain with his "sweet Kitty V. R."

Mrs. Catherine Schuyler is described as being a very beautiful woman, rather small and delicate, but "perfect in form and feature, extremely graceful in her move-



L. Douglas

ments, and winning in her deportment." Her tastes seemed to lead her to prefer the quiet seclusion of domesticity to the excitement incident to society and official life. Her youngest daughter, writing of her says: "She possessed courage and prudence in a great degree, but these were exerted only in her domestic sphere. At the head of a large family of children and servants, her management was so excellent that everything went on with a regularity which appeared spontaneous." Saratoga tradition pictures her as a noble and charitable lady. Quoting her daughter again on this point, we catch a glimpse of the basis for such tradition: "Perhaps I may relate of my mother, as a judicious act of kindness, that she not unfrequently sent a milch cow to persons in poverty."

She became the mother of eleven children, eight of whom reached maturity. The names of these and the marriages they contracted are as follows:

Angelica, married John Barker Church, son of a member of Parliament.

Elizabeth, married Alexander Hamilton, the great statesman and first Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

Margarita, married Stephen Van Rensselaer, the last of the Patroons.

John Bradstreet, married Elizabeth Van Rensselaer, sister of Stephen.

Philip Jeremiah, married (1) Sarah Rutzen, of New York; (2) Mary A. Sawyer, of Boston.

Rensselaer, married Eliza Tenbroeck.

Cornelia, married Washington Morton, son of General Morton.

Catherine Van Rensselaer, married (1) Samuel Mal-

colm, son of General Malcolm; (2) James Cochran, son of Dr. Cochran, surgeon-in-chief of the American army.

The old mansion with its romantic environment became the summer playground of these children, and was, no doubt, to them, as it has been to their many successors, the dearest spot on earth. In those days when there were no public schools, all who could afford it employed tutors and French governesses for their children who, while engaged in their work, often became members of the family. The Schuyler mansion here had its particular apartment known as the school-room, as much attention was given by the Schuylers, generally, to the education of their children.

According to all accounts the busiest place within twenty-five miles around, before, and immediately after, the Revolution, was within the precincts of the old Schuyler house on the south side of Fish creek. Not only were many artisans employed here, as we have learned in a previous chapter, but teamsters, bateaumen and raftsmen were much in demand to transport the products of the mills and farms down to tide water at Albany.

REVOLUTIONARY EXPERIENCES

But the agitation connected with the troubles with England ere long began to ruffle the smoothly flowing tide of business, which had set so strongly in this direction. Colonel Schuyler began to be more and more in demand to represent the County of Albany in Provincial Assemblies, Indian Councils and Conventions, but when freed from these public duties he would hasten eagerly back to his beloved Saratoga. It was here that he heard the news

of Lexington. From here he sent forth most of those stirring appeals that proved so influential in holding many of New York's leading families to the cause of liberty. It was from here that he went as an honored delegate to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1775, which body soon appointed him to the high and responsible office of Major General. The acceptance of that office meant good-bye to the quiet of home and the pursuits of a business delightfully congenial to him, and the launching out upon the treacherous sea of military life as a leader in a rebellion which might easily cost everything dear to his heart, and which did cost him a vast sum of treasure and suffering unspeakable in both body and mind; but from which he emerged with honor untarnished, an ornament to American manhood, and a credit to the cause he had espoused. Much of the time during those eventful years of 1775 and 1776, which saw the expedition led against Canada under his supervision, and its utter defeat, through no fault of his own, he was confined at Old Saratoga by a most painful hereditary malady (the gout), brought on by overexertion.

During those years the great storehouses and barracks, which he had erected here, proved to be of incalculable service as shelter to the soldiery marching either north or south and as a depot for army supplies.

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS

This house, like its successor, harbored many distinguished guests, among which was the brave, the much loved, but ill-fated Montgomery. It was also especially honored by the presence of three distinguished men sent by Congress in 1776 as special Commissioners to concili-

ate Canada and attach its people to the cause of America. They passed through here early in April of that year and returned from their fruitless mission in time for each of them to affix his signature to the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July following.

These men were first: Samuel Chase, delegate to Congress from Maryland, a most zealous patriot, and afterward a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States.

The second was Charles Carroll, another delegate from Maryland. Of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration, Charles Carroll of Carrollton is noted as having been the wealthiest man, the only Roman Catholic, and the last survivor of the immortal band who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, for the support of the cause of liberty in America. On their arrival at Albany from the south they were invited to partake of the hospitality of General Schuyler. Charles Carroll, in his journal wrote that, "He behaved to us with great civility; lives in pretty style; has two daughters (Betsy and Peggy), lively, agreeable, black-eyed gals."¹²³

The third was Benjamin Franklin, one whose memory the world yet delights to honor as a statesman, as a journalist, as a diplomatist, as an inventor, and a philosopher; for in each of these spheres he achieved undoubted greatness. We should especially remember that it was through his skillful diplomacy at the court of Louis XVI. and the use he was enabled to make of the victory over Burgoyne and the capture of the British army here at Saratoga that the French alliance was consummated and through which we were enabled to carry that war to a successful issue.

¹²³ Afterwards the wives of General Hamilton and Stephen Van Renselaer, last of the Patroons.

ATTEMPT ON SCHUYLER'S LIFE

During the Campaign of 1777, interest in house No. 2 reaches its culmination. It was no doubt while stopping here for the night on one of his frequent trips up and down the valley connected with Burgoyne's advance that General Schuyler came near figuring as the hero of a tragedy. An Indian had insinuated himself into the house, evidently for the purpose of murdering the General, on whose head a price had been set by the British. It was the hour of bedtime in the evening, and while he was preparing to retire for the night, a female servant coming in from the hall, saw a gleam of light reflected from the blade of a knife in the hand of some person, whose dark outline she discovered behind the door. The servant was a black slave who had sufficient presence of mind not to appear to have made the discovery. Passing directly through the door into the apartment where the General was yet standing near the fireplace, with an air of unconcern she pretended to arrange such articles as were disposed upon the mantelpiece, while in an undertone she informed her master of her discovery, and said aloud: "I will call the guard." The General instantly seized his arms, while the faithful servant hurried out by another door into a long hall, upon the floor of which lay a loose board which creaked beneath the tread. By the noise she made in tramping rapidly upon the board, the Indian, who was led to suppose that "the Philistines were upon him in numbers, sprang from his concealment and fled. He was pursued, however, by the guard and a few friendly Indians attached to the person of General Schuyler, overtaken, and made a prisoner."¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Gen. J. Watts De Peyster in *Godchild of Washington*, p. 396.

MRS. SCHUYLER BURNS THE WHEAT FIELDS

Coincident with the arrival of the vanguard of Burgoyne's army at Sandy Hill, about the 26th of July, 1777, the Indians made those raids down through the valley which frightened away the inhabitants as we have before related. It must have been about the last of July of that year when the following incident occurred which not only exhibited the quality of Schuyler's patriotism, but also tried the metal of his noble wife. Apprised by her husband that there was little prospect of checking Burgoyne's advance down the Hudson, Mrs. Schuyler decided that everything valuable must be removed from the country home at Saratoga. So with her "coach and four," accompanied by a single guard on horseback, she started for the north. In the vicinity of Coveville she encountered the vanguard of what proved to be a regular procession of panic stricken inhabitants fleeing "from the wrath to come" in the shape of a horde of plumed and painted savages, allies of Britain. Many of the people recognized Mrs. Schuyler and warned her to proceed no further. They recited the fate of Jane McCrea, and the murder of the Allen family at Argyle. They assured her that by going further she took her life in her own hand and was riding straight into the jaws of death. After facing a crowd of men and women, crazed by fear, and listening to such terrifying tales of atrocities committed only yesterday, and especially since she knew that just before her was a dense wood through which she must pass for two miles, and which might easily be the lair of savages watching for prey, and that she had but one man as guard, it required an unusual amount of nerve to press on. Did she have it? Yes, and a wealth of it. To her solicitous



MRS. PHILIP SCHUYLER

advisers she replied: "The wife of the General must not be afraid," and bade her coachman to proceed. She reached her home in safety and succeeded in her purpose.

While employed in this work she received a letter from her husband, the General, in which he directed her to set fire to the wheat fields, which she did with her own hands, to the great astonishment of her negro servants.¹²⁵ The reason for this was to induce their tenants and others to do the same rather than suffer their crops to be reaped by the enemy for the support of his troops. Having completed her task, it occurred to her that the army might have need for more horses at this critical juncture, so she sent her own up to Fort Edward, while for herself she extemporized a conveyance of more modest mien. She ordered to the door an ox team, hitched to a wooden sled, which she boarded and started for Albany. Truly a woman of such heroic mould was worthy to be mated with such a man. That was the last time she saw the old home where she and her little ones had spent so many happy summers.

BURGOYNE'S CAROUSE

The next time the old house plays a noteworthy part in story was the night of the 9th of October following. On the 15th of September its vacant windows stared out upon the serried hosts of King George, recently from Canada, as they streamed by with airy step confident in their ability to drive the dastardly rebels before them like a flock of sheep. On the 9th of October it beheld the same host file past on the backward track, defeated, crestfallen, wet and bedraggled, and every man's breast heaving with

¹²⁵ Godchild of Washington, p. 395.

sighs for another sight of Canada. But apparently the least anxious man in that entire army was its commander. The late battle, the preparation for retreat, the all-night march in the rain, with its attendant confusion and extra labor, had served to keep this sybarite General from indulging his accustomed carouse. So when late on the 9th the army moved up from its protracted and unwelcome rest at Dovegat, it supposed that the race for Canada was now really on; not so Burgoyne, who had other plans in mind. He had bethought himself of the home of Schuyler, with all its conveniences and comforts, which he had sampled on his way down. Such an opportunity for a good time must not be lightly thrown aside, therefore, what though his Generals were eager to make the most of the precious moments for escape; what though the poor soldiers were forced to bivouac on the cold, wet ground, without covering—all such considerations must be thrust aside as of little worth compared with the opportunity to hold wassail for one more night at this wayside hostelry.

Having summoned the several kindred spirits in the army to meet him there, not forgetting the frail wife of a commissary who served as his mistress, together with his principal Generals, some of whom we know accepted the invitation with vigorous, though silent, protest, the feast began. General Hamilton's brigade was retained on the south side of the creek to see that his Excellency's pleasures should not be rudely disturbed by inconsiderate rebels. Soon the old house is brilliant with hundreds of candles and plenty of pine knots blazing on the hearths, the fire-waters flow freely, glasses clink, rude jokes, drinking songs, and shouts of ribald laughter make the empty rooms above echo to the Bacchanalian orgies.

Being both a poet and a dramatist, Burgoyne was a prince of entertainers; full of

Quips and cranks and wanton wiles,
Nods and becks and wreathed smiles.

But it is "no time to break jests when the heart strings are about to be broken." In the midst of their revels, when all, but the few who felt the gravity of the situation, were maudlin with drink, they were startled by an angry glare from without which quickly paled the lights within, accompanied by a cry of fire, that put a sudden and effectual stop to the untimely feast. All rushed forth to learn that the barracks in which many of the sick and wounded had found shelter for the night had caught fire accidentally¹²⁶ and were all ablaze. It was only by the most heroic exertions that the poor fellows were saved from a horrible death.

The next morning Burgoyne with the rear of his army forded to the north side of Fish creek. That was the nearest he and his army ever got to Canada, so greatly longed for, on their return trip.

BURGOYNE BURNS MANSION NO. 2

During Gates' abortive attack on the British camp the morning of the 11th, Burgoyne discovered that such of the Schuyler buildings as had escaped the fire, shielded his enemy and interfered with the play of his artillery. He thereupon ordered them to be set on fire.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ See account of Sergeant Lamb, in Stone's *Burgoyne's Campaign*, p. 344; also p. 337.

¹²⁷ Seventeen buildings are marked down on the British map; six of them evidently were very large, and were doubtless the barracks aforementioned.

Since General Schuyler acknowledged to Burgoyne, as he alleged, that their burning, from the British standpoint, was a military necessity, it is clearly unfair to charge Burgoyne with wantonness, as is so often done. But General Schuyler's magnanimous behavior at the scene of the surrender when General Burgoyne attempted to apologize for the destruction of his property, his courtesy toward the Baroness Riedesel, and his hospitable treatment of them all at his home in Albany afford one of the finest exhibitions on record of the "golden rule" in practice. The like of it is seldom seen outside the lives of the saints.

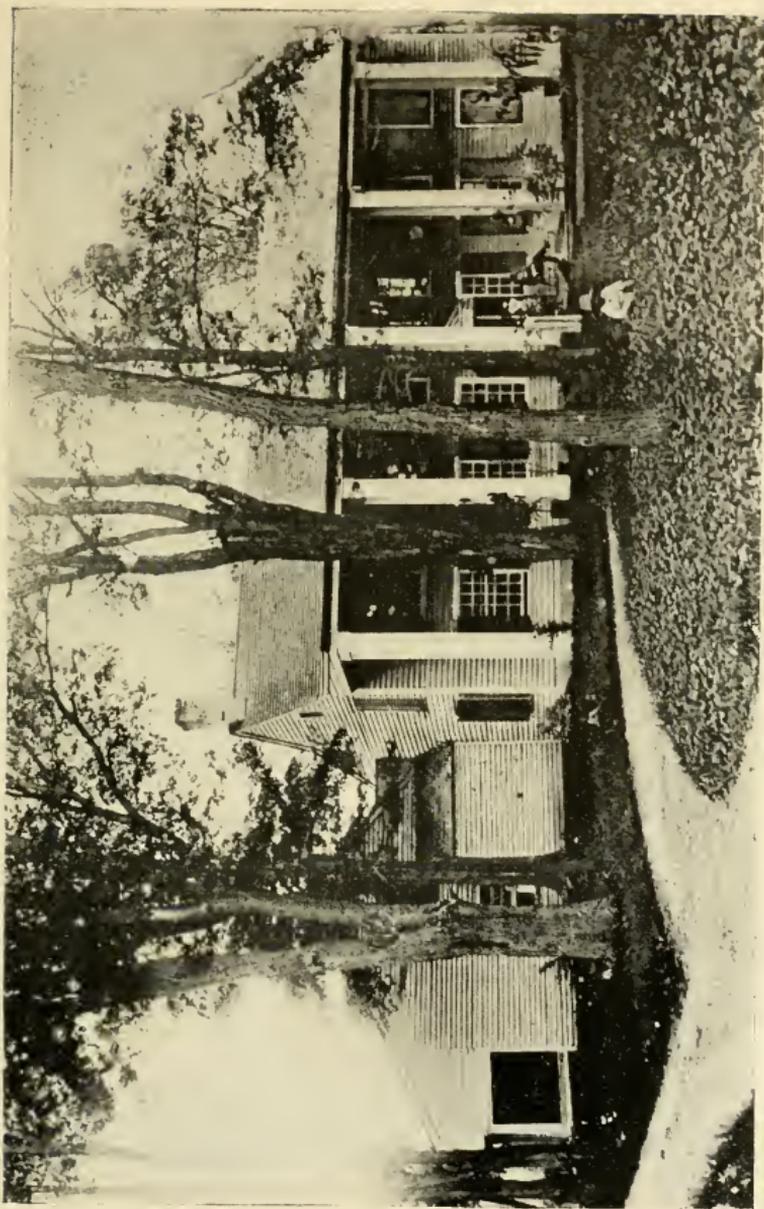
On October 12th, Col. Richard Varick writing to General Schuyler, then in Albany, says: "No part of your buildings escaped their malice except a small out-building, and your upper sawmill,¹²⁸ which is in the same situation we left it. Hardly a vestige of the fences is left except a few rails of the garden."¹²⁹

MANSION No. 3

After the surrender and the departure of the British army General Schuyler remained behind to survey the ruins of his property, and make plans for resurrecting his home from the ashes. Local tradition, in perfect agreement with the Schuyler family tradition, says that house number three (yet standing), was built by the soldiers of Gates' army in seventeen days. Many have doubted the credibility of this story, but the writer in his researches has found that which renders it altogether probable.

¹²⁸ This sawmill was located at Victory. The dam was where the stone bridge now is, and the mill was on the right side of the stream, on the little flat a short distance below. The dam and mill stood till about 1848.

¹²⁹ N. Y. Historical Society Collections. Vol XII. Schuyler Papers.



SCHUYLER MANSION NO. 3

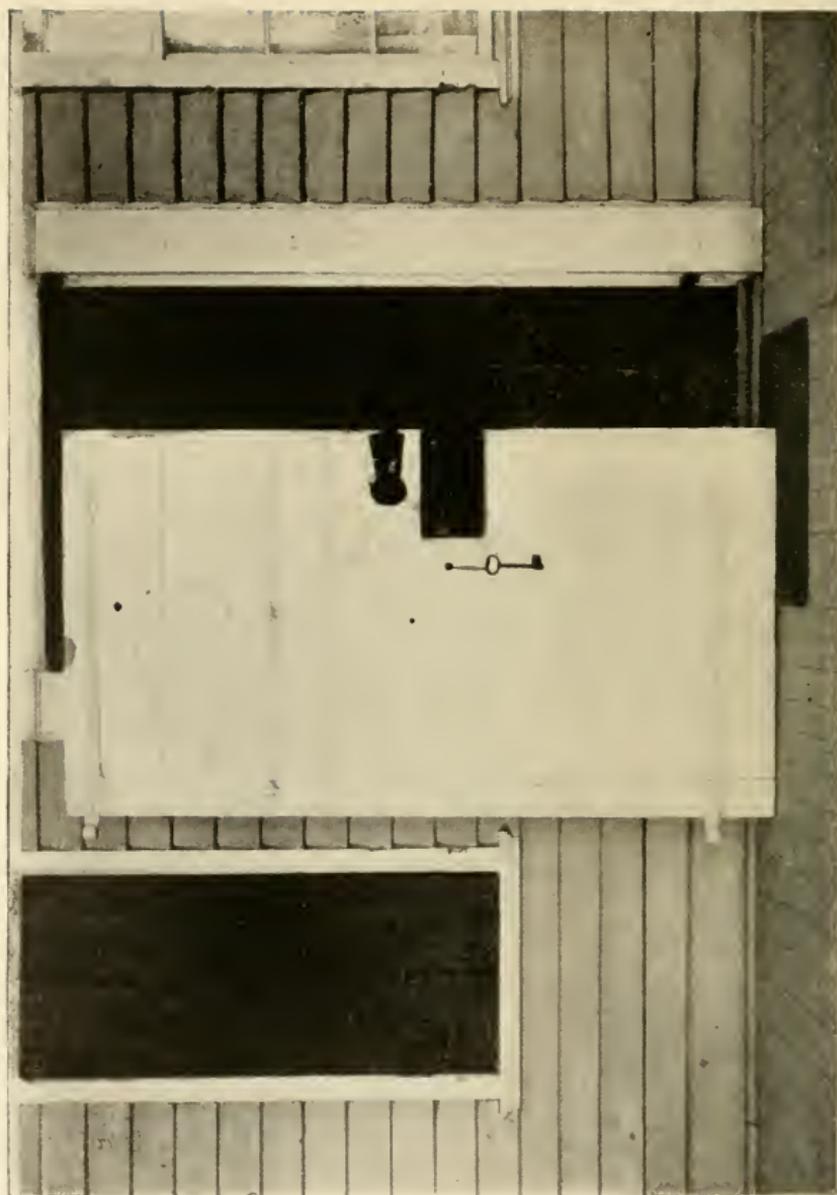
In a letter to Congress dated Saratoga, November 4, 1777, Schuyler says: "On the 2d instant two British officers on their way to Canada took shelter in a violent storm of rain in my little hut, the only remains of all my buildings in this quarter." These men got into an altercation over the respective merits of General Burgoyne and Sir Guy Carleton, and inadvertently let some state secrets out of the bag, which Schuyler thought worthy of transmission to Congress, hence this letter. Toward the close of it he says, incidentally: "In less than twenty days I shall nearly complete a comfortable house for the reception of my family." This he wrote seventeen days after the surrender. It is fair to presume, therefore, that having quickly decided to rebuild he secured Gates' consent to use such mechanics as he could find in the army. He at once set his mill at Victory to work sawing the lumber, (there is no hewed timber in the building), set men and teams at the cellar and drawing stone from the hills; sent to Albany for windows, hardware, trimmings, etc., and then when the material was ready put as many men on the job as could work without interference, and no doubt had the building habitable in the specified time. It was such a remarkable feat in house-building that the story of it would very naturally live in any neighborhood for a long while thereafter. The like of it would create a sensation even in these days of much machinery. Schuyler evidently engineered the whole work, and, by the way, it required generalship of no mean order to keep hundreds of men of different craft coöperating on one small job without getting in each other's way, or awaiting each other's motions.

DESCRIPTION OF MANSION No. 3

Only the main structure, 22 by 60 feet, was built at that time; additions on the east side and also the present kitchen were put on later. The cellar extends under the whole of this part, and is deep, dry and airy. It is divided into three parts. The south end has in it a large fire-place, and for a while was used as the kitchen; the center one was the wine cellar, and the north end was used as a storeroom for provisions, but not vegetables. The vegetable cellar was separate from the house and was located about twenty-five feet from the southeast corner of the main house. The floor timbers are of oak 10 by 12 inches in size and four feet apart.

On entering the house you first pass under the spacious veranda $10\frac{1}{2}$ by 60 feet. One tradition says originally there was no veranda, only a Dutch porch over the front door, with side seats. But this is disputed. At all events there have been several changes here, for we have been told by those who can remember, that the first pillars were round, coated with stucco, and that they were not so high as the present ones by several feet. Mr. George Strover, after he came into possession, raised the roof of the veranda to let more light into the upper rooms, and substituted the present square pillars for the round ones. The main door is made of two thicknesses of plain boards laid at right angles to each other. It is furnished with the conventional brass knocker, but the hinges, and especially the lock, are curiosities. The lock is iron 7 by 15 inches in size and 2 inches thick and furnished with a prodigious key, about the size of the key to the Bastille preserved at Mount Vernon.

Entering you find yourself in a large reception hall



FRONT DOOR OF SCHUYLER MANSION

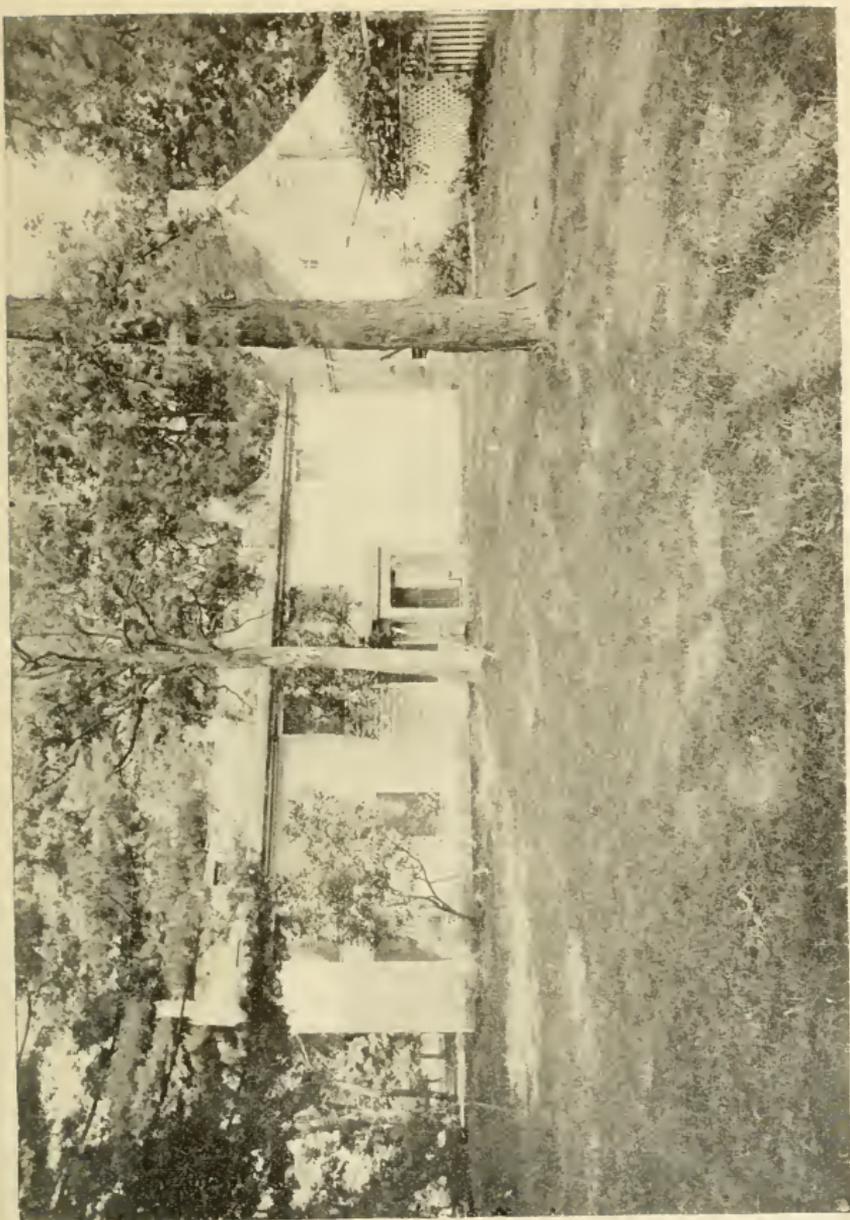
17 by 19 feet. The ceiling is 9 feet 3 inches high. The original stairway, with its landing and turn, was long ago replaced by the present enclosed staircase. The hall is flanked on the left and right by spacious rooms; on the left by a room 18 by 20 feet used by the Schuylers as the dining room, now the sitting room; on the right by the parlor 20 by 22 feet. This room is still adorned by paper put on by Philip Schuyler, 2d, in preparation for the marriage of his daughter Ruth to Mr. T. W. Ogden, of New York, in 1836. The paper on the room immediately above it was also renewed at the same time. All of these rooms are beautifully lighted by spacious windows which retain the original small panes of glass. The great fire-places at either end of the house are also left undisturbed; in fact the present occupants have very considerably endeavored to keep the house in its original state, that is, so far as necessary repairs would admit. Back of the parlor is a long room formerly used as a guest chamber, and which was assigned to Lafayette during his visit here to the Schuylers in 1824. This is now used as a museum and contains many interesting relics. Opening out of the reception hall to the east is a smaller room which was used by General Schuyler and all his successors as an office. Between this and the guest chamber just mentioned is a passage through a closet; a door once led from this to an addition or L which ran to the east and which contained two guest chambers on each floor. This was removed after the property changed hands. In the rear of the present sitting room, you pass into a hallway which leads on the right to a back door, and on the left to the kitchen; across this hall from the sitting room is the school room of the Schuylers, now used as the dining

room. This tier of three rooms with the rear hall and kitchen were added by General Schuyler, and are all one step lower than the floor of the main edifice. Passing through this rear hall to the north you come to the great kitchen, which is by no means the least interesting part of the house. It is 23 by 25 feet interior dimensions. The opening in the fire-place is 7 feet wide by 4 feet high. The old brick oven on the left has been removed. Just to the left, as you pass out doors, the milk-room was formerly situated, surrounded with lattice work and containing sunken places in the stone floor to keep the butter cool.

Above the kitchen are four rooms. In the second story of the main house are seven bedrooms, most of them very large, and all provided with ample closet room. On the third floor is found just one's ideal of a colonial attic, stored with quaint old relics. In the north end of this attic is a very pleasant and spacious bedroom with sloping sides. All the doors were originally fitted with large brass locks, but all save two were stolen soon after the departure of the Schuylers. The house is full of fine old furniture, quite in keeping with the style and age of the structure, and which helps amazingly in one's effort to think himself back into the times of the fathers.

A few feet to the north of the present wood-house formerly stood a much larger one. In the second story of this were the slaves' quarters. The present well is the same from which General Schuyler and all his distinguished guests slaked their thirst. There were also several penstocks on the premises which poured forth their waters in perennial streams.

The spacious grounds in front were not so full of trees in the early part of the century as now. They were then



REAR OF PRESENT SCHUYLER MANSION

arranged in clumps and considerable space was given to shrubs and lawn. At that time a lawn ran unobstructed from the rear of the house eastward to the banks of the canal. The lilac bushes at the bottom of the excavation southeast of the house are descendants of the large ones that once ornamented the garden of house No. 2, burned by Burgoyne. The children were provided with great swings hung in the trees, and permanent see saws nicely made and painted dark green.

The rebuilding of his house by General Schuyler was no doubt a necessary preliminary to the rehabilitation of his business enterprises here, that he might have a place of shelter while restoring his mills, etc., which had been destroyed. His reasons for rebuilding were no doubt, first, because he had faith in the ultimate success of the cause for which the States were struggling, and was ready to prove his faith by his works; secondly, because there was a great demand in the country at that time for such merchandise as he could produce; and thirdly, that he might encourage by his example the fugitive farmers to return to their homes.

In pursuance of this purpose the General moved his family up to Saratoga during the winter of 1777-'78, with the intention of residing here altogether.¹³⁰ But as the troops were entirely withdrawn from this section in the spring of 1778, thus leaving the upper Hudson defenseless against the ever frowning north, he, with many others, did not think it safe to remain, and so retired to Albany again. There he remained until the authorities awoke to the unwisdom of their action, which they speedily did, and reinstated the garrisons at Saratoga and other

¹³⁰ See Schuyler's letter to Governor Clinton, in *Public Papers of George Clinton*. Vol. III., p. 177.

places farther to the north. After the Tories had kidnaped several prominent citizens and taken them to Canada, the authorities thought it necessary to detail twenty-four men as a constant guard to General Schuyler, and despite the guard he came near being captured at his home in Albany, as we shall have occasion to relate hereafter. You see he was a much wanted man in both Canada and the States. Why? Because he was a great leader; from the Canadian standpoint, of the rebels; from the home standpoint, of the patriots.

After resigning his post in the army he was much at Saratoga looking after his business, but his time and abilities were by no means wholly devoted to the promotion of his own private interests. His withdrawal from public life was not followed by loss of interest in the cause of liberty, for which he still labored in season and out of season. Washington was anxious that he should again take command of the Northern Department, but the bitter experiences of the past had effectually cloyed his appetite for military glory, so he chose to serve his country in less conspicuous, but none the less efficient, ways, as an adviser and counsellor, and a procurer of valuable information.

SCHUYLER BUILDS FIRST ROAD TO SARATOGA SPRINGS

But few details of the experiences of the Schuylers at Saratoga between the years 1777 and 1783 have come down to us. General Schuyler, like others at that time, had heard of the wonderful properties of the spring a dozen miles to the west, in the wilderness. As a result of his own and other people's investigation he became so convinced of its medicinal value that he determined to cut a road from his country home through the forests to

the "High Rock," the only spring then known. This he did in the year 1783, at his own expense, and so to him belongs the honor of constructing the first highway by which the public could reach this now world famous watering place. Thus for several years thereafter the popular route to the Springs was by way of old Saratoga. But we may not suppose that the General ever dreamed that the name of his ancestral estates, "Saratoga," the name vitally connected with historic events of such vast and far reaching importance, would be successfully filched, transported over that road of his own building, and affixed to a village yet to grow up around a bubbling spring in the dense woods.

For the first season the General and his family camped near the spring in a tent, but the next year he built a cottage of two rooms with an ample fire-place in the middle, and thus he became the first of that long line of cottagers who have since spent their summers there.¹³¹

WASHINGTON'S VISIT

That same year, 1783, which saw the last of the long weary struggle for independence, was also the first in which the great leader of the people, George Washington, gave himself any respite from his weighty cares and responsibilities. The army had been camped for some time at Newburg, on the Hudson, idly waiting for King George to sign the treaty of peace. Both sides had long since ceased fighting, but still at that stage of the game it would have been most unwise to disband the army and go home.

Irving in his "Life of Washington" not only describes the situation, but adds a brief account of a sight-seeing

¹³¹ Sylvester's Hist. of Saratoga County, p. 149.

trip to the northward, undertaken by the General at this time, which included a visit to old Saratoga (Schuylerville), where he is said to have spent a night sheltered by the ever hospitable mansion of General Schuyler.

Says Irving: "Washington now found his situation at headquarters irksome; there was little to do, and he was liable to be incessantly teased with applications and demands which he had neither the means nor the power to satisfy. He resolved, therefore, to while away part of the time that must intervene before the arrival of the definitive treaty by making a tour to the northern and western part of the State, and visiting the place which had been the theatre of important military transactions. Governor Clinton [Alexander Hamilton, Colonels Humphreys and Fish] accompanied him on the expedition. They set out by water from Newburg, ascended the Hudson to Albany, visited Saratoga [battlefield] and the scene of Burgoyne's surrender [Schuylerville], embarked on Lake George, where light boats had been provided for them, traversed that beautiful lake, so full of historic interest; proceeded to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and after reconnoitering those eventful posts, returned to Schenectady."¹³²

From other sources we learn that on their return "they visited the High Rock Spring, to which their attention had been directed by General Schuyler while guests at his house at Schuylerville. Thence they left on horseback for Schenectady with the intention of visiting on their route the newly discovered spring at Ballston Spa—afterward known as the Iron Railing Spring. On their route through the woods between the two springs they struck the path leading west by Factory Village to the Middle Line Road, but continuing too far they lost their way.

¹³² Irving's *Life of Washington*. Vol. III., p. 206.

Near Factory Village lived one Tom Connor, who was chopping wood at his cabin door. They inquired of him the way to the spring, and Tom cheerfully gave the requisite directions. The party then retraced their steps by the road they came, but again getting bewildered, rode back for more explicit directions. Tom now lost his temper, and petulantly cried out to the spokesman of the party—who happened to be Washington himself—'I tell you, turn back and take the first right hand path into the woods, and then *stick to it*—any d—d fool would know the way.' Afterwards, when Tom learned that he had addressed the great Washington in this unceremonious and uncivil manner, he was extremely chagrined and mortified. His neighbors never afterward allowed poor Tom to forget about his reception of General Washington."¹³³

CHAPTER VI

MANSION No. 3—Continued

Its Later Occupants—John Bradstreet Schuyler

ON the arrival of John Bradstreet Schuyler of age—the General's oldest son—he decided to establish him in business by placing him in full charge of the Saratoga estate, assuring him that it should be his to hold and possess after the death of his father. We here insert the letter from the General to his son in which he announces his purpose concerning the property. We do this not alone because it contains matter of local interest, but mainly because its author, having achieved great success as a

¹³³ Stone's *Reminiscences of Saratoga*, p. 14.

business man and a public servant, having been universally regarded as a model gentleman, most approachable and urbane, and one possessed of a most noble character, we discover in this letter the secret of such success, the wherefore of his affable manners, and the basis of his exalted character.

Observe that it is dated here at his best loved home.

“Saratoga, December 3d, 1787.

“My Dear Child:

“I resign to your care, and to your sole emolument a place on which I have for a long series of years bestowed much care and attention, and I confess I should part from it with many a severe pang did I not resign it to my child.

“I feel none now because of that paternal consideration. It is natural, however, for a parent to be solicitous for the weal of a child who is now to be guided by, and in a great measure to rely on, his own judgment and prudence.

“Happiness ought to be the aim and end of the exertions of every rational creature, and spiritual happiness should take the lead, in fact temporal happiness without the former does not really exist except in name. The first can only be obtained by an improvement of those faculties of the mind which the beneficent Author of Creation has made all men susceptible of, by a conscious discharge of those sacred duties enjoined on us by God, or those whom he has authorized to promulgate His Holy Will. Let the rule of your conduct then be the precept contained in Holy Writ (to which I hope and entreat you will have frequent recourse). If you do, virtue, honor, good faith,

and a punctual discharge of the social duties will be the certain result, and an internal satisfaction that no temporal calamities can ever deprive you of.

“Be indulgent, my child, to your inferiors, affable and courteous to your equals, respectful, not cringing, to your superiors, whether they are so by superior mental abilities or those necessary distinctions which society has established.

“With regard to your temporal concerns it is indispensably necessary that you should afford them a close and continual attention. That you should not commit that to others which you can execute yourself. That you should not refer the necessary business of the hour or the day to the next. Delays are not only dangerous, they are fatal. Do not consider anything too insignificant to preserve; if you do so the habit will steal on you and you will consider many things of little importance and the account will close against you. Whereas a proper economy will not only make you easy, but enable you to bestow benefits on objects who may want your assistance—and of them you will find not a few. Example is infinitely more lasting than precept, let therefore your servants never discover a disposition to negligence or waste; if they do they will surely follow you in it, and your affairs will not slide but Gallop into Ruin.

“In every community there are wretches who watch the dispositions of young men, especially when they come to the possession of property; some of these may hang about you; they will flatter, they will cringe, and they will cajole you until they have acquired your confidence, and then they will ruin you. Beware of these, they are the curse of society, and have brought many, alas! too many to destruction.

“Be specially careful that you do not put yourself under such obligations to any man as that he may deem himself entitled to request you to become his security for money. You are Good natured, and Generous, keep a Watch upon yourself, and do not ruin yourself and family for another.

“Directly on my return to Albany I shall make you out a Deed of Gift for all the Blacks belonging to the farm except Jacob, Peter, Cuff and Bett, and for the Stock and Cattle, Horses, &c., &c., with a very few exceptions. For all the farming utensils, household furniture, &c., &c.

“The crops of the last year I must of necessity appropriate to the discharge of Debts, and they must be brought down in Winter, except what may be necessary for the subsistence of your family and to satisfy those whom you may have occasion to employ. This I shall hereafter Detail.

“The logs now in the Creek will be sawed at our joint expense and you shall have half the boards which I hope will net you something of Value. We will consult on the best and cheapest terms to have this done.

“Althou’ for reasons which prudence dictates, I shall now not give you a deed for any part of my estate, yet you ought to know what of this farm I intend for you, and which I shall immediately make you by Will; it is all on the South Side of the Fishkill, and as far down as Col. Van Vechten’s, and as far West as to Inclose Marshall’s & Colvert’s farms, Besides a just proportion of all my other Estates. But all the tenants now residing on the farm either on the South or North side of the Creek are to pay their rents to me and Preserve the right of settling people on the west side of the road and to the north of the Little Creek, which runs by Kiliaen Winne’s, the blacksmith. For altho’ you will have the occupancy of all

the rest of the farm on both sides of the Creek, yet that on the North side of the Creek I intend for one of your Brothers.

“Should you die before me, which I most sincerely pray may not happen, your children, if God blesses you with any, will have this farm and such share of my other Estates as I intend for you; and should you die before me, and without children, your wife, who is also my child, will be provided for by me. In short, it is my intention to leave you without any excuse if you fail in proper exertions to improve the property intrusted to you; and it is with that view that I so fully detail my intentions, and Give you this written testimony of them, and that no unworthy conduct may induce me to change my intentions is my hope and my anxious wish, and I have the pleasure to assure you that I believe when once the heat of youth is a little abated, I shall enjoy the satisfaction of seeing you what I most ardently wish you to be, a Good man and an honor to your family.

“I must however not omit to inform you that the Income of all my estate except what you and your Brothers and Sisters may actually occupy at my decease will be enjoyed by your dear Mama; she merits this attention in a most eminent degree, and I shall even give her a power to change my Disposition of that part of my estate the income of which she will enjoy, should unhappily the conduct of my Children be such as to render it necessary; but I trust they are and will be so deeply impressed with a Sense of the infinite obligations they are under to her as not to give her a moment’s uneasiness.

“I must once more recommend to you as a matter of indispensable importance to Love, to honor, and faithfully and without guile to serve the Eternal, incompre-

hensible, beneficent and Gracious Being by whose will you exist, and so insure happiness in this life and in that to come. And now my dear child, I commit you and my Daughter and all your concerns to his Gracious and Good Guidance; and sincerely intreat Him to enable you to be a comfort to your parents and a protector to your Brothers and Sisters, an honor to your family, and a good citizen. Accept of my Blessing and be assured that I am your affectionate father,

“Ph. SCHUYLER.

“To JOHN B. SCHUYLER.”

The immediate occasion for making such a disposition of the Saratoga property at this time was the recent marriage of this son, John Bradstreet, which event took place in Albany, the 18th of September preceding. Parental interest evidently prompted him to thus start the young man in business that he might be the better able to support the dignity of his new position as head of a family.

JOHN B. SCHUYLER TAKES POSSESSION*

Accepting with alacrity his father's offer, he took immediate possession, with his young wife, only daughter of the Patroon Van Rensselaer—“a most lovable woman who united in herself the good qualities of two of the most substantial families of the early Republic—the Van Rensselaers and the Livingstons.” No portrait of her is extant, but tradition pictures her as a brunette, with an oval face and dark hair and eyes. Her husband was a handsome young fellow, with blue eyes and flaxen curly hair.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ MSS. in possession of Miss Fanny Schuyler, of Pelham-on-Sound.

Although brought up for the most part in the city of Albany, and accustomed to the usual life of a young man of leisure, John Bradstreet Schuyler entered on the life of a country gentleman with much enthusiasm. We may suppose that he came to Saratoga with the more readiness because youthful associations combined with the romance of the wars had greatly endeared the old place to him as it also had to the rest of the family. After his coming we are told that "the intercourse with Albany was kept up regularly through the faithful family slaves" who passed back and forth like shuttles between the Saratoga and Albany homes. For example "Jim" goes down from Saratoga with an order "for a fashionable beaver hat for Betsy," as Mrs. J. B. Schuyler was called by her family; also twelve pairs of shoes, intended no doubt for the household slaves; for every person of substance in those days owned slaves.

Two sons were born to Mr. and Mrs. John Bradstreet Schuyler at Saratoga. The eldest, Philip, was named for his grandfather, the General; the second for his maternal grandfather, Stephen Van Rensselaer. Stephen died in infancy. Philip was a strong and vigorous child.

The young proprietor evidently prosecuted the business, established by his father, with energy and success; for we find that he received large orders for the products of the Saratoga mills and farms, which were transported to market mainly in the old way, on rafts and flatboats.

DEATH OF JOHN B. SCHUYLER

The career of this promising young man came to a sudden close in 1795, at the age of thirty-two. He had been spending some time up the Mohawk valley with his father, apparently assisting in the construction of a waterway from Schenectady to Lake Ontario. His father, the

General, was president of the Inland Lock Navigation Company, which had in charge the execution of this important work. The General had from the start been a most zealous promoter of the enterprise. Locks had just been completed at Little Falls and Fort Herkimer to help the boats around the rapids in the Mohawk at those points, and on the 10th of August he was to meet the Indians in council at Oneida to secure the right of way for a canal between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, which empties into Oneida Lake.

His son, John Bradstreet, evidently feeling unwell, started for his home at Saratoga, where he arrived on the 7th of August. His wife, with her little son, was away at the time; family tradition says in New York. The fever which had been developing was thought to have been aggravated by showing a gentleman over the battle field under a broiling sun. This was in all probability the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. (See Stone's *Burgoyne's Campaign* p. 381.) The record of this sad event, found in the Schuyler family Bible, reads as follows:

"August 7, 1795, John B. Schuyler arrived at his house in Saratoga from the westward. Taken sick on Wednesday, the 12th, of a Bilious Fever. Died the 19th August, 1795. Buried in the vault of Stephen Van Rensselaer, Esq., at Watervliet, 20th August, 1795."

Local tradition has it that his body was taken down the river in a canoe, which is quite probable. The absence of Mrs. Schuyler, together with the extreme heat, no doubt accounts for the speedy removal of the remains to the family vault.

That was a sad home-coming to both the young wife and the father; for when they bade him good-by, neither

had dreamed that it was for aye. His sudden death proved to be especially distressing to his father, who had built on him many high hopes. That he was a young man of unusual intelligence, stability of character and influence, is proven by the fact that he had already been elected as one of the trustees of Williams College, Massachusetts; that he had been chosen the first Supervisor of his town after the new County of Saratoga had been erected; and by the fact that he was sent to the New York Assembly in 1795.

PHILIP SCHUYLER, 2D.

Philip Schuyler, 2d, was seven years of age when his father, John Bradstreet, died. His grandfather, the General, was appointed his guardian, who first placed him in a school on Staten Island, under the charge of Dr. Moore, afterwards Bishop of Virginia, and later he was sent to Columbia College. During his collegiate course he lived in New York, and for part of the time in the family of his talented uncle, Alexander Hamilton; a rare privilege, that, for a young man in the formative period of his life.

Philip Schuyler, 2d, selected for his wife Miss Grace Hunter, sister of Hon. John Hunter, of Hunter's Island, N. Y. They were married in New York, September 12th, 1811. She was a beautiful and lovable woman, and she willingly left the charms of city life for the quiet scenes and more romantic life in the old historic home at Saratoga.¹³⁵

Being an only child, Philip inherited so much of the Saratoga estate as fell to his father, which ran for three

¹³⁵ Most of the above facts relating to J. Bradstreet, and Philip Schuyler, 2d, were taken from the Schuyler MSS., in possession of Miss Fanny Schuyler, of Pelham-on-Sound.



MRS. PHILIP SCHUYLER, 2D

miles along the Hudson River. He also inherited from his father and grandfather a large measure of their public spirit, which manifested itself through an active interest in anything that tended to promote the public welfare, multiply common luxuries for the people, or increase the comforts of living. He was an enthusiastic promoter of inland navigation, or the canal projects, which so stirred the public mind of this State from 1807 to 1825, at which latter date both the Champlain and Erie canals had been completed.

It was through his influence that the great canal basin was built at Schuylerville and also the slip or back-set from the basin to the rear of the mills; and to guard against the evils of stagnant water he obtained a perpetual grant to tap the end of the slip and use the water for running a mill; the sawmill now operated by Mr. G. Edward Laing gets its power from this source. This is the only place where the State allows water to be drawn from the canals to furnish power for a private enterprise. This franchise was secured not only for sanitary reasons, but as part pay for the right to pass through Mr. Schuyler's estate.

He early became interested in cotton manufacture, and erected here at Schuylerville the second cotton mill in the State of New York—the old Horicon, which still stands, though somewhat enlarged, as a monument to his enterprise.

In 1822 his fellow citizens sent him to represent them as Assemblyman in the New York Legislature.

Philip Schuyler, 2d, and his charming wife maintained the ancient family reputation for hospitality. So long as a Schuyler lived here open house was kept for every one who could formulate a decent excuse for crossing their



PHILIP SCHUYLER, 2D

threshold. During the summer season the old house was usually thronged with guests from everywhere, among which were sure to be a goodly sprinkling of notables of every type.

VISIT OF LAFAYETTE

Perhaps during the whole stretch of the nineteenth century the Schuyler mansion was never more highly honored than by the visit of the Marquis de Lafayette, the friend of Washington, the one Frenchman who made the greatest sacrifices for American liberty. On his last visit here, in 1824, he was voted the nation's guest, and was everywhere lionized and fêted as no foreigner since has been. Though it was quite out of his way, he could not resist turning aside to visit the old Saratoga home of General Schuyler, whom he had greatly loved, and the scene of the humiliation of one proud army of France's ancient foe.

Such details of this interesting visit as have been preserved we here give verbatim from a manuscript in possession of Miss Fanny Schuyler of Pelham-on-Sound, N. Y., a daughter of Philip Schuyler, 2d.¹³⁶

"The general came in the coach-and-four which my father had sent to convey him from the town beyond. His son, who was with him, had a round face and wore gold spectacles. His secretary and another gentleman filled a second carriage. Lafayette received the villagers, who had assembled on the lawn in front of the house, with very courteous bows, and spoke some appreciative words.

"Being greatly fatigued from his journey, Lafayette was shown into the guest chamber (on the southeast cor-

¹³⁶ The facts which the MSS. preserve were given to her by her eldest sister, Ruth, now, 1900, 88 years of age.

ner, first floor) where, having stretched himself on the bed, he slept for several hours. After a collation was served, and before his departure, he stepped to the sideboard, and while resting one arm on its polished surface, with the other poured a glass of Madeira, which he drank to the health of 'the four generations of Schuylers he had known'—the fourth generation was represented by his host's three little daughters (Ruth, Elizabeth and Grace). Just as he was about to depart, Lafayette lifted little Grace Schuyler up in his arms and kissed her. Afterwards, being asked how she liked General Lafayette, she said: "I don't like that man, 'his face pricked me.'"¹³⁷

HOSPITALITY OF THE SCHUYLERS

Quite early in the century Saratoga Springs became the most popular, indeed the one fashionable watering place in America. Thither the blooded aristocracy, the merchant princes, the leaders in fashion and politics, flocked from all parts of the States. One of the most popular drives in those days for those who had the *entree* of the mansion was from the Springs to Old Saratoga (Schuylerville).

Dinner parties were frequently given here by the

¹³⁷ The above-mentioned mahogany brass-mounted sideboard, together with the high-post French bedstead on which Lafayette slept, are now in possession of the family, at Pelham-on-Sound, in the house occupied by Miss Fanny Schuyler there, as are also many other interesting pieces of furniture once used by Gen. Philip Schuyler, including a mirror, which is known to have reflected the faces of most of the Revolutionary notables, among which may be mentioned General Burgoyne and his suite; also General Schuyler's silver spurs, pocket sun-dial, gold pen and pencil case, double-cased gold-embossed watch, silver-mounted pistol—all used in his military campaigns. A high, mahogany hall clock, French white marble and gilt parlor clock, white silk vest, embroidered in gilt thread, etc., are also in possession of the family there.

Schuylers at the then fashionable hour of three or four o'clock; the guests returning to the Springs in the early evening. Among such, one might mention Martin Van Buren, President of the United States, who had become a warm personal friend of Philip Schuyler, 2d, accompanied by his popular son, "Prince John," as he was then called.

DEPARTURE OF THE SCHUYLERS

But changes came to the old homestead at last. Perhaps the worst financial panic in our nation's history was that of 1837. Commerce and manufactures were prostrate; hundreds of wealthy mercantile houses in every quarter of the country suddenly found themselves bankrupt, and the crash was consummated when the banks universally suspended specie payments. Philip Schuyler, like thousands of others, was caught in this financial whirlwind and swamped. To meet his obligations, the ancestral estate was sold.

President Van Buren ere long, having need of a man of Schuyler's calibre in an important position, unsolicited, sent him as consul to the port of Liverpool, England. No better selection could have been made, if we can accept the judgment of the English press. For example, the *Liverpool Courier* of June 1, 1842, has this to say, when it became known that Mr. Schuyler had been recalled:

"Among other removals we regret to announce that of Philip Schuyler, Esq., the late consul of this port. The United States never had, nor never can have, a more efficient officer than that gentleman to represent their great nation; for besides the official capacities which are indispensable to the fulfillment of the multifarious duties of a consulate, he possessed in an eminent degree the no

less necessary and agreeable faculty of ingratiating himself into the respect and esteem of our people. Circumstances led us on several occasions to know these facts, and we feel it our duty, as it is our pleasure, to record them."

He was recalled by President Tyler for purely party reasons, and that after he had been orally assured by him that he would be retained at the post.

After his return from England, Mr. Schuyler was at one time on the point of repurchasing his old home and returning to Schuylerville; but as their son John was in New York preparing for college, Mrs. Schuyler preferred to remain near him and so the project was abandoned. They finally built a new house on a fine site, including seventy acres of land, at Pelham-on-Sound, a favorite residence of New Yorkers, and within easy distance of the city.

As an indication that he retained an undying affection for the home of his fathers and the scenes of his boyhood, and that he was held in highest esteem by his neighbors, we here insert a paragraph from a letter of one of his daughters to the writer:

"One of my childish remembrances is a visit with my father to Schuylerville, on his return from England, when an ovation was tendered him in the evening, a serenade given and speeches made by the leading men of the place. And there, surrounded by his early friends, and many of his former stalwart workmen, as he stood among them once more the tears coursed down his face, as well as down many other faces about him. On another occasion, when present there, as one of the committee, with the Hon. Hamilton Fish, to select the position for the Saratoga monument, his son-in-law, Charles de Luze, Esq.,

of New York, who was also present, again saw him brushing away tears as he gazed over the old familiar scenes of his childhood."

The departure of the Schuylers was an irreparable loss to the commercial, social and religious interests of Schuylerville. In short, we have ever since had "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out.¹³⁵

THE STROVERS

When the place was thrown upon the market by the assignee of Mr. Schuyler, it was purchased by Col. George Stover. Thus for 135 years this property had been in the hands of the Schuylers.

Col. George Stover was born near Bryant's bridge, in the town of Saratoga, in 1791. His grandfather had been a soldier in the French and Indian war. His father, John Stover, became a noted scout in the Revolution; hence, with such antecedents, it was altogether natural that George Stover should be eager to serve his country in a similar way should the opportunity offer. The war of 1812 was his chance and he was among the first to enlist. It was in that war that he gained the title of Colonel through promotion.

After peace was declared he married and settled on a farm below Coveville. There in various ways he displayed so much energy and business sagacity that he attracted the attention of Mr. Philip Schuyler, 2d, who ultimately made him his general agent and business manager. In addition to his employment with Mr. Schuyler, he became extensively engaged as a contractor on his own account.

¹³⁵ Grace Hunter, wife of Philip Schuyler, 2nd, died at Pelham-on-Sound, December 24, 1855. Philip Schuyler died at the same place, February 12, 1865.

Soon after the departure of Mr. Schuyler from Schuylerville, he, with several other gentlemen, took the contract for constructing a large section of the Croton Aqueduct. He soon thereafter sold out to his partners, and accepted a position as manager of the vast estates of Stephen Van Rensselaer, the last of the Patroons. While in Van Rensselaer's service, he superintended the construction of those extensive docks in Albany's great lumber district. He enjoyed the utmost confidence of both Messrs. Schuyler and Van Rensselaer, and treasured to the last many valuable tokens of their regard.

He became one of the leading and most public spirited of Schuylerville's citizens, and enjoyed the highest esteem of his fellow townsmen, because of his kindly spirit and integrity of character. He was largely instrumental in founding the old Academy, and in the erection of the Episcopal church. And it was at his house, the old Schuyler mansion, that the first meeting of patriotic gentlemen was called to consider what steps should be taken toward the erection of a suitable monument to commemorate the glorious events of the decisive campaign of the war for Independence.

That Colonel Stover was possessed of highest respect and reverence for the historic past is proved, not only by his strenuous efforts in behalf of a monument, but in the way in which he cared for the old mansion, preserving it intact within and without, so far as necessary repairs would permit. It is now owned by two of his daughters, Mrs. E. M. McCoy of Waterford, N. Y., and Mrs. John Lowber, who with her family, has occupied it since her father's death, and who in her care of this historic home has shown herself to be a worthy daughter of a worthy father.

When next this place changes hands it should go into the possession of the State, and be placed in the custody of a local historical society, which, by the way, ought to have been in existence long ere this, but which, in fact, is not yet born. In this building should be collected the many relics of colonial and Revolutionary times which are scattered about, here and there, in this vicinity, but which are being rapidly collected and carried away by the ever increasing horde of relic hunters.

The Marshall house too, like the Schuyler mansion, should ultimately belong to the public. Houses like these, so closely connected with great historic events, are very rare in our country, and hence what we have left should be guarded and preserved with the most jealous care.

CHAPTER VII

POST REVOLUTIONARY SETTLEMENT

WHEN, in 1783, England and the United States concluded to cease fighting, the people had an opportunity to turn their attention once again to the more congenial arts of peace. The militiamen from the sterile hills of New England, and from down the Hudson valley having caught a glimpse of this beautiful country during the campaigns of the Revolution, thought it a veritable land of promise, and many of them marched away with a secret resolve to see more of it when once the desperate scrimmage with old England was well over. No sooner was peace declared than some of them put their resolves into execution. The tide of immigration set in this direction so strongly and steadily that, at the end of the

century, most of the available land in this township was taken up, though by no means cleared. The farms were sometimes purchased outright, but generally they were taken on long leases from the Patentees, such as Gen. Philip Schuyler. For example, the lease of Thomas Jordan was to run through the life of himself, wife and one John Ballard, who lived with him. It was, however, purchased before the expiration of the lease.

The story of the way in which three settlers in this town obtained their farms is worthy of perpetuation here. We have elsewhere spoken of the raids of the Indians and Tories from the north, and their persistent efforts at kidnapping prominent citizens and carrying them to Canada.

On the 7th of August, 1781, seven men, sent from Canada, came to Albany and in the evening of that day made an attack upon the town-house of General Schuyler, who chanced to be there at the time with his family, instead of Saratoga (Schuylerville), as was his custom in the summer time. Their object was to kill or capture the General. There were in the house with the General at the time John Ward and John Cokely, two of his life guards, and also John Tubbs, an army courier, in his service. These three men made a gallant fight with the seven assassins, who had effected an entrance into the hall. John Tubbs, as his grandchildren now relate it, had a personal struggle with one, who, having pressed him down behind an old oaken chest, with his hands on his throat, tried to draw a knife to finish him, but the knife was gone, and so Tubbs was obliged to let him up. Meanwhile General Schuyler had, from the windows above, aroused the town, and the seven men left suddenly, carrying off Tubbs and Cokely with them as prisoners, together with a goodly amount of the General's silver

plate as proof that they had actually penetrated into Schuyler's house and made an attempt to execute their appointed task. The prisoners were kept nineteen months on an island in the St. Lawrence. Returning home about the time peace was declared, General Schuyler presented the three men with a deed of two hundred and seventy-five acres of land. The deed is still in possession of the descendants of John Tubbs, and recites that "In consideration of five shillings, and that John Cokely, John Ward and John Tubbs did gallantly defend the said Philip Schuyler when attacked in his own house near the city of Albany, on the 7th day of August, 1781, by a party of the enemy in the late war, sent expressly to kill or make prisoner of the said Philip Schuyler," the party of the first part hath granted and sold to the said Ward, Cokely and Tubbs all that tract and parcel of land "in the Saratoga patent, known and distinguished as the westernmost farm of the south half of lot No. 20, in the grand division of the Saratoga patent made by John B. Bleeker, surveyor, in 1750, containing about two hundred and seventy acres of land."

The land was first divided into three parts, and the men drew for their respective portions. John Cokely's share ultimately came into possession of John Tubbs' descendants, who held the property until 1894, when it was purchased by Eugene Rogers.

A compilation of the hundreds of names of those who settled in this vicinity after the Revolution is apart from the scope and purpose of this book, such being of little interest to the general reader. We would therefore refer those interested in that subject to Sylvester's History of Saratoga County, also to the town and church records.

EARLY ROADS

After the settler has once established himself in his new home, about the first thing he must turn his attention to is the means of communication between himself and his neighbors and the markets beyond; he must address himself to the interminable task of road building.

The first roads in a new country are necessarily very crude and rough affairs. The bicycle and automobile could not have flourished here in those pioneer days. For many years after the settlement of the country the only vehicles that could stand the strain were the wood-sled and lumber wagon.

Naturally the first highway built in this section was the river road. But this, unlike any of its successors, was at the outset mainly built at government expense for the transportation of armies and munitions of war. It was generally supposed that the present road coincides nearly with the original one, and that followed mainly the old Indian trail. The canal, however, has in many places supplanted the old road. Some old maps and other documents prove pretty conclusively that much of the way, at least between Schuylerville and Stillwater, there were two roads, one near the river bank and the other along the foot of the bluffs; the latter was used in time of high water. Such was the case between Wilbur's Basin and Bemis Heights at the time of the Revolution,¹³⁹ and also just below Schuylerville.¹⁴⁰ Tradition says this river road forded the Fish creek a few rods above the canal aqueduct, ascended its south bank back of Mr. Lowber's

¹³⁹ See Burgoyne's map, in Public Papers of George Clinton. Vol. II., p. 430. Also the Sexagenary, pp. 70, 72.

¹⁴⁰ Journal of La Corne St. Luc's Expedition against Fort Clinton, p. —, *ante*, and the Sexagenary, p. 140.

barn (some say where the canal bridge is) and then passed east of the original Schuyler mansion about where the canal is now. This is altogether probable. The writer has found a tradition which says that north of the creek the road struck through where the canal basin is and ran along the low terrace seen in the meadow north of the Ferry street road, and just east of the canal, thence north through Seeleyville, following the present line of North Broadway. It is not probable that there was a bridge across Fish creek till about 1770. As there was a military road cut on the east side in 1709 from the Battenkill to Fort Edward, the old ford across the river just north of the island, over which the road to Greenwich now passes, must have figured as part of that route. Very likely the fort built by Peter Schuyler in 1709 was for the purpose of guarding that ford, and stood on the flats instead of the hill, as has been by some supposed.

LATERAL ROADS

At the time of the Revolution there was a road running west from Bemis Heights; one west from Sword's house which General Fraser used in his flank movement on the morning of the 19th of September, 1777, the same which now runs west from Searle's ferry. Another road ran west from Coveville, starting just south of Van Veghten's mill. The earliest road to the westward from Old Saratoga (Schuylerville) started at the Horicon mill, ran up the south bank of the creek and followed the line of the present footpath to Smithville.¹⁴¹ From that point there has been no change in the old line. Then, as now, it crossed the creek just west of Mr. Frank Marshall's,

¹⁴¹ See old document copied in Sylvester's *Hist. of Saratoga County*, p. 268.

thence southwest past Mr. Hiram Cramer's. The present road from Smithville to the river road is very old and antedates the Revolution. We have elsewhere spoken of the road to Saratoga Springs, through Grangerville, built by General Schuyler in 1783. This road originally passed to the north of the creek at Grangerville and so avoided bridge building. The ford across the river at Schuylerville being available only at low water, a ferry was started very early by the De Ridders. This crossed below the island; its western landing place was on the angle just north of the mouth of Fish creek, its eastern landing was fifteen or twenty rods below the bridge. Many old residents of Schuylerville can still remember De Ridder's ferry, it was propelled by horse power, and hence was known as a horse boat. The great increase in travel and traffic which followed on the opening of the canal, made possible the bridging of the Hudson at this point to accommodate the country to the east of the river. This was done by a private company in 1836, and it has ever since remained a toll bridge.

PARTITION OF SARATOGA

As we have stated in an earlier part of this work, Saratoga was a name originally given by the Indians to a district of country with indefinite boundaries stretching from perhaps Waterford to the State dam at Northumberland and including both sides of the river. Then came the Saratoga Patent of 1684, which took in six miles on each side of the river, from Mechanicville north to the mouth of the Battenkill.

March 24, 1772, the New York Colonial Legislature passed the first act which organized this territory into a legal entity. What has since become Saratoga County

was then divided into two districts—Half Moon and Saraghtoga. As there were no towns organized here at that time, the district of Saraghtoga included Easton, now in the County of Washington, and nearly all the present County of Saratoga north of Anthony's-kill, which enters the Hudson at Mechanicville, and it so continued until April 1, 1775, when the west part of the county was organized into a separate district called Ballstown. Gen. E. F. Bullard, in his historical address, says very happily: "As Virginia was called the mother of States, so Old Saratoga may be called the mother of towns." First Ballston, as we have just seen, was taken from it. Then, after New York burst the Provincial bud and blossomed into a State, and the machinery of a State government was set running, on the 7th of March, 1788, an act was passed organizing towns in the place of districts. By that act Stillwater, including Malta, was taken off from the Saratoga district, thus making what afterward became Saratoga County into four towns, viz: Halfmoon, Saratoga, Ballston and Stillwater, all of which were yet a part of Albany County. On the 3d of March, 1789, that part of Saratoga township lying on the east of the Hudson was erected into a township and called East Town. In 1791, this was set off to form part of Washington County. On the 7th of February, 1791, these four towns were separated from Albany County and erected into an independent county, and appropriately named Saratoga.

HOW SARATOGA SPRINGS GOT ITS NAME

In 1798 this old township was shorn of more of her territory by the organization of Northumberland, which took off all now included in Moreau and Wilton, and the

east part of Corinth and Greenfield. The fame of the Springs having drawn to that part of the township many settlers, a petition was granted them in 1819 which resulted in another division of Old Saratoga and the erection of the town of Saratoga Springs. This left to the town its present area of about seven miles square. After this division Saratoga numbered 2,233 inhabitants, and Saratoga Springs 1,909. Here we discover why the Springs came to be called SARATOGA SPRINGS. For the first thirty years of their history they were located within the limits of the town of Saratoga, and when the new town was set off its inhabitants insisted on the retention of the name under which their district had become famous.¹⁴²

CHAPTER VIII

VILLAGES

AFTER the destruction of Old Saratoga, in 1745, eighty years elapsed before another village of equal size grew up within the bounds of this township. Of course it possessed more inhabitants at the end of the eighteenth century than at that epoch, but no villages. These, however, were sure to appear in time.

The first store in town of which we have been able to find any record was opened by Herman Van Veghten some time before 1800.¹⁴³ It is, however, probable that supplies had been kept at Schuyler's mills before this.

¹⁴² Most of the above facts concerning the divisions of the district, and later the town, of Saratoga were taken from Gen. E. F. Bullard's Centennial 4th of July address.

¹⁴³ Old Records of the Reformed Church of Schuylerville, p. 88.

A store was also kept by one John Douglas on the place now owned by Hiram Cramer at an early day, just when we have not discovered. The Hill at Cramer's was certainly once quite a business place before the opening of the canal and the subsequent growth of Schuylerville. Besides the store, there was an ashery for the manufacture of potash, the old Baptist church, a school house and one or two mechanic shops. But Schuylerville's "boom" put an end to the aspirations of Dunham's Hill, as it was then called.

Dean's Corners, in the western part of the town, was named from Dr. Dean, who lived at that point and practiced medicine for many years, though he was not the first settler. It contains a store, post office and school house, and numbers about fifty inhabitants.

Quaker Springs derived its name from the conjunction of two important facts. First, because the Society of Friends, or Quakers, were the most numerous among the first settlers, and built a meeting house in that locality, where they have worshiped for a hundred years or more; and second, because two very fine mineral springs exist there. The village numbers about 150 inhabitants; it contains a large store of general merchandise, a post-office, a school house, a saw mill, and a Methodist Episcopal church.

The water of the springs is charged with natural gas, and is of very fine quality. One reminds the visitor of the more renowned ones at Saratoga Springs, and the other bubbling up within twenty-five feet of it, is strongly impregnated with sulphur. Both of them are equal in medicinal properties to those at the great Spa. Were these springs situated anywhere within 200 miles of their present location they would be immensely valuable.

GRANGERVILLE

Grangerville is a hamlet of fifteen or twenty houses, about two miles west of Schuylerville. The occasion for a village there is a mill privilege on Fish creek. The first mill here was a grist mill, erected by Jesse Toll, before 1800; but the name of one Harvey Granger, who owned and run the mills for many years, became attached to the hamlet that grew up around him. Besides the grist mill, there is a saw mill on the opposite side of the creek. There, too, are the inevitable village store, blacksmith shop and school house, which also serves the purpose of a church. Here a harvest that is unusual and unique is gathered yearly by the enterprising miller, Mr. Elmer E. Baker. In the month of September great quantities of eels run down the creek into the river. A weir has been so constructed at the dam as to catch the larger eels, and as high as thirty-three barrels, or three tons, of this wriggling, and yet toothsome, product have been shipped to market in a season.

COVEVILLE

Situated three miles south of Schuylerville, on the river road, is another hamlet known as Coveville. This name has supplanted that of Dovegat, which was originally given to the locality. Here General Burgoyne and his army camped for several days on his way down and up from the scene of his defeat. Here Cornelius Van Veghten had a mill as early as 1784. The remains of the dam are still to be seen on the west side of the highway as you cross the creek. Here Herman Van Veghten opened what was, perhaps, the first store in the town. There was a tavern here for many years, but now long since discon-

tinued. Here is a store and a school house. The canal at this point affords shipping facilities for potatoes for quite a district to the west.

VICTORY

This village is mainly the creation of the Victory Manufacturing Company. Before its advent an unbroken woods stretched from above the mills to Schuylerville. It derived its name entirely from the fancy of some patriotic member of the company, who suggested it as the title for their organization in allusion to the victory of the Americans over the British won in the immediate vicinity. It is very pleasantly situated on the north, or left, bank of Fish creek, one and one-half miles above its confluence with the river. The one great industry here is the manufacture of cotton goods; but of this great mill we will take occasion to speak more in detail in another connection.

The village has an unusually spruce and well-kept appearance. Besides the pretty cottages of the operatives, many citizens have built for themselves substantial and beautiful homes along the well shaded streets. In addition to the attractions about the homes the company, with a true public and altruistic spirit, maintain a small park adjoining the mills with a beautiful lawn and a profusion of magnificent flowering plants, which afford a pleasant outlook from the mill windows for their employees. This company donated the ground and contributed largely for the erection of a neat church edifice for the use of the villagers. This the company generously keeps in repair.

Victory Mills was incorporated in 1849. The first board of trustees were: William E. Miner, Patrick Cooney, George McCreedy, Russell Carr and Benjamin

Kelsey. William E. Miner was first president, and James Cavanagh, clerk. The officers for 1900 are: Matthew E. Kelly, Robert Barrett and William J. Kennedy. Mr. M. E. Kelly is president, and Archie J. Kennedy, clerk. The village has an ample supply of hotels, several stores of general merchandise, a post-office, markets, etc., and supports an excellent graded school.

SMITHVILLE

On the right bank of the Fish creek, and opposite Victory Mills, is the village of Smithville. Smithville originated in this way: Thomas Smith, grandson of the early settler Thomas, purchased a farm on the south side of the creek from the assignee of the Schuyler estate about 1840. Sometime thereafter he conceived the notion of starting a town; so he laid out a large share of his property in building lots, advertised it pretty extensively, and succeeded in selling many of them. The village is very pleasantly and healthfully located, but it has from the beginning been merely a place of residence.

SCHUYLERVILLE

At the opening of the 19th century there was no such place as Schuylerville in existence. Broadway was then an open country road. South of the creek then stood the old Dutch Reformed church, of historic memory, with the sexton's house, the Schuyler mansion and several mills, with perhaps a tenement house or two. On the north side of the creek there was a distillery, a fulling mill, a grist mill, and a blacksmith shop which stood then, and for a number of years, where the alley, opposite Bullard's paper mill, enters Broadway; just north of the shop was a house. The next building to the north was

an old government storehouse or barrack, where the house of James E. McEckron now stands, 191 Broadway; above this there was a log house standing on the northwest corner of Broadway and Spring street, with some old Revolutionary barracks standing a few rods to the northwest. The next house to the north was the parsonage of the Dutch Reformed church, still standing, 265 Broadway, and north of this was the historic Bushee house (since called the Marshall house).

From the recollections of old inhabitants, preserved in Sylvester's "History of Saratoga County" and Gen. E. F. Bullard's historical address, we learn that in 1812 a Mr. Daggett ran the aforementioned blacksmith shop, that a Widow Taylor was running a tavern where the house No. 187 Broadway stands, now owned by Napoleon Gravelle. Just to the north of this, in the old government storehouse, Alpheus Bullard opened a store that same year; Stephen Welsh was then living in the log house on the corner of Broadway and Spring street. North of him a Mr. Peacock lived, and between him and the old Dutch parsonage lived a Mr. Van Tassel. Soon afterwards Alpheus Bullard gave up store-keeping and built the Mansion House on the southwest corner of Broadway and Spring street, no doubt to accommodate the travel to and from Saratoga Springs, most of which had to go this way at that time. A stage route from Boston to the Springs ran this way until after 1830. This tavern was afterward turned into a dwelling house and is now occupied by Mrs. R. D. Lewis. About the same time (1813 or 1814), Daniel Patterson built a tavern, which still stands, and bears the name of the Schuylerville House. Soon after the war of 1812 Abraham Van Deusen opened a store on the site of the present Bullard block; his house stood where the bank now is, 98 Broadway. The long

wooden building, 78 to 82 Broadway, has stood for eighty years or more.

. At this time the ancient woods still covered most of the hillside to the west of Broadway, and indeed they were not fully cleared till after 1840; and the earthworks thrown up by Burgoyne thirty-five years before still remained untouched, except by the elements. Wild game of every kind yet roamed the forests all about, tempting the hunter forth to try his skill.

THE EFFECT OF THE CANAL ON SCHUYLERVILLE'S GROWTH

The growth of Schuylerville was very slow till after the opening of the Champlain canal in 1822. Through the influence of Philip Schuyler, 2d, with the State authorities, and as part payment for the right of way through his extensive estates, a commodious basin, with ample dockage, was built at this point. Now a basin in a canal is equivalent to a bay along the sea-coast, a boat can turn around, as well as load and unload at its docks. Possessed of this boon, Schuylerville was at once raised from the obscurity of a wayside hamlet to the dignity of an open port and an important shipping point.

Before the opening of the canal the farmers, as far north as Lakes George and Champlain, had to draw their produce in wagons or sleighs down to Waterford. Judge then what a boom the opening of this waterway gave to the farming interests everywhere within reach of it. Whitehall, Fort Edward, Schuylerville and Stillwater at once became shipping points and depots for supplies. Schuylerville rapidly sprang into importance and became the most important place between Whitehall and Waterford, and the outlet for a large district of country both to the east and west of the Hudson. Large warehouses

were built for the storage of grain and mercantile goods, many of which are yet standing as reminders of the epoch when the packet boat was queen.

Besides the vast quantity of grain shipped from here in those early days, when later Washington and Saratoga counties became great potato producing sections, as many as sixty and seventy canal boat loads of this product have left these docks for market in the fall of the year. This means a great deal when one considers that each boat load was equal to a train load of freight cars of the size in vogue at that time. Of course all this business centering here made an opening for merchants and mechanics and innkeepers and laborers, which they were not slow in entering. Stores and shops, hotels and residences rapidly multiplied, until not many years had elapsed before the citizens began to talk of incorporating their thriving village. This was done by special act of Legislature in 1831. The first election of officers June 7, 1831, resulted as follows: Trustees, Gilbert Purdy, Richard W. Livingston, James Strang, Cornelius Letcher, John Fonda; Treasurer, Ira Lawrence; Collector, David Williams. Gilbert Purdy was chosen President, and James Strang, Clerk. The officers for 1900 are: Trustees, Frank Law, John Hemstreet; President, Frank Law; Clerk, William E. Bennett; Treasurer, David F. Baker.

Mr. Albert Clements in his reminiscences, published in Sylvester's History of Saratoga County, says that he was the engineer who laid out the village, and that Philip Schuyler, 2d, and a Mr. G. C. Bedell carried the chain for him. Mr. Schuyler at that time owned practically the entire site of Schuylerville. Mr. Bedell kept a store where Thomas' music store now is, 122 Broadway, owned at present by Philip Kahn. We have not discovered the date of the laying out of the town site, but in all proba-

bility it was done soon after the opening of the canal, and before much building had been done, certainly before the incorporation according to the village records. The system of alleys between the streets, quite unusual in New York villages, was an excellent idea.

EARLIEST FIRE DEPARTMENT

It is interesting to note that the first means for fighting fires in the village was the "bucket brigade." Each citizen owning a house, worth \$500 or more, must provide himself with two buckets, bearing his initials, and kept in a convenient place in his house. When an alarm of fire was given each must appear on the scene with his buckets filled with water. The village purchased a fire engine in 1836. The trustees selected the following persons to compose the fire company:

MAYO POND, *Captain.*

Philander Curtis,	William Haggerty,
Ira Bartlett,	Andrew A. Tubbs,
Jacob Osborn,	Gamaliel McCreedy,
John R. Dickinson,	George McCreedy,
Bruce Dervel,	E. M. Livingston,
Malcolm McNaughton,	Thos. N. Dillingham,
Abram Cox,	Derrick S. Ball,
William G. Leonard,	Lucas Van Veghten,
William Pettit,	James McNaughton,
Hugh W. White,	Daniel W. Belding,
William Carroll,	John W. Van Denburgh,
Darius Peck,	Stephen Adams,
Walter Welch,	Joel Johnson,
Orrin Ferris,	Rensselaer Williams,
Josiah S. Scofield,	Isaac Whitman.
Otis Taylor,	

This was Schuylerville's first fire company.

The following item copied from the old village record reads rather queerly at the end of the century, and at the same time affords us a vivid pen picture of Schuylerville's street life at that epoch:

"At a Special Meeting of the Board of Trustees held at the house of Thos. McGinnis On Monday Evening the 4th May 1835, it was unanimously resolved that all hogs now running at large in the Streets shall be drove to the Pound on the 8th Inst. and all Cows are to be shut up or yarded over Night at the same time or be Subject to be impounded, and all ball playing in the Public Streets is hereby forbidden and Subject to a penalty of fifty cents for each and Every offence."

The canal had not been running for many years before a company of citizens thought they would be warranted in building a toll bridge across the river to accommodate the constantly increasing traffic from the east. This important piece of engineering was completed and opened in 1836. And then passed for ever the old "horse-boat" which for so many years had ferried the multitudes across the brimming river.

THE ADVENT OF RAILROADS

After they began to build railroads, and the people became assured of their practicability, every town of size in the State fondly hoped that it would soon be provided with this marvelous means of communication. The first railroad built in the State was from Albany to Schenectady in 1831; the next year one was completed from Schenectady to Saratoga Springs. That same year, 1832, a company was incorporated to build a road from the Springs to Schuylerville, but of course it was not built,

and Schuylerville had to be content with the canal packet and stage coach. In 1869 the town bonded itself for \$100,000 to aid in the construction of a road from Mechanicville to Fort Edward. This is the natural route for a railroad to the north from Albany, as it was at the first of the Indian trail, the military road and the canal. A few sections of the road were graded, and those long ridges of earth are all that the town has to show for its ambitious generosity.

In 1870, Greenwich, five miles to the east, got a railroad, and in 1882, the Fitchburg Railroad Company ran in a branch from Saratoga Springs to Schuylerville, which has been of inestimable service to the business and manufacturing interests of the town, as well as an accommodation to the traveling public. The Fitchburg Railroad, with its branches, has this year (1900) become part of the system of the Boston & Maine railroad.

These railroads effectually tapped the country to the east and west, diverting both transportation and travel and, hence, practically ruined Schuylerville's prestige as the great shipping point and depot for this section. But its loss, in this particular, has never interfered with the real growth or importance of the place. The canal still remained and has continued to do a great deal of transportation to and from this point; and it still found itself the center of a remarkable series of water-powers which had never yet been properly developed. These were first, the Fish creek, a large stream which falls a hundred feet within a mile from the canal; second, the Battenkill, just across the river, a stream of equal size and possibilities; and thirdly, the Hudson itself, with its rapids a mile or two above. Soon its enterprising citizenship, together with capital seeking investment from without, trans-

formed Schuylerville from a distributing and shipping mart to a manufacturing center. But this characteristic was the "image and superscription" stamped upon it at the first by Gen. Philip Schuyler. Yes, from its earliest history, as we have already seen, Old Saratoga has been known as the place of great mills.

CHAPTER IX

MANUFACTURERS

A SKETCH of the organization, character and output of these several industrial plants rightfully merits a little of our space and attention here. Gen. Philip Schuyler during his day partially developed both the lower and upper falls of the Fish creek for running his flouring mills, linen mill, fulling mill and sawmills. His grandson built the old Horicon for the manufacture of cotton goods in 1828. This was the second cotton mill built in the State, the first being at Greenwich in 1817, and it is now the oldest building in the State that has been used continuously as a cotton mill.

A fulling mill was built on the north side of the creek very early, perhaps before the beginning of the 19th century. It stood mainly on the site of the present grist mill. It was a long wooden building. On the east end of it stood an old distillery. A Mr. Lawrence came here in 1819 and took charge of the fulling mill and ran it till about 1830. At this time Mr. Philip Schuyler, 2d, having fitted up the old distillery for the manufacture of woolen cloth, Mr. Lawrence took charge of this also and ran it till 1837, when he left town. Returning in 1845, he resumed the business of woolen manufacture until the

old building burned; before its burning, however, the west end had come to be used for the manufacture of woodenware; bowls, rakes, axe helvcs, tool handles, etc.

In 1832, David B. French of Argyle, N. Y., came to Schuylerville looking for a place to start a foundry, as there was scarcely an establishment of the kind in the valley north of Troy. He secured the old distillery, and the basement of the woolen factory and commenced operations. Mr. French ran that foundry for thirty-three years and retired in 1865. It then came into possession of David Craw & Co., who ran it for many years. It is now owned and run by Baker & Shevlin of Saratoga Springs, and is under the superintendency of A. J. Kennedy. It was greatly enlarged in 1900, and now employs ten men. Through all this long series of years the works have never been suspended, and at the end of the century are driven with orders.

In the year 1841 the present raceway was extended to the east and a grist mill was erected by Conrad Cramer where the paper mill now stands, beyond this was a plaster mill. The sawmill now run by G. E. Laing at the end of the canal slip has been there for many years, though at the first it stood east and west, instead of north and south; this change in position was made about 1871.

THE COTTON MILLS

The Saratoga Victory Manufacturing Company established themselves on the upper falls of the Fish creek in 1846. The original capital invested was \$40,000, which was ultimately increased to \$425,000. Since its organization it has continued to be the most important industry in town. The company came into possession of the Hori-

con mills about 1857, which they have since greatly extended. They manufacture a very fine grade of silesias. The company employs 525 hands, runs 1,050 looms, and 47,000 spindles, pays out in wages \$3,500 per week, and in 1899 produced 7,524,968 yards of cloth. The grist and saw mills at Grangerville are also owned by this company, thus giving them complete control of the stream away back to Saratoga Lake. For many years dyeing and finishing works were run in connection with the factories, but these were suspended some years since. The present officers of the company are: President, C. W. Mayhew, of Schuylerville; Treasurer, Louis Robeson, of Boston; Secretary, J. P. Harrington, and Superintendent, A. C. Thomas, of Victory. Mr. Mayhew has been connected with this company since its organization in 1846. For sixteen years he served as accountant, for twenty years as agent, and for the last eighteen years as President. A remarkable record. Mr. Mayhew has been prominently connected with the business interests of Schuylerville since 1838, when he settled in the town.

THE SCHUYLERVILLE PAPER COMPANY

The Schuylerville Paper Company's plant is an institution originally established by D. A. Bullard & Co., in 1863. It supplanted the old grist and plaster mills. In the year 1864 a remarkable explosion occurred in this mill. About one o'clock at night a large rotary boiler used for cooking straw, etc., weighing tons, blew from its place like a rocket, burst through the building where it was confined, crashed through a house, then through another large building used as a store, then through a smaller store, and finally broke into the house Nos. 56-58

Broadway, yet standing, where it landed. As a result this whole series of buildings were a heap of ruins. A man and his wife asleep in bed were killed instantly, and the boiler, with its end loaded with dry goods and other commodities, stopped at the side of a bed whereon lay another couple asleep.

In the year 1870 Mr. D. A. Bullard bought out his partners and ran the business alone. That same year these mills were again destroyed by a similar explosion, but this time the boiler landed in the sawmill to the east. The machinery as well as the building was practically a wreck, but with characteristic energy Mr. Bullard had the mills running again in thirty days. Soon after this Mr. Bullard took his two sons, Edward C. and Charles M., into partnership and the business was run till 1896 under the style of D. A. Bullard & Sons. In that year it was incorporated as the Schuylerville Paper Company, with the following officers: President, D. A. Bullard; Vice-President, Charles M. Bullard; Secretary and Treasurer, D. A. Bullard, 2d.

The plant is equipped with thoroughly up-to-date machinery, with large storage capacity, and owns a large reservoir half way up to the monument, which supplies clear water for fire and washing purposes. This mill produces ten tons of book and news paper per day. It employs thirty-five hands, and its weekly pay roll amounts to \$350. The head of this firm has been identified with the business interests of Schuylerville for more years than any other resident. Indeed, he is now the oldest resident of the village who was born within its limits. He was born in 1814. The oldest continuous resident is Miss Mary J. Allen, who was born here in 1826.

THE GRIST AND FLOURING MILLS

The present brick grist mill was built by D. A. Bullard & Co. in 1854. Another mill stood just to the west of this on the site of Schuyler's mill, and for a time was run by Horace Bennett. The present mill was run by George H. Bennett from 1857 till 1897. Under his management it attained a wide reputation for the quality of rye flour produced. For many years the SARATOGA MILLS brand has been the standard of excellence over the whole country for that kind of flour. The mills are now run by his son, James Bennett, the third generation of Bennetts who have prosecuted this ancient and honorable business at this place.

THE THOMPSON PULP AND PAPER COMPANY

The Thompson Pulp and Paper Company was organized in the year 1888, and erected a monster mill on the east side of the Hudson two miles above Schuylerville. Although wholly outside of the corporate limits of our village, yet we include it, as we will the next manufacturing plant, in our sketch, because Schuylerville is the shipping point for the product and the home, or at least the market town, of most of the employees. This organization received its name from its chief promoter and original stockholder, the late Hon. Lemon Thompson, from whom the little village which has grown up around this great establishment has taken its name. It was erected for the purpose of producing a superior quality of wood-board. The great machine was designed by and built under the supervision of J. D. Powers, and when set up was, and still is, the largest paper machine in the world. It is 274 feet long and delivers a sheet of heavy jute fibre

board nine feet wide and of the very finest quality. Its capacity is twenty-five tons per day. The mill has every facility for grinding its own pulp and preparing all its raw material. The capital is \$100,000. The mill employs eighty-five hands, and its weekly pay-roll is about \$1,200. Its officers are: President and Treasurer, C. S. Merrill, M. D., Albany; Vice-President, E. G. Benedict, Albany; Secretary, R. G. DeWitt, Albany; Manager, J. D. Powers, Schuylerville.

THE AMERICAN WOOD BOARD COMPANY

This extensive manufacturing plant is a monument to the remarkable energy and business capacity of several young men. They organized the American Wood Board Company in 1892. They purchased the old mill privilege at Clarks Mills, at the mouth of the Battenkill, and in a relatively small way began the production of wood board. So extraordinary were the merits of their product and so successful were they in finding a market for their goods that they were soon compelled to increase the capacity of their works. This they did in 1898 by erecting a large brick structure admirably adapted to their needs and equipping it with the latest and most improved machinery. These same enterprising young men organized the Blandy Pulp and Paper Company, in 1898, at Center Falls, seven miles up the stream, with a capital of \$50,000. This was designed to serve as a sort of vent or safety valve for their surplus energies.

The American Wood Board Company is capitalized at \$100,000; it employs eighty men, produces eighteen tons of wall paper and nine tons of cardboard per day, and reports a weekly pay-roll of \$650. The present officers are: President, I. C. Blandy; Vice-President and Super-

intendent, D. C. Trondsen; Secretary, A. W. Hitchcock; Treasurer, John A. Dix.

THE LIBERTY WALL PAPER COMPANY

The Liberty Wall Paper Company is the latest addition to the manufacturing industries of Schuylerville. This too is a remarkable example of the business sagacity and daring of a body of young men, who saw the unusual advantages offered by Schuylerville for the establishment of such an industry here. Messrs. Eugene Ashley and Isaac C. Blandy, of the American Wood Board Company, succeeded in interesting two young men from the west, James H. Findley and Harry D. Sarver, who were practical paper makers, men of means, and acquainted with the markets, in the enterprise. They quickly succeeded in organizing a company with a capital of \$250,000, secured an eligible site on the canal a short distance above Schuylerville, and in the winter of 1898 began the erection of the proposed mill. When completed they had the handsomest and most substantial wall paper factory in America. The mill is 100 by 400 feet, three stories high, and is equipped with every facility that ingenuity has yet devised for the manufacture of wall decorations in the highest style of the art.

When the mill began to manufacture wall paper for the market, September 19, 1899, it was supplied with sufficient orders to keep it running much of the time night and day to the end of the season. The mill's full complement of hands at the beginning of its second year was two hundred. Twelve great machines turn out fifty to sixty thousand rolls per day, or twelve million rolls for the season. This mill produces no cheap goods—only the medium and highest grade papers are suffered to pass through its doors.

The present officers are: President, E. Ashley; Vice-President, I. C. Blandy; Secretary, W. J. Lapham; Treasurer and General Manager, J. H. Findlay, Superintendent of Manufacturing, F. Cleary; Shipping Clerk, Paul J. Gilbert.

In the Champlain canal, Boston & Maine railroad, and the Electric road, recently constructed, Schuylerville offers excellent facilities for the shipment of goods, as well as the procurement of raw material. These together with the remarkable aggregation of water power in this immediate vicinity account for the concentration here of these many great productive plants. And still there is room for more.

In the year 1900 Schuylerville found itself provided with another outlet to the wide world beyond, with its markets, in the shape of an electric railroad. This connects it with Stillwater and all points to the south, Fort Edward to the north, and Greenwich to the east. It is not only intended for passenger traffic, but is also fully equipped for the handling of heavy freight. The company purchased suitable grounds along the line of its road up on the Battenkill, adjoining the beautiful Dianondahowa Falls. Here they have begun fitting up a handsome park and picnic grounds.

CHAPTER X

CHURCHES, SCHOOLS AND THE PRESS

The Churches

HAVING traced the material growth of Schuylerville, and sketched the rise and development of its industries which afford our citizenship the means of procuring the com-

forts and luxuries of life, we will next turn our attention to those institutions which have ever proved the most potent factors in the development of character, and in the training of the young for usefulness in life, and good citizenship: The churches, the schools and the press.

THE REFORMED CHURCH

The first religious society organized here was the Reformed Church, originally called, The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church. Since the ante-Revolutionary records of this church were destroyed, or lost, during that war, we are left to conjecture as to the date of its founding. It must have been as early as 1770, and very likely a few years before; for in 1771 it had developed enough strength to erect a house of worship.¹⁴⁴ Towards this most worthy object Gen. Philip Schuyler and Killaen De Ridder were the chief contributors. De Ridder gave a hundred acres of land, located to the southwest, on Lot 24, of the Saratoga Patent.

FIRST REFERENCE TO RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS AT SARATOGA

The first reference to the affairs of religion in this locality which we have been able to find is in a letter to General Schuyler from William Smith, a noted historian and legal light of ante-Revolutionary days. It was dated New York, late in 1771. In it he takes occasion to speak very highly of a Rev. Mr. Drummond who had recently settled in "Saratogue." He speaks of him as one "who bears ample testimonials of worth. I think it a good circumstance that he was ordained in Scotland, for you

¹⁴⁴ See note in first book of post Revolutionary Records of Reformed Church of Schuylerville, pp 50, 89.

know that national establishment is closely connected with that of the Netherlands. Mr. Drummond is a good scholar and may be useful to your boys. I think he will be so to the public, as he can promote emigration from divers points of North Britain." [A matter in which Schuyler was greatly interested just then]. He concludes by saying: "If you think him good enough for the illuminated tenants of Saratogue, you will find him liberal in his sentiments and yet orthodox in his life, which is the best sort of orthodoxy."¹⁴⁵

THE FIRST CHURCH BUILT

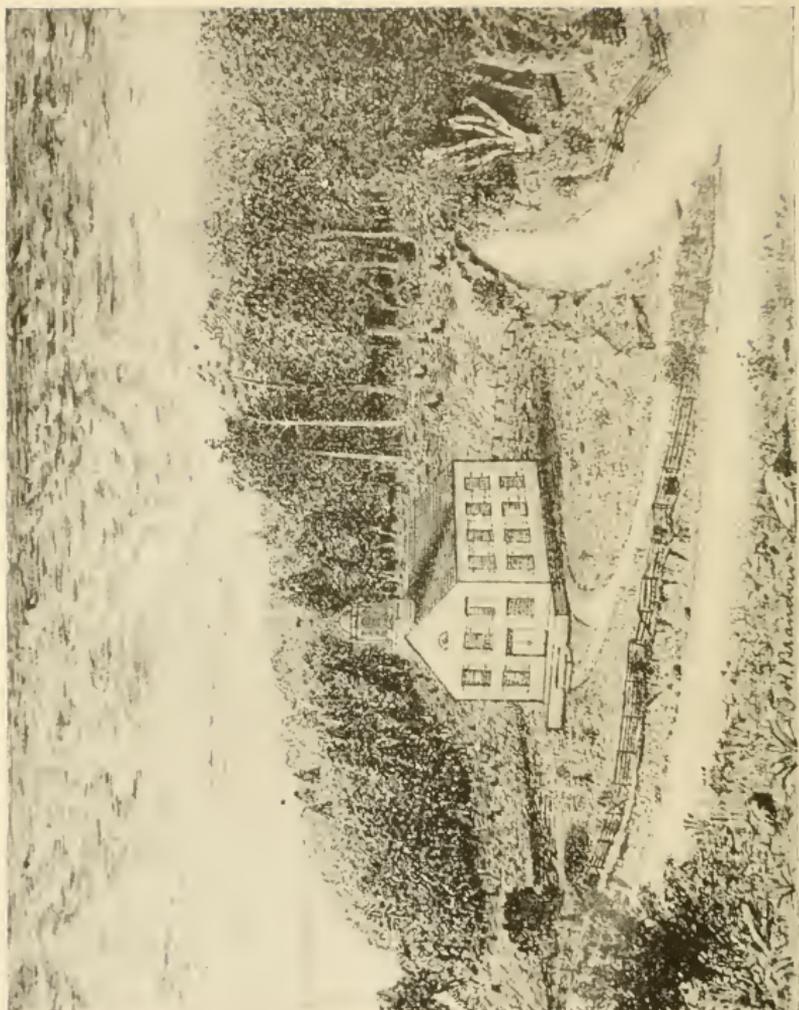
Three years after this we find an item which implies that a church edifice was already here. In a letter to Capt. Philip Van Rensselaer, dated Saratoga, November 18, 1774, Schuyler says: "Please to ask Philip Livingston, Esq., for the bell which he was so good as to promise for the Saratoga church."¹⁴⁶ Whether the sonorous peals of that promised bell ever awoke the echoes of this valley and called the worshippers to the house of God, we have not been able to ascertain.

LOCATION OF CHURCH

From the early church records we learn that the church stood east and west, that it had a stoop, was adorned with a steeple, and had three aisles. The church stood on a four-acre lot given by General Schuyler, south of the creek, in the angle of the river and Victory roads. During the war the society was broken up and scattered. The cut is from a pen and ink sketch, made by the author,

¹⁴⁵ Lossing's *Life of Schuyler*. Vol. I.

¹⁴⁶ A Godchild of Washington, p. 189.



DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH OF REVOLUTIONARY DAYS

and submitted to Mr. D. A. Bullard, who remembered the old church, and who pronounced it an accurate reproduction. The two rows of windows indicate that the church had galleries on three sides.

From the reminiscences of Mr. J. P. Becker (the Sexagenary), we gather that there was regular worship at the old church before the Revolution; that it was after the Sunday morning service on the 30th of April, 1775, that the people, there assembled, heard of the battle of Lexington from the lips of Gen. Philip Schuyler, and were deeply stirred by the news. He also tells how his father, with two other gentlemen, being desirous to observe at closer range the retreat of Burgoyne and his army, appeared just in the nick of time to save the old church from the torch of a British soldier. He tells of the cannonading it received from the royal batteries during the siege and before the surrender, and how it bore the scars of those iron missiles as long as it stood. It is said to have served as a wayside hospital for the British army during their passage down and up from the battlefield. The late George Strover used to relate the following tragedy, said to have been enacted in that church. A young lady seated at a north window eating an apple was instantly killed by a rifle shot, fired by an American sharpshooter, the ball cutting her throat. She was buried within the church under the spot where she was killed. Mr. Strover himself saw the blood stains on the wainscoting and floor, and also the bones when they were exhumed at the demolition of the building. The church was afterward used as a depot for commissary stores during the unsettled years between the surrender of Burgoyne and the proclamation of peace in the year 1783.

REORGANIZATION AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The resources of the society had been so crippled by the war that several years elapsed ere they felt able to settle a pastor. Preliminary steps, however, had been taken to this end in 1785 by Gen. Philip Schuyler, Cornelius Van Veghten, Killacn De Ridder, James Brisbin and A. Mc-Niel, as trustees. The permanent reorganization took place in 1789 under the supervision of Dominie Eilardus Westerlo, the zealous patriot, who had for years so efficiently served the First Reformed Church of Albany. July 10th of that year a meeting was held in which twenty male members took part and elected Col. Cornelius Van Veghten and Peter Becker, father of the Sexagenary, as elders, and Jesse Toll and James Abeel as deacons. They also resolved that the services of the church should be conducted in the English language, and extended a call to the Rev. Samuel Smith, a young man who had just completed his studies. He accepted the call, arrived on the ground the 9th of December, 1789, and was ordained the 17th of January, 1790.

The reorganization of this impoverished church and the support of a pastor required the assistance of the sister churches in the denomination, which fact became the occasion for the creation of the Board of Domestic Missions of that denomination.¹⁴⁷

Mr. Smith married the daughter of Cornelius Van Veghten. Albert Clemments in his *Recollections*, remarking on the periodic return of fashions, tells how he used to see a negro boy carry the train of Mrs. Smith from the carriage to the pew.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ Corwin's *Manual of the Dutch Reformed Churches*, p. 269.

¹⁴⁸ Sylvester's *Hist. of Saratoga County*, p. 264.

The pews had all been removed from the church during the war and had doubtless been made to serve for kindling wood, and the church had been greatly damaged in other ways. Jacob Dannalds, a local carpenter, was commissioned to restore them. After they were built a committee was appointed to wait on Gen. Philip Schuyler and Killaen De Ridder, and grant them their choice of the pews as a return for their large contributions, and for what they had promised yet to give.

LINING OUT THE HYMNS

In the days when books were scarce and costly, and the majority of the people were not able to read, it was customary for the pastor or the precentor of the church to read one or more lines of a hymn and then bid the congregation to sing them, then to read another, and so on to the end of the hymn. Here is a reference to this ancient custom from the old records of the Saratoga (Schuylerville) church, which also indicates that the days of the old practice were about numbered.

“Saratoga, Jan. 3, 1792.

In Consistory

“Art. 2. Whereas it is the general Custom of our Churches to sing without reading the line, Resolved that this shall be our practice after the 1st Lord’s Day in February next.”

INTRODUCTION OF STOVES

Until near the close of the last century few churches in this country had any arrangements for heating, and even as late as 1825 some congregations had great difficulty in persuading the older people that it would not be

sacrilegious to admit a stove into the sacred edifice. In connection with this the following item taken from the old record will prove interesting to some:

"Resolved that one of the stoves (with the pipe belonging to both) be set up in the Middle Isle on a raised stage and that the smoke be carried out of the window over the Door." This indicates that the matter of heating was not considered when the church was built or there would have been a chimney to carry off the smoke. The other stove spoken of was afterwards set up near the pulpit and the pipe carried out of the southwest window. The above resolution was dated January 8, 1794.

UNION WITH TISSIOOK

At the next meeting of the Consistory an application was received from the Reformed Dutch Church at Tissiok to be received into union with this church, in order that they might share in the services of the Rev. Samuel Smith. After due consideration it was determined to grant their request, and to permit the pastor at Saratoga to serve them once a month. These two churches maintained this relation for a number of years. This being the first time that Tissiok, as the name of a place, had appeared in our reading, we were at a loss as to its whereabouts till, after diligent inquiry, we find that it was the original name for Buskirks-on-the-Hoosac.

A LOTTERY TO PAY DEBTS

Soon the church found itself sadly in debt and various schemes were devised by the officials to extricate themselves. In this connection the old record yields another item, the reading of which is somewhat startling, to say the least. Here it is:

"At a meeting of the Consistory held Jan. 2d, 1795.

"Art. 4. Resolved (if the Revd. Classis of Albany give their Sanction to the same) that we will petition the Honbl., the Legislature, in their present session, to grant us a lottery for 5000 tickets at 3 Dollars each, and 15 pr. Cent Drawback to be reserved for the Benefit of the Reformed Dutch Church of Saratoga."

Viewed from the moral standpoint of a century later this proposition looks pretty shadowy; but when we recall that up to within fifty years, or less, lotteries received the cordial approval of the vast majority of people, and that in those days it was the popular method for raising money for public and charitable purposes, such as the founding of hospitals, asylums, colleges,¹⁴⁹ etc., it is well to look with some charity upon these fathers harassed with debt; and yet lotteries, like all other forms of gambling, were, then as now, unchristian; but people had not generally come to realize their true character at that time.

The committee appointed to obtain the consent of the Classis, "Reported: that the Revd. Classis gave it as their opinion that *lotteries are sinful acts*,"¹⁵⁰ and so the matter was dropped. In their moral sense the members of that Reverend body, the Classis, were at least fifty years ahead of their time.

THE FIRST PARSONAGE

In 1792 the society decided to build a parsonage. It purchased from Leonard Gansevoort a lot of fifty acres a mile and one half north of the church with the buildings

¹⁴⁹ Union College, Schenectady, raised much of its endowment by lotteries.

¹⁵⁰ Church Record, p. 56.

thereon for £200 (\$1,000). The house then standing upon the place being in a ruinous condition it was torn down and a new one erected. The old house had stood there before and during the Revolution. It is marked on Burgoyne's map. The lot extended down to the river. This old parsonage, No. 265 Broadway, is still standing, owned and occupied by Mr. James Burton, who has very considerably left it in nearly its original form, barring necessary repairs.

In a letter dated Saratoga, June 13, 1795, addressed to the consistory of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of Saratoga (Schuylerville), John B. Schuyler (son of the General) makes the following request:

"Gentlemen: I have thought proper to address you in this manner to request that you give me permission to erect for my family, and my use, a pew in one of the 4 corners of the church, as I am persuaded no inconvenience can result from granting me this request, either to the congregation in general, or to any particular individuals; I am fully assured you will not think the request improper.

I remain your most obedient and
very humble servant,

JOHN B. SCHUYLER.

To the Rev. S. Smith, D. D."

The request was of course granted and the pew was erected; and for many a long year thereafter the Schuylers came on Sunday in the yellow family coach to worship in this primitive church.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Schuyler MSS., in possession of Miss Fanny Schuyler, of Pelham-on-Sound, N. Y.

In the year 1800 the Killaen De Ridder lot of 100 acres was sold by the church on perpetual lease to Walter De Ridder and Cornelius Van Veghten for \$875 and a yearly rent of twenty-five cents. The money was applied to the liquidation of debts.

BUILDING ON A NEW SITE

At a meeting of the consistory February 7, 1821, after considering that the old church had become badly out of repair, and that it was now a long way from the village of Schuylerville, which was growing up on the north side of the creek, it was decided to build a new church more conveniently located. The lot was donated by Philip Schuyler, 2d, in 1821, and the new church was erected. Philip Schuyler having obtained permission of the consistory, built in 1830 a family vault on the church yard, east of the church edifice, and facing the alley. On February 1, 1831, this church caught fire from a coal accidentally dropped by the sexton when going in to start a fire.

THE STONE CHURCH

At once the consistory took steps to rebuild, but this time they concluded to use stone instead of wood. The architecture selected for this edifice was of the Greek temple order, without a tower, a style much in vogue at that time. There were galleries on three sides of this church. Rev. Hugh M. Boyd was pastor.

BUILDING OF PRESENT BRICK CHURCH

After the lapse of twenty-five years the stone church was found to be too small to meet the needs of the growing congregation. It was therefore decided in the year 1856 to rebuild on a larger scale. The pillars in the front

were left, but the stone walls were all taken down save the present partition between the main Sunday School room and the middle room. The rear wall of this enlarged church now forms the partition between the second and third rooms in the basement. This enlarged church was dedicated June 2, 1857. The present bell and tower clock were installed at that time. The Rev. Samuel T. Searle was pastor at the time. The building committee were William Wilcox, Mayo Pond, Oliver Brisbin, M. D., B. B. Lansing, C. W. Mayhew and G. S. Brisbin. Mr. C. W. Mayhew, of the above committee, still abides with us (1900), a veteran of many years' service.

SELLING THE OLD AND BUILDING A NEW PARSONAGE

In 1850 the congregation decided to sell the old parsonage, which had been occupied by its pastors for fifty-eight years, and build a new one nearer the church. It was purchased by William B. Marshall, owner of the historic Marshall house. The house now standing on the southwest corner of Pearl and Ferry streets was erected the same year.

In order to make room for a fine pipe organ, the gift of Mrs. Laura Mott, of Saratoga Springs, as a memorial to her sister, Mrs. Cornelia Losee, it was determined, in 1888, to again extend the church to the rear. Fourteen feet was then added and the old choir gallery was transferred from the front to its present location. This was done during the pastorate of the Rev. E. A. McCullom.

PARSONAGE NO. 3

Parsonage No. 2 having become sadly out of repair and uncomfortable, it was decided in 1898 to sell the same and build a new one on the church lot. The present com-

modious and handsome manse is the result of this decision. It was completed for occupancy the 1st of April, 1899. Thus three houses built by this society, as homes for their pastors, are now standing in Schuylerville. The committee who had charge of the building of the present manse were: Rev. John H. Brandow, C. W. Mayhew and J. O. Hammum.

LIST OF PASTORS

The following are the names of pastors who have served this church:

- Rev. Mr. Drummond, from 1771 to 1777 (?)
- Rev. Samuel Smith, from 1789 to 1801.
- Rev. Philip Duryee, from 1803 to 1828.
- Rev. Hugh M. Boyd, from 1829 to 1834.
- Rev. Edward H. May, from 1834 to 1839.
- Rev. David A. Jones, from 1839 to 1844.
- Rev. Charles H. Chester, from 1844 to 1850.
- Rev. Samuel T. Searle, from 1850 to 1857.
- Rev. Franklin Merrill, from 1858 to 1861 (died while pastor, April 1, 1861).
- Rev. Abram G. Lansing, from 1862 to 1868.
- Rev. Isaac H. Collier, from 1869 to 1874.
- Rev. David K. Van Doren, from 1874 to 1882.
- Rev. J. Wilbur Chapman, from 1883 to 1885.
- Rev. Edward A. McCullom, from 1886 to 1891.
- Rev. John A. Hainer, from 1892 to 1895.
- Rev. John H. Brandow, from 1895 to —.

BAPTIST CHURCH

The Baptist Church of Schuylerville, known until 1836 as the First Baptist Church of Saratoga, was constituted in 1790, and was received as a member of the old Shaftsbury Association in 1791.

It united with the Saratoga Association in 1805. The Baptist Church of Old Saratoga was represented in the Association of 1791 by Rev. S. Rogers, pastor, and S. Munger, messenger. They reported forty-seven members. In 1800 no delegates were present and the membership is stated at twenty-eight. The successive ministers preaching for this church have been Samuel Rogers, Joseph Craw, Azariah Hanks, John Colby, J. Finch, S. S. Parr, Chas. B. Keyes, Joseph W. Sawyer, P. B. Gillette, J. Murphy, B. F. Garfield, William Hutchinson, T. S. Rogers, William Bowen, Elder Coburn, Elder DuBois, William J. Loomis, J. H. Bullard, William Garnett, James DuBois, Irving C. Forte, F. N. Crandell, E. E. Manning, A. W. Rogers and W. H. Randall.

The loss of the written records earlier than 1832 prevents giving the names of the first officers, with facts of general interest, which might easily be selected from such records. The earlier preaching, as in the case of other societies, was in school houses, barns and private houses.

FIRST CHURCH EDIFICE—WHERE?

The first church edifice was probably built in 1807 or 1808. It stood near the present residence of Hiram Cramer, about twenty rods to the west of his house and about three miles from Schuylerville.

It is still standing, and is used as a hay barn. Jordan's Bridge was an old place of baptism, Stafford's Bridge was another. The new church in Schuylerville was built about the year 1833.

THE FIRST MINISTER

Rev. Samuel Rogers, the first minister of this church, had been in the military service during the Revolutionary

War. He was a teamster attached to the army of Gates during the Burgoyne campaign. One night he was carrying a load of specie northward, and was so closely followed by the British, and the muddy roads so delayed his progress, he was obliged to cut his team loose—allow them to go—while he carried the kegs of specie into the woods and kept guard over them all night. The next day he succeeded in getting them safely to their destination. He died in Stillwater, February 6, 1823. At the time of building the church in Schuylerville, Josiah Finch was clerk, and Richard M. Livingston was a very active leader in securing the erection of the church. The church cost about \$1,600, as then built. A fine parsonage was added to the property in 1837, during the pastorate of Rev. W. H. Randall.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH—EARLY STRUGGLES

The first Methodist society in Schuylerville was organized about the year 1820, but preaching services had been held here previous to that date. On January 30, 1827, a subscription paper was started to provide for a permanent place of worship. This timeworn document is still in existence. The following interesting statement appears in the preface: "From Lansingburg along the valley of the Hudson for fifty miles, with a breadth of eight to ten miles, the Episcopal Methodists have not one house dedicated to the worship of God. Private dwellings, school houses and barns have hitherto afforded to their classes a precarious yet acceptable resort. Perhaps there is not a spot in that rich and populous district where so many of this denomination of Christians would meet as at Schuylerville, if a suitable edifice could be erected." The effort made proved successful. With the scanty means

of the Methodists in those days any effort to sustain a preaching service or provide a house of worship meant long weeks of personal self sacrifice of even the common comforts of life.

A CHURCH EDIFICE

A house costing \$1,600 was erected and dedicated in the autumn of 1827. This same church still stands, although greatly improved and enlarged. The trustees at the time of building were John Cox, Jedediah Beckwith, Oliver Cleveland, John Seelye and George Strover. John Cox also served as steward, clerk and sexton.

THE ITINERANT PREACHER AND HIS HARDSHIPS

Rev. Mr. Campbell, whose time of service extended back to the year 1800, left many interesting reminiscences illustrating the heroism of early Methodism. He traveled a circuit of about three hundred miles, taking six weeks to complete his circuit of appointments, entering into the hardships of the early itinerancy whose records seem fabulous; for example: Sleeping in barns, fording rivers, threading ways through dense forests, where he often encountered wild animals, holding services in barns, preaching from stumps, and traveling in rain, sleet and zero weather. These are some of the hardships braved by the grand pioneers of that church.

The first Sabbath school was established about the time of the building of the church. Rev. Robert Washburn was its President, John Cox, Superintendent, and John Seelye, Secretary. Philip Schuyler, 2d's, name appears as a contributor to its funds. In 1827 about thirty-five members were enrolled.

THE CHURCH ENLARGED

The church edifice was remodeled and enlarged, prayer room added, tower built and bell purchased in 1863. The entire cost of these improvements was \$3,100. Rev. William Bedell was the pastor in charge. This is the oldest church edifice that has been continuously used for worship in all this section.

This society was originally included in the Saratoga Circuit. In 1842 it became a separate charge and was designated the Schuylerville station. The Rev. J. B. Houghtaling was appointed the first pastor in charge, that is, the first who made his home in the place.

A PARSONAGE

During the pastorate of Rev. J. M. Webster, the present commodious parsonage was constructed, which added much to the value of the property and the comfort of the pastor's family.

The following constitutes

THE LIST OF PASTORS UNDER THE OLD CIRCUIT SYSTEM

1825	Rev. B. Griffin	1832	Rev. P. P. Atwell
1825	Rev. W. P. Lake	1833	Rev. O. Prei
1825	W. H. Norris	1834	Rev. E. Goss
1826	Rev. G. Lyon	1834	Rev. J. Harwood
1826	Rev. C. P. Clark	1835	Rev. H. Burton
1827	Rev. D. Ensign	1836	Rev. C. Meeker
1827	Rev. J. Beaman	1836	Rev. J. Quinlin
1828	Rev. S. Dayton	1838	Rev. D. Stephens
1829	Rev. J. D. Morearty	1838	Rev. H. Chase
1829	Rev. N. Rice	1840	Rev. S. Coleman
1831	Rev. J. Lucky	1840	Rev. C. Pomeroy
1831	Rev. P. Newman	1841	Rev. J. B. Houghtaling
1832	Rev. D. Braylore		

LIST OF PASTORS SINCE SCHUYLERVILLE BECAME A
CHARGE

1842	Rev. J. B. Houghtaling	1866-8	Rev. L. Marshall
1843-4	Rev. C. R. Morris	1869-70	Rev. J. B. Sylvester
1845	Rev. S. Styles	1871-2	Rev. W. H. L. Starks
1846-7	Rev. P. M. Hitchcock	1873-5	Rev. S. M. Williams
1848-9	Rev. O. Emerson	1876-7	Rev. A. F. Bailey
1850	Rev. J. Sage	1878-80	Rev. A. H. Heaxt
1851	Rev. J. Quinlin	1881-3	Rev. J. M. Webster
1852-3	Rev. S. P. Williams	1884-6	Rev. J. G. Fallon
1854	Rev. C. L. Hagar	1887-8	Rev. G. E. Stockwell
1855-6	Rev. J. W. Belknap	1889-91	Rev. H. S. Rowe
1857-8	Rev. P. P. Harrower	1892	Rev. L. A. Dibble
1859-60	Rev. R. Fox	1893-5	Rev. F. G. Heaxt
1861	Rev. S. Meredith	1896-8	Rev. H. L. Grant
1862-3	Rev. Wm. Bedell	1899	Rev. B. L. Crapo
1864-5	Rev. W. J. Heath		

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH—THE BEGINNINGS OF THIS
SOCIETY

The movement that led to the establishment of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Schuylerville commenced a little to the north, in the town of Northumberland. Rev. Reuben Hubbard traveling through here in 1838 and stopping at the house of Mr. Jesse Finne, and becoming known as a member of the Episcopal Church, to which Mr. Finne had been attached in his youth, was cordially invited by him to preach, and did so in his house, March 19th of that year. Services were held in this manner for several years. The first baptisms were three children of Mr. John Finne, duly recorded in the books of St. John's Church, Stillwater.

The first service in the village of Schuylerville was held in the old Academy, February 25, 1844, by Rev. Reuben Hubbard. The first formal organization was made at the house of Mr. Finne, March 2, 1846. The Rev. Reuben Hubbard presided, and John Metcalf was secretary. They then determined upon the name of St. Stephen's Church, and elected the following officers: Jesse Finne and James Pickering, wardens; John Finne, Joseph Finne, Benjamin Losec, James Pickering, George U. Gates, James E. Stebbins, John R. Preston and Henry W. Merrill, vestrymen.

BUILDING THE CHURCH

At the meeting of September 12, 1846, a lot gratuitously offered by the Victory Manufacturing Company was duly and gratefully accepted; but the society did not build at that time, and the services were not maintained regularly for some years after 1850. The church was finally built and presented to the Society by Dr. Charles H. Payne, to whom great credit is due for this munificent and timely gift. The edifice occupies a most beautiful and picturesque site, and is itself a model of church architecture at once neat and classical.

The services of the first clergyman, Rev. Reuben Hubbard, were continued down to 1850, when the congregation, in accepting his resignation, placed upon their records a strong expression of their love and esteem. The cornerstone of the church was laid June 2, 1868, Rev. P. B. Gibson officiating, and the church was opened for service on Christmas day of the same year.

LIST OF RECTORS

The rectorship of the church has subsequently been filled by Revs. George Forbes, John H. Babcock, George

Walker, Geo. W. Dean, D. D., H. C. E. Costelle, Geo. L. Neide, A. B. Clark, J. F. Esch, W. F. Parsons and E. Jay Cooke, the present incumbent.

THE CHURCH OF THE VISITATION (ROMAN CATHOLIC)

Previous to 1847 there were no regular, or permanent, services of the Roman Catholic Church in this town, but there were many Catholic families already settled here. The only churches of their faith within a radius of thirty miles were at Lansingburgh, Whitehall and Sandy Hill. It required much earnest self-sacrifice and a strong love for their faith to go to these distant places, oftentimes on foot, to attend service. It is recorded that in order to be present at early mass on Christmas morning many would set out together on foot the previous night.

THE FIRST SERVICE AND FIRST CHURCH

The first services in this place were held at the houses of the different members, conducted at irregular intervals by visiting priests. Catholic services were held in the old Schuylerville Academy, and in the school house that formerly stood on the extension of Spring Street, just east of Broadway. Ground was broken for the first church edifice in 1845. This was on a lot opposite the present parsonage of the Reformed Church. A plain wooden structure was erected at an expense of about \$700 and consecrated in 1847 by Bishop McCloskey. This work was executed during the pastorate of Rev. Father Daly. He was succeeded by Rev. Father Cull in the missionary work, who, under the rapid increase of the congregation, was obliged to make additions to the church edifice. The first resident priest was Rev. Father Roach. He was suc-

ceeded by the Rev. H. B. Finnegan; he by Rev. F. B. McGuire, and he by the present pastor, the Rev. J. J. Heffernan.

BUILDING OF THE PRESENT CHURCH EDIFICE

The first church was burned to the ground on Sunday morning, June 22, 1871. The society then worshiped for a time in the public hall at Victory Mills. The cornerstone of a new church was laid by Bishop Conroy, of Albany, and the work was pushed through with great energy to completion, and the church consecrated by Bishop McNierney, of Albany, October 21, 1873. It is a noble structure, an ornament to the town, and a credit to the congregation that worships in it. To build it required energy, determination, perseverance, and heavy financial sacrifices by many individuals. It cost originally \$40,000. It occupies a commanding and central position, overlooking the surrounding country for many miles. During the pastorate of the Rev. J. J. Heffernan a commodious and handsome parsonage has been built, and several additions have been made to the church edifice, which add to the beauty of the structure, and are also of use in the conduct of the services, and the prosecution of the church work.

THE CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME DE LOURDES (CATHOLIC)

This is the last of the several churches which have been built to minister to the religious needs of our citizenship. We have not succeeded in procuring the earlier facts of its history. The occasion for this church was the large influx of French people, attracted hither from the Dominion of Canada by the demand for help in the cotton mills. They have a large and handsome church edifice, centrally

and conspicuously located on a lot donated by the Victory Manufacturing Company.

The present pastor is the Rev. A. B. Desautels.

Schools

Much attention was from early times given to the education of the young in this locality. The first school houses, like the first dwelling houses, were built of logs. They were located here and there throughout the town at convenient points. The successors of but few of them are to be found located on the old sites, however.

THE FIRST SCHOOLS

The first school house in Schuylerville was located just east of Broadway where is now the extension of Spring Street, and immediately to the north of the house of Mrs. Lucy D. Seelye. Many of our older citizens remember it as the place where they secured their early education. When the village outgrew the capacity of its one school house it was divided into two districts, which were named the north and south districts, and two new buildings were erected. The north school house has been transformed into a dwelling house and is now owned and occupied by Robert Funson, 107 Pearl Street. The south school house was situated on the corner of Green and University Streets, and this met with the same fate of the north. It is now owned by Jesse Billings. Before their abandonment as schools the south school house was used for the primary (departments) grades, and the north as the high school.

THE ACADEMY

In 1839 an academy was built which proved to be a great boon to the town. It was patronized both by the citizens and by the people of the surrounding country. It was located on Church Street, and its site is now occupied by the Baptist parsonage. The first principal of the old academy was Mr. John Guiles. He was followed by a Mr. Davis.

Then came Mr. George D. Stewart; he was followed by a Mr. Goodenough, and he by a Mr. Baker. Then Rev. A. G. Cochrane came in 1856 and taught till 1861. Following him was a Mr. Reynolds from Vermont. Mr. Cochrane, at the earnest request of the trustees, opened school again in the Academy in the fall of 1867, and taught but one month, when it was burned down and never rebuilt.

THE UNION FREE SCHOOL

The present handsome and commodious high school building was erected in 1876. Schuylerville did a wise and timely thing in the erection of so noble and well-planned a building. This school has been presided over by a number of first class educators who have earned for it a widespread and enviable reputation for the high grade of work done.

The first principal was Mr. Doty. The school never had an abler nor more efficient corps of instructors than at present. Mr. Nelson L. Coleman is the present principal.

THE PRESS OF SCHUYLERVILLE

The first attempt at publishing a newspaper at Schuylerville was made by J. L. Cramer in 1844. He called it

the *Schuylerville Herald*. It ran for several years and was then discontinued. In 1848 the *Old Saratoga* was established by Allen Corey. This was discontinued in 1852. R. N. Atwell & Co. published the *Battle Ground Herald* from August 1, 1853, to July 31, 1857, just four years, and then discontinued it. In December of the same year the *Saratoga American* was started by J. R. Rockwell. He continued the publication of this sheet till the fall of 1861, when he enlisted in the army, and being made captain of Company K, Seventy-seventh Regiment, he discontinued his paper. R. N. Atwell ran a job-printing office for several years. Then the *Schuylerville News* was established about the year 1867. In the spring of 1870 this was succeeded by the *Saratoga County Standard*, which was merged into the *Schuylerville Standard* in 1879. Under this name the paper has been published continuously since that date. Under the editorship of Mr. Philip A. Allen it has become one of the most enterprising and newsy sheets in the county.

CHAPTER XI

THE SARATOGA MONUMENT

"National monuments not only mark, but make, the civilization of a people."
—Horatio Seymour.

SARATOGA MONUMENT, like the Bunker Hill, and Washington, and Bennington, and Oriskany monuments, is founded on and reared by sentiment. "A rather unsubstantial basis for such substantial structures," says one. Yes, but substantial and puissant enough to have placed every course of those granite blocks from bed rock to apex. The sentiment that wrought this miracle

in stone and bronze was pride in the deeds of the fathers, and reverence for their characters. Lord Macaulay in his remarks on the siege of Londonderry said: "A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors, will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."

Whether we have done anything worthy to be remembered by our descendants they alone will be competent to judge, but of one thing we are certain, that we are proud of the American forefathers. And we want the world to know it; hence, these noble monuments.

THE MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

The Saratoga Monument was conceived, and prophesied of, long years before it became a reality. But the first time that men of the right timber and enthusiasm got together to consider what steps should be taken to incarnate their dream was on October 17, 1856. That first meeting was held in the Schuyler mansion, here at old Saratoga; a fitting place for launching so noble an enterprise. There were present Judge John A. Corey of Saratoga Springs, George Strover and several other patriotic gentlemen. Alfred B. Street was also present and read a poem written for the occasion. The result of this meeting was the organization in 1859 of the Saratoga Monument Association, under a perpetual charter of the State of New York. After the Association was incorporated the organization was perfected by the selection of the following

OFFICERS AND TRUSTEES

President, Hamilton Fish, of New York City.

Vice-President, Philip Schuyler, of Pelham-on-Sound,
N. Y.

Treasurer, James M. Marvin, of Saratoga Springs.
Secretary, John A. Corey, of Saratoga Springs.
Corresponding Secretary, James Romeyn Brodhead,
of New York City.

Horatio Seymour, Utica, N. Y.

Benson J. Lossing, of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Peter Gansevoort, Albany.

James M. Cook, Ballston Spa, N. Y.

Edward C. Delavan, Ballston Center, N. Y.

William Wilcox and George Strover, Schuylerville,
N. Y.

Henry Holmes, Corinth, N. Y.

Asa C. Tefft, Fort Miller, N. Y.

Leroy Mowry, Greenwich, N. Y.

The trustees held several meetings and had agreed upon the location of the future monument when the outbreak of the Civil War, in 1861, completely diverted the thought and energies of the people to the saving of the Union, which the fathers had formed at such priceless sacrifice. The work thus suspended was not resumed till the autumn of 1872. A reorganization then became necessary, as several of the trustees had died.

Soon the representatives of the new organization began to besiege the State and National legislatures for appropriations with which to begin the work. The original intention was to build a plain obelisk of the Bunker Hill order, 300 feet high and to cost \$500,000. But soon they found that they had set their mark too high, as the funds were not forthcoming, hence were compelled to modify their plans, and finally decided upon a less lofty structure, and one that should combine sculpture with architecture.

The Association met with numberless embarrassments and discouragements at the hands of apathetic legis-

latures and unsympathetic governors. Finally by an appeal to patriotic persons throughout the State they succeeded in obtaining sufficient money to purchase the lot, lay the foundation and construct enough of the base to enable them to lay the cornerstone, which was done on the centennial anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne, October 17, 1877.

LAYING THE CORNERSTONE

Elaborate preparations were made for the proper celebration of that event, both by the citizens of Schuylerville and the Monument Association. As a result the town witnessed the most imposing patriotic celebration in all its history, yes, and in the history of northern New York. The Masonic fraternity was gathered here from every quarter, military organizations from all over the State and New England were massed here by the thousands, and multitudes of civilians, statesmen, etc., prominent in the public eye, were here from all the States. A grand procession was formed, two miles in length, which marched through the streets and then to the monument, where the cornerstone was laid in "due and ancient form" by the Grand Master Mason in the presence of 30,000 people.

Orations and addresses were then delivered and original poems read from two grandstands, one located at the monument and the other on the then open flats south of the Church of the Visitation (Catholic). All the literary exercises were of an exceptionally high order, and to this day thrill the heart of the patriotic reader with their eloquence. The orations of Horatio Seymour and George William Curtis are not only eloquent, but display a remarkable grasp of the philosophy of our history. The

entire program, including the speeches, historical addresses, and poems, were collected and published by the Association in a memorial volume.

But grand civic pageants, and orations, and poems, by no means piled the granite and laid the capstone of the monument that day, though they helped amazingly in firing the hearts of the people to the point where they were willing to have their representatives appropriate the necessary means. The Association now addressed themselves to the great task before them with renewed zeal. Being composed of men of wide influence, they used it all, and needed it all, to accomplish their high purpose. The recital of the harassments, and annoyances, and disappointments they met with by the way, and the wellnigh insuperable obstacles they overcame makes a long story, and one often wonders, as he reads the account, why they did not abandon the whole thing in disgust. As it is, the completed structure is as truly a monument to the indomitable perseverance, and patience, and resourcefulness, of the members of that Association and the victory they won over the opposition of narrow-minded legislators, as it is to the victory of American arms and ideas over British pride and tyranny.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT

The hill on which the monument stands is 240 feet above the river, and was known in the Revolution as the Heights of Saratoga. Here Burgoyne had his intrenched camp. The plinth or base of the monument is forty feet square. The shaft is twenty feet square at its base. Its height is 155 feet. The monument is a combination of the Egyptian obelisk, with Gothic features in the first stories. It is ascended by 189 steps. The architect who

designed it was Mr. Jared C. Markham of New York City. Morgan's statue was executed by W. R. O'Donovan; Gates' by Geo. E. Bissell, and Schuyler's by Messrs. Moffett and Doyle. The historic tablets were designed by J. C. Markham; eight of them were executed by J. E. Kelly, and eight by J. S. Hartley. The cost of the monument was \$105,000. Private individuals gave \$10,000; the State of New York, \$25,000, and the United States Government \$70,000. It is not yet finished according to the original designs. Twenty tablets remain to be inserted in the three upper stories. The names of Schuyler, Morgan, Gates and Arnold have not yet been cut beneath their niches, and the several captured cannon are not yet secured and mounted. This is because the Association lacked the means to transport them hither and properly mount them. Steps are again being taken to secure them, with good hope of success. Twice the monument has been struck by lightning, which badly shattered the apex, necessitating costly repairs.

The State of New York has received the monument from the hands of the Association and has assumed the care of it. It supports a custodian, who cares for the property. The present custodian is Mr. J. J. Perkins, a veteran of the civil war, who with utmost courtesy points out the many places of interest in the line of vision to the interested visitor. For the first few years the visitors to the monument were few and far between, but now their numbers mount into the thousands each month during the season of touring.

VIEW FROM MONUMENT

The view from the monument is superb. Nowhere else can one obtain so extensive and gratifying a view

from so slight an elevation. At your feet lies the pretty village of Schuylerville, embowered in trees; just beyond flows the matchless Hudson, gleaming in the sun. On every side within the radius of a few miles are scenes of Colonial and Revolutionary events, of surpassing historic interest. To the north on a clear day one can see the villages of Glens Falls, and Sandy Hill, and Fort Edward, and Fort Miller; to the east Greenwich and North Easton, and to the west Saratoga Springs, and the entire picture is enframed in magnificent mountains. To the north are the mountains round about Lakes George and Champlain, and peeping over their tops are the peaks of Marcy and McIntyre, and other monarchs of the Adirondacks, eighty miles away; to the east are the Green Mountains of Vermont, with Mounts Equinox and Saddleback right abreast of you; to the south are the Catskills, seventy-five miles distant, with Black Head, Black Dome and Thomas Cole Mountains looming up, three in a row, making saw teeth with the horizon; and to the west are the Palmertown and Kayadrosseros ranges, foothills of the Adirondacks. "But it is not because of the scenery—hill and dale, sparkling water, beauteous wood, ethereal vault of blue, and misty mountains of enchantment—that this locality allures and holds the vagrant vision. This monument is the cynosure of patriotism."¹⁵²

¹⁵² Hon. S. S. Cox, in the U. S. Senate, 1884.

"The above facts concerning the Monument, were mainly gleaned from Mrs. E. H. Walworth's "Battles of Saratoga, and Saratoga Monument Association."

GUIDE TO REVOLUTIONARY AND COLONIAL SITES AT
SCHUYLERVILLE

Schuylerville is connected by rail with Saratoga Springs, 13 miles; Fort Edward, 12 miles; Greenwich, 6 miles; Mechanicville, 16 miles.

As many are curious to know whether there are yet any relics at Schuylerville left from Revolutionary and Colonial days, we will give for their information the following list with their location, together with the location of historic sites. This guide is a condensation of the detailed descriptions found in the preceding pages.

As the multitudes of tourists who visit this hallowed spot naturally turn their steps toward the monument first, we will begin our tour at that point.

THE MONUMENT

FIRST: The monument stands within the lines of Burgoyne's fortified camp. This camp took in the buildings just north of the monument, extended diagonally southeast down the hill across the road to near Chestnut street, thence south along the crest of the terrace into the Victory woods; thence west just over the brow of the hill to a point south of the cemetery; thence north along the western slope of the cemetery ridge to the place of beginning.

MORGAN'S BREASTWORKS

SECOND: About sixty rods northwest of the monument on a knoll covered with small trees, and now known as the Finch burying-ground, but owned by James H. Carscadden, are to be seen remains of earthworks thrown up by Morgan's men. This place can be seen from the

monument. Look for them on the east side of burying-ground and also in the bushes.

BRITISH EARTHWORKS

THIRD: In the Victory woods, south of the monument, there are hundreds of feet of the British breastworks in an excellent state of preservation. The ground never having been permanently cleared nor plowed, these earthworks remain as the British left them, except that the logs, which may have entered into their construction, are rotted away. To find them, look for two pine trees near the northern end of the woods; between these trees you will find an angle in the works running south and west. At the upper end of the northern leg of this angle are some rifle pits, plainly discernible; there are also some in front and south of it. Next, about 125 feet to the southwest, you will find another angle running west and then south; walk on the crest of these works till you come to an obtuse angle which veers to the southwest; near this some breastworks run directly south on the edge of a clearing. You can follow these easily for several hundred feet. Near the southern end of these turn to the left down into the woods and you will find a line of breastworks running from the swampy place through the woods to the crest of the ridge on the east. These two latter works were doubtless intended to cover their outposts, or advanced pickets.

The writer asked Mr. J. J. Perkins, the custodian of the monument, who was in the artillery service several years during the civil war, to go over the ground with him, and he declares that there is no doubt of their genuineness.

These being the only relics of Burgoyne's defensive

works remaining on this side of the river, at Schuylerville, it is earnestly hoped that they may be preserved intact. They will doubtless remain undisturbed so long as they continue in the hands of the Victory Manufacturing Company. These woods ought to be owned by the village, or State.

AMERICAN EARTHWORKS

FOURTH: Back of the Victory schoolhouse, on a knoll covered with pines, may be seen remains of earthworks thrown up by the Americans. These are in a good state of preservation. This site is visible from the windows of the fourth and fifth stories of the monument.

OTHER AMERICAN EARTHWORKS

FIFTH: Above the Victory Mills, on the south side of the creek, is a clump of pines against a hill. On the top of the hill back of those pines are remains of Gates' works, where he had a battery posted. This site is also visible from the monument. Just below the Victory stone bridge, on the right bank of the creek, is the site of Schuyler's upper sawmill, the only building spared to him by Burgoyne. That mill sawed the timber in the present Schuyler mansion.

CAMP GROUNDS

SIXTH: Going down Burgoyne street from the monument, after you cross the railroad, the next street you come to is Pearl street. On either side of this street as you look northward you see the camp ground of several companies of British troops and some Germans who tented in the woods. A few of the ancient oaks may yet be seen in the Reformed Church yard.

THE SURRENDER ELM

SEVENTH: A few rods north of the foot of Burgoyne street, on the east side of Broadway, between the blacksmith shop and the brick store, stood the old elm under which, tradition says, Burgoyne signed the agreement to surrender, or "Convention," as he loved to call it. The tablet which hung on the old elm is now attached to the brick wall.

FORT HARDY

EIGHTH: Old Fort Hardy was located in the angle of Fish creek and the river. The road to Greenwich crosses its site. It was built in 1757 under the supervision of Colonel Montessor, a royal engineer, and it covered about fifteen acres. It supplanted a wooden or blockhouse fort which stood in the same angle, but the latter was, of course, a much smaller structure.

BURGOYNE'S ARTILLERY

NINTH: On the continuation of Spring street, east of Broadway, is the place where Burgoyne had his artillery parked behind strong entrenchments. Directly opposite this on the other side of the river, on the high bluff, now void of trees, is the place where General Fellows had his battery posted, which so seriously annoyed the British. On the wooded bluff just to the north of this stood a Colonial fort built in 1721 (?).

GERMAN CAMP GROUND

TENTH: On the northwest angle of Spring street and Broadway, and on the high ground west of Broadway, as you go to the north, was the camp ground of the Germans ("Hessians"), under General Riedesel. A few rods

northwest of the house on the corner, now owned by Mr. P. McNamara, were the barracks, built before the Revolution, burned by the British, and then rebuilt and occupied at one time by General Stark. Here no doubt the noted spy, Lovell, was tried and condemned.

THE MARSHALL HOUSE

ELEVENTH: The Marshall house is the one in whose cellar the Baroness Riedesel (pronounced Re-dáy-zel), with her children, and the wounded officers, found refuge during the six days' siege of Burgoyne. This is located about a mile north of Fish creek and on high ground to the left of the road. It can be reached by electric cars. An iron sign marks the place. This house was built by Peter Lansing of Albany in 1773, as a farm house. In 1785 it came into the possession of Samuel Bushee, who in turn, sold it to his brother-in-law, Samuel Marshall, in 1817. His son, William B. Marshall, repaired and altered it somewhat about 1868. He, however, had the good taste to leave the lower rooms and cellar, the really interesting portions, as they were.

The Marshalls relate the visit of an old man to the house in the early part of this (the nineteenth) century. He had not been here since the Revolutionary war, but always wanted to come and visit that house. He said that he was the gunner that leveled the cannon that bombarded the house, that they shot several times before they got the range; finally they saw the shingles fly, and then they kept it warm for that house and its occupants, as well as other points, till Burgoyne showed the white flag. On being asked why they fired on women and wounded soldiers, he replied that they supposed it to be Burgoyne's headquarters.

APPROACH TO BURGOYNE'S PONTOON BRIDGE

TWELFTH: A little to the north of the Marshall house, take the road to the east across the Canal bridge to the iron bridge that crosses the Hudson to Clark's Mills. Stop in the middle of the bridge and a little way to the north, on the east side in the rear of Mr. John A. Dix's house, you will see a road running diagonally down the bank. This was cut by the British as an approach to their pontoon bridge, there anchored. This road, together with the cut through the bank on the opposite side, locates the exact point where Burgoyne and his army crossed the Hudson September 13-15, 1777.

BURGOYNE'S BREASTWORKS

THIRTEENTH: Remains of the breastworks thrown up by Burgoyne to defend the bridge are to be seen just north of Mr. Dix's house, and the board fence which starts from the bridge, and runs north to the barn, is built on the crest of a portion of those old defenses.

FURNIVAL'S BATTERY

FOURTEENTH: Looking east from this bridge, and a little to the left, are two rounded and bare knolls or hills. On the crest of the eastern one Captain Furnival posted his battery from which he began the cannonade of the Marshall house.

THE FORDS AND OLD MILL SITES

FIFTEENTH: Returning to and through Schuylerville, place yourself on the bridge that crosses Fish creek, near the south end. The stream which this bridge spans figures largely in both Colonial and Revolutionary his-

tory. It was the south line between the British and American armies during the siege of Burgoyne. Looking down stream the old ford crossed just this side the canal aqueduct, or about opposite the Schuyler mansion. There the French and Indians crossed on the night of November 27, 1745, to the massacre of Saratoga. There the armies in Colonial times crossed on their expeditions into Canada. There the British army crossed before and after the battles, and again after the surrender on October 17, 1777. A few rods below the bridge on the right side of the stream, in a recess in the bank, is the probable site of the early sawmill mentioned by the French in their story of the massacre of Saratoga, and also the site of one of General Schuyler's sawmills burned by Burgoyne. On the opposite side or left bank of the creek, just this side of the brick grist mill, stood General Schuyler's grist mill, also burned by Burgoyne. Turning around to your right you observe some cotton mills just above the bridge, and to the south of the creek. There stood several of the mills of General Schuyler burned by Burgoyne. Here was erected the first flax or linen mill in America, put up and run by General Schuyler. The tall mill nearest you and covered with vines, is the oldest cotton mill in New York State. It was erected by Philip Schuyler, 2d, in 1828.

THE SEVERAL SCHUYLER MANSIONS

SIXTEENTH: Leaving the bridge we come next to the Schuyler mansion, embowered in its grove of ancient trees. This was erected by Gen. Philip Schuyler in the month of November, 1777. The main house was put up in seventeen days by the artisans of Gates' army. This house has sheltered as guests, Washington, Alexander

Hamilton, Gov. George Clinton, and Lafayette, and many other notables of our country. It remains substantially as General Schuyler left it. Its predecessor was burned by General Burgoyne on the 11th of October, 1777. That house stood about twelve rods southeast of the present one. The lilac bushes at the bottom of the excavation are the descendants of the ones that stood in the garden of mansion No. 2.

The original house, the one burned by the French and Indians at the time of the massacre, stood twenty rods directly east of the present one on the bank of the canal. That one was built of brick. In it Capt. Philip Schuyler, uncle of the general, was shot and a number of other occupants perished in the flames. To the east of the canal on the flats were the wheat fields set on fire by Mrs. General Schuyler to prevent them becoming forage for the British army.

WHERE LOVELASS, THE SPY, WAS EXECUTED

SEVENTEENTH: Retracing your steps to the road near the bridge, and looking south you see at a little distance a brick house. Back of this house is a gravel hill which originally extended to the east across the road. On the eastern brink of that hill, as it then was, the noted spy Lovelass was hung, on the limb of an oak tree. He was buried underneath it in a sitting posture; John Strover saw him hung and buried, and told his son George all about it. When the Waterford and Whitehall turnpike was built this gravel hill was partially dug away. George Strover was present and waited until Lovelass' remains were unearthed, when he appropriated the skull. This gruesome relic is still kept in the Schuyler mansion.

THE OLD DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

EIGHTEENTH: About one-third of a mile south of the creek, and in the fork of the River and Victory roads, stood the old Dutch Reformed Church. It was built in 1771. Here after service on the 30th of April, 1775, the people of this neighborhood heard the news of Lexington and Concord from the lips of General Schuyler. That church was used by the British for a hospital. A young woman while sitting at one of the north windows was shot by an American sharpshooter, and her blood stained the floor as long as the building stood. The church was damaged a few days later by several cannon balls shot from the British batteries. It was afterwards used by the Americans as a commissary depot. This church was taken down in 1822.

FORTS SARATOGA AND CLINTON

NINETEENTH: Pass down the road a few rods till you stand under the rocks, and in front of a small house on the hill. Right east of you on the river bank you see the site of two, and perhaps four Colonial forts. The last two which stood there were the only ones of the eight, built in this vicinity, that saw any fighting. The first of the two was known as "the fort at Saratoga," and was burned by the French on the night of the massacre in 1745. Without the walls of the last one, or Fort Clinton, several bloody and disastrous encounters took place with the French and Indians. This fort experienced at least one successful mutiny. It was soon after dismantled and burned by orders of Gov. George Clinton in October, 1747. The location of these interesting forts was lost for many years, but was discovered by the writer of this book

in the spring of 1900. Loose stones and brick-bats cover the site of the forts.

WHERE BURGoyNE DELIVERED HIS SWORD

TWENTIETH: Somewhere between the above mentioned house and the canal bridge, and south of where you stand, is the place where Burgoyne went through the formal act of surrender by drawing his sword and delivering it to General Gates.

The exact location has been irretrievably lost. The tablet that purports to mark the place should probably stand several rods to the north. The old road is said to have run where the canal now is.

THE TORY AND COLONEL VAN VEGHTEN

TWENTY-FIRST: About ten rods below the canal bridge is a little ravine where a Tory waylaid Colonel Van Veghten, of Coveville. Screened by some trees he waited till the Colonel passed along a-horseback on his way up to visit General Schuyler. The Tory had his rifle leveled at him, and was about to pull the trigger, when his nerve failed him and he allowed the Colonel to pass unharmed. He related this incident after the Revolution.

REMAINS OF REVOLUTIONARY EARTHWORKS

TWENTY-SECOND: On the east side of the river, a mile or more south of the bridge, on the edge of a high bluff facing the south and overlooking a ravine, are some breastworks thrown up by the Green Mountain boys during the siege of Burgoyne. They are in an almost perfect state of preservation, still being breast high. They are on the farm now owned by Nathan Corliss. These were identified as Revolutionary remains by the

writer during the summer of 1900, after his attention had been called to them by Mr. Robert Coffin, who lives in the neighborhood.

GATES' HEADQUARTERS

TWENTY-THIRD: About one and one-third miles below Fish creek, on the east side of the road, stands the house which was probably used by General Gates as his headquarters from the 10th to the 15th of October, 1777, and again used by him after the surrender. On the 14th or 15th of October he moved up to the place south of the old Dutch Church, where the formal surrender occurred on the 17th. The house was enlarged after the Revolution and is now owned and occupied by Edward Dwyer, who has the good taste to keep the house in its ancient form.

WILLARD'S MOUNTAIN

TWENTY-FOURTH: Looking off to the southeast from almost any point in or about Schuylerville one sees a mountain about ten miles away. That is Willard's Mountain; so called from the fact that a Mr. Willard posted himself on its top during the advance of Burgoyne, and signaled his observations to General Gates. This mountain is about 1,400 feet above sea level, and affords the finest and most extensive view to be had from any point within thirty miles from here.

FIRST VILLAGE OF SARATOGA

Old Saratoga, destroyed by the French and Indians in 1745, was situated, mainly, just below the fort marked No. 17 on the map.

Schuylerville is well supplied with excellent hotels and well-equipped liveries. Carriage drives hereabouts are unusually numerous and attractive: To the battle-field, two ways, 9 miles; to Saratoga Lake, 9 miles; to Fort Miller, 5 miles; to Cossayuna Lake, 12 miles; to the magnificent Dianondahowa Falls, 3 miles; to Greenwich, 5 miles; to Bald Mountain, the deserted village, 4 miles, and to the top of Willard's Mountain, 12 miles. The roads are unusually good.

KEY TO HISTORICAL MAP OF SCHUYLERVILLE

ARROWS RADIATING FROM CIRCLES POINT TO SITES AND OBJECTS

1. The Battle Monument.
2. Remains of Morgan's intrenchments.
3. Remains of Burgoyne's fortified camp.
4. Remains of American earthworks.
5. Remains of Gates' earthworks.
6. Place where Burgoyne signed the Capitulation.
7. Fort Hardy. Arrow points to site of blockhouse that preceded it.
8. Where Burgoyne had most of his artillery massed.
9. Site of barracks burned by British, afterward rebuilt.
10. Marshall house, the refuge of Baroness Riedesel and wounded officers.
11. Approach to pontoon bridge, and remains of breastworks.
12. Furnival's battery, which began the cannonade on Marshall house.
13. Schuyler house, mills and other buildings.
14. Where Lovelass was hung.
15. Site of Old Dutch Reformed Church.
16. Where Burgoyne delivered his sword to Gates.
17. Site of Forts Saratoga and Clinton.
18. Where Gates' floating bridge crossed the river.
20. Fellows' battery that so greatly annoyed the British.
21. Traditional site of old blockhouse first described by Kalm.
22. Where the French and Indians forded the river on their way to the destruction of old Saratoga.
23. "Field of The Grounded Arms." The area enclosed in the brace is the ground.

In the angle of the river and the Battenkill, north of the Kill. General Fraser was encamped for a month; from that point Colonel Baum started for Bennington.

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If those who discover errors of fact in this work or serious omissions will kindly acquaint the author with their discoveries, giving their authority; or should any reader chance to know of unpublished historic facts or incidents connected with this locality, and worthy of preservation, if such will transmit the same to the author he will greatly appreciate it, as, somewhat later, he hopes to find himself in a position to correct the one and use the others.

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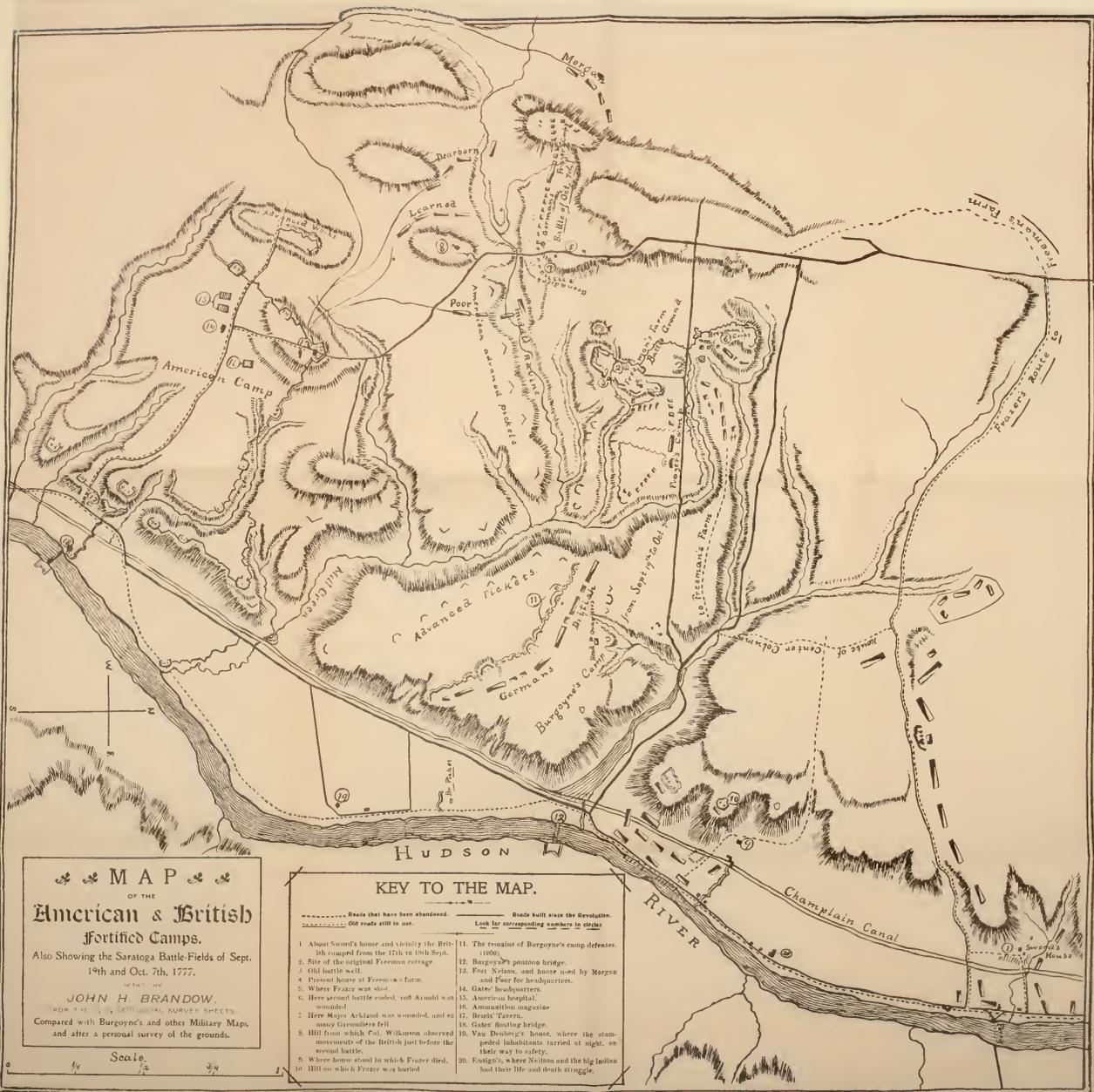
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MAP
OF THE
American & British
Fortified Camps.

Also Showing the Saratoga Battle-Fields of Sept.
19th and Oct. 7th, 1777.

BY
JOHN H. BRANDOW,
FROM THE U. S. GEOLOGICAL SURVEY SHEETS.
Compared with Burgoyne's and other Military Maps,
and after a personal survey of the grounds.

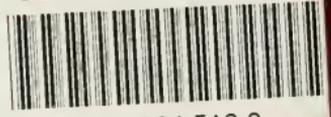
Scale.

KEY TO THE MAP.

- Roads that have been abandoned.
- - - - - Old roads still in use.
- Roads built since the Revolution.
Look for corresponding numbers in circles.
1. About Swarth's house and vicinity the British coupied from the 17th to 19th Sept.
 2. Site of the original Freeman cottage.
 3. Old battle well.
 4. Present house at Freeman's farm.
 5. Where Frazer was shot.
 6. Here around battle ended, and Atwood was wounded.
 7. Here Major Ackland was wounded, and so many Grenadiers fell.
 8. Hill from which Col. Wilkinson observed movements of the British just before the second battle.
 9. Where Howe stood in which Frazer died, Hill on which Frazer was buried.
 10. The remains of Burgoyne's camp defenses (1800).
 11. Burgoyne's pontoon bridge.
 12. Fort Nelson, and house used by Morgan and Poor for headquarters.
 13. Gate: headquarters.
 14. Gate: headquarters.
 15. American hospital.
 16. Ammunition magazine.
 17. Beak's Tavern.
 18. Gate: floating bridge.
 19. Van Dusen's house, where the stampeded inhabitants tarried at night, on their way to safety.
 20. Knicker's, where Nelson and the big Indian had their life and death struggle.



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