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Richard Walsh, *Editor*
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The Susquehannah Company Papers

VOLUME I	VOLUME II	VOLUME III	VOLUME IV
1750-1755	1756-1767	1768-1769	1770-1772

EDITED BY

JULIAN P. BOYD

AS the first four volumes of the proposed twelve-volume work, planned to include all documents concerning the Susquehannah Company as well as information on related aspects of Connecticut's western land claim, the four volumes now reissued were originally published by the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1930 and 1931. Depression in 1932 interrupted the publishing project, and a flood of the Susquehanna River in 1936 destroyed most of the original edition.

The story of the Susquehannah Company of Connecticut, the towns it formed in areas claimed by Pennsylvania, and the resultant boundary dispute between the two states is part of the larger story of western land claims that resulted from the loosely-worded descriptions in seventeenth-century colonial charters. This is a valuable source of information on the westward expansion of an American colony. This limited edition makes the first four volumes available once more, to be followed soon by Volumes V and VI.

*Volumes I-IV, 453, 396, 387, and 429 pages, respectively;
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LORD FRANCIS NAPIER'S JOURNAL OF THE BURGoyNE CAMPAIGN

Edited by S. SYDNEY BRADFORD

GENERAL John Burgoyne's abortive invasion of northern New York during the summer and fall of 1777 produced momentous consequences for America. His surrender at Saratoga on October 17, 1777 rekindled revolutionary enthusiasm among Americans, dealt a stunning blow to British hopes for crushing the rebellion, and led directly to the Franco-American alliance of February 6, 1778. In a very real sense, Burgoyne's capitulation "was the hinge on which the revolution turned."¹

¹William Paterson to Governor Livingston, Oct. 8, 1777, Lloyd W. Smith Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N. J.; "Autobiographical Letters of Peter S. Duponceau," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LX (1916), 177; Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution* (2 vol.; New York, 1952), II, 539-40; David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution* (2 vol.; Philadelphia, 1789), II, 55.

Surprisingly enough, there are only three printed British personal accounts of the ill-fated campaign. Even the most extensive of them, that kept by Lieutenant James M. Hadden, ends on the day of the Battle of Freeman's Farm, September 19, almost a month before the surrender. It is thus fortunate that in the Lloyd W. Smith Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, New Jersey, there is a contemporary manuscript account of the invasion that supplements the information in the printed journals of the campaign.² This interesting record was kept by Lord Francis Napier, one of the four nobles who accompanied Gentleman Johnny's excellent and confident army into the New York wilderness.³

Francis Napier's family had served Scotland with distinction for many generations. One of Napier's most notable ancestors was John Napier, who invented logarithms. A decade after the mathematician's death in 1617, Charles I conferred on Sir Archibald Napier the title of Lord Napier of Merchiston, Edinburgshire; and when Francis was born at Ipswich on

² The three presently printed contemporary journals are these: Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*; a brief journal of events in a letter from Burgoyne to Lord George Germain, July 11, 1777, in John Burgoyne, *A State of the Expedition From Canada* (London, 1780), App. XIV-XX; and "Diary of Joshua Pell, Junior," *The American Magazine of History*, II (Feb., 1878), 43-47, 107-112. Several accounts written after the campaign are also available. Thomas Anburey's record of the Burgoyne expedition in his *Travels through the Interior Parts of America in a Series of Letters* (2 vol.; London, 1791) is a mixture of personal observation and plagiarism, as Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., points out in his article, "Thomas Anburey's 'Travels Through America': A Note on Eighteenth-Century Plagiarism," *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVII (1st Qt., 1943), 23-36. Lieutenant William Digby's record of the campaign forms part of a journal (James P. Baxter, *The British Invasion from the North. The Campaigns of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne from Canada, 1776-1778, with the Journal of Lieutenant William Digby, of the 53 D, or Shropshire Regiment of Foot* [2 vol.; Albany, N. Y., 1887]) that "is not an original kept during the campaign, but a compilation made by the author [*ibid.*, I, VII]." R. Lamb's pages concerning the invasion in his two works, *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences During the Late American War, from Its Commencement to the year 1783* (Dublin, 1809) and *Memoir of His Own Life* (Dublin, 1811), are, like Anburey's account, the result of personal observation and the perusal of other materials pertaining to Burgoyne's march into New York. Lamb's *Memoir* in particular owes a great deal to Anburey's work; compare, for example, pages 167-68, 170-73 with Anburey's *Travels*, I, 275-77, 293-96, and 303-06.

Several German accounts of the campaign are also in print. The longest and most informative is that edited by William L. Stone, *Memoirs and Letters and Journals of Major General Riedesel* (2 vol.; Albany, N. Y., 1868).

³ Horatio Rogers, *A Journal Kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 and 1778*, by Lieut. James M. Hadden, *Roy. Art.* (Albany, New York, 1884), fn. c, XLVI-XLVII.

February 23, 1758 he became heir to the title from his father, William, the sixth lord. As his father was the adjutant general of the forces in Scotland, the young Napier must have grown up in a military atmosphere, and although he may have attended the University of Edinburgh between 1772 and 1774, in the latter year he succumbed to the lure of military life and joined the army.⁴

Napier, only sixteen, donned the handsome uniform of an ensign of the 31st Regiment of Foot on November 3, 1774, on the eve of the outbreak of armed conflict in America. On March 21, 1776 he became a lieutenant in the regiment's light infantry company, one of the best units in any regiment.⁵ When the 31st was chosen to form part of Burgoyne's army, Napier and his servant sailed with the regiment to Canada.⁶ As his journal shows, Napier participated in most of the actions on the march down the Hudson Valley, and when the spent and trapped army had to surrender he "was one of the number who piled their arms on the signing of the convention" ⁷ After the capitulation, he and the other members of the army marched through frequent rains to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where Napier and his fellow bedraggled soldiers were to await transportation to carry them back to England. While awaiting the implementation of the Convention, the officers endured the discomforts of their poor quarters and grumbled about the limited freedom granted them once they had signed a parole.⁸

⁴ Robert Douglas, *The Peerage of Scotland* (2 vol.; Edinburgh, 1813), II, 281-82, 289, 293; Robert A. Beatson, *A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland* (2 vol.; 2nd ed.; London, 1788), II, 15; Charles P. Finlayson, Keeper of Manuscripts, University of Edinburgh, to author, Jan. 10, 1961.

⁵ Douglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-03. The British organized light infantry units during the French and Indian War, but more or less abandoned such troops after 1763. Just before the American Revolution, Sir William Howe revived the light infantry and its lightly armed, fast moving soldiers were usually in the forefront of the fighting in America, J. F. C. Fuller, *British Light Infantry in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1925), 97-98, 112, 124-35.

⁶ Although Napier does not say that he brought a servant with him, he does state that he took a servant with him when he left Cambridge for Newport, Rhode Island, on his way back to England in the spring of 1778. See *infra*.

⁷ Douglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-03.

⁸ William M. Dabney, *After Saratoga: The Story of the Convention Army* (Albuquerque, 1954), 20, 33. See E. B. O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne* (Albany, N. Y., 1860), 176-81, for the parole signed by Napier and 188 other officers.

After the Continental Congress mulled over the Saratoga Convention, it grew more and more reluctant to adhere to the document's provisions. The members of the Congress felt that the promise to send the defeated army back to Great Britain would enable the king to dispatch troops formerly held in the British Isles to America. The Americans therefore refrained from complying with the treaty, and on January 8, 1778 Congress resolved to keep the English and German soldiers on this side of the Atlantic until Parliament ratified the Convention. Such a step by England would have meant the recognition of the independence of the United States, something that the British had no intention of doing at that time.⁹ By demanding Parliamentary ratification of the Convention, the Congress had also unwittingly thwarted General Sir William Howe's intention of violating the agreement. After the vessels had picked up the Convention Army in Boston, Howe had planned to keep the British soldiers in America and send only the Germans back to England.¹⁰

The impasse reached on the Convention especially disappointed numerous British officers in Cambridge, many of whom longed to return home. Napier displayed a great eagerness to leave America and in conjunction with another officer wrote the Congress and requested permission to return to England on parole, or to be allowed to work out his own exchange. General William Heath, who had charge of the Convention Army in Boston, forwarded Napier's letter to Philadelphia on February 7, 1778 and the President of Congress referred it to a committee. The committee reported on March 2 and although Napier and his fellow officer were first granted permission to go to Rhode Island to arrange their exchanges, Napier's name was subsequently struck from the committee's report. On the following day Congress resolved that officers of the Convention Army should no longer be permitted to handle their own exchanges and directed Heath to inform Napier of that decision.¹¹ Shortly thereafter, Heath asked

⁹ Dabney, *Convention Army*, 15-21.

¹⁰ Jane Clark, "The Convention Troops and the Perfidy of Sir William Howe," *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (1932), 721-23.

¹¹ William Heath to Henry Laurens, Feb. 7, 1778, *Heath Papers*. Part II, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 7th ser., IV (1904), 213; W. C. Ford



From Horatio Rogers, *A Journal Kept in Canada . . .*
 by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Roy. Art. . . .
 (Albany, 1884), facing p. 90.

Washington to consider Napier's request to be exchanged, but the commander-in-chief did nothing to help the anxious lord.¹² Seemingly blocked in his efforts to return home, it is surprising to learn that on May 16 Napier sailed into Newport, Rhode Island, along with several other officers of the Convention Army.¹³ How had he managed to leave Cambridge? His journal answers that question, as on May 16 Napier wrote that he had obtained permission to leave the unhappy army by means of a bribe to the Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners. Gold thus accomplished what Congress had prohibited.¹⁴ Napier soon crossed the Atlantic and he was formally exchanged in October, 1780.¹⁵

Napier continued his military career for several years after leaving America. Even before his official exchange in 1780, he had purchased a captaincy in the 35th Regiment of Foot. The government placed him on half pay in 1783, but returned him to full pay as a captain in the 4th Regiment of Foot on May 31, 1784. In December of the same year, Napier brought a majority in the same regiment and held that commission until he sold it in 1789.¹⁶ After a hiatus of about four years, Napier resumed military life when Britain went to war with France. Shortly after the first shots had been exchanged, the king ordered the raising of seven regiments of fencibles in Scotland and Napier became the lieutenant colonel of the regiment raised by the Earl of Hopetoun, which became known as the Southern or Hopetoun Fencibles. As the regiment never

(ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress* (34 vol.; Washington, D. C., 1909-37), X, 196, 213, 219.

¹² William Heath to George Washington, Mar. 21, 1778, *Heath Papers*, Part II, 220.

¹³ *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie* (2 vol.; Cambridge, Mass.), I, 282.

¹⁴ *Infra*. Many officers of the Convention Army bought permission to leave Cambridge and Congress heard that Lord Balcarras paid a thousand guineas for his freedom. By October, 1778 Congress ordered an investigation of such bribery. According to German officers, Joshua Mersereau, commissary of prisoners in Massachusetts, was the culprit, as he charged British officers from fifty to a hundred guineas in helping them to obtain permission to depart from Cambridge. Henry Laurens to William Heath, Oct. 10, [1778], to Horatio Gates, Oct. 29, 1778, Edmund C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (8 vols.; Washington, D. C.), III, 445-46, 471; Ford, *Journals*, XII, 1065, 1109-1200; Stone, *Memoir of Gen. Riedesel*, II, 11-12; J. G. Rosengarten, *American History from German Archives* (Lancaster, Pa., 1904), 145; Dabney, *Convention Army*, 38.

¹⁵ *Dictionary National Biography*.

¹⁶ Douglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-03.

saw the enemy, Napier did not experience combat again and in 1799 the War Office disbanded the unit.¹⁷

Napier was more than just a soldier and he engaged in numerous public activities during his life. On November 11, 1789 the University of Edinburgh honored him by conferring an L.L.D.; five days later, acting as the grand master mason of Scotland, Napier laid the corner stone of the New College building.¹⁸ In 1796, 1802, and 1807 he was elected one of the sixteen representative peers of the Scottish peerage who sat in Westminster; during the same period he performed the duties of the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Selkirk, an office he had come to occupy in 1797. His interest in matters pertaining to Scotland is also borne out by his very active participation in the affairs of the Church of Scotland and by his accepting membership in 1806 in an organization dedicated to improving the Scottish fishing industry.¹⁹

During these years Napier raised a large family. He had married on April 13, 1784 and his wife bore him nine children. In his seventy-fifth year the old veteran of the Saratoga campaign died, having been true to his family motto, "Readdy, aye Readdy."²⁰

The journal kept by Napier is in a six by eight inch notebook and written in ink. The account consists of an introductory statement about the composition of the army; the journal proper, covering the period from May 27 through November 6, 1777; and several entries for April and May, 1778, including a long report of the British raid on Warren and Bristol, Rhode Island, May 25, 1778.

The manuscript has been printed as closely as possible to the original but some changes were deemed necessary: dashes have been deleted and periods inserted; place names and proper names have been identified in the footnotes; quotation

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; James Paterson, *Kay's Edinburgh Portraits* (2 vol.; London, 1885), I, 141.

¹⁸ Quotation from the MS Minutes of the Senatus Academicus, Vol. I, p. 399 a, by Charles P. Finlayson in letter to author, Jan. 10, 1961; Douglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-3. See *The Scots Magazine*, VI (Nov., 1789), 521-28 for an interesting account of the laying of the corner stone.

¹⁹ Douglas, *Peerage*, II, 302-03.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; [Obituary], *The Gentleman's Magazine*, XCIII (July-Dec., 1823), 467-68. For Napier's coat-of-arms, see Plate XII, Douglass, *Peerage*, II.

marks have been inserted where quoted material in the Journal is obvious, for example, "General Orders." The asterisks appearing in the Journal represent Napier's footnotes. All of the Journal has been published excepting the "Form of Memorial for Officers who wish to retire from the Service."

THE NAPIER JOURNAL

1777

On the Sixth of May Lieutenant General Burgoyne arrived at Quebec from London, with directions (from His Majesty) to command a Detachment from the Army under General Sir Guy Carleton²¹ upon an Expedition across Lake Champlane.²² The Detachment to consist of the Grenadiers and Light Infantry of the Army in Canada together with the Ninth, Twentieth, Royal North British Fuziliers, Twenty Fourth, Forty Seventh, Fifty Third and Sixty Second Regiments of Foot. The German Grenadiers, Light Infantry, Chasseurs, Regiments of Rhitz,²³ Spekt,²⁴ Reidzel,²⁵ Frederic,²⁶ Hesse Hanau and Riedzel Dragoons,²⁷ Indians,²⁸ Canadians²⁹ and Provincial Volunteers.³⁰

²¹ Carleton (Sept. 3, 1724-Nov. 10, 1808) was the governor of Canada from 1775 to 1778 and from 1786 to 1796. Although he, as well as members of the army, expressed surprise at Burgoyne's appointment to command the invasion of New York, he loyally supported Burgoyne's preparations for the campaign. *D.N.B.*; James Murray, *An Impartial History of the Present War in America* (3 vol.; Newcastle on Tyne, 1780), II, 293-94; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 187; Burgoyne, *State*, 6.

²² Burgoyne's "Thoughts for Conducting the War from the Side of Canada," after George III and Germain had modified them, formed the basis for the British move into New York. This plan, labelled "crazy" and stupid, or "excellent" and "sound," called for a junction of Burgoyne's and Sir William Howe's troops at Albany; how that was to quell the rebellion was left unmentioned. Upon landing in Quebec, Burgoyne found his supposedly secret plan a general topic of conversation. F. J. Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne* (Indianapolis, 1927), 225; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 400-01; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, 14; George F. Scheer and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats* (New York, 1959), 285-86; Hoffman Nickerson, *The Turning Point of the Revolution* (New York, 1928), 61; Jane Clark, "Responsibility for the Failure of the Burgoyne Campaign," *American Historical Review*, XXXV (1930), 543; Howard H. Peckham, *The War for Independence* (3rd ed.; Chicago, 1960), 59; Claude H. Van Tyne, *The War for Independence* (2 vol.; Boston, 1929), II, 383.

²³ Rhetz.

²⁴ Specht.

²⁵ Riedesel.

²⁶ Prince Frederick Regiment.

²⁷ Two hundred Brunswick dragoons began the campaign with feathers in their caps, pig tails, leather gauntlets and pants, and no horses. They also wore heavy leather boots and were so borne down by their uniforms and equipment that they could move only half as rapidly as the slowest English regiment. Burgoyne, *State*, XXII; Max Von Eelking, *The German Allied Troops in the North*

The Indians, Canadians, Provincial Volunteers, British Grenadiers commanded by Major Acland,³¹ British Light Infantry commanded by Major the Earl of Balcarres³² and the Twenty Fourth Regt. formed the Advanced Corps under the Command of Brigadier General Fraser (Lt. Colonel of the 24th. Regt.).³³

The Right Wing under Major General Phillips³⁴ was composed of Brigadier Powell's (Lieut. Colonel of the 53rd. Regt.)³⁵ Brigade (formed by the 9th., 47th. & 53rd. Regiments) and Brigadier

American War of Independence, 1776-1783 (Albany, N. Y., 1893), 130; Charles Stedman *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (2 vol.; London, 1794), 1, 331. See Elroy McK. Avery, *A History of the United States and Its People* (16 vol.; Cleveland) VI, 132, for a photograph of a dragoon's boot.

²⁹ Between 300 and 400 Indians set out with Burgoyne. Carleton's nephew, Christopher, with a painted face and nose ring, led one of the groups of savages. Burgoyne, *State*, 74; Peckham, *War for Independence*, 61.

³⁰ Only 148 Canadians, instead of a desired 2,000, joined the army and even they proved to be of small value because of their "mal de payz [pays]." Burgoyne, *State*, 7, 74, 102.

³¹ Burgoyne had high hopes for two Provincial battalions, whose ranks increased from eighty-three on July 1 to a peak of 680 on Sept. 1, but the Loyalists failed to be dependable. Burgoyne, *State*, 74, 86, 89.

³² Maj. John Dyke Acland, 20th Regiment of Foot ([?]-Nov. 22, 1778). Acland and his wife, Lady Harriet, were one of the prominent couples of the Burgoyne expedition. Both narrowly escaped death when their tent burned late in the night of Sept. 15; he suffered severe wounds during the Battle of Bemis Heights; and after returning to England, she became a widow when he died from a cold caught while fighting a duel. *D.N.B.*; William L. Stone, "Lady and Major Acland," *The American Magazine of History*, IV (1880), 49-52; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 193, 267-68. See Avery, *History of the U.S.*, VI, 12, for their portraits; and in the Ft. Ticonderoga museum there is a charm worn by Lady Acland during the campaign.

³³ Alexander Lindsay, sixth Earl of Balcarres (Jan. 1, 1752-May 27, 1825); a major in the 53rd Regiment of Foot. Oddly enough, Balcarres, who repulsed a strong attack by Benedict Arnold during the Battle of Bemis Heights, subsequently fought a duel with the traitor in England. *D.N.B.*; See Avery, *History of the U.S.*, VI, 123, for his portrait.

³⁴ Brig. Gen. Simon Fraser ([?]-Oct. 7, 1777). Fraser received a mortal wound during the Battle of Bemis Heights and was buried on the battlefield. *D.N.B.* M. Riedesel (*Letters and Memoirs Relating to the War of American Independence* [New York, 1827], 169-72) gives a graphic description of his last moments; Anburey (*Travels*, I, facing p. 432) has an illustrative sketch of the burial scene.

³⁵ Maj. Gen. William Phillips (1731 [?]-May 13, 1781). Phillips was an artilleryman who acted as Burgoyne's second in command and who assumed leadership of the Convention Army after Burgoyne returned to England in the spring of 1778. After Phillips had been exchanged in Oct. 1780, he sailed to Virginia and replaced Benedict Arnold, who had been instrumental in defeating Burgoyne, as commander of the British invasion of Virginia. Phillips died of a fever in Petersburg, Va., and was buried there. *D.N.B.*; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, App. No. 1, 345, 348, 356.

³⁶ Brig Henry Watson Powell ([?]-July 14, 1814). He commanded the 1st Brigade of the right wing of the army. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 196.

Hamilton's (Lt. Colonel of the R.N.B.F.)³⁶ Brigade (formed by the R.N.B.F. 20th. and 62 Regiments). The Left Wing under Major General Reidzel³⁷ consisted of the German Regiments of Rhitz, Reidzel and Spekt commanded by Brigadier Spekt,³⁸ and of Frederic and Hesse Hanau commanded by Brigadier Gall.³⁹ The German Grenadiers, Light Infantry and Chasseurs under the command of Lieut. Colonel Breyden⁴⁰ formed the Corps de Reserve. The Reidzel Dragoons were employed to cover Head Quarters.⁴¹

Lt. Col. St. Leger's⁴² (34th. Regt.) detachment (intended to proceed down the Mohawk River) consisted of 100 men from the 8th. Reg. 100 men from the 34th. Regt. Sir John Johnston's⁴³ Regt.

³⁶ Brig. James Inglis Hamilton ([?]-July 14, 1814). Hamilton led the 2nd Brigade of the right wing. *Ibid.*, fn. 148, 196-99.

³⁷ Maj. Gen. Friederich Adolphus Riedesel (June 3, 1738-Jan. 6, 1800). Riedesel, a very experienced, competent, and strict soldier, led Burgoyne's German troops. M. Riedesel accompanied her husband on the campaign and their respective accounts provide a full, colorful, and interesting history of the invasion. See Avery, *History of U.S.*, VI, 130, for their portraits.

³⁸ Brig. Gen. Friederich Johann Specht ([?]-June 2, 1787): Colonel of the Regiment Specht and commander of the 1st German Brigade, left wing of the army. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. av,45; Baxter's *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 150, 197-99.

³⁹ Brig. Gen. W. R. von Gall: Colonel of the Regiment Hesse Hanau and the commander of the 2nd German Brigade, left wing. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. ao,36; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, fn. 149, 197-99.

⁴⁰ Lt. Col. Heinrich Christoph Breyden ([?]-Oct. 7, 1777).

⁴¹ There is general agreement that Burgoyne's army constituted a fine fighting force. Its effective strength, as reported by Burgoyne on July 1, 1777, was 7,213 officers and men, comprised of the following: British, 3,724; German, 3,016; Canadians, Provincials, and Indians, some 650; plus 473 artillerymen, seventy-eight of whom were German. Indeed, the army's most debatable aspect was its leader, who had confidently bet Charles Fox that he would return victorious to England by Dec. 25, 1777; who displayed contempt for the rebels; and who allowed officers' families, plus soldiers' wives and other women, to accompany the army. Outside of a squabble between British and German troops on July 16, in general they marched together with little more than bickering between themselves. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 402; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 319-20; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, 16; William L. Stone, *The Campaign of Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne, and the Expedition of Lieut. Col. Barry St. Leger* (Albany, N. Y., 1877), 2-3; Burgoyne, *State*, 8; Thomas G. Frothingham, *Washington: Commander in Chief* (Boston, 1930), fn. 2, 179; Edward B. de Fonblanque, *Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century Derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne* (London, 1876), 337; M. Riedesel, *Letters*, 138; O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 45.

⁴² Lt. Col. Barry St. Leger (1737-1789). Burgoyne sent St. Leger on a wide sweep to the right, over Lake Ontario to Oswego and then down the Mohawk River to Albany, where he was to join the main army and Howe's forces. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 256; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 477.

⁴³ Sir John Johnson (1742-Jan. 4, 1830). Johnson, son and heir of Sir William Johnson, remained loyal to the crown, received a colonel's commission, and raised two battalions of Loyalists known as the Royal Greens. J. Watts De Peyster, *Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson* (Albany, N. Y., 1882), IX, XXXIII;

of New York 133 the Hanau Chasseurs 340 with some Canadians & Indians.

Journal of Occurrences Campaign, 1777.

May.

- 27th. The Advanced Corps was reviewed by Lieut. General Burgoyne preparatory to their taking the Field.
 30th. The 20th. 24th. 31st. & 47th. Light Infantry Company's marched from Longuille ⁴⁴ to La Prairie ⁴⁵ (to join the other Six Company's of Light Infantry) and encamped there.

June

- 2nd. Marched from La Prairie to Savanne.
 3rd. From Savanne to St. Johns.⁴⁶ Crossed the River to Hazells house, and remained there the fourth.
 5th. Left Hazells house and arrived at Point au Fer.⁴⁷
 8th. Proceeded up the Lake ⁴⁸ to the Riviere au Sable.
 11th. Left Riviere au Sable and landed at the mouth of the River Bouquet.
 12th. The 20th. 24th. 31st. and 47th. Light Infantry Company's (under the command of Capt. Craig) ⁴⁹ took post at Gilliland's ⁵⁰ house about three miles from the mouth of the Bouquet River.
 13th. Erected a Log work upon a small eminence in front of the camp.⁵¹
 14th. Begun a redoubt a little to the Right of the Camp.
 16th. The remaining of the Six Company's of Light Infantry joined us at Gillilands farm.

Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (2 vol.; Boston, 1864), I, 577-82.

⁴⁴ Longueuil, a mile and a half below Montreal and on the opposite side of the St. Lawrence River.

⁴⁵ About ten miles below Longueuil.

⁴⁶ On the western side of the Richeleu or Sorel River.

⁴⁷ Point Au Fer forms the north east coast of King's Bay in Lake Champlain. Peter S. Palmer, *History of Lake Champlain* (Albany, N. Y., 1866), 7-8.

⁴⁸ Lake Champlain.

⁴⁹ Capt. James Henry Craig, 47th Regiment of Foot. W. C. Ford, *British Officer Serving in the American Revolution, 1774-1783* (Brooklyn, 1897), 53.

⁵⁰ Now Willsboro, New York. William Gilliland (1734-Feb. 1796), a Tory, owned the house and surrounding farm, all of which he lost during the Revolution. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. be,57; *New York: A Guide to the Empire State* (New York, 1940), 536.

⁵¹ While the advanced corps moved to Gilliland's farm, the rest of the army assembled at St. Johns. There, the troops of Burgoyne, in good health, discipline, and spirits, paraded and in effect formally opened the campaign. In sailing down Lake Champlain, the army moved about twenty miles a day. Anburey, *Travels*, I, 235-36; Lamb, *Journal of Occurrences*, 135; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, 17, II, 188; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 404.

- 17th. Two Three Pounders came to the Post at Gililands Farm under the command of Lieut. Thompson R.A.
- 21st. A Congress of Indians held at Brigadier Frasers Camp, in which Genl. Burgoyne prohibited the Indians from scalping their Prisoners while alive.⁵² After the Congress the Generals &c. visited the post at Gililands Farm.
- 22nd. The Light Infantry received orders to strike their Tents and to come down the River to Brigr. Genl. Fraser's Camp, from whence they proceeded up the Lake about one Quarter of a mile above the River Bouquet and encamped there.
- 24th. The Corps went to Button Mould Bay.⁵³
- 25th. Left Button Mould Bay and arrived at Chimney Point.⁵⁴ In the evening Lord Balcarres with five Company's of British Light Infantry attended the Brigadier upon a party of observation as far as Putnams Creek a very great Smoke appearing to come from some place near Ticonderoga, but could not perceive the cause of it.⁵⁵
- 26th. Brigadier Frasers Corps left Chimney Point (to make room for the rest of the Army) and encamped at Putnams Creek.⁵⁶ A Party of Indians brought in two Scalps.
- 30th. Left Putnams Creek and encamped at Four Mile Point.⁵⁷

" A Proclamation ⁵⁸

By John Burgoyne Esqr. Lieut. General of His Majesty's Armies in America, Colonel of the Queens Regt. of Light Dragoons, Gov-

⁵² At this much criticized meeting with about 400 members of the Iroquois, Algonquian, Abnaki, and Ottawa tribes, Burgoyne, as he later explained, urged the Indians to "spread terror without barbarity" among the rebels. Anburey incorrectly states that the conference was held on June 23. Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*, II, 26; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 297; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 153; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 248; Burgoyne, *State*, 7. For Burgoyne's speech and the reply of the Indians, see *ibid.*, App., XII-XIV.

⁵³ Ten miles above Crown Point, on the east side of the lake. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 396.

⁵⁴ Chimney Point, Vermont, is just a mile across Lake Champlain from Crown Point, New York.

⁵⁵ Probably smoke from the saw mills and block houses near Lake George that the Americans set fire to as the British storm gathered. William Henry Smith, *The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair* (2 vol.; Cincinnati, 1882), I, 61.

⁵⁶ See Hadden's map, frontispiece. For an excellent series of maps for the whole of the campaign, see Burgoyne, *State*, the frontispiece and the four maps in the Appendix.

⁵⁷ So-called because it was four miles above Ticonderoga, Burgoyne, *State*, XIV.

⁵⁸ Although printed elsewhere, a reading of this bombast and Burgoyne's June 21 talk to the Indians (Burgoyne, *State*, App. XII-XIV) underscores his

ernor of Fort William in North Britain, One of the Representatives of the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament and Commanding an Army and Fleet employed in an Expedition from Canada &c, &c.

The Forces entrusted to my command are designed to act in concert, and upon a common principle, with the numerous Armies & Fleets which already display in every quarter of America, the Power, the Justice, and, when properly sought, the Mercy of the King.

The causes in which the British Arms are thus exerted applies to the most affecting interests of the human heart: and the military Servants of the Crown, at first called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the Rights of the Constitution, now combine with Love of their Country and Duty to their Sovereign, the other extensive incitement which spring from a due sense of the general privileges of Mankind. To the Eyes and Ears of the temperate part of the Public, and to the Breasts of suffering thousands in the Provinces, be the melancholy appeal whether the present unnatural Rebellion has not been made a foundation of the compleated System of Tyranny that over God in his displeasure suffered for a time to be exercised over a [?] and stubborn generation.

Arbitrary imprisonments, confiscation of property, persecution and torture unprecedented in the inquisitions of the Romish Church are among the palapable enormities that verify the affirmative. These are inflicted by assemblies and committees who dare to profess themselves friends to Liberty, upon the most quiet subjects, without distinction of age or sex, for the sole crime, often for the sole suspicion, of having adhered in principle to the Government under which they were born, and to which by every Tye divine and human they owe allegiance. To consummate these shocking proceedings the profanation of religion is added to the most profligate prostitution of common reason, the consciences of men are set at nought and multitudes are compelled not only to bear arms, but also to swear subjection to an usurpation they abhor.

abysmal misunderstanding of the Americans and Indians. The rebels reacted in a scornful and satirical fashion to the proclamation, but on July 11 Burgoyne wrote Germain that his "manifesto" was a great success. James Thatcher, *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1823), 97; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 229-33; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 148-51; Burgoyne to Germain, July 11, 1777, Burgoyne, *State*, XX. See Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution* (2 vol.; New York, 1860), I, 454-63, for some sarcastic answers to Burgoyne's threat.

Animated by these considerations; at the head of troops in the full powers of health, discipline and valour; determined to strike where necessary, and anxious to spare where possible, I, by these presents invite and exhort all persons, in all places where the progress of this Army may point ——— and by the blessing of God I will extend it far ——— to maintain such a conduct as may justify me in protecting their lands, habitations and family's. The intention of this address is to hold forth Security not Depredation to the Country.

To those whom principle and spirit may induce to partake the glorious task of redeeming their Countrymen from Dungeons and reestablishing the blessings of legal government, I offer encouragement and employment; and upon the first intelligence of their associations I will find means to assist their undertakings. The domestick, the industrious, the infirm and even the timid inhabitants I am desirous to protect, provided they remain quietly at their houses, that they do not suffer their cattle to be removed, nor their corn or forage to be secreted or destroyed; that they do not break up their bridges or roads nor by any other acts directly or indirectly endeavour to obstruct the operations of the Kings Troops, or supply or assist those of the Enemy.

Every species of provision brought to my Camp will be paid for at an equitable rate and in solid Coin.

In consciousness of Christianity, my Royal Masters' Clemency and the honour of Soldiership, I have dwelt upon this invitation, & wished for more persausive terms to give it impression : And let not people be led to disregard it by considering their distance from the immediate situation of my Camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my directions, and they amount to Thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same wherever they may lurk.

If not withstanding these endeavours, & sincere inclinations to effect them, the Phrenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the Eyes of God and Men in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the State against the willful outcasts ——— The Messengers of Justice & of Wrath await them in the field; and devastation, famine and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return.

Camp at

June 1777

J. Burgoyne "

By Order of His Excellency
the Lt. General
Robt. Kingston, Secretary.⁵⁹

July

- 1st. Arrived at Three Mile Point from which place we had a distinct view of the Rebel Fortifications upon Mount Independence.⁶⁰
- 2nd. The Brigadier, Major Grant,⁶¹ Major the Earl of Balcarres with a Detachment of about 560 men from the Corps, besides Indians, Canadians and Jossops Royalists⁶² took Post on a rising ground near the Ticonderoga Saw Mills, one of which had been destroyed that morning by the Rebels.⁶³ The Indians &c going too near the Lines brought on a Skirmish in which Lieut. Haughton⁶⁴ of the 53rd. Regt. two privates of the 62nd. Regt. (serving in Captn. Frasers Company of Rangers) one private of Jessops and three Indians were Wounded. One Indian killed and one private (Ranger) of the 47th. Regt. taken.⁶⁵
- 3rd. Remained upon the Hills.⁶⁶ The Rebels in the Evening fired

⁵⁹ Kingston was Burgoyne's deputy adjutant-general and was made a lieutenant colonel on Aug. 29, 1777. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. bh,62.

⁶⁰ See Nickerson, *Turning Point*, 130-31, for a fine contemporary plan of the topography and fortifications at Ticonderoga.

A fort made of pickets, suitable only for small arms, sat on top of Mt. Independence, a hill on the east side of the narrows between itself and Ticonderoga. Additional works also stood at the foot of the hill, near the water. Smith, *St. Clair*, I, 48-49, 60.

⁶¹ Maj. Robert Grant, 24th Regiment of Foot. Ford, *British Officers*, 84.

⁶² Ebenezer and Edward Jessup, holders of extensive lands in northern New York, became Tories and attempted to raise loyalist troops for Burgoyne. During the war their property was confiscated and they lived as exiles after the peace. Lt. Col. John Peters, of Connecticut, raised the Queen's Loyal Rangers and also fought with Burgoyne; in 1788 he died while still petitioning the king for payment of his services during the Revolution. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 145, 194-95; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. bo, 47, App. No. 14, 477-83; Sabine, *Loyalists*, II, 183; Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War* (2 vol.; New York, 1879), I, Note LX, 686-87.

⁶³ About noon, Fraser, with some 500 men, seized Mt. Hope and isolated the Americans on Lake George. Gordon says that the rebel loss of Mt. Hope "was not occasioned by cowardice, or incapacity, but actual imbecility." Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 14-15; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 202; William Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* (4 vol.; London, 1788), II, 480.

⁶⁴ Lieut. Richard Haughton. Ford, *British Officers*, 91.

⁶⁵ Haughton had been sent out to bring in the Indians, whose drunkenness had emboldened them to move too near the American lines. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 83; Pell, "Diary," 107.

⁶⁶ Fraser's entire force took position on Mt. Hope on July 3. Also, a general order of July 3 forbade the selling of liquor to the Indians. Burgoyne, *State*, XV; O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 24-25.

a few shots upon our Camp, one of which went through two Tents of the 62 L.I.⁶⁷

- 4th. The Rebels still amused themselves firing random Shots at us, one of which killed an Artillery man and another passed thro' two tents of the 31st L.I. but without doing any other damage.
- 5th. A battery begun to be raised on Sugar Hill, a very advantageous situation and entirely commanding the Forts of Ticonderoga & Mount Independence.⁶⁸ The Rebels set fire to two barns in front of their lines.
- 6th. At day light two Deserters⁶⁹ brought intelligence that the Enemy had abandoned Ticonderoga. The Brigadier at the head of the Advanced Corps immediately Marched and took possession of that place and Mount Independence which they had likewise had deserted. They retreated without burning or destroying their stores or Barracks.⁷⁰

RETURN OF ORDNANCE TAKEN 6TH. JULY 1777.

Thirty two Pounders																			
Spiked	2	1																	
Twenty four Pounders			2	1															
Spiked					10	6	10	8	18	6	34	15	9	1	1	2	2	2	1
Eighteen Pounders																			
Spiked																			
Twelve Pounders																			
Spiked																			
Nine Pounders																			
Spiked																			
Six Pounders																			
Spiked																			
Four Pounders																			
Spiked																			
Two Pounders																			
One Pounder																			
2 Inch Howitzers																			
Petards																			
Brass Mortar 5½ Inch																			

⁶⁷ Light Infantry.

⁶⁸ The only obstacle to the British capture of all important Sugar Loaf Hill or Mt. Defiance, which dominated Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence, was the hill's rough, stony slopes. Although certain Americans had realized the hill's importance and had suggested that it be fortified, neither General Horatio Gates nor St. Clair did that. Indeed, the Ticonderoga garrison expressed amazement when the British placed six cannon on Mt. Defiance's summit. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 204-05 and fn. 154; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 407; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 16; Thacher, *Military Journal*, 98.

⁶⁹ Digby says that three American deserters informed the British of the abandonment of Ticonderoga. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 208.

⁷⁰ Because of the British occupation of Mt. Defiance, St. Clair fled from Ticonderoga between two and three a.m., July 6. The buildings were not burned, except the quarters of Gen. Roche de Fermoy, as St. Clair had not wanted to alert the enemy to his move. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 17-18; Gordon, *Rise and Progress*, II, 481-82.

Shot

Round Shot. 32 Prs. Thirty. 24 Prs. Fifty Four. 18 Prs. Two hundred & sixty eight. 12 Prs. Three hundred & fifty nine. 9 Prs. Two hundred & eighty. 6 Prs. Eight hundred & eighty Six. 4 Prs. Twelve. 3 Prs. Seventy.

Grape Shot 32 Prs. Nineteen. 24 Prs. Forty. 18 Prs. Sixty six. 12 Prs. Fifteen. 9 Prs. Eight. 6 Prs. Eighty four. 8 Inch Howitzers Ten.

Double headed Shot. 32 Prs. Twenty. 18 Prs. Sixty eight. 12 Prs. Forty Six. 9 Prs. Ninety. 6 Prs. Fifty two.

Shells

Thirteen Inch 30. Ten Inch 40. Eight Inch 187. Five & $\frac{1}{2}$ Inch 219. Four & 2 - 5th. Inch 170.

Iron Round Shot of (8 OZ s.)

(1 1/2) Boxes 39

- 6th. The advanced Corps pursued the Rebels about fourteen miles and lay upon their Arms all Night.⁷¹
- 7th. Marched at daybreak. About five O'Clock in the morning came up with a body of about 2000 Rebels at a place called Hubbertown.⁷² The Brigadier observing a commanding ground upon the left of his Light Infantry ordered it to be possessed by that Corps, and a considerable body of the Enemy attempting the same, they met. The Enemy were driven back to their original post. The advanced guard under Major Grant were by this time engaged, & the Grenadiers were advanced to sustain them & to prevent the Right flank being turned. The Brigadier remained upon the Left (with part of the Light Infantry) where the Enemy aided by Logs and Trees⁷³ defended themselves long, but at length gave way. Being prevented from gaining the Castletown

⁷¹ Fraser, followed by Riedesel, immediately crossed the unharmed and undefended bridge connecting Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence and marched under a hot morning sun over hilly ground until one p.m. in pursuit of the rebels. After a halt and consultation with Riedesel, Fraser moved to within three or four miles of the American rearguard. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 19-20; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 288-89; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 208-209; Burgoyne, *State*, XVII.

⁷² Without waiting for Riedesel, Fraser set off at three a.m. with his 850 men, each carrying sixty pounds of equipment, and came upon the near thousand-man American rearguard, just as it was forming near Hubbardton, Vermont. Today the battlefield is marked by a monument. Burgoyne, *State*, XVII; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 210; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 167; Stone, *Campaign of Burgoyne*, 19; *Vermont: A Guide to the Green Mountain State* (New York, 1937), 318.

⁷³ Pell says the Americans had breastworks made of "large Trees, laid one upon the other . . ." Pell, "Diary," 107.

road, they rallied and renewed their action. They were again put into confusion and their retreat over Pitsford mountains prevented by the Left of the Light Infantry and part of the Grenadiers who gained the summit of the hill by an ascent which appeared almost inaccessible. This threw them into confusion, and Major General Reidelz arriving with the Chasseurs Company and 80 Grenadiers & Light Infantry, took up his ground with great judgment upon the Left of the Brigadiers troops. Major Barnard led the Chasseurs into action with great gallantry. Their rifle pieces did great execution.⁷⁴ The enemy fled on all sides. Their loss amounted to about 200 killed, among other officers the commanding officer Colonel Francis⁷⁵ left dead in the field. Above 600 men were wounded many of whom perished in

RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE ACTION AT HUBBERTOWN
7TH. JULY 1777.

BRITISH LIGHT INFANTRY	Killed			Wounded				
	Lieuts.	Serjts.	Rank & File	Major	Captns.	Lieuts.	Serjts.	Rank & File
9th Company	"	1	1	"	"	"	"	5
20th. Company	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	2
21st. Company	"	"	6	"	"	"	"	10
24th. Company	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	8
29th. Company	1	"	1	"	"	"	1	14
31st. Company	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	1
34th. Company	"	1	2	"	1	"	"	22
47th. Company	"	"	3	"	1	"	"	2
53rd. Company	"	"	1	1	"	1	"	2
62nd. Company	"	"	3	"	"	1	1	4
Total	1	2	17	1	2	2	2	70

⁷⁴ Fraser's hasty attack met stern resistance for three hours and Napier fails to point out that the English faced a worsening situation until Riedesel arrived. There is general agreement that the arrival of the Germans decided the contest, except for Hudleston who says nothing about Fraser's marching without Riedesel. Instead, he places the blame for the narrowness of the contest on the late arrival of the Brunswickers. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 210, 212, 213; Burgoyne, *State*, XVIII; Pell, "Diary," 107; Lamb, *Journal of Occurrences*, 138-39; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 85; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 313; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 160.

⁷⁵ Col. Ebenezer Francis (Dec. 22, 1743-July 7, 1777), who organized the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment to help oppose Burgoyne. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, fn. 152, 211-12.

⁷⁶ Total American casualties were twelve officers and 312 men. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 414.

⁷⁷ Col. Nathan Hale (Sept. 23, 1743-Sept. 23, 1780). Hale's quick surrender to the British did much to insure Fraser's success at Hubbardton. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 161, 215-16.

the woods.⁷⁶ One Colonel,⁷⁷ 7 Captains, & 10 Subalterns & 210 privates were made prisoners. The British troops engaged were part of the Light Infantry & Grenadiers with two company's of the 24th. Regt.

Lt. Douglas 29th. killed.⁷⁸ Capt. Harris 34th.⁷⁹ Capt. Craig 47th. Major Earl of Balcarres & Lieut. Cullen 53rd.⁸⁰ Lieut. Jones 62nd.⁸¹ Wounded.

RETURN OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED OF THE BATTALION OF BRITISH
GRENADIERS. 7TH. JULY 1777.

	Killed			Wounded				
	Lieuts.	Serjts.	Rank & File	Major	Captns.	Lieuts.	Serjts.	Rank & File
9th. Company	"	"	1	"	1	1	1	6
20th. Company	"	"	1	1	"	"	"	"
21st. Company	"	"	1	"	"	"	1	5
24th. Company	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	2
29th. Company	"	"	3	"	"	1	2	11
31st. Company	"	"	1	"	"	"	"	1
34th. Company	"	"	3	1	1	"	"	8
47th. Company	"	"	1	"	"	"	"	1
53rd. Company	"	"	2	"	"	"	"	2
62nd. Company	"	"	"	1	"	"	"	1
Total	"	"	13	1	3	3	4	37

Captn. Stapleton,⁸² Lt. Rowe 9th. Major Acland 20th. Lt. Steele 29th.⁸³ Captn. Ross,⁸⁴ Lt. Richardson 34th.⁸⁵ and Captn. Shrimpton 62nd.⁸⁶ Wounded. N.B. Captn. Stapleton died of his Wounds.

	Killed				Wounded		
	Major	Lt.	Serjt.	Rank & File	Lieut.	Serjt.	Rank & File
2 Compy.							
24th Reg.	1	"	"	4	"	2	"
Marines	"	1	"	"	"	"	"
Germans	"	"	1	9	1	1	12
Total	1	1	1	13	1	3	12

⁷⁶ Lt. James Douglas. Anburey says that as Douglas was being carried off the field he received another bullet in the heart. Ford, *British Officers*, 61; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 300.

⁷⁷ Capt. John Adolphus Harris. Ford, *British Officers*, 90.

⁷⁸ Lt. William Cullen. *Ibid.*, 55.

⁷⁹ Lt. John Jones. *Ibid.*, 103.

⁸⁰ Capt. Francis Samuel Stapleton, 9th Regiment of Foot. *Ibid.*, 166.

⁸¹ Lt. Thomas Steele. *Ibid.*, 166.

⁸² Capt. John Ross. *Ibid.*, 154.

⁸³ Lt. William Richardson. *Ibid.*, 150.

⁸⁴ Capt. John Shrimpton. *Ibid.*, 161.

Major Grant 24th. and Lt. Haggart⁸⁷ of the Marines (doing duty with the 9th. Grenrs.) Killed.

8th. Remained at Hubbertown.

9th. Left our Sick at Hubbertown under guard and marched to Head Quarters at Skenesborough.⁸⁸

10th. Encamped on the rising ground to the left of Skenesborough House.

General Orders.⁸⁹

Counter Sign Falmouth

On the 6th of July the Enemy were dislodged from Ticonderoga, by the meer countenance and activity of the Army, and driven on the same day beyond Skenesborough on the Right & to Hubbertown on the Left, with the loss of all their Artillery, Five of their armed Vessels taken & blown up (by the spirited conduct of Captn. Carter⁹⁰ of the R. A. with a part of his brigade of Gun boats) a great

⁸⁷ He was shot in both eyes. Anburey, *Travels*, I, 300.

⁸⁸ Renamed Whitehall in 1788; see Hadden's map. Philip Skene founded Skenesborough in 1765 and became a Tory during the Revolution. He served with Burgoyne, who alone had great faith in his views on the rebels and terrain. Fraser joined the main army here after a hot and difficult march from Hubbardton. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, App. No. 16, 505-17; Palmer, *Lake Champlain*, 2; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 220-21.

Burgoyne decided to march from Skenesborough to Ft. Edward, rather than to return to Ticonderoga and sail to Ft. George and march over an easy road to Ft. Edward. Although he later stated that he adopted that course of action because he feared a backward movement would depress his troops, his decision puzzled some of his officers and has ever since puzzled students of his campaign. To this day some historians repeat the story that Burgoyne's route followed Skene's advice and that Skene had a road built to his settlement. In any event, Burgoyne's army had to labor mightily in the heat and amidst swarms of insects to clear the naturally rough route of the additional infinite number of boulders and trees the Americans used to block the passage of the enemy. Burgoyne, *State*, 12; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 227; Nickerson, *Turning Point*, 163-64, 166-69; Elking, *German Allied Troops*, 130; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 327; Gordon, *Rise and Progress*, II, 486-89; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 162; Lamb, *Journal of Occurrences*, 144.

⁸⁹ Napier does not include the complete general orders for the day, but they are printed in Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 223-26 and Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 91-93; Hadden dates the orders, "July 11." O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 32-35, has what Napier copied, except for the list of ships taken at Skenesborough. All of the copies of the orders agree in meaning, but they show a wide variation in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. When important differences occur in the texts of the orders that Napier and others copied, they will be pointed out; but it is suggested that those especially interested in these documents personally compare the various copies.

⁹⁰ Capt. John Carter, who pursued the American vessels that fled from Ticonderoga. Carter and his gunboats caught up with the rebel ships at Skenesborough and destroyed them and the baggage they held. Carter was the second oldest artillery captain under Burgoyne and died while still a member of the Convention Army, in March, 1779. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 23; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, fn. ce, 91-92; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 205-06.

quantity of ammunition, provisions, stores of all sorts and the greatest part of their baggage. On the 7th. Brig. Genl. Fraser at the head of little more than half of the Advanced Corps and without Artillery (which with the utmost endeavor it was impossible to get up) came up with near 2000⁹¹ of the Enemy strongly posted, attacked & defeated them, with the loss on the Enemy's part of many of their principal officers, 200 killed on the spot, a much larger number wounded, and about 200 taken prisoners.⁹² Major General Reidzel with his advanced guard (consisting of the Chasseur company and 80 Grenrs and Light Infantry)⁹³ arrived in time to sustain Brigr. Fraser, and by his judicious Orders and a spirited execution of them, obtained for himself & troops a share in the Glory of the Action. On the 8th. Lt. Col. Hill⁹⁴ at the head of the 9th. Regiment was attacked near Fort Anne by more than Six times his number and repulsed the Enemy with great loss after a continued fire of three hours. In consequence of this action Fort Anne was burnt & abandoned and a part of this Army is now in possession of the Country on the other side.⁹⁵ These rapid Successes after exciting a proper sense of what we owe to God, entitles the Troops in general to the warmest praise, and in particular, distinction is due to Brigr. Genl. Fraser, who, by his conduct, and bravery (supported by the same qualities in the Officers & Soldiers under his command) effected an Exploit of material service to the King and of

⁹¹ See *supra.*, fn. 72.

⁹² For American losses, see *supra.*, fn. 77.

⁹³ O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 33, gives no specific number; Digby (Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 224) says that forty Grenadiers and Light Infantry appeared; and Hadden (Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, II, 92) says that just "the Chasseur Company and Eighty Grenadiers" arrived.

⁹⁴ Lt. Col. John Hill. Just before the laying down of arms after the surrender of Burgoyne, Hill hid the colors of the 9th Regiment. When he returned to England, he delivered the colors to the king, who rewarded him with a colonelcy. In hiding the colors, Hill violated the Convention. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 169, 224-25.

⁹⁵ Hill had pursued some Americans to Ft. Anne (see Hadden's map); they, after receiving an unexpected reinforcement and learning of Hill's small number of men, dashed from the fort to attack the British. Some 550 rebels and 200 British fired at each other through a dense wood, with the Americans finally breaking off the fight when they thought they heard the approach of enemy reinforcements.

Ft. Anne was built in 1709 and its site lies about a mile outside of the present village of Ft. Anne, New York. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 24-26; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 415-16; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 166, 221; *New York: A Guide*, 623-24.

signal honour to the profession of Arms. This corps have the further merit of having supported fatigue & bad weather without Bread and without Murmur.

List of

Vessels taken & destroyed at Skenesborough 6 July 1777.

Trumbull Galley. Two 18 Prs. Two 6 Prs. Six 4 Prs. Four 2 Prs. and 12 Swivels taken.

Liberty Schooner, laden with powder, taken.

Revenge Sloop, burn't and blown up.

Gates Galley, Two 12 Prs., Two 6 Prs., Three 4 Prs., Four 2 Prs., and 8 Swivels, burnt and blown up.

Enterprize Schooner, a Provision Vessel, burnt.

- 13th. Being Sunday Divine Service was performed according to orders. In the Evening Genl. Burgoyne rode along the front of the Advanced Corps and of the Line, after which a feu de joye was fired by all the Artillery and Small Arms.⁹⁶
- 19th. General Burgoyne held a Congress with the Ottawaw & Indians who arrived two days before.⁹⁷
- 23rd. The Advanced Corps left Skenesborough. The baggage going up Wood Creek in the Batteaux. Arrived at Gordons House and lay upon our Arms all Night.
- 24th. Marched at four O'Clock in the Morning and arrived at Fort Anne.⁹⁸ The Indians brought in some scalps. Accounts received of the Indians having surprised the Advanced Guard of the Rebels, killed ten, and brought off 13 Prisoners. This occasioned the retreat of the Rebel guard.

⁹⁶ In order to celebrate his early successes, which raised British confidence to dangerous heights as the rebels sought to remedy their desperate position, Burgoyne had his whole force participate in a *feu de joie* on July 13. Unfortunately, it rained as that Sunday afternoon's quiet was shattered when the ships at Skenesborough fired their guns, then the artillery, and finally the massed troops shot their small arms. Burgoyne had already written a proud letter (July 11) to Germain about his victories, which Horace Walpole labelled "Julius Caesar Burgonius's Commentaries." O'Callaghan *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 39; Lamb, *Journal of Occurrences*, 140; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 314-15; Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 193-95; Burgoyne to Germain, July 11, 1777, Burgoyne, *State*, XX; George O. Trevelyan, *The American Revolution* (New York, 1907), Pt. III, fn. 1, 117.

⁹⁷ A captain's guard, with the standards of the oldest regiment, honored the Indians as they met with Burgoyne. Once again, Burgoyne cautioned his savage friends to scalp only the dead. O'Callaghan's *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 45; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 228-29.

⁹⁸ It took the advanced guard two days to march about fourteen miles to Ft. Anne, largely because of delays due to the obstacles created by the Americans. When they reached the fort, the air was still permeated with the smell of the unburied dead from the fight of July 9. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 233-34.

- 25th. Remained at Fort Anne. The Rebels upon abandoning this post, burnt the Barracks. The Fort is composed of Palisades upon the top of a small rising ground sloping down to a river called Wood Creek, and might easily be defended by a small body of men against musquetry tho' incapable of resisting the smallest piece of Field Artillery. The form of it is square with a bastion at three of the Angles. The Palisades are about eleven feet high. The Barracks were built in two rows and consisted of two Story's. The Creek is navigable for Batteaux from Skenesborough to this place tho' the Rebels attempted to block up the channel by falling trees on both sides of the River with their branches falling into the Center, but by the assistance of the Loyalists they were drawn out and a passage cleared. About half a mile from this place on the Skenesborough road is a Rock where part of the 9th. Regt. were attacked by a body of the Rebels above Six times their number. The rebels met with so warm a reception that after an obstinate fire of three hours they retreated, burnt Fort Anne and fled to Fort Edward.⁹⁹ The 9th. went into the field with 130 men.¹⁰⁰ Their loss amounted to 1 Lt.¹⁰¹ 1 Serjt. & 11 R. & F. killed. 2 Lts. 1 Adjutant 2 Serjts. and 19 R. & F. Wounded. 1 Captn. wounded & Prisoner. 1 Surgeon Prisoner.
- 26th. Left Fort Anne and marched to Moore's Farm on the road to Fort Edward.
- 27th. Marched to Burnets farm. Genl. Burgoyne held a private Congress with the Indian Chiefs and reprimanded them in very severe terms for their late behaviour; one of the Ottawas having the Evening before scalped a Young Girl.¹⁰²
- 28th. Proceeded on our march through Pitch Pine Plains and took post at Kingsborough,¹⁰³ a little in front of the place where the Fort George Road communicates with those to Fort Edward and Fort Anne. Hudsons river being our right flank. The river is not navigable at this place, but the falls are

⁹⁹ Originally erected in 1755 and then called Ft. Lyman; it was built of logs and earth. Benson J. Lossing, *Fieldbook of the Revolution*. (2 vol.; New York, 1860), I, 95-96. See *ibid.*, 95, for a plan of the fort.

¹⁰⁰ Ward (*War of the Revolution*, I, 415) says that the British had 190 men.

¹⁰¹ Lieut. Richard Westrop; still unburied when Napier reached Ft. Anne. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 234.

¹⁰² Jane McCrea. Whether she died from the blow of an Indian axe or from an accidental American bullet, is still undecided. See the following for various versions of her death: Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 175, 235-37; Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 97-101; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, App. No. IV, 302-13.

¹⁰³ Kingsbury, four miles below Ft. Anne.

- very beautiful. Sent out an Indian Scout who brought word that the Rebels had abandoned Fort Edward after having burnt the Barracks, but that the houses without the fort were untouched. Received accounts that the 62nd. Regiment had crossed Lake George.
- 29th. Remained at Kingsborough. The Right Wing came up and encamped upon Pitch Pine Plains.
- 30th. The whole moved. The Advanced Corps took post upon a rising ground to the left of the front of Fort Edward.¹⁰⁴ About 5 O'Clock P.M. a very smart firing was heard to the left which continued for a considerable time, a party of Indians¹⁰⁵ having attacked a body of 200 Rebels. The Indians drove them into Miller Island¹⁰⁶ where they have cannon (which they fired but without doing any execution), took three Prisoners (one an officer) and five Scalps.

August

- 1st. Still kept our camp. About 70 people from a place called the Scotch Patent joined us. Fort Edward is a square fort the Angles of which are terminated by three Bastions and one Demibastion. The entrance is defended by a Ravelin formed on the opposite side of a deep Ditch the bottom of which formerly had been palisaded. The outworks are in a ruinous condition as well as the body of the fort, but it is of little importance as it is commanded by the ground on three of it's faces. Reported that the Rebels had retreated to Stillwater¹⁰⁷ & Half Moon. A party of Indians were sent out to discover the truth of this report.
- 2nd. The Indians returned and partly confirmed the report of yesterday. They brought with them two prisoners who had belonged to a party of Five headed by Whitcomb¹⁰⁸ (the

¹⁰⁴ About a mile below Ft. Edward. Pell, "Diary," 108.

¹⁰⁵ The Indians were aided by Jessup's provincial troops. *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Napier meant Ft. Miller (see Hadden's map), which stood on the west shore of the Hudson. Pell speaks of the same battle and says that the rebels were driven to the west side of the river. As the fort was a simple one of earth and logs, first built in 1709 by Col. Peter Philip Schuyler, it is doubtful if there were any cannon in it. Pell, "Diary," 108; Nathaniel Sylvester, *Historical Sketches of Northern New York* (Troy, N. Y., 1877), 292; Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 93-94; William L. Stone, *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers during the American Revolution* (Albany, N. Y., 1891), 99.

¹⁰⁷ On the west side of the Hudson, about three miles below Bemis Heights (see Hadden's map); Grace G. Niles, *The Hoosac Valley* (New York, 1912), 354.

¹⁰⁸ Benjamin Whitcomb, an American scout, in July, 1776 shot and mortally wounded Brig. Gen. Patrick Gordon from an ambush. Gordon died on Aug. 1 and his death greatly embittered the British, especially as they felt that Whit-

- rascal who murdered Brigr. Genl. Gordon last year.) Whitcomb & the other two made their escape.
- 3rd. A Scout returned with four scalps & seven prisoners, having attacked the Rebel Advanced Guard. The Enemy were at Saratoga¹⁰⁹ but preparing to retire to Stillwater. In the afternoon a Scout returned with eleven more scalps. An express arrived from General Howe to Genl. Burgoyne, it was inclosed in a small silver Egg and carried in the mans mouth. The General said everything had gone well to the Southward.¹¹⁰
 - 4th. Genl. Burgoyne held two Congresses with the Indians. In the morning the Ottawaws desired leave to return home which was refused them. In the evening they agreed to remain.
 - 8th. Three Rebel Officers brought in, one of them a Major and Committee man.
 - 9th. The Advanced Corps left Fort Edward and encamped at Dewars¹¹¹ house opposite Fort Miller.
 - 13th. Left Dewars house and encamped at Baton Kiln.¹¹²
 - 14th. Crossed Hudsons River and took post at Saratoga.¹¹³ The men lay in the barracks all Night. They are built of wood, in three rows with a street across the Center and consist of two story's. In the front is a Guard house Bake house &c in the rear a forge & other small Buildings.
 - 16th. Left the Barracks & encamped on the ground in their front &c.
 - 17th. About two O'Clock in the morning the Corps were ordered

comb could have made him a prisoner. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 102, 128, and fn. 103, 131-34.

¹⁰⁹ Now Schuylerville.

¹¹⁰ Perhaps Howe's letter of July 17, announcing that he intended to sail for Philadelphia. This dismal lack of cooperation left Burgoyne in a critical situation, but he determined to push on to Albany and say nothing about Howe's ignoring the planned junction at that place. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 421; Van Tyne, *War of Independence*, II, 411-18.

Apropos of the silver ball, one used by Clinton to send a letter to Burgoyne, plus the letter, is in the Ticonderoga museum. John Bakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes* (Philadelphia, 1959), 151.

¹¹¹ This was the house of William Duer, who had married Lord Stirling's youngest daughter, Catherine. The house stood in the present village of Ft. Miller (see Hadden's map). Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, fn. 1, 138; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 118 and fn. cw.

¹¹² Batten-Kill; a creek that emptied into the Hudson (see Hadden's map).

¹¹³ The advanced guard crossed the river over a bridge of rafts, while the rest of the army lay at Duer's house. After the Battle of Bennington, Napier and his fellow soldiers re-crossed the Hudson and returned to the main army. Anburey, *Travels*, I, 348-50.

to accoutre & be in readiness to turn out at a moments warning. This was occasioned by news arriving that a large body of the Enemy had attacked and defeated a Detachment consisting of part of the Reidesel Dragoons, Indians, Canadians, Captn. Frasers Rangers & provincial Loyalists.¹¹⁴ The intention of this detachment was to get possession of some magazines of provision &c which the Rebels were collecting at a place near Bennington. The reinforcement (consisting of the German Advanced Corps) sent to their assistance did not arrive 'till after the Engagement, which however they renewed & forced the Enemy to retreat for Three Miles. The Chasseurs pursued them when for want of ammunition they were obliged to retire. The Germans lost four pieces of Cannon, two of which they left in the woods where the Rebels found them *two days after* the action. The Germans &c. amounted to about 1200, the Rebels supposed to be about 5000. The loss is not yet known but must have been very considerable on both sides.¹¹⁵ —A Mr. French with 70 Volunteers joined us. He came from Albany, had 120 with him when he set out but was prevented by the above mentioned accident from bringing the whole of them into Camp.¹¹⁶ In the evening the Light Infantry & 24th. Regt. struck their Tents. The Light Infantry took post on a rising ground on the right of their late encampment and lay upon their arms all Night. The 24th. Regt. occupied the Barracks.

18th. Returned to our old Camp near the Baton Kiln.

20th. Moved our Camp 1/2 a mile nearer the Kiln.

22nd. A Company of Marksmen (under the command of Captn. Petrie 21st. B.L.I.¹¹⁷ Lt. French 47th. B.L.I. & Lt. Coane

¹¹⁴ The Battle of Bennington, Aug. 14. Burgoyne, after accepting the advice of Skene and rejecting that of some of his generals, sent 650 German troops under Lt. Col. Frederick Baum to seize supplies and horses rumored to be at Bennington. Instead of meeting hesitant opposition from the militia, Baum was attacked and killed by some 2,000 soldiers under Gen. John Stark and a relief under Lt. Col. Heinrich C. Breyman was also defeated and forced to retreat. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 30; Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 128; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 330-31; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 422-31.

¹¹⁵ The Germans lost 207 dead and some 730 as prisoners; the rebels had thirty killed and forty wounded. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 431. Bennington Battlefield is now a New York state park, about two miles from Wallonsac. *New York: A Guide*, 541.

¹¹⁶ In a letter covering the period between Aug. 7-27, a Brunswicker also mentioned that many "Albanians" had joined the army. Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 104.

¹¹⁷ British Light Infantry.

- 62nd.B.Gen.) was formed out of the Advanced Corps. N.B. They never were made use of upon any occasion.
- 23rd. Begun a bridge of batteaux over Hudsons River.
- 26th. The Bridge finished.
- 28th. Finished a Circular palisaded fort on the Saratoga side of the River to defend the Head of the Bridge. Two Indians arrived from Fort Stanwix late in Evening. The following order was given out to the Advanced Corps.
- General Orders.¹¹⁸ Dewars house 26th. Augst. 1777.

The Lieutenant General having received the report from Lt. Col. Breyman relative to the affair at St. Coicks Mills,¹¹⁹ and also having obtained every collateral information possible, Thinks it justice to declare publickly that he has no reason to be dissatisfied with the Personal Spirit of the Officers and Troops in the action. On the contrary the Officers who commanded the different Corps behaved with Intrepidity. The failure of the enterprize seems to have been owing in the first instance, to the credulity of those, who managed the detachment of * Intelligence, who suffered great numbers of the Rebel Soldiers to pass and re-pass and perhaps count the numbers of the Detachment, and upon an ill founded confidence induced Lt. Col. Baume to advance too far to have a secure retreat. The next cause was, the slow movement of Lt. Col. Breymans Corps, which from bad weather, bad roads, tired horses and other impediments stated by Lt. Col. Breyman could not reach 24 miles from 8 in the morning of the 15th. 'till 4 in the afternoon of the 16th. The succour therefore arrived too late. The failure of Ammunition (in the management of which there seems to have been imprudence) was another misfortune; the rest seem common accidents of War. Upon the whole the Enemy have severely felt their little success and there is no circumstance to affect the Army with further regret or melancholy than that, which arises from the loss of some Gallant Men. But let the affair of the Mills of St. Coick remain hence forward as a lesson against the impositions of a

¹¹⁸ Neither Hadden nor Digby include these orders, but O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 82-83, does. Aside from the usual differences in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization, the two versions agree in meaning.

¹¹⁹ Referred to as "Saintwick Mills" in O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 82-83. Other early writers called the St. Croix or Van Schaick's Mills, Hoosac, New York, the St. Coych, Sancoix, or Saintcoix Mills. Lossing, *Field-book*, I, fn. 1, 399.

* Governor Skene.

treacherous Enemy (many of whom in the very hour of swearing allegiance to the King, fought against his Troops) and likewise expending ammunition too fast, by which, conquering troops were obliged to retire with loss. The reflection on this affair will likewise excite Alertness and Exertion in every Corps's marching for the Support of another, by shewing in whatever degree these Qualities may be possessed by the Commanding Officers (and they are not to be doubted in the present instance) unless they are general, common Accidents may become fatal, and the loss of two Hours may decide the turn of an Enterprize, and it may often happen, the Fate of a Campaign.¹²⁰

- 29th. The Indians who arrived last night brought intelligence that Lt. Col. St. Leger had been obliged, upon the approach of Arnold with 3000 men, to raise the Siege of Fort Stanwix¹²¹ and to retreat leaving his Camp Standing.¹²²
- 30th. A Rebel Scout of about 20 Men, carried off several Inhabitants from the Houses within three Miles of Saratoga.
- 31st. A party of Indians went off to assist in bringing down the Mohawks with their Wives and Children.

"General Orders.¹²³ Duarts House 31st. August 1777.

A General Court Martial to be held tomorrow morning at the Advanced Corps for the trial of Walter Harris, Soldier in the 53rd. Light Compy. for Advising Wm. Bell

¹²⁰ Although the drubbing at Bennington forced the British to rely again on salt meat and meal brought from England, cost the army almost a thousand casualties, dispirited the men, and bolstered the confidence of the Americans, Burgoyne wrote Germain on Aug. 20 that the defeat had "little effect upon the strength or spirits of the army . . ." Van Tyne, *War of Independence*, II, 419; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, I, 461; Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 110; Lamb, *Journal of Occurrences*, 154; Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*, II, 43; Gordon, *Rise and Progress*, II, 542; Burgoyne to Germain, Aug. 20, 1777, Burgoyne, *State*, XXV.

¹²¹ A small log fort built in 1758 that stood where the present city of Rome is located. In 1776 the Americans repaired it and renamed the fortification Ft. Schuyler, in honor of Gen. Philip Schuyler. Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, fn 1, 38.

¹²² St. Leger's advance down the Mohawk was checked at the Battle of Oriskany and by his failure to take Ft. Stanwix. In particular, he had to lift his siege of the fort because of Benedict Arnold's ruse in sending a half-wit into St. Leger's camp to tell of the vast approaching rebel force. St. Leger's Indian allies took to their heels and he was forced to retreat. Whereas the idiot said Arnold had 3,000 men, he had only some 950. The great significance in this defeat lay in the fact that Burgoyne now was completely on his own; Howe was in the Chesapeake Bay and St. Leger was back in Oswego. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 486-488-91; William M. Wallace, *Traitorous Hero: The Life and Fortunes of Benedict Arnold* (New York, 1954), 142-43.

¹²³ Neither in Hadden's nor Digby's *Journals*, but compare with O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 90.

Soldier in the 24th. Light Compy. and Joseph Brooks Soldier in the 53rd. Light Compy. to Desert ¹²⁴ to the Rebels and for declaring an Intention to desert himself.

Signed

R. Kingston D.A.G."

Septemr. Mornng. Brigade Orders ¹²⁵ Batton Kiln 1st. Sepr. 1777.

His Excellency the Lt. General having ordered a General Court Martial to be held at the Advanced Corps this day and to be composed of Officers belonging to that Corps. The Court is therefore ordered to sit at 10 O'Clock this forenoon at the Presidents Tent & the Members are as follows ¹²⁶

Major Earl of Balcarres 53 Regt. President	
Captains Ramsay 21 Gr.	Captains Cotton 31 L.I.
Pilmer 24 Gr.	Blake 24 Regt.
Wiseman 53 L.I.	Sheldon 9 L.I.
Winchester 20 L.I.	Ferguson 24 Regt.
Simpson 31 Gr.	Petrie 21 L.I.
Coote 24th. Regt.	Swettenham 9 Gr.

All Evidences or Prosecutors are therefore ordered to attend at the aforesaid hour. The Adjutants to send the names & dates of the Members Commissions precisely at 9 O'Clock this morning to the Judge Advocate.

- 1st. A Rebel Scout consisting of about 30 Men came to a house within two miles of Camp (on the same side of the Hudson) ¹²⁷ and carried off with them five Provincial Volunteers and two Canadians who were reaping. A Party of three Subalterns and 100 men from the Light Infantry under the command of Captain Frasers 34th. & Capt. Scott of the 24th. ¹²⁸ were sent after them but did not overtake them. In the afternoon several Rebel Deserters came in. One of them

¹²⁴ Desertion became a real problem for Burgoyne and on Aug. 6 an order was issued that stated that Indians would be sent after those who fled from the army and they would "have orders to scalp all Deserters." Subsequently, the general orders record that Indians and Provincial troops had been sent after four German deserters and that the culprits would surely be brought in or scalped. O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 65, 66, 78.

¹²⁵ Not in Digby's or Hadden's *Journals*, or O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*.

¹²⁶ Hon. Malcolm Ramsay; Henry Pilmer; James Wiseman; Robert Wm. Winchester; James Sheldon; William Ferguson; George Petrie; and George Swettenham. Ford, *British Officers*, 148, 144, 185, 161, 51, 29, 160, 69, 143, 170.

¹²⁷ The east side.

¹²⁸ Capt. Alexander Fraser and Capt. Thomas Scott. Ford, *British Officers*, 173, 158.

was a Stockbridge Indian. The General Court Martial met according to Orders.

- 3rd. A party from the Brigade under the Command of Captn. Scott 24th. Regt. went off to cover the arrival of the Mohawk Indians.
- 4th. Several Provincials from Albany gave themselves up to the Foraging Party.
Brige. Orders ¹²⁹ Batton Kiln.

The General Court Martial whereof Major the Earl of Balcarres was President is dissolved by order of his Excellency the Lt. General.

- 5th. The Mohawks arrived. The Party sent out to cover them returned.
Eveg. Brigade Orders Batton Kiln

By order of His Excellency the Lt. General Walter Harris Private Soldier in the 53rd. Light Company (tried by a General Court Martial & Acquitted, the charge against him not having been sufficiently supported) and is to be immediately released.

- 6th. Five Deserters from the Rebels came into Camp.
- 7th. Several Provincials came in.¹³⁰
- 8th. A Guard of 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns & 100 Men took post at the Barracks of Saratoga at 8 O'Clock P.M.
- 9th. Intelligence received that the Rebels were advancing towards Saratoga. In the Evening heard two Guns at no great distance. It was likewise reported that the Enemy had left Bennington. Where they went to, uncertain, but believed to be in our Rear.
- 10th. Expected to have been attacked. A Guard of 1 Captn. 2 Subs. & 100 men took post upon a hill above the Bridge at Fish Kiln.¹³¹ Accounts of 4000 Rebels having taken post at Skenesborough made publick. Monr. La Motte went upon a Scout & found the Rebels encamped at Stillwater.¹³² in two Lines.

¹²⁹ Neither this order nor the one of Sept. 5 is in Digby, Hadden, or O'Callaghan.

¹³⁰ See Hadden's *Journal*, 42-43, for orders between Sept. 7-10 that Napier does not include.

¹³¹ The flooded Hudson carried away the first bridge the British had built and a second one of boats was put across the river at Fish Kiln, or Fish Creek, about five miles north of the American works. Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 336; Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 50. See Hadden's map.

¹³² About 9,000 Americans under Gates, who had supplanted Schuyler on Aug. 9, had developed a strongly fortified position at Bemis Heights, about four miles north of Stillwater. Charles W. Snell, *Saratoga* (Washington, D. C., 1959), 11-12. See Hadden's map, which mistakenly labels Bemis Heights, "Stillwater."

One upon the top of a Hill, the other below it extending about a mile & a half.

- 11th. A party of Indians sent out who brought in one Prisoner.
 12th. The last Brigade of Germans came up to Duarts House. The rest of the Army were all encamped at Batton Kiln. "General Orders"¹³³ Batton Kiln

The * Officer who was so unmindful of his Duty some days ago, as to quit a Post of the utmost Importance to attend upon private Business, having expressed a thorough Sense of his Misconduct, and as far as in him lies attoned for the same by evident marks of Concern, is released from Arrest. But the Fact having become notorious to the whole Army, the Lt. General in vindication of his own Character, finds himself obliged to declare, That in suffering so uncommon a breach of Discipline to pass without the Judgement of a Court Martial, He can only justify himself by the Confidence He has, that the Officers of the Army in general do not want an example of Punishment to impress upon their Minds a Knowledge of the great Principles of their Profession, Consciousness of their respective Stations and Regard to personal Honour—He forgives & will forget the Fault in question, convinced that it cannot happen twice."

- 13th. The Advanced Corps left Batton Kiln and encamped upon the Heights above Fish Kiln (or Saratoga Creek). The Right Wing of the Army and Grand Park of Artillery likewise encamped between Saratoga Barracks and Fish Kiln.¹³⁴ Four Company's of Grenadiers with 2 Subrns. & 60 men of the Light Infantry went out after a party of the Enemy (who had carried off three men of the Provincial Loyalists) but did not overtake them.
- 14th. A Rebel Scout of 150 men having appeared this day, a party of 1 Subn. & 30 man (from the Light Infantry) was ordered to put themselves under the command of Captn. Fraser 34th. & go in pursuit of them. Captn. Fraser's party (consisting in

¹³³ Neither in Hadden nor Digby; but compare with O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 99, who has the complete order.

* Captn. Dunlap, 53rd Regt. at Fort George

¹³⁴ Plagued by the heat and dysentery, the British had camped at Batten Kiln for about a month as they accumulated supplies. When provisions for thirty days had been gathered, Burgoyne, now with an effective force of 5,546, crossed the Hudson and abandoned his line of communication with Canada. Although Burgoyne knew that Howe had sailed southward, he later declared that he had crossed the river still expecting cooperation from Howe. Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 96, 110; Burgoyne, *State*, 14, 45, 78.

- all of 100 men) missed the Enemy. Genl. Burgoyne having Intelligence of this, ordered out Lord Balcarres with 5 Company's of Light Infantry and 4 Comps. of the 24th Regt. under the Command of Major Agnew. In the Evening all Party's returned to Camp without discovering the Rebels.¹³⁵
- 15th. The whole Army marched and encamped at Davogot.¹³⁶ Several Deserters from the Rebels delivered themselves up.
- 16th. Party's sent out to repair some Bridges in our front.¹³⁷
- 17th. The Army marched to Swords House and lay upon their Arms all Night.
- 18th. A party of the Enemy came within a few hundred yards of Camp and fired upon some men gathering potatoes. The killed, wounded & missing amounted to about Twenty.¹³⁹
- General Orders ¹⁴⁰ Swords House

To the great Reproach of Discipline & of the Common Sense of the Soldiers who have been made Prisoners, the Service has sustained a loss within Ten Days that might have cost the Lives of some hundreds of the Enemy to have brought upon it an Action. The Lt. General will no longer bear to lose Men for the pitiful consideration of Potatoes or Forage. The Life of the Soldier is the Property of the King, and since neither friendly Admonitions, repeated Injunctions nor corporal Punishments have effect, after what has happened the Army is now to be informed (& it is not doubted that the Comg. Officers will do it solemnly) That the first Soldier caught beyond the Advanced Centry of the Army will be instantly Hanged."

- 19th. The Army advanced towards Stillwater ¹⁴¹ where the Enemy

¹³⁵ Cavalry certainly would have benefited Burgoyne in this type of action, but by this date only twenty of the original 200 dragoons were left, poorly mounted and "in need of everything." Eelking, *German Allied Troops*, 133.

¹³⁶ Dovegat, now Coveville, two miles south of Schuyler's mills. Jacobus Swart had built Dovegat (from the Dutch, duivenkot, for dove cote) about 1765. Niles, *Hoosac Valley*, 353. See Hadden's map.

¹³⁷ The rebels had again destroyed the bridges and roads that lay in Burgoyne's path. See Riedesel's account for the labor it took to repair the bridges and roads (Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 141-44).

¹³⁸ The Sword House, about a mile below Dovegat. See Hadden's map.

¹³⁹ The potato pickers were about four or five hundred yards in front of the British camp and included some women. Digby says that thirteen of the pickers were killed or wounded and Hadden states that about twenty were captured. Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 160; Baxter *Digby's Journal*, II, 269-70.

¹⁴⁰ Napier includes only part of the day's general orders; see Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 160-161, or O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 113, for the complete orders.

¹⁴¹ Bemis Heights. This advance resulted in the Battle of Freeman's Farm, so-called as the heaviest fighting occurred in a clearing of that name. The farm

were encamped. The 47th & Hesse Hanau Regts. were left to guard the Provisions. The Picquets (consisting of 100 men) formed the Advanced Guard & were attacked by a large body of the Enemy before they had marched two Miles. They however repulsed them & drove them from two different Fences, but the Rebels being strongly reinforced, the Picquets were at length obliged to retire to the Line which was at a considerable distance in the Rear.¹⁴² The whole moved in three Columns, the Advanced Corps on the Right, the German troops on the left and the British in the Center. Brigr. Frasers Corps coming up, stopped the Pursuit of the Rebels & repulsed them. As soon as the Center Column got on the Ground where the Picquets had been engaged, a hot fire began on both sides. The Rebels made the strongest efforts to turn their Flanks, but tho' superior in Numbers, in the proportion of Ten to One,¹⁴³ were repulsed in every attempt. From the situation of the Ground it was impossible to bring the Left Column into action, as that would leave a free passage for the Rebels to send strong Detachments to endeavour to destroy the Provisions.* Four British Regts. were therefore opposed to the whole fire of the Enemy, during the chief of the Action, but in the Evening x One Regt. of German & x two Comps, of another moved up and behaved with great gallantry and Intrepidity.¹⁴⁴ The Column on the Right could not be disposed for

lay in front of the American works on Bemis Heights. Snell, *Saratoga*, 13, 15. See Hadden's map. Saratoga National Historical Park, administered by the National Park Service, now preserves this battlefield.

¹⁴² Napier, near the end of this account, says hostilities began at eleven a.m., but it was between twelve and one that the British advance units ran into Morgan's riflemen at Freeman's Farm. Every British officer received a mortal or lesser wound and the English had to retreat. By two-thirty or three the main armies had become engaged and the battle blazed until half-past six or seven. Pell, "Diary," 109; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 162 Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 272-73; Burgoyne, *State*, 30. See Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 53, for a sketch of the battlefield in 1848.

¹⁴³ Although the British had as high as 2,500 men on the battlefield at the height of the struggle, some 800 soldiers of the 21st, 24th, and 62nd regiments bore the brunt of the fighting in the center. Around 4,000 Americans fought in the engagement. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 512.

* 9th, 20th, 21st, & 62nd Regts.—x Regt. of Riedesel. x of the Regt. of Rhitz

¹⁴⁴ The 20th, 21st, and 62nd regiments either broke or came near to breaking during the course of the afternoon. The Germans, plus the fact that Gates failed to push his attack with determination, certainly saved the day for Burgoyne. Riedesel felt afterwards that the British acknowledged his help with the greatest of reluctance. Pell, "Diary," 109; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 47; Burgoyne, *State*, 52; 122; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 368; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 511; Lamb, *Journal of Occurrences*, 160; Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 150-151.

the same reasons as that on the Left. The Rebels did endeavour to turn their Right Flank, but were prevented and drove back.¹⁴⁵ The Engagement, including the attack of the Picquets lasted from 11 O'Clock A.M. 'till late in the Evening, when They retired to their works, leaving our Troops Masters of the Field. Their loss is computed at above 1000. Ours 560 killed, wounded and missing.¹⁴⁶ The place where the Battle was fought is called Freemans Farm. Lay upon our Arms all Night.¹⁴⁷

20th. The position of the Army was changed. Lt. Col. Breyman's Corps occupying the ground on the Right of Freemans House, Brigr. Frasers Corps and the Line moving to the Left of it. Lay up on our Arms all Night.¹⁴⁸

21st. Encamped at Freemans House. Employed throwing up works and preparing to cut roads towards the Enemy.

" General Orders

Freemans Farm

The Lt. General having an opportunity of observing

¹⁴⁵ Fraser drove off an attack by Gen. Ebenezer Larned. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 511.

¹⁴⁶ Except for a British officer who thought the American fought only because they were drunk, there is general agreement that the battle was extremely hard fought and that both sides exhibited amazing courage and stubbornness. The casualties support this view, for the British lost 600 in killed, wounded, and missing; the Americans had 319 killed, wounded, or missing. The 62nd regiment could only count sixty men and four or five officers in its ranks after the battle, all that were left of a total strength of 500 at the beginning of the campaign. Pell, "Diary," 109; Burgoyne, *State*, 16; 30, 121; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 370; Gordon, *Rise and Progress*, II, 551; Stedman, *History of the American Revolution*, I, 337; Scheer, *Rebels and Redcoats*, 315; Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*, II, 45.

¹⁴⁷ The British retained the field of battle and Burgoyne held that he had won a victory, but there is common agreement that the bloody struggle produced no decisive benefits for the English. Burgoyne, *State*, 16; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 369; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 337; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 338.

¹⁴⁸ Burgoyne failed to attack the disorganized Americans on Sept. 20 because of his tired troops, heavy casualties from the day before, and the strength of the American camp. The British then began to fortify their position, especially after Burgoyne received an optimistic message from Clinton on Sept. 22 about a move against Forts Montgomery and Clinton that caused Burgoyne to decide to await the results of Clinton's plan. Hindsight shows the importance of the decision, as subsequent to it Burgoyne's forces constantly diminished as the Indians and provincials disappeared, and as casualties in his own ranks rose from sickness and skirmishing. On the other hand, American strength constantly increased. Wilkinson, *Memoir*, I, 252; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 338-39; Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*, II, 46; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, I, 32-35; II, 275, 278, 284; Burgoyne, *State*, 57; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 52-53; Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 157; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 521-22.

¹⁴⁹ This is only part of these general orders, which appear in full in O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 115-16.

the conduct of the Troops in all parts of the Action of the 19th. thinks it incumbent upon him to give this publick Testimony to the exemplary Spirit of the Officers in general and in many instances of the Private Men. In both these distinctions, the Artillery are to be noticed, & the Brigade under Capt. Jones in particular deserves a conspicuous Place.

His particular Thanks to Major General Phillips cannot be omitted upon on Occasion, where added to the Service of the Department under his special Inspection, He finds himself under great Obligations for the assistance of a most Able & Zealous Second in General Command.

The Zeal & Spirit of Major General Reidesel demands also the Lt. Generals particular Acknowledgement, & the regular Fire given by the Troops he brought up, and the good Countenance of the Germans in general were fully noticed.

Brigadier General Fraser took his position in the beginning of the Day with great Judgment and sustained the Action with his usual presence of Mind and Vigour.

Brigadier General Hamilton acquitted himself very honourably at the Head of his Brigade by his Activity & good Conduct during an Action of several Hours.

During these Subjects of Applause, the Impetuosity & uncertain Aim of the British Troops in giving their Fire and the Mistake they are still under in preferring it to the Bayonnet is much to be lamented. The Lt. General is persuaded this Error will be corrected in the next Engagement, upon the Conviction of their own Experience & Reason, as well as upon that general Principle of Discipline never to Fire but by Order of an Officer."¹⁵⁰

22nd. Intelligence received of Sir Harry Clinton's being on his march towards Fort Montgomery.¹⁵¹

25th. Employed erecting Log Works &c. A Rebel Scout (about Reveillie beating) fired upon the German Picquet & wounded two of them.¹⁵² A Spy taken by a covering Party of Gren-

¹⁵⁰ Hadden says that as the British advance troops retreated on Sept. 19, the main army "commenced a fire without orders (by which many of our own people were killed in retreating) . . . " Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 163.

¹⁵¹ *Supra*, fn. 149.

¹⁵² This outpost, near the Hudson on the Albany road, had been attacked the previous morning; the second attack came at 2 a.m. on the 25th. One German was made a prisoner. William L. Stone, *Journal of Capt. Pausch* (Albany, N. Y., 1886), 154-57.

adiers. Accounts received of Sr. Wm. Howe's having obtained a signal Victory over the Enemy.¹⁵³

28th. News arrived of the Enemy's having made an attack upon Ticonderoga but without Success.¹⁵⁴ Part of the 53rd. Regt. were taken at the Portage.¹⁵⁵

"General Orders¹⁵⁶

Freemans Farm

The Lt. General has received Intelligence of an Attempt being made by the Enemy on Ticonderoga, in which they miscarried and have retired, but made Prisoners some part of the 53rd. Regt. posted on the carrying place at Lake George. 'Till circumstances are more authentically known, it would be unjust to accuse any person of so great a Fault as suffering a Surprise, but the Occasion cannot be overlooked of repeating to Officers in general, the Necessity of Vigilance and unremitting Alertness upon their Posts & warning them that no distance of the Enemy or Situation of Ground is Security or Excuse if They are found off their Guard.

October

1st. A Scout went out under the Command of Captn. Fraser 34th. Regt.

2nd. Captn. Frasers Scout returned after having lost two of their Guides. They brought accounts of the Rebels having burnt Jones's house & that they had seen a large body of them dressed in Caps & Red Coats.

General Orders.¹⁵⁷

Freemans Farm.

In consequence of authentick Letters received by the Lt. General from Bridgr. Genel. Powell¹⁵⁸ at Ticonderoga & Captn. Aubrey 47th.¹⁵⁹ Regt. commanding at Diamond Island in Lake George, The Army is informed that the Enemy having found means to cross the Mountains between Skeneborough & Lake George and marched other Corps by

¹⁵³ Probably the Battle of Brandywine, Sept. 11, 1777.

¹⁵⁴ The Americans attacked the outposts of Ticonderoga on Sept. 18 and captured 300 prisoners, plus 200 bateaux. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 523.

¹⁵⁵ Lake George landing place, *Ibid.*, 523.

¹⁵⁶ These orders are in O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 122, and except for differences in spelling, etc., are the same as in Napier.

¹⁵⁷ O'Callaghan does not include these orders, which were issued on Oct. 1, but they are in Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 321.

¹⁵⁸ Brig. Gen. Henry Watson Powell ([?]-July 14, 1814), who remained at Ticonderoga after its capture by Burgoyne. After the surrender at Saratoga, he abandoned the fort and returned to Canada. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, fn. 147, 196-99.

¹⁵⁹ Capt. Thomas Aubrey. Ford, *British Officers*, 20.

the way of Hubertown. A sudden & general Attack was made (on the morning of the 18th. of Septembr.) upon the carrying Place of Lake George, Sugar Hill, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. The Enemy so far succeeded as to surprise the Armed Boats stationed to defend the carrying Place as also the Post on Sugar Hill & the Portage where a considerable part of 4 Company's of the 53rd. Regt.*¹⁶⁰ were made Prisoners. A Blockhouse commanded by *Lieut. Lord*¹⁶¹ was the only Post on *that* Side that had time to make use of their Arms and they made a *brave* defence 'till Cannon (supposed taken from the surprised Vessel) was brought against them.

After stating & lamenting so fatal a want of Vigilance, the Lt. General has to congratulate the Troops on the Events which followed. The Enemy having twice summoned Brigr. Genl. Powell & received such Answers as became a Gallant Officer, intrusted with an important Post, and having tried during the course of four Days several attacks being repulsed in all, retreated without having done any considerable Damage.

Brigr. Genl. Powell gives great Commendations to the Regiment of Prince * Frederic and the other Troops stationed at Mount Independence. The Brigadier also mentions with great Applause the Behaviour of Captn. Taylor¹⁶² of the 21st. who commanded a hundred Men in the Fort of Ticonderoga and that he was well supported by Lt. Bearcroft¹⁶³ of the 24th. Regt. who with the Artificers in Arms, in the Half Moon Battery, prevented the Enemy from surrounding the Fort. On the 21st of September the Rebels with the Gun Boats and Batteaux's (which They had surprised at the carrying place of Lake George) attacked, in two Divisions, Diamond Island where Captn. Aubrey and a Detachment of the 47th. Regt. were posted with some Cannon and Gun Boats. The Rebels were repulsed with great loss and pursued by the Gun Boats to the East Shore where the principle Vessel and a Gun Boat were retaken together with all the Cannon except two Iron Guns which had burst. The

¹⁶⁰ Capt. John Baird, 53rd Regiment. *Ibid.*, 21.

* Under the command of Captain Baird.

¹⁶¹ Lt. Simeon Lord, 52nd Regiment. *Ibid.*, 112.

* of Brunswick.

¹⁶² Capt. William Thomas Taylor. *Ibid.*, 171.

¹⁶³ Lt. Richard Bearcroft. *Ibid.*, 25.

Enemy having had time to set fire to the other Batteaux retreated over the Mountains.

3rd. "General Orders"¹⁶⁴

Freemans Farm

There is reason to be assured that other powerful Army's of the King are actually in Cooperation with these Troops; And altho' the present supply of Provisions is ample, It is highly desirable to be prepared for any continuance in the Field that the Kings Service may require, without the delay of bringing forward further Stores. For these purposes the Ration of Bread or flour is for the present fixed at One Pound.¹⁶⁵

The Lt. General is confident he shall meet with universal and cheerful Obedience to this Order, and as a Testimony of his Attention to the Spirit & good Will of the Troops on all Occasions and confident of His Majesty's Grace towards such Merits, the Lt. General will take upon himself to suspend the usual Stopages during the Diminution of the Ration or for one Month and the Soldiers will be accounted with for their whole Pay during that time. The Stopages are then to take place in the usual Course. With the same Confidence in the Kings Grace the Lt. General has ventured to Order the D. Paymaster General to issue 165 days Forage Money to the Officers of the Army."

7th. A Detachment¹⁶⁶ of about 1400 men, with two 12 prs. two 6 prs. & two 8 Inch Howitzers went out towards the Enemy's lines to draw off their attention from a Party of Observation who had gone into the Rear of their Camp.¹⁶⁷ They (suspecting an attack was intended up in their Lines) sent out a very considerable Force under the Command of Ar-

¹⁶⁴ These orders appear in Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, 321, but O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 125, includes only the first paragraph.

¹⁶⁵ The reduction of the bread ration reflected the growing seriousness of Burgoyne's position. It is to be doubted that the army accepted the cut without "a complaint or murmur" as Lamb (*Journal of Occurrences*, 163) said it did.

¹⁶⁶ This begins Napier's brief account of the Battle of Bemis Heights, or the Second Battle of Freeman's Farm. At a council of war on Oct. 5 Burgoyne rejected Riedesel's and Fraser's advice to retreat and determined to reconnoitre the American position in order to test the strength of the enemy. On Oct. 6 twelve barrels of rum were issued to the soldiers and on the seventh 1,500 regulars, with two 12-pounders, six 6-pounders, and two howitzers, plus four generals, moved out about one and the ensuing battle lasted until dark. Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 340; Peckham, *War for Independence*, 74; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 56; O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 128; Anburey, *Travels*, I, 385; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 287, 289.

¹⁶⁷ This party had reached a barn behind the extreme left of the American line before it was forced back. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 56.

- nold.¹⁶⁸ After a very hot Engagement our Troops retreated to their Camp. The Rebels pursued but met with such a reception as made it prudent for them to retire to the Lines belonging to Breymans Corps, which They had stormed.¹⁶⁹ Our two 12 Prs. & two 6 Prs. were left behind us in the Wood. The Enemy likewise got possession of two 6 Prs. in Breymans Entrenchments.¹⁷⁰
- 8th. The Army changed their position & occupied the Hills nearer the River.¹⁷¹ Remained there all day preparing for a Retreat. The Rebels amused us with the appearance of an Attack.¹⁷² About 11 O'Clock at Night began to move towards Canada.¹⁷³
- 9th. Retreated to Fish Kiln and Saratoga. The Advanced Corps took up their former Ground. Found the Bridge across the Creek destroyed.¹⁷⁴
- 10th. In the morning prepared to pursue our Route to Fort Edward but were prevented by the appearance of a large Body of the Enemy (supposed to be above 20,000 man) who were marching into our Rear with the greatest Expedition.¹⁷⁵

¹⁶⁸ Arnold had been relieved of any command by Gates before the battle, but the future traitor ignored that and at the height of the conflict took charge of Learned's brigade and led those men against Burgoyne's center and finally forced the British to give ground. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 528-29.

¹⁶⁹ Seized by a daring attack hurled forward by Arnold; Breyman was shot by one of his own men. *Ibid.*, II, 530; Peckham, *War for Independence*, 74.

¹⁷⁰ The outstanding British casualty was Fraser: see *infra*, fn. 196.

¹⁷¹ About one a.m., Oct. 8, the army moved to the hills bordering the Hudson. Pell, "Diary," 111; Burgoyne, *State*, 54.

¹⁷² Throughout the day the Americans fired upon the British in general and upon the advanced corps in particular, which was posted on a hill near the lines of Gates. Burgoyne, *State*, 54.

¹⁷³ Leaving the sick and wounded behind, Burgoyne began his retreat about nine p.m. From now on until the end of the retreat, continued rain soaked the men and turned the roads into quagmires. The advanced corps now brought up the rear and that is probably why Napier says the flight from Gates began at eleven p.m. Pell, "Diary," 111; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 79; Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, 72-73.

¹⁷⁴ Due to a delay at Dovegate between sunrise and 4 p.m., the rebels managed to occupy the heights across from Fish Kill and block passage over the Hudson River. The fatigued and drenched soldiers forded the Fish Kill and camped at Saratoga about 8 p.m.

Burgoyne spent the night in Schuyler's house, just below the Fish Kill, with his mistress, according to M. Riedesel. Upon leaving the house the following morning, it and the other buildings were fired by Burgoyne. As soon as Schuyler heard of that, he sent his servants to the ruins to salvage the ironwork, so scarce was it. Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 169-170; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 80-82, 86, 123; Burgoyne, *State*, 31, 55, 59, 63; M. Riedesel, *Letters*, 176; Philip Schuyler to Col. Varick, Oct. 12, 1777, L. W. Smith Coll., Morristown National Historical Park.

¹⁷⁵ The incredible slowness of Burgoyne's retreat from Bemis Heights to Sara-

- 11th. At Day break a party of Rebels attacked the Light Infantry Quarter Guard and were beat back. Both Army's amused themselves canonading each other 'till Night. The Troops employed covering themselves.¹⁷⁶
- 12th. The canonade still kept. up.¹⁷⁷
- 13th. A Message sent from Genl. Burgoyne to Mr. Gates.¹⁷⁸
- 14th. Held a Council of War. A Cessation of Arms agreed to 'till Night. Several Flags of Truce passed between the Camps.
- 15th. A Council of War held. A Cessation of Arms 'till further orders agreed to. Flags of Truce passed between the Camps¹⁷⁹
- 16th. A Convention agreed to and signed by both Parties.¹⁸⁰
-

toga, about nine miles, is shown by the fact that Gates' army covered the same distance during the afternoon of Oct. 10. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 536.

¹⁷⁶ Now almost completely trapped, the British came under constant cannon and musket fire and discipline among the men, who had been under arms since Oct 7, began to fail. Burgoyne held a council of war in the evening and stated the desperate position of the army, but failed to follow Riedesel's advice to move up the west side of the Hudson, which route was still open. Burgoyne, *State*, 63; Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 125; Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 172-74.

¹⁷⁷ Another council of war was held about 3 p.m. on Oct. 12, and Burgoyne now accepted Riedesel's plan, only to cancel its execution just as Riedesel was about to set his troops in motion at 10 p.m. Later in the night the Americans established a battery on the west side of the river and sealed off Burgoyne's last escape path. Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 175-79; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 535.

¹⁷⁸ Surrounded, exhausted, and down to three days' rations, a council of war on the 13th agreed to the opening of negotiations for a surrender. Pell says that when officers were sent out to ascertain if the troops would continue to fight, the German soldiers answered: "nix the money, nix the rum, nix the fighten." Stone, *Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 179; Murray, *Impartial History*, II, 350; Pell, "Diary," 111.

The negotiations for the British capitulation were carried on from Oct. 13 through Oct. 16, and as Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, I, 298-320 and O'Callaghan, *Orderly Book of Burgoyne*, 132-51, duplicate all the documents concerned with the Convention that appear in Napier's journal, they have not been included here. Other sources, such as DeFonblanque, *Life of Burgoyne*; Stedman, *History of the American War*, I; Murray, *Impartial History*, II; Rogers, *Hadden's Journal*, and Baxter's *Digby's Journal*, do not include all of the correspondence, etc., associated with the Convention.

¹⁷⁹ Gates sent his terms to Burgoyne, who rejected some of them and added some propositions of his own. This was done not only to bargain for better terms, but also to delay in hopes of receiving word of approaching help. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 309-10; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 101.

¹⁸⁰ Negotiations on the 15th had all but ended in a signed treaty, when during the night Burgoyne received word of possible help from Clinton. Burgoyne's suggestion to repudiate the convention was rejected by a council of war, but even on the morning of the 16th Burgoyne attempted to stall by complaining that Gates had sent some of his soldiers away, thus reducing the Americans'

17th. The Advanced Corps of the Army dissolved, the flank Company's of the Regiments on the spot joining their respective Battalions.¹⁸¹ The Flank Company's of the Regiments in Canada were formed into a Corps under the direction of the Earl of Balcarres Major to the 53rd. Regt. The Army according to the Articles of Convention¹⁸² marched out of their Trenches with all the Honors of War and piled their arms (by word of Command from their own Officers) * in Fort Hardy.¹⁸³ In the afternoon¹⁸⁴ the Troops (in a melancholy mood) marched to their late post at Freeman's farm, the Rebel Troops lining the Road and manning their Guns. They behaved with the greatest decency and propriety, not even a Smile appearing in any of their Countenances, which circumstance I really believe would not have happened had the case been reversed.¹⁸⁵

Thus ended a Campaign, which at the beginning was attended with every Appearance of Success. The facility with which we obtained Ticonderoga contributed in a great measure to bring us into our disagreeable Situation. From their quitting that Post before our attack begun, We had

superiority over the British. Gates rejected the complaint and formed his army; only then did Burgoyne accept the inevitable and sign the agreement. Gates did not trust the British general and he had his army slept on their arms that night. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 108-10; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 310-11; "Diary of Ephraim Squier," *The Magazine of American History*, II (Nov. 1878), 693.

¹⁸¹ In an army, the light infantry companies of the different regiments were taken from their respective regiments and were organized into separate units. With the campaign at an end, Napier's light infantry company, for example, rejoined its regiment, the 31st. Edward E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 1926), 4-5, 17.

¹⁸² For a discussion of the Convention, see *supra*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁸³ Ft. Hardy stood at the junction of Fish Creek with the Hudson. Built by the French in 1755, the English later renamed it after Sir Charles Hardy, a newly appointed governor of New York. It was in ruins at the time of Burgoyne's surrender. Lossing, *Fieldbook*, I, fn. 2, 79. See *ibid.*, 80, for a sketch of the surrender area in 1848.

* The Old French Fort near the River.

¹⁸⁴ Burgoyne met with his officers early in the morning, reminding them of his order to march to Albany and that the Convention had better terms for them than could normally have been expected. When the soldiers marched out to deposit their arms, the Americans had withdrawn so as not to be witnesses to the enemy's disgrace. Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 317-19; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 114-15.

¹⁸⁵ There is general agreement that the Americans behaved with the greatest restraint. Not that they didn't enjoy the sight inwardly but even that feeling of triumph decreased as the British marched past for three hours under a hot sun. Stone, *Brunswick and Hessian Letters*, 128; Anburey, *Travels*, II, 3; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 319-20; "Diary of Ephraim Squier," 693-94.

conceived the Idea of our being irresistible. What afterwards followed plainly evinced We were not more than Mortals.

The affair of Hubbertown¹⁸⁶ greatly diminished the strength of the Advanced Corps, without doing any material damage to the Rebel Forces.

The Expedition towards Bennington was solely a plan of General Burgoyne's tho' contrary to the advice and opinion of every General Officer and Brigadier in the Army.¹⁸⁷

The Retreat of Lieut. Colonel St. Leger left the Rebels in possession of all the Mohawk Country. Giving up the Communication with the Lakes before that with Albany was open appeared to most people a rash and to many a very absurd proceeding. The Action on the 19th. of September in which we were victorious was not productive of one single advantage, the Enemy not being dislodged but remaining in their Camp intrenching themselves more securely than before, To add to the foregoing circumstances there was a scarcity of Provision without any hopes of a supply. In this situation either a sudden and unexpected Exertion or a Retreat was unavoidable. Both were attended with the Greatest difficulties. General Burgoyne (anxious to execute the Commission with which he was charged), thought proper upon the 7th. of October to take out a party of about 1500 men accompanied by two Twelve Pdrs., two 8 Inch Howitzers and two Six Ponders.¹⁸⁸ With these he marched a Mile and a half through the Woods towards the Enemy, who came out of their lines in prodigious numbers. This naturally brought on an action which proved fatal to our Army. The Kings Troops (unable to resist the impetuousity of 15,000 men)¹⁸⁹ gave way, were drove from their Guns (all of which They lost except the Howitzers) and forced to Retreat to their Camp. The German Grenadiers, Chasseurs and Light Infantry (who were encamped upon the Right of Brigr. Frasers Corps) deserted their Lines upon the first intelligence of our Retreat.¹⁹⁰ Part of them were afterwards

¹⁸⁶ Hubbardton.

¹⁸⁷ Napier's copy of a letter from Burgoyne to Germain, Aug. 20, 1777, has been deleted as it appears in Burgoyne, *State*, XXI-XXIV.

¹⁸⁸ See *supra*, fn. 167.

¹⁸⁹ By Oct. 7 Gates had only 11,000 men in his army. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 524.

¹⁹⁰ Riedesel (*Stone, Memoir of General Riedesel*, I, 165) says that the greatly reduced number of men in the redoubt fought bravely, while Digby (Baxter,

rallied & brought back by Lt. Col. Breyman who was killed in the Works.¹⁹¹ This attempt of his turned out ineffective, the Rebels overpowering them and getting possession of their works where they found two Six Pounders. While this was transacting upon the Right, the Advanced Corps had retreated to their works, to which place the Enemy pursued them, but met with so warm a reception that They thought it prudent to retire to the German Lines where they remained all Night.

Copy
of a Letter

from his Excell^y. Lieut: General Burgoyne
to his Excell^y. General Sir William Howe K.B.¹⁹²

“ Sir Albany, 20th. October 1777

“ In conformity to my Orders, “ to proceed by the most vigorous Exertions to Albany,” I passed the Hudson’s River at Saratoga on the 13th of September. No exertions have been left untried. The Army under my Command have fought twice against great superiority of numbers. The first Action was on the nineteenth of Sept^r when, after some hours sharp Conflict, We remained Masters of the field of Battle; the second action on the Seventh of October, was not so successful, and ended with a Storm upon two parts of our Intrenchments; the one defended by Lt. Col. Breyman, who was killed upon the Spot, and the Post was lost, the other defended by Lord Balcarres at the head of the British Light Infantry, who repulsed the enemy with great loss. The Army afterwards made good their Retreat to the Heights of Saratoga, unable to proceed farther, the Enemy having possession of all the Fords and Passes on the East side of the Hudsons River ”¹⁹³

The Army there awaited the chance of Events, and offered themselves to the attack of the Enemy ’till the

Digby’s Journal, II, 288) and Anburey (*Travels*, I, 392) speak disparagingly of the actions of the German soldiers. Apparently, as those troops killed their own commander (Peckham, *War for Independence*, 74), they fled too quickly from their position.

¹⁹¹ Col. Specht led the attempt to regain the redoubt. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 530.

¹⁹² This letter suddenly interrupts Napier’s summary of the campaign and as it does not appear in print elsewhere it is included here.

¹⁹³ Burgoyne is noticeably reticent about the slowness of his retreat. See *supra*, fn. 175.

13th instant, when only three days provisions at short allowance remained. At that time the last Hope of timely assistance being exhausted, my numbers reduced by past actions to three thousand five hundred fighting Men, of which about nineteen hundred alone were British; invested by the Enemys troops to the amount of sixteen thousand men;¹⁹⁴ I was induced by the general concurrence and advice of the Generals, Field Officers, and Captains commanding Corps, to open a Treaty with Major General Gates. Your Excellency will observe by the papers transmitted herewith, the disagreeable prospect that attended the first overtures. The Army determined to die to a man rather than submit to terms repugnant to national and personal honour.¹⁹⁵ I trust you will think the Treaty enclosed consistent with both. I am with the greatest respect & attachment, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant.

J. Burgoyne "

(here I cannot help lamenting the loss of Brigr. General Fraser, who died next day of the Wounds he received in the action.* His Zeal and Activity joined to his natural Courage and good Conduct made him (as an officer) universally esteemed and respected. In his last moments he declared his disapprobation of most of the measures which had been adopted during the campaign and said, He hoped Genl. Burgoyne would do his Memory the Justice to acknowledge it)¹⁹⁶

Our loss in this unfortunate affair amounted to — Men. That of the Enemy was very considerable. Their Genl. Arnold was wounded and Six Colonels with above 1,000 men killed and wounded.¹⁹⁷ Another of their Generals (one Lincoln¹⁹⁸) was wounded the next day. On the Night of the 7th,

¹⁹⁴ By Oct. 17, Gates' army numbered about 20,000 men. Snell, *Saratoga*, 24.

¹⁹⁵ See *infra.*, fn. 199.

* 7th. October 1777.

¹⁹⁶ This is an interesting eulogy by a junior officer on one of the best of Burgoyne's generals. It is difficult to determine how strong Fraser's opposition to Burgoyne's plans was, however, as on the matter of crossing the Hudson, Burgoyne, the Earl of Balcarres, and the Earl of Harrington subsequently swore they had never heard Fraser oppose that movement. Burgoyne at least paid poetic tribute to the memory of Fraser, as he later wrote an ode entitled, "To the Spirit of Fraser." Burgoyne, *State*, 15, 29, 35, 51; *D.N.B.*

¹⁹⁷ Total American losses amounted to 150 men, while the British lost some 600 soldiers in killed and wounded. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 530.

the Army changed their position and on the morning of the 9th. retreated to Saratoga, leaving the hospital upon the ground at Freemans Farm. On the morning of the 10th. the Army prepared to move towards Canada, but the sudden appearance of the Rebels prevented them. Mr. Gates having the Advantage of Numbers, easily surrounded us. In this dilemma, Councils of War were called. At these it appeared that the Post occupied by the German Troops was not tenable, and there was great reason to suspect they would be forced to lay down their Arms, if an attack was made upon them. The above mentioned reasons and the impossibility of effecting a retreat or cutting a way through such numbers of the Enemy made it necessary to think of treating with the Rebels. The proposals they made were to lay down our Arms in the Trenches and surrender ourselves Prisoners of War. These terms were unanimously rejected by the Council, who together with the Army were of opinion that it would be better to rush upon the Enemy, determined to take no Quarter, than to submit to Conditions derogatory to the Honour of British Troops and of the British Nation.¹⁹⁹ Proposals were then made on our side and at length A Convention agreed to, as before related.

Thus did 1900 British Troops (besides Germans)²⁰⁰ fall a Sacrifice to the Ignorance and vain Conceit of a Minister. General Burgoyne declared in a publick Speech to the Officers of the Army that his Orders were to push to Albany *at all Events*, and that his Obedience to those Orders was the cause of his present Situation. The Eyes of the British Nation in all probability will now be opened and a Parliamentary Enquiry made into the conduct of the Minister by whose directions so fatal and ridiculous a plan was devised and executed. The dictates of Reason and of Common Sense will at once suggest to every honest breast how impossible it is for a Minister to direct the Operations of a Campaign carried on in a Country several Thousand Miles

¹⁹⁸ Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln (Jan. 24, 1733-May 9, 1810). *D.A.B.*

¹⁹⁹ This refers to Articles I and II of Gates' original proposals. The two articles said in effect that Burgoyne's army was a beaten one and that it had to surrender in its own camp. Burgoyne protested about both of those articles and in the final agreement no reference to the fact that Burgoyne's army was a defeated one appeared and the British were permitted to lay down their arms outside of their own camp. Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 102-03; Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 537.

²⁰⁰ British troops on the day of the surrender show 1,905 British and 1,594 German troops left in the army. Burgoyne, *State*, 85.

distant from the one in which he resides.²⁰¹ But let my Reflections rest here, and let the Fate of this Brave tho' unfortunate little Army remain as a Caution to Officers of Rank upon what Terms they accept of a Command of the most important Nature to the Interest of their Country.

October

- 18th. Crossed Hudsons River at Stillwater.²⁰²
 19th. Marched to [blank] Mills.
 20th. Marched to a place near St. Coicks Mills.
 21st. Williamtown. 20 Miles.
 22nd. Halt.
 23rd. Lanesborough 15 M.²⁰³
 24th. Pittsfield — 6 M.
 25th. Worthington — 18 M.
 26th. Chesterfield — 6 M.
 27th. Northampton — 12 M.
 28th. Halt.
 29th. Crossed the Connecticut to Hadley 3 M.
 30th. Wier — 17 M.²⁰⁴
 31st. Brookfield — 12 M.
 1st. November. Halt
 2nd. Worcester — 18 M.
 3rd. Shrewsbury. 7 M.
 4th. Marlborough 12 M.
 5th. Waltham 15 M.

²⁰¹ Burgoyne, through claiming the ministry had deprived him of any "latitude" in his orders, agrees with contemporary and later writers who also hold Germain primarily to blame for the disaster at Saratoga (Burgoyne, *State*, 3-5, 6-8; Anburey, *Travels*, II, 5-7; Baxter, *Digby's Journal*, II, 321-23; DeFonblanque, *Life of Burgoyne*, 337; Stone, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 127; Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny*, 236). But there is much to be said for the idea that "the grand cause of the defeat was the appointment of General Burgoyne (Stedman, *History of the American War*, I, 352-53)"; and the most recent detailed treatment of the campaign states that the leading cause of its failure was Burgoyne's inability to make the most of his early successes (Nickerson, *Turning Point*, 398).

²⁰² The Convention stipulated that the British army would be marched to Boston to await transports to carry it to England. In marching east, one group of English soldiers followed a route through northern Massachusetts; the other portion of British soldiers, including Napier, marched through the central part of the state; and the Germans followed roads in the southern part of Massachusetts. Just west of Worcester all the groups rejoined and the British marched a day ahead of the Germans until they reached Cambridge. Dabney, *Convention Army*, fn. 14, 29.

²⁰³ Lanesboro.

²⁰⁴ Ware.

6th. Barracks on Prospect Hill. 7 M. 148 miles from St. Coick.²⁰⁵
1778

Cambridge, Massachusetts Bay, New England,

April

5th. The Congress by a resolve the _____ of _____ 1778 having declared that the Troops of the Convention should be detained 'till the Treaty was ratified and properly notified to them by the Court of Great Britain²⁰⁶ and Genl. Burgoyne having made repeated applications to them for leave to go Home upon his Parole and obtaining it, He with his family left Cambridge on their way to Rhode Island.²⁰⁷

15th. The Royal Artillery under (the command of Major Carter) & the eight flank Comps. of the Regiments in Canada (under Captain Cotton²⁰⁸ 31st. L.I.) with Lt. Nutts detachment of the 33rd. marched from Prospect Hill on their road to Rutland, pursuant to a Resolve of Congress that the Troops of the Convention should be moved into the interior parts of the Country.²⁰⁹

May

13th. Obtained leave (by a handsome Bribe to the Rebel D. Commy. Genl. of Prisoners) to go to Europe upon my Parole, no time being mentioned for my Return. This was obtained in direct opposition to a positive Resolve of Congress to the Contrary.²¹⁰

15th. Arrived at the Orpheus Frigate (of 36 Guns) being one of the advanced Guard Ships from Rhode Island.

16th. Arrived at Newport in Rhode Island.

17th. Signed a Parole for myself and Servant our not serving in North America until Exchanged.

²⁰⁵ Wet and weary, the British found miserable quarters in barracks on Prospect Hill, in what is now Somerville, that had been erected during Washington's siege of Boston. In spite of Heath's efforts concerning housing for both men and officers, neither British nor Germans were pleased with their quarters. Elizabeth F. Ellet, *The Women of the American Revolution* (2 vol.; New York, 1848), I, 97; Samuel F. Batchelder, *Bits of Cambridge History* (Cambridge, 1930), 5; William Heath, *Memoirs of Major General Heath* (Boston, 1798), 134; Anburey, *Travels*, II, 57.

²⁰⁶ See *supra*, introduction.

²⁰⁷ Burgoyne sailed for England on April 4 and never returned to America. Maj. Gen. Phillips assumed command of the Convention troops. Dabney, *Convention Army*, 22-23.

²⁰⁸ Capt. William Cotton. Ford, *British Officers*, 52.

²⁰⁹ The ostensible reason for this move was that the troops could be better cared for in Rutland, but the real reason probably lay in the idea that they could be better controlled there. In early fall the rest of the British moved to Rutland. Dabney, *Convention Army*, 45-46.

²¹⁰ See *supra*, introduction.

24th. In the Evening, a Detachment of about 500 men, composed of the two Flank Company's of the 54th Regt. one company of Hessian Chasseurs and the Eight Battalion Company's of the 22nd. Regt., under the command of Lieut. Colonel Campbell of that Regt., marched from Newport, and at One O'Clock next morning embarked on board the Flatbottomed Boats,²¹¹ under the direction of Captain Clayton of the Navy, and proceeded up the Harbour to Warren River. His Majesty's Ship Flora then moving up above Pappasquash Point, to cover the operation of the Troops, and the other Ships of War changing their Stations, so as to assist should occasion require.

About half after Three the Lieut. Colonel landed his Party undiscovered, a mile from Bristol & three from Warren, and then detached a Captain with Thirty Men back to Pappasquash Point, to take and destroy the Rebel Battery of one 18 pounder there, which was completely effected, whilst the main body moved towards the Town of Warren, which it reached before Six and after establishing proper Posts to secure the Passes there, proceeded to Kickamust River,²¹² where intelligence had been received, that the Enemy were collecting a number of Boats, and some armed vessels, which the Troops found, amounting to 125 Batteaux (some 50 feet in length) One Galley carrying two 18 Prs. two 12 Prs., and four 6 Prs., and one Schooner²¹³ loaded with Stores, besides materials for repairing others; all of which was entirely destroyed, as was the Mill and Bridge across the River, three more 18 Prs. upon travelling Carriages were spiked and the Carriages burnt.

This service being effected the Troops returned by their former Rout, to Warren, where they found two 18 Prs. two 12 Prs., and one 9 Pr. all in readiness for Service, had been spiked by the Detachment left behind and their carriages destroyed. At this place a House was discovered filled with

²¹¹ The British used thirteen flat-bottom boats and four or five barges and whaleboats. Mackenzie, *Diary*, I, 284.

²¹² Kickamuet.

²¹³ This galley, the *Washington*, Mackenzie says (*Diary*, I, 285) had four 12-pounders and six 4-pounders in addition to the two 18-pounders; also, a sloop, rather than a schooner, was found loaded with stores.

An American account states that only seven boats were seized by the British and that twelve were left unburned. The enemy set fire to the galley, but the blaze was extinguished before it had done too much damage. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 13, 1778.

Ammunition, Combustibles and other warlike Stores, which was therefore set on Fire and the Magazine blown up;²¹⁴ The Townhouse & Church were likewise burnt, as also a Privateer Sloop of 16 Guns.²¹⁵

The object of this Enterprise being thus far effected, the Troops returned by the way of Bristol, on a Hill near which two Prs. were spiked, and one 3 Pr. on the Road, the Carriage of which was destroyed. The Church and some part of the Town, was burnt in the march through it, and a Military Store there blown up.²¹⁶ After which the Troops proceeded to gain the Heights above Bristol Ferry, during which the Rebels kept up a constant Fire upon their Rear, without doing them much Injury; When this was accomplished and the two 18 Prs. in the Battery spiked, the Detachment was reembarked with the greatest regularity, under the cover of the Flora Man of War, two Gallies and the Battery on the Newport side of the Ferry.

This essential piece of Service was performed with the loss only of one officer (Lt. Hamilton of the 22nd. Regt.) as also twelve privates wounded & two Drummers missing.²¹⁷

The loss on the part of the Rebels on this occasion was one Colonel, three Field Officers, two Captains, two Lieuts., and 58 persons (many of them Soldiers) taken Prisoners. The number of their killed and wounded cannot exactly be ascertained, but it is believed to be inconsiderable, as tho' a heavy fire was kept up by them, at Times, on the Troops, it was always distant, and under cover of their Walls and two Field pieces.

About two O'clock the same Morning the Pigot Gallery, commanded by Captn. Reeves of the Navy, passed the Battery at Bristol-point & tho' hailed by the Enemy were mistaken for one of their own Vessels; when she came to an Anchor in Mount Hope Bay, Lieut. [blank] of the Nonsuch, with Six armed Barges rowed to the Entrance of Taunton River to destroy the Enemy's other Galley,²¹⁸ which also carried two 18 Prs., two 12 Prs., and six 6 Prs., where she

²¹⁴ Six other houses were also burned in Warren. *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ This was a new vessel and it carried sixteen 4-pounders. Mackenzie, *Diary*, I, 285.

²¹⁶ Twenty-two buildings were burned in Bristol, including the church and the home of Rhode Island's governor. *Pa. Gazette*, June 13, 1778.

²¹⁷ The Americans had captured the two drummers. Mackenzie, *Diary*, I, 286.

²¹⁸ The *Spitfire*, *Ibid.*, I, 287.

was found with all her Crew 15 in number, asleep, & taken without any loss. In returning with this Prize through the straight of Bristol Ferry, they had to repass the Enemy' Battery, by the fire from which a man was wounded in one of the Boats. To cover these more essential operations, it was judged necessary to make a small diversion on the River-town side, & the Boats of the Alarm Galley were therefore dispatched early in the morning to burn the Enemy's Guard-House on the Point of Fogland Ferry, which was executed without the least loss.

June

- 3rd. Sailed from Newport, Rhode Island (for New York) on board the Brig Peter, Carg[o] Master.²¹⁹
- 5th. Arrived at New York.
- 21st. Embarked on board his Majesty's Ship Zebra (Captn. H. Collins Commander) for Philadelphia.
- 22nd. Sailed from New York.
- 29th. Met his Majesty's Ship the Phoenix with the last division of the Fleet from Philadelphia.²²⁰
- 30th. Returned to Sandy Hook.
- 31st. Returned to New York.

²¹⁹ Napier, along with several other British and German officers of the Convention Army, set sail in a heavy rain. *Ibid.*, I, 291.

²²⁰ Between June 16-18, the British evacuated Philadelphia. While the troops retreated to New York, the fleet carried all the Loyalists and army baggage that it could. Ward, *War of the Revolution*, II, 571.

THE ORIGINS OF MARYLAND'S MIDDLE CLASS IN THE COLONIAL ARISTOCRATIC PATTERN

By JAMES HIGH

THE Greek derivation of aristocracy implies the refined result of natural selection, hence one of its meanings is "rule of the best." A more common interpretation is "an exclusive group" with "prescriptive rights." The definition to be used here is "an exclusive group by right of birth," which was the commonly accepted meaning in the eighteenth century. As for "middle class,"—it is less amenable to precise definition; in the eighteenth century it meant the commercial and business people whose principal concern was not supposed to be with government. It had then, and still has the characteristic of economic success and great wealth. Middle class will be used here to mean a "non-exclusive group" open to anyone with sufficient wealth, and concerned with the dual problem of economics and politics.

The point to be made is that the idea of English aristocracy was not grafted on to the new American empire, but that instead, the aristocratic function was modified and taken over by a new middle class. This class, as has been said, was not exclusive. It accepted members both from above and below.

Professor Carl Bridenbaugh effectively gave the case for Virginia aristocrats, in *Seat of Empire*, treating them as an "exclusive group," and also as furnishing the "rule of the best."¹ Any particular area, however, has a "personality," as Professor Dixon Ryan Fox has so charmingly stated in *Yankees and Yorkers*. By his comparison, New England was the center of middle class virtue, and New York was aristocratic.²

¹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Seat of Empire* (Williamsburg, 1950), pp. 2 ff.

² Dixon Ryan Fox, *Yankees and Yorkers* (New York, 1940), pp 1 ff.

In many ways the most effective aristocracy—at least the most prolific—grew up in New England, an area dubbed “democraticall” in the conservative eighteenth century. Here, at least, the oligarchic rule was less shaken by the Revolution than in the rest of America. Francis Parkman felt that a Massachusetts man liked nothing better than the opportunity to show his fellow the way of his duty; leadership is the natural growth of such an attitude.

In the English meaning of the eighteenth century an aristocracy did not exist in the New World (with the possible exception of Virginia). Titles, old families, ancient seats—all this was absent from the American colonies. There were groups that became exclusive, as the Tidewater planters in Virginia, but in a sparsely populated country like North America, near to a vast, wild frontier, there were too many chances for independence. Even now no real aristocracy can exist here. We have an “exclusive group,” but if the “rule of the best” were expected from such persons as Tommy Manville and Doris Duke, then we should be grateful for the middle class ideals that have entrenched popular control which now produces either a Republican or a Democratic administration to exercise the “prescriptive right” of imposing high taxes.

During the colonial period the twofold office of aristocracy, that of government and that of guarding tradition, including such items as charity and regulation of business, was theoretically the responsibility of the Colonial Office and the overseas Church establishment. Instrumentation was through the Board of Trade, the Bishop of London, and the colonial governors. Colonial history is in large part the story of the failure of that administration. Actual government in America was carried on by local legislatures representing non-aristocratic constituencies. The Anglican Church, although established, was smaller numerically than most of the non-conforming faiths. In Carolina where a readymade hierarchy of titled proprietors was designed, a spectacular failure took place. The Tandgraves, barons, caciques, and knights were willing to come and assume control of thousands of acres, but their settlers were less than willing to trade semi-serfdom in Europe for complete subjection in America.³

³ Henry McCulloh, *General Thoughts . . .*, 1765, Townshend Collection,

For the most part colonial American leaders in the eighteenth century were dominated by the ideals of the new "middle class," not long emerged from centuries of submission to the English landed gentry. Out of Stuart ideology and imperial laxity grew the forceful, individualistic men who led public life and who also became the founders of American democratic capitalism.

In the seventeenth century, the great period of English overseas expansion, every American colony had had aristocratic leadership or sponsorship, but the bulk of the settlers were of less distinguished stock. Their common denominator was dissent against something. After the first settlement it was generally the case, as in Maryland, that local leaders had emerged from the masses, and that the aristocratic founders had sought more interesting occupations at home.

By the time of the Puritan Revolution the proprietary name of Calvert was of lessening importance in Maryland while those of Fendall and Coode were on the rise. Josias Fendall and John Coode were two unsavory adventurers who were contending with each other to engross the trade of Chesapeake Bay, and at the same time to take advantage of the constitutional upheaval to seize colonial sovereignty in the name of popular right. These men were typical of the traders who arose from obscurity out of the body of Dissenters that appeared in the empire simultaneously with the English Oliverians. They remained to gain respectability and substance as the core of the middle class in Maryland. Eighty years later another generation of Fendalls was still active in the colony, but this time in league with a Calvert who had been reduced to the middle class, and with a Dulany and a Tasker who had been elevated to that class. They were all equally interested in trade and sovereignty.⁴ These names all appear as Commissioners of the General Court, and as trustees to see that the new Tobacco Inspection Law was properly administered.⁵

Middle class ethics gradually shaped the structure of the group that dominated Maryland life during the eighteenth cen-

Huntington Manuscripts, HM 1480 (Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California).

⁴ *Maryland Gazette*, October 28, 1729.

⁵ *Maryland Gazette*, June 3, 1729; *ibid.*, October 28, 1729.

tury, and finally found definitive expression in the terms of the Constitution. New wealth and vigorous exposition of colonial rights were the outstanding characteristics of this western bourgeoisie; lineage was only incidental, sons of knights and barons levelling off socially with ex-artisans and the offspring of farmers. The attitudes of non-conformity had made the "rights of man" the touchstone of Maryland solidarity against the Baltimore family and their "rights by Charter grant'd." These in turn were identified with the idea of aristocracy.

On the surface it appeared that Maryland was tightly bound by the provisions of its royal charter aristocratically administered. According to its verbiage the Calvert family were "the true and absolute Lords and Proprietaries of the Region . . .," and so they remained, but in name only, until 1776.⁶ At the time of the Revolution the transparency of the tissue became apparent.

This long proprietary tenure was at the expense of ever decreasing power, and its corollary, increasing colonial sovereignty in middle class hands. The grip of the proprietor had been loosened during the English Civil Wars, when Parliamentary power in England supplanted that of the crown. Baltimore's interest was then identified with that of the crown in Maryland, and the charter was suspended largely through the activities of such men as Josias Fendall. The Restoration again placed the name of power in titled hands, but the popular Assembly that had grown up in Maryland in the meanwhile was never again to be displaced. The charter was again suspended after the Glorious Revolution, when the Orange king represented English constitutionality. This time Marylanders identified their ills with harsh imperial control. Royal Governors Hart, Copley, and Nicholson could do nothing to check the growth of the "country party," as they called the middle class. Their correspondence with the Secretary of the Council at St. James was nearly one-sided, and consisted of their complaints that they were helpless. Nicholson ended his administration joyfully when the fourth Baron of Baltimore turned Pro-

⁶ *Laws of Maryland at Large*, compiled by Thomas Bacon (Annapolis, 1765), d (preface). The Charter of the Province of Maryland appears here in polyglot English and Latin. This work is hereafter cited as *Bacon's Laws*.

testant and thus regained his colony.⁷ Each time that the descendants of Sir George Calvert regained their colony some of the "absolutism" had been shorn away, until finally only the name of "absolute Lord" remained along with one important element—a princely income.

The power thus shed, fell, not as it would have in medieval times to the knights and barons, but to the liberty conscious middle class. Such men as Daniel Dulany, Irish indentured servant, Thomas Cresap, English frontiersmen, Benjamin Tasker, Tidewater planter, and Stephen Bordley, Anglican vestryman, were ready to speak and act on behalf of American freedom of enterprise and political sovereignty.

The clerical arm of English colonial administration, the Bishop of London, ran, bolt upright, into iron-willed opposition in Maryland, based on local notions of sovereignty. When Commissary Thomas Bray came to Maryland in 1701 to "regulate the clergy," and to look into the possibility of setting up a bishopric there, his efforts were countered by the parish vestries. Stephen Bordley, not long emerged from the status of common settler, stoutly put forward the argument that the right of choice of ministers lay, not with the governor or the Bishop of London, but with the vestrymen on the spot.⁸ This was the same argument elaborated in the *Maryland Gazette* a quarter century later by Daniel Dulany under the title, "Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to Benefits of the Church of England."⁹ The vestry was merely another instrument of the "country party" to further its needs. It was one more facet of the many-sided accretion of power and importance that was gathering around the middle class in Maryland. The same line of resistance was followed after the French and Indian War, when the last Lord Baltimore attempted, too late, to strengthen the aristocratic idea in his colony. When he tried to appoint a minister to Coventry Parish, Reverend Thomas Bacon, the legal-minded clergyman who compiled the *Laws of Maryland*, headed a petition of two thousand signers protesting the proprietary appointment, and they made it stick.¹⁰

⁷ Maryland Governors to the Court, 1689-1714, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5: 713-717; 1719-1720 (Library of Congress Transcripts).

⁸ Examination of the Clergy in Maryland by Thomas Bray, 1701, Fulham Palace Manuscripts, Maryland, 1 (Library of Congress Transcripts).

⁹ *Maryland Gazette*, December 17, 1728.

¹⁰ Petition from Coventry Parish to Governor Horatio Sharpe concerning

The development of this bourgeois theme may be illustrated by three biographical vignettes drawn from three widely divergent segments of society. The men are Daniel Dulany, indentured servant, Thomas Cresap, back country pioneer, and Samuel Ogle, proprietary governor.

Daniel Dulany (1685-1753) arrived from Ireland in 1704 at the age of eighteen. The magnetism of the New World moved this educated, impoverished youth of the gentry to come to America as an indentured servant. His career anticipated the success stories of Benjamin Franklin and Andrew Carnegie. His life might have inspired the pen of Horatio Alger. Tradition has it that George Plater, wealthy lawyer and planter, bought the young man's services, and made him an apprentice at law. However he received his training, Dulany was licensed to enter the bar at the age of twenty-four. From this start he became the most successful attorney in Maryland, and one of the wealthiest land owners.¹¹ By 1728 he was on a basis of full equality with Benjamin Tasker, George Plater, Charles Carroll, and the other leaders of Maryland life. He was making money in trade, planting, real estate speculation, and law, and more important—he was upholding the right of Americans to do those things as well as to guide themselves constitutionally.¹²

He is known to have held warrants for over 55,000 acres of land. Throughout his life he lived in Annapolis or near Baltimore, which he helped to develop. At the time of his death he was a large owner in one of the two iron works that had been

replacement of Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker, May 16, 1767, *Proceedings of Assembly, 1766-1768*, edited by J. Hall Pleasants, *Arch. Md.*, LXI, 513.

¹¹ Aubrey C. Land, "Genesis of a Colonial Fortune: Daniel Dulany of Maryland," *William and Mary Quarterly*, VII (April, 1950), 255-269. Professor Land has also written a book about *The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany the Elder (1685-1763) and Daniel Dulany the Younger (1722-1797)*, (Baltimore, 1956), reviewed by Louis B. Wright in *Md. Hist. Mag.* (March, 1956). Professor Wright says of the elder Dulany that if "anybody looked down on him because he had come over as an indentured servant, the fact was no hindrance to the growth of his reputation and the esteem in which he was held. The origins of colonial immigrants mattered very little provided they had the means of acquiring land and the intelligence to make use of their new opportunities as landed proprietors (p. 63)."

¹² *Maryland Gazette*, December 17, 1728; *ibid.*, May 19, 1729; *ibid.*, June 3, 1729; *ibid.*, October 20, 1730. See W. Stull Holt, "Charles Carroll, Barrister: The Man," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXXI (June, 1936), 112-126, for an evaluation of one of the members of the group in question during the American Revolutionary period. Professor Holt described Carroll's activities in terms of the aristocratic tradition, but with the same sort of evidence that presents itself for my thesis.

established in the 1730's, the Baltimore Company.¹³ His last and greatest purchase of land was made in 1745—about 7,000 acres in Frederick County, on the route of the German immigrants pouring into the Virginia piedmont southward from Pennsylvania. Dulany laid out the townsite of Frederick—disregarding the charter provision that only the proprietor could do such a thing—and reserved 2,000 acres of the tract for himself. He and his sons obtained five pounds each for the half acre lots in the new town, which soon became the commercial center for expanding Frederick County. They also retained the right to a perpetual ground rent on all property sold, thus at one stroke undermining the vested proprietary right to quit-rent and at the same time creating a self-replenishing fortune.¹⁴

Besides making money Dulany held many political and administrative offices in the colony of his adoption. Chief among these was that of Attorney General. In this capacity he was in a position to assist both in the settlement of the west and in the advancement of the middle class. While he symbolized the influence, position, and capital of the East, he gave legal sanction and substance to the pioneers' efforts at expansion and democratization. He was instrumental in supporting the push of settlement into the western point of Maryland that extends along the north bank of the Potomac between Virginia and Pennsylvania, and points over the mountains toward the heart of the Ohio Valley. This was an essential element in the spread of middle class ideas, the ideal that any man could succeed if he were given the chance and would work hard enough. This ideal was the core of action and thought of those God-fearing, non-conforming Protestants who settled the cis-Appalachian west, taking the land, as was said of them, and "everything else they could lay their hands on."¹⁵ Dulany the Elder died in 1753, having realized much of the "American dream," and having founded a family that reached the very peak of brilliance in the next generation in the person of Daniel Dulany the Younger. The son became the mightiest intellect in the colonies

¹³ *Maryland Gazette*, June 21, 1753. See Keach Johnson, "The Baltimore Company Seeks English Subsidies for the Colonial Iron Industry," *M. Hist. Mag.*, XLIV (March, 1951), 27-43.

¹⁴ See Land Records, Frederick County, Liber F, folios 47-48; Liber J, folio 333 (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland).

¹⁵ Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion* (New York, 1949), p. 93.

and an ardent defender of free institutions at the time of the Stamp Act.¹⁶

Thomas Cresap was born in Yorkshire some time between 1685 and 1694, and died in 1790. At no time was he quite sure of his age. In any case he came to Maryland as a young man in 1715, the year the first King George came to the English throne. He wasted no time in repairing to the frontier which he found at the "Falls of Potowmack." The city of Washington now stands where Cresap entered the howling wilderness. During the next fifteen years Cresap acquired one "plantation" after another, each successive home deeper into the interior of Frederick County, which at that time comprised all of western Maryland. About 1736 he appeared in the center of the stage of middle colonial affairs as a prisoner of the colony of Pennsylvania, charged with murder and waging war on the Penn commonwealth. The worst offence of this "Maryland Monster," in an age of inter-colonial rivalry, was apparently one of rhetoric.¹⁷ As a captive in Philadelphia he remarked, with ". . . horrid Oaths & the most abusive language, . . ." taunting his captors who had him in chains, "Damn it, this [is] one of the Prettyest Towns in Maryland."¹⁸ Such aspersion on the commonwealth of Pennsylvania could only be assuaged by an acrimonious and persuasive correspondence between the new Attorney General of Maryland, Dulany, and the governor of the Quaker colony. Finally this giant of the back country, too dangerous to hold as a prisoner, was returned to Maryland where his offenses seemed far less heinous, and the charges were dropped.¹⁹ Cresap soon emerged on the farthest western frontier to continue his mission of subduing the wilderness.

During the subsequent years, when Dulany was busy with his land speculation, Cresap was able to repay his debt of gratitude

¹⁶ Daniel Dulany, *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes on British Colonies, for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament* (Annapolis, 1765); "Military and Political Affairs in the Middle Colonies in 1765," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, III (1879), 11-31.

¹⁷ Kenneth P. Bailey, *Thomas Cresap: Maryland Frontiersman* (Boston, 1944), p. 56 ff.

¹⁸ Deposition of George Aston, December 3, 1736, *Pennsylvania Archives*, edited by Samuel Hazard, First Series, I, 510.

¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1732-1753*, edited by William Hand Browne, *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 113.

incurred in the Pennsylvania affair. With his experience in frontier ways he was invaluable to the Annapolis promoter. It is easy to see, upon inspection of Cresap's will, that his ambition of peopling western Maryland was not realized solely as a labor of love. He and Dulany both profited in sound Maryland currency and even sounder Maryland real estate.²⁰

Cresap, like Dulany, represented another unique element that made up the subsequent middle class bulwark of American society. He was the epitome of the rough and ready vigor of the frontier.²¹ His family has come down to the present as a still-vigorous component of the republic.

In the process of transferring the leadership of Maryland from the aristocracy to the middle class, a proprietary lieutenant governor played an extremely important role. Samuel Ogle (1702-1752), offshoot of an illustrious family of military and political fame in England, resigned his commission in the Prince of Wales' Dragoons in 1731, and came to America as deputy governor for the Calvert family. Within three years he was a settled member of Maryland's dominating group of wealthy business men. He came over with the full confidence of the proprietor, with the primary purpose of recruiting his fortunes. He soon joined his name to the growing list of spokesmen for free American institutions. Many of these names still appear around Chesapeake Bay: Cresap, Tasker, Bordley, Paca, Chase, Johnson, Ridout, and many more. Their ancestors were indentured servants, councillors of state both English and American, clergymen, physicians, planters, and various blends of these. With the addition of Ogle, the occupation of proprietary governor became part of the list.

In a moment of realization of what was going on in Maryland, Lord Baltimore supplanted Ogle with a Calvert as governor, but he lived only a short while, and Ogle was reinstated. On that occasion the *Maryland Gazette*, always sensitive to local opinion, beatified the noble ex-governor, but made more practical comment on the value of having a live representative of Maryland virtue on the job:

²⁰ Will of Thomas Cresap, Records of Allegheny County, Maryland, Vol. A, folio 7, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

²¹ John Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1882), I, 76.

No longer shall your Province mourn its fate
 While Ogle's conduct guides the Helm of State;
 Attending Justice round his Seat prevails . . .
 Calvert reigns above, and Ogle rules below. . . .²²

When Ogle came to America he had expected to find a situation based on the provisions of Baltimore's charter. By the terms of this remarkable document, carefully hedged around with proprietary safeguards, the governor was the viceroy of an almost absolute potentate. He was even accorded the feudal right called "View of Frank-Pledge"—*fol-de-rol* of medieval nostalgia.²³

What Ogle actually found was a representative local government composed of two houses, Assembly and Council, whose composition was drawn from the same segment of society, namely, the wealthy and those becoming wealthy—not an "exclusive group." The governor quickly made his choice between the old aristocratic ideal and that of the new middle class. He attached himself to a man already well along the road to success, Benjamin Tasker, one of the Commissioners of the General Court.²⁴ Throughout his administration Ogle favored such men, and tried to dissuade the proprietor from sending over English candidates for office. He warned Baltimore: "These Gentry that apply to you . . . give them little encouragement . . . it is not to your interest to send them here which we are in no want of already. What we need is laborious common people."²⁵ In a short time he made Tasker, a few years his senior, a member of his Council of State, which was also the Upper House of Legislature. He incidentally made Miss Tasker into Mrs. Ogle—not, of course, without a suitable dowry which he was amply able to repay many times over as shown by his will in 1752.²⁶

²² *Maryland Gazette*, March 15, 1734/35. I am indebted to Commander Arthur Griese, USN (retired), of Los Angeles, California, for much of the research on Governor Ogle.

²³ Bacon's *Laws*, preface. See William Hand Browne, *Maryland: The History of a Palatinate* (Boston, 1884), pp. 177-178, for some curious examples of the survival of feudal forms in Maryland.

²⁴ *Maryland Gazette*, October 28, 1729.

²⁵ Ogle to Baltimore, 1731, *Calvert Papers No. 2*, Md. Hist. Soc. *Fund Publication 34* (Baltimore, 1912), p. 86.

²⁶ Will of Samuel Ogle, April 15, 1752, probated September 1, 1755 at Canterbury (Register of Wills, Somerset House, London, England). This item was

A distinction between middle class and aristocracy includes the difference in economic doctrine. The rising group disliked the mercantile theory, which they felt was too rigid, and contributed primarily to the vested aristocratic interest. There was no room within it for the expansion of free enterprise. On the other hand, the Board of Trade was the instrument of the English oligarchy, and the upper class conception of government included strict regulation of trade as germane to its existence.

Ogle, this proprietary governor of Maryland, turned advocate of middle class rights, wrote to the Board of Trade in 1734, assuring those jealous watchdogs of mercantilism that the inhabitants of Maryland ". . . always have, and will continue to send for as much of . . . British Manufactures . . . as they are able. . . ." He thus paid tribute to the idea of a favorable English balance of trade, but at the same time intimated that colonial purchasing power would be in direct ratio to colonial business. He recommended "great encouragement" to local enterprise, and pointed out that the "Province in many Parts affords a good and kindly Iron Oar, and there are at Present two Iron Works on foot. . . ." ²⁷

The governor was evidently inspired by such attitudes as that expressed by Dr. Charles Carroll. He informed Ogle at the outset of his administration as to what his middle class constituents wanted of a governor: no interference with local institutions, encouragement of trade and diversified farming, settlement of the frontier, lower taxes, and more roads.²⁸ Like sentiments are abundant in the literary relicts of such men as Charles Carroll, Benjamin Tasker, and Daniel Dulany—all partners in one of the companies extracting the "kindly Iron Oar" which had attracted Ogle's early attention.

Such evidence of middle class pragmatism could be adduced from eighteenth century records by the ream. It is enough, in conclusion, to remember that after the Revolution an English

procured through the courtesy of Mrs. Hesketh-Williams of the Herald's Office in London.

²⁷ Ogle to Board of Trade, October 16, 1734, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5: 1268/145-146 (London, England).

²⁸ Charles Carroll to Ogle, February 17, 1731/32, "Extracts from the Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll of Annapolis," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (September, 1924), 292.

knight, Sir Robert Eden, who was Maryland's last proprietary governor (and whose modern relative, Anthony Eden, is an honorary member of the Maryland Historical Society), rubbed shoulders in America with such heroes of that war as Colonel Thomas Cresap, and with such exponents of moderate constitutional government as Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. They were all leaders of the new American commonwealth. They were the exponents of bourgeois virtue, dead set against French radicalism, and extremely jealous of American liberty—but, could they be said to constitute an aristocracy?

REVOLUTION OR REFORM IN 1836: MARYLAND'S PREFACE TO THE DORR REBELLION

By A. CLARKE HAGENSICK

DURING the 1960 session of the Maryland General Assembly, two attempts to alter the state's Constitution were decisively defeated. The desire to provide more equitable legislative representation prompted the introduction of this legislation. In each instance reformers were defeated in the legislative chambers which they wished to alter. By no means were these the first instances of agitation on the question of legislative representation or basic governmental reforms in Maryland. These issues have raged throughout the state's existence, dividing parties, sections and economic and social interests. At no time was the social and political order more seriously threatened than in 1836 when crisis conditions nearly destroyed Maryland's governing institutions.¹ Tracing the development and implications of that crisis, as well as comparing it with similar agitation in Rhode Island five years later are the main purposes of this article. As such, this examination illumines partisan political activity which resulted from the clash between advocates of democratic reforms and the defenders of the aristocratic old order. Several traditional explanations of political activity are analyzed in an attempt to provide a satisfactory theoretical framework for this episode.

¹ While this episode is covered in most of the standard histories of Maryland, it receives fullest coverage in J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day* (3 vols.; Baltimore, 1879). For a comprehensive chronological survey see Bernard C. Steiner, "The Electoral College for the Senate of Maryland and the Nineteen Van Buren Electors," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1895), pp. 129-67.

I

Under Maryland's Constitution of 1776, state senators were selected by an electoral college composed of two electors from each county and one each for the cities of Annapolis and Baltimore. These electors were chosen and convened in September every five years to select the fifteen members of the Maryland Senate. Vacancies occurring in the Senate between elections were to be filled by the remaining senators.

Commentators viewing the construction of the Senate early in its existence paid it glowing tribute. Samuel Chase termed it "virgin gold," and it was eulogized in *Federalist 63* as an admirable precedent for the presidential electoral college and the aristocratic features of the United States Senate.² Paralleling the presidential electoral college, however, the Maryland counterpart soon became an instrument of party politics. As party lines solidified, a majority on the electoral college was usually translated into unanimous control of the Senate, and this pattern persisted throughout successive changes in partisan dominance. Only in 1826 was a bipartisan Senate chosen. This was done by victorious Democrats in accordance with a campaign pledge to create a "liberal Senate," but given a partisan reversal in the election of 1831, the then ascendant Whigs reverted to the old formula and selected fifteen Whig Senators.³

The process of filling Senate vacancies by the choice of the remaining senators also led to severe criticism. During one five-year period, it was claimed that all but one of the senators were selected by sitting senators. This method of appointment often led to the selection of incompetent personnel. John V. L. McMahon, who admired the theory underlying the creation of the Senate, acknowledged in 1831 that the method of filling vacancies was a considerable drawback of that legislative body.

It was expected that persons, themselves selected for their high qualifications, were peculiarly fitted for the selection of their fellows. Yet, although men may beget like as an involuntary consequence,

² John V. L. McMahon, *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1831), I, 480.

³ Steiner, p. 133. The Senate chosen in 1826 was composed of eleven Democrats and four Federalists. The latter party was active in Maryland long after it had disappeared as a national force. Without any gap, it evolved into the Whig Party by 1831.

they will not always voluntarily appoint like. They cannot, in general bear 'a rival near the throne;' and much less will they bring a rival near it.⁴

Given the partisan flavor of the senatorial electoral college and the vicious method of filling vacancies, it is no wonder that critics of the Senate considered it reduced from "virgin gold" to a tarnished whore.

Other characteristics of the governmental apparatus established by Maryland's Constitution of 1776 also raised the ire of agitators afflicted with the principles of Jacksonian democracy. Though its members were elected by direct popular vote, and Maryland had removed property qualifications for suffrage in 1802, the lower house was grossly malapportioned by the third decade of the eighteenth century. The Constitution merely doubled the composition of the senatorial college in constructing a lower chamber. Each county, regardless of size or population, had four delegates; the cities of Annapolis and Baltimore each received two seats in the popular assembly. With the special representation of the two cities, Maryland in 1836 had the equivalent of twenty counties. Hence if a party could gain majorities in the eleven most sparsely populated jurisdictions, it could secure a majority of seats in the lower house and, through the peculiarities of the senatorial electoral college, all of the seats in the Senate.

As if control of the legislative process by the small counties was not enough, the Constitution of 1776, written at a time of reaction against royal governors in the several states, also provided for the selection of the Governor and the Governor's Council by an annual joint ballot in the legislature. A malapportioned legislature, therefore, not only determined legislative policy, but chose the state's chief executive officers as well. Small wonder that citizens of heavily populated jurisdictions considered the governmental deck stacked against them. Nor was this simply a pattern of heavily versus sparsely populated counties; in general, Whig strength within the state was centered in the tidewater counties. These areas held a relatively

⁴ McMahon, I, 489. McMahon, a Whig, advocated reforms of the Senate and other state institutions, but as the crisis developed in 1836, he fought bitterly against the insurgent Van Buren Democrats. Following the crisis, he was selected to be a senator, but he declined to serve.

small portion of the state's population, but a relatively large number of counties. The Democratic-Republicans were principally located in the heavily populated areas in the northern and western areas of the state. With this division of partisan strength the existing pattern greatly increased the prospect of Whig control of the state government.

The Governor's Council especially rankled the Democrats. At a Baltimore meeting of mechanics and workingmen in September, 1836, for instance, the Council was denounced as "odious political machinery . . . which is totally irresponsible to the people, and shields all its acts by a secrecy as impenetrable as that of the inquisition."⁵ Moreover, the Council seemed to be an incubator for Federalist and, later, Whig Governors; no fewer than ten adherents of those parties graduated from the council to the executive mansion. Only one Democrat accomplished the same feat.⁶

Agitation for reform ran as a swift undercurrent during most of the years after 1800, and in some instances the reformers gained important objectives. As already recounted, universal manhood suffrage was won in 1802 on the heels of the election of the first Democratic Governor in Maryland.⁷ During the incumbency of another Democratic Governor, property requirements for holding public office were removed in 1810. Little was done about the basic pattern of legislative representation, although efforts were made in 1808, 1811 and 1818 to alter the Senate. A constitutional amendment designed to abolish the Governor's Council and provide for the election of the Governor by the people was passed at the 1825 session of the General Assembly, but the amendment did not receive the necessary favorable treatment in the following legislative session.⁸ In 1835, two mild reforms attained legislative assent, but they could not be effective until the legislature repeated its approval at the 1836 session. One doubled Baltimore's representation in the lower house; the other created Carroll County out of portions of Baltimore and Frederick counties. Each of these

⁵ *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 8, 1836), 95.

⁶ From 1777 until 1836, nine Democrats and eighteen Federalist-Whigs held the office.

⁸ Elihu S. Riley, *A History of the General Assembly of Maryland: 1635-1904* (Baltimore, 1905), p. 333.

moves would expand the legislative power of the populous area in and to the west of Baltimore, but these were mild palliatives in comparison with the demands of reformers during that legislative session. They recommended legislation which would provide for the direct election of the Governor and Senate, eliminate the Governor's Council and apportion representation in the lower house on the basis of population. The Whig majority in the House beat back these efforts with ease. In addition, four memorials and petitions from citizens who advocated a constitutional convention were summarily tabled during the session.⁹

II

Given the inequities of the institutional framework and the consistent refusal of the vested minority to alter the pattern substantially, frustration within the populous areas of the state and the Democratic Party created a potentially explosive situation. The outcome of the election of senatorial electors held in September, 1836, provided the spark which threatened to destroy the entire edifice of government in Maryland. In that election, the Democrats secured a majority of nearly 3,000 popular votes out of a total of 44,000 votes cast,¹⁰ but the apportionment of electors enabled the Whigs to win twenty-one of the forty seats on the electoral college. Appalled at the prospect that a minority of the electorate and a scant majority on the electoral college could select a Senate composed exclusively of Whigs, Democrats throughout the state resolved upon a pattern of defiance which they felt would force the Whigs to accede to demands for reform.

Defiance was set within a legal framework, however, as the Democrats seized upon a constitutional provision which stipulated that twenty-four electors constituted a quorum of the electoral college. Any number of electors less than that figure could not conduct business except to adjourn from day to day. It has been suggested that this constitutional requirement of a quorum in excess of the more usual majority was written into the state's basic charter at the insistence of the tidewater

⁹ Maryland, *Journal of Proceedings of the House of Delegates of Maryland*, December Session, 1835 (Annapolis), pp. 90-91, 155-56, 442.

¹⁰ *Hagerstown Torch Light and Public Advertiser*, September 22, 1836. The Democratic candidates received 53.4% of the total vote.

counties which desired to protect their minority position within Maryland's governmental institutions.¹¹

Regardless of its origin, the undemocratic quorum provision was utilized by the Democrats in their attempt to foster reform. Specifically, the nineteen Democratic electors simply refused to attend the electoral college when it was to convene. With the absence of a quorum the twenty-one Whigs could do nothing but adjourn daily. Democratic strategy was disarmingly simple. Their electors would refuse to attend the electoral college unless the Whigs agreed to select at least eight reform Democrats as senators. This should be done, according to the Democrats, in recognition of the mandate for reform reflected in the tabulation of popular votes in the recent election. Aware that the Whigs would accept this demand with extreme reluctance, the Democrats were prepared to play a waiting game in a situation where time seemed to be on their side.

While the electoral college remained prostrate, the passage of time would soon mark the end of the current Senate's term. Without the selection of a new Senate, there could not be a General Assembly. Without a legislature, a Governor and Council could not be selected. Lacking legislative and executive authority, Maryland would revert to a state of nature in which the people could construct a new government through a constitutional convention. With this in mind, the Democrats scheduled a reform convention in Baltimore in November and called for the selection of delegates to it.

The Whigs, however, refused to guarantee the selection of a majority of Democrats in the new Senate. They also declined to accept a Democratic compromise which specified the selection of a majority of senators who, regardless of partisan affiliation, advocated a constitutional convention. The deadlock remained, but public agitation increased in succeeding weeks as the partisan disputants attempted to show that public sentiment supported their goals.

Public meetings, the most common and significant expression of public opinion during this period, played an important role as the controversy developed and moved to a climax. The instructions followed by the nineteen Democratic electors had

¹¹ Scharf, III, 190.

been formulated and endorsed at a meeting in Frederick on September 10, 1836. Similar meetings were held in Elkton, Bel Air, Hagerstown and Baltimore in succeeding weeks. Protests against the action of the nineteen electors were organized and staged by Whigs in Baltimore, Hagerstown, Cumberland, Leonardtown and Rockville. These meetings usually followed a distinct format. Following the selection of officers and the appointment of a resolutions committee, the entire assemblage would vote, invariably in the affirmative, on the resolutions as drafted. Democrats in Hagerstown called for reform, and in ominous tones acknowledged that "usual means of redress have proven ineffectual. We must, therefore, recur to first principles, adopting as our motto the language of the (Maryland) bill of rights . . ." which reserved for the people the power to reconstitute their government.¹² In reply, Whigs warned against the danger involved in the course followed by their partisan opponents. "The crisis is an awful one . . . if the revolutionary spirit, now stalking abroad amongst us, is not promptly subdued . . . upon you will rest the fearful responsibility of being the first in the country of Washington, to give liberty a mortal wound."¹³

In several instances, the dispute threatened to leave the forensic level as tempers responded to the frayed nerves produced by the increasing tension. Amid scuffling, outnumbered reformers in Allegany County attempted to adjourn a meeting in Cumberland on October 14 by "blowing out the lights, and leaving." Order and illumination were restored, and anti-reform resolutions were adopted. Some time earlier, a "committee of vigilance" had been created in the Cumberland area. Composed of nine members, the committee was instructed "to communicate information of any revolutionary movement to the several committees appointed in other districts . . ." ¹⁴ It was also in Cumberland that the local grand jury returned indictments against the electors who boycotted the senatorial electoral college. Because these electors intend "to subvert the government and endanger the public tranquility," the jury

¹² *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 22, 1836), 120.

¹³ *Ibid.*, (October 1, 1836), 69-70.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, October 1, 1836), 74, (October 29, 1836), 134.

presented them "as unfaithful public agents and disturbers of the public peace."¹⁵

In the meantime, three events significantly affected the situation and forced the reluctant Democratic electors to reappraise their strategy. The first two were the elections held in October to select members of Maryland's lower house, and, in November to select presidential electors. In each instance, the Whigs won overwhelming victories. The October polling reflected a reversal of the senatorial college election held the month before. This time the Whigs captured an impressive majority of the popular vote and translated this majority into an enormous share of the seats in the House of Delegates. Altogether, sixty Whigs and only twenty Democrats were elected to that chamber. Several mitigating factors, however, tended to exaggerate the extent of this triumph. In the hub of Democratic strength, Frederick County, the Democratic slate of nominees withdrew from the ballot. This conceded the selection of four Whigs from that county who otherwise would not have been expected to win.¹⁶ It has already been noted that the equal representation of counties in the lower house operated advantageously for the Whigs since they held predominant strength in most of the sparsely populated counties. Despite these qualifications, the Whig victory was decisive,¹⁷ and the results led Whigs to contend

There is not . . . in our whole political history, a more signal instance of prompt and emphatic rebuke, administered at the hands of the people, to derelict public servants, than that which the results of our late election furnishes.¹⁸

Several Democrats interpreted the election results as a mandate for the ends sought by the nineteen truant electors, but in general these explanations seemed to be frantic rationalizations

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, (October 22, 1836), 122.

¹⁶ The Frederick County Democratic nominees removed their names on the grounds that a constitutional convention was scheduled by the reformers on the third Monday in November. Given this call for a basic re-examination of the state's charter, the Democrats in Frederick argued that the election of delegates to the lower house would be superfluous. The Van Burenites also lacked a delegate ticket in Worcester County, but the latter was normally a Whig stronghold. Scharf, III, 194.

¹⁷ Whig candidates for the eighty seats received 83,212 votes while the Democrats polled 66,204. *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 8 and 15, 1836), 85, 100.

¹⁸ *Hagerstown Torch Light and Public Advertiser*, October 13, 1836.

of an increasingly tenuous position.¹⁹ One of the nineteen, John Sellman of Anne Arundel County, broke ranks shortly after the election and joined the Whigs in the electoral college.

On November 7, votes were cast in the presidential contest that pitted Willam Henry Harrison against Martin Van Buren. The results paralleled those of October as the Whig candidate received an impressive majority in Maryland. Once again, the voters seemed to voice their concern over the threat to the established order posed by the Democrats. Despite their impressive victory in September, the Democrats met stunning defeats in the two succeeding months while they attempted to translate their popular support into a program of basic governmental reform.

From the beginning of the prolonged dispute in mid-September until early November, Governor Veazey, an ardent and conservative Whig, remained silent. He refused to enter the fray in any official capacity although correspondence sent to his office as early as September 24, 1836 advised him to take positive action to circumvent the Democratic tactics.²⁰ With the results of the presidential election in hand, Veazey took the offensive. His proclamation of November 8 bitterly castigated the recusant electors as "unfaithful agents" who "seem vainly to have imagined that the effect of their conduct would be the destruction and overthrow of the constitution and government of the state." If the Democratic plot would be allowed to run its course, Veazey contended that

. . . these unprecedented, unconstitutional, disorderly and revolutionary occurrences and proceedings . . . are fraught with incalculable evils and mischiefs, and *must* . . . greatly disturb the tranquility and peace of the state . . . and . . . involve us in all the horrors and unspeakable calamities of anarchy, intestine commotion and CIVIL WAR, and therefore, demand from the executive the adoption of such constitutional and legal measures as may seem to them best adapted to quiet the public mind . . . to defeat the unholy designs and purposes . . . and maintain and support the constitution and authority of the government.²¹

¹⁹ At least two of the nineteen Democratic electors made public attempts to justify their continued refusal to join the electoral college. *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 15, 1836), 105.

²⁰ Letter from Thomas C. Worthington to Governor Thomas W. Veazey, September 24, 1836; Maryland, Governor, "Miscellaneous Papers and Accounts," Maryland Hall of Records.

²¹ *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (November 12, 1836), 165.

After portraying the anarchical ends pursued by the Democrats, Governor Veazey unveiled the weapon designed to thwart the strategy of the recusant electors. He called the recently elected House of Delegates and the Senate which had been constituted in 1831 into a special session on November 21. This unique amalgamation of an old Senate and a new House could then, according to Veazey, adopt such measures as might be necessary to preserve the constitution of the state. The proclamation concluded with the resounding command that civil officers of the state vigilantly perform their duties, and that "all military officers and citizens . . . hold themselves in readiness, in case their services may become necessary."²²

The gubernatorial request for military preparedness did not go unheeded. In Prince George's County, the Planters Guards tendered their services to the executive, and the commanding officer issued a call for volunteers to meet at Upper Marlboro on November 19.²³ From another sector, Governor Veazey was advised of compliance with his order along with somewhat distressing intelligence; the armory at Frederick reported a woeful deficiency of supplies in the eventuality of a "draught." The commander of the garrison wrote that

to place us, then, in a condition to render efficient service in any contingency which may arise out of the anarchy which threatens us, I respectfully suggest to your Excellency the precautionary measure of ordering two thousand stand of arms to the armory . . . subject to such disposition as the crisis may require.²⁴

Meanwhile, some Democrats remained unmoved by the force of the Governor's logic. The *Baltimore Republican*, a mouth-piece for Jacksonian Democrats, unleashed a polemical denunciation of the proclamation "issued by King Veazey, by the advice of their *high mightynesses*, the executive council." In no uncertain terms, Veazey was accused of usurping authority in calling the hybrid General Assembly into special session. "We own no despot's sway," the editorial proclaimed, and it concluded with the admonition to resist any attempt ". . . to

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, (November 19, 1836), 185.

²⁴ Letter from Brigadier General Thomas C. Worthington to Governor Thomas W. Veazey, Frederick, November 11, 1836; Maryland, Governor, "Miscellaneous Papers and Accounts," Maryland Hall of Records.

sustain the present rotten constitution and the rotten-hearted cormorants who are feeding at the public crib under its provisions." ²⁵ Within a week, the reform convention opened in Baltimore. Almost every county had chosen delegates for this conclave. The group reiterated the reform sentiments which had shaped and guided their activity during the preceding months, and they bitterly decried the aspersions cast upon them by Governor Veazey. ²⁶

Yet the election results took their toll. Just as one Democrat capitulated after the October election and joined the senatorial electoral college, so too did four others following the presidential contest. These Democrats joined the college on November 19—significantly the date on which the Planters Guards grouped at Upper Marlboro. With twenty-six members, the electoral college finally achieved a quorum, and a unanimous slate of Whigs were selected to sit in Maryland's upper chamber. Each senator-elect received twenty-one votes; the five Democrats cast blank ballots. ²⁷ The battle which had racked the state for more than two months was over.

The Whigs scored impressive victories in the wake of the total failure of the Democratic strategy. Not only did the Whigs retain unanimous control of the senate, they also increased their majority in the lower house and captured the state for their presidential candidate. Democrats saw their popular vote majority in September overwhelmingly reversed in the two succeeding elections. It would have taken more than normal modesty to keep Whigs from proclaiming that the forces of reform and revolt were repudiated with the expression of confidence in Whig principles and methods.

III

One might expect that the Whig victory would have made improbable the demands for reform espoused by the Democrats. At least, it would be supposed that the latter would have to

²⁵ *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (November 12, 1836), 165-66.

²⁶ Scharf, III, 194.

²⁷ *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (November 26, 1836). See Heinrich Ewald Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland from the Revolution to the Year 1908* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 128. The four Democratic electors were Wesley Linthicum of Anne Arundel County, Marcy Fountain of Caroline County and Enoch George and John B. Thomas of Queen Anne's County.

await more favorable election results before they could seriously hope for the enactment of their goals. However, in the ensuing regular session of the General Assembly which began on December 26, 1836, nearly all of the reform proposals were enacted in the most extensive revision of a constitution made during a legislative session in Maryland. Provision was made for the direct election of the Governor and the Senate, the Governor's Council was abolished and replaced by a Secretary of State, and the lower house was reapportioned on the basis of a population formula rather than the principle of county equality. Tied in with the governmental reforms was a rider which stipulated that only the unanimous vote of the legislature could abolish slavery in Maryland.

This amendment received second legislative assent during the 1837 session and became effective in 1838. Of the major reforms advocated by the Democrats, the omnibus package covered all but the recommendations of limited terms for judges and the popular election of county clerks and registers. Moreover, the Whigs refrained from passing legislation urged by Governor Veazey to strengthen the state's laws relating to conspiracy and sedition. Given the turmoil which occurred during the fall of 1836, the Whigs might naturally have enacted vindictive legislation designed to embarrass their political enemies. The select committee appointed "to inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill making it a high crime and misdemeanor for citizens to conspire against the constitution of the state" returned an unfavorable report buttressed by the conclusion that the existing law plus general executive powers would be sufficient to meet any future crisis.²⁸

Several seemingly plausible explanations can be offered to account for the unexpected reforms sponsored and enacted while Whigs held huge legislative majorities. Dynamic and far-sighted executive leadership, the Whig desire to steal Democratic thunder by championing reform in order to become a permanent majority in the state, or merely a holding action to stave off more radical reform in the future are three explanations.

Advocating the shrewd and vigorous leadership of Governor Veazey to explain the inauguration of reform has been a tack

²⁸ *Niles Weekly Register*, LII (April 1, 1837), 73-74.

followed by a number of commentators. Heinrich Bucholz, for example, argued that Veazey was the master strategist in the paradoxical situation in which "the foes of republicanism" granted the State republican reforms.²⁹ Similarly, another writer noted that "having triumphed over lawlessness the Governor himself took the initiative in remedying the grievous conditions which had caused the trouble," and the legislature followed the executive's wishes.³⁰ As a prime illustration of his dominant position, these writers point to Veazey's unanimous re-election by the legislature on January 2, 1837.

Other than the results of the gubernatorial election of 1837 there is little to support the view that Veazey played an important, or even an active role in the development of the reform legislation. Even his unanimous re-election is less than a convincing index of his sway over the legislature. Governors were elected annually by the legislature, and they were allowed to serve a maximum of three years. Unless a party lost its legislative majority, governors typically served for the permitted three terms. Hence it was not particularly surprising to have the Whigs support Veazey for re-election. Nor was his unanimous selection particularly noteworthy. The minority party in the Maryland legislature usually did not cast its votes for a specific candidate. Minority members either submitted blank ballots or refrained from voting altogether. In light of the fact that the Whigs controlled seventy-five seats in the General Assembly, Veazey's total of seventy votes presumably included only Whig support.³¹

Moreover, the available documents indicate that Veazey did not provide a great deal of positive leadership on the constitutional revision. His proclamation calling the special session, his address to that session, and his addresses to the two succeeding regular sessions contain no more than one paragraph in each instance on the subject. Typically, he made a general comment about reform near the end of the message and deferred to the judgment of the legislature on specific measures. When

²⁹ Bucholz, p. 124.

³⁰ *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1925), IV, 46. See also Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929), p. 464.

³¹ *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (January 7, 1837), 289. Eighty-one votes were cast; eleven blanks.

the short-lived special session met, Veazey's message dismissed the importance of constitutional reform on the grounds that liberty had not been endangered. He acknowledged, however, that it might be desirable to reapportion the lower house on a population basis similar to that used for the United States House of Representatives. This was the only specific proposal Veazey referred to the legislature in official communications. In contrast, he devoted lengthy sections of his messages to detailed expositions of legislation he considered necessary on the subjects of education, internal improvements and seditious activity. Indeed, the fate of the last recounted above gives an indication of Veazey's leadership abilities in reverse. Although on several occasions he strongly recommended strengthening the sedition laws, the legislature refused to follow his guidance.

Perhaps the most poignant indication of Governor Veazey's relationship to the reform amendment is contained in a letter written during his last year in the executive mansion. Although he called upon his correspondent to destroy the letter "as soon as you read it," it has survived as a penetrating self-analysis of this enigmatic politician.

[C]ontrast my situation with what it was before the alteration of the Constitution. Then I had a council of friends around me, that was ready and willing to sustain me in all difficulties and to whom I could appeal for advice and council [*sic*] without any fear of being misled, and with a clerk that I knew to be the best qualified man for the office in the State . . . And now . . . what is my situation? I am here in this empty chamber without a Council, without clerk, without one friend to whom I can turn, to ask advice.

Following this bitter comparison, Veazey looked forward with anticipation to the time when he could "lay down this office and return once more to my happy home."³² It is difficult to reconcile this image of a frustrated, defeated and lonely man with the claim that Veazey was a shrewd and dynamic political strategist who provided the impetus for the successful passage of the reform bill.

As a second explanation of the action taken by the Whig

³² Letter from Governor Thomas W. Veazey to Col. Nathaniel Williams, March 9, 1838; Maryland Hall of Records. The letter was written nearly ten months before the end of Veazey's third term.

Party as it enacted the reform legislation, it can be argued that through this tactic the Whigs hoped to cloak themselves as the responsible and trustworthy exponents of reform. In so doing, they would borrow liberally from the campaign platform of the opposing party, thus enhancing their party's position in the eyes of the public while at the same time sapping the appeal of the opposition. This process has frequently been cited as a prime characteristic of a party's method to attain and remain in a majoritarian position. The bare chronology of events in this Maryland episode would seem to be consistent with this interpretation. Yet there is very little evidence which suggests that the Whigs actually intended to follow this strategem. It is true that shortly after the electoral college impasse developed, Baltimore Whigs proclaimed that "Our motto is, '*constitutional reform and no revolution.*'" Self-proclaimed friends of reform, they conceded that the state constitution should be amended in certain respects.³³ The position espoused by these Baltimoreans must be weighed against several factors. First, the Democrats held predominant power within the city; even in the Whig landslide in the October election for lower house representatives, Democrats won both of the city's seats. Under these circumstances, it might be expected that the Whigs would tend to be more liberal than in areas where they held overwhelming control. Secondly, given the minority position of Whigs within Baltimore, it would be assumed that they would wield a restricted voice within Whig conclaves.

If the argument is accepted that the Whigs intended to cast themselves as reformers in order to become the permanent majority in Maryland, a review of election results from 1838 until the Civil War shows that the Whigs fared poorly in the attempt. A Democrat became the first popularly elected Governor in 1838, and Democrats competed for the office successfully in four of the succeeding six elections. Only in 1843 on the heels of nearly disastrous Democratic fiscal policies and in 1857 when the Know Nothing candidate emerged victorious was the Democratic hold on the state's highest executive office broken.

Speaking from a perspective fifteen years after the crisis, a

³³ *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (October 1, 1836), 70-74. Details were not given outlining the specific amendments considered desirable, however.

Whig delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1851 may have accurately presented the feelings commonly held by Whigs when the reform legislation was passed. After admitting that the reforms now merited his "gratitude and approbation," he acknowledged that when the innovations were made "he was compelled to regard it as the darkest hour in the modern annals of our State."⁸⁴ Similarly, another Whig delegate bitterly complained that "in 1836 the Legislature . . . yielded to the principles and demands of demagogues . . . That year will ever be looked upon and held in memory, as the beginning of our downfall."⁸⁵ Neither of these comments can be construed as indications of shrewd Whig acceptance of the reform badge. Of course, by 1851, hindsight, noting the frequent victories of the opposition, may have embittered the most ardent Whig reformer.

Even shortly after the passage of the reform amendments, however, the Whigs illustrated reluctance to take credit for the reforms. During a hotly contested campaign for a congressional seat in western Maryland, Whigs bombarded the incumbent, Francis Thomas, with vitriolic references to his participation in the revolt of the nineteen. A typical campaign tract emphasized "nineteen reasons" why Thomas should not be re-elected without mentioning the Whig reform record.⁸⁶ Doubtless the Whigs felt it advantageous to tie "revolution" to Thomas, but at a time when emotions had cooled this amounted to giving him credit for reform as well. Thomas was re-elected.

The assumption that the Whigs embraced mild reforms in order to stave off more radical efforts by the Democrats generates a certain plausibility. Without doubt, Whig axioms with respect to the nature of political representation and the division between legislative and executive power were seriously threatened by Democratic agitation. Even the victory in the immediate battle might not placate Whig fears that the Democrats might accomplish a drastic overhaul of the state's institutions in the future. Adopting basic governmental reforms on their

⁸⁴ Maryland, *Debates and Proceedings of the Maryland Reform Convention to Revise the State Constitution* (Annapolis, 1851), I, 162.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁸⁶ See, for example, *Hagerstown Torchlight and Public Advertiser*, July 13, 1837. Thomas participated in drafting the resolutions followed by the nineteen. He also appeared in Annapolis to devise strategy after the boycott had begun. He was elected Governor in 1841.

own initiative, the Whigs could hope to avoid extreme action by the opposition later. At the same time, by passing the reform amendment while they held legislative majorities, the Whigs were able to remove the institution of slavery from the vicissitudes of subsequent majorities.

A critical factor remains inconsistent with the explanation that the reform was simply a holding action. The amendment sponsored by the Whigs was much more extreme than would be expected in that event. Any of the reforms taken singly could easily be viewed consistently with this doctrine. The combination of reforms in the omnibus revision of the Constitution goes well beyond the scope of expected compromise. Viewed from this perspective, it would be a bit like using the guillotine as a cure for a head cold.

The explanations offered by commentators as well as general interpretations of political activity fail to account for significant factors involved in the emergency and the reforms which resulted from it. As an alternative, it seems instructive to approach the episode from a different perspective. Instead of attempting to discern positive action designed by Whig leaders to abet a partisan cause, an emphasis on the extent to which Whigs were caught by forces which they could neither comprehend nor control may provide the key to understanding this paradoxical situation. When the Democratic electors decided to boycott the senatorial electoral college on the grounds that the voice of the majority demanded that course of action, Whigs responded with well-reasoned attacks on majoritarianism and defenses of aristocratic representative and executive institutions. Within two months, the Whig Party received two ringing endorsements at the polls. Instead of taking advantage of the endorsements to substantiate their principles, the Whigs seemed to be perplexed by the election results. Ironically, they were dependent upon the will of the majority to buttress undemocratic principles. The temperamental outlook of the Whig Party—its collection of traditions, aspirations and ideals—mitigated against its effective use of a majoritarian mandate. In a sense, the Whigs became victims of their own success because they were unable to reconcile the concept of the popular mandate with their prevailing political maxims.

To sharpen the focus on the theory of the temperamental

outlook of a political party as an explanation of the results of the 1836 crisis, it is plausible to assume that the Whigs would have felt more at home in the political battle utilizing undemocratic institutional devices rather than a popular mandate. When the elections resulted in impressive Whig victories, the Whigs, as repositories of popular favor, seemed to respond almost automatically with sponsorship of the reforms advocated by their opponents. The inclusion of the slavery rider in the reform measure reflected the confusion and panic which seemed to engulf the Whig approach to reform. Not that it would be unexpected for a political party to adopt constitutional safeguards for a policy cherished by many of its members; what is more noteworthy is the fact that the Whigs felt constrained to express the safeguard in terms which specified that slavery could never be repealed in Maryland without the unanimous consent of both legislative chambers. Couching the constitutional restriction with a requirement of unanimity, the Whigs seemed to recognize that they had unwittingly unleashed a set of drastic reforms which would react to their disadvantage. Nevertheless, the reforms were enacted.

The Whig psychology is also illustrated in the action taken by Governor Veazey after he called the legislation into special session. As already recounted, he issued a call for the newly elected House of Delegates and the old Senate to convene. Partisan rebuttal to this action emphasized the alleged usurpation of authority and unconstitutionality of Veazey's maneuver, and in the process, party lines were abruptly switched. Democrats, champions of wide-sweeping executive power on the national level, advocated a narrow construction of executive authority. Whigs, propagators in the not-too-distant past of "King Andrew" charges, found their leader assailed in similar terms. Obviously stung by criticism which suggested a deviation from the Whig doctrine of legislative supremacy, Veazey devoted a substantial portion of his special session message to an exposition of the legal precedents justifying the appearance of a heterogeneous legislature. The message is all the more revealing when it is noted that the General Assembly was never formally organized during the special session to carry on legislative business.³⁷ Normally, a chief executive awaits word that

³⁷ *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (December 3, 1836), 213-14. The lower house

the legislature is organized before submitting messages to it. That Governor Veazey refused to wait under these circumstances lends credence to the opinion that he felt constrained to issue a public justification of his action at all costs. In effect, he was compelled to disassociate himself from an alleged deviation from basic Whig tenets. The clutch of the temperamental demeanor of the Whig Party seemed to hold Veazey firmly in sway.

It is instructive to examine the role of the Democratic Party as the crisis developed and reached a climax. Throughout the episode, Democrats frequently found themselves espousing action contrary to the basic principles of their party. In succession, the Democrats utilized the undemocratic quorum requirement in the senatorial electoral college, condemned Governor Veazey by advocating narrow construction of executive authority, and, at least for the fourteen Democratic electors who never relented in their boycott of the electoral college, rejected the indication of popular sentiment reflected in the October and November elections. When the Whig-dominated legislature promptly passed the reform amendment, the Democrats were placed in an awkward position. To counter this development, the Democrats fell back on two partisan pleas. First, they attempted to gain credit for the passage of the reforms on the grounds that their activity had forced the Whigs to act. Thus, at their state convention in 1838, the Democrats argued that the united and determined efforts of the Democratic Party forced the legislature to adopt the constitutional amendment.⁸⁸

Secondly, the Democrats argued that reform was incomplete and pointed specifically to the judiciary where no changes were made. Consistent with the claim that additional reform was necessary, the Democrats continued to agitate for a constitutional convention.⁸⁹ This remained a party war cry until 1850 when the necessary machinery was created to hold a convention. Despite the forthright pleas for additional reform, it is interesting to note that the reform convention of 1850-1851 constructed a new Constitution which did not alter considerably the governmental structure produced by the amended Consti-

organized, but the Senate was unable to secure a quorum. After five fruitless days the House adjourned.

⁸⁸ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), June 7, 1838.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, April 12, 1838.

tution of 1776. As the Democrats developed these arguments, it was also incumbent upon them to deny the revolutionary implications of the 1836 conflict. Naturally, they did not wish to carry the rebel mantle in succeeding elections. Thus, in 1851, a Democrat who had been a Whig in 1836, blocked the charge that Maryland in 1836 provided a parallel with the Dorr rebellion in Rhode Island. He argued that "there was nothing in the condition or character of the State of Maryland to justify any parallel."⁴⁰

To be sure, Democrats trod a precarious line when at one and the same time they argued that their activity had forced the Whigs to pass reform, but that the agitation was not revolutionary in character. On several occasions, the balance was lost. For example, Baltimore Democrats proclaimed in 1838:

The ruling party that passed our reform bill were [*sic*] the only party in the State opposed to reform, and they resisted it until they lost the power of governing without it. . . . The wheels of government were locked and brought to a stand by the reformers, before the Whig party consented to any change of the Constitution. . . . They promised us no reform until they were reduced to the last extremity of political existence.⁴¹

Similarly, when the Democrats issued the call for a constitutional convention to be held in mid-November, 1836, it was emphasized that the convention would be clothed with full power to provide the remnants of a government until a new constitution could be drawn. In both of these statements, the suggestion and acknowledgment of a revolutionary situation cannot be disputed.

Thus, despite Democratic claims to the contrary, the agitation in 1836 bears distinct similarity to the Dorr Rebellion in Rhode Island five years later. In both cases, incensed spokesmen for the popular majority in the state urged the right of the people to construct a new government as the only alternative to the iniquities of political representation produced by the existing order. With swathing strokes, the reformers in Maryland and Rhode Island advocated majority rights and powers against institutional machinery which allowed a minority to retain

⁴⁰ Maryland, *Debates and Proceedings of the Maryland Reform Convention to Revise the State Constitution*, I, 156.

⁴¹ *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), July 8, 1838.

power. John C. Calhoun quickly recognized the proposals of the Maryland reformers as a threat to his sectional position. In Senate debate on the question of the admission of Michigan into the Union, he bitterly assailed the concept that "the authority of numbers" should prevail over the authority of law. The acceptance of this principle, according to Calhoun, would overthrow constitutional government and subvert all social order. "It is the identical principle which prompted the late revolutionary and anarchical movement in Maryland, and which has done more to shake confidence in our system of government than any event since the adoption of our constitution." Calhoun rejoiced that the "patriotism and intelligence" of the people of Maryland caused the movement to fail.⁴²

IV

From the perspective of partisan politics, "reform or revolution" in 1836 represents a panorama of ironies. The episode began when ardent democrats utilized an undemocratic institutional device in order to gain reform. It ended when the former opponents of reform enacted a comprehensive constitutional amendment which provided most of the reforms desired by the democrats. In between, the parties switched sides on a number of basic issues, a process in keeping with the American political tradition. It has been said that he who wins the battle of the choice of the battlefield wins the battle. In this case, both sides lost the crucial preliminary conflict to ascertain the terrain on which the fight would be held. Democrats entered the fray in the vanguard of popular support which they felt made their position impregnable. Within two months, defeats at the polls stripped the Democratic Party of this support. Conversely, Whigs, armed with elaborate defenses of the aristocratic order, found themselves lionized by the masses. The results? Whigs won the immediate battle almost by default and the old order triumphed over insurrection. Yet, having also lost their battle field, the conservatives sanctioned a series of reforms destined to reduce drastically their hold on the governmental apparatus of the State. The decades after 1836 witnessed the final irony; Whigs consistently decried their own reforms, and Democrats strove mightily to receive credit for them.

⁴² *Niles Weekly Register*, LI (January 14, 1837), 308.

FOUND: ONE ANCHOR FROM H. M. S. *DICTATOR*

By FRANK J. SCHWARTZ and JAMES GREEN

ON February 16, 1959, a "hard hat" diver of the U. S. Naval Ordnance Test Laboratory, Solomons, Maryland, while working in 88 feet of water, 2000 feet northwest ($38^{\circ} 20' 25''$ N $76^{\circ} 29' 17''$ W) of Point Patience in the Patuxent River, Calvert County, stubbed his foot on an object that projected a few inches above the muddy bottom. After freeing it, a heavy blob of caked mud and clay weighing nearly a ton was hoisted out of the water and onto the nearby shore. Careful washing soon revealed a complete, odd-shaped, and fluked, wooden stocked anchor in an extremely well preserved condition. Immediate interest was aroused as to what type it represented, where it had come from, how old it was, and its nationality. Over the past two years, a search of many naval logs and listings, plus the excellent help of Mr. A. W. H. Pearsall of the National Maritime Museum, London, England, Mr. R. Burgess of the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Virginia, and Mr. M. Peterson of the U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C.,—to all of whom we extend our heartiest thanks—have now solved many of the questions originally posed.

The anchor (Fig. 1) stock was 9'4" long and consisted of two pieces of wood banded together by four three-inch iron straps. The octagonal shank, below the stock, was 7'4" long with a total length of 8'7" overall. A ring, two inches thick and 1'7" in outside diameter was attached through the shank above the stock. This ring was overlaid with rope which was covered with canvas that had been pitched (Fig. 2). Close examination of the shank revealed the letters "Rec Chat 6x3x24" (Fig. 3). On the under surface of the stock were inscribed the scrawled letters "Dictator" with broad arrows facing in opposite directions on each portion of the stock (Fig. 4). On the upper surface, near the ring, was the number "6625." The tips of the flukes were 63 inches apart and each fluke measured 16 x 19 inches.

It was soon learned that "Rec Chat" meant "Received Chatham," which implies that the anchor had been made by a contractor. The number "6625" was the number of the anchor. Although a date was usually inscribed when "Old Plan" anchors of 1700 vintage were constructed, this had apparently been obliterated. The broad arrow on the stock was the traditional mark of British Government property. Likewise, the custom at that time was to mark on the stock the name of the ship, weight of the anchor ($6 \times 3 \times 24 = 780$ pounds), and the anchor number (6625) as we found them.

Thus, it is now known that the above anchor was an "Old Plan" kedge anchor from the man-of-war *Dictator* (Fig. 5), which was used as a troop ship during the War of 1812 and which, apparently, was in the Patuxent River near Point Patience to fight Barney's gun boats during the summer of 1814, when (Cover): "On June 6, 1814, a strong American flotilla commanded by Commodore Joshua Barney, consisting of the sloop *Scorpion* with 8 carronades and a long gun, and 16 gun boats, one long gun in the bow and another in the stern, the largest 32 pounders, with 60 men; the others 18 pounders and 40 men, moored in a close line across St. Leonard's Creek, were attacked by the boats of the British squadron in the Chesapeake, under the command of Capt. Robert Barrie of the 74-gun ship *Dragon* and supported by the 38-gun frigate *Loire*, Capt. Thos. Brown; 18-gun brig *Jasseur*, Capt. Geo. Edw. Watts; and 13-gun schooner *St. Lawrence*. Capt. Barrie, by a discharge of rockets and carronades tried to provoke the Americans to come down within reach of the guns of the supporting vessels. But the Americans, after chasing the boats for some distance, returned to their moorings."¹

The *Dictator* (Fig. 5) was built in 1783 by Batson and Company at Limehouse, England. The length on gun deck was 159'6", on keel was 131'0". Its breadth was 44'6", depth 18' and it weighed 1379 tons. This ship, when employed as a troop ship, often carried 500 men and was armed with 64 cannons. She saw immediate action in the Baltic Sea and around Egypt. It is, however, only in the Captain's log that there is any note of her being in the United States. Her 15 known captains and areas of action are listed below (Table 1). No data are avail-

¹ Data furnished with the cover painting depicting the famous battle of St. Leonard's Creek, which may be viewed at the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va.



FIG. 1. Anchor from the H. M. S. *Dictator* immediately after being washed clear of encased mud. Photo by F. Schwartz.

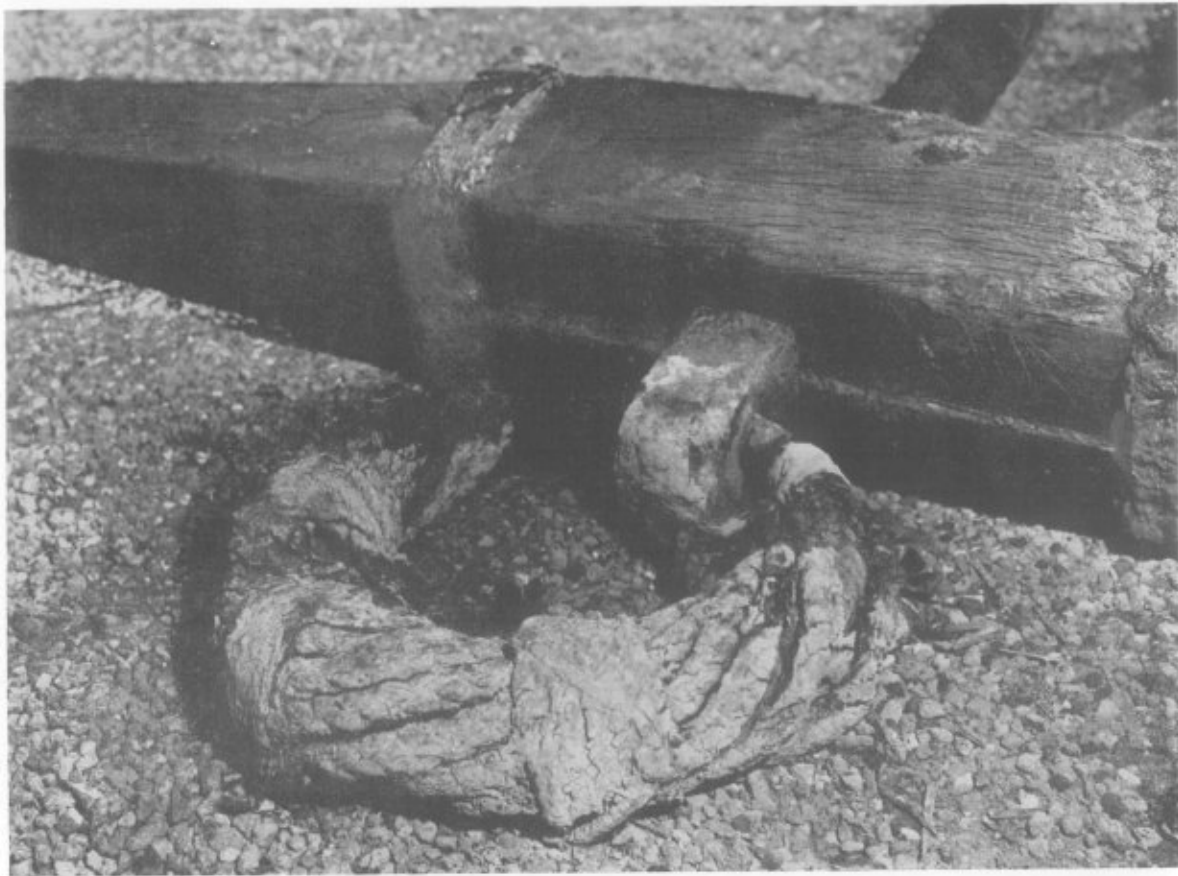


FIG. 2. Anchor ring, 1' 7" outside diameter, showing excellent preserved condition of the rope and cloth overlay. Photo by J. Green.



FIG. 3. Shank of anchor on which appeared the engraved letters "Rec Chat."
Photo by J. Green.



FIG. 4. Stock illustrating the inscribed letters "Dictator," the method of marking the weight of the anchor "6 x 3 x 24" and the broad arrows, a sign of British Government property. Photo by J. Schwartz.

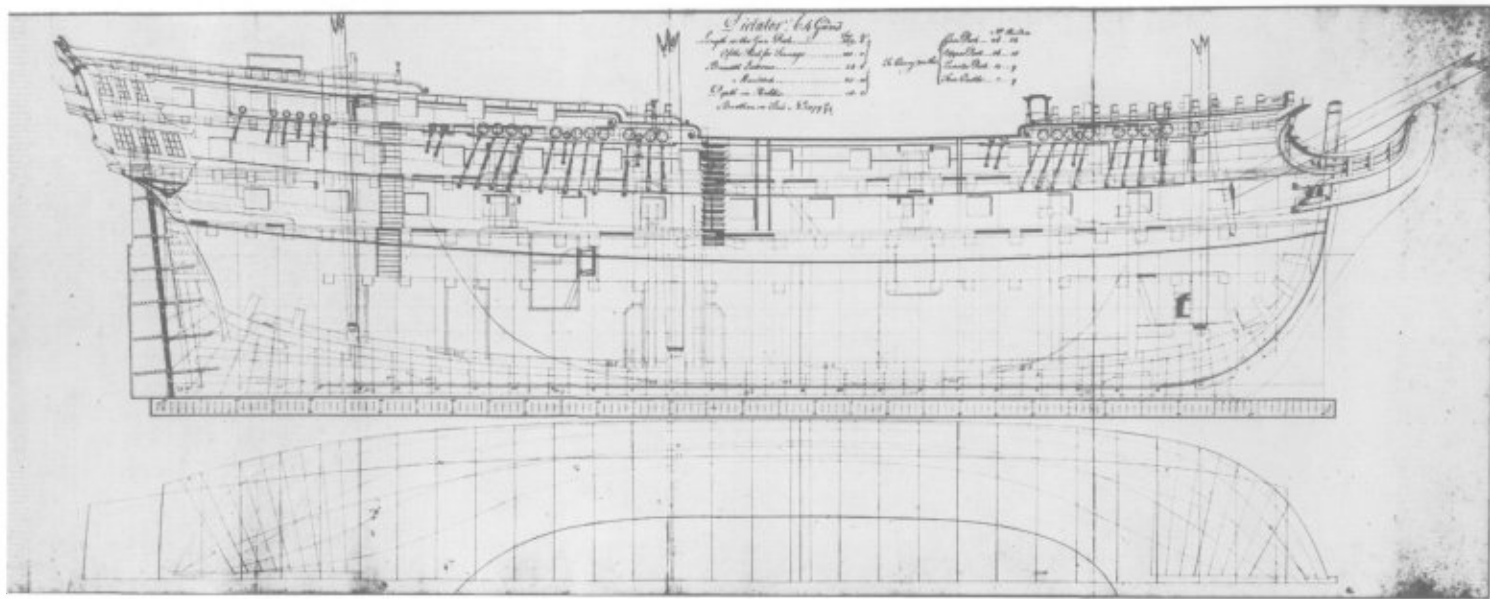


FIG. 5. Profile of 64 gun H. M. S. Dictator. Photo courtesy, the Mariner's Museum, Newport News, Va.

able for the period 1783-1790, and there is some doubt whether or not the ship was then in commission. Such information for these early periods is difficult to obtain as 1783-1790 records usually are not reliable or accurate, nor were there admiralty lists, as in later days. The records show that she was broken up in 1817.

TABLE 1
CAPTAINS AND AREAS OF ACTION FOR *H. M. S. Dictator*
BETWEEN 1790 AND 1815

YEAR	CAPTAIN	AREA OF ACTION
1790	R. R. Bligh	Downs
1791	J. Tonken	Nore
1793-5	E. Dod	---
1796	T. Totty	West Indies
1797	T. Western	West Indies
1798	T. B. Martin	Channel
1798-1802	J. Hardy	Channel
1803	J. Newhouse	Thames as floating battery
1804	Charles Tinling	Thames as floating battery
1806-7	James M'Namara	Baltic & North Sea
1809	D. Campbell	Baltic & North Sea
1809-10	R. H. Pearson	Baltic & North Sea
1811-12	Robert Williams	Baltic
1813-15	Hon. G. A. Crofton	Troopship
1815	Henry Montresor	Troopship

Undoubtedly she was one of the smaller supporting men-of-war which Lovell² describes as having participated in another Battle of the Patuxent on August 17, 1814:

On the 17th of August, the *Tonnant* (80), Vice-Admiral Sir A. Cochrane; *Royal Oak* (74), Rear-Admiral P. Malcolm; several frigates and smaller men-of-war, with *twenty sail of transports*,³ having on board the 4th, 21st, 44th, and 85th Regiments of foot, and the marine battalion, under Lieut.-Colonel Malcolm, joined the squadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Cockburn, at the mouth of the river Patuxent. The land forces were commanded by the gallant Major-General Ross. We weighed on the morning of the 20th, and sailed up the river to Benedict, where we landed the

² *A Personal Narrative of Events from 1799 to 1815*, 2nd Ed. 1879, pp. 158-160.

³ Our underlining to denote that The *Dictator* was probably one of these 20 sail transports.

troops, which, including artillery, sailors, and marines, did not muster more than 4500 men.

On the evening of the above day all the boats of the fleet, manned and armed, divided into divisions and sub-divisions, of which I commanded one, left the ships, advanced up the river towards Lower Marlborough to attack the American gun-boats, under Commodore Barney, and likewise to act on the right flank of our army. As we advanced, the enemy's flotilla retired sixty miles further up the river to a place called Pig Point, where, in a most favourable position for defence, surrounded by banks and narrow creeks, with a wooded country on one side, and hills on the other, which were to have been lined with riflemen and other troops, it was their intention to have awaited the attack.

Late in the evening of the 21st the boats reached Nottingham, when we fired on a few American dragoons, and drove them out of the town. Our army arrived a short time afterwards. The next day, at noon, we came up with the vessels of the enemy, who on our approach set them on fire, and blew them all up, except one, which, together with five merchant schooners, we brought away. This service was performed with little loss on our side, for the advance of our infantry had driven the Americans from the woods, who had fallen back upon the main road to Washington. One division of boats proceeded to Upper Marlborough to keep a communication with our Army; the remainder occupied a position at Pig Point to cover a retreat.

No sooner was the flotilla destroyed than the brave and dashing Rear-Admiral Cockburn joined the troops, and marched with them to attack the city of Washington.

At this time one can only speculate as to how the anchor came to be at the bottom of the Patuxent River for almost 145 years since no notation of its loss from the *Dictator* was entered in the ship's log. Perhaps the *Dictator*, like so many other sailing vessels of that day, was trying to kedge around the deep and swift waters of Point Patience on a calm summer day and the anchor either fell out of a small boat or was lost overboard from the ship. Perhaps the line broke or slipped loose during a kedging operation or as she was anchored. Whether any of these possibilities is correct must remain unresolved. Today the anchor, which has been treated to prevent decay and weathering, can be viewed at the Mariner's Museum in Newport News, Virginia.

SIDELIGHTS

A CARGO OF FLOUR PRESENTED IN 1775 BY THE PROVINCIAL CONVENTION OF MARYLAND TO THE “PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY”

By L. WETHERED BARROLL

The following letter, signed by citizens of Kent and Queen Anne's Counties, Maryland, and addressed to “Thomas Smyth Esq.,” Chairman of the Maryland Provincial Convention, refers to a “cargo of flour” aboard a vessel belonging to John Wethered. The original of the letter is the property of Lewin Wethered, Baltimore, a great-great-grandson of John Wethered. This flour later in 1775 was delivered, a gift to the “Province of Massachusetts Bay.”

Chester Town 27th April 1775

Sir,

As provisions may be wanted for the supply of the New England Forces, which may be collected together in consequence of the late unhappy rupture between the Militia and the Regular Troops, (of which we have this day received Intelligence), We have thought proper to advise Mr. John Wethered, who has a cargo of flour on board of a vessel, now in the Port of Annapolis, which He would dispose of at first Cost, to make an offer of it to our Provincial Convention, in hopes that they will think proper to purchase it, and have it forwarded, as a present from the Province, for the above purposes. We have no doubt but the inhabitants of this County would cheerfully contribute their proportion—and we must request that you will acquaint the other Delegates from this County, and ask their concurrence in recommending it to the Convention.

We beg leave to mention that, in our opinion, the most certain conveyance would be by the way of New York, addressed to the Chairman of their Committee, to be by him forwarded, in the same Bottom, to the Port of New London, from whence it may be transported by Land to the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedt Servants

J. NICHOLFON
J^{as} ANDERSON
EMORY SUDLER
JA. McLEAN

JOHN SCOTT
THOS. SMITH, Esq.
THOS. WILKINS
JAS. NICHOLSON

EZEKIL FORMAN
WM. BORDLEY
ELEAZER NEWCOMB

This letter, written a few days after the Battle of Concord evidences the loyal feeling of Eastern Shore of Maryland people for the far off "New England Forces," animated by the same determination to resist the British.

Also, it is quite significant how quickly the people of the Eastern Shore responded and how much the first skirmishes of the Revolution absorbed their minds. Instead of passing Resolutions, or wordy Declarations, Marylanders immediately offered practical help to the "New England Forces." They offered to send flour "as a present from the Province" with no talk of the recipients giving bonds or collateral for its being paid for at some future date.

Who were the gentlemen, who, by signing this letter, placed their necks in a noose—if the British won the war.

THOMAS SMYTH

Thomas Smyth of Chestertown, to whom this letter was addressed, was one of the "deputies" of the counties at Annapolis. Here also appears a list of the other "residents of the Eastern Shore" who, by a Resolution of the "Delegates of the province of Maryland agreed to . . . be a council of safety for this Province." The convention where this Resolution was later adopted was held at Annapolis July 25th to August 14th, 1775. Smyth was chairman.

It is apparent these "Deputies" were in session at Annapolis long before this "Resolution" was adopted. Thomas Smyth was a Merchant, lived in "Wide Hall," a mansion on Water Street in Chestertown, and in 1783 contributed £30 to the fund for founding Washington College. The only larger contributors were George Washington (£87.10s) and John Cadwalader (£132.6s6d.)¹

JAMES ANDERSON

James Anderson was a Physician in Chestertown and a graduate in Medicine of the University of Edinburgh. There are sketches concerning him and his family in Hanson's *Old Kent*. (He gave £30 to found Washington College).

EMORY SUDLER

Emory Sudler is one of the family for whom Sudlersville, Maryland was named. (He gave £18 to Washington College.)¹

DR. JOHN SCOTT

Dr. John Scott, son of Capt. John Scott and Hannah Smyth Scott,

¹ "Washington College, 1783," *Md. Hist. Mag.* (June, 1911), VI, 168.

born 1728, died in 1790. He married Elizabeth Calder. He was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

During the Revolutionary War he vaccinated 500 Revolutionary soldiers in the public square in Chestertown. He was a vestryman of St. Paul's Church in 1781 and was commissioned August 4, 1789, Collector of the Part of Chestertown, his commission signed by General Washington.²

THOMAS WILKINS

Thomas Wilkins appears in Hanson's *Old Kent* when "the Freeholders of the Parish (I. U.) met this day, April 20, 1772 at the Parish Church and elected Thomas Wilkins—in the room of Thomas Smith." Later on April 10, 1798, he "was elected Church Warden."³

EZEKIEL FORMAN

Ezekiel Forman was the son of Joseph and Elizabeth Lee Forman, born October 10, 1736, died May 29, 1795. He was High Sheriff of Kent County in 1776. He was Paymaster of the Eastern Shore Militia and a Member of the Council of Safety of Maryland. In 1789 he emigrated to Natchez.⁴

WILLIAM BORDLEY

William Bordley was a Member of the Vestry of St. Paul's Parish, Centreville, from 1771 to 1774. There were two William Bordleys about this time. One was a major or colonel in the Kent Militia and was grandson of Thomas Bordley of Annapolis, the Attorney General of Maryland, about 1715. The other was William Bordley, son of Stephen Jr. (lawyer), born in Kent County, married Mary Clayton, daughter of William and Sarah Clayton of "Chesterfield" (the site of Centreville, Queen Annes County). He was grandson of Rev. Stephen Bordley (brother of Thomas of Annapolis) who came to Maryland from England in 1696 to become rector of St. Pauls, Fairlee, Kent County. (He gave £18 to Washington College.)⁵

² Records of Scott's Public Service are in possession of the descendant, Mrs. Simon Wickes Wescott, Kennedyville, Md. George Adolphus Hanson, *Old Kent* . . . (Baltimore, 1876), pp. 377-378.

³ Hanson, pp. 376-378.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 239.

⁵ "Washington College," *loc. cit.* Frederick Emory, *Queen Anne's County, Maryland* . . . (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 172-173.

JOHN WETHERED

The owner of the "Bottom" containing the cargo of flour, and "By Favor" of whom this letter was delivered to "Thomas Smyth Esq." at the date of the letter had an Aunt Sarah Harding living in Boston. In 1774 his first son Peregrine was born in her home in Boston. It is clear from this why he was in favor of aiding "The New England Forces." Also the route proposed—out of the Virginia Capes and up the coast to New London—indicates the vessel was large enough for an ocean voyage.

John Wethered's daughter Clementina Matilda who grew up at "Drayton" her home on Churn Creek in Kent County, Maryland, married George Jeffries of nearby Portsmouth, New Hampshire and her father's letters show he frequently travelled from Maryland to Portsmouth for visits with her family—especially to escape Maryland's hot weather.

According to the entry in his Bible by her Father John Wethered she "married George Jeffry (Eldest son of Doct^r John Jeffries) who changed his name to inherit an estate in Portsmouth. He was married in Jamaica Plains near Boston by the Rev. Dr. Gardman on the 21st September A. D. 1815."⁶

⁶ *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, May 26, 1951, p. 673.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Inevitable Success: Herbert R. O'Connor. By HARRY W. KIRWIN. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1962. xiv, 580. \$6.75.

Herbert R. O'Connor was an ambitious, personable third-generation Irish Catholic who was desperately eager to be governor of Maryland, and that, according to Professor Kirwin, made it inevitable. After an average record at Loyola College and the University of Maryland Law School, O'Connor began systematically climbing the political ladder in the Democratic Party, becoming State's Attorney in Baltimore in 1923, and Attorney General in 1934. He performed his duties efficiently, cultivated political friends, avoided taking stands whenever possible on controversial issues, and sure enough was elected governor in 1938 and reelected in 1942.

Consciously modeling his administrations after the much admired Albert C. Ritchie, O'Connor in office embraced the twin principles of efficiency and economy. He worked to reform the courts, streamline the legislative process, pay off the State debt, and lower taxes. Although persuaded to expand the public school system, he vigorously opposed other kinds of "welfare" legislation, and he was particularly eager to prevent organized labor from taking advantage of the wartime scarcity of workers. O'Connor was never afraid of platitudes, however, and most of all he spent the governorship campaigning in favor of an allied victory in World War II. In 1946, after two terms in Annapolis, he convinced the State that his record qualified him for the United States Senate.

The Senate was in full revolt again President Truman's Fair Deal, and O'Connor quickly joined the Southern Democrats and Republicans who were fearful of government spending, labor unions, immigration, and especially of subversion. He admired Senator Joseph McCarthy, and Senator Pat McCurran became his closest Senate friend. Always a desperately hard and dedicated worker, he was especially energetic serving on anti-crime and anti-subversive investigating committees. He retired from the Senate in 1952, and worked to obtain American Bar Association censure of the Supreme Court. He died in 1960, age 63.

This is the most important book that has yet appeared on Mary-

land politics in the Twentieth Century. The scholarship is massive and the subject emerges through detail with fine clarity. The book's importance makes its faults all the more lamentable. Chief of these is the lack of State history as a background to the biography of one of its leading citizens. The author seldom looks into the camp of the Republicans or liberal Democrats who opposed O'Connor, with the result that he is dealing with specific issues and personalities rather than with basic forces in the State. In analyzing election returns, for example, the author is careful to "give full credit" to groups who voted for O'Connor, but he seldom analyzes the components, much less seeks to understand, the groups who voted in opposition. The author's lucid style is marred by jarring clichés.

Professor Kirwin, Chairman of the History Department at Loyola, was a personal friend of O'Connor and is deeply sympathetic with his subject. He does not feel that it is terribly important that O'Connor "was not intellectually inclined" (p. 555), or that in choosing issues "he had no intention of getting too far ahead of the average citizen" (p. 300). Professor Kirwin is more concerned with "fundamental morality," and apparently thinking of O'Connor's hard work, good intention and personal righteousness, calls him "a paragon of virtue" (p. 71) and "the essence of everything good" (p. 559). That's the trouble with moral judgments in history writing; people's standards are so different. Some will require their statesmen to have understanding as well as good intention, and to be right as well as righteous.

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

University of Maryland

The Papers of James Madison. Volume I, 1751-1779. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHISON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1962. xlii, 344. \$10.

The Papers of James Madison. Volume II, 1780-1781. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHISON and WILLIAM M. E. RACHAL. Chicago; The University of Chicago Press, 1962. xix, 344. \$10.

James Madison now joins the early American statesmen—Jefferson, Franklin, Hamilton, the Adamses, Clay, and Calhoun—whose papers are being published in full and edited with impeccable scholarship. Until now we have had four old and very limited editions of our fourth president's writings, which comprise only

about one-sixth of his papers. The last was Gaillard Hunt's nine-volume edition that appeared between 1900 and 1910. The present edition will include virtually all of the approximately 7000 papers written by Madison and those from around 15,000 extant letters sent to him which received his "careful attention." The editors have gathered Madison items in about 250 different locations, but they come chiefly from the largest collection (11,000 manuscripts written to or by him) at the Library of Congress. Surely this is an enterprise that places us in debt to a group of distinguished scholars and librarians at the universities of Chicago and Virginia and at the Virginia Historical Society who are taking up a long and important task, to the late Leonard D. White of Chicago, Chief Editor of the project in its decisive and planning stages, and to Julian P. Boyd whose superb edition of the Jefferson Papers is a model well followed by Madison's editors.

Covering the first 29 years of Madison's life, Volume One brings light to bear first upon his studies and friendships at Princeton, particularly in his correspondence with William Bradford of Philadelphia who became our second attorney-general. Madison's class was 1771, a time when Princeton Commencement oratory was, in Irving Brant's phrase, "a living part of the Revolution itself." In his *Commonplace Book* Madison early indicates some philosophical and literary sources he was to draw upon skillfully and enduringly when framing and defending the Constitution. We well know the impression made upon the minds of the Founding Fathers by Locke and Montesquieu, but here too are Jemmy's copies of the maxims and epigrams of Cardinal de Retz and the Abbe de Bos. In his collegiate doggerel he is hardly the sobersides remembered by Princeton's President Witherspoon. He was seeking guidelines for a prudent and sociable approach to life. Yet he was not averse to pursuing subtleties of argument concerning free will with his tutor and friend, Samuel Stanhope Smith, whose two philosophical letters are only a foretaste of hitherto unpublished manuscripts sent to Madison by eminent and interesting Americans, which will be printed in this series.

Midway in the first volume, in 1774-75, Madison emerges as a public man. He becomes a member of his father's Orange County Committee of Safety, then in 1776 he goes to Williamsburg to begin his long service to state and nation. Revealing his attitude toward the growing theme of independence are the several documents that show how central to his thinking was the "sacred right" of religious liberty. To George Mason's Declaration of Rights Madison brought the phrase "free exercise of religion," a small triumph then for the

liberal Virginia legislative minority that ten years later won full victory.

The second volume encompasses only Madison's thirtieth year; but what a year it was. He entered the Continental Congress, served on the Board of Admiralty, and led in congressional discussions of finances, the trans-Allegheny West and the rights of Americans on the Mississippi. Well-established here is the foresight that enabled Madison and others to overcome interstate rivalries for western lands, jealousies that delayed ratification of the Articles of Confederation and effective waging of war. Aided by meticulous annotations and a good index, the reader of these papers can inspect the initially creaky machinery of our new government through the record of one who worked nobly to improve it.

WILSON SMITH

The Johns Hopkins University

The Scotch-Irish: A Social History. By JAMES G. LEYBURN. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. xix, 377. \$7.

Between 1717 and 1775 five great waves of emigration brought an estimated quarter of a million Ulstermen from Northern Ireland to the American colonies. Despite the significance of these emigrants to colonial America, especially to the Middle Colonies and the South, specific information on their background or on their adjustment to America is often hard to find. *The Scotch-Irish* is therefore particularly welcome as a general study of the Scotch-Irish before and during their move to America. The author, Professor of Sociology at Washington and Lee University, has divided his discussion into three major sections to examine the Scotch-Irish first in the Lowlands of Scotland during the 16th century, second on the Ulster Plantation of Northern Ireland in the 17th century, and third in the American colonies during the 18th century. Each section contains a brief narrative of political and economic developments but the main emphasis of the author falls on a description of social structure and acculturation and an analysis of national character and temperament.

Almost half of this book is devoted to the Scotch-Irish in Scotland and Ireland. This material is not only interesting of itself; it also enables the author to draw instructive parallels between their experiences in three countries. The harshness of farming in Scotland in the 16th century, for instance, accounts for much of the success

Scottish emigrants had in dealing with the privations of pioneering both in Ulster and the New World. The opposition to political absolutism that showed in the colonies had already been nurtured by Calvinist doctrine and persecution in Scotland and Ireland.

Particularly influential on the Scotch-Irish throughout their travels was the Presbyterian religion, the challenge of which in the 16th century forcibly pulled them "from barbarism to civilization," gave them a strong sense of national identity, and imposed discipline and a somewhat puritanical morality on traditional Scottish independence and pride. Presbyterian influence on Scots settled in Ulster remained strong and only the move to America, bringing the insurmountable problems of widely separated congregations and too few educated clergy, led to the weakening of the Presbyterian hold on the Scotch-Irish of the frontier.

One of the strengths of this book lies in the use of the methodology and concepts of sociology to analyse historical material. Historians may grow uncomfortable at the search for national character à la Ruth Benedict, but they will benefit from many observations on social structure and acculturation and from the types of questions asked and answers given about an emigrant group. The author believes, for example, that the Scots after three generations in Ireland were, in loyalties and temperament Scotch-Irish, not Scots living in Ireland; and after sixty years in the American colonies under conditions exceptionally favorable to assimilation, were "full Americans." While essaying certain generalizations about group outlook and character, he takes hearty exception to the hoary myth of the Scotch-Irish as the hard-fighting, hard-drinking, freedom loving frontiersmen of the 18th century, pointing out the many variations in pattern of settlement, living, and behavior within the Scotch-Irish group.

This book shows clearly the usefulness of an interdisciplinary approach to social history; unfortunately it also shows its weaknesses. The author himself notes in the Introduction that a sociologist writing a social history runs the risk of criticism from specialized historians, and there is much about the selection and interpretation of material with which historians will take issue. It is also a pity that the author felt he had to spend so much time disproving the extravagant and by now outmoded claims of Scotch-Irish admirers of the turn of the century. On a lesser note, this reviewer found fault with the American maps which were neither clear nor suitable to the text, and with the supplementary footnotes whose level of style, depth, and relevance varied in a distressing and distracting manner.

RHODA M. DORSEY

Goucher College

The South in the New Nation, 1789-1819. By THOMAS P. ABERNETHY. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1961. xvi, 529. \$7.50.

Those who have read Professor Abernethy's previous books will recognize his touch in this volume of the *History of the South* series. He has spent a virtual lifetime of research, most of it in the history of the trans-Alleghany West, and there is no one else who knows as much about the early settlement of the Southwest, the politics of land acquisition, the conspiracies of would-be empire builders like Aaron Burr and James Wilkinson, and the intricate diplomacy of the United States, Britain, and Spain in their struggle for the interior of the continent.

It is a fault of Professor Abernethy that although he writes in a straightforward and attractive literary style the narrative is spelled out in unremitting detail, often without strict relevance to a point or, apparently at least, a clear line of organization. It is also a fault, at least in a work that presumably should represent the broad development of the South that his special interests should be unduly prominent. Ten out of sixteen chapters are specifically on the West or the frontier and the subject figures largely in the others. It may be arguable that western expansion was the overshadowing fact in the South's development during this period, but it is nonetheless disappointing that other subjects are not given a more systematic treatment. Professor Abernethy has some very provocative things to say about the economic basis of Southern politics, and he is obviously a firm believer in the efficacy of economic motive, but his contributions are made in passing, without attempt at a general formulation of political development within the southern states or the South's position in the nation. In spite of his penchant for economic interpretation, he does not present a survey of economic or social changes, nor does he pay any particular attention to intellectual matters.

Considered not in terms of what it may omit but for its positive values, however, this book has some magnificent sections. It probably has the last word to say as to Aaron Burr's guilt or innocence; boiling down the evidence published in his previous book on the Burr conspiracy, Professor Abernethy deems him guilty of treasonous intent, although apprehended before he could commit an overtly treasonous act. The chapters on the Yazoo scandal are a fascinating description of the advance of land speculators and settlers in the Southwest. The local aspects of this speculator's bubble, which became a national issue and the subject of one of John Marshall's

famous decisions, have never been presented in such full and arresting detail. There are several valuable maps showing the domains of various land companies and the regions of the earliest settlement. But what will probably stir readers the most is the superb narrative of the Battle of New Orleans. The combat is unfolded step by step in the context of the whole strategy of the American defense of the Southwest. In terms of the military elements with which he had to deal, Jackson was a masterly strategist, and the battle itself is given a new significance. Since it occurred after the signing of the peace treaty it has always been regarded as having no effect upon the outcome of the war. But Abernethy says the treaty was considered merely tentative by the British ministry and if Pakenham had won the British intended to force territorial concessions, including the loss of the Louisiana Territory, upon the United States. Thus the battle of New Orleans emerges as one of the decisive victories of the war.

E. JAMES FERGUSON

University of Maryland

The Twilight of Federalism. The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830. By SHAW LIVERMORE, JR. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962. x, 292. \$6.

The case of the vanishing Federalists is investigated and punctured by Shaw Livermore, Jr. Tracing the careers of leading Federalists in New England and the Middle States, the author concludes that they have been consigned an early grave. The supposedly bland era of good feelings is depicted as a cauldron of political pyrotechnics thinly veiled by the "syrupy overlay" of the Monroe administration. Indeed, *The Twilight of Federalism* when examined by Professor Livermore becomes almost an aurora borealis.

The very completeness of the Republican victory and the subsequent fracturing of party leadership in the struggle for place and power helped to keep the Federalist influence alive. The overt and covert Republican wooing of their ancient antagonists coincided with the Federalists delight that "the Administration have fought themselves completely on to a federal ground." As President Monroe talked of harmony and "one great family with a common interest" all seemed opportune for a feud-ending marriage.

Yet, while the Republicans realized the advantages of some Federalist support, they also saw the danger of too obvious an

alliance in a period of tough intra-party rivalry. The ambivalence of their position was maddening. The author's discussion of the confused New York situation exemplifies this. Here the split between Clinton and Van Buren factions brought the Federalists into prominence as a balance of power. Van Buren's supporters cried "unholy alliance" of the Clinton-Federalist forces, yet at the same time the Little Magician realized that he needed Federalist votes to defeat Clinton. His masterpiece of political derring-do and rationalization was his support of old line Federalist Rufus King for a Senate seat while continuing to tar Clinton with the damning epithet of Federalist.

While the New York Republicans fought this battle of semantics and vied at quietly courting and condemning the Federalists, the Federalists had to walk a tightrope of their own. Convinced that they were by birth, talent and dedication fitted for political office and seeking to end their proscription from office they wanted to back the right candidate. Yet if they overtly supported Clinton, his Republican followers would desert and leave the Federalists once again isolated.

On the national scene, the elections of 1824 and 1828 best illustrate the continuing influence of the Federalists. "A beautifully wrought maneuver put John Quincy Adams into the White House," contends the author. This maneuver was not the Clay-Adams alliance but the political machinations of Webster in winning the Federalists of the key states of Maryland and New York to the Adams ticket. All of the Republican candidates, Crawford, Clay, Calhoun, Jackson and Adams are described as flirting to some degree with the Federalists. And Adams' election is attributed to his ability through Webster, to convince the Federalists that they would find positions of honor in his administration. His subsequent failure to hold Federalist backing is given as a major reason for his setback in 1828.

Professor Livermore's monograph is a needed interpretive study of a complex and unique period of apparent one-party politics. His conclusions will perhaps be challenged as too sweeping. At times the Federalists seem almost the dominant power. Unfortunately there is an uneven treatment of state politics. Broad research into the correspondence of New York and Massachusetts figures is not balanced by thorough investigation of sources in Maryland and Delaware. The papers of Carroll, Smith, Wirt, Harper, Taney, and Hanson in the Maryland Historical Society would perhaps have strengthened his comments on Free State matters.

DOROTHY M. BROWN

College of Notre Dame of Maryland

The Letters of Stephen A. Douglas. Edited by ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1961. xxxi, 558. \$10.

This valuable documentary publication represents another giant step in the direction of Stephen A. Douglas' historical rehabilitation, a project begun a generation ago. As the principal foil of historians who viewed the 1850's as little more than a vehicle for Lincoln's rise to greatness, the importance of Douglas was slighted and his mistakes magnified. So far had he been downgraded, that his defenders, led by the great forensic historian of the 1930's, George Fort Milton, felt compelled to reply with exaggerated praise. Now, with Douglas' private words part of the historical preserve we are entitled to more balanced accounts of the Little Giant's stature. In addition to this contribution, the editor, Professor Robert W. Johannsen of the University of Illinois, promises us a Douglas biography. We all hope it will further rescue the man from the realm of the lawyer's brief and make him the object of dispassionate analysis.

Documentary publication projects, sparked by the formation of the National Historical Publications Commission, have lately become an integral part of American historical scholarship. Most of them—the Papers of Jefferson, and Clay, for example—strive for comprehensiveness, but this volume of Douglas letters runs against the current tide. It includes no incoming correspondence. Prof. Johannsen explains the decision to restrict in terms of space availability (apparently no foundations volunteered to underwrite a multi-volume series), and the fact that Douglas' letters received are largely in one accessible spot, the University of Chicago Library.

With space thus limited, the publication of many trivial Douglas items is questionable. Take an entry of February, 1849: "Senator Douglas presents his complements to Mrs Young and will be happy to take her & her daughter to Mr R. J. Walkers tonight, if convenient and agreeable to her. P. S. I will call with a carriage at 9 oclock." The general reader, even the American history addict, will be permitted a yawn while he reads this and many similar items. A judicious selection of some of the most significant incoming letters would have proved more valuable. In terms of scholarly needs, availability of funds, and actual use of the end product, it appears to me that the luxury of "comprehensiveness" might be tamed through selective publication, both incoming and outgoing, supplemented by a complete microfilm edition for use by scholars.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

University of Maryland

Travels in The New South, A Bibliography. (Volume One: The Postwar South 1865-1900; Volume Two: Twentieth-Century South, 1900-1955). Edited by THOMAS D. CLARK. Norman Okla.; University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. Vol. I. xvi, 267. Vol. II. xiii, 301. \$20 the set.

The phraseology may be trite, but it is not platitudinous to say that these volumes are indispensable to students of the New South and that Southern historians will be deeply indebted to their compilers. The 1135 listings cover a broad range of time (from 1865 to 1955), space (the eleven ex-Confederate states plus Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, and the District of Columbia), and subject matter (from culinary explorations to sociological inquiries). Each volume is divided into two sections. The first consists of "The South in Reconstruction, 1865-1880," by Fletcher M. Green, and "The New South, 1880-1900," by Thomas D. Clark. The second includes "The Twentieth-Century South as Viewed by English-speaking Travelers, 1900-1955, by Rupert B. Vance, and "Foreign-Language Accounts by Travelers in the Southern States, 1900-1955," by Lawrence S. Thompson.

Entries are limited to accounts published in book form, but within that limitation the compilers sought to include every travel account they could find, ranging from the excellent and informative to some that "border on being trash." And "travel account" was broadly defined to include representative guides, directories, surveys, and promotional materials, as well as many travels that touched the South only briefly. Each entry is accompanied by full bibliographical information, including a statement of the book's inclusive dates, successive editions, and the location of one copy. It is difficult to imagine any major research project in Southern history since the Civil War that would not benefit from reference to these lists.

Happily, there is something here for the casual reader, too. Each of the volumes has at the beginning a preface by the overall editor and each section an introduction by the compiler. In these the reader will find interesting and thought-provoking essays on general trends in travel accounts that parallel the contemporary trends of Southern history. Accounts of the Reconstruction period ran heavily to social and political observation, while those after 1880 tended more toward promotional materials for industry, agriculture, immigration, and tourism, with a decline of "comment by roving reformists." Once the twentieth century South reappeared on the "Grand Tour" social, political, and economic commentary recurred in great quantity, emphasizing the theme of change, and the

number of foreign-language accounts multiplied so greatly that a special section is devoted to accounts in most of the European languages. Furthermore, each entry is followed by a brief description, ranging from a paragraph to a page and a half in length. These little vignettes constitute in themselves not only valuable research tools (they are fully indexed) but they are so well done that the volumes found their way to this reviewer's bedside table.

These volumes are sequels to the three volumes on travels in the Old South, also edited by Thomas D. Clark, and the volume on travels in the Confederacy, edited by E. Merton Coulter. They constitute the happy consummation of a major project.

GEORGE B. TINDALL

University of North Carolina

William Shirley: King's Governor of Massachusetts. By JOHN A. SCHUTZ. Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1961. (Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg). vii, 292. \$6.

This work by Professor Schutz of Whittier College is not a biography of a man but an anatomy of a successful administration. In 1756, the Massachusetts General Court paid tribute to the departing Governor William Shirley in words which the author of this study has suggested might also serve as the Governor's epitaph: "The affairs of this Province have been so wisely conducted by your Excellency that your name ought to be ever dear to the inhabitants." The suggestion is a legitimate one; few royal governors could boast of an equally solicitous attitude on the part of their legislatures. That Shirley had governed successfully a colony which was shortly to become the hotbed of reactionary sentiment toward British imperial rule is, perhaps, a further tribute to his administrative talents. At the same time, this apparently sincere tribute to a good governor—and all things considered, Shirley was that—assumes a somewhat platitudinous coloring when it is recalled, as Professor Schutz does here, that Shirley's administration was often marked by disturbances of one sort or another which must be considered crises of the first water.

Some of these disturbances, perhaps most of them, were strictly local in nature; but there were present symptoms of discontent which were to rumble on into open defection within two decades of Shirley's departure from the colony. In this sense, his administra-

tion is typical of the period. But his handling of these problems was not typical. An astute politician, Shirley used tools with which he was most familiar: patronage, preferment, and unashamed nepotism to mitigate bothersome situations. And he more often than not used them wisely and cautiously. He was, in addition, a born compromiser in a position where compromise was often necessary.

As Professor Schutz's subtitle suggests, Shirley was very much the King's Governor. Although his attempts at currency reform (a problem endemic to this colony particularly) were common sense efforts to keep his political and economic supporters happy, Shirley realized that the home government in England was desirous of such reforms. As to his views on the imperial relationship between the colonies and the mother country, they were strictly in keeping with those entertained by most British statesmen of the period. The author assures us that Shirley indeed would have been "shocked by the idea that the colonies could revolt against the mother country." In all fairness, however, the governor did recognize the need for alterations in the imperial structure, perhaps a more flexible plan of colonial government. Beyond that, he apparently would not go.

Although they are of vital importance to the author's purpose, the perplexities and vicissitudes within the rival political camps during Shirley's fifteen year administration make for somewhat tedious reading. Even so, one is struck by the comparative stability of political alignment during this long period, a stability due mostly to the wise manipulations of Shirley.

The best part of this work concerns Shirley's military career. This facet of his career cannot, of course, be separated from that of the executive; one is concomitant upon the other. As a lawyer, military operations did not come easy to Shirley and he was often forced to delegate field commands to others. Thus William Pepperell and British Commodore Warren receive most of the accolades for the suprisingly successful Louisbourg campaign. The awards, however, became somewhat academic when that prize was returned to France as a result of the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle. The abortive Canadian campaigns and the Niagara campaign, the latter the northern arm of the disastrous Braddock pincer movement against Fort Duquesne in 1755, bog down in a miasma of confusion and petty vindictiveness. But military operations, whether limited to colonial defense or positive and energetic movements against the enemy, meant a lucrative business for those elements in Massachusetts whom Shirley was anxious to keep in line. And, as Professor Schutz has pointed out, it was often difficult to distinguish the politician from the

imperialist in Shirley; the two were not incompatible in any case, as his administration indicates.

The manner of patronage politics as engaged in by William Shirley is the least attractive side of the man's character; but it was the only road to advancement. In the personal politics of 18th century Britain, it was practiced on all levels, from George II and William Pitt on down to the lowliest customs officer. Like Pitt, Shirley had a unique talent for the game and in this he was ably assisted by his purposeful wife, Frances.

In a crisp bibliographical essay, Professor Schutz justifies the need for the present study of Governor Shirley. Death halted the proposed second volume of George Arthur Wood's *William Shirley: Governor of Massachusetts, 1741-1756*. Using new sources opened up since Wood's study, which was published in 1920, Professor Schutz's aim here is to analyze Shirley's career as a successful Anglo-American governor. No doubt the work is needed. Most of the colonial governors have not been treated kindly by American historians and, although some probably deserve such treatment, others do not. Shirley is one of the latter. The sources used by Professor Schutz are impressive and exhaustive; and for this reason it is regretted that the author was unable to breath life into his subject. Within the confines of the scope of this study set down in the author's preface, he has indeed accomplished his purpose, but Shirley remains an amorphous being.

ALBERT ABBOTT

Fairfield University

The Poems of Charles Hansford. Edited by JAMES A. SERVIES and CARL R. DOLMETSCH. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press (for the Virginia Historical Society), 1961. xlv, 95 pp. \$5.

Charles Hansford—c. 1685-1761—was a blacksmith of York County, Virginia. His friend Benjamin Waller, who left us a short biography, says that Hansford "worked at his trade as long as his strength would permit. . . . He once kept a school, but was a man of little education."

He had picked up, however, more than a little learning. "Let us admit at the outset," with his present editors, "that these curious verses of Charles Hansford's are not great poetry." (They aren't too bad, either. They scan. They make sense.) But the poems do show that he had read Pope and the Bible; that he knew which of

the Fates cut the thread; and that he had dipped into translations, at least, of both Tully and Virgil. The conventional but utterly correct sentiments of the poems "Barzillai," "Of Body and of Soul," and "Some Reflections of My Past Life" do him credit, while the longest poem, "My Country's Worth," shows a commendable grasp of current politics. This is part of the book most interesting to most of us. Changing the site of Virginia's capital was being contemplated at the time Hansford wrote "My Country's Worth," and he set forth not only the issues but some of the personalities involved. With the editors' able preface, introduction, and chapter notes (no index, though), Charles Hansford's four long poems make a book that is thoroughly unimportant but very nice to have.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Ky.

Ancestry of Ralph Carmalt Wilson of Dover, Delaware. By GEORGE VALENTINE MASSEY II. Published by the author, 1961. 82.

This genealogy of an American of pre-revolutionary stock by a well known genealogist was very interesting to this reviewer. Mr. Wilson is descended from families which lived, respectively, in Talbot and Kent counties, Maryland (Wilson), in southern Delaware, in Chester County, Bucks County and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and northern New Jersey. This ancestry is predominantly English, as was to be expected, but includes more or less remote strains of Irish, Welsh and Dutch (Tyson). The form of presentation might well be copied by amateur genealogists.

WILLIAM B. MARYE

Baltimore, Md.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- The Pageant of The Press: A Survey of 125 Years of Iowa Journalism 1836-1961.* By WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. Iowa City, Iowa; The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1962. x, 120. \$6 paper, \$7.50 hard bound.
- Soldiers' Battle; Gettysburg.* By JAMES WARNER BELLAH. New York; David McKay Company, Inc., 1962. x, 204. \$4.50.
- Halleck; Lincoln's Chief of Staff.* By STEPHEN E. AMBROSE. Baton Rouge, La.; Louisiana State University Press, 1962. vi, 226. \$5.
- Brides From Bridewell: Female Felons Sent to Colonial America.* By WALTER HART BLUMENTHAL. Rutland, Vt.; Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1962. 139. \$3.
- Fenollosa and His Circle With Other Essays in Biography.* By VAN WYCK BROOKS. New York; E. P. Dutton Co., 1962. vii, 327. \$5.
- Swallow Barn.* By JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY. Introduction and Notes by WILLIAM S. OSBORNE. New York; Hafner Publishing Company, 1962. iv, 506. Paper Reprint \$2.75.
- Concise Dictionary of American History.* Edited by THOMAS C. COCHRAN and WAYNE ANDREWS. New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962. viii, 1156. \$19.50.
- Roosevelt and Howe.* By ALFRED B. COLLINS, JR. New York; Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962. xxviii, 479. \$5.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Index to Magazine—By virtue of an appropriation of the State Board of Public Works, the preparation of an analytical index of the first 55 volumes of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* began October 1st. The grant was made in response to requests from school and public libraries throughout the State. Dr. Thomas G. Pullen, Superintendent of the State Board of Education, former Senator George L. Radcliffe, President of the Society, and the late James W. Foster presented the request, with the firm support of Dr. Morris L. Radoff, State Archivist.

Employed for the undertaking has been Miss Betty Adler, compiler, with the assistance of Miss Jane Wilhelm, of the recently published *H. L. M.: the Mencken Bibliography*. The staff of the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library is rendering welcome cooperation, and Mr. John D. Kilbourne, Assistant to the Director—Library and Archives, is directing the project.

Publication of the completed index in book form, although hoped for, is not foreseen at this time. However, the card file will be available for consultation and reproduction by other libraries.

Maryland History Awards of Merit—For some years the American Association for State and Local History has presented Annual Awards of Merit to authors, historical societies, corporations, radio and television stations, and, less often, to individuals who have made exceptional contributions in the field of local history. For 1962, recommendations in four categories were made for Maryland, each of which was honored with an award.

The Potomac Edison Company, Hagerstown, was cited "for outstanding accomplishment in furthering appreciation of the historical values of a region in relation to the heritage of the whole nation."

The Historical Society of Talbot County, Easton, was recognized "for assuming vigorous leadership in the coordination of community and regional activities to further awareness of the values of local history in a unique area." Third, Dr. Philip M. Hamer, of Bethesda, was honored for his valuable compilation, *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the U.S.*

Mr. James W. Foster, late Director of this Society, was cited for "dedicated, scholarly, and untiring accomplishment over a period of 20 years in making available to wider areas of the community the resources of the Maryland Historical Society."—*Maryland Historical Notes*, November, 1962.

Archaeology Sheds New Light on American Glass—The discovery of an important early American industrial building has just been announced by the joint Corning Museum of Glass-Smithsonian Institution Archeological team which has been investigating the site of the 18th-century New Bremen Glass Manufactory of John Frederick Amelung, south of Frederick, Maryland.

The factory which was founded in 1785 remained in operation until 1795. During this short span it produced the most sophisticated glass made in America until the Industrial Revolution. Among the finest pieces of Amelung glass preserved today are the famed New Bremen Pokal at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Tobias and the Angel Flip at the Corning Museum in Corning Glass Center, and the Schley Pokal at the Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware.

According to P. N. Perrot, Director of The Corning Museum of Glass and Administrative Director of the excavation, the excavation was conducted "to shed new light on one of America's most distinguished 18th-century manufactories. The John Frederick Amelung factory is significant not only for the high quality of its output but for the impact it had on other areas of glass making which were developed by glass workers who had worked in New Bremen and later moved west. In addition the factory site is precisely dated inasmuch as the area taken over by Amelung in 1784 was entirely rural prior to his coming, thus giving the relative assurance that the bulk of the material found would be of local manufacture." "Until now, Mr. Perrot continued, no 18th-century glass making site has been professionally excavated and we only have uncertain evidence as to the types of furnaces used and ancillary buildings required. So as to assure the most careful and scholarly dig possible Mr. I. Noel Hume, Chief Archeologist of Colonial Williamsburg, was prevailed upon to become the archeological director of the expedition. He was assisted by Mrs. Noel Hume.

The building uncovered, according to Mr. Noel Hume, was found in an area which was expected to reveal a "dump site." Instead we discovered a mammoth, very complex structure over 52' by 43' in size, built of walls up to three feet thick in carefully laid

stone construction. The full significance of the structure will only be revealed by a more thorough study of the floor plan and of 18th century technical literature. Its size and heavy masonry, however indicate that it was one of the major buildings of the settlement which by Amelung's own figures exceeded 30 units. "The building and surrounding structures were constructed after the first factory started operations as fragments of glass and furnace parts were found ultimately bonded to their fabric." "Accordingly a dating after 1787 is possible. We know that Amelung suffered repeated fire losses which would have required additional constructions."

Among the important features uncovered by the excavators are a group of large window glass fragments found under a heavy burned layer, fragments of furnaces, crucibles, clay pipes, pewter belt buckles, as well as large quantities of glass fragments some in the form of recognizable objects in clear, amethyst, green and blue. Only future study and scientific analysis will determine whether these were produced at the Amelung factory. However in the affirmative they will be important clues in permitting a clearer evaluation of the factory's output and permitting a reattribution of objects similar in color and design scattered among many public and private collections.

In addition to Messrs. Perrot and Noel Hume the following persons have participated in the excavation: Messrs. Malcolm Watkins, John Pearce, Richard Muzzrole, Robert Elder and Anthony Hathaway, all of the Smithsonian Institution, and Messrs. Robert Brill, Michael Milkovich, Adrian Baer, Raymond Errett and Mrs. Paul Perrot of the Corning Museum of Glass. Mr. Kenneth Wilson, Curator of Old Sturbridge Village came specially to Frederick to offer his help. "We have already uncovered significant evidence on the early history of one of our most important glass factories," said Mr. Perrot. "The area dealt with this year is only a small fraction of the total site which according to present calculation extends at least 550' in length. We hope however next year to call upon the skill and enthusiasm of the same team led by Mr. Noel Hume and explore other areas of the site more thoroughly—and in this we have been assured of the continued support of the owners of the site Mr. Charles Smith and Mr. Vernon Yingling as well as of Prof. and Mrs. William R. Quynn the present owners, of Amelung house. In the meantime the area uncovered will be protected by a covering structure which will shield it from the elements as well as from eager souvenir hunters, who

in their zeal might unwittingly destroy an important page in the evaluation of what became one of our greatest industries."—Corning Glass Museum, Corning, N. Y.

The *Magazine* has published the following articles on Amelung: September, 1948, Dorothy M. Quynn, "Johann Friederich Amelung at New Bremen," and March, 1952, Harriet N. Milford, "Amelung and His New Bremen Glass Wares." The first catalogued showing of Amelung's wares was conducted by the society in the spring of 1952.

National Trust Schedules Conference on Historic Houses—A two-week conference for historic museum associates, sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, will be conducted January 21 to February 1, 1963, at *Woodlawn Plantation*, Mt. Vernon, Va. Once part of George Washington's *Mount Vernon* estate, *Woodlawn* was his wedding gift to Nelly Custis, his wife's granddaughter, when she married his nephew, Lawrence Lewis, in 1799. It became a property of the National Trust in 1957.

The conference program, which is limited to 15 persons, is primarily designed to provide paid staff and volunteer workers of historic house museums and other history museums with an opportunity to discuss problems of museum function and administration. In addition to the sessions at *Woodlawn*, participants will also visit the Library of Congress; National Archives; White House; National Park Service and Smithsonian Institution Laboratories; *The Octagon*, headquarters of the American Institute of Architects; and Decatur House, another National Trust property, located across Lafayette Square from the White House. In nearby Virginia, they will make special tours of Alexandria, the Custis-Lee Mansion, *Gunston Hall* and *Mount Vernon*, and will also visit *Wakefield*, *Stratford*, *Kenmore*, the Mary Washington House and the James Monroe Law Office Museum and Memorial Library in Fredericksburg. On the weekend, the group will travel to Delaware and Pennsylvania to see Winterthur Museum, Ephrata Cloisters, and the Landis Valley Museum.

Members of the staff of the National Trust, the National Park Service, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Gallery of Art and other museum organizations in the Washington area will lead the discussions.

Baltimore Reform League—For a study of Baltimore politics and reform during the period from 1895 to 1911, I am looking

for material concerning the organization, membership and activities of the Baltimore Reform League.

JAMES B. CROONS
708 Gorsuch Ave.,
Baltimore 18, Md.

Basford—I seek information on George W. Basford and Anne (Elizabeth) Ridgely, m. ca., 16 July 1822, Frederick Co., Md., emigrated to Jeromesville, Ohio, October, 1824. He was born 23 December 1800 and died 3 March 1871 in Ohio.

REV. ALBERT E. MYERS
110 Rockport Cres., Richmond Hill
Ontario, Canada

Holt—Information is wanted regarding the ancestry and descendants of Stephen Holt, born 1819, place of birth unknown. Married Rose Ann (or Rosanna) Richardson November 15, 1837. She died between that date and February 17, 1847, when he married Rebecca Jane Banning. Both marriages took place in Dorchester Co., Md. (Cambridge or Church Creek). By his first wife he had a son, John Tristram Holt, born October 1, 1838, who became a ship's captain out of Baltimore where he died January 10, 1918. By the second marriage he had a son, William, born 1850, who later emigrated to Tom Green County, Texas. Both sons were born in Dorchester Co. Also, what relation was Stephen to Joseph Holt (born May 14, 1814), and who married Sarah Catherine Houlton in Baltimore in 1842, who died in that city July 12, 1885? Information is also wanted as to the whereabouts of a Bible from the ship *David Stewart*, last known to be in possession of Masters, Mates and Pilots Assn., when they moved to their new quarters on East Baltimore Street in 1952.

JOHN T. HOLT
4507 Maple Ave., Halethorpe
Baltimore 27, Md.

Chalmers—Scharf's list of rebel prisoners (mostly Scots) transported in the ship *Good Speed* to Annapolis January 1716 (1717) after the rebellion at Preston, includes John Chambers (Scotch "Chalmers"), indented for seven years to Charles Digges. *The*

Archives of Maryland, XXV, quotes the following: "Protest taken from one of the rebels signed by John Chalmers." John Chalmers is shown as Church Warden St. Ann's Parish, Annapolis, 1743-44. He is mentioned as maintaining men of forces in 1746 and 1757 and advertised in the *Maryland Gazette* as "Bake-House" in Annapolis, 1747-48, and mentioned several times in Account and Letter Books of Dr. Charles Carroll in the 1750's. James Chalmers, Sr. was an Annapolis silversmith in 1750 and was father of silversmiths John Chalmers, b. ca. 1750, and James Chalmers, Jr., b. 1762. Latter two were first Methodists in Annapolis. John is mentioned often in *Md. Archives* as Recruiting Officer Revolutionary War, was trustee of Cokesbury College in 1784, and Sheriff of Baltimore County in 1814. Both were local Methodist preachers in early Baltimore.

Are there any known sources of information on the period of life of John Chalmers while indented and soon thereafter? I want to prove that the prisoner was the father or grandfather of James Chalmers, Sr., the silversmith of Annapolis. Also, I would like to contact anyone having knowledge of this family in Baltimore after 1800.

MRS. HAROLD H. ARNOLD
1129 Avant Ave., San Antonio 10, Tex.

Lee—I am anxious to get in touch with any descendants of Thomas Jefferson Lee. Born August 1808 in France, graduated West Point 1830, resigned from U. S. Army April 30, 1855. He was an engineer; commissioner on the part of Maryland, to retrace and mark the boundaries between Maryland and Virginia, 1858-60. He was resident of "Ellangowan," (later Texas) Md., after 1863.

JOHN J. PULLEN
Ayer Building, West Washington Square
Philadelphia 6, Pa.

Hopkins—Please contact the undersigned concerning any information about Thomas A. Hopkins, Esq., whose office was at 11 E. Lexington St., Baltimore, and who lived at 605 W. Lexington St. He was in Baltimore from the 1860's to 1889.

RALPH J. HOPKINS
4755 Aldgate Green,
Baltimore 27, Md.

FitzPatrick—I am anxious to obtain the present address of Mrs. Nancy R. FitzPatrick who wrote on "Clifton" Majolica in the March, 1957, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

WILDEY C. RICKERSON
30 Rockefeller Plaza,
New York 20, N.Y.

NOTICE

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS WHO WISH TO OBTAIN COPIES
OF THE MAGAZINE INDEX FOR 1962 MUST APPLY IN
WRITING BEFORE FEBRUARY 1, 1963.

CONTRIBUTORS

S. SYDNEY BRADFORD is an historian of the National Park Service. He was formerly curator at the Morristown National Historical Park. He has written or edited several articles for this *Magazine* and the *Journal of Southern History*.

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A. CLARKE HAGENSICK is Assistant Director of the Bureau of Government and Assistant Professor of Political Science of the University of Wisconsin, Extension Division at Milwaukee.

FRANK J. SCHWARTZ is an ichthyologist with the Chesapeake Biological Laboratory. He has published many scientific papers on fishes inhabiting Chesapeake Bay. JAMES GREEN is Senior Technical Representative of the Naval Ordnance Test Laboratory, Solomons.

L. WETHERED BARROLL is a Baltimore attorney. In 1911, he contributed the article "Washington College, 1783" to this *Magazine*, VI (June), pp. 164-179.

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Studies in Maryland History

His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland. By Donnell M. Owings. 1953	\$ 6.00
Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. By Raphael Semmes. Illustrated. 1953	\$ 4.00
William Buckland, 1733-1774. By Rosamond R. Beirne and John H. Scarff. 1958	\$ 7.50

Texts and References for School Use

My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of Maryland, revised edition. 1955	\$ 3.15
The Star Spangled Banner. Illustrated Booklet. Description of the writing of our national anthem by Francis Scott Key	\$.50
Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959	\$ 1.80
Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961	\$ 4.50
Early Explorations of the Chesapeake Bay. By Gilbert Byron. 1960 Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (25 titles)	\$ 1.00 \$.10

Miscellaneous

The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938	\$ 4.00
Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers. By Elizabeth Merritt (mimeographed, paper covers). 1940	\$ 2.75
History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950	\$ 7.50
Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot of West River. Ida M. Shirk, comp. 1927	\$15.00
Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956 The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Mary- land. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962	\$10.00 \$10.00
The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland). By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whiteford. 1959	\$ 2.00

World War II

Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950; Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, 1951; Vol. III, Home Front Volunteer Services, 1958; Vol. IV, Gold Star Honor Roll, 1956. H. R. Manakee, comp.	each \$ 3.25
History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953	\$ 5.00
History of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Md. Regt.) .by James H. Fitzgerald Brewer. 1955	\$ 5.00

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