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Journal of Major Henry Livingston, 1775.

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JOURNAL OF MAJOR HENRY LIVINGSTON, OF THE
THIRD NEW YORK CONTINENTAL LINE, AUGUST
TO DECEMBER, 1775.

BY GAILLARD HUNT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

[Robert Livingston, son of the Rev. John Livingston, of Scotland, came to America in 1673, and later received a patent for a tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land on Hudson River. He had three sons, Philip, Robert, and Gilbert. Gilbert Livingston's eldest son, Henry, married Susanna Conklin, and Major Henry Livingston was their son. He was born on the family estate at Poughkeepsie October 13, 1748, and died there February 29, 1828. Major Livingston was thus twenty-seven years of age when he was commissioned major of the Third New York Continental Line, Colonel James Clinton, and when his regiment was ordered to join the Canada expedition under General Richard Montgomery, who had married his great-aunt Janet Livingston. Subsequent to the date of this journal his career was uneventful, for, beyond serving as a Judge of Dutchess County, he preferred the life of a country gentleman. Unlike his kinsman of Clermont, he was a staunch Federalist after the Revolution. The journal came into my hands as Historian of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the District of Columbia, and is the property of Henry Livingston Thomas, a member of the Society.—G. H.]

1775, August 25.—Embark'd on board Cap't Jacksons sloop at 5 o'clock in the afternoon (who had on board Col'o [James] Clinton, Mr. Drake sutler & Cap't [John] Nicholson with his company. We sail'd in company with Cap't [Benjamin] North, [Anthony] Van Shaack, & [John] Gale each with men on board. In the evening Van Shaack & Gale got aground on Esopus meadows.

August 27.—Our sloop arriv'd at Kingston landing ab't 6 o'clock in the morning of the 26th. The Coll'o & a few more went on shore. Breakfasted, got on board & with a fair wind hoisted anchor at 9 o'clock on our way to Albany, arriv'd at that city at 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

August 28, Sunday.—Heard Mr. Kirkland preach Indian & Interpret it in English. Cap't [Lewis] Dubois arrived

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just before breakfast. Sent a letter to my wife by Mr. G. Duychinck. Saw part of the transactions between the Commissioners from the Congress & the Six Nations sachems held in the meeting house. They gave several belts to the Indians, one whereof cost 60 dollars.¹

August 29.—Rainy. Captain [Daniel] Denton arrived with his company—sent a letter by an express from Col'o Van Shaack to P. B. Livingston, Mr. Curtenius & Doct'r Cooke.

September 2.—The commissioners ended the business with the 6 nations and gave them presents to the value of £1800 or £2000.

September 3, Sunday.—Doctor [Samuel] Cooke & Lt. [John] Langdon arrived.

September 4.—Received letters from my wife my Father & Doct. Welles.

September 6.—Coll'o Cortlandt & myself hir'd a chaise & took a ride to Cohoes, Nestiguine & Schenectady & return'd at noon next day. From Albany to the first branch of the Mohawk river abt 6 miles the road is very good & for the first 4 miles it runs thro low land—in general the low land extends abt half a mile back from the river. Leaving Hudsons and coursing up the south branch of Mohawk we find the land poor & the roads bad, a strong gravelly soil in general abt 4 miles from Hudsons river is Cohoes fall, the river there is abt 3 or 400 yards wide, the banks very high and rocky on each side at the falls & more or less so all the way down. The fall is abt 60 or 70 feet high & almost perpendicular, from Cohoes its little more than 2 miles to Half Moon. The several branches of the Mohawk run with considerable rapidity till they discharge themselves in Hudsons river. From One Fondas² abt a mile beyond Cohoes its abt 6 miles to Nestiguine (altho a near bad road makes

¹ Cf. Sparks's "Correspondence of the Revolution," Vol. I. pp. 15, 22.

² Probably the same Fonda who, as an active patriot, was imprisoned by the Tory sheriff of Tryon County, Alexander White, and afterwards forcibly released by a band of his friends.—*Lossing's Schuyler*, Vol. I. pp. 390, 391.

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it 4). The land all the way high & stony & few inhabitants. At Nestiguine the soil is excellent, the very best of low land and lying on Mohawk river abt $\frac{3}{4}$ mile broad from the river. The river itself is generally abt 40 yards wide. From here to Schenectady is one continued pine Barren as it is from Schenectady to Albany. The former town is beautifully situated on the banks of the M. river & low land stretching all around it on the E. & W. sides. It contains abt 2 or 300 Houses many of which are elegant. It has 3 Churches—a Dutch, presbyterian & Episcopalian.

September 9.—To day marched Cap't Dubois, [Andrew] Billings & [John] Johnson of our Reg't. Cap't [William] Goforth of 1st Batt: & Cap't Lamb of the Artillery. The 3 first named companys got each man a months pay this morning. Twas delivered to their respective captains yesterday—sent letters home by Phill. Cooper.

September 12.—At 2 oclock Cap't [Rufus] Herrick marched of Coll'o [James] Holmes's regiment.

September 15.—This morning set of for Redhook arrived there in the evening & next day went to Poughkeepsie, left that place on Monday morning & got here at Albany again on Tuesday evening, was out 5 days.

September 21.—This afternoon Cap't Rosekrans arrived of the 4th Battalion. Received written orders from Col'o Van Shaack to march the 23d with the Companies of Cap's Johnson, [Daniel] Mills & [Jonathan] Platt.

September 22.—Gave written orders to the above Captain to march Tomorrow morning.

September 23.—Set of from Albany with part of the Com: of Cap't Johnson at 4 oclock aft'n, marched up abt 5 miles to one Minneways & there joined Cap't Mills & Platt, cross'd Hudsons river that evening & lodg'd in the New City. The 24th (Sunday) in the morning cross'd the river again at Half Moon¹ & got that day abt 20 miles at Stillwater, Next day the 25th reach'd within abt 5 miles of Fort Edward. The 26th got as far as One Abraham Wings abt 6 miles beyond the fort, arrived at the Lake George, the 27th at 12 oclock.

¹ Now Waterford.

The land for 2 miles north and south of the New City is but thin & stony. At the Half Moon which is 14 miles from Albany the soil is good chiefly lowland. Between the last place & Stillwater the ground appears good & is well settled, not much low land but a loamy [?] soil seems to prevail; Hudsons river at Half Moon is abt 400 yards wide & from there up to Stillwater is in some places pretty rapid. From Stillwater up to Saratoga (14 or 15 miles) the land at each side of the river is excellent, altho the low land does not extend above half a mile or a quarter from the river the timber is very large & mix'd with white pine a great deal—immediately next the low land both on the E. & W. sides the ground is high & clayey of a whitish colour.

Saratoga seems to be a well settled lively place & the lands around it good. From there to Fort Edward the soil is rather clayey & cold, near the fort are some clever meadows, but the plains adjoining are not very rich altho good. Leaving the Fort we rise a hill abt half a mile Distance & then an extensive plain begins which continues for 10 miles or more. The first 2 miles of the way the land is undesirable being mostly timbered with pitch pines. Then there is abt 2 miles where are some farms, the soil clayey & Timber white pine, at 5 miles distance from the fort lives one Abraham Wing, within 600 yards of Hudsons river, where He has a Grist & Saw Mill on a Fall of Water that is quite considerable. The whole height being perhaps 30 or 40 feet, and the rocks projecting out in such a manner as to bear very much the appearance of a regular fortification. Abt 3 miles below this is another fall on which stands a saw mill.

There is but 1 house between Wings & Fort George. The soil most part of the way very poor & cover'd with Pitch pines, till we come within 3 miles of the Lake where High hills prevail & rocky cover'd with white oak & Chestnut Trees. Fort George is built on an Eminence 300 yards south of Lake George, is much out of repair altho still defensible, being built mostly of stone. It lies near a quarter of a mile E. from the ruins of Fort William Henry.

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There is near 3 or 400 acres of cleared land abt the fort & a few wretched Hovels that were formerly used as Barracks.

September 28.—At 4 in the afternoon I set of from Fort George with Cap't Johnson Lt. [Philip Dubois] Bevier & 22 of his men on board a petteaugre & crossing Lake George arrived the next day abt 2 oclock at the landing on the north part of the Lake & got up to Ticonderoga Fortress abt an hours sun.

Lake George is near 40 miles in length and 2 miles in breadth upon an average, with a considerable depth of water, generally upwards of 20 fathoms, there are a number of small islands in it particularly towards the southern part, & all of them rough & rocky altho cover'd with Timber. The mountains stretching all along and bordering directly on the Lake are pretty high & steep & very rocky & much covered with Trees. The sail up the lake very much resembles a voyage thro the Highlands.

On Sabbathday point 12 miles from the N. End are 2 or 3 small tenements & they are the only Houses we see during the whole length of the Lake. From the landing to Ticonderoga is by land 3 short miles. The course by water is abt the like distance altho Battoes go up of that distance more than a mile.

The land between the Lakes George & Champlain is clayey & fine for pasture.

Ticonderoga Fort is built on an Eminence on a point of land near the Lake & is now much out of repair altho the works are many of them still excellent. There is a stone redoubt 2 or 2 1/2 00 yards east from the Fort in tolerable bad repair. The famous Breastwork that prov'd so fatal to our Troops last war is near half a mile west of the fort & by its remains tis evident that its strength was once very great. There is also a stone breastwork runs East & West to the north of the fort more than 1/4 of a mile. The clear'd land abt it is abt 300 acres of a rich clay & very fit for pasture. The lake opposite to it is half a mile wide & the land over against it rich & good.

October 4.—At 4 in the afternoon set of from Ticonderoga

with Coll'o Clinton, Cap't Nicholson, Billings & Johnson & 165 men in 14 battoes. That evening reach'd Crownpoint. Left that place next morning & got as far as one Nights 27 miles from Crownpoint in Company with 2 Battoes besides my own. The rest went forward 2 miles. The next evening my battoe reach'd a point of land opposite the southern part of Grand Isle; at which Island the rest of the boats all stay'd. We kept on the point till 10 in the evening & then with a small breeze stood down the Lake & went slowly on till 3 in the morning when we touch'd on shore & rested in the boat till day light & again stood down the Lake, went on shore at the Isle of Mott & at 12 stop'd at a house of Col'o Cristie's till the rest of the boats came up which they did in 2 hours time. From there we all set of together & at evening landed on the east side of the Lake at 7 miles distance to S. of Isle Aux Noix—pitch'd our tents on the sand, & early next morning set of again in a violent rain which lasted without any Interruption till we arrived at Isle Aux Noix where we came abt noon. Next morning got on board again & arrived safely at the Camp abt a mile 1/4 above St. Johns at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th inst.

October 9.—Lake Champlain from Ticonderoga to Split rock which is a course of abt 30 or 35 miles is between a mile & mile & half wide with deep water & good landings. At Split rock it widens considerably all at once and soon grows to be 10 15 & 20 miles wide. The widest part of all I imagine to be 25 miles.

The four Brothers are small islands of abt an acre each and lye near in the middle of the Lake pretty near one another.

Grand Isle—Long Island & Isle of Mott lye in a row & extend to a length of 30 or 40 miles. The boats allways should keep pretty near the west shore.

Immediately below Col'o Cristie's house at point Aufere the Lake grows quite narrow & soon comes to be less than a Quarter of a mile wide—which is the width more or less till 2 miles below Isle Aux Noix when till we come near St. Johns half a mile is its breadth. By trailing I caught a

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fine pike 2 feet long & a clever Bass with which kind of fish & yellow perch & sunfish the Lake abounds.

The land between Crownpoint & Ticonderoga is by the looks of it & common report very excellent fit for wheat as well as grass & something hilly. From Crownpoint to Split rock its mountainous on the west side but on the east is level and fine as far as the eye can reach. One Mr. Gilliland has a tract of land that begins at Split rock and extends northward 35 miles & is 4 or 5 miles in breadth—its upon the whole a most excellent tract of ground, low at the lakes edge and gently rising back from it. The timber chiefly hickory a few oaks & white birch's & Curl'd maple. That on the east side looks very similar altho something lower & has settlements more or less for 30 miles north of Split rock: on the west side there is only a few people that live on Gilliland's estate.

The land is very good & feasible till point Aufere But from there in to St. Johns on both sides of the Lake the soil is much too wet & low to render Dwellings on it agreeable. It being one entire swamp almost.

The Islands that are large in the Lake look as low & rich as the main land & have all of them very rocky shores. The smaller Islands are all craggy & bad to land at. At Cumberland head abt 10 miles below Point Aufere, the shore is covered with the finest stones imaginable for building. They are as square as if made so by art,—near this place a large stream comes from the westward.

On the Isle of Mott we observ'd a Lime kiln whether there is stone fit for lime on the main land we did not observe.

We arrived at Gen. Montgomerys camp near noon, the weather very fine—got our Tents pitch'd and every thing settled that afternoon. All I heard of war this day was a few shells thrown in the evening, for every one we threw, Our Enemy's generally return'd us 4.

October 10.—A Quiet day. At 9 in the evening there was an Alarm given by one of our advanced guards that the Garrison had taken to their boats & were coming down upon us.

Our Reg't was Immediately put in motion & every man in it marching along to meet the Enemy in a very few minutes after the Intelligence came. After proceeding along a dismal road for half a mile the report was contradicted & we all return'd. The rest of the army were not in motion on this Occasion.

October 11.—A Council of War held at the Generals Tent at which only the Field officers of the army attended. When the General recommended building a Battery west of the forts of St. John But the motion was unanimously opposed by the Officers who were of the opinion as one man, that a Battery erected on the east side of the lake opposite the Forts would make a greater impression on our enemys. On that points being carried the General Ordered Coll'o Clinton and 200 of his men to go upon that Business.¹ The Col'o pitch'd upon myself to go with him, leaving Coll'o [Cornelius D.] Wynkoop with the remainder of our Reg't on the west side of the Lake. Cap't Nicolson, Dubois, Billings & Denton were pitch'd upon to go with us. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon we set of for the east shore in 7 Batteaus and proceeding down to where a road had been just cut on the east side & coming within little more than half a mile of the Fort they gave us several shot with Ball but every one went too high.

As we were landing & for some time after we were landed they fired briskly with grape shot from the Fort but by the good providence of God we had not a single man hurt. We made no Regular Encampment but lodged about in the woods as well as we could for this night.

October 12.—Pitch'd on a place to encamp on abt 300 yards from the Lake and a Quarter of a mile S. E. from a small Battery Col'o [James] Livingston with his French people had erected over against the Enemys north redoubt. The afternoon was taken up in cutting & carrying Faschines

¹ The proceedings of the council of war may be found in Sparks's "Correspondence of the Revolution," Vol. I. pp. 470, 471. Montgomery accepted the situation for reasons of expediency. The troops, he said, "carry the spirit of freedom into the field and think for themselves."

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& stakes. As soon as it was dark under the Directions of one Halsey we began a Battery for 2 twelve pounders in addition to the French one & finish'd it before Daylight. The Enemy probably never knew any thing we were abt altho they were not more than 450 yards off as they did not make any attempt to molest us in the work we were about. N.B. The French Battery consisted of 2, 4 pounders.

October 13.—With difficulty we got up 2 twelve pounders from the landing the road being excessively wet & rooty. I went over to the Grand Camp to procure a supply of powder, Ball & Grape shot. At night Capt. Dubois with a party of 40 men cut off all the Bushes & Trees between our Battery and the water edge, & made the Embrazures somewhat narrower.

October 14.—About 1 O'clock The Artillery men arrived from the Grand camp, when we began a heavy fire on the Enemy. Our Batteries on the other side were not Idle also. The Enemy bestow'd their attention chiefly on us, their fire being heavy & well serv'd the beginning of the afternoon but towards evening it slack'd much & we gave them the 2 last shots. They fired shells at us chiefly as their balls could make no impression on our Battery. We lay so near them that they soon learned to throw their shells with great exactness. But altho they were all day continually Bursting over our peoples heads or at their feet, we never lost one man by them, or had even one wounded. Early in the morning The Regulars warp'd their Schooner & ran Galley close up to the North redoubt & full in our view. We shot so many Balls thro her that next morning she lay careen'd so low that the water ran into her port holes. She is a vessell of between 70 & 80 tuns burden, very long and something flat bottom'd—elegantly built & finish'd off—mounts 14 brass 6 pounders besides a number of swivels—& has a strong net work on each side from her bow to her Quarter rail to secure her from being boarded. On the whole she is a very handsome elegant vessell, & when she lay riding on the Lake made a very warlike appearance.

The Row Galley is abt 25 tuns burden neatly built, &

was intended for a sloop. She carried a 24 pounder of Brass in her Bow & on each side 1, 4 pounder, besides swivels—& conveniences for 16 oars to row on a side.

October 15, Sunday.—This morning we fired several Red-hot shot at the Schooner, but happily for us [her?] they went with such force that they flew quite thro her & lodg'd in the opposite bank—

In the afternoon getting a supply of powder we fired on the Enemy briskly till evening & which they return'd chiefly with shells—Late in the night a Batteau was sent past the fort & down the falls, with a double fortified 9 pounder on board, to go to Chamblee which Fortress our people were then beseiging.

The General neglecting to give Coll'o Bedle (who lay 1 1/2 miles north of St. John) notice of her going down, she received 10 or 12 shot from his guards before they could make themselves known as friends. But no hurt was received.

October 16.—The firing this day was not very brisk. The enemys was remarkably faint & Ill serv'd.

This evening another Cannon was sent down to Chamblee, & we repair'd our Battery.

October 18.—I Received orders from the General to march with 100 men of our Regiment to Caghnawaga to protect that nation from any Insults Carleton might offer them, & there were now 2 expresses in Camp who said that a considerable number of Regulars & Canadians (5 or 600) were on their march to the Caghnawaga Castle—To support the troops I took with me, He gave me £160 in Half Joes.

Col'o Clinton gave me leave to choose any 2 companies to accompany me, that I could confide in most out of his Regiment & I pitch'd upon those of Cap't Nicolson & Dubois, all of us together made 108 men.

This evening I set of with Lt. [Matthew] Van Bunschoten & my waiter thro a small rain & excessive dark, and after walking 2 miles down the Lake in as bad a path as can be imagined we ferried across to Col'o Bedles encampment who I went to see & desired to have provisions got ready

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in the morning for our people against they came over—Van Bunschoten & myself lodged in a poor Frenchmans house hard by.

October 19.—This morning heard of the surrender of Chamblee, which was reduced the day before. We set off on our march from Col'o Bedles abt 8 O'clock in the morning, Officers & soldiers carrying every one his Baggage.

Mine being stowed in a large portmanteau was very heavy. After walking 7 miles we procured a Cart to convey our packs. Just as it drew towards evening we came in sight of Lapraire & from a small elevation we were then on had a fine view of the river St. Lawrence, Montreal, Longieul & a large extent of Country every way. After my arrival at Lapraire it took me till dark in procuring houses for our soldiers to lodge in. The Officers & myself stay'd at the Captain of the Militias one Messr. Biscome.

The road from the falls half a mile below St. Johns to Lapraire is as strait as a line can be possibly drawn, and made at a very great expense thro a wet moorish & miry soil. It was thrown up by the French Regulars last war. For the first 7 miles after leaving the Lake there is not one house, The land sunken, low & wet, the timber chiefly white Birch, poplars, & such other wood as indicate a cold forbidden soil. There are but 7 or 8 houses between St. Johns & Lapraire & by what I could observe the Inhabitants were strangers to many of the necessarys & all the elegancies of highly civilized life.

The Village of Lapraire contains abt 30 houses small and great. The former by far the most numerous, and here as in every other part of Canada that ever I saw (even in Montreal itself) every house is white, being rough cast with Lime & sand whether built of wood or stone. Lapraire stands on the banks of the River St. Lawrence and is the miryest place besides Montreal I ever saw. The Church in it is pretty large altho far from being Hansome. The Chancel is highly finish'd. The Architecture truly grand; every part of it was brought in pieces from France many years ago. They

have two excellent pictures in it one of the Virgin Mary presenting a rosary to St. Francis—& the other the same St. Francis preaching to the Japanese. The main body of the Church occupied by the Audience is as rudely finished as even a Rude Canadian could wish.

The town is badly supplied with fuel. Firewood is as dear here as in New York, and the wood they have is bad being chiefly poplar. Mills are scarce in this part of the Country. Besides an old crazy windmill in Town there are but 2 in 10 miles round. The best of those belong to the Caghnawaga Indians & is 6 miles from Lapraire. They use no bolts in their mills. The people making use of seives. As no winter wheat is raised in this Country their bread made of Summer wheat is not so white as ours but full as well tasted. Of Indian Corn they raise none the land being too low & Cold. At Caghnawaga only a little is planted. The Canadians in General have good kitchen gardens; as their chief diet is soup its necessary they should take particular care of them; Their Onions and Cabbages are especially large & fine, more so in gardens that lie on the banks of St. Lawrence where the soil is richer than farther back.

The farmers about Lapraire raise considerable quantities of pease and potatoes, & some Turneps. They plow their fields for Summer wheat but once and that is pretty late in the fall, throwing the soil up in ridges & letting it lie still all winter, as soon as the weather will permit in the spring sow the wheat & harrow it in & in general have good crops. Their fences are very trifling and slight. For a mile and a half abt Lapraire they have no fencing at all—East & South of the Town the lands belong to the Nunnery there perhaps not less than 2 or 3000 acres & is one extensive field of pasture without a bush growing on it. The land in general seems much fitter for pasturage & meadow than Tillage. I never saw such a fine grass country in my life, the very wheat stubbles are better pasture than our best inclosed grass plots—and in consequence of this luxuriance of grass their milk is the best I ever tasted. The Horned Cattle are small. Milk cows abt as large as our 2 years old Heifers

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with very short horns—Their Oxen are proportionably small and draw by their horns.

By the small quantities of hay I saw the farmers provide for winter I imagine their Horses and Cattle get their living in winter chiefly by pawing away the snow and getting at the grass under it, as I observ'd the grass was high & green when the snows fell.

They raise near as many sheep as we do among us and full as good or better—and much more poultry of all kinds particularly Turkeys.

The urbanity of the peasants is very singular. The meanest of our soldiers that enter'd one of their houses was instantly regal'd with a large bowl of Bread & Milk or any other eatables their Houses afforded; and altho our soldiery seldom made them any gratuitys their kindness was still unremitted. But altho their hearts are good their Oeconomy is by no means so. After a peasants house is once built and the rain shut out, no more water ever touches their floors save a little holy water every morning which follows a partial sweeping. A broad hoe supplys the place of a scrubbing. No house has more than one fire place which is only for cooking. In the room where the family resides, a stove in the centre of the room keeps them even in the coldest weather as warm as they wish.

Just by the Bedside of each master of a Family is placed a crucifix, generally a foot or foot & a half long, some very coarse & Ill made, others gilt & pretty. I never saw a Bad bed in Canada. It seems as if they were resolv'd to lie well if they liv'd poor—many of them have 2 feather beds on each other. Their other furniture but so so—every thing that is made among them very bungling and coarse indeed. Their Carpenters are far from being Sir Christopher Wrens. They carry on but very little manufactures among themselves, even the simple art of knitting not a woman in 20 understands. In general I found the men and women much more dilatory and Idle than the people among us; to attain a bare subsistence seem'd to be the height of their wishes.

A land of slaves will ever be a land of poverty Ignorance & Idleness!

Among the common people all the learning is confin'd to the women, who are sent to school when young, which the men seldom or never are—not one in 20 of the latter can read.

All their religion consists in going very regularly to Church every Sunday and as regularly Horseracing Boxing wrestling & gaming between services; Sunday with them is the merriest day in the week. Sincere piety and rational devotion is but too little known among them. Yet I never saw people so generally old & young, attend divine service, or more solemnly go thro the round of follies their absurd religion calls upon them to attend. I enquired if there was not some protestants in this part of the country but could not hear of a single family. There liv'd at Lapraire Two Ministers. One an old Jesuit & Rector of the parish, an Arch Villain & a Tory. The other a fat Jolly thing of a Curate who did all the preaching and praying, and a thorough Whig.

As to politics I found the Country people extremely ignorant about it. They had heard a little about the Congress & knew that the province of Massachusetts bay had taken up arms, but I question whether they knew that any other Colony had done the same as they called all our Troops without any distinction Bostoneers.

They were very much averse to the Act of parliament enforcing the French laws—and hated Governor Carleton with perfect hatred—It appeared amazing to me how He would have the Effrontry to tell the Ministry or their Master that he could arm & bring into the field 10000 Canadians when at the same time he must have been sensible He could not Arm & produce 10 *willing* men in all Canada.

Some considerable time before our Troops invested St. Johns Mr. Carleton endeavored to assemble the militia companys about in the Country, and altho he gave a Dollar gratuity to each man who appeared in Arms—very few came indeed; in the large district of Lapraire not one man would appear. At Longueil but 7 or 8 came & so more or less in

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the rest of the parishes. As during the whole stay of our Troops among them they were regularly paid for every article they furnished us with, and had a good deal of attention shewn them. It was visible our conduct had a good effect—for whenever our officers required a supply of Carts, etc. they were always ready at the smallest notice to oblige us. But when carts were wanting to Convey the Regular prisoners Baggage from Lapraire to St. Johns, They produced them with great reluctance.

The Regular officers seeing their backwardness advis'd us to Cuff and kick them well about, & they would be much more oblidging. From that I concluded it was no uncommon thing for the poor Canadians to suffer abuses from the Regulars. Nor any wonder that they so heartily joined us against those Tyrannical slaves to Tyrants.

October 21, Lapraire.—This afternoon One Doctor Robinson (lately made Captain of Volunteers) and 2 Canadians Inhabitants of Lapraire deserters from St. Johns, came & surrendered themselves prisoners to me; It seems they expected to find the River less strictly guarded than it was & to get a Canoe & escape to Montreal. But finding it impracticable to put their design in Execution & too far advanc'd to return with safety they came in to us.

Had the honor of dining with the chiefs of the Caghna-waga nation, 6 in number, and 20 others but whether they were people in office cannot tell, rather think they were not. I had an elegant Dinner provided for them at one Mr. Killips a Tavernkeeper in Town. I had sent for them as soon as I came in Town, to know whether they wanted us at their Castles or not. The chiefs told me that General Montgomery had been imposed on by some of their meaner people who had been frightened at nothing. That they feared no invasion from Mr. Carleton at all, & that if he did attack them they thought themselves able without assistance from abroad to defeat him, or at least hinder him from landing. That however they were highly oblidg'd to the General for his readiness to assist them; & faithfully promis'd to

transmit to me all the Intelligence they could get of the motions & designs of our Enemies.¹

In compliance with their custom I opened my business with them in a set formal speech, which was interpreted by a One ey'd Chief who understood English very well—& they answered me with all that deliberation, firmness & seriousness peculiar to the Indians.

All this was done before dinner & it was well it happend so—for after drinking 18 bottles of Claret I question whether they would have talked as rationally as they did.

I cannot help doing justice to the keenness of the Caghna-waga Gentrys stomachs. I took especial care that each one had a full plate continually—Soup—Beef—Turkey—Beans, potatoes—no matter how heterogeneous the mixture it was equal to them & all went down.

They seem'd highly pleased, and told me that Mr. Carleton had often sent them belts and made speeches to them—But had never din'd with them. The General had given me directions to treat the Indians with much attention—& They took good care all the while I was at Lapraire to freshen up my memory in regard to the Generals instructions. Almost every hour in the day I had one or other of them in my room—Generally to tell me some scrap of news or other in order to get rewarded with a dram. But these were always of the lowest of the people. The Chiefs or Captains never came without they had some business of consequence.

By all the observations I could make I have reason to believe that the Caghna-waga's were sincere in their professions of Friendship.

I am told that they have a fine Church at their village—& I took notice myself that they were good Catholics by their frequent crossings and short prayers at particular times of the day.

The Indians have generally horses to ride about on, & what I could not help noticing was that they all had saddles,

¹ A portion of this paragraph is quoted in Lossing's "Schuyler."

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whereas not one Canadian farmer in 30 has any at all, but do all their riding on a Bearskin girted on.

The Indians frequently brought me down Cows for sale but they were almost always so poor that the soldiers would not eat them—from thence I concluded pasturage is not so good with them as abt Lapraire and Longueuil.

Their Castle lies 9 miles west of Lapraire, the road runing all along upon the banks of St. Lawrence is exceeding pleasant.

The Chiefs told me that they could muster 300 fighting men.

October 22.—Sent the 2 Canadian prisoners with Lt. [James] Gregg to the General, & 2 days after Cap't Robinson with Cap't Jn^o Nicolson.

October 26.—Before day an express arrived from Col^o Warner who lay with his Regiment of Green Mountain Boys in number abt 300 & 4 or 5 companies of the 2d Battalion at Lonquiel, that a large body of Regulars & Canadians were marching towards his post from Sorrell, & desiring me to send him all the assistance I could. Early in the morning Cap't Dubois with his company, Cap't McCracken of 2d Battn & his Company & one Lt. Barnum of Col^o Warners Reg't making in all 92 privates besides officers marched to Longieuil. But when they came there they found that Col^o Warner had been imposed upon & that there was not any truth in the whole affair. Cap't Dubois return'd but the others all stay'd at Lonquiel.

October 30.—Sent Cap't Nicolson with his company to the assistance of Col^o Warner, but they came to late to be of any great service to him.

About noon Gen'l Carleton with near 150 Regulars and as many Canadians and Canisadaga Indians as made in all a body of 800 men, set of from Montreal in between 30 & 40 Battoes to force a landing at Longueuil which is abt 2 miles distant. But Col^o Warner luckily getting a 4 pounder the very evening before made so good use of it that, (added to the gallantry of his men) Mr. Carleton was repuls'd with disgrace. The General in this action prov'd himself a

Coward as he kept with his Regulars during the whole time of action the farthest distant from danger of any of the boats—3 dead Indians were found, 2 wounded taken prisoners, & 2 or 3 Canadians made prisoners.

November 1.—Another express arriv'd from Col^o Warner intimating that He was in fear of another attack from Carleton—sent him Lt. E. V. Bunschoten with 40 men—But the Colonel was mistaken in his surmises—Carleton never appeared, & our Lt. returned.

November 2.—In evening we had the agreeable newes brought us that St. Johns surrendered this day, after a most tedious seige of 45 days.

November 3.—The Town crowded all day with carts on their way to St. Johns to convey the Baggage of our army to this place.

In the evening arrived here & supped with me on their way to Montreal on parole, Cap't Williams of the Artillery Cap' Gordon & Hesketh of 26th & Lt. Thompson of Do.

November 4.—One of our Centinels being intoxicated gave an alarm at 9 in the evening that several Battoes with Regulars were landing just below us. Our small army of something less than 100 men were instantly in motion and paraded Just out of Town when we found that what the Centinel heard was nothing more than several Carts coming into Town on their way to St. Johns.

*November 6.*¹—General Montgomery arrived in Town at 2 OClock, & at different times of the day the 1st & our Battalion.

November 7.—General Wooster & Col^o Waterbury with their Regiments & part of the 4th Battalion came in Town this afternoon & encamped in the fields abt 1/4 of mile from Town.

November 9.—Cap't Lamb & his company came in with 6 Field pieces (Brass) taken from the Enemy at St. Johns.

November 10.—13 Battoes were convey'd from Chamblee almost all the way by land to a stream of water 2 miles east

¹ The entries from November 6 to 11 are quoted in Lossing's "Schuyler."

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November 11.—At 9 this morning the General, Coll^o Waterburys Reg't some of the 3d Batt'n & a few of 4th Battalio & Gen'l Woosters Reg't in all abt 500 men with 6 field pieces cross'd the river St. Lawrence & landed on Isle St. Paul directly opposite Lapraire & 1 1/2 mile from Montreal. As soon as Governor Carleton saw our people embark, He ordered all his regulars on board the vessells he had lying at Montreal, & fled down the river.

November 12, Sunday.—This morning John McDougal 1st Lt. to Cap't Wesenfells of 1st Battalio died of a Bilious Colic and was buried in the afternoon with all the military shew our forces in Lapraire could make.

November 13.—This day at 10 O Clock General Montgomery marched into Montreal.

November 14.—This morning I set of from Lapraire and arrived in Montreal at 11 O Clock.

November 15.—A Council of War held by the General at the India House.

November 17.—Left Montreal on my return home in Company with Coll^o Waterbury & best part of his Regiment (Coll^o Wynkoop & those of our Battalio who returned not being to set of in some days). At noon I set out in a Battoe from towu and got to Lapraire 8 miles distant a little after sunset.

The city of Montreal lies with its eastern side just on the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and has a wall around it tho it is not very defensible: It seems to be principally design'd for small arms as I saw no embrazures for Cannon. Its built of stone and is abt 14 feet high, and all of it rough cast with lime and sand, as every other wall & building is in Canada.

The Citadel is built at the north part of the Town on a small eminence and mounts abt 14 or 15 Guns: There was a clever Guard house in it before we came, but Gov. Carleton had just before he left it almost ruin'd it lest it should be of service to us.

The city contains within the walls near 600 houses, and its two suburbs, that of Recollet on the south & St. Lawrence on the north of it, full as many more, altho much inferiour. The houses are mostly 2 stories high and built of stone, very strong but not elegant.

There are 2 principal streets which run North and south and these are cross'd abt every 30 or 40 yards by less considerable ones. The Eastern or main street is inhabited by a great many English Traders above 40 in number, & one hears almost as much English spoken in this street as in the streets of Albany.

The town is not paved: & if it was not for a narrow walk of stones projecting out about 2 feet from the houses the streets would be impassable in the spring & fall—While I was there the mud in the streets was full half leg deep. In Montreal happy is that man who can keep the wall.

Fryday is their market day & provision then of almost any kind (fish excepted) is to be had cheap and in great plenty. The market place has no roof to it—consisting only of a floor & Butchers blocks. It stands in the middle of a square & on market day the street all around is crowded with hucksters of one kind or another—St. Luke La Carnes house (the best in town) fronts the market.

There is a High hill or rather mountain lies abt a mile & half S. West from the City and which is cultivated almost to its very summit. The soil on its sides sandy & kind.

The Friars have a very elegant garden on the side of this Hill and inclosed by a high stone wall.

There is a considerable Nunnery in the suburbs of Recollet, but I had not leisure to go & see it.

Near one sixth part of the City of Montreal is taken up with Churches & their Court yards, some of their Churches have near a quarter of an acre (perhaps more) of land adjoining it. There is but 2 Churches that stand open in the street & in full view; the rest (7 or 8) are all hid from sight (except the roof) by a high wall next the street. There is an old Church in the S. W. corner of the Town

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that bears a resemblance to St. Pauls in New York—& has an Image of St. Paul on its top next the street, exactly in the attitude of that in N. York.

Hard by this Church is a large cross erected and a painted Cock on its top—& near that the bust of George III^d neatly executed. Its of white marble and as large as the life. It was erected by the Citizens as a gratefull return for the donation his Majesty made them after the great fire that happened there some years ago.

The river St. Lawrence at Montreal is two miles wide and exceedingly rapid—vessells of burden can come up till opposite the south gate but not a foot farther. The water immediately becoming shallow & the Current almost too great for Battoes to stem, and this continues so till the point of Isle St. Paul a mile & half from Town. At Lapraire the River is more than 6 miles wide. The current strong, but not by any means so great as opposite Montreal. Caghna-waga falls are abt 7 miles south of Montreal.

The River wherever I have cross'd or seen it is very unsafe to navigate. The rocks often projecting just out of the water above a mile from either shore & some but a few Inches under the surface & very dangerous for Battoes or Canoes to strike on.

The Colour of the water very red & after a high wind, foul. A westerly wind driving the water out of Lake Ontario soon raises the River a foot or two, which falls again as soon as the wind subsides.

November 18.—Set of from Lapraire 1/2 after 12 O Clock & with Major Dimon on foot & got to St. Johns at daylight.

November 21.—Col'o Waterbury, Col'o Hobby, Major Dimon 3 or 4 Captains and myself—on board the sloop. The subalterns of Col. Waterbury's Regiment in the Row Galley—& Col'o Ward of Gen'l Woosters Regiment on board the Enemys schooner & each vessell full of soldiers, set of from St. Johns with a small northerly gale & sleet, & arrived at Isle Au Noix just before dark.

The Fortress of St. Johns lies near 130 miles North from

Ticonderoga on the brink of Lake Champlain & abt a quarter of a mile from the first rapid. It consists of 2 forts or redoubts near 100 yards asunder. The southern one rather the largest. In this is a Brick house containing 2 clever rooms & Lintels back of them—& a small potash house near it.

In the north redoubt is a very large white stone house 2 stories high but unfinished within, and now almost shattered to pieces—almost too much so, ever to be repaired. The forts are abt 100 feet wide each way in the inside; & mounted between them, upwards of 30 Iron Cannon besides Brass field pieces (6 pounders) & several mortars.

The Wall is compos'd altogether of Earth, and neatly sodded without, looking as green as the field around it.

The whole surrounded with a ditch of 7 feet deep & 8 or 9 feet wide—picketed on the Interior side with timbers projecting from under the wall & over the Ditch, & a little elevated, with their points made very sharp.

Between the 2 forts there was a line of pickets placed (or posts) 10 feet high and close together.

I imagine this was done to hinder the soldiers, who generally did their cooking beyond them, from being seen from the east Battery; and to secure their Bark Canoes from Grape Shot as they lay also right behind them.

A Ditch was also dug deep enough for men to pass unseen thro from one fort to the other, & between the pickets & the Lake. Both the pickets & ditch were constructed after we built our Eastern Battery.

In each Redoubt the Enemy kept a union display'd.

Its 2 or 300 yards from the Forts to the nearest woods or bushes. In general its 5 or 600 to the woods—a low plain wet, & covered with excellent grass surrounds the Fortress. If there is any elevation of the earth at all, it is where the forts stand.

The wilderness west of St. Johns is an impassable Quagmire—Low, wet & covered with Timber & brush—& for 7 or 8 miles north of the fort we meet with but one sorry log tenement which stood in our Grand camp.

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Opposite the Forts on the east of the Lake The soil is also very wet & low ; a perfect howling swamp. There are a considerable number of large Hemloc trees grow on this side and plenty of the Balm of Gilead Firs. North east of St. Johns at the distance of abt a mile stands a large elegant house belonging to one Cap't Hasen with a considerable quantity of clear'd ground around it. The Captain has a saw mill standing on the Rapids which are just by his house. These Rapids are not so great but what rafts of boards & timber can at any time go down them & so into the River St. Lawrence. Our people frequently sent Battoes down with Cannon in them—& empty ones can be drawn up against the Current.

The fall is perhaps 100 yards in length. The breadth of the Lake here as at St. Johns between 3 & 400 yards.

On the west side the lake, from St. Johns Northward there are settlements all the way to Chamblee; a house or two being in sight of the Fort.

From St. Johns to Chamblee is 10 miles—To Lapraire 18 —& to Isle Au Noix 15.

November 22.—A small breeze at S. W. all day and sleet —made but 2 miles.

November 23.—A very still day—Heard the news of the capture of Carletons fleet & all on board except Carleton himself and the few men who man'd the boat he ran away in—made this day but 4 miles.

November 24.—Very calm—made but a mile to day.

November 25.—Made the Isle of Mott, and anchored near the S. part of it & near the shore. In the night a snow storm came on, the wind N. E.

November 26, Sunday.—As soon as daylight appeared we weighed anchor, and under a very heavy Gale & but a rag of the Mainsail hoisted stood up the Lake, snowing very fast all the time, we no sooner lost sight of the Isle of Mott but we were lost, and not a man on board knew where we was till 3 in the afternoon when we were just by the 4 Brothers 30 miles perhaps from where we set of. In runing this distance we were often in great danger, runing often but a few

rods from the rocky shores of Islands we never saw before to remember again. Once between a couple of those Islands we sounded and found the depth of water but 2 1/2 fathom. As our vessel ran very fast and the sea went high, if we had struck a rock, or even sand, our old crazy sloop must have gone to pieces.

Abt half after 3 the weather cleared off a little, when we espied the schooner just behind us. A little before Dark we both of us dropt anchor quietly under the lee of Crownpoint. The Row Galley had been there awaiting for us 2 days.

We ran this day abt 70 miles.

November 27.—This morning we hoisted & stood up towards Ticonderoga That fortress being 15 miles from Crownpoint—It being calm we row'd the vessells up. At 3 in the afternoon we arriv'd under the Fort & saluted it with 13 guns—landed & waited on General Schuyler.

November 28.—Col'o Waterburys men carried over by land two large Battoes from the bridge to Ticonderoga landing, abt 2 miles—we lodg'd at Cap' Johnsons Quarters at the landing—This evening I was seiz'd with a high fever.

November 29.—Early in the morning we set out in 3 Battoes on lake George on our way to the Fort of that name. The wind being fresh at south we could get no farther than Sabbathday point 12 miles from where we set out where we spent the afternoon and night. The common soldiers under trees and the Officers in a small log house.

At this place there are near 90 acres of land cleared; and I believe the soil is good, as I observ'd the grass about the house to be rank and good. One Richardson liv'd here, till last spring when for fear of the Indians he mov'd down to Fort George.

This is the only settlement between Ticonderoga landing & Fort George.

November 30.—Set out early in the morning from Sabbathday point, and row'd the whole day against a brisk southerly wind; but by keeping amongst the Islands we evaded the force of it much. Just before sunset landed at Fort George.

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I was very sick all day & lying out in an open boat heightened my disorder.

December 1.—This morning we set out from Fort George 3 Ox teams carrying our Baggage. On one of them I rode. 4 miles on the north of Fort Edward I b't a horse, being too sick to ride on a Cart which the Teamster told me he would be fore'd to use a few miles below Fort Edward for want of snow for the sleds. Put up at Fort Edward at one Pat Smiths, Col^o Waterbury and his party went forward 5 miles, & I never overtook them again. They had all my Baggage with them.

December 2.—I was very Ill when I set out from Smiths, and riding on a Bearskin without any stirrups, thro a small snow too, did not contribute to alleviate my distemper. I got as far as Saratoga & lodg'd at the Generals, Mrs. Schuyler & her daughter being there.

December 3.—Travel'd down as far as Stillwater to Parson Grahams where I stay'd a fortnight being too unwell to proceed any Farther.

December 17, Sunday.—By proper attendance & the use of the Bark I was well enough to set of from there the 17th Sunday. I got as far as the new City that day.

December 18.—Arrived in Albany at noon, & lodg'd at my friend Mr. Jacob Rosabooms.

December 19.—Ferry'd across the river & got as far as Kinderhook a little before sunset.

December 20.—Altho the weather was excessive cold & the riding worse than I ever knew it, I reach'd Bests at Kingsbridge before night, where I lodg'd.

December 21.—Rode down as far as Doct'r Bards where I lodg'd. It being just sunset when I got there.

December 22.—A little after noon I arrived in safety at my house. The God of all mercy be adored for his goodness to an unworthy sinner!