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JOURNAL
OF
DU ROI THE ELDER

LIEUTENANT AND ADJUTANT, IN THE SERVICE OF THE DUKE OF
BRUNSWICK, 1776-1778.

*Translated from the Original German Manuscript in the Library of Congress,
Washington, D. C.*

BY
CHARLOTTE S. J. EPPING.

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PREFACE.

This *Journal of Du Roi the Elder* has been found in one manuscript only, that now is in the possession of the Library of Congress. The translation has been made, and is here published by the permission of Dr. Herbert Putnam, the Librarian of Congress, and of Dr. Hunt, Chief of the Manuscript Department, and at the instance of Dr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, of Philadelphia.

The names of Du Roi the Elder and Du Roi the Younger, which seem to have escaped many of the compilers of the lists of the officers in the English service in America during the American Revolution, appear in the lists of this journal.

The journal contains much valuable information, as Du Roi was an exceptionally close observer and did not, like many of the diarists of that period, fill up his pages with irrelevant matter. The observations on the flora and fauna of Canada will doubtless prove interesting to students in those fields, and the English portion at the close of the journal, besides furnishing valuable details, will serve as a curious example of the English employed by the German officers. The photographic reproduction of the first page of the journal and of the plan of battle at Albany will be self explanatory.

M. D. LEARNED.

Ordre de Bataille der Armee unter General Lieutenant
John Bourgoyne im Jahr 1777

Avant-Corps
600 Wilde
2 Comp. Gend'ar. Blont.
Moin. Bouchard. d. Kay.

Obst. Borjmann

Chasseur à legs, Grenadier
Maj. v. Bernier 2 Comp.

Cape Frazer
St. Louis la Corne

Brigadier Frazer

24. Regim. Grenadier
Maj. v. Front
10 Comp.
Adj. Balcarnar, Maj. Allan

Gener. Lieut. John Bourgoyne

Gen. Maj. v. Riedesel

Brigadier Specht
1te deutsche Brigade
Reg. v. Sitt. Reg. Specht
Maj. v. Bernier 2 Comp.
Maj. v. Lude. Maj. Ehrenkrantz
Maj. v. Sponck

Brigadier v. Sall
2te deutsche Brigade
Brigadier James Hamilton
2te englische Brigade

Gen. Maj. Phillips
Brigadier Walter Powell
1te englische Brigade

24. Reg. 20. Reg. 9te Reg.
Maj. Baird. Maj. Keir. Lt. Col. Maclean. Lt. Col. Gough. Oberst Hill

Maj. v. Franau Artillerie

1 Comp.
Cap. v. Barch

Reg. Dragoner Reg.
Oberst Baum

Haupt-Quartier

Englische Artillerie
Maj. Williams



JOURNAL OF DU ROI THE ELDER,

LIEUTENANT AND ADJUTANT,

In the Service of the Duke of Brunswick.

1776-1777.

(Cf. Schlözer's *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und Neuengland vom Jahre 1777 und 1778 aus dem Briefwechsel,*

Hefte 23 and 24).

Translated from the Original German Manuscript in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

by Charlotte S. J. Epping.

VOLUME I.

The rebellious revolt of the English Colonies in America, which for some years had particularly prevailed in the provinces of New England, New Hampshire, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York, the Jerseys and North and South Carolina, and which was aroused through the introduction of a tax and stamp act, made it necessary (all negotiations having failed) for the crown of England, the mother of these provinces, to send an army to America to force these rebellious subjects to lay down their arms. But since it was impossible for England on account of her politics to deprive herself of so many soldiers, a resolution was passed in parliament to engage auxiliary troops in Germany for service in America. The English Colonel Faucit, who was at the time in Hanover, received orders to ask at the courts of Brunswick and Hesse-Cassel for a corps of subsidiaries. This request was granted by Hesse-Cassel with 12,000 and by Brunswick with 4300 men to enter service under the crown of England. These negotiations took place about the middle of December, 1775, and in the beginning of January, 1776, the 4300 men from Brunswick received orders to prepare for the march.

The following regiments were assigned for this duty under the command of General von Riedesel:

| Regiments. | Number of Companies. | Number of men in a Regiment. | Names of the Commanders and Staff Officers. |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Prince Ludewig Dragoons | 4 Esquad | 336 | General v. Riedesel, Lieut.-Col. Baum, Major v. Meybom. |
| 2. Grenadier Bataillon | 4 | 564 | Lieut.-Col. Breymann. |
| 3. Prince Friedrich Durchl. | 5 | 680 | Lieut.-Col. Praetorius, Major von Hille. |
| 4. Gen. Maj. v. Rhetz | 5 | 680 | Lieut.-Col. v. Ehrenkroock, Major von Lucke. |
| 5. Gen. Maj. v. Riedesel | 5 | 680 | Lieut.-Col. v. Spaeth, Major von Mengen. |
| 6. Col. Specht | 5 | 680 | Col. Specht, Major von Ehrenkroock. |
| 7. Chasseur-Battaillon Also Staff | 5 | 658 22 | Major von Baerner. |
| Total | 33 | 4300 men | |

Reg. 3, 4, 5, 6 are designated as "Mousquetier" Reg.
Reg. 7 "Leichte Infanterie."

Owing to the lack of time it was impossible, however, to let all these troops start at the same time, and it was decided to send them in two divisions. The first division was to consist of (1) the Dragoons, (2) the Grenadiers, (3) the Regiment Prince Friedrich, (4) the Regiment v. Riedesel. The rest of the troops were to form a second division, which was to follow later under the command of Colonel Specht.

On February 6, 1776, the regiments of the first division (with the exception of the Grenadiers, who were stationed in Brunswick), were mustered in the court of the castle in Wolfenbüttel so that it might be ascertained whether the ranks were full and equipment in good condition. After the field-chaplain had delivered a sermon and the auditor had read aloud the articles of war, the regiments took the oath of allegiance.

The day of departure was fixed for the 15th of February. The troops started on this day, but had scarcely been gone an hour when a courier arrived with the news that the transport ships were not expected in Stade for some weeks. The troops therefore returned toward noon to their quarters. This was sufficient reason for delaying the departure another week.

FEBRUARY 22.—The 22d day of February, 1776, was the day on which at 6 o'clock in the morning, the first section of the

Brunswick auxiliaries started from Wolfenbüttel; they passed the city of Brunswick on their right at noon and arrived on the same day in the duchy of Lüneburg. The troops marched through Hanover receiving supplies as they went. Each portion of the daily rations was to be paid for with 2 ggl. During the march the commissaries for Hanover were Major von Malorti and Bailiff Meyer, and for Brunswick Colonel von Hoym.

Since I belong to the regiment of His Royal Highness, Prince Friedrich, I shall be obliged, often for lack of information, to restrict the notes of my account to this regiment; nevertheless, as time and circumstances may demand, I shall try as much as time and circumstances allow, to write all I can about the whole body of troops.

My regiment (Prince Friedrich) spent the night in the county of Gifhorn, and the companies were quartered in the following villages:

| | | |
|-----------|--|---|
| 22. Febr. | { in Kethem in Ahnebüttel } | Regimental Staff. 1. G. M. v. Stammer Company. 2. Lieut.-Col. Praetorius Comp. 3. Capt. v. Tunderfeld ½ Comp. 1. Major v. Hille Company. 2. Captain Dieterich's Comp. 3. Capt. v. Tunder- feld ½ Comp. |
| | | Headquarters in Leiferde. |
| | Headquarters in Gifhorn. | |
| 23. Febr. | Amt Gifhorn | Gamessen Regim. Staff, 1. G. M. v. Stam- mer. 2. Lieut.-Col. Praetorius. 3. Major v. Hille. 4. Capt. v. Tunderfeld Company. Wilshe 1. Capt. Diterich's Company. |
| | Headquarters in Hankensbüttel. | |
| 24. Febr. | Amt Gifhorn | Sprakenseel Regim. Staff and Lieut.-Col. Prae- torius Company. Langwedel Gen. Maj. v. Stammer Comp. Oehrel Gen. Maj. v. Hille Company. Steinecke Capt. Diterichs. Betzhorn Capt. v. Tunderfeld. |
| 25. Febr. | Day of rest. Same quarters. | |
| | Headquarters in Wrestedt. | |
| 26. Febr. | Amt Bodenteich | in Regim. Staff, 1. Lieut.-Col. Prae- Stadensen torius, 2. Major von Hille, 3. 29 camp kitchens Captain von Tunderfeld Com- pany. Wrestedt 1. Gen. Major v. Stammer and 20 camp kitchens 2. Captain Diterichs Company. |

| | | | |
|-----------|--|--|---|
| | Headquarters in Ebsdorf. | | |
| 27. Febr. | Cloister Ebsdorf | in the Flecken Ebsdorf Old Ebsdorf | Regim. Staff. 1. Gen. Maj. v. Stammer. 2. Lieut.-Col. Praetorius. 3. Capt. v. Tunderfeld ½ Company. 1. Major von Hille. 2. Capt. Diterichs. 3. Capt. v. Tunderfeld ½ Company. |
| | Headquarters in Amelinghausen. | | |
| 28. Febr. | Amt Wimfen on the Luhe | Sottorf 9 camp kitchens Etzen 4 camp kitchens Rehlingen 9 camp kitchens Dehunsen 5 camp kitchens | Regim. Staff. 1. Lieut.-Col. Praetorius. 2. G. M. v. Stammer, ½ Comp. Major von Hille Company. 1. Capt. Diterichs and G. M. von Stammer ½ Company. Captain von Tunderfeld Company. |
| 29. Febr. | Day of Rest. | | |
| | Headquarters in Ramsloh. | | |
| 1. March | Amt Wimfen on the Luhe | Marxen 17 camp kitchens Ahsendorf 28 camp kitchens | Regim. Staff. 1. G. M. von Stammer. 2. Lieut.-Col. Praetorius. 3. Capt. Diterichs Company. 1. Major von Hille. 2. Capt. von Tunderfeld Comp. |
| | Headquarters in Haarbürg. | | |
| 2. March | Amt Haarbürg | Meklenfelde 35 camp kitchens Wilstorf 23 camp kitchens Rönneburg 24 camp kitchens | Regim. Staff. 1. G. M. v. Stammer. 2. Lieut.-Col. Praetorius Company. 1. Major von Hille Company. 2. Capt. von Tunderfeld. 1. Capt. Diterichs Company. |
| | Headquarters in Buxtehude, where the Dragoons and Grenadiers had quarters. | | |
| 3. March | Amt Möseburg | Elstorf 21 camp kitchens Darrstorf 9 camp kitchens Schwiederstorf 12 camp kitchens Arresdorf 8 camp kitchens Wulmsdorf 15 camp kitchens | Regim. Staff. Lieut.-Col. Praetorius Comp. Major von Hille G. M. von Stammer. Capt. Diterichs. Capt. v. Tunderfeld. |
| 4. March | Day of Rest. | | |

MARCH 5TH.—The regiment Prince Friedrich arrived in Buxtehude toward noon, the staff, the dragoons and the grenadiers having marched towards Stade in the morning.

Buxtehude is a small town which is surrounded by the river Eite. It has three gates. The streets are regular, but the style of the houses is quaint.

MARCH 8TH.—The regiment was mustered out before the ——— gate by Col. Faucit and taken into English service, after which they took the oath of allegiance to the king of England.

MARCH 14TH.—The regiment marched with the regiment von Riedesel, which had been stationed in Horneburg, to Stade to embark there. On the previous day, March 13th, the Dragoons and Grenadiers had embarked.

MARCH 15TH.—Four companies of the regiment v. Riedesel embarked.

MARCH 17TH.—At 9 o'clock in the morning the regiment Prince Friedrich and Major von Mengen's company of the regiment v. Riedesel were put on "Evers" (small boats with only one mast) and taken down the Schwinge to the Elbe, to the transport ships and embarked. The departure from Stade was attended with music and jubilant shouts of the soldiers. The English transports were anchored in the Elbe near the village Brunshausen, about one-half mile from the mouth of the river Schwinge.

MARCH 18TH.—The horses of the staff officers and adjutants were put on board ship. The ship "Martha," which was appointed for them, did not differ in its structure from the other transports neither inside nor outside. The only difference was that the floor of the ship was covered with coarse sand, on which the horses were to stand in small apartments as in a stable, but very narrow and padded. Formerly they used to hang up the horses in straps when crossing the ocean. Now, when the sea is very rough, broad straps are put under the horses to support them; an invention which has recently been made. The horses were brought to the ship from Stade in "Evers," from which they were hauled out to the transport by a pulley. One of the best and newest ships not so liable to roll had been selected for the transportation of the horses. In the nautical language of the English such a ship is called "a good seaboat." To prevent the rolling of a ship, the keel must be made with a very sharp edge

and must reach deep down into the water. This way of building ships is peculiar to the English people, who are greater experts in ship building than any other nation and who with great precaution put their theories to practical use. For this reason they are able to sail much faster and to make the necessary movements much more rapidly. The Dutch vary the most from this style. They make the bottom of the ship more round, on little vessels even flat, and say that this kind of ship can go farther up stream without danger, which is very true, if all other advantages are to be passed over. An English boat, which goes too far up stream, runs the risk of going aground when the tide is low and of turning on its side. Also it has to be loaded and unloaded with much more precaution. Furthermore, the Dutch ships are altogether broader in the stern and narrower in the bowsprit. The English, on the other hand, make the front part of the vessel broader than the rear part, and this from mature experience, taken from nature. They have made use of the fact that the fish, that is the dolphin, which can swim the fastest, has been equipped by nature with a big head in proportion to the breadth of his body. As the water is driven by the front part of the ship out of the space which it previously occupied, a whirling movement is produced in the water as it rushes in from two sides. This whirlpool gets bigger and bigger and would hinder the ship in its forward course if the stern of the ship were not narrower. I have made observations in this line and have found that this opinion is well founded.

Each fleet has its agent, who has to look after the provisions and everything else necessary for the soldiers on the transport, and he gives the necessary orders in this respect to the masters of the ships. Our agent was Ship Lieutenant Haynes; he was on board the "Pallas."

The first division of the Brunswick troops was placed on sixteen ships, including the ship with the horses, and the regiments and companies were divided as follows:

| Names of the Transport Ships. of Tons. | Number of Tons. | Name of Captain. | Names of the Officers on Each Ship. | Number of Soldiers. | Names of the Companies. | Regiment. |
|--|-----------------|------------------|---|---------------------|--|---|
| 1. Pallas | 344 | Captain Bell. | Gen. von Riedesel, Capt. Fricke, Capt. Gerlach, Lieuts. Cleve, O. F. C. Goedecke, Regr. Lange-meyer, Capt. Foy. | | Gen.-Maj. v. Riedesel Esquadron. | Prince-goner bark. Stade. |
| 2. Minerva | 311 | | Lieut.-Col. Baum, Rittm. Reinking, Cornet Graefe, Stutzer, Chaplain Melsheimer, Auditor Thomas, Surgeon Vorbrodt. | | Leib Esquadron and Obstl. Baum. | Ludewig Regiment 13. Mart |
| 3. Union | 261 | | May v. Meyboom, Rittmstr. v. Schlagenteufel sen. and jun. Lieut. v. Sommer-latte, Bothmar Bornemann, C. Schönewald. | | Leib. Esquadron and Maj. v. Meyboom. | Dra-em- at 1776 |
| 4. James and John | 356 | Captain Wadson | Obstl. Breymann, Cap. v. Hambach, Lieut. Uhlig, Gebhard, Rudolphi, Mutzel, Winteschmidt, Regr. Feldsch. Henkel. | | Obstl. Breymann Pr. Fried. Reg. | Grenadier Battaill. emb. 13. Mar. at Stade. |
| 5. Laurie | 380 | | Capit. v. Baertling, sen., Lieut. Helmcke, v. Wallmoden, Mayer. | | Captain v. Baertling, Reg. v. Rhetz. | Grenadier Battaill. embark. 13. March 1776, at Stade. |
| 6. Royal Briton | 303 | | Capit. v. Löhneisen, Lieut. Trott, Balcke, Lieut. v. Gramm. | | C. v. Löhneisen, C. Morgenstern, Reg. v. Reidesel. | |
| 7. Apollo | 361 | | Capit. v. Schik, Lieut. v. Mayer, d'Anières jun. | | Cap. v. Schick, Regim. Specht. | |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----|--------------------------------|---|---|--|
| 8. Prince of Wallis | 447 | Captain George Prissick. | Obstl. Praetorius, Cap. v. Tunderfeld, v. Zielberg, Lieut. Hartz, du Roi, v. König, F. Sternberg, Au- dit. Wolpers, Regiments- Feldscheer Berns. Major v. Hille, C. Sander, Lieut. Wolgast, Burg- hoff, F. Kotte, Lieut. Schröder. Capt. Rosenberg, Lieut. Volkmar, F. Reinerdings, F. v. Adelsheim, Feldsch. Fügerer. | Obstl. Praetorius and Cap. v. Tun- derfeld. | Prince Friederich Durchl. embark. 17. March, 1776, at Stade. |
| 9. Providence | 366 | Captain Watson. | Major v. Hille, C. Sander, Lieut. Wolgast, Burg- hoff, F. Kotte, Lieut. Schröder. | Maj. v. Hille and Cap. v. Tunder- feld. | |
| 10. Lord Sandwich | 317 | Captain Devonsham. | Capt. Rosenberg, Lieut. Volkmar, F. Reinerdings, F. v. Adelsheim, Feldsch. Fügerer. | G. M. v. Stamer and Cap. v. Tunderfeld. | |
| 11. Peggy | 360 | Captain Wilson. | Capt. Diterichs, Lieut. v. d. Knesebeck, v. Reitzen- stein, F. Langerjaan. | Cap. Diterichs, C. v. Tunderfeld, C. Morgenstern. | |
| 12. Harmonie | 449 | | Obstl. v. Spaeth, Capit. Morgenstern, v. Baertling, jun., Lieut. Morgenstern, v. Burgsdorf v. Meyern, F. v. Meyboom. | Obstl. v. Spaeth and Capt. Morgen- stern. | Maj. Gen. v. Riedesal em- bark. 15. March, '76, at Stade. |
| 13. Nancy | 304 | Captain Wilson. | Major v. Mengen, Cap. v. Girsewald, Lieut. Hoyer, F. Hauberlin, Feldschr. Mylius. | Major v. Mengen, C. Morgenstern. | |
| 14. Polly | 309 | | Capt. Harbord, Lieut. Keincking, v. Pincier, F. Unverzagt, Aud. Zink. | G. M. v. Riedesel, C. Morgenstern. | |
| 15. Elisabeth | 320 | Captain Hold. | Capit. v. Pöllnitz, Lieut. Freyenhagen, F. Brandes, Andrae, Reg.-Feldscher. Pralle. | C. v. Pöllnitz, C. Morgenstern. | |
| 16. Martha | 390 | Captain Hold. | Lieut. Wolgast, jun., Wies- ener, Breva, v. Reckrodt. | | Embarke- d the 18 th of March '76. |

32 horses.

All these vessels had three masts with the exception of the "Royal Briton," which had only two. The ship "Prince of Wales," on which I sailed, was next to the "Harmony" the biggest of the transports, which fact can be seen from the number of tons mentioned above. We had 6 six-pound cannons; two of the largest were placed in the cabin. The length of the ship was 1000 Engl. feet, and the breadth 28 feet. The ship was built twenty-eight years ago and cost then 5000 pounds sterling. Fifteen years ago repairs were made amounting to 2600 pounds sterling. The king pays 250 pounds sterling rent per month for the ship (1500 Reichsthaler Brunswick currency), and this money is used to pay and keep the captain, the pilot and the sailors. All provisions for the soldiers, however, are furnished by the commissary store-houses ("royal magazines") as well as the beds and blankets.

To a ship of this kind generally twenty to twenty-five sailors are assigned; on men-of-war the requisite number of men is much larger, so that the sailors do not get as much pay as on a merchantman. But they get pensions when old and the king provides for the disabled and pays their expenses during sickness, which privileges the sailors on merchantmen do not enjoy.

A sailor on a merchantman receives 50 shs. (15 Reichsthaler Brunswick currency) a month, besides daily rations for meat, beer, brandy and other provisions in abundance. The first mate receives 4 to 5 guineas per month and board.

The work of the sailors is just as hard as the pay is good. The captain keeps them continuously at work, of which there is plenty on a vessel, even when the weather is good, and when the sea is rough and the wind high it is incredible how they must work, often for days and nights in succession if circumstances or danger demand it.

Although it is against the law for the captain of an English merchantman to beat or punish his sailors, his orders are always obeyed in the quickest possible way and nobody dares to be insubordinate on the ship. In case such a thing should happen, the captain delivers the culprit over to the next man-of-war they meet, with a memorandum, because the royal officers only have the right to punish. On the man-of-war the man is undressed,

bound to the mast and whipped very hard even for the smallest misdeeds.

The cabin-boys, however, are punished by the captain or the first mate at will. This happens almost daily and these performances are often very comical.

Every sailor gets, when taken on board the ship, a printed copy of instructions decided upon by an act of Parliament. Officers of the ship are the captain, the pilot and his mate, the steward, the cook and the boatswain.

The name of our captain was George Prissick, a man of honorable, upright character, full of life, who had been on the sea for forty years, and had seen the world in his youth, had gathered knowledge, had thought and read a good deal and looked at life from the right point of view. He did not have the coarse character common to other seamen, and possessed of all the qualities of his nation only the good ones. His behavior towards us soon won our friendship, and his attention to our men gained him the respect of the soldiers, who looked upon him as a father. He had given up seafaring, was a man of means and married, and living happily with his family. He had undertaken this journey, against the wishes of his wife, out of gratitude to an old friend, because no one else could be found who would undertake the trip on such an old dilapidated ship as ours.

Not friendship alone for this man demanded this description of him, but it will be necessary to be able to judge him rightly, if in the course of my narrative, I should mention some experiences, as they are taken from his accounts, which would then seem so much more credible.

MARCH 19TH.—On this date pilots were taken on each ship to guide the fleet out of the Elbe. This is a necessity, the river, being full of sand banks, although the channel is marked with white buoys on one side and black buoys on the other, yet there are places where the constant experience of the pilot is necessary.

Although the wind on this day was not favorable, blowing from the west towards the north, the following ten ships unfurled the sails and lifted anchor toward one o'clock in the afternoon: "Minerva," "Union," "James and John," "Laurie," "Royal

Briton," "Apollo," "Prince of Walis," "Lord Sandwich," "Harmony" and "Polly." They went down the Elbe, past Glückstadt to Freyburg, where at half-past four o'clock the anchors were dropped again.

The other six ships: "Pallas", "Providence", "Peggy", "Nancy", "Elisabeth" and "Martha" had remained before Brunshausen near Stade.

The night commenced with heavy rains and wind, and for a first trial of the voyage, the rolling and tossing of the vessel proved too much. The captain had to cast a second anchor, and if we had been out at sea, we might have been justified in calling it a heavy storm. On account of the rolling of the ship, which lasted the whole night until 9 o'clock in the morning, when the sun came out, many of our soldiers became seasick, of which I, for this time, was entirely free.

MARCH 20TH.—The wind blew from the north and was against us all day long. We, therefore, had to remain anchored, and the six ships which had stayed behind, could not follow us.

MARCH 21ST.—In the evening towards 7 o'clock the ships which had remained at Brunshausen arrived and cast anchor near us.

The daily rations of the soldiers on the ship, with which they are supplied by the steward every morning in the presence of an officer, are as follows:

Wöchentliche Verpflegung der Soldaten auf den Schiffen à 6 Mann gerechnet.

| auf den | Brod lb. | Bier Quartier. | Rindfleisch und Mehl zum Pudding lb. | Schweinefleisch lb. | Butter und Käse lb. | Hülsenfrüchte Erbsen oder Maass | Habergrütze oder Reiss Maass |
|----------------------|----------|----------------|--|---------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Sontag | 4 | 12 | | 2 | | 2 | |
| Montag | 4 | 12 | | | ½ lb. Butter ¼ lb. Käse | | 4 |
| Dienstag | 4 | 12 | 2 lb. Rindfleisch 6 lb. fein Mehl 1 lb. Fett oder 1 lb. Rosinen | | | | |
| Mittwochen | 4 | 12 | | | ½ lb. Butter ¼ lb. Käse | 2 | 4 |
| Donnerstag | 4 | 12 | | 2 | | 2 | |
| Freytag | 4 | 12 | | | ½ lb. Butter ¼ lb. Käse | 2 | 4 |
| Sonnabend | 4 | 12 | 2 lb. Rindfleisch 6 lb. fein Mehl 1 lb. Fett oder 1 lb. Rosinen | | | | |

1 Quartier Weinessig wöchentlich auf 6 Mann.

For these provisions three pence English money have to be paid daily for each portion, and the sum is subtracted from the pay of the soldiers; officers are also allowed the same rations without paying more for them. The king also provides for the soldiers' wives during the trip on the ocean. The receipts for these provisions are put on the bills, but the companies do not have to pay for the same. However, as soon as the troops land, even this privilege is no longer granted.

All the provisions are furnished to the ships from the Royal Storehouses or "Magazines," and the king has to add one shilling at least for each portion daily. The bread consists, as everybody knows, of ship-biscuits, made of wheat and baked very hard into small round cakes. It requires good teeth to eat them, but you soon get used to it and like them very well. About eighteen to nineteen pieces make four pounds.

The beer is English small beer made out of hops, and is pure and palatable. When the beer gives out, one quart of rum to be mixed with water, or two quarts of wine for six men, takes the place. Since the rations are always calculated for six men, the companies have to be divided into sections of six men each including the women. Each of these sections receives some wooden dishes and spoons. All the cooking, however, is done at once in the big ship kettle which stands in the middle of the deck near the main mast ("Man mast"). The sailors get more provisions than the soldiers, because they have to work. Four sailors get as much as six soldiers.

The flour, fat and raisons, which are furnished every Tuesday and Saturday, are used for making a pudding, and each section is provided with a linen bag to cook the same in.

When the oatmeal gives out, rice takes the place, but I have noticed that oatmeal is better for sea travellers, as it cools and sweetens the blood which gets heated through the frequent discharge of gall caused by the continuous movements of the ship. The urin is colored dark with the gall, and I consider this the chief cause for scurvy, which is so common among seafarers. The eating of salt meat, want of perspiration and exercise are only secondary and aggravate the disease.

Since these notes are intended for those countrymen of mine who do not live near the coast and have no opportunity to see the arrangement of a ship, I hope my other readers will not take it amiss if I try to give a full description of the same.

The cabin of the officers is situated in the back part of the ship, and my description will continue from this point to the front part of the same. Two or four windows of the cabin open out on the stern of the ship. The cabin is about 20 or more feet wide and 12 feet long. The height is circa nine feet. On the sides are the beds of the officers, usually one above another, and all space is well utilized. Next to this big cabin are two small cabins, also for the use of officers. In the big cabin is a fire place in which coal is burned for heating in winter. There are two more small cabins at the beginning of the hall which leads to the officers' cabins. These are used by the captain and the chief pilot. Underneath the cabins is the powder-magazine, and the sleeping place of the steward. In front of the cabin, however, entirely separated from it, are the quarters of the sailors. All this is a little higher than the rest of the ship, and this higher deck is called the main deck (*Quarterdeck, le Gaillard*).

Some steps lead down to the other deck, where the soldiers are quartered and where four rows of beds are placed one above the other. Each soldier, as soon as he came on board, received a linen mattress stuffed with wool and a small pillow similar to the mattress. Also one small white woolen blanket and one colored one. All this is usually burnt after each trip, in order to make a better demand for English wool manufacturers. Underneath the big room is the place where the barrels with water, meat, beer and other provisions are stored, and below this place is a space, about two feet high, where the water coming into the ship gathers and from where it is pumped out. In the front part of the ship is another deck under which the cable is passed and where the small kitchen for the officers is situated. The rest of the space is used for stables for live stock. In front of this deck is the big wheel by which the anchor is raised or lowered, and above this is a bell which is rung at noon and at midnight. At these times the guard of the sailors is relieved. This bell serves also to give the time at

night as well as in the day. The sailor at the wheel gets the time from an hour-glass and calls to the sailor on guard in front, whenever the bell is to be rung.

Water is, properly, used very sparingly. The barrel from which the water is taken at the time, lies on the quarterdeck and a man guards it to prevent wasting it. This precaution is very necessary, as it is never known beforehand how long a trip on the sea may last.

Careful attention is given to the cleanliness of the ships, and every morning the whole ship is washed with sea water, inside and out. The way the cabin boys clean the cabins is worthy of imitation in dwelling houses and apartments where the floors are made of boards. The floor is first swept dry with a broom and afterwards scrubbed with a stiff, short-bristled brush, fastened to a long stick at an angle of 45 degrees. After this the wet floor is wiped up with a woolen mop (Mapp) which is also fastened to a stick. All this is done with marvelous rapidity, and the servant girls in Germany could hardly do it as well, in spite of all the trouble they are accustomed to take.

MARCH 22ND.—About 10 o'clock A. M. all the ships weighed anchor, and the ships started with a fresh south breeze down the Elbe to Cuxhaven, the port of Ritzebüttel, where the anchors were cast again at half-past three in the afternoon.

It is worthy of note that it is rather healthy than otherwise to be on the sea if you except a few diseases, as scurvy, etc., common to seafarers. We took more than twenty sick people on board when we embarked, all of whom, except four, were cured in a few days. Especially the "Hectici" felt a great deal better on the water than on land, and those having long suffered from fever got rid of it.

On this day we saw for the first time porpoises (purpose pig). This is a fish about ten feet long and four feet broad, of a brownish color, with a flat head and high fins on its back. The English call this fish "Pupose Pig" because its head is something like that of a pig. The German expression "Tümmeler" may have originated from a peculiar way the fish has of shooting up to the surface of the water and quickly diving down again. This causes

the water to foam and splash and it looks from a distance as if the fish had turned a somersault. The porpoises do not go up stream farther than the salt water. The mixing of the salt water with the fresh was easily noticed when we had lost sight of the coast on the right-hand side.

MARCH 23RD.—At six o'clock in the morning the fleet weighed anchor and passed by Ritzebüttel and out of the Elbe into the Baltic with southwest wind. The pilots left the ship. As long as they are on board they govern the boat, turn the wheel and give their orders in regard to the setting and changing of the sails as they deem best. They decide with which wind to sail and when to cast anchor. They receive 2 Rth. for each foot the ship sinks in water and also get everything free as long as they are on board. The pilots are accepted and sworn in by the admiralty in Hamburg, with which they also have to share their pay, because the admiralty has to make good in case a vessel is shipwrecked. For very large vessels additional charges are to be paid daily in addition. Our ship had a draft of 14 feet and consequently our captain had to pay 28 Reichsthaler.

On account of unfavorable wind, which blew southwest the whole day, we were obliged to keep to the right toward Hilgeland, and we could not make more than eight sea miles.

Hilgeland is a red rock rising out of the sea and without vegetation. There are about 1500 inhabitants on the island. The men make a living by fishing or being pilots on the Elbe. All provisions must be brought from the continent.

The latitude on this day, which the chief pilot finds out every noon as soon as the sun comes out with the help of the well-known Hadley Octant, was $54^{\circ} 10'$. The latitude can be determined most accurately with this instrument, which does honor to its inventor, and which appears to be the only one suitable for use on the sea. On this octant are diopters with glass plates, one of which is divided in two, the one part being a mirror. The sun must be on the same line in the mirror with the line of the horizon seen through the glass of the diopter to show exactly 12 o'clock at noon. This position changes very quickly, however, and great care should therefore be taken. From the latitude of the day before, and the distance sailed during that time, by subtracting

the differences and amplitudes, the present latitude is found. A good watch is also consulted. There are generally several of these instruments on a boat to make the observations more accurate.

In order to find out, how fast a ship sails, a log-line is thrown out at the stern of the ship. This consists of a small board in the figure of a triangle loaded with lead at the bottom so as to float upright on the surface and is attached to a long line, which is divided with red cloth into equal spaces, and which unwinds from a spool. When the log is thrown out the line is allowed to reel off until the movement of the ship no longer affects the log. Then an hour glass is turned, which runs in half a minute, and from this it is seen how many knots are run in this time. The log line is thrown every two hours, in the night as well as in the daytime, and record is made each time of the distance, as also of the wind and other minor conditions. At the end of 24 hours record of all this is entered in the ship's journal which the English ships are obliged to keep and which is to be handed over to the Admiralty after return to England. The figures given by the log-line are added up and the average for 24 hours is reckoned. The changes of the wind are all mentioned, as well as the number of sails set. These calculations are made from noon to noon.

MARCH 24TH.—West Northwest, West Southwest, North Northwest, Latitude $54^{\circ} 31'$. At noon we passed the mouth of the Weser, and as the wind was still ahead of us, we were unable to make more than 44 nautical miles (leagues).* Twenty nautical miles make one degree. This is the same with all seafaring nations.

The wind got higher and consequently the sea got rougher and the movement of the ship increased. This made vomiting and seasickness more general; however, a few others and I were free from it.

Our fleet was very much scattered, only the "Providence", "Peggy", "Royal Briton" and "Elisabeth" remained near our boat. We were in danger of going aground, as there were many shallows. We were also afraid that a number of our ships would be obliged to go back to Cuxhaven.

*The Fr. *lieue* is found in the original.—Editor.

MARCH 25TH.—Latitude $54^{\circ} 25'$, North, Northeast, East. The violence of the wind which had increased during the preceding night, caused general seasickness on this day, and even the young sailors and cabin boys, who had been on the water before, were not spared. I myself had a bad attack, although without vomiting. It was impossible to take my daily walks on deck, partly on account of great weakness, incessant headaches and dizziness, and partly because I had not had practice enough in the art of balancing myself (an art acquired since). The only place of safety for me was the bed, unless I was willing to drown or break my bones. Miserably I passed the day, but more miserably the night. Very ill, without any attention, (our men being worse than we), without light and service, we were bumped about in the cabin. Too weak to stand up, we were unable to care for our things. Our chairs, bottles, cups, boxes and valises, besides other indispensable necessities were thrown about against each other and broken. Every one looked sorrowful at the harm done the next morning, and the only profit we could take from it was the lesson of packing and fastening them better in the future. And yet we had to laugh when at break of day, we saw the auditor, who had taken charge of the officers' mess, for six minutes chasing and making very unusual leaps, against his will, after a fugitive butter jar, which had remained pretty well in its place underneath a canon during the night. Moreover, the roaring of the wind and the din of the breaking waves, the calls of the sailors, the noise of the things falling around, the cracking of the cannons etc., is very disagreeable for anybody not acquainted with seafaring, especially at night. Add to this the fact that the senses are far more acute during seasickness, when the nerves are especially racked by the violent motion of the ship. During these two days, it had been almost impossible for us to take any nourishment, partly from lack of appetite, and partly because everything tasted bad. And the stomach refused to retain the food; the one thing which agreed with us best was sour apples, which were bought as part of the provisions in Buxtehude.

Toward evening we were on a line with Schellingen; as the east wind was favorable we made 116 nautical miles this day.

MARCH 26TH.—Latitude $50^{\circ} 51'$. East, East Southeast, 101 nautical miles. We passed the "Eovel" and were off Amsterdam and Haarlem after noon. Although the sea was very high, we began, when the wind abated somewhat, to recuperate from seasickness.

MARCH 27TH.—Latitude $51^{\circ} 19'$. Southeast, East, East Northeast, 96 nautical miles. The weather became clearer and the land breezes did a good deal towards our getting well. The soldiers began to look for their pork and peas and appeared again on deck to do some cooking, which they had not done for two days. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon we entered the channel. Here I had the pleasure of seeing at one glance both the coasts of England and France. On the left side we could see very plainly Calais, and on the right Deal, Dover, etc. We passed Dover so closely that the old fort, which is situated on a hill and built entirely of stone, was distinctly visible with the naked eye. Our captain showed us the place where Julius Cesar, according to historical traditions, had gone ashore and gained a victory over the old Britons.

MARCH 28TH.—Latitude 52° . East Northeast, Northeast. At 10 o'clock in the morning we arrived at the heights of Spithead, where the anchor was dropped. This roadstead is situated at the entrance of the harbor of Portsmouth and is protected from the side by the Isle of Wight, the most beautiful island you can imagine. If I ever saw a magnificent view, it was from this roadstead of Spithead. Around us were numerous ships, and on the left the Isle of Wight with luxuriant cornfields, parks and castles; to the right we saw the coast of Sussex with the chalk mountains, in front of us was Portsmouth with its harbor full of large and small vessels. On the one side of Portsmouth is the hospital for sailors (where the well-known Pringle is a surgeon). Behind this in profile is the city of Cosport.

We found most of our ships here, and also English and Russian men-of-war. The first were to go to America, the latter had just come back from the Archipelago. Oysters are frequently caught here, and the coast was full of small boats which were fish-

ing for oysters. We found the oysters very palatable. A hundred of them cost only one English shilling.

MARCH 29TH.—So far we had not heard to which English province in America we were to go, but to-day we were informed that the Brunswick troops were destined for Canada. Towards evening five more transports arrived, which were loaded with a regiment of six companies from Hesse-Hanau; these were also to go to Canada. Col. von Gall was in command of this regiment.

Of the 12,000 men from Hesse-Cassel, mentioned in the beginning of my diary, none had embarked so far. However, they were soon to be transported and were to serve with the English army under the command of General Howe. It was decided they were to land at Long Island, and were to engage the rebels from that side.

MARCH 30TH.—Three English men-of-war started ahead of us for Halifax to cruise against privateers of the rebels.

MARCH 31ST.—Our captain took me along to Portsmouth on a jolly-boat. We went ashore near the port which is protected by a battery of stone, of which one could really say that it is covered with canons and guns in order to command the entrance of the harbor. I first looked at the fortifications commenced under Edward IV., continued under Henry VII. and VIII. and completed during the reign of Queen Elisabeth. The fortifications are not laid out in altogether antiquated manner, they are faulty, and I found particularly that the trenches are too narrow.

Portsmouth has two suburbs; one of them is included in the fortifications in order to guard the dry-dock which is in this suburb. This dry-dock is in my opinion unquestionably the largest and best of all belonging to seafaring nations, which opinion is confirmed by others who have seen a number of wharves. The supply of ship timber, ropes, masts, anchors, and other necessities of which the English navy and nation can be proud, may justly be called huge and imposing. A large number of ships are partly finished in the storehouses. Everything to the smallest detail is determined, even the name, and the different parts of the boats are stored away in separate apartments under the label of this

name. How easy it must be for the Crown of England to create a fleet from this stock, which does not take more time than that required to join the parts. Two thousand men are at work daily in this ship yard. I went on board the largest ship of the English fleet, the "Britannia", which had been in the dock for six years for repairs. Although I had seen pretty big boats before, all my previous experiences were surpassed.

The length of this immense machine is 214 English feet, and the breadth 52 feet 3 inches. The diameter of the biggest mast (main mast) is 10 feet 4 inches, and the height to the first round-top 106 feet. The ship carries 112 very large cannons, the biggest of which weighs 42,000 pounds.* The biggest anchor weighs 85 hundred weight. The ship has four decks, and therefore four spacious cabins one above the other. As far as space is concerned, I believe this ship would hold as many people as a big castle. It takes 1000 men for the crew, and the building expenses are said to amount to 100,000 pounds sterling. The city of Portsmouth has straight and broad streets which are very clean. The houses are built of brick, but only a few are in good taste.

In the dock-yard is the naval academy for the young sailors who are there being instructed in all necessary branches. The academy has a well-equipped library and a good supply of instruments and models. A very good model of the ship "Victoria" is shown. This boat was shipwrecked in the year 1744 on a journey to Aldernay with more than a thousand men on board under command of Admiral Balcher. Nothing has ever been heard of the ship since.

The marine hospital, which is on the other side of the harbor, is a large and beautiful building, masonry massively built, the roof being of slate.

APRIL 1ST.—Nine more transports arrived with English artillery and ammunition under the command of General Philipps. These ships were to be used in case Quebec had been conquered by the rebels, which might be expected. The two frigates "Juno" and "Blonde", the first with 30, and the second with 28 cannon

*The figures mentioned are the exact figures given in the manuscript.—Translator.

on board, were to serve as convoys to our fleet. Both ships had belonged to France and were captured during the last war.

Captain Hugh Dalrympel of the "Juno" was to conduct the fleet up the river St. Lawrence to Canada.

All the transports received orders from him to-day that the fleet was to sail in two lines. "Juno" was to take the lead, and "Blonde" to close the lines. In case the boats should become separated by storm, the isle "Aux Coudrais" in the St. Lawrence river was to be the place of rendezvous. If ships met at night, the answer to the first call should be "King of Parliament," and the first ship was to respond to this with "God save you," while the other one would answer "Amen." This arrangement was made also to prevent strange vessels mingling with the fleet.

To-day the agent sent a big flat-bottomed boat to our ship to be used for landing purposes, although we already had three boats. Our captain saw very clearly in advance what trouble this boat could make, which came to pass, and refused to take it on board, but he had to submit.

APRIL 3RD.—At 7 o'clock in the evening we left Spithead for St. Helena, where the anchor again was dropped toward 9 o'clock.

APRIL 4TH.—North, Northeast. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the signals were given to sail. The anchors were weighed and the fleet started according to the orders received in two lines. "Juno" was at the head and "Blonde" under the command of Captain Philemon Pownel, and with General Bourgoyne on board, was the rear guard. Towards evening we passed the corner of the Isle of Wight. The wind was not very favorable.

APRIL 5TH.—Latitude $50^{\circ} 23'$ Northeast. We passed the coasts of Weymouth and Portland. On this side of England the coast consists mainly of chalk mountains, which are, however, very well cultivated on the surface.

Near Portland is an important quarry, furnishing very serviceable stone, which is shipped far away. Every year about 200 ships and vessels are needed for its transportation.

APRIL 6TH.—Latitude $50^{\circ} 6'$. N. E., N. W. While passing the port of Plymouth, 4 more transports with the English regiment No. 21, also destined for Canada, joined our fleet.

APRIL 7TH.—Latitude 50° . N. W. We passed in front of the great bay between Plymouth and Cape Lizard. Our fleet consisted now of thirty-six vessels and made a fine spectacle. There were:

| | |
|---|--|
| The 2 frigates “Juno” and Blonde”. | |
| 16 transports with Brunswick troops. | |
| 4 transports with English regiment No. 21. | |
| 5 transports with Hesse-Hanau regiment. | |
| 9 transports with English artillery and ammunition. | |
| — | |
| 36 vessels. | |

APRIL 8TH.—Latitude $49^{\circ} 41'$. N. W., N. N. W. After passing Cape Lizard and Lands End, we entered the well-known Atlantic Ocean (*Mare atlanticum*). A stronger movement of the waves made it quite noticeable. Seasickness prevailed again since the land breezes could not reach us any more, and even those who had escaped in the beginning of the trip, fell victims to it now.

APRIL 9TH.—Latitude $48^{\circ} 24'$. N. N. E. From now on we proceeded without interruption and made 150 nautical miles this day.

APRIL 10TH.—Latitude $47^{\circ} 46'$. N. E., E. 114 nautical miles.

APRIL 11TH.—Latitude $47^{\circ} 28'$. E. N. E. 96 miles. The wind being favorable, our fleet sailed majestically along. Capt. Hugh Dalrympel, in command of the “Juno”, gave the signals, all of which have their different meaning and which are understood by the transports according to their instructions. Sometimes flags and pennants are changed, or the sails in case the course is to be faster or slower, and generally a cannon is fired at the beginning of the change, or if the signal has not been obeyed. The pilot and the sailor who, on every ship, are stationed on the quarter deck behind the wheel, have to keep their eyes continually on these signs. At night the signals are given with lanterns which are placed according to their meaning on one or the other of the round-tops of the three masts. These signals are very important, to direct the ships or to warn them against dan-

ger, as all other ways of communication from one ship to another, as letting down boats, or using speaking tubes are impossible. It is very dangerous for ships to come too close to each other.

In a fleet no ship is allowed to pass the commander, nor to stay behind. Both offenses are punished unless there is sufficient excuse.

“Blonde” had to urge on the lazy ones. Even cannons were loaded with balls and fired at those which stayed too far behind, and sometimes the masts and sails were damaged. Besides, an order was given that each shot was to be paid for with 2 guineas.

APRIL 12TH.—Latitude $47^{\circ} 22'$. E. 126 nautical miles.

APRIL 13TH.—Latitude $47^{\circ} 29'$ East to South, S. E. 112 miles.

APRIL 14TH.—Latitude $47^{\circ} 05'$. S. 107 miles.

APRIL 15TH.—Latitude $46^{\circ} 27'$. S. E. E. 140 miles.

APRIL 16TH.—Latitude $46^{\circ} 02'$. N. E. N., N. 123 miles. The wind had suddenly changed, become violent and the sea ran high. This was the worst night we had so far experienced. The Atlantic Ocean is, according to the account of sailors, the most turbulent of all seas. It can hardly be believed that the waves ran so high as to entirely shut off from sight the masts of a ship passing close by. This will give an idea of the motion of the ship. Sometimes they are tossed high up and then they sink into a deep abyss to be tossed up again immediately. A wave which struck the ship amidships with the greatest violence made such a noise that every one thought the ship had burst. Often the waves washed over the deck. All entrances to the cabins, etc., had to be closed and one of the sailors narrowly escaped being washed overboard and drowned. This made such an impression upon me that I, with some loss, and completely drenched, withdrew for this day from the deck, retired to my cabin and crept into my bunk.

APRIL 17TH.—Latitude $45^{\circ} 06'$. N. W., N. N. W. 92 miles. Toward midday the wind had gone down a little and had shifted. However, the sea ran as high as on the day before and this caused most violent seasickness. Nevertheless, I forced myself to stay on deck and admired the turbulent and stormy sea.

Our captain explained to us that the movements of the waves followed fixed laws, and we saw plainly during these two days that after nine medium-sized waves three very large ones followed. This rule was confirmed about a thousand times.

Our loss of the day before was considerable. One wave had torn down a hatchway and carried it away. The captain had lost his hat and the speaking tube. The cook his favorite dog, a soldier a pair of trousers, and I my cap.

The fleet was greatly scattered. Toward evening we passed the Azores, in the distance, among them Flores and Corvo. On an old map by Homann two more Azores are mentioned, namely "Meida" and "Verte," which are not there nor ever were there.

APRIL 18TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 33'$. N. 81 miles.

APRIL 19TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 19'$. N. N. E., N. W. 27 miles.

In quiet days the color of the water is the most beautiful bluish-green (chymische Grün) that can be imagined, and when the sunbeams strike athwart the little waves, the sea looks like molten silver. I have often found that Nicolini, when he pictured the ocean with mock silver in his pantomimes, was a true imitator of nature. The sea was very calm, and this gave us an opportunity to study very closely an animal which appeared on the surface of the water and which is called by the English "Portugaise Man-of-War." It received the name without doubt, from a bladder which it blows up whenever it desires to rise to the surface. This bladder looks like a full blown sail and it is borne on by the wind like a ship, as the animal has no organs for swimming. Otherwise it resembles an eel, in form, and is about 10 inches long. Its color is blue; the bladder is white.

APRIL 20TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 29'$. S. W. 46 miles. Toward noon another English fleet consisting of forty-five ships, joined us. They had seven English regiments on board and were loaded with provisions and ammunition. This fleet had sailed from Glasgow and Cork. The regiments on board were: Nos. 9, 20, 24, 31, 34, 53 and 62, each one numbering 770 men. This increased our fleet very materially, which now, in its entirety, consisted of 81 boats, and on account of the calm they were able to lie close together. A beautiful view, nothing but sky, water and ships.

APRIL 21ST.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 59'$. S. W. 68 miles. After the calm, bad weather set in again, and it became very rough.

APRIL 22ND.—Latitude $45^{\circ} 30'$. S. W., N. to W. 87 miles. The weather became rougher, and it rained very hard. We were obliged to remain in the cabin the whole day long. The fleet which had come to us on the twentieth of April, left us again, but stayed at some distance to our right.

APRIL 23RD.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 37'$. N. 86 miles. The sea ran very high and the ship rolled heavily.

APRIL 24TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 40'$. N. E. S. 77 miles. The wind blew strong and from its shifting an idea can be formed of the stormy weather. The ship was tossed about most violently; the night was very disagreeable, and the sailors on deck made much more noise than heretofore. The cause of this we learned the next morning when the captain entered our cabin with a very serious countenance, which was unusual, and informed us that the ship had sprung a big leak in the hold during the night. Three pumps had been at work continually for the last ten hours with hardly any result. He announced besides, that if the damage were not soon mended, he would not be able to carry us to Newfoundland.

We were in great danger unless the weather changed for the better soon. This bad news made us get out of bed and go to the pumps at once, and since we desired to conceal the true reason from the soldiers as long as possible, the officers began to joke and laugh as they pumped, and pretended that they did this work to get exercise. The soldiers who were standing around and watching the officers were advised to do likewise to keep their health, and were drawn into the work, and thus the pumps were kept going continually without anyone knowing anything of the danger except the officers and the sailors. The latter had strict orders to do all the necessary work without any excitement, and not to let on to the soldiers that there was anything wrong. The soldiers were a little suspicious on account of the quantity of water pumped out, but some reasons were given for this and they were easily satisfied. Meanwhile, the captain, the ship's

carpenter and some of the sailors were trying to find the leak, which they succeeded in doing toward noon, but as long as the weather was so rough, it was impossible to remedy it entirely. The big flat boat, which the agent at Spithead had insisted on putting on board in spite of the captain's protests, was the chief cause of the damage. Since our ship had three boats on board already, a scaffolding had been built on the deck above the other three boats, for this flat boat. The violent movement of the ship, the weight of the boat, and especially of the scaffolding had caused our vessel to spring a leak at the keel. We took council concerning our serious condition and we came to the conclusion that this flat boat would have to be thrown overboard for our safety and rescue if our efforts to stop the leak should fail.

APRIL 25TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 44'$. S. S. W., W., N. E., S. E. 79 miles. Weather still stormy, more violent than yesterday. A sail was torn and something broke on the wheel towards night, which was, however, repaired that night. Our work kept on without interruption.

APRIL 26TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 14'$. S. S. E., W., N. W. 63 nautical miles. The wind had decreased a little and we were fortunate enough to stop the leak entirely. Thus the flat boat had a few days grace.

Our fleet was entirely scattered and not more than four boats were in sight.

APRIL 27TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 33'$. N. N. E., E. to S. 57 miles. The fleet assembled again with the exception of one vessel, which was still missing.

APRIL 28TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 36'$. S. E., S., N. N. W. 124 miles.

APRIL 29TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 05'$. N. N. W. 77 miles. It began to grow very cold and we were obliged to have a fire made in the cabin, which had not been done for three weeks. Our captain informed us that this cold was not only due to the north wind, but to the nearness of land, of which it was a sure sign. The evaporations of the sea are warm and the cold is a characteristic only of the main land.

APRIL 30TH.—Latitude $43^{\circ} 24'$. N. W. 52 miles. We again saw some porpoises, and this led us to believe that we were on the false bank of Newfoundland (Terre Neuve). Porpoises came in great numbers close to our bowsprit, and the captain tried to kill some with a harpoon without succeeding, however, since the ship was going too fast and the fish were too quick. No fish at all are seen in the open sea, so long as no bottom can be found, some few sea animals excepted. It may be that the salt water lacks the necessary food for the fish, which the rivers furnish from the mainland.

Our supply of beer (small beer) was exhausted, and from this day on rum was furnished instead of beer, a quart daily to six men, and this was either mixed with water, and taken as a punch, or drunk after the water.

MAY 1ST.—Latitude $43^{\circ} 42'$. N. W., N. E., E. 19 miles. A thick mist arose, which assured us that we were near the bank, for it is said to be covered with mist at all times of the year. Besides, we saw a great number of birds, cormorants, and a peculiar kind of small ducks (Sarcellen) which were catching fish in spite of the negotiations excluding all nations except the French and English from catching fish on the Bank of "Terre Neuve." The cormorants are grey and have about the same shape as the crow, but are web-footed like ducks. Their croaking sounds like the crying of a cat. No other bird is seen on the sea except the sea raven (Courier Marine), which is black and flies close to the surface of the water.

Towards evening, the captain cast the lead; it was impossible, however, to touch the bottom even with 124 fathoms.

MAY 2ND.—Latitude $43^{\circ} 57'$. N. E., E. 46 miles. The fog did not lift. The fleet became entirely scattered since it was impossible to see a ship even when close by. We were obliged to have our guards fire the cannon every fifteen minutes to prevent a collision. Besides a drummer had to be on deck all night long and beat the drum.

The "Juno" gave frequent signals with cannon shots ordering us to go either to the right or left according to instructions received.

MAY 3RD.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 45'$. S. E., S. 81 miles. The fog lifted toward noon. Calculations assured us that we were on the real big bank of Newfoundland (Terre Neuve). The lead was cast and the depth was found to be 32 fathoms. We shortened sail, and with great delight we took out our fishing tackle. These are long lines on the end of which hook's are fastened. Small pieces of meat are put on these hooks, and cannon balls attached hold them under water. Every one joined in and was full of expectation, and in about twenty minutes we saw a cod-fish, weighing a little more than six pounds, brought to the deck. This fish was prepared with mustard and butter at evening; a splendid meal for us, since a seafish, especially when fresh from the water, surpasses all other kinds of food in delicacy. A king could not easily be happier than we were on this evening. All the provisions we had brought along were either eaten or, for the most part, spoiled. The rye bread, taken on board in Buxtehude, had now grown entirely moldy after it had kept very well for six weeks. All the live chickens had been eaten, either in soup or roasted. The sheep had not been fed well for some time and were sick from want of food, seasickness or scurvy, so that nobody could look at the meat without repulsion, much less eat. Under these dismal circumstances we had for the last two weeks shared the food of the soldiers, and our daily meals had consisted of pork and peas. The ship biscuits were divided with great economy among the officers every morning. But still more unbearable than all this was the fact that the water had become foul and had a bad smell. Whenever we wanted to drink any, we had to close our eyes and hold our noses, because it had a quite reddish appearance, partly from insects, and partly from the new oaken casks, which looked red.

MAY 4TH.—Latitude $45^{\circ} 18'$. S., S. W. 103 nautical miles. We are still on the bank and the weather is foggy. We saw some penguins, a kind of large water birds which appear to belong to the goose family and resemble them very much. Their color is dark gray, and can be distinguished from other birds easily by a big white mark which surrounds the right eye. They

are said to exist only on this bank and in the Hudson Bay. To-day we also saw some whales quite close. One came to the surface of the water from underneath our ship near the cabin. A monster at least one hundred feet long and broad in proportion. He squirted up a column of water about fifty feet in height. We had seen these fountains several times at a distance. The whales swam for quite a time on the surface and then went down again, lifting their tails very high out of the sea.

According to the description of seafarers, the fish which swallowed the famous Jonah and sheltered him three whole days cannot have been a whale, but rather a shark, and there was probably a mistake made in the translation. The mouth of the whale is too small to swallow a man; it is not at all in proportion to the size of its body. The whale lives on the oils of the salt water and on the animals living in it, and draws in its food with the water and afterwards expels the water through the nostrils. The shark, however, is able to swallow a whole man without inconvenience, and to bathe in the ocean is dangerous on account of this fish. Later on I met in Quebec an English merchant, Wadson, by name, who had lived in the West Indies. He had been pursued by a shark while bathing and the shark had bitten off his right leg above the knee. If a dead person is thrown overboard, the shark will follow the ship during the whole trip, and particularly they are said to follow ships loaded with negro slaves coming from East India, of whom a large number always die each trip.

MAY 5TH.—Latitude $45^{\circ} 36'$. S. W., S. 27 miles. In the mist five of our boats were lost, viz.: "Harmonie," "Peggy" with our troops; "Woodland" and "Hopwell" with English Artillery; "Maria Martha" with Hessians from Hanau.

MAY 6TH.—Latitude $45^{\circ} 04'$. S., W. to N. 38 miles. It was remarkable that the weather turned cold in spite of the south wind yesterday and today. The nearness of the main land is without doubt, somewhat responsible for this. Snow fell and we saw some huge icebergs coming toards us, for whose visit

we were much concerned, since night was coming on. Toward noon we had passed Cape Race.

MAY 7TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 29'$. W., N. W. 51 miles. The land breezes gave a sweet odor to the air as of pine trees. At sunset the captain took the amplitudes with a compass which had diopters. The deflect of the magnetic needle for this location was 21° towards the west.

MAY 8TH.—Latitude $44^{\circ} 58'$. N., N. E. 32 nautical miles.

MAY 9TH.—Latitude $45^{\circ} 30'$. N. N. E., W., S. W. 43 miles. Some days before, as soon as we had arrived on the bank, at night, in addition to the day watch, we placed a picket with a loaded gun on deck, to keep a look-out for the privateers of the rebels. All the cannon were loaded, and everybody received instructions what to do in case of an attack. Besides other duties, I had the supervision as master of ordnance of the artillery, which consisted of six six-pounders. The two frigates also prepared for a fight, and ramparts were made for the marines from hammocks with bedding inside on both sides of the deck. Hammocks were also fastened in the round-tops. Even small cannon are sometimes taken up to the round-tops during a battle in order to sink the vessels of the enemy.

MAY 10TH.—Latitude $45^{\circ} 40'$. S. S. W., W., N. E., E. 43 nautical miles.

MAY 11TH.—Latitude $45^{\circ} 44'$. S. S. E., S., S. W., W. 57 miles.

Whenever the wind blew from the south, we noticed that the sea at night looked like fire—a beautiful sight. It was like sailing in liquid flame. Especially if a boat went fast and cut the waves with full force, sparks would fly, shedding a bright light all around. Many a night we missed our sleep on account of this majestic spectacle, and became involved in extended discussion as to the cause of this phenomenon, which rarely resulted in a definite decision. Some thought it was caused by phosphorus or biophorus, others by electricity, and that the pitch which covered the ships on the outside, had to be taken into con-

sideration. Others rejected these opinions, and substituted the friction of the oil and the fire particles in the salt water as the cause of the light. Our captain, however, was against all of these views and said that it was nothing but the animalculae in the water. So far we had only discussed the matter, and nobody had thought of bringing any proof or evidence, for everyone was, like a real philosopher, firm in his own opinion, and did not care to see himself in the wrong. The time had come to ask for proofs as we soon would not be able to obtain sea water for investigation, and this night again the phosphorescence of the water was particularly bright. A bucket full of water was hoisted, and we perceived that as long as the water was still, no light could be seen, but when stirred, it was so full of sparks that it was impossible to tell whether the bucket contained more water or animalculae. We then took a fine handkerchief, and filtered the whole bucket through it, until not a spark was left in the water. Then we took what remained in the handkerchief downstairs into the cabin, and after extinguishing the lights, the handkerchief as emptied and shed forth a light, as it were, of glowing coals to the great dismay of those who had not taken part in this experiment, because the powder magazine was under the cabin. The captain's opinion was therefore accepted, and the general conclusion was to the effect that it was animals which must have under the belly a phosphorescent spot like that of the glow worm, well known on the land. We regretted very much that nobody had thought of taking a microscope along upon embarking, so as to be able to examine the animals, especially since we could not discover anything at all on the handkerchief the next morning except a number of little black spots.

MAY 12TH.—Latitude $46^{\circ} 11'$. N. W., W., S. W., W., N. W. 54 nautical miles. On account of the adverse winds, we could not enter the gulf, but had to cruise around outside to avoid being taken back by the wind.

MAY 13TH.—Latitude $46^{\circ} 30'$. N. W., W., S. W. 38 nautical miles. We passed Cape Briton. Frequently a brown plant floated out of the gulf, which the English call "Tangle" (Plan-

tago maritima, Wegbreit). The inhabitants of the coasts of Scotland eat this plant prepared like cabbage.

MAY 14TH.—Latitude $47^{\circ} 37'$. N. W., S. E., S. W. The wind being favorable, we finally entered the gulf and passed by Cape Ray. Seals (Loup marin, sea wolf) often appeared near our ship, and we tried to shoot them.

For the last three nights at nightfall northern lights, which lasted until morning, covered the whole sky, making the nights as light as day.

MAY 15TH.—Latitude $48^{\circ} 17'$. W., N. W., N. E., E. 74 miles. Today our men received rice instead of oatmeal for the first time.

MAY 16TH.—Latitude $48^{\circ} 38'$. S. E., W. N. W. 41 nautical miles. We passed "Bird Island."

MAY 17TH.—Latitude $48^{\circ} 49'$. N. W. 12 nautical miles. The number of miles indicates how adverse the wind was. We tacked continuously near the Isle of Antecoste without being able to make any headway. Antecoste is not inhabited, and only in summer time the people from the main land take their cattle to the island for pasture, and to hunt. Particularly to catch the walrus (Manetten), which often stops on this island and comes ashore at night. The walrus has two crooked teeth protruding from its mouth. These teeth are used by them to cling to the cliffs, and in this way they draw themselves up to the main land.*

I consider these "Manetten" to be the "sea lions" mentioned by Commodore Anson in his sea voyage. We came pretty close to the island in our course, and I had an opportunity to see Nature in all her rough wilderness. It was an unusual, dreadful sight to see a big island covered with thick bushes without any path or road whatever.

MAY 18TH.—N. W., W., S. E. Still near Antecoste. The cold, which commenced on May 6th, had continued ever since, but it never had been quite as cold as today. Much snow fell

*The meat of the walrus is eaten and the tanned skin makes the strongest carriage straps.

and stayed on the deck till night, when it commenced to freeze hard. What changes of weather we had to endure. At Stade and Portsmouth the most delightful spring days, near the Azores the very hot days, and now this cold.

MAY 19TH.—Latitude $48^{\circ} 53'$. N. W., N., W., S. W. We passed Cape Rozier and entered the St. Lawrence River. In the gulf the color of the water changed when it began to be mixed with the fresh water. It looked now reddish instead of the beautiful blue-green of the Atlantic.

MAY 20TH.—Latitude $49^{\circ} 19'$. S. S. E., 32 miles. I have reason to believe that the St. Lawrence River is the largest of all rivers. When you are in the middle it is hardly possible to see the coasts, they are so far away.

MAY 21ST.—S. E., E., N. E., N. 87 nautical miles. We passed Cape Morte (Cape Death) on the right, and afterwards on the left Cape Chat. On the left we saw on the coasts of Nova Scotia the big mountains of Notre Dame (Our Lady's Mountains), still covered with snow, and almost surpassing in height our famous "Brocken." On the right was the land of the Eskimos (Pais Labrador). The Eskimos are less civilized than most other nations, and every effort to enter into business transactions with them has failed because they are too shy and suspicious. They are said to be short and live from hunting and fishing.

The products of Labrador are said to be few, and this may be the chief reason why no trade could be established with these people. In summer they go fishing, venturing in their little canoes, made of the bark of trees, even upon the high seas. The boats are covered with seal skins, which the Eskimo in the boat ties around his body under the arms to keep the water from coming into the boat, and rows on. If a storm overtakes him, he crawls under the skin, fastening it at the top, eats the provisions which he has taken along in the canoe, sleeps and allows himself to be tossed about on the sea for days, until he notices the wind has abated. Then he comes out again and continues his trip.

MAY 22ND.—N. W., W., W. S. W. Toward evening, two English soldiers of the regiment which embarked in Glasgow, fell overboard from the ship which had, by mistake, joined our fleet. The sails were lowered at once and two boats let down to rescue the men, but in vain, for the current was too swift.

MAY 23RD.—E., calm, N. E., E., W. A schooner (goëlette) met us with full sails, which was bound with news for Europe. An hour afterwards, the "Blonde" came close to our vessels and General Bourgoyne was so polite as to inform us through the speaking tube that the siege of Quebec had been raised. As soon as Commodore Douglass had arrived at the dock with three men-of-war, and had brought some reinforcements to the fortress, General Carleton had made an attack the same day, damaged the trenches of the enemy, and had taken some hundred prisoners, after which the rebels had left the place and gone to Montreal.

MAY 24TH.—W. to S., N. W., W. S. W. Still adverse wind. We continually had the mountains of Notre Dame and Cape Chat in sight. For the last few days we had been obliged to tack continually to prevent being driven back. This night the current had taken us back about 15 miles in spite of all our precautions.

MAY 25TH.—W. to S., calm E. to N. Since the wind had become favorable we were able to go ahead again, and in the evening the anchor was dropped between the little Island of Bic and Cape St. Bernabé, the first time April 4th. We met here the frigate "Surprise," which had returned from Quebec to guard our course up the river. Two officers came on board at once, and brought us the information that the siege of Quebec had been raised for some time and that the rebels had left. Commodore Douglass had arrived at Quebec on May 6th with the "Isis," a 50 cannon ship, and two frigates, "Le Martin" and "Surprise," although the St. Lawrence was still covered with ice, which had to be cut away from the bowsprit with iron rods. After having received reinforcement with the English regiment No. 29, General Carleton had at once ventured an attack with 800 men and had succeeded in destroying the batteries of the rebels. Besides he had captured fifteen large pieces and three mortars. He had

also made 300 prisoners and had forced the rebels to give up the siege.

In this attack, the rebel General Arnold himself was wounded, who only eight weeks before had brought fresh troops (about 1000 men), in spite of deep snow and dreadful cold, by way of Kennebeck, through the Pass La Nouvelle Beauce, or Latigan, to force Quebec before the arrival of the army. The siege had continued with the greatest persistence and without interruption the whole winter through, notwithstanding the bad weather, because the conquest of Quebec would have been very decisive for the rebels.

The fleet, which had strated from Glasgow and Cork, had passed the Isle of Bic the day before, also five ships of our fleet, presumably "Lord Sandwich," "Peggy," "Harmonie," "Nancy" and "Polly."

MAY 26TH.—E. to N., variable, W., W. S. W. We rode at anchor here, because the wind was against us and very violent. Besides, the ships ought to assemble before going farther. Toward evening, General Bourgoyne left the "Blonde" and went on board the "Surprise," in order to go in advance to the first fleet, and to take command of it. At 10 o'clock the "Juno" gave the signal to set sail and we weighed anchor about midnight and sailed on up the river.

MAY 27TH.—W. S. W., calm, N. E. We passed on the left the Green Isle, on the right the White Isle, the Red Isle and Hare's Isle; small islands, all uninhabited. From now on we began to see houses, but only on the south side of the river, where Camouraska, the first "Paroise" is situated. The porpoises, which we met in the river, were white on account of the fresh water being mixed with the salt. In the sea these fish are brown.

MAY 28TH.—N. E., variable, S. We dropped anchor in the roads of the Isle of Aux Coudrais, as the depth of the water here was 26 fathoms, and as we greatly feared that we would break loose because of the raging storm, it being too deep for good anchorage, which must not exceed 14 fathoms. We advanced between the island to the left, and the main land into the

Bay of St. Paul, and there dropped anchor. From here on, the north side of the river also begins to be populated.

MAY 29TH.—S. W., W., N. W. We remained at anchor and took pilots on board to take us up the river, which is full of treacherous rocks. The pilots live on the island, and our pilot, an old respectable Frenchman of about 81 years, by the name of Du Four, came of a family of 12 children which were all alive. He himself had several children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He asked us to visit him at his home. I went with the captain in a small boat to the island which has about 400 inhabitants, or 64 families, and has been cultivated for sixty years. It gave me great pleasure to see nature in her first childhood. Everybody was unaffected, good hearted, considerate and well mannered, without vice or deception. How much I regretted not to have bought a few trinkets in Europe to enjoy the pleasure of seeing the delight and touching gratitude of these good people. A few colored garters, knives, collar buttons and other trinkets were admired and accepted with the greatest delight. Of the garters, one was destined to adorn a Sunday hat, the other one was for ordinary use. The presents for the men consisted of powder and lead, which were considered as a treasure. There were a few rifles on the island, but the usual manner of hunting was with bows and arrows, with which they were very skilful.

I am not sure whether it was the unusual sight of crude nature, or the long journey which caused the deep impression upon my heart which I felt on this day. But I know that I never felt so much at rest and such bliss as on this day, and how small appeared in my eyes the happiness of the highly cultivated and polished inhabitants of the world compared with the native goodness of heart and the simple life of these people.

In this place I saw for the first time the sugar maple (*Erable à sucre*), from the sap of which when cooked, a brown sugar is made. We took several pounds of this sugar back with us on board as a sample. I also found here the plane tree (*Erable à feuille de Tilleul*), the tree (*Merisier*), the larch tree the white pine (*pin blanc*), the white Canadian fir tree (*Epinette blanche*), the vinegar tree (*Vinaigrier*), and others.

MAY 30TH.—W. S. W. Toward noon we left this island and sailed some miles farther up the river and cast anchor on the shore to the right to wait for the tide.

At 2 o'clock at night, with high tide, the anchor was weighed and we set sail and anchored again off the Isle or Orleans. We had passed without accident the Traverses, a very narrow strait between cliffs and rocks, considered very dangerous. The Isle of Orleans has been inhabited for the last 200 years, and people settled there at the same time that the city of Quebec was founded. The soil is very fertile, and the land is better cultivated than on the Island of Aux Coudrais where there are not enough people to do the work. The island is covered with houses and churches, all built of stone, in which the rocky coast abounds. I saw little wood, however, the trees having been cut down to make a clearing.

The manners of the people were more polished and courteous, after the manner of their ancestors. Near the island are six other small ones all as yet uninhabited. Some time ago, the Bishop of Canada had an assistant named d'Esgly, Bishop of Dorilée, who lived on this island.

JUNE 1ST.—N. W., W. S. W. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon we weighed anchor and arrived at 6 o'clock in the evening in the roadstead of Quebec, where we cast anchor between the town and Pointe Levy. Here we met all the ships which had been separated from the fleet with the exception of the "Harmonie." This boat had joined the first fleet and had already gone with it farther up the river. We also met the man-of-war "Isis" with Commodore Douglass on board, and the frigates "Surprise," "Perle" und "Lizard." Our loss of men during the voyage was only one non-commissioned officer and eight soldiers who had died on board.

JUNE 3RD.—We went to Quebec to pay our respects to His Excellency, Sir Guy Carleton, Governor-General of Canada and Commander in Chief of the army. We received orders here that the regiment Prince Friedrich and the Dragoons were to take up their quarters at Quebec and to be in readiness to land.

JUNE 5TH.—We went to town now every morning to pay our respects to the Governor-General, and today I witnessed the reception of a delegation of four nations of Indians, namely: the Algonquins (Algonkins) Micmacs (Mickmacks), Anies and Hurons, who were received in public audience by the general. The four chiefs of these nations had been asked to serve against the rebels, and came to offer their services. These were the first Indians I had ever seen, and therefore the ceremony made a deep impression upon me. The savages are tall, muscular, brownish-yellow people. The greatest difference from the European is noticed in the shape of the head. Their eyes have a remarkable brilliancy and fire. The face, neck and clothing is covered with red paint, and each tribe has its peculiar style of applying it. The hair is shaved off the front part of the head and the short lock which remains hangs down behind in a braid, adorned with ornaments. The outer rims of their ears are cut off in infancy, but in the lobes they wear big silver ear-rings which are so heavy that the skin is pulled down almost to their shoulders. They also wear rings in their noses. They gesticulate with their hands a great deal when talking, and their talk reminds me of the barking of a dog.

After the ceremony was over, the general ordered uniforms of the Canadian militia, without trousers, however, for these chiefs, and presented them with big silver medallions upon which the likeness of the king was stamped.

JUNE 6TH.—In the morning the Dragoons disembarked, and Lieutenant Colonel Baum was appointed commander of Quebec. The horses on board the "Martha" were also landed toward noon and sent to the village Beauport. On the 4th of June all transports with English troops on board had gone farther up the river. Today, toward evening, the German troops with their ships also left to join the army. With them went the Generals Carleton, Bourgoyne and von Riedesel.

JUNE 7TH.—The English garrison marched from Quebec, also Colonel M'Clean's regiment, to join the main army. The latter and the English regiments Nos. 29, 47, 52, with 300 savages marched up the St. Lawrence River on the south side to

assist in laying siege to Fort Sorel. Our regiment had to stay on the ships for some time, because the barracks needed repairing. However, the guards were taken to the city every day.

JUNE 14TH.—On this day in the afternoon, the regiment Prince Friedrich disembarked, and we were glad to exchange at last our quarters on ship for the garrison in Quebec after having been on board ninety days. The regiment formed in line on the river front in the lower part of the city and marched with flying colors to the fortress. It is certainly true, that these regiments in Quebec were the first Germans who set foot on American soil after the discovery of the fourth continent by Columbus, with closed ranks and colors flying and fully armed, a fact which deserves to be noted in history. The regiment was quartered in the barracks near the gate at St. Jean, except the company under Major Hille and the under staff, which had quarters in the Seminary, where 48 officers of the rebels were imprisoned. Convents and large houses had to be used for the soldiers, as the barracks of the garrison did not have sufficient room. The English recruits already had their quarters in the monastery of the Barefooted Friars (Recolets, Minoriten), and the "Collegium" of the Jesuits, a large building on the market place, was being rebuilt for barracks, inasmuch as not more than five monks in their garb, probably the last of a once widely spread society, lived in the convent to await death in this building without adding novices. With them would be extinguished an order which the good things of this world had made great, but also brought to ruin. The Jesuits once owned valuable property in Canada, but now the Government has the administration of it.

JUNE 20TH.—The army had pushed forward to forts Sorel and St. John. The rebels had left Canada and fled across Lake Champlain to Fort Frederick (Crown Point), where they fortified themselves. Preparations were made to go with the army over Lake Champlain (Lac Chambly), and to pursue the rebels, for which purpose a large number of flat boats were being built. Fourteen frigates, each with 12 cannon, also floating batteries made of strong beams, were put on the lake, partly to protect the boats and partly to operate against the fleet of the rebels.

This expedition was delayed, chiefly on account of a waterfall near the outlet of the Lacs,* which in some parts is only 4 feet deep. Since it was impossible to pass the fall, the vessels had to be taken on rollers over land for more than a German mile, a very difficult undertaking. The frigates had to be taken to the lake in parts. During this time the troops either camped out, or were quartered in the villages around the lake. The Brunswick troops under General von Riedesel were given quarters in "La Prairie de la Madelaine."

Our soldiers suffered terribly from scurvy, a result of the ocean trip, and many died the early part of the time, particularly in the garrison of Quebec.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF QUEBEC.

The city of Quebec is one of the three cities of the provinces of Canada (which the St. Lawrence River divides from southwest to northeast) and may be called the capital of this province, when compared with Montreal and Trois Rivières. The location of Quebec is $306^{\circ} 30'$ longitude and $46^{\circ} 55'$ latitude, on an isthmus formed by the St. Lawrence and St. Charles Rivers. It is divided into the upper and lower town. The former is situated on a high, steep rock and is fortified. To the southwest, on the land side, are four whole and two half ramparts, entirely revetted (revetirt) without any outside fortifications (which, however, would be especially necessary on this side). The fort was built by the French in a very incomplete and old-fashioned manner, and is now quite dilapidated, as no repairs were made while it was in the possession of the English and probably few before that time. In some places you even have to hunt for traces of a dried out moat. On this side three gates open towards the country, viz. ; Porte St. Louis, St. Jean and Porte de Palais Gaté. The part toward the lower city has been protected for the last few years with palisades on the rock and here and there some log ramparts. Here is the sally-port opening toward the lower city. It was unnecessary to fortify the part facing the

* Fort between St. John and Chambly.

St. Lawrence River, the banks being so steep and high that an attack is impossible. Behind a low trench a line of cannon and mortars has been placed to attack the batteries at Point Levy, on the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence, which were directed by the enemy against the city.

This part of the fort, where the cannon are, is protected on the right by Cape Diamant upon which is the old Fort St. Louis, built of stone during the first French occupation of settlers in Canada, on the highest point of the rock, overlooking the river and all the adjoining heights. From Fort St. Louis the big English flag can always be seen flying. It is only taken down at night with the first shot of the evening gun (*retraite-schuss*) or during a thunderstorm, but is hoisted every morning at the first call for reveille. All passing ships have to salute the flag.

The churches are situated in the upper town. The cathedral on the market place, with the seminary for the priests close by, where, also, the Bishop of Canada has his residence, because part of the revenues of the seminary go toward his income. The church and "Collegium" of the Jesuits are also on the market place; the church and convent of the Barefooted Friars (*Recolets*) on the "Place d'armes" just opposite the castle, the residence of the Governor General; the church and the convent of the "Urselines"; the church in the "Hotel de Dieu" with the hospital; the former chapel and the palace of the bishop. The chapel had lately been used as a store house for flour, but is now being restored at the king's expense so that it can be used for divine service for the German troops.

The prevailing religion in Canada is, as is well known, the Roman Catholic. The English congregation in Quebec holds its services alternately with the Roman Catholics in the church of the "Recolets." All the churches as well as the houses are fairly well built, and of stone, a material easily supplied, because the black and grey limestone, of which rocks are composed, is to be had in great abundance. Only the roofs are covered with boards or shingles, excepting some churches, covered with slate imported from Europe. This is done because the slate found in Canada is mixed with particles of chalk, which cause it to disintegrate

and fall to pieces when exposed to the air. The manufacture of baked tiles seems to be entirely unknown.

In the upper town are the residences of the wealthy, the king's servants and the artisans. The lower town, however, is inhabited by the merchants and sailors. Quebec is the only city in the province with important trade and docks. In the market place in the lower town is a chapel, called the sailors church. Merchandise for export consists chiefly of furs, skins, dried and salt fish, cod-liver oil, seal skins, horses, cattle and particularly grain, while the English import those goods classed among the luxuries of life, as cloth, linen and woolen goods. No factories for these things have so far been established in Canada, and the English do not encourage them, as it would not be to their advantage. For the convenience of commerce ships can lie both in the St. Lawrence and Charles Rivers, quite near the houses and warehouses of the lower town. Although Quebec is 120 miles (Lieues) away from the mouth of the river, not considering the gulf, high and low tide is very noticeable. The difference is sometimes 18 to 19 feet. At spring tide, and when the wind blows from the northwest, the water rises even more than 22 feet.

There are also two ruined suburbs on the land side, St. Roche, situated outside the Porte de Palais Gaté and St. Jean. In St. Roche, the foundation of the palace of the former French superintendent of Canada, can still be seen. Here the high courts were held. St. Jean is situated outside the gate of St. Jean on the road to Montreal. St. Roche was destroyed in the siege of 1760, and St. Jean was devastated during the siege of last year. Near these suburbs on the Charles River, an English mile from the city, is the large hospital and convent of the nuns belonging to the order of St. Augustine.

The external structure of the houses in the city is fairly good, but the walls inside are nothing but pine and hemlock boards, which breed and nourish the most disagreeable insect, the bedbug; unquestionably one of the greatest of Canada's land plagues, as hardly a single house is free from them.

The furnishing of the houses is still worse. A bed, a dozen chairs, a few tables, are considered sufficient furniture for a house with five or six rooms. Nevertheless high living and laziness are indulged in to a high degree, consequently not much wealth is found, although the mode of living is showy and extravagant.

There is a Scottish Lodge in Quebec, and the free masons bury their dead with great ceremony.

The ascent from the lower to the upper town is very steep, and only one road exists over which carriages and wagons can go. It had been necessary to blast the rock, when this road was made.

On account of these steep roads, only carts are used for driving, and the wealthy people use "cariolen," called "caleschen" instead of carriages. The only coach in all Canada was brought over from England by General Carleton. Almost every married woman in the burgher class has a "calesche" and ladies must have a negro for a coachman, whose wages amount to 50-60 guineas, even if he is only a boy.

Horses are treated cruelly. They always have to go on a gallop in spite of the poor food they get, grass during the summer and hay in winter. I have seldom seen a more sturdy breed of horses than these. They are very much like the horses of Normandy, just as heavily built and as nervous. The cause of this is probably the fact that horses and cattle were brought over to Canada from France in the beginning. Besides horses, large dogs are used to draw small carts, which encourages the laziness of the people still more. All necessaries, coal, wood, groceries, etc., are carried around in the city by these dogs. They also have to haul wood and the water from the river, because the well water in the city cannot be used on account of the minerals which it contains. I have often seen, with pity, a hard-hearted boy driving a heavily loaded dog uphill with the whip, although the beast with his tongue lolling out, did its best. What a happy lot the dogs in Europe have compared with these poor dogs; they are almost better off than their masters.

Money is valued in Canada according to the Halifax currency, and a guinea is worth 23 shillings and 4 pence. Coins in circulation are mostly Spanish. French silver pieces are also used. English silver money is rarely seen. The Spanish Piaster (Pezza da Otto) value 8 reales, de Plata Mexicana, is valued at 5 shillings, Halifax currency. On the other hand, 8 reales, or one piaster de Plata Provincial, which has less value, is worth only 4 shillings, Halifax. The large French "Laubthaler" has the same value as the English Crown, viz.: 5 shillings 6 pence. One "Livre" is worth 10 pence. The peasant is still in the habit of reckoning by francs.

All the gold coins are Portuguese, and one half "Portugalaser" (Portugais) (John) is worth 8 Piaster or £2 Halifax, and the "Moe d'or" (Lisbonnine) 6 Piaster or £1½, Halifax. English guineas are rarely seen, except during the war. However, they are soon taken back in a few years by the English trade. I have good reason to say "by the English trade," because the income of the Crown is very small in Canada. It consists of the proceeds of a tax of a few pence a year on chimneys, the amount obtained from granting the privilege to sell liquor at retail and the income of the postal service, which does not amount to much. This is used for the most part for the salaries of the crown servants. It may well be said that the possession of Canada would be more of a disadvantage than otherwise to England, if the trade did not make up for it.

About thirty years ago the French government was of the same opinion with regard to Canada. Especially at that time and up to the time when they lost this country, the fur business was carried on for the benefit of the king only, which trade has been free to all since the beginning of the English government. The English merchants are not ashamed to acknowledge that they receive 40-50 per cent. on all import goods, and still more on the exports, while furs bring from 80-100 per cent., because they can make prices for their own advantage, while other nations are excluded from all trade in Canada. Besides, all strange vessels coming up the St. Lawrence River are captured and considered good booty.

JULY 28TH.—Today I went to see the “Saut de Montmorenci,” the sight of which had delighted us on our arrival in the roads of Quebec. The Montmorenci River, a rather large stream, about 100 yards wide, falls down a cliff 180 feet into the St. Lawrence near the village of Beauport, about two leagues from Quebec, just opposite the west point of the Isle of Orleans. The current of the river is very swift, and the water comes down with such force that a continuous mist spreads for some distance on the banks of the St. Lawrence. This mist is so thick that if you go too near, you will be wet through to the skin as from a heavy rain.

JULY 30TH.—We observed an eclipse of the moon this evening and found that our calculations in regard to the difference in the rising and setting of the sun here and in Brunswick, 5 hours and 24 minutes, were correct. A Göttingen calendar brought from Europe, gave the beginning of the eclipse in Göttingen at 10.48, and the total eclipse at 11.48. At 1.24 the moon was to come out from behind the shadow of the earth. The end of the eclips was to come at 2.24.

According to our observations the beginning of the eclipse was to be expected at 5.21, and the total eclipse at 6.21. Since however, it was impossible to make these observations here at that time of the day, we had to wait until it grew dark at about 8 o'clock, when the moon began to come out of the shadow again. The end of the eclipse occurred at 9.03. Our calculation of 5 hours and 24 minutes proved to be correct as three minutes may be assumed to be the difference in longitude between Brunswick and Göttingen.

AUGUST 2ND.—In order to get an idea of the domestic life of the Indians, I went to Old and New Loretto, two villages about three leagues from Quebec, inhabited by the nation of the Hurons, converted long since to the Roman Catholic religion. Among themselves they use their savage language, but constant intercourse with the nearby city has brought it about that most of them speak French, though poorly, and in a form as mixed as

their customs, manners and clothing. Our officers gained the friendship of their chief, Outagas, in whose narratives I took great pleasure.

AUGUST 6TH.—Up to this date 500 rebels had been imprisoned here; they were either taken prisoners during the siege while sallying forth, or afterwards in the retreat. They were all set free by a special act of grace of General Carleton, and embarked today to go back to their own provinces. Among them were General Thomson, Colonel Erwin and 48 officers. The general, the colonel, 15 officers and 150 privates were taken on board the "Prince of Wales" (which had brought us to Quebec), and started for New York without any other convoy than one frigate. These prisoners lead me to speak of the siege of Quebec, which the rebels had kept up uninterruptedly the whole winter, notwithstanding the bitter cold and deep snow. They would surely have taken possession of the fortress, if they had succeeded in their attack of the 31st of December, 1775, or if their general Montgomery had not been shot during this attack.

Montgomery had served as captain in the English army before and during the last war. He was an Irishman by birth, of good family and even his enemies acknowledge that he was clear headed and an experienced soldier. The rebels ventured an attack on the weakest point of the fortress between the Porte de Palais Gaté and the "Sally-Porte." They would have succeeded without doubt, if Montgomery had not been killed. He undertook at the same time an attack through the lower town on the opposite side, and while arranging his men on the bank of the river beneath Cape Diamant (which is very narrow here), a grape shot fired from the last house in the lower village hit and killed him, his adjutant and twenty of his men, a fortunate thing for the city and for the war in general. So much is certain, that if Montgomery had lived, the city would have had to surrender, for the garrison was very weak and depleted. In the beginning of the siege not more than sixty of the English regulars were in the town. Colonel M'Clean formed a regiment of the English sailors from the ships and the inhabitants one

regiment of Englishmen, and two of Frenchmen. This militia, uniformed and armed at the king's expense, in green, made up the whole garrison. It is remarkable that such people were able to hold the fortress, and it would have been impossible had not General Carleton been their commander, and had not General Arnold, an ordinary horse-dealer (*Roskam*) by trade, been their opponent. He did not understand how to keep the Canadians, who had served under Montgomery during the siege, willing to go on fighting. Montgomery had the art of persuading the Canadians to join the rebellion and 10,000 men had already enlisted to fight against the English. A grave blunder had been committed by the government in the occupation of Canada in 1760, of which he took advantage. English liberty had been introduced into Canada, the French military government had been abolished, and the captain of the militia and officers had been discharged. Permission was granted the Parishes (*Paroises*) to choose a bailiff by the majority of votes. The government saw this mistake when disturbances began in the southern colonies, and since Canada had to serve politically as a check upon the other provinces, the bailiffs were dismissed, and the government placed new captains and officers of the militia in their places as it saw fit. This aroused the spirits of the former captains and bailiffs, both of whom had numerous friends in the parishes against the government. It was easy to incite these men to rebellion, with the hope of being restored to their positions, as the deep-rooted national hatred of the French for English had been perpetuated among the Canadians. Even the wealthy took the side of this party, expecting positions of honor and high standing for themselves, which so far had been filled by Englishmen. Montgomery had even maintained relations with a hundred inhabitants in the city, who served in the English militia.

If Quebec had been taken, our landing would have been rather difficult, and the siege would have had to be made from the "Pointe Levy."

AUGUST 16TH.—Today I was again present at a solemn ceremony, General Carleton had been in Quebec for the last three weeks in order to straighten out some irregularities in the

province, the expedition across the lake having been postponed on account of the vessels needed. During this time a delegation of 50 Indians of the Outagamis and Quicapous had arrived at Montreal. These are powerful nations living along the Mississippi. They had made a trip of more than 400 German miles. Two of their most respected chiefs came down to Quebec, since the general's departure to Montreal had been delayed, to get an interview with him. These people were tall and strongly built, with brownish-yellow complexion; their faces were not painted red, as among other Indians. They had high foreheads and fiery eyes. Their hair was shaved in front and the rest braided and adorned with colored feathers. They wore shirts and had white woolen blankets around them, both articles being thickly covered with red paint. They did not wear trousers as all the other nations do. Around their necks they wore wampums and bracelets on their arms. After the general had taken a seat in the middle of the room, contrary to the usual custom and the adjutants their places behind him, the delegation was brought in by the interpreter, and an English captain who had accompanied them from Montreal. They then seated themselves around the general. One of the delegates had a staff ornamented with colored feathers in the shape of a fan. This was considered to be a staff of authority. After the Indians had been seated a while, the first chief rose and shook hands with the general and some of the officers nearest to him. This is considered a compliment. Then he made the following speech, which was natural and eloquent:

"My father. As soon as we heard your summons addressed to the whole world, our hearts and ears were one. We, the most distant of your children, (this we are, because you are our father) have come here to offer our services to you, the governor of the whole world. 15,000 young warriors are ready to fulfil your orders. Pardon me, father, if I cannot address you properly. I am only a simple man, who understands neither how to read nor write, and I have nothing but my ears, honorable intentions and an honest heart. I came here to seek your grace, governor of the world, for myself and for my subjects."

While the first chief spoke thus, the other one took what we thought was the staff of authority and fastened a good sized pipe bowl to it, filled it with tobacco, struck a light with the flint and handed the pipe to the speaker, who took the burning tinder, placed it on the pipe and presented it to the general to be lighted, with these words:

“I read in your eyes, my father, that you will grant to our tribes, the Outagamis and Quicapous, your grace, and that your heart will be inclined to me, since you have touched my hand. The tobacco cleanses the heart and the brain, and may the tobacco in this pipe purify your heart of all hatred! This pipe was pure and as white as snow, when some years ago, I put it in the hands of your representative. It is the same pipe, but he soiled it, although my heart remained pure.”

After the general had lighted the pipe, the Indian took it to the English captain who had brought them to Quebec. Then he passed it to the commander of Quebec, Lieutenant Colonel Brown, to be smoked, having first inquired from the interpreter for the next in rank. After this he gave the pipe to the other Indian, who took it to all the rest present.

This ceremony is observed at all conclusions of peace and alliances with the Indians, and they consider it the greatest insult, should anybody refuse to smoke, an insult which is punished by death. The general had requested us therefore not to refuse to smoke.

It took sometime before the pipe had gone around, as there were about fifty people in the room. The other Indian sat meanwhile with folded arms and drooping head, watching the people. The pipe was at last given back to the first Indian and he presented it to the general with these words:

“My father! Again I am impelled by a special reason to ask your favor. Some of my young warriors went to a French inn last year and asked for whisky, and as the owner did not have any, they killed him. The lieutenant, whom you, no doubt, know, since you gave him his position, says, it was a sin. I do not know what a sin is, but I know that it is an insult to me as I am

the chief of these people. The grief over this act had gnawed at my heart, but now I can return to my tribe with an easy mind, because I had the happiness to see you, governor of the world, and to find grace in your eyes."

The general assured him of his grace through the interpreter, and after shaking hands in a friendly way with all present, the Indians departed. They were invited to dinner and had the honor to dine with the general. The pipe is carefully kept in the archives of the government, together with a report containing the names of all those present. As long as this nation is friendly toward the English, the pipe remains in the possession of the governor, but as soon as they intend to break the peace a delegation is sent to take the pipe away. The general was willing to accept their offer, and to take into his army a number of their nation. But the interpreter, who had lived as a captive among them for eight years, said, that however just they might be in their negotiations, there was no nation more cruel to their enemies than these who never granted a pardon. Other tribes only take the skin from the head, while they would take the skin from the navel on, and in order to be able to stuff and exhibit it in their wigwams, they cut the skin all around the body and draw it over the head, keeping it carefully intact.

AUGUST 17TH.—These Indians were again taken before the general next morning, and he presented them with big silver medallions on which the king's image was stamped. These medallions were hung around their necks with a purple ribbon. The chief had already a similar French medallion, which, however, he did not remove, but lengthened the ribbon a little so that it hung a little below the one just received. To impress these Indians still more with the greatness and power of their masters, the general sent them to the men-of-war which were at the docks. As soon as they approached the "Isis" they were welcomed by Commodore Douglass with eight shots from the cannon and by the marines, fully armed, while all sailors were at their posts on deck. After the savages had recovered a little from their surprise, the interpreter told them that this reception was given them

only on account of the medallions just received. The Commodore greeted them with all honors, showed them the whole construction of the ship and afterwards his ability to shoot down big trees at a considerable distance. Then refreshments were served and they departed full of admiration for this ship.

SEPTEMBER 10TH.—This date marks the beginning of harvest time, which begins around Montreal about eight days sooner. The raising of wheat is the chief occupation of the farmer, all bread here being made of this grain. Besides this, some oats are raised. Rye is rarely found in the badly tilled fields, nor barley either, because the use of the latter for brewing beer is unknown. They have a kind of beer, however, which is very wholesome and which is palatable when one becomes accustomed to it. This beer is prepared from twigs of the spruce and particularly pine trees, which are boiled with their needles. Maple sugar or molasses (Melassus) is then added and the whole put away for a time. The French call this beer "Epinette" and the English "Spruce." It is true that it tastes a little of turpentine, but it smells stronger than it tastes. Although I rejected it in the beginning, I liked it afterwards. It is generally considered a remedy for scurvy, and the result confirms this conviction. Our soldiers suffered very much from scurvy after the journey and the beer alone restored their health. All ships sailing from here, take a large supply of it on board.

SEPTEMBER 17TH.—Toward mid-day the ships with the second section of our troops under the command of Colonel Specht, arrived. One of the vessels the "Friesland" was lost on the bank of Newfoundland (Terre Neuve) and nothing had been heard from it since. This division lost twice as many men during the trip as we, viz.: 16. The fleet consisted of 2 frigates, the "Amazone" and the "Garland", and 15 transports. Ten of these had Brunswick troops on board and five brought English recruits to the army. The Brunswick regiments were:

1. Major-General v. Rhetz; 2, Colonel Specht; 3, Chassuer-Battallion v. Baerner and one company of Yägers with rifles. The names of the transport on which these Brunswick troops had come over were:

| Namens der Schiffe. | Anzahl der Tonnen | Namen der darauf befindlichen Officiere. | Zahl der Soldaten. | Compagnies. | Regiment |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--|--------------------|--|--|
| Jung Bonifacius Holländisch | 380 | Obrlt. v. Ehrenkroock, Cap. v. Fredersdorf, L. Meyer v. Unger sen., Feldscher Toegel, Audit. Schmidt, Reg. Feldscher Schrader. | 192 | Leib-Comp. und Oberlt v. Ehrenkroock. | Regiment v. Rhetz v. Stade 28. May '76, bey embargquirt. |
| Frau Johanna Holländisch | 600 | Maj. v. Lucke, Cap. Alers, Cap. Arend, C. Cleve, L. v. Papet jun., v. Dobeneck, Modrach, Feichel, F. Goedecke. | 318 | Leib-Comp. Major v. Lucke, Cap. Alers. | |
| Jungfer Anne Cathrine Hamburgisch | 263 | Cap. v. Schlageteufel, sen., Ltd. Bielstein, Conrady, Peters, F. Ehrich, Bandel, Bode. | 125 | Capt. v. Schlageteufel. | |
| Lively Englisch Capt. Hall | 230 | Obr. Specht, Cap. Jaeger, o' Conel. L. Meyer, Du Roi, jun., Reg. Feldscher Bause, Lieut. Willo in engl. Diensten. | 108 | Obr. Specht. | Regiment Specht d. Stade May '76, bey embargquirt. |
| Friesland Holländisch | 800 | Cap. v. Lützow, v. Dahlstierna, L. v. Papet, sen., Oldekopf, d'Anières, sen., L. v. Unger, jun., F. v. Bernewitz, Grimpe. | 354 | Obr. Specht, C. v. Lützow, C. v. Dahlstiern. | |
| de gude Sacke Holländisch | 290 | Major v. Ehrenkroock, Capt. v. Schlagenteufel, jun., L. Hertel, v. Milkau, Dove, Kettner, F. v. Redecken, v. Ulmenstein, Feldscher Kohle, Audit. Baehre. | 180 | Major v. Ehrenkroock, C. v. Plessen. | Chasseur-Battallon d. Stade May '76, bei Stade embargquirt. |
| Margaretha Alida Holländisch | 620 | Major v. Baerner, Capit. Schottelius, v. Gleisenberg, L. Bode, Pflüger, Rohr, Reg.-Feldscher Kuntze. | 308 | Jäger Comp. und Major v. Baerner. | |
| Hellegunda Christiana Holländisch | 310 | Cap. Thomae, Lieut. Kotte, Meyer, Mühlenfeld, F. Rhenius, de Biers. | 167 | Capitaine Thomae. | |
| Ost-Rust Holländisch | 506 | Cap. v. Geusau, L. Hanemann, Cruse, Fricke, F. Specht, Cap. v. Plessen, F. Fromme. | 108 | Capitaine v. Geusau. | |
| Three Friends Englisch | 294 | Cap. Dommess, L. Rabe, Gladen F. Hagemann, L. Rodemeyer, v. Hessler. | 162 | Cap. Dommess, ein Theil v. Cap. Alers. | |

This second section had left Wolfenbüttel on May 15th, embarked in Stade on the 27th, 28th and 30th of May, and was on the ocean for 15 weeks. The delay was due partly to the frequent calms, which occur during this season, but chiefly to the fact that the boats were almost all Dutch vessels which are known to be slow sailing ships. This probably accounted also for the fact that the "Friesland" was missing.

Captain Jacobs of the frigate "Amazone", who commanded the whole fleet across the ocean, told me that he had been obliged to tow the ship "Margaretha Alida" with Major Baerner on board, for a long time in order to keep it from being lost.

The troops disembarked in Quebec on the 19th, 21st and 23rd of September and continued their march overland to the army. The regiment v. Rhetz and Specht joined the army near Fort Chambly and the Chasseurs near Fort St. Jean. The company of Yägers joined the light Infantry under General Frazer.

SEPTEMBER 19TH.—The dragoon regiments likewise left Quebec to join the army. Four schooners (Goeletten) took them up the St. Lawrence River to Trois Rivières. The regiment Prince Friedrich was the only one left in the garrison of Quebec and Col. Praetorius took command of the fortress.

OCTOBER 3RD.—A detachment of this regiment under Capt. Diterichs received orders to guard the pass "La Beauce" on the other side of the St. Lawrence River on the road from Kennebeck. The rebels had passed this defile last winter on their way to Quebec. This pass is so narrow that it takes only 100 men to keep back a strong army.

OCTOBER 6TH.—The missing ship "Friesland" arrived at last at the docks. Through stupidity of the pilot she had gone too far to the right and had missed the mouth of the St. Lawrence River.

The companies on board from the regiment Specht disembarked on the 8th and marched under Capt. v. Lützwow to their regiment. At this time the preparation of the frigates, boats (Bateaux) and floating batteries needed for the expedition on the Lac Champlain, had been finished and as winter was near when

nothing could be done, General Carleton made an attack with the fleet under Commodore Pringle upon the ships of the rebels. The enemy was driven into the Bay Roche Fendue, some of the vessels were sunk and the rest were burned, so that the fleet of the rebels in the lake was entirely destroyed. During this attack a company of artillery from the Erbprinzi. Hesse-Hanau regiment had particularly distinguished itself and the bravery of Capt. Pietsch, who was in command of it, was generally praised and admired. The rebels had defended themselves courageously and had offered resistance, but they had to submit on account of the good organization of the attack, and particularly on account of the bravery of the English which might almost be called foolhardiness in such decisive instances. An English lieutenant of the navy, named Dacres, who was in command of the frigate "Carleton", was so eager in pursuing the fleet and, as the other boats were not able to sail as fast as his, he arrived in the Bay almost at the same time as the rebels. The wind changed suddenly and made it almost impossible for his companions to join him in the bay. It was also impossible for him to go back on account of the adverse wind. In this embarrassing position, unable to retreat and with the shots of the entire fleet of the rebels directed at his ship, Lieutenant Dacres quieted his men by his composure, only requesting them to follow his orders instantly. To the greatest astonishment of the rebels, he dropped anchor in the midst of their fleet, disregarded their firing completely and attempted to sink one of their best vessels, which he accomplished in about an hour. He then put his own ship alongside of this and went on board with his sword in hand and took possession. The other ships had arrived meanwhile and finished the brave attack by a complete surrender. After the battle, Dacres was ordered before General Carleton, who, after telling him that he ought to be courtmartialled for lack of caution, putting the ship and the life of his men at stake, but as luck had been with him and he through his bravery had won the victory, he therefore promoted him temporarily, until confirmed by the king, to the rank of captain.

The result of this victory was our getting Fort Frederic (Crown Point), which the rebels had left when retreating. As this fort was of no use to us on account of its location, it was demolished. The army went back to Canada into winter quarters. The Isle "Aux Noix" served as an outpost, and 3 English regiments had to stay there in log-houses during the winter. Other outposts were the forts Chambly and St. John.

OCTOBER 26TH.—The regiment Prince Friedrich received orders to leave Quebec and to join the other German troops which were with the army.

OCTOBER 29TH.—The 34th English regiment arrived in Quebec to relieve our regiment. They came down stream in boats (Bateaux).

NOVEMBER 2ND.—The regiment Prince Friedrich left Quebec at 9 o'clock in the morning. We should have left one day sooner, but the departure was delayed on account of All Saint's Day (Tous Saints) observed as one of the most sacred holidays of the Catholic Church. We marched on the north bank of the St. Lawrence and received quarters in the parish (Paroisse) St. Fois, $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Quebec.

NOVEMBER 3RD.—We started for St. Augustine, 3 leagues from St. Fois, and crossed the river "Au Cap Rouge".

NOVEMBER 4TH.—We left for Pointe au Tremble, 3 leagues distance from St. Augustin. Next day was a day of rest.

NOVEMBER 6TH.—After passing through the "Paroisse des Ecureuils" and crossing the "Jacques Cartier", a rapid stream falling over rocks, we arrived at the "Paroisse Cap Sante", $8\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Pointe au Tremble, where we stayed one night. I went to see the ruined Fort Jacques Cartier, erected by the French in 1760 against the English. This fort is situated on the river named after the first settler, Jacques Cartier (as is also the surrounding country). It is not built regularly, but follows the slope of the ground. It is one of the many blunders made by the French General Vaudreuil when preparing the country for defense. Deserting Quebec to take up a position at this pass, shows want of experience or lack of understanding his business;

he was probably bribed by the English to do this. Although this fort protects the road on account of the naturally good position, ships cannot be hindered from passing by on the St. Lawrence River and attacking it in the rear where it is very weak. A grave mistake, especially when dealing with an English fleet.

NOVEMBER 7TH.—We marched $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to Dechambeault, crossing the river Port Neuf, where we had another day of rest.

NOVEMBER 9TH.—We marched $6\frac{1}{2}$ leagues, passing through the Paroise Grondine and arrived in St. Anne where we stopped again. We met the regiment v. Rhetz, which had taken up their winter quarters here.

NOVEMBER 10TH.—We crossed the rivers St. Anne and Batiscan, two rather large streams, marched through the Paroise Batiscan where Col. Specht was stationed, and came to Champlain, $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from St. Anne.

NOVEMBER 11TH.—We marched through Cap Madelaine, where the regiment of dragoons were quartered, and crossed the river Trois Rivières, which gets its name from the fact that its mouth is divided into three rivers by two islands. The village Trois Rivières has about eighty houses and is $5\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Champlain. Trois Rivières is half way between Quebec and Montreal, each distance being 30 leagues.

(Near Trois Rivières are the only iron forges in Canada. The iron which is smelted here, is very good, as good as the Swedish iron, if not better. Without having been heated, it will strike fire like steel, and after being hardened in the fire, not even the English file will make a mark.)

Since General v. Riedesel had his headquarters in Trois Rivières, only the staff remained there, while the other companies were quartered for the night west of the city in the parishes Banclieu and Pointe au Lac.

NOVEMBER 12TH.—We arrived at last in the parishes Yamachiche and Rivière du Loup to take up our winter quarters. Yamachiche, divided in "grande" and "petite Yamachiche", is 6 leagues from Trois Rivières, and Rivière du Loup is $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Yamachiche.

These parishes are situated on the Lac St. Pierre, which is crossed by the St. Lawrence River. This is the first place where high and low tide can no longer be noticed, probably on account of the size of the lake.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE RIVER.

It is safe to say that no other river in the world shows high and low tide to such a degree and such a distance. Near Quebec, which is 120 leagues away from the mouth, without considering the gulf, the difference amounts to 18 or 19 feet, and at spring-tide, when a north wind is blowing, to more than 22 feet.

Near the Paroisse Dechambeault, 15 leagues farther up stream, the difference is 12 feet, and at Trois Rivières, 15 leagues from Dechambeault, 3 feet. The tide extends, as shown above, 150 leagues (112 German miles) up the river. But the depth and width of the river is also great. As far as Trois Rivières it is navigable for merchantmen which do not draw more than 12 feet water, and from Trois Rivières up to Montreal, it is deep enough for schooners (Goeletten).

The banks of the St. Lawrence as well as of all the smaller tributary streams consist as far as Dechambeault of slate rock intermingled with limestone, as I have mentioned before in my description of Quebec. From Dechambeault on, and farther inland, the bed and the banks are of sand and gravel. It seems as if in former times the St. Lawrence had its channel more to the north, and that the water washed away little by little the southern bank.

The Lac St. Pierre is full of fish; goldfish (Poison d'or), sturgeons, the "Masquinongè", pike, carp, etc., are caught in abundance. The goldfish (Poison d'or) is very palatable, however, the Masquinongè is better. The goldfish has a shape like a pike, but the meat is like that of the brook trout. The Masquinongè belongs, as far as the shape is concerned, also to the pike family, but the meat is excellent. Both are fish of prey.

On the banks of the lake a kind of water rat is found, called "Ramusket" [muskrat?]. It is considered a delicacy by the people.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RATMUSQUÉ.

In my opinion the "Rasmusket" belongs to the beaver (castor) family; the skin is excellent fur with hair like that of the beaver's, and its tail also resembles that of the beaver. The way of building their houses also classes them with the beaver family. The "Ramusket" builds a hut from branches above a little inlet of the water and covers it with reed or rushes. This little house stands above the water because the "Ramusket" must always have its tail in the water just like the beaver, and the house is two stories high so that the rat may go up and down according to the rise or fall of the water.

The "Ramusket" is also found on the banks of small rivers, which do not rise or fall much. The animal is caught in the following manner: The house is overturned, the rat jumps into the water. But since it does not belong to the fish family, it comes up to the surface to get some fresh air. A little bubble shows the place where it is. A pointed instrument is thrown at this bubble and the "Ramusket" is killed.

NOVEMBER 28TH.—The army was to extend its winter quarters and the regiment Prince Friedrich received orders to take up their winter quarters according to the new regulations. The companies were placed in the following parishes:

At Petite Machiche: two-thirds of the company of Capt. Diterichs.

At Rivière du Loup: one-third of the company of Capt. Diterichs; the staff and comp. of Lt. Col. Praetorius; one-third company of Major v. Hille.

At Masquinongé: two-thirds company of Major v. Hille.

At L'Ormiere: Company of Capt. v. Tunderfeld.

At St. Jean and York: Comp. Major Gen. v. Stammer.

On the 25th the detachment at La Beaux joined the regiment, completing it.

JANUARY 9, 1777.—There was an eclipse of the sun to-day beginning at 9.32 A. M. and ending at 12.06 P. M.

Long, and at the same time easy, trips which are very pleasant besides, are often made here during the winter, as the

frozen lakes and rivers make it possible to go straight across the land without going around or looking for bridges. For this purpose small lightly built sledges are used, called "Carioles" which are very easily drawn by a horse. Thirty to forty leagues are considered a day's journey with one horse. If the horse can be changed ("Relais"), even more ground may be covered.

A law is passed that every parish, as soon as winter sets in with snow and frost, must mark the so-called straight way with small fir or spruce trees, making a pretty sight of the road. This marking of the road is necessary because so much snow falls that even the fences and hedges (Clotures), which are at least 5 feet high, are no longer visible, and in order to keep the road always in good condition, every inhabitant is obliged, according to the law, to ride up and down the road with the sled in front of his estate (Terre), early in the morning after there has been a new snowstorm, or when the snow has drifted.

This is the time for hunting and fishing, and I must mention a peculiar way of fishing, customary in this part of the country. Whole caravans start out right after Christmas and up to twelfth day, to go fishing in the streams Trois Rivières, Batiscan and St. Anne. They cut holes in the ice, and their only implements are boxes, with holes in them, tied to strings. These are let down into the water and fish (Morue, Codfish), which at this season of the year go out of the lakes down the streams, are caught in such quantities that not only the people, but also the pigs, and what seems incredible to Europeans, the cows and horses live on this food for considerable time. Its meat is white and sweet, and tastes especially good either fried or boiled, also when prepared with oil and vinegar. I have eaten the same and liked it very much. As the frost continues for a long time, the fish are simply left outdoors in heaps to freeze, so being preserved a long while. The same is done with all meats, and the whole winter long we have fresh meat and soups every day. As soon as the cold weather sets in, about the beginning of November, as many cattle are killed as are thought necessary for the winter supply, and the meat is hung up in storehouses, where it

is preserved by the cold, so that no difference can be detected between this and freshly slaughtered meat. This is done not only with cattle but as well with fowl, and saves a good deal of provender; besides the cattle are fatter at that time than in winter, even if well fed. Pickled as well as smoked meat is unknown here, and herbs are the only things which are pickled for preservation.

On account of the war and the soldiers billeted, the settlers were prevented from going hunting, and the fur trade did not amount to much this year. Hunting was left almost entirely to the Indians, who live further inland and in the spring take the skins of the killed animals to the European merchants, particularly to Montreal, where the fur business is mostly transacted. These merchants have also stations among the Indians farther north than Lake Superior and are doing considerable business. The fur principally obtained in Canada is the marten. From information acquired, I learned that in the year 1748, 30,625 skins were taken to Rochelle from Canada alone. How many may have gone to other French ports and how many were exported by the smuggling trade? At that time the fur business was for the profit of the king alone, and no one else was permitted to deal in this branch.

The skin of an undressed stone-marten is sold here at $\frac{1}{2}$ Piaster (4 Reales) or 1 florin Brunswick Courant, and that of a pine-marten, which is darker, at a higher price. The skins of the fish-otter (Outre) commands the best price. The wild cat, beaver, muskrat, bear, wolf and fox also furnish skins for the trade. Also the skin of the black fox is of great value. Around Lake Superior buffaloes (Beuf sauvage) are frequently caught and their skins are sold for rugs. The skins of the "original" and "caribean" are tanned and used to make a kind of thin durable shoe worn here. The original and caribean belong to the elk family, but are, however, not so easily tamed as in Lapp-land. Those in the latter country are somewhat smaller. I have only once seen in Trois Rivières a good sized original three months old, which somebody was trying to tame.

The hair of the original as well as the quills of the porcupine (Porte-Pic) are dyed in all colors by the Indians and used by them to adorn their dress and handiwork.

Stags, deer, wild pigs, are not found here, and the hare is very different from that of Europe. It is smaller and the fur is lighter, in winter even white like that of the hares in Siberia. The squirrels are also smaller and brownish-grey instead of red. There is also a kind of flying squirrel in Canada, which has a skin between its legs and the body like a bat's. There is also a variety of wild fowl in Canada. In spring wild pigeons (Turtes) are found in flocks and are caught in nets, 50 and 100 at a time. They are rather big and have blue feathers and a red breast. Woodcocks and snipes (Bacasinens) are plenty, and eight different kinds of wild ducks and plenty of wild geese abound on the lakes. The smallest kind of duck is called "Carcelles." It is superior not only in taste but also in looks to all the others. In autumn there are lots of hazel-hens, called "Perdrix" by the inhabitants, wood-hens (Poule de bois), field-fares, white (Wein) and black thrushes. All these birds taste very good, but have a different taste, even when domesticated from that of those of Europe. For example, turkey (Dindon) is particularly good, especially the wild turkey, which is better than the domesticated. I also saw jays, starlings, magpies, etc., which look about the same as ours, perhaps a little brighter in color. The sparrows are like those of Siberia, grey and small, the male has a red breast and a red spot on its head, while the female has only the spot on the head. The yellow-hammer here has white feathers instead of yellow, and is therefore called white bird (Oiseau blanc). The goldfinch here, however, is not as pretty as ours, the red feathers are wanting.

The fur of the beaver (Castor) is considered especially suitable for hats, muffs, and they have therefore been hunted to such an extent, that they are now only found near the lakes far inland. I only saw a few on our march from Quebec to this place.

I had gone ahead of the regiment to look for crafts or boats further up the river and met near the river Trois Rivières

five families of the Chats Indians in the woods. They had come down the river to sell furs and beavers at Trois Rivières. The huts (Cabanen), which they had built for themselves were skilfully made of the bark of trees, and could be packed up and taken along. The beavers, which they had killed and eaten during their trip, fairly shook with fat. The Canadians also eat the meat, particularly during lent. The tail of this animal, which is covered with scales, is considered a great delicacy and you often find the same fried or prepared as stew on the table of the wealthy.

Most of the Indian men had gone hunting, while the women did the cooking, and the youngsters, naked like piddle-dogs, ran around and played. One of the Indians, who had stayed behind from hunting at the huts, could speak French brokenly. He complied with my request to dance for me and also gave the war and hunting cry—strange, dreadful and cruel sounds. Hearing these awful sounds repeated by an echo in the woods, would have embarrassed me if I had not been a soldier and armed, especially as I had gone astray and was quite alone. The women have to do all the work, and the men do nothing but the rowing and hunting. When an Indian has killed an animal he hangs it on a tree, then goes home to smoke and sends his wife to fetch the game. After he has described the place where it can be found, the woman must go without a path, hunting everywhere through the thicket until she finds it and carry it home. The usual way for an Indian to carry things is with the help of the strap around the forehead reaching towards the back. I have seen them carry such heavy loads in this manner that I could not understand how the neck and the nape of the neck could endure it. The women also have to carry all the utensils, put up the hut and do all other work. If an animal is killed ten paces from the hut, the squaw must go to get it. The Indians sit on the ground with crossed legs, almost like the Turcs, and with their heads drooping. On the bank near every hut lie their canoes, built out of bark and pointed at both ends, where they are sewed together with bast. These boats are without doubt the most skillfully made vessels which can be imagined and perfectly suited for travelling in this

country. As almost all rivers fall over rocks, it is possible to take them out of the water, and they are so light that a man can easily carry a boat for a considerable distance. At the same time they are big enough for the transportation of a family of 6 to 8 members. They are usually made of the bark of the elm tree (Orine), which has no knots or branches, and thus the bark can be peeled off in one piece. Both ends of the canoe are pointed and ingeniously put together. The bottom is flat, rounded at the sides and held in shape by some thin ribs of flexible wood. A canoe is about 15-18 feet long, and in the middle 3 feet or more wide. One must sit down immediately after entering, or kneel down, as those generally do who take the oars, the boat being apt to turn over. It is also dangerous to walk in it with shoes on, the bottom being so thin that one might break through. The distance between life and death in a canoe cannot be figured out, as in a ship, by inches, but must be decided by lines. There are two other kinds of canoes. One is cut in one piece from a tree like a trough, the other is made of boards in the same shape. The Indians undertake long trips with their canoes on rivers or lakes, passing from one to another. They cross this way almost all Northern America. Their winter trips are not as long and are taken on "Raquets" to go over the high snow; all necessary provisions being taken along on sledges made also from the bark of trees. These sledges are drawn by the Indians with the help of the strap across their forehead.

General Carleton had gone from Quebec, where he had his headquarters, to Montreal, and on his return inspected all the troops in their quarters. The regiment Prince Friedrich formed in line at Rivière du Loup and was inspected there.

MARCH 8TH.—At the end of March and the beginning of April, people commence to make sugar from the maple tree. There are three kinds of trees and three kinds of sugar, differing in taste and color.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SUGAR MAPLE.

The American Sugar Maple (*Erable à sucre*, *Acer Sacharinum*) is the most common kind. The sugar acquired from this tree is brown and is considered excellent. A second kind of sugar is gained from the juice of the Plaint (?) tree, so the Canadians call the tree. I think it is the (*Erable à feuille de Tilleul*, *Acer striatum*), or the striped bark maple. This sugar is lighter in color than the first. The third kind is gained from the "Merisier" (*Betula lenta*) or poplar leaved birch tree, and differs greatly from the other two. The color is blackish brown and it tastes a little bitter. It is taken for medicine and serves as a physic. I have found that the maple sugar causes fermentation in the body and acidity. Almost all who had eaten of the sugar, or drunk of the juice got sick with whooping cough, and many children had it during this season.

The sugar is prepared in the following manner: A deep slanting cut is made in the tree with an ax, about one foot above the root, and at the (lower) end of the cut another notch is made with a chisel. Into this notch is put a thin piece of wood, on which the juice trickles down into a vessel below. This juice is then put in a kettle and boiled slowly. The amount of sugar gained is however small. One tree furnishes little more than three buckets of juice, and out of one bucket of juice only one-half pound of sugar is obtained. Although the tree is immediately afterwards dressed with glue or rich clay to keep it from losing all its sap, it is easily understood, that such bleeding is injurious to the growth of the tree and the consequences are that the tree withers and dies. However, where the trees are so plentiful as in Canada, and even where big tracts of woods are burned down to prepare the land for cultivation, it is found profitable to make sugar. In other countries, where one must be more careful with the woods, a law would soon be passed to prohibit the preparation of sugar, or it would be stopped anyhow, because the profits from the wood would be greater than that from the sugar. It is probable that some time hence, perhaps in 50-100 years, trees may be very scarce in Canada, although

there are plenty of them now. The European settlers do their best to root them out, never thinking of the consequences, and in some places the trees have already been cut down entirely.

For the present it is easy enough to have the wood come down the river to the settlements, because they are all situated on the St. Lawrence and tributary rivers, but as soon as the population increases, people will be obliged to settle further inland. Nobody ever now thinks of planting a tree, scarcely one in hundreds of people knows that a tree has seeds or what the seed looks like.

REMARKS ABOUT THE WEATHER.

As I have now lived in Canada for nearly a year, having spent a winter and summer there, I wish to say something about the weather. The summer is very productive. We have a thunderstorm most every day, or at least every other day, and it seldom rains without a thunderstorm. In autumn it is very windy, cold and wet. In November the cold weather began and snow and frost lasted all through the winter. It never thaws, and the only moisture which comes down is in the shape of snow, of which there is plenty. I must say that I found the winter very pleasant on account of the bright days.

APRIL 7TH.—We had a heavy thunderstorm in the morning, which was repeated on the 10th of April. The winter with snow and ice ceased suddenly and we had some very hot days. This change was far from agreeable. It was said that this winter had been very mild and that there had not been one like it for the last twenty years. Almost every night during the winter, northern lights in peculiar shapes are seen, which cover the whole sky and make the nights very bright. During February and March there was no night without them. There are also in Canada violent blasts of wind (cyclones), which come very unexpectedly. The inhabitants call such a blast "Pouderie", because it carries away everything that stands in its course. A small, light cloud, only noticed by people who know, indicates what is coming. A few times I was caught in one of these Pouderies, and it was hardly possible for me to keep my breath and stay on my feet.

DESCRIPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA.

The Province of Quebec, the large tract of land cut through from northwest to northeast by the St. Lawrence River, is called Canada by the English who now possess it. It is governed by a Governor-General, authorized under the Great Seal of England, and a Lieutenant-Governor. The position of superintendent existing under the French government, has not been filled again since England took possession. The form of government is a mixture of the French and English. After the conquest the form of government had been exactly like the English, the military French form having been abolished. Instead of appointing "Capitaines de Milice" according to their own judgment, the parishes were free to choose their own bailiffs from their midst by vote. Every man having the right to vote. At the outbreak of the rebellion, the crown of England saw the mistake made in changing the conditions, and so the bailiffs were dismissed and Colonels and Capitaines de Milice again appointed. The Canadians, used to this form of government ever since their first settling, were more contented with it. However, this change and the dismissal of so many officials aroused a good deal of ill feeling, especially among the discharged bailiffs and their parties and the former captains of militia. At such a critical time, this might have given occasion to harmful and evil consequences for the crown of England, if the Roman Catholic Church, or, what is more correct but means the same, the Bishop and the priests had not done their best to repress the dissatisfaction among the laity. The rebels had known, how to take advantage of the discontent and had gained a very large following during the invasion of Canada. The Bishop was appointed to his position by the government alone, without the voice of the chapter or clergy, or the necessity of confirmation by the Pope or Archbishop after having been confirmed by the king. It was therefore an easy matter for the Bishop to induce the members of his Church to remain loyal to the king through the persuasion of the priests, and in obstinate cases the threat of excommunication (anathema) to all who expressed the least rebellious opinions or had not re-

mained loyal subjects of the king. In accordance with this ban, priests refused all the sacraments even those of communion, baptism and marriage to all who express rebellious sentiments. Although few obstinate ones baptized their own children, when the priest refused to do it, it may well be said that England has chiefly to thank the Catholic Church and their priests for the maintenance of Canada in English possession. The king granted the bishop, in appreciation of his readiness to help, an annual remuneration of £2000 Sterling—to be paid by the government.

The present Governor-General is Lieutenant-General Guy Carleton, a man of great insight and experience. He has the particular gift of gaining the affection of the clergy and the hearts of the Canadians. The latter means much, especially on account of the hatred fostered between the French and English, which was inherited by the Canadians to the full from their ancestors. The same may be said about the Lieutenant-Governor Hector Theophilus Gramahé, whose venerable appearance and white locks called forth as much respect as his righteousness. It also speaks well for this man, that in spite of a good income and without living extravagantly, he may almost be called poor.

The Lieutenant-Governor is president of the great legislative council, to which the first of the country and the Lords "Seigneurs" belong. Each province sends its members whenever the senate is called to assemble in Quebec in the castle of St. Louis, which occurs generally every three months. The Great Council makes laws, decides improvements in matters of the police department, and cares for the general welfare of the country. All resulting mandates have to be confirmed by the Governor-General.

For the administration of civil jurisdiction two supreme courts are instituted; one of these is in Quebec, the other one in Montreal. Appeal can be made in the first instance to the Great Council in Quebec, and in case the law-suit concerns an amount of money exceeding £500, a second and last appeal can be made to the King and Parliament. Every week two court days are fixed, on one of them all law-suits amounting to less than £10 are settled, on the other all those amounting to £10 or more.

Canada is divided in two districts, the boundary line being the river Godefroy on the south side of the St. Lawrence, and on the north side the river St. Maurice, which is divided into three canals by two islands. These three branches are called "Trois Rivières."

In any law-suit concerning a matter in value of £10 or more, the presence of 2 judges is required. For all minor law-suits justices of peace are assigned in the various places of the provinces.

Since the inhabitants are obliged by law to serve in the militia from their 16th to the 60th year, the captains or colonels of the militia decide many disputes and punish minor crimes.

Canada has three military governments, Quebec, Montreal and Trois Rivières, which are the headquarters for the colonels, to whom the captains have to report, or from whom they receive orders. The boundary lines of the government Trois Rivières, situated between the other two and therefore being the most important, are on the south side of the St. Lawrence River, the rivers Becancourt and St. François, and on the north side of the St. Lawrence the rivers Batiscan and Masquinongé. Each parish has one company of militia, or, if the parish is big, two of them. Each company has a captain, two lieutenants, one sub-lieutenant and the usual number of non-commissioned officers. Once a year, sometimes oftener, the rifles of the militia are examined, and the men have drills and rifle practice.

Settlements of Europeans in Canada are so far only on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the smaller rivers flowing into the same. Only these parts are cultivated. The parishes are not built closely together as in Germany, but each settler has erected a house in the middle of his estate (Terre). All the estates adjoin, one parish following the other, which makes it impossible for anybody not familiar with the locality to tell where one village begins and the other ends. It makes very pleasant traveling to have at least one row of houses on one side if not on both, and this is the case all the way from Quebec to Montreal. These rows of houses are called "Concessionen," because they

are laid out by the government. I have never found more than three "Concessionen" in one parish. Each estate (Terre) is generally three "Arpens" wide and 40 deep, if the ground permits. One "Arpens" is equal to ten "Perches," one "Perche" is 18 feet, and 11 French feet are equal to 12 Brunswick feet. The rest of the country is not cultivated and almost impassable on account of the thick woods. This is inhabited in the dominion by the Indians, who roam about in it and travel on the lakes and rivers in their canoes. They put up their huts (Cabanen) for a while in the places where they want to hunt, and after a time they take them down again to go somewhere else.

Every inhabitant in Canada is obliged, when he gets possession of an estate, to build a fence (Cloiture) around it, make a road in front of it and erect a house with a fire-place within one year. After that he can cultivate the estate any way he likes. The enfeoffment of the estate is received from the "Seigneur," who in turn enfeoffs the parish from the government. The only tax per year on the estate which has to be paid to the Seigneur, consists of one chicken and 6 livres tournois (1 piaster). He has no other taxes to pay, nor has he to serve anybody but the king. Only once a year, on the day when he pays his taxes, is he obliged to take off his hat to the Seigneur and call him his lord. The rest of the year it depends entirely on his politeness to lift his hat to his lord or not.

As the land in the beginning is heavily timbered the first thing, after taking possession of a tract of land, is to set fire to the wood to get the ground ready for cultivation. It sometimes happens that miles of wood are burnt down, when there is much wind, but nobody seems to care. After this the people commence to till and sow between the remaining trunks and roots. These are dug up by-and-by, when the land is cleared.

The tilling of the ground is very primitive and leaves much for improvement. They still cling to the way of the first settlers from France of 200 years ago. In spring the ground is plowed, the seed put in at once and the same covered up by going over the land with a harrow with wooden teeth. No

winter crop is sowed. All sowing is done in spring and all harvesting in summer. It would do very well to have a second crop, as the weather in September and October is very favorable. This is impossible as the people here do not understand how to care for pastures from which they might get winter food for their cattle. They have the best land for pastures on the banks of the rivers and other low parts. Half of the estate is planted with corn while the other half is left fallow. This is for the cattle to graze on. This has the disadvantage that in Spring when it is plowed and the seed put in weeds will grow and smother the corn, and, since the farmer needs the pasture as much as the corn, he does not take the trouble to destroy the weeds by repeated harrowing. Besides, the wooden pegs of the harrow would not pull out the weeds. The fallow land cannot be plowed during summer on account of the food for the cattle, although this would be a great help to make the ground light. The Canadian still has to learn how to get the greatest profits from his land, especially when the country becomes more populated, or when he will be obliged to pay taxes.

It is hardly necessary to manure the ground, because the rotten trunks of trees and leaves have fertilized it for so long a time. The manure is put on top of the soil simply to get rid of it in the stables. The air and sun absorb most of it. One may well say that the ground is covered about two feet with decayed wood and beneath that I found very fertile, rich soil. Therefore the profits of the land are great, and the people do not only get plenty for themselves, but also for sale, and three bushels (Minot) wheat (about $\frac{5}{4}$ of a Brunswick Himten) cost a little less than one piaster 2 fl. conv. Muntze), because the West Indish Islands and colonies have to buy all the grain needed for bread.

For the support of the clergy, one-tenth (a tithe) of the grain has to be paid. This, and the profits arising from masses for the dead make up the income of the priests. The priests are much esteemed, and I have seen many of these venerable gentlemen in the country, who must have an annual income of

more than 1500 Piaster. They are very hospitable, and consequently usually in debt, a fact which I have found peculiar to this profession, and in which they seem to try to live in accordance with their doctrine of poverty and want.

The farming of the English who have settled in this country is in striking contrast with that of the French and they are able to get rich in a short time. The raising of live stock makes the great difference, since the best grass will grow if the pastures are well taken care of. The whole meadow will be covered with white clover, yielding enough hay for the winter, besides furnishing all the food necessary for the cattle in summer. Cattle breeding by the French Canadians is, however, defective. As I have mentioned before, the fields tilled this year have to produce the food for the cattle during the next summer, which is, of course, scant and poor. During the winter the cattle get nothing but straw, or are driven outdoors to feed on the dry ends of the grass peeping out of the snow. They have only water to drink, and water mixed with bran and the like is unknown. The stables are cold and full of holes, although there is no lack of building material. The colts are never put in the stables, neither in winter nor summer, day or night. They run around loose and are fed only on straw. The cows are badly cared for and are small and thin, giving, in consequence, little milk. Very little butter is made, and what is made, is bad and not eatable.

All these evils result from the extreme laziness of the Canadians. They hate to work, and when working they often stop to sing or smoke. The women hardly work at all. Their chief talent consists in dancing and making music; the whole day long you hear dance music. They are not awkward in doing hand-work, light carpentry, and so forth, which necessity has taught them to do. All household furniture and carts, wagons, etc., are made at home as the cities have few tradesmen, except merchants.

Their indolent way of living in addition to their food, which consists mostly of soups, causes weakness and inability to endure hardships, or to persevere in hard work. They are con-

sequently unfit for soldiers, even if their want of courage could be overlooked. They are polite, full of interest, but cowards. Much can be gained by flattering them. In my opinion, however, if the Crown of England would be more severe, much more might be accomplished, especially when nothing is to be feared from other colonies. They would also make better subjects, while now the national hatred of their conquerors will induce them to rebel whenever opportunity offers and there is nothing to be afraid of. They have been spoiled from the beginning, even under French government. However, a few good fortresses and 4-5000 men of English troops, are sufficient to maintain Canada even under difficulties.

The Seigneurs are already rich on account of knowing how to take advantage of the simple people and will become great lords. Their privileges consist of the right to build mills, to establish ferries across rivers and the right of hunting and fishing. Since it is to their advantage, the Seigneurs as well as the clergy keep the people in ignorance, and it may be said that the clergy govern the subjects. General Carleton knew how to profit by this for the benefit of the Crown of England.

Although there are good mines in Canada, little is done to work them; they either do not know how to sink a mine, or they are too lazy to do it. The only iron mine in Canada is in Trois Rivières. The iron obtained there is of such good quality that it is almost superior to the Swedish iron. When cold, it will give out sparks like steel when struck, and after hardening it, even the English files cannot make an impression. The slate mountains near Quebec lead us to surmise that copper could also be found, and who knows if not more precious metals than these may be hidden in the mountains of Notre Dame (Our Lady's Mountains). The Canadians never think of such things, and other nations import the metals with great profit to themselves. Copper and brass is especially high. What a fortunate country Canada would be, if the people knew how to profit by its riches.

ADDITIONS AND CHANGES TO MR. LEISTEN'S DESCRIPTION OF BRITISH AMERICA.

FIRST PART. SECTION 4. PRODUCTS OF THE VEGETABLE KINGDOM. PAGES 20, 21, 22.

Indian corn or "Mayz" is one of the nicest things to eat if toasted while the kernels are soft and unripe, especially if spread with fresh butter. Almost all new settlers have to live on this corn for the first few years, because it can be raised almost without attention and raised better between the tree trunks than wheat or other grain, and also because they have no mills as yet for grinding wheat, etc. The ears of corn are boiled with ashes which soften them, loosening the kernels at the same time. After the lye has been poured off, the kernels are cooked to a mush with milk or water, which is eaten instead of vegetables or bread, a wholesome and nourishing food.

PAGE 22.

There is not as great a yield of potatoes in Canada as in Europe. This may be due either to the great drought in summer, or to the hard clay soil.

The peanut (*Glycine Apios*), which has a beautiful reddish blossom, grows best in damp places, hard soil and clay.

Pumpkins (*Pumpion*, *Citronille*) are plentiful and good. They are particularly good for cattle, making them very fat. They are cut in two with a hatchet and the cattle eat them in the field.

Melons, sweet as well as water melons, are plentiful, well ripened and good. The skins are very thin, showing that the sun has ripened them sufficiently. Those planted too late and not ripe in the beginning of September, are preserved with vinegar and sugar.

PAGE 23. LINE 10.

Peas cannot be raised in the colonies on account of insects, except along the Mohawk River, in Charlotte County and Canada, where they thrive splendidly, keep free from worms. I have not seen one pea touched by a worm.

LINE 16.

This does not hold for Canada, where so far the only orchards are on the hill near the city of Montreal. However, there is such an abundance of it there that not only the entire province of Canada has enough, but the surplus is used for cider. All fruit, mostly French varieties, is very good and has a good flavor. Cherries, plums and peaches, like the European, are not found in Canada. Fruit trees could be cultivated in many parts of Canada, except near or below Quebec. I have seen good results. However, the Canadians have not had enough experience in this line, besides the country near the river is too low, and in winter the roots of the trees are apt to get frozen in the damp soil.

PAGES 23 AND 24.

Wood in Canada is not as durable as in Europe, especially if exposed to the air, when it quickly decays.

PAGE 26.

Dogwood (*Hartriegel*), all three kinds, are found in Canada, however, the first two not so often, the one with white berries most frequently.

PAGE 28.

The sumach tree, Canadian *Vinaigrier*, suffers a great deal in Canada during winter, and it takes some time before it begins to bud again in Spring. This may be the reason why I have never seen the tree higher than 10-12 feet. I could not find out why the Canadians call this tree "*Vinaigrier*." Indeed, as a rule the Canadians can seldom give reasons for their names of objects. The Canadian Judas tree should perhaps be "*Bois*

PAGE 30.

dur" (*Ironwood*), the trunk of which does not grow especially high or thick in Canada. The wood of this tree is used with advantage for carts and "*caleshes*" on account of its hardness. I have never seen it thicker than 5 inches in diameter, although the bark only is shaved off.

PAGE 33.

The low Canadian cherry tree has small, light red fruit, smaller than a pea, one on a stem.

PAGE 33.

Grape bird cherry (*Cerises en Grapes*) with dark red fruit is also found in Canada. The trunk of the tree is 12-15 feet high. I have found the North American bird cherry in bloom when only 1-2 feet high.

PAGE 40.

The fruit of all the different kinds of oak trees is used as food by the Indians as well as by the Canadians. I do not think that the acorns in Canada are quite as tart, bitter and impalatable as those in Europe, the difference is, however, so slight, that only habit can make them agreeable to the taste.

PAGE 41.

The same remark applies to the beech nuts, which are also gathered and eaten in Germany by the country people.

SECTION 5, PAGE 57, LINE 27.

Straps are cut from the cured skins of these animals, very durable for carriage straps. I saw some in Canada only two inches wide, strong enough to carry heavy loads without breaking.

Id., III, PAGE 60, LAST LINE.

The sturgeon lives on clams, oysters, crabs, etc. I had many of them opened, without ever finding anything else in their stomach. Their mouth is turned downwards, probably on account of this kind of food.

N. B.—To this class belong the fresh water fish.

PAGE 62. C.

The lizards, often found in the rivers of Canada, are rarely more than 1-½ foot long.

IBID, IV. PAGE 67, LINE I.

Grasshoppers have double wings. One pair is dry and hard; these make the noise when the insect is flying. There are two kinds of grasshoppers. One is large, the other is smaller, but makes more noise.

SECTION 6. PAGE 71, LINE 12.

The Canadian horses, which are of medium size, but have great power of endurance, seem to be a mixture of Spanish and French breeds. They probably have greater power of endurance than the European horses because they are less cared for when young. A colt less than two years old is never put in a stable. It has to live on grass in summer and has nothing but straw in winter. Consequently colts are not overfed, which causes most of the sickness among horses in Europe.

N. B.—PAGE 72. BEAVER, THE MEAT AND TAIL.

PAGE 73. RAT MUSQUE.

SECTION 6, PAGE 81, LINE 9. (THE SILVER FOX CLIMBS TREES,
THE GOLD FOX NEVER.)

There are three kinds of foxes, the gold fox, which has the same color as the European, the silver fox, which is white and gray on the back, and the black fox, which is very scarce and can be found only in the north.

IBID, PAGE 81, LINE 14.

The hare is smaller in America than in Europe. In summer its coat is brown like the European, but in winter it is white. Almost all animals change color during winter. This fact may have given Lawson the idea that the American hare is a wood rabbit, which is not true, however.

IBID, PAGE 82, LINE 4.

Besides the flying squirrel, the description of which is correct, there are three other kinds of squirrels in Canada of different sizes. None of them is as big as the European squirrel, nor as red. The fur of the squirrel has a mixed color, grey and yellow. The smallest kind, not bigger than the European dormouse, is called "Suisse." I am told that it was given this name on account of its yellow and black stripes on the back, which resemble the stripes of a Swiss jacket in olden times. I believe this last kind also to belong to the dormouse family.

SECTION 6, PAGE 82, LINE 16.

The elk, in French "Orignal," English "Moose deer," is the same as the big black moose deer, is said to be, which lives farther down. The above mentioned French and English names indicate how the double meaning originated. It changes its fur from black in summer to white-gray in winter. It is probably a fairy tale that it is subject to epilepsy. Neither the Indians nor hunters have ever heard of such a thing. The reason why it scratches itself behind the ears with its hind foot is probably to be found in the numerous insects and mosquitos. The rest of the description of the elk and moose deer is generally correct. The meat, which is considered a delicacy, has a taste between venison and beef. The head and mouth are especially good. A head of this animal brings 1 guinea in the cities of Canada. The fat is exactly like that of the deer, and is in pieces without being marbled. The skin, when tanned, is very thick, and is used for trousers, shoes, etc. The animal is hunted on raquets in winter, when the snow is deep and hard. The hunter can run over the snow, while the elk will step through with its long legs and can easily be caught. They are not vicious, but when wounded, will attack the hunter, who has to guard himself against the split hoofs of the front feet. These are as sharp and hard as an axe, and the animal strikes with them from above with force enough to split the head of a man.

The described light grey moose deer may also be a young elk, because it takes three years to attain full growth. I have noticed this myself in Canada with elks which were caught very young and kept near the house.

SECTION 6, PAGE 83, LINE 20.

The American chamois (*Capra reversa*) is called "Cariboux" by the Canadian. The skin is considered of great value.

SECTION 7, PAGE 101, LINE 11.

The Canadian swallow, which on the upper part is not bluish-black but bright blue, builds its nest in trees.

SECOND PART, CHAPTER 3. SECTION 4, PAGE 209, LINE 5.

This is probably "as far as Fort Chambly," as the fall of the river of four leagues between the two forts makes any other supposition impossible.

LINE 3.

Not Sorel, but Chambly-River, olim Rivière-Richelieu. This river originates out of Lake Champlain. Country people call it sometimes "Sorel River," because Fort Sorel is situated at the mouth of it.

LINE 18.

The author does not mention that the bateaux had to be transported from Fort Chambly to St. Thérèse on wagons.

LINE 20.

The Chambly River has small falls at St. Ours, St. Antoine and Beloeil, which cannot be passed in summer when the water is low, except by ships with flat bottoms. From spring to the middle of June, when the water is high, three masted vessels can go up stream to Fort Chambly.

LINE 22.

The banks of this river, being the best and most fertile part of Canada, are completely populated. The following parishes are on the east side of the river :

Sorel, Fort Sorel, St. Ours, St. Denis, St. Charles, Belloeil, Pointe Olivier. On the west side are: Sorel, St. Ours, one to two small islands, St. Antoine, two small islands, St. Charles, two small islands au Corfu, Belloeil, Chambly (St. Joseph after the patron), Fort Chambly, St. Thérèse, Fort St. Jean. Some of these parishes are cultivated on both sides of the river.

LINES 36, 37.

Not on the east, but the south bank of the St. Lawrence River, opposite Quebec.

St. Nicholas, St. Antoine, Ste. Croix (Le Platon is only a landing place near the latter known to the sailors alone) Lotbinière (mouth of the Duchêne, big and little), St. Jean Deschailon.

PAGE 210.

St. Pierre l'Eveque, Gentilli, Bacancour on the River Puarte (mouth of the River Godefroy), Lac St. Paul, La Baye du Fevre Nicholet, St. Antoine, St. François on the river of the same name, Yamaska on the Yamaska River, Fort Sorel and the parish (mouth of Chambly River), Grand St. Ours, Contrecoeur, Verchéres, Varennese, Boucheville, near by the Island of Bouchar in the St. Lawrence River, but not the Island of St. Thérèse, which is situated in the Chambly River near St. Thérèse. Congeuil, where the passage is to Montreal, La Prairie de St. Magdalaine, St. Constant, St. Philippe, Cookenouaga or St. Regis, a village of christian Iroquois, Sault St. Louis, Chateauguai, on the River Chateauguai, and the parish by the same name on this side. All the places not mentioned above, are not there, for instance: Tremblay, St. Lambert, etc., which are erroneously given on the maps.

PAGE 210, LINE 24. PAGE 211, LINE 3.

On the road from Quebec to Montreal on the north side of the St. Lawrence, are:

Sillery, St. Foy, Cape Rouge, St. Augustine, Pointe aux Trembles, des Ecureuils, Jacques Cartier on the Jacques Cartier River, Cape Santé, Port Neuf on Port Neuf River, Deschambault (near by a cataract called "Courant de Richelieu" which is considered dangerous for ships on account of its rocky bottom), Les Grondines, St. Anne on the St. Anne River, to one side St. Genevieve, Baptistkan on Baptistkan River, Champlain, Cap la Magdalaine. The St. Maurice River or Trois Rivières, which latter name was given because two islands divide the river into three channels. The city of Trois Rivières is a place similar to a small German market town. On the side of the St. Maurice River are the iron works "Forge," where very good iron is manufactured, which is almost better than the Swedish iron. At the point of Peter's Lake, Pointe du Lac, Machicha on the Machicha River, Rivière du Loup on the River du Loup, Maskinongé on the River Maskinongé, York, l'Ornière, to one side, towards the north, St. Cuthbert on the Chicot River, St. Jean to one side, Berthier on the St. Lawrence and the Berthier River, St. Esprit and St. Antoine to one side, la Nauraie, la Valterie, St. Sulpice, l'Assomption to the side on the river l'Assomption, and on the same river farther to the side la Nouvelle Acadie, Repentigne. Here is the passage to the Island of Montreal, Maskouche, Lachenaye, Terrebonne on the Rivière du Chêne. Further the Outawas River, Vaudreuil, Kinchin and Coteau des Cedres, the latter parish on the side of the St. Lawrence. Now we go back: The Island Montreal, on which the city of Montreal, Pointe aux Trembles, Longe Pointe, Ste. Genevieve, St. Lawrence, St. Anne, Pointe Claire, Rivière des Prairies, Sault aux Recolets, la Chêne. On the north of the island of Montreal, the Isle Jesus, on which are St. François, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Martin and St. Rose. On the south of the Isle of Montreal, the Isle Perrault. These are the parishes above the city of Quebec.

As there are more parishes below Quebec on both sides of

the St. Lawrence, I shall also mention them below. The author evidently, had no knowledge of them.

On the north side of the St. Lawrence below Quebec :

Charlesbourg on the St. Charles River, which runs into the St. Lawrence near Quebec, Beauport on the Montmoranci River which falls over a steep precipice near the Isle of Orleans into the St. Lawrence, Anges Gardiens, Chateau Richés, Ste. Anne, St. Ferreol, St. Joachim, Petite Rivière, La Baie St. Paul, the country from the Sault des Montmoranci River to the Bay St. Paul is called "Coté de Beaupré" and belongs to the Seminary at Quebec. Furthermore, also below Quebec on the St. Lawrence, Les Eboulements near the Isle au Coudres, and still further toward the gulf, Tadoussac and Rimouski.

On the south side of the St. Lawrence River, opposite the city of Quebec, below the River of la Chaudière :

La Pointe Levy, St. Henri to the side, and still further to the side up the river Chaudière, la Nouvelle Beauce, formerly called Latigan, with three parishes, St. Marie, St. Joseph and St. François. Further down on the St. Lawrence: Beaumont, St. Charles, to the side, St. Michel, St. Vallière, Berthier, St. François, St. Pierre, St. Thomas, Port Joly, Cap St. Ignace, l'Islette and St. Jean to the side, St. Roche, Ste. Anne Rivière Ouelle, Kamouraska, the latter parish on this side. Near Quebec the Isle of Orleans, on which the parishes St. Pierre, St. Laurent, St. Famille, St. François and St. Jean. The Isle aux Coudres is also inhabited and has a church.

SECOND PART, CHAPTER 6. NEW YORK, SECTION 4, PAGE 282,
LINES 30 AND 35.

Lake Champlain. On the east coast, towards New Hampshire are high and steep mountains, the west side of the lake is flat land. The banks of Lake Champlain are very good for agriculture on account of the fertile soil and the good climate. However, on account of the war, not much was done to cultivate the fields. At the present time there is not one settler on Lake Champlain. The few families who lived there all went back to Canada in 1778, after their houses and barns were burned and

ruined. The only place which has been built up again, is Rivière à la Colle, situated near the fortified island "aux Noix," and also covered by the post at Pointe au Fer. On the west shore of the lake are Cumberland's Head and Bay River au Sable, Ligoniers Bay, Bouquet River, which are not far from the narrows near Split Rock and Crown Point.

On the east side are the Missiskoni River and Bay, the Onion and Otter River, and above the Narrows the Button Mould Bay, a small bay of little consequence. The rivers on this side are navigable for flat bottom boats, but not passable for ships.

PAGE 283, LINES 27, 38.

Crown Point, on a cape. The climate and the soil of this healthy country is very good, and on this account there are more settlers here than in any other place. The pastures are especially good, consequently the cattle and horses, which are of good English stock, thrive well. There are corn fields, orchards, etc. However, the description of this country in the letters of my countryman is exaggerated and faulty, in regard to tea, grapes and figs growing wild in the forests. The Jungferwein, "*Hedera quinque folia*" grows wild here as well as in the northern parts and Canada.

PAGE 284, LINES 7 AND 10.

Ticonderoga is surrounded by mountains, on account of which the country is unhealthy, because the winds cannot clear the air and produces *kalte Fieber*.

PAGE 285, LINE 1.

The passage from the Hudson River into the South Bay or Lake Champlain can be accomplished only on land.

I can give no further explanations than the above. Hence I close my notes, for the correctness of which I vouch, as I was careful not to make the same mistake as other writers of Journals sent to Germany, who put down without discrimination what was told them by stupid country people or lying Englishmen.

CAMPAIGN IN CANADA AGAINST THE REBELS IN
1777, UNDER THE COMMAND OF LIEUTENANT-
GENERAL JOHN BOURGOYNE.

Few preparations for a campaign were made in 1777, excepting the repairs of the necessary field equipments by the regiments. A new plan of operation was expected from England. Major-General John Bourgoyne, who had gone, in November, the year before, to England, returned on the frigate "Apollo" and arrived in Quebec on May 6th, 1777.

This frigate had sailed from Portsmouth in the beginning of March and had served as convoy to a fleet of transports carrying recruits and provisions for Canada. This fleet had been left behind on the bank of Newfoundland (Terre Neuve), while the Apollo arrived in Quebec on the above date, which is noted for the deliverance of Quebec in 1776 under Commodore Douglass. This day is celebrated in remembrance of this fact with balls and other festivities.

General Bourgoyne, who had been promoted to Lieutenant-General, had submitted to Parliament a plan of operation entirely different from the one proposed by General Carleton. Parliament accepted the former, and General Bourgoyne received orders to take the army to Albany under his command, independent of General Carleton, who was to stay in Canada with part of the troops as governor of Quebec. General Carleton, for eighteen years **fully acquainted with the situation and strength of the English colonies**, had for good reasons informed Parliament, that the Canadian army was unable to push forward to Albany with good results, unless reinforced with 10,000 men, particularly since the Canadians could not well be trusted, and it had been noticed that they had been secretly incited to rebellion by the French. As it was impossible for England to send these additional 10,000 men, and General Bourgoyne had promised to accomplish the same end by his plan with the Canadian army in its present state, he readily approved the execution of this plan.

Soon after his arrival in Quebec, Lieutenant-General Bourgoyne went to Montreal to be nearer the quarters of the army, where it was easier for him to arrange for the campaign.

JUNE 1ST, 1777.—The army received orders to break camp. Complying with these, the regiment Prince Frederick left their winter quarters and proceeded to the post house on the Chenaille du Nord between Maskinongé and Berthier. The sick along with the heavy baggage of all the German troops were sent to Trois Rivières with a small escort.

The English regiments Nos. 29, 31 and 34, a detachment of 350 men made up from the other English regiments of the army under Bourgoyne, and another detachment of 650 men, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Ehrenkrook, and taken from the German troops, remained under the command of General Carleton to protect Canada. The English Regiment No. 8, which was stationed near the lakes to protect the fur trade with the Indians had to stay likewise. Not alone were these troops necessary for the protection of Canada, where the discontent of the inhabitants had become noticeable, but also to prevent incursions of the rebels by the road to Kennebec, etc., which had to be kept safe for conveyance of supplies.

JUNE 3RD.—The regiment Prince Friedrich arrived for night quarters at Berthier, which is situated on a small river. It joined the brigade of Brigadier-General Colonel v. Gall, under whom it was enrolled together with the Erbprinzi. Hanau regiment.

JUNE 4TH.—The brigade v. Gall went up the St. Lawrence in boats and took quarters in the parish Sorel, a short distance from the fort.

DESCRIPTION OF FORT SOREL.

Fort Sorel is situated on the east side of the mouth of the River Chambly, formerly called Rivière de Richelieu. It would hardly be called a fortress in Europe, as it consisted only of two log houses and a few lines and intrenchments of earth thrown up on the river front. But here, every attempt of fortification is called a fort. The object of fortifying this place was probably to make it difficult for ships to enter or leave the river. The Chambly River is navigable for ships not drawing more than 12 feet of water for 14 leagues up to the rapids near Fort Chambly, in the spring when the water is high.

JUNE 5TH.—We marched through the parish of St. Ours and camped for the night in St. Denis.

JUNE 6TH.—We went to St. Charles, crossing near a church to the west side of the river. As all the English regiments, the Brunswick chasseurs and the battalion of grenadiers, had gone ahead of us and the march of the troops through the portage near Fort Chambly was much delayed on account of the transfer of the baggage and the boats by wagons around the rapids, we were obliged to stay in St. Charles one day longer.

JUNE 8TH.—The regiment broke camp again, and we passed through the parishes Beloeil and St. Joseph, arriving toward noon at Fort Chambly, where we still found the battalion of grenadiers and the Erbprinzi. Hesse-Hanau regiment. Quarters were taken in the houses and barns near the fort.

DESCRIPTION OF FORT CHAMBLY.

Fort Chambly is built of quarry stone and laid out in a square of 200 feet. The walls are rather high and at the corners are square towers (Donjons). It lies on the west side of the great rapids, where the outlet of Lake Champlain falls noisily down over protruding rocks, forming a big basin below. Fort Chambly was first erected by the French as a fortified outpost against the English Colonies, and particularly to protect the trade with the Indians, who used to come here to deliver their goods. This entire trade has now been transferred to other places. In my opinion, it seems most probable that the place was laid out for the latter purpose. Only 25 or 30 years ago, fighting in America was done without heavy artillery, excepting the few cannon in the forts, and it seems possible that in those times Fort Chambly could prevent an invasion in Canada by way of Lake Champlain, especially since the rapids near this place formed another obstacle. However, this fort is now of no other use than to prevent incursions, or to serve as a powder magazine and a store house for provisions for troops stationed nearby, also to protect the wagons and machinery necessary for conveying baggage. It can hold only 500 men, which number is not sufficient to keep the enemy away from the fort, nor can they hold out

against the same if attacked with cannon, mortars and even howitzers. The rebels had damaged this fort considerably during their retreat the past year and had burned away all wood work. However, the damage had been repaired and the fort had been restored to its active condition.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RAPIDS.

The rapids, which are four leagues long, are divided into the great and small. The first are near Fort Chambly, where they terminate and form the chief cataract of the lake, and extend about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a league up towards St. Therese. The water falls from such a height, and the current becomes so strong, particularly near Fort Chambly, that it is impossible, to draw vessels or boats up the river against the stream. All boats built in Canada for the army, had to be taken out of the river below Fort Chambly on large wagons made especially for this purpose, and transported to St. Therese, where they were again floated, pulled up stream, until the small rapids near Fort St. John were passed, as the fall of the river here is not so high, although the current is swift and strong. Coming down stream is much easier, if there is enough water on the rapids, which happens when there is a south wind. The boats, which are made as light as possible, go down over the small as well as over the great rapids. The Canadians call this "Sauter sur les rapids." Many a boat is wrecked or overturned, but that matters little in a campaign; the main object is to get down as quickly as possible.

We were delayed by the transfer of our boats and baggage over land until June 10, on which date we started early in the morning for St. Therese, where we took former quarters.

JUNE 11TH.—The brigade v. Gall marched into camp above Fort St. John.

DESCRIPTION OF FORT ST. JOHN.

The Fort St. John consists of 2 small forts, or rather "Redouten," "Redoubts," thrown up of earth. Each one has a dry ditch (moat) and palisades connected by a communication line, which incloses the barracks for the garrison. This fort is well

suiting to guard the passage over the outlet of the lake. It cannot have existed long, because the surrounding country has not been cleared of wood, not even close by.

DESCRIPTION OF RADEAU AND GUN BOATS.

Below the fort on the water front was the English artillery park. Next to this the "Radeau," or floating battery ("The Thunderer") was anchored. It was built in a square of strong rafters, fitted, however, with masts, sails, wheel and a cabin, like a ship, and carried six 24 pound mortars, six 12 pounds cannon and 2 howitzers. Besides this floating battery there were 20 large armed boats built of wood (gun boats), each of which carried one metal cannon of nine to twenty-four pounds, also a few howitzers.

As some of the boats were damaged during the trip and had to be repaired, the regiment stayed in camp for some days and was then supplied with the entire number of boats needed for the transfer across the lake.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BATEAUX.

There were 34 vessels, each one to carry 20 to 25 men and their baggage. These bateaux have a flat bottom so they can pass over shallows in Lake Champlain. They are propelled by six oars, a seventh serving as rudder.

JUNE 13TH.—The entire regiment started from St. John toward noon with very favorable wind. The soldiers put up all the sails, using even their blankets to get the full benefit of the wind. We passed on the right of the "Isle aux Noix," which is well fitted for an advance post on account of its favorable situation, log houses and intrenchments having been erected for this purpose, and the regiment arrived in camp by Rivière à la Colle.

We had already made the acquaintance of mosquitos in Canada, but never before had we suffered from them as much as today, for these insects attacked us in such quantities that it was impossible to protect ourselves from them, neither smoking of tobacco, nor the smoke of a number of small fires all around the

camp being of any avail. We nearly suffocated from the smoke and could not keep our eyes open. It was impossible to wrap ourselves up in blankets on account of the heat, and the blood-thirsty mosquito would sting even through three-fold linen (sheets). It is impossible to describe the torture, indeed, I think myself justified in stating that nobody could endure it continuously for more than a few days and nights without becoming insane. If anybody could have watched us from a distance without being molested himself, or knowing what was going on, he would have thought the whole camp full of raving maniacs.

I have noticed three different kinds of mosquitos. The very small black kind makes itself specially disagreeable. It crawls unnoticed into the eyes, nose, ears and mouth, where, feeling safe from pursuit, it tortures you most cruelly. The bite of the mosquitos swells considerably and hurts for several days. The face becomes distorted, and if we had mosquitoes in Europe, I am sure the fair sex would never go outdoors during the summer.

PLAN OF BATTLE.

JUNE 14TH.—The first rendezvous of the army was to be at Cumberland's Head. All the English regiments, the Brunswick chasseurs and grenadier battalion also the regiment from Hesse-Hanau, were already there. We started today for this place and arrived in camp June 14th. The other German troops, the generals, the fleet and artillery arrived soon after. We passed on our trip thither by *Pointe au Fer*, a little advance post in a log house on the right, and by the *Isle La Motte* on the left. The advance guard under Brigadier-General Simon Frazer, made up of the English light infantry, the grenadiers and the 24th regiment, had gone as far as *Ligoniers Bay* near the *Rivière au Sable*. The battle line (*Ordre de Bataille*) of the army can be seen from the inclosed plan.* Besides this army which was to go across *Lake Champlain* towards *Forts Crown Point* (formerly *Fort Frederic*) *Ticonderoga* (formerly *Carillon*), *Fort George*, *Anne*, *Edward*, etc., then towards the *Hudson* to *Albany*, another division under Brigadier-General *Barry St. Leger*, made up of 1000 Indians,

some detachments of the English regiments, which had stayed behind (the Royal New York regiment under Sir John Johnston) and the Hesse-Hanau Yaeger corps just arrived constituting a division to come down the St. Lawrence from Montreal across Lake Ontario to Fort Stanwix, of which they were to take possession. They were then to go down the Mohawk River and join our army.

JUNE 17TH.—The army was assembled at Cumberland's Head. The fleet under Commodore Lutwidge included the "Inflexible," "Royal George," "Maria," "Carleton" and "Washington." The first had three masts, the others were only schooners (Goeletten); the last was captured on October 16, 1776. Also the above mentioned "Radeau" (The Thunderer) and twenty gunboats.

The only convoys for the army were the two schooners "Maria" with 14, and "Carleton" with 12 six pound mortars. The gun boats sailed ahead of these. Since the enemy had no more boats on the lake, this line was sufficient, and the "Inflexible," "Royal George," "Washington" followed the army with provisions, while the Radeau carried ammunition and artillery.

Three companies of the Canadian volunteers under Captains Monin, McKay, and Boucherville, also the Indians under St. Luc la Corne, a former French officer, arrived today. The Indians came in their canoes built of the bark of trees. Some of these contained as many as 18 Indians with their wives, children and dogs.

JUNE 19TH.—On this day the whole army was to advance to the camp near Ligonier's Bay. However, it was impossible on account of a strong wind to pass the point ahead of us. The army was obliged to remain in bivouac. Lake Champlain is very rough and dangerous in a storm, the breakers being very short and the banks steep and rocky.

JUNE 20TH.—At day break the army started for Ligonier's Bay on the River au Sable, passing the Isle Valeur. The gunboats in one line, supported by the Maria and Carleton, led. Next came the grenadiers and Colonel Breyman in a column of four boats wide. A little distance behind these was the main army,

also in a column four boats wide. No finer and more beautiful sight can be imagined than a fleet of about 800 boats propelled on smooth water by hundreds of oars. The advance guard of General Frazer had advanced as far as the River Bouquet. We stayed a few days near Ligonier's Bay. During this time General Bourgoyne made a solemn speech to the Indians and had them promise not to commit any cruelties, particularly not to take the scalp of a person not yet dead.

JUNE 24TH.—We proceeded in this manner until we reached the camp on the River Bouquet. We found again a few settlers, the first ones seen since Rivière à la Colle on the lake.

The hardships of war here are different from those in Europe. Although our troops had endured a great deal during the last war in Germany, it was much harder to keep them in good spirits here. Their sufferings on this march surpassed what they had expected. The only consolation was that their officers had to share them and could live no better than they. Nothing could be had in this forlorn country. So far no settlers had dared to follow the army, nor had there been any other convoy of supplies.

The banks of the lake are covered with the thickest woods, and every time a camp had to be pitched, trees had to be cut down and the place cleared. In spite of the hard work, no other provisions were furnished than salt meat and flour. As each soldier had to bake his own bread, and no ovens for baking the same were there, he had to either bake it in hot ashes or on hot stones. This bread was, of course, very hard and heavy, and required good teeth. Furthermore there was neither whisky nor tobacco, which the German soldiers were accustomed to have. I consider these last indispensable for soldiers. According to arrangements of the English Commissary, the troops are never supplied with bread. Only flour is furnished and the men have to bake their own bread. We were not accustomed to this and did not know how to do it. Every other army furnishes bread to the soldiers, even the Russian army, whose soldiers are known as hardened, takes baking ovens along during the wars in Tartary and Ukraine.

It is not my intention to pity the soldier. He cannot always find things as he is accustomed to having them. He must know how to endure the hardships of his profession without murmuring. However, it would be better to prepare him rather than have him come upon these hardships unexpectedly.

JUNE 25TH.—At noon the army broke up camp suddenly, and the trip was continued without interruption until night. It began to get dark, the boats came close together, almost in a heap, and it was fortunate that the wind, which had been rather strong all the afternoon, fell in the evening. One stormy quarter of an hour could have made an end to our expedition when we passed the straights at Roche Fendue (Splitrock) where the banks are very rocky and dangerous. Vessels must keep away from them as much as possible, or they may be wrecked. Even if we had stayed in the middle of the lake, the boats would probably have been smashed by each other. There was already great confusion, many oars were broken and some of the boats damaged, when just in time the first (Tête) of the army landed in Button-Mould-Bay. After much shouting and fires having been made, the regiments were again united. Because the place for landing was so small, the boats were chained together and the men stayed in them.

JUNE 26TH.—We left at day break and arrived at noon in camp near Fort Crown-Point which the rebels had deserted a few days previous. The camp of the army was divided by an inlet of the lake, the English troops taking the west bank and the German the east. The river itself, which is not very wide here, was protected by the fleet which formed at the same time the connection between the parts.

We remained four days to wait for provisions and other necessities. A hospital was also fixed up during this time.

On July 1st, the troops broke camp again and advanced to Chiney-Point. We marched in battle array, each wing keeping close to its banks, and when camp was pitched again, it was in the same manner as before. The army received orders to start as soon as signals were given. Two cannon shots from the right and two from the left wing, were the signals to embark.

The baggage was to stay behind and only tents and field equipments were to be taken along. Four cannon shots from each wing were the signal for marching on land, leaving the tents and boats behind.

JULY 2ND.—The army advanced still further. We could almost be reached by the cannon of Fort Ticonderoga. The rebels had not only occupied the old fort built by the French (at that time called Carillon, now Ticonderoga), but had also fortified Mount Independence opposite the fort and had repaired the old French trenches above Fort Ticonderoga towards Lake George, adding some redoubts. Besides, they had built a bridge between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, to prevent our fleet from passing that point.

The garrison of the works consisted of 4000 men under General St. Clair. They had an ample supply of ammunition, artillery and provisions, but lacked bayonets to defend the lines in case of attack. This want they thought to correct by using long pikes instead. All preparations were made on our part for a siege of long duration, expecting the most obstinate resistance. General Frazer's vanguard had pushed forward on the west side of the river, intending to cut off all communication of the besieged with Lake George. It was thought necessary to send the brigade V. Gall to assist the vanguard, and they received orders to cross over to the right wing of the English troops. These orders were carried out very quietly in the evening after dark in order to escape the cannon fire of the enemy. The boats went over one at a time to Three Mile Point. We stayed in bivouac during the night, and the tents were not pitched before reveille so that the besieged would not notice the change. For the last few days the rebels had received everything that approached them from our side with cannon shots. Even our camps would not have been safe, if they had not been hidden by the woods. Our cannon kept quiet, except for a few shots fired from the ships and gunboats, when they were disturbed too much by the firing of the enemy.

It was intended in our plan of siege that the right wing of our army should make an attack on the old French trenches,

take possession of the "portage" on Lake George and occupy a high mountain, Sugar-Loaf-Hill, in the rear of the enemy. The rebels would then be in a very disadvantageous position, as their whole fortification could be commanded and overlooked from this hill. The left wing of our army was to operate towards Mount Independence. If we had succeeded, the rebels would have been completely surrounded according to this plan, and a retreat either by land or water made impossible. Roads were opened in the woods to keep up communication between the camps, and also to make it possible to take the cannon through.

JULY 4TH.—On this day, our Indians, the volunteers and the vanguard gained some advantage over the rebels in a hot skirmish. The consequences were, that the enemy retreated from the old French trenches and we became masters of the portage to Lake George and of Sugar-Loaf-Hill. Now the men had to work day and night to throw up the necessary breastworks against the fortifications of the enemy. One battery was put up on Sugar-Loaf-Hill. As no horses had been supplied, the men had to pull up the cannon with great difficulties. Preparations were made to open up all our batteries on July 6th, and we could easily notice the anxiety of the enemy at our progress.

JULY 6TH.—Our expectations were much surpassed, however, when we found in the morning of July 6th, that the rebels had left their fort quietly during the night and had retreated over the South Bay to Huberton, Skenesborough and Fort Anne. They were closely followed by the Royal army and the fleet after opening the boom on the bridge. The regiments Prince Friedrich and the 62nd English received orders from Gen. Bourgoyne to occupy Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence under command of Brig.-Gen. James Hamilton. We disembarked and marched with the band playing to Fort Ticonderoga. The colors of the enemy were hauled down at once, and the colors of the regiment hoisted on one of the bastions. In the evening the regiment Prince Friedrich took up quarters below the fort. Only a guard was placed in the fort, because the barracks were partly damaged and besides very dirty. The English regiment No. 62 under Lt.-Col. Amstruther took up their quarters at Mount Independence.

DESCRIPTION OF FORT TICONDEROGA.

Fort Ticonderoga (Carillon) was built by the French to serve as a frontier of their possessions in this part of the country against the English colonies. It is layed out in a regular square with 4 bastions and 2 "Ravelins" on the north side, thrown up of earth, revetted however, as far as the dry ditch with quarry-stone. It is situated on a cape at a point where the South-Bay and the outlet of Lake George join, forming a narrow river running into Lake Champlain. This passage can be controlled from the fort itself, and still better from a redoubt situated nearer the water. There are barracks for 600-800 men in the fort, built of quarry-stone, which is much found here. On the west side towards the portage to Lake George on a hill are the old French lines made of earth, which protest very well the narrow passage on land from Lage George, as was shown on July 8th, 1758, when Gen. Abercrombie made an attack with 16000 men on 4000 Frenchmen and Canadians, who were defending these lines and withstood and repulsed the English. According to the first design of this fort, these fortifications were only put up to withstand an attack from Lake George. The north side of the fort was unprotected. The rebels had been in possession of the fort since May 17th, 1775, when they took it under Colonels Allen and Easton. The Royal Army pursued the fleeing rebels by land and water as far as Skenesborough and Hubertson. The left wing of the rebel army was taken at Skenesborough and the right at Huberton, also all their artillery, ammuniton, provisions and baggage. Besides, Capt. Carterof captured and burned five vessels.

JULY 7TH.—All night long the men stood to their arms. Brigadier Fraser, supported by the vanguard of Maj.-Gen. v. Riedesel, met 2000 rebels in a very favorable position at Huberton. Although Brigadier Frazer had only half of his vanguard together, and no artillery whatever (it had been impossible to take it along) he made an attack and conquered the rebels. Maj.-Gen. v. Riedesel with a company of Brunswick Yaeger and 80 men from the grenadier and chasseur battalions, arrived just in time to finish the affair. More than 200 of the enemy were

killed, among them many of their best officers; a still greater number were wounded. Eighteen officers and 260 men were made prisoners and brought back to Ticonderoga where, after a time, they were set to work.

JULY 8TH.—On the 8th of July, the 9th English regiment under Ltd.-Col. Hill (from the right flank of our army), was attacked near Fort Anne by a large number of rebels, the attack lasting more than three hours, after which time the enemy was driven back. The rebels abandoned the fort in consequence of this rencontre, leaving it in ruins. It happened that every time the rebels met our troops, they soon withdrew and could not hold out against our army.

IN CAMP AT SKENESBOROUGH HOUSE, JULY 10TH, 1777.

On the 6th of July the enemy was compelled through the perserverance and activity of our army to leave Ticonderoga. On this same day the right wing of the enemy was driven back beyond Skenesborough, and the left to Huberton, losing all artillery and five vessels armed with cannon, which were blown up, by the brigade of canoe boats under Capt. Carterof, who acted very courageously. The enemy lost also the greater part of their ammunitiion, provisions, stores of all kinds and the baggage.

On the 7th of July, Brig. Gen. Fraser at the head of a little more than half of the vanguard and without any artillery, (it had been impossible to take it along, although he had tried very hard) met 2000 rebels, which were in a very good position. Brig. Gen. Fraser attacked and whipped them. A great number of the best officers and 200 men of the enemy were killed, a greater number were wounded, and more than 200 men made prisoners.

Maj. Gen. v. Riedesel arrived at the right moment with his van-guard, consisting of the Yaeger company, and 80 men from the grenadier and chasseur battalions, to assist Brig. Gen. Fraser. In a short time he won the honors of the battle for himself and his troops by his well defined orders and the courageous execution of them. On the 8th, Lt. Col. Hill at the head of the 9th English regiment was attacked near Fort Anne by the enemy, who numbered six times as many as his corps. He

forced them to retreat, however, after losing many of their men, and kept up a continuous firing for three hours.

The result of this affair was the leaving and demolishing of Fort Anne by the enemy, and part of our army is now in possession of the other side of the fort.

For this fortunate and rapid progress of our arms, we should, in the first place, be grateful to God, and afterwards give thanks and praise to the troops in general, especially, however, to Gen. Fraser, who by his clever behavior and courage inspired his officers and soldiers with the same qualities, thus doing a great and noble service to the king, and all honor to the art of war.

This corps has besides the merit of having endured all the hardships of war and bad weather without bread, and without growling about it.

There shall be divine service at the army and the vanguard next Sunday on account of the fortunate progress of the war. There shall also be a bonfire at sunset on the same day, and cannon and rifles shall be fired at Ticonderoga, Crownpoint and in the camps at Castleton and at the posts of the Breyermann corps.

(signed) Bourgoyne.

JULY 13TH.—To celebrate the fortunate events, big fires were lighted in the evening.

It is certain that the rebels had suffered a great loss through the hasty retreat from Ticonderoga. This place, and also Fort Stanwyx were considered by Congress passages to the colonies, and orders had been given to fortify them in spite of great expense and loss of life. We found in Ticonderoga and on Mount Independence more than 80 iron cannon of considerable size, a great amount of ammunition, all sorts of provisions besides other necessities of war. Furthermore, very little of the barracks and works had been ruined. They had attempted to improve these for the last two years, doing all they possibly could. Not only the old fortifications of Fort Ticonderoga and the so-called French lines, had been renewed and increased during this time, but the hill just opposite the fort had been cleared of the wood, and

a wooden fort been erected there, strengthening the whole with trenches and batteries. They had called this mountain on account of its location and their own intentions "Mount Independence." The whole was well done and showed no lack of clever engineers among the rebels.

A bridge of more than 350 feet long, was built from Ticonderoga to Mount Independence, which served not alone for the purpose of communication between the two forts, but also to block completely the passage and entrance for ships to South Bay, a piece of work which should be noted for curiosity's sake, and which does honor to human mind and power. It is only to be regretted that the work was commenced for fighting purposes. It therefore, will hardly be completed as it deserves. It may be compared to the work of Colossus in the fables of the heathen.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BRIDGE BETWEEN TICONDEROGA AND MOUNT INDEPENDENCE.

The width of the water between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is, as mentioned before, more than 700 feet, and the depth in the middle 25 feet, which diminishes very little towards the banks, thus allowing even big vessels heavily loaded, to pass. The current is so strong that a pontoon bridge, or any other kind of floating bridge, could not resist it for any length of time, not taking into consideration an occasional strong wind. For supporting and strengthening the bridge 23 caissons (as the rebels called them), filled with stone, had been put into the water in a straight line across. These caissons are made of tree trunks 3-4 feet in diameter and 20-25 feet long, put together in squares. In the beginning they were kept in place by anchors. After they had been built up above the water, they were filled with quarry stones, of which there is an abundance. This would sink them and keep them in place under water.

If you take into consideration the depth of the water, you can get an idea of the amount of work involved.

It was first decided to put the bridge on top of these caissons, which, however, had not been completely filled with stone. The

middle of the bridge was intended for a drawbridge for the passage of big vessels. Smaller boats were to pass underneath, the caissons extending above the water 10 feet and more. Now this plan was changed, and a floating bridge of strong beams was made on one side of the caissons. In order to prevent all vessels from passing this bridge, even by force, some sort of a turnpike had been constructed of beams fastened together with heavy chains three inches in diameter, completely blocking all passage. Although the construction of the bridge had cost them about 3000 lives in two years, the men dying from fatigue and fever contracted by the unhealthy location of the place and the foul water, the rebels had kept on working continuously with unflinching courage.

It is well worth mentioning this fact, as such perseverance is seldom found in the history, except in a republic, where a general participation in a common cause would inspire and hold it. It is rarely, if ever, found in monarchies. To appreciate the value of the work still more, I want to mention that, before starting the work in such a wild, uncultivated country, saw-mills, powder-mills and forges had to be built, dwellings erected and supplies provided. We also found saltpeter factories, and even soap works put up for the benefit of the garrison, in which the fat of the slaughtered cattle was used very economically.

The enemy retreated further towards the Hudson, and Gen. Bourgoyne followed them over Fort Anne, Edwards, Miller and Hardy, which forts the rebels left without resistance. Six hundred rebels had also left Fort George on the 18th of July, without offering any resistance, after taking away the greater part of their provisions, ammunition, etc., etc., and setting fire to the fort and all that could not be taken. We had now free passage across Lake George (Lac St. Sacrement) and began to take our boats and artillery across the portage to this lake. Half of the Sixty-second English regiment and half of the regiment Prince Friederich under Lt. Col. Amstruther, were sent there to do the work. There were very few horses as yet; they had to be sent from Canada on big rafts. These rafts were also the only conveyances on which provisions for the army could be sent and every-

thing was done to pass them across the portage. The army of the enemy retreated still farther until they settled at Halfmoon, a post very advantageously situated. Their front was covered by the Mohawk River, and their right flank by the Hudson, on which they could control the convoy of supplies and equipments. At this time the army of the rebels amounted to about 15,000 men, of which Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates was in command. Gen. Bourgoyne was not able to follow them with the royal army as quickly, because the transportation of the supplies overland from Lake George, and from thereon by boat on the Hudson, was very difficult, particularly on account of the lack of horses and wagons. It took at least five hours to cover this distance. The farmers had plenty of horses, and we probably could have had all we needed from those who were still loyal to the king (many of them were), had it not been for the Indians in the army, who by marauding and cruelties, forced the farmers to leave their homesteads, seeking shelter for themselves and their cattle with the army of the rebels. Here they were completely safe. It did not make any difference to the Indians, if they attacked a subject loyal to the king, or one friendly to the rebels; they set fire to all their homes, took away everything, killed the cattle, leaving them dead on the spot. The news of these cruelties spread and were enlarged, much to our disadvantage, and the enemy knew how to make the best of it for their own benefit. The Indians had probably only joined us with the intention of robbing and stealing, and they did not hesitate to take even our things. Nothing could be gained by joining the rebels, as they were badly dressed and without money, at least without coins, paper money not being liked by the Indians. It would certainly have been better, if we had not had any Indians with us.

AUGUST 1ST.—As the 62nd English regiment left us to march to Fort George, the entire regiment Prince Friedrich took up quarters on Mount Independence, this side being without protection. Two companies which had been stationed near the portage, had already gone there on July 26th. The camp was pitched on the lines towards the road to Huberton. The two schooners "Maria" and "Carleton" were in the South Bay, and

two gunboats stayed in the small river on the left. Only one sentinel kept guard at Fort Ticonderoga. Gen. Bourgoyne seemed to consider the maintenance of this post of importance to the army, and the 53rd English regiment was sent as reinforcements. Brigadier Hamilton, who had been in charge, was thereby relieved, and Brig. Powell took the command. Hamilton went back to the army. The royal army marched towards the Mohawk River and Stillwater and crossed the Hudson. Gen. Bourgoyne expected to meet Brig. St. Leger any day.

AUGUST 12TH.—The rebels had brought together at Bennington a great number of horses and cattle from New Hampshire, which were either for their own use, or to be taken to the army. It was decided that Lt. Col. Baum with the Brunswick dragoons, some light troops and a number of Indians, in all about 500 men and 2 cannon, should make an attempt to take this stock away from the enemy. Governor Skene was to accompany him, and Lt. Col. Breymann, who had advanced to Bottenkill, was to support him with the grenadier and chasseurs battalions. It seems almost, as if the rebels had counted on this expedition and had laid in ambush for them, for as soon as the Baum corps had reached Sancock (Saintcoick) Mill on August 16th, they were surrounded and attacked by a superior force of the enemy under General Starcke. Lt. Col. Baum himself and some of the officers were killed, the whole corps with the exception of only a few of the light infantry, made prisoners, and the cannon taken. Lt. Col. Breymann, who had been delayed by rain and bad roads, arrived too late to change matters, and although he drove the enemy back twice, he was forced to retreat, losing not only a number of men partly killed and partly wounded, but also his two cannon.

Some of the colonists, pretending loyalty to the king, had joined the corps; but they were among the first to open fire against them. Lieutenant Colonel Baum himself is said to have been killed by one of them. The rebels could always get all the information wanted about the movements of this corps through these people, who merely had to pretend to be friends of the English to be received by the corps. Governor Skene, who was to persuade the people to take up the king's cause, seems to have

made grave mistakes, particularly by sending them out to levy more men for the army, or to get news from the enemy. This mistake was probably the chief cause of the fatal outcome of the expedition.

Shortly after this affair, more bad news was received. Brigadier St. Leger had been obliged to retreat in great haste from (Stanwyx) Stanwix to Canada, and no good could any longer be expected for us from that side. One part of this corps under (August 6) Sir John Johnston, consisting of a few regulars and some Indians, but without cannon, had gained some advantage over 1000 men of militia, who attacked Brigadier St. Leger. However, it was impossible for them to take Fort Stanwix, which was well fortified and commanded by the Colonels Gensevort and Willet, two very able officers. Besides General Herkimer was advancing with 4000 men on the Mohawk River, which frightened the Indians to such an extent that they forced Johnston not only to give up the sieges of the fort, but also to retreat, leaving the camp and all baggage behind. The Indians then left them, to return to the camp, which they plundered themselves. All these mishaps, and especially the fact that the great English army under General Howe did not make any advance up the Hudson from New York, put the army of General Bourgoyne in a bad position. The army of the enemy at Halfmoon could not only be supported and enlarged by the troops from General Washington's army, who did not need them badly, but a great part of the militia was available now, since harvest time was almost over. The army of the rebels had increased therefore to about 25-30,000 men, while ours had decreased through the fatal affairs, etc., etc.

Not only was the transportation of supplies to our army very difficult on account of the attacks made by the enemy, but all communication between our armies was cut off in the beginning of September.

For want of news from the other part, I shall limit my description to our present condition.

Mount Independence was garrisoned by the regiment Prince

Friedrich and four companies of the 53rd English regiment, the greater part of which was sick in the hospital with an epidemic of fever. From these two regiments Fort Ticonderoga was furnished with a guard of 30 men. The other four companies of the 53rd regiment stood at the portage of Lake George and kept a guard of 15 men on Sugar-loaf Hill, where they had four cannon. On the Isle "Diamant" in Lake George, where the baggage was put for safety, 200 men were stationed with a few cannon; of these 30 men were detached to stay at Fort George. This was the state at the posts under the command of General Harry Watson Powell, when in the morning of September 18th, we were attacked by 1,400 rebels led by Brigadiers Browne and Warner, General Lincoln being commander in chief. The plan of this attack was excellently laid out, however, the attempt did not have quite such good results as might have been expected. The enemy could approach our posts with great security, as it was impossible for us to send out patrols for any distance, the woods being so thick and extensive. The enemy, who had advanced very near our post, had chosen our call for reveille for our ships at South Bay as the signal for the attack. At the same time, another attack was made on the camp at the portage and Sugar-Loaf-Hill, and on the picket who stood in the woods on the road to Huberton before Mount Independence. The first two posts were taken immediately and the 4th company of the 53rd regiment was made prisoners. The watchfulness of our picket, however, prevented the rebels from succeeding at our end, and they even missed the picket. The regiment had time to go down the lines, but the cannon on Sugar-Loaf-Hill opened fire on us at once. Their attempt to sink our vessels by cannon shots failed, however.

The rebels being masters of the portage, could now easily get close to Fort Ticonderoga. They appeared there in the morning at 9 o'clock, using the lines and redoubts around the fort for their protection. These had not been garrisoned by us on account of lack of men. The garrison of the fort consisted at this time of the usual guard, one officer and 33 men from the

regiment Prince Friedrich. They had no ammunition, except some old iron cannon, which had been found at the fort. They were also without provision and altogether in a helpless condition. If the enemy had at the very beginning tried to take the fort by storm, they would, no doubt, have succeeded, and besides, would have gotten all the baggage belonging to the officers of the army. Lieutenant Volckmar, who was in command of the guard, managed with the help of a ton of powder found accidentally in the fort, to set one of the cannon going, keeping the rebels thereby at a distance and answering to the shots from Sugar-Loaf-Hill and the French line. This ton of powder caught fire, however, and Lieutenant Volckmar with two of his men were fatally burned. It was in the afternoon, when we succeeded in reinforcing Ticonderoga with troops and provisions.

SEPTEMBER 22ND.—We were kept in this position for four days, until September 22nd, surrounded by the rebels who tried several times by night as well as by day, to surprise us. Their attacks, however, did not have the desired result, we were continually on the lookout for them and ready to repulse them. On September 21st we received reinforcements of 150 men of the Brunswick troops from Canada, who happened to arrive and were willing to join us. The rebels withdrew the next morning across Lake George after losing about 80 men and after ruining and burning all implements necessary for the portage, as wagons, bateaux, etc., etc. They also took some of our cannon along. We lost the 4th English Company and one man of our regiment. Only a few were wounded. The lack of ability of the gunners accounted probably for our small loss.

SEPTEMBER 23RD.—Brigadier Browne, while retreating across Lake George, attempted an attack on the Isle of Diamant, and used for this purpose the gun boats and bateaux found at the portage, also the cannon taken from Sugar-Loaf-Hill. Captain Aubry of the 47th English regiment, and in command of the troops on the island, received them with such firing, that they lost courage and left the bateaux and cannon in great haste.

General Carleton, who had been informed of the helpless

state of the army, tried his best to save us and sent Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger from Canada with a detachment of the 34th English regiment, the royal regiment New York under Sir John Johnston and the Yaeger corps from Hesse-Hanau. A little later he sent Brigadier McLean with the 31st Regiment and the regiment Royal Highlander Emigrants, to cover the retreat of General Bourgoyne's army. It was, however, too late; the army could not longer be saved. McLean, therefore turned back at Crown Point. He returned to Canada, which had few troops left. General Bourgoyne's army was at Stillwater in a bad position, completely cut off from Canada and us. It was also much disabled by a number of small engagements. The Indians had deserted with their leader, St. Luc la Corne, as there was nothing to plunder and they would have to fight in real earnest. There was no hope that a division of the great English army would come up the Hudson to the rescue. The supplies grew less every day, and no more could be expected.

OCTOBER 7TH.—On this day an attack was made on the left flank of the enemy with the intention of cutting their way through, but it was defeated, suffering the heavy loss of some of their best troops and two able officers, Brigadier Simon Frazer and Lieutenant Colonel Breymann of the Brunswick troops. Both were killed after fighting most courageously.

OCTOBER 8TH.—The army retreated to Saratoga with great difficulty losing all bateaux and the greater part of the provisions and baggage. There was no possibility of going further. The rebels had surrounded the army completely, all passages being strongly guarded, making it impossible for the army to cut through. There was considerable want of food. For some time the soldiers had not received more than one quarters rations. Matters grew worse, and it became necessary, after holding council of war from October 13th to 16th, to capitulate with Major General Horatio Gates. The following convention was drawn up, decided upon and signed by the two generals, according to which the Royal Army had to leave the lines at Saratoga on the afternoon of October 17th, 1777, and lay down their arms.

This was the sad ending of an army which seemed destined for glorious victory, but which had lost its chances by following too eagerly its apparent advantages and glories. Besides, advancing too hastily in a wild and unknown country, without a definite plan, made them fall victims to the cunning of the enemy. We find similar occurrences in history, viz., in the defeat of the Swedes at Pultawa, and in Peter the Great's critical situation on the River Pruth. Both had stronger armies than we, General Bourgoyne's army, or rather "corps," being decreased to 3500 men, who were unable to hold out any longer against hunger and a force of 30,000 enemies. England's greatest loss may be considered the loss of the artillery, which was taken by the rebels.

ARTICLES OF THE CONVENTION.

BETWEEN LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BOURGOYNE AND MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

1. The troops under Lieutenant-General Bourgoyne are to leave their encampments with all military honors and artillery from the retrenchments, and march to the river side, where the old fort used to be. Here the arms are to be laid down and left behind with the artillery. Their own officers have to give the word of command for grounding the arms.

2. Free passage to England is granted the army of General Bourgoyne under the condition that during the present war in North America the arms will not be taken up again. The port near Boston will be open for the ships which take the troops on board whenever General Howe gives the order.

3. In case of a cartel calling for an exchange of General Bourgoyne's army, or part of the same, the above article is considered void, as far as the exchange is concerned.

4. The army under General Bourgoyne is to march by the nearest, best and most convenient road to Massachusetts Bay. The troops are to be quartered as near Boston as possible, so there cannot be any delay in embarking when the transports arrive.

5. By General Gates order, on their march, and while in the quarters, the troops are provided with eatables, etc., the same as his own army. Horses, provisions and teams for the officers and their baggage, are also to be provided as far as possible.

6. All officers may keep their wagons, etc., pack horses and other cattle. No baggage is to be searched or tampered with, General Bourgoyne giving his word of honor that no public property is hidden therein. General Gates will take care that this article is strictly followed. In case wagons be needed for the transport of the officers' baggage during the march, same are to be provided by the country as many as can be had at ordinary terms.

7. On the march, and while quartered in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are not to be separated from their men if circumstances permit. The officers shall receive quarters according to their rank and shall not be prevented from assembling their men for roll call or such.

8. All corps of General Bourgoyne's army, made up of whatever they are, sailors, artisans, drivers, independent companies, boatmen, or any others, who have followed the army, no matter from which country they come, are to be included in the foregoing articles, and are to be considered as English subjects.

9. All Canadians, or people belonging to the Canadian government, no matter what they are, sailors, boatmen, artisans, drivers, independent companies and any others who have followed the army, not falling under the head of those mentioned, are to be permitted to return there. They are to be taken by the shortest road to the first English post on Lake George. They are also to be provided with food and provisions like the rest of the troops, and have also to submit to the same conditions as these, viz. : not to serve again during the war in North America.

10. Passports are to be granted at once to three officers not above the rank of a captain, who will be sent by General Bourgoyne with despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton and to England, via New York. General Gates promising on his honor that these despatches will not be opened. These officers

will leave at once after receipt of the despatches, traveling as fast as possible and taking the shortest way to their destination.

11. During the stay in Massachusetts Bay, the officers are to be free on parole, and are permitted to carry their swords.

12. Should it be necessary for General Bourgoyne's army to send other baggage besides their equipment to Canada, they shall be permitted to do so in the way the most convenient to them, and passports shall be granted them for this purpose.

13. These articles shall be drawn up and signed by both parties to be exchanged tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock. General Bourgoyne's troops are to leave their position tomorrow afternoon at three o'clock.

In camp at Saratory, October 16th, 1777.

signed:

HORATIO GATES,
Major General.

To remove all doubt which might originate through not finding Lieutenant-General Bourgoyne's name especially mentioned in the above articles, Major General Gates declares that General Bourgoyne's name is included as if it was particularly mentioned.

The rules of war should be changed by a general every time according to position and condition of the country in which the fighting is done. In a strange country, the ways of the inhabitants should be accepted, if the advantages of the same are clear after due consideration.

Their customs should be introduced with the troops, because they are generally the best suited for the climate, etc. For this reason it is possible to gain advantages over the enemy in Europe with lines of which the flank can be covered, with quarrees in the plains of Tartary and Asia, and in America with single corps, light infantry, etc., like the Croats and Pandours, who are used to fighting each for himself. The tactics customary in Europe are not suitable for the countries, neither can bayonets nor other arms or artillery be used to advantage, at least very seldom, except good rifles. The woods here are im-

mense, and a European can hardly get an idea of their extent without having seen them. They are marshy, full of underbush and almost impassable, large trees having fallen down, barring the way. No definite plan can be adopted, in case of an attack or defense. Each soldier must do his best to seek cover behind a tree and advance without command, keeping an eye only on the movements of the whole body of soldiers, to which our regular troops are not accustomed. The rebels, who have been hunting in the woods from childhood on, and consequently are good shots, have, and always will have, the advantage over us in attacks and retreats, especially since their equipments are also lighter and easier to carry. This truth is confirmed by the number of prisoners made on both sides. So much is certain, that the rebels would soon be defeated and their case lost if attacked on a plain by troops arrayed in battle order according to the rules of tactics. But where could such plains be found here, and even if found, the rebels would not be willing to open a fight or wait for an attack on the same, knowing too well the advantages of their own way of fighting or defending themselves.

The royal armies are the ones to make the attacks. They came over to fight the rebels, and the rebels can always select the best places from which to defend themselves. Whenever the attack proves too serious, they retreat, and to follow them is of little value. It is impossible on account of the thick woods, to get around them, cutting them off from a pass, or to force them to fight. Never are they so much to be feared as when retreating. Covered by the woods, the number of enemies with which we have to deal, can never be defined. A hundred men approaching may be taken for a corps. The same are attacked, they retreat fighting. We think ourselves victors and follow them; they flee to an ambush, surround and attack us with a superior number of men and we are the defeated. These are drawbacks which the royal army cannot avoid under the circumstances. The rebels have also plenty of spies, because for the good of our cause, we have to receive all deserters with kindness

without exception, as long as they pretend to be good subjects and loyal to the king. We must also send them back to persuade others to join the king's party. Our army has no spies whatever, at least no reliable ones.

The scouting parties (light troops) (*Coueurs de bois*) of the rebels are made up of volunteers commanded by officers with similar interests (their whole army might be called by that name); they go out in small troops without baggage and little provisions. In case of need they live on roots and game. They are fit to undertake the longest incursions all around the royal army, while we have no troops who can do so. We had taken Indians along for this purpose; however, they were of little use. The rebels were afraid of them in the beginning on account of their cruelties, but after they came to know them better, they lost all respect for them. The Indians are cowards at heart, and go to war only for what they may get. Therefore they do not enter in any serious fights. Besides, they are not used to order and had to be flattered and persuaded to fight by the English officers who were supposed to be their commanders.

The reinforced garrisons of Mount Independence, Ticonderoga and the Isle of Diamant, which were now left to their own defense, and which could not expect any more help from Canada, amounted to 2000 men, who were not able to hold these posts against the rebels in case of serious attack. Winter approached also and the boats, our best help for a defense, must shortly be taken back across Lake Champlain, which we expected to be covered with ice pretty soon. If the vessels should be ice bound, they were in danger of being burned by the rebels. Moreover, our provisions for the troops could not last any longer than three weeks, and we had run short of ammunition. We could not expect to have these necessary articles sent up from Canada before the lake would be frozen. The troops had also no winter clothing, and what was worse, no houses or cottages. The engineers offered to build huts for 500 men in six weeks, if all the boards available could be procured; but it was an impossibility to build enough for the garrison in its present stage—a truth which every soldier understood. Brigadier Powell called for a

council of war in the end of October, and it was decided for all the above-mentioned reasons, to leave these posts, burning and demolishing them before leaving, so the rebels could not use them any more. We commenced now in real earnest to load the boats with the artillery, ammunition, provisions, hospital and baggage, and Commodore Lutwidge started with the same to Canada on October 31st. Fort George was then abandoned and burned. The garrison from the Isle of Diamant, joined us with the baggage of the prisoners, after burning a great part of the wooden equipments to diminish them. Everything belonging to the portage of Lake George, also the bridge and saw mills, was ruined. Furthermore, the old French lines were demolished and the cannon, which we could not take along, were broken and blasted during the last days. After all this was finished, all things which could be burned, were taken to those places to which we intended to set fire, and after retreat, on November 7th, camp was broken and all tents and baggage were put in the boats. This night the troops had to sleep along the lines on the ground without covering and fully armed. On November 8th before daybreak, the signal was given to start the fires and to leave by blasting the last cannon. All at once we saw all the log houses, the store houses, the hospital, all the huts and cottages, everything which could be ruined by fire, in flames. The soldiers were very busy, thinking this to be the end of their trials. The floating bridge was also cut down and burned. We embarked and departed. Immediately after, the explosion at Fort Ticonderoga took place; it had been filled with powder to which fire was set the last moment. It took us four days to cross Lake Champlain and on November 12th we arrived at Fort St. John. Next day it began to get very cold. Fortunately we had chosen just the right time for going back. The regiment was then first quartered at St. Joseph, and later at Berthier, St. Cuthbert, La Mauraie, La Valtrie, St. Sulpice, etc., in winter quarters.

FREE THOUGHTS ABOUT THE CAMPAIGN OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JOHN BOURGOYNE IN 1777.

Perhaps too free for an officer of low rank, some may say. But I am not writing for the public, and I have never been eager for publication. Only for you, my dear brother, have I taken the pen to write about events which seem to interest you. For this reason I shall continue to express for you alone my opinions as a soldier who has had a few experiences and who has tried as much as possible to broaden his ideas by reading and thinking. My motto shall be impartiality. I shall neither accuse nor spare whenever I believe myself in the right according to my judgment.

There have been many causes for the unfortunate outcome of this campaign, which has been of such fatal consequence for England. The chief one is probably the disagreement of the ministry, and one might say their lack of knowledge concerning their American colonies. The plan of war did not take into consideration the condition of the country, nor the strength and power of the rebels. This is hard on the English government, but the reproach seems justified through the actions of the English during the American war.

The proposed plans of General Carleton, a man whom talent and ability must be granted not only as a general, but also as a statesman, were not accepted, although it must be admitted that he had gained a thorough knowledge of the conditions in this country during a stay of eighteen years. Furthermore, he had proved himself worthy of being a chief commander, because he had succeeded in maintaining Canada, a very difficult task under the circumstances. He surely had had a good reason for his proposals. It must be added in honor to this general, that he had sent reports and propositions to the English government before the rebellion had really broken out. However, no attention had been paid to them, not even had an answer been considered necessary. In 1775 he was left to his own resources without troops or money, although it was known that the rebels had already invaded Canada from two sides, across Lake Champlain and the Kennebeck River, and that on account of the unreliable-

ness of the Canadians no help could be expected from them, if he should not attain their assistance through his policy and amiability. Probably the greatest obstacle for accepting his plans was an ill feeling, possibly without foundation, or entirely personal, on the part of the Secretary of War, Lord George Germaine. Instead, the plans of his rival, General Bourgoyne, who belonged to an English family of higher rank, and who was also a member of Parliamant, were accepted. These seemed to be less difficult and less expensive to execute. Troops and money could be saved, but the undertaking was bound to be unsuccessful. A campaign against the rebels undertaken in all seriousness at the very beginning when the rebels had not yet become so obstinate and had less assistance, might have resulted very differently, and the expense would have been far less than it actually was. As the plans for the campaign had been kept secret from Gen. Carleton, he is not in the least to blame for not having made any other preparations than the building of new boats and the repairing of the old ones when Gen. Bourgoyne returned from England. Maj.-Gen. Phillips was in charge of the artillery, and it was in the best possible condition. However, there were no provisions in store, and these could not be expected from England before the arrival of the next fleet in Quebec. Gen. Bourgoyne arrived with the new plan of operation on May 6th, 1777, and the fleet with the supplies ten or fourteen days later. Because a campaign was unavoidable under the circumstances, the season demanded that it should begin at once. The army left their quarters on June 2nd. But how was it possible to procure sufficient provisions and other equipments of war from Quebec at this time of the year, far less get together in such a hurry the necessary horses, wagons, harnesses, etc., needed for the transfer across the portage of Lake George? The consequence was that the army suffered from lack of provisions already at Cumberland's Head, and that the portage could not be crossed sooner on account of lack of teams. If it had been possible to do so right after Ticonderoga was taken, it would have been easy to conquer Fort George with little loss, the garrison of the same being weakened and discouraged by the quick surrender of Ticonderoga. It also would have been possible

for the army to march to Albany, because no troops of the enemy had at that time gathered in that part of the country to prevent the march, and the rebels were still in great awe of the army.—If it was really absolutely necessary to go to Albany at all (the advantages of which I do not quite comprehend). It would have been different, if the great English army had been in possession of a part of the Hudson and had intended to conquer it altogether, then an advance to Albany with Gen. Bourgoyne's army would have been of use. In case this army was to go there unconnected with the great army, it was more apt to be cut off from provisions on the way to Albany than at Saratoga. Be this as it may, for the sake of carrying out the plan, it would have been very advantageous for Bourgoyne's army, if Fort George could have been taken directly after the surrender of Ticonderoga. A great supply of provisions, ammunition, artillery and other war necessities, also 180 wagons each drawn by four horses, would have been the booty and would have been of great help to the army, while pushing forward to the Hudson. However, for the above mentioned reasons, the want of teams, etc., or perhaps for other reasons, the royal army contented itself during that time in pursuing the fleeing and scattered corps of Gen. St. Clair across South Bay, which had no more to lose, and which could fight for every step in the woods. We paid for the advantage of making 400 prisoners with great losses, especially of the best troops of the army. The garrison of the enemy at Fort George, consisting of only 600 men, gained by this delay the time to retreat with their best equipments, loaded on the above mentioned wagons, while all that could not be taken was burned. The retreating rebels might have been attacked and their retreat cut off by the light infantry and the Indians from Fort Anne. This, however, was also neglected. Of course, it was necessary to clear South Bay. This might have been accomplished by part of the army assisted by the fleet.

It appears to me as if Governor Skene had much to do with pushing forward over South Bay, and that Gen. Bourgoyne paid too much attention to proposals of this man, not considering sufficiently his position and interests. Although Governor Skene had been a lieutenant-colonel in the English army and was now to be

governor of a State to be newly founded in the upper part of Lake Champlain and was consequently well informed about the country, it should have been one of the chief rules of the general to be suspicious of inhabitants of the country, even if their plans seemed ever so advantageous for the army, because they will never forget their own interests, not to mention putting them entirely aside. This was the case with Gov. Skene, who had erected on the South Bay the manor of Skenesborough, a great work, if it could have been carried out according to his plans. His happiness and that of his family depended on it, his entire fortune having been used for the establishment. It was without doubt, a tempting prospect for him, if through the expedition of Bourgoyne's army this part of the country should be hurriedly cleared of the rebels before they had time to demolish his houses, saw- and flour-mills, also his iron works. Should the royal army push forward from here towards the Hudson, he would have the advantage of the open spaces used for their camps. Besides, his desire would be fulfilled to have Wood Creek cleared of trunks and logs, so it could be used for boats, while on the side of the creek a road would be made to the forts Anne and Edward without any expense to him. These were sufficient reasons for one who for years had been more business man than soldier and who was noted for always looking out for his own interests. He deceived the general with the greatest assurance through his apparently good arguments, especially as he had no responsibility nor had he to fear anything personally in case the plan should turn out to the disadvantage of the army. This is merely a supposition.

It seems incomprehensible, why the army left this country afterwards and why in order to reach the main road for Fort George to Albany, roads had to be cut with greatest difficulty through the thickest woods and where neither baggage nor provisions could be taken. It would have been far easier to go back across Lake George. Perhaps this may have been against Gen. Bourgoyne's military ambition, since it might have been considered a retreat by the inexperienced.

Another thing that makes the above expressed opinions of

Gov. Skene still more probable is the unfortunate ending of the affair at Bennington, the plan for which is said to have been proposed by him. His intentions were most likely the same as above, to keep his property free from the incursions of the enemy and to draw part of the army to this part of the country. He also accompanied the unfortunate Lt. Col. Baum to Bennington, and one could almost say, directed the expedition, making, however, the bad mistake of letting all the people who came to him pretending to be good royalists, go without discrimination, supplying them with Gen. Bourgoyne's proclamation with the expectation of gaining more followers. To be sure, this was done according to the order of the general, but the consequences were that the enemy received daily, I might say hourly, the most reliable news about the intentions, movements and exact strength of Colonel Baum's corps, thus enabling the rebels to lure the same to the trap set. Furthermore, I was unable to find out, why Gen. Bourgoyne kept the army for so long a time at Stillwater instead of retreating to a place of greater safety.

Having received reliable news of St. Leger's corps returning to Canada, we could no longer count on his assistance. It had also been known since July that Gen. Howe with the great army had made an expedition to Philadelphia, and that probably neither assistance nor relief could be expected from New York by way of the Hudson. Just as little was to be looked for from Canada. The army of the enemy increased daily, and as soon as harvest time was over, a greater addition could be expected. Our army, however, decreased. Also the supplies. The quartering of the troops during the approaching winter had also to be considered. All these important reasons were doubtless known to the general. Nevertheless, orders were issued to ship all heavy baggage of the regiments from Canada, although the baggage with the army was already hard to manage. It was impossible for the army to go forward, and it appeared to me as if the general was not inclined to go back either. Where did he think the army would take up winter quarters? To build huts in a fortified camp, expecting unusual help from Providence, would be more than fanciful. And if a retreat was planned, it was necessary to hasten it more than

that at Saratoga. This was impossible, however, on account of the amount of officers' baggage with the army, which the owners did not care to give up to the enemy. All the horses were used to transport this baggage, while oxen had to accomplish the transportation of the artillery. Sufficient food for the horses was provided, but very little for the oxen. As they were unwilling to leave the artillery, which was perfectly good, behind, only very short trips could be made, the oxen being too weak from want of food. It is hardly possible to get an idea of the excessive amount of baggage carried along with the army. An army which is of any use in these parts, must be almost without baggage, and with no more tents than can be taken by boats.

It is impossible for me to express my opinion about the general plan of operation for the army, because I have no knowledge of the instructions of the English parliament, and cannot judge to what extent Gen. Howe as well as Gen. Bourgoyne complied. If a common plan of operation for both armies had been decided upon, how does the expedition of Gen. Howe's army to Philadelphia fit in?—It seems to me impossible that an army could hold out in Albany as far as provisions are concerned, without being in possession of the City of New York and having complete control of the navigation on the Hudson. It is not only very difficult to ship the supplies from Canada, but they might be cut off any day. How could it be possible for the small army of Gen. Bourgoyne to cover and protect the shipments at so great a distance against the assaults of the rebels, who could easily attack them and make a safe retreat through the woods. I believe that the English have counted too much on the probability that the greater part of the inhabitants of the province of New York would declare themselves for the king, submit to his sovereignty and even take part against the other rebellious colonists. This idea has been very cunningly presented to the English government by the Congress, and some people were persuaded and picked out for the purpose of convincing the English generals and ministry of this possibility.

If it was really necessary to besiege Albany, why this hesitation at Fort Edward instead of advancing as quickly as at first?

The chances were that the army would have succeeded, as the rebels had, at that time, not yet received reinforcements through the troops sent by Washington's army, and the militia had not been called to arms. Would the result have been less unfortunate, however? If the final object of the Bourgoyne army had been to separate the rebels in order to facilitate the operations of the great army, the outcome of the king's cause would probably have been more fortunate, the Canadian army could have settled down at Fort Ticonderoga, keeping possession of Lake George and South Bay, and Forts Anne and Edward used as advance posts. The fixed post at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence served as safe places for arms, while the supplies could easily be furnished from Canada without fear of having them cut off. With our army in this position, the rebels had to fear everything. Invasions could be made in the surrounding countries, especially during harvest time, or other inconvenient times. This would have forced the enemy to keep a strong corps for observation. Although the shipping of provisions by way of the Hudson was easy, to keep up this corps would have prevented the rebels from tilling their fields and harvesting, thus causing a famine. In my opinion, this would have been the only means for England to have conquered the colonies. They could only be overcome by tiring them out through a long continued war, surrounded by men-of-war and armies, had it been possible to do so completely, the attacking armies being more defensive than offensive. Dissatisfaction, lack of necessary provisions, etc., would probably have caused them to disagree among themselves.

Because it was more advantageous to him, Gen. Bourgoyne is said to have paid the spies with paper, instead of gold money. For his justification I must say that the spies could make use of paper money only, as anybody who paid in hard cash in the colonies, was suspected of siding with the king. However, it is a fact that Congress as well as the rebel generals picked out and sent to Gen. Bourgoyne with great cunning the people who were to serve him as spies. A fact which was discovered afterwards. Of course, it was more harmful than useful to employ them. Even at the present writing, I know there are plenty of them

among us who wear the king's coat, receive pay and are provided for. The leader of an army in a war between two monarchies need not fear the occurrence of such things and is able to prevent it, while in a civil war this is impossible. The general who has to deal with such and similar matters ought to be judged more leniently.

Dixi et scripsi.

VOLUME II.

FOURTH CONTINUATION OF THE JOURNAL FROM AUGUST 7TH
TO 31ST, 1777.

AUGUST 7TH.—It is extremely hot in these countries during the day. At night and towards morning, however, there is such a mist, and so much dew is falling, that even in the tents, the covers get damp through and through. Almost every day there is a thunderstorm, which lasts only a short time.

AUGUST 8TH.—All German regiments sent detachments by way of Fort George to Carillon, to fetch the bateaux, left there with the baggage, to Fort George.

AUGUST 9TH.—Early in the morning, Brigadier-General Frazer started with his corps and some Indians for Fort Miller. At the same time the regiment of dragoons, with a large detachment of Indians, Canadians and men from the provinces followed General Frazer's corps on both sides to push on further into the country. They intended to get horses, cattle and provisions for the army. Governor Skenes accompanied them. He has to regulate the above-mentioned matters for the benefit of the inhabitants.

AUGUST 10TH.—In the morning, Brigadier Powell marched with the 53rd regiment over Fort George to Carillon to relieve Brigadier Hamilton and the 62nd regiment. Captain Boucherville marched with his company to Fort George, while Captain Monin, who had been stationed there, had to go with his company to the advance corps of the army.

AUGUST 11TH.—Musketeer Fasselabend of Captain v. Pollniz' company was shot before the regiment v. Riedesel. He had deserted and enlisted with the artillery of the enemy and was caught again on a ship near Skenesborough. All the pickets of the whole army had to be present, forming a circle around the delinquent that it might be an example.

General Bourgoyne tried everything to prevent desertion. Not only had he given orders to the Indians to shoot all deserters whom they met, but he had also given them permission to take their scalps.

AUGUST 12TH.—The vanguard of Brigadier Frazier's corps had pushed on to Saratoga. The dragoons, with two cannon and a detachment of Indians and men from the provinces stand seven English miles above Fort Miller, vis-à-vis, the residence of General Schuylers. General Arnold is said to be at Stillwater with his corps.

AUGUST 13TH.—At daybreak Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann departed with his two battalions to Fort Miller. The corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Baum was reinforced by a detachment of 60 men infantry, because a corps of approximately 1400 rebels tried to hinder him in his excursions. Lieutenant-Colonel Baum is said to have gone to Bennington.

The army received orders to march the following day and to take provisions along to last till the 16th. The regiments at Fort Edward were furnished with two batteaux per regiment for shipping their equipments and baggage down the Hudson river.

AUGUST 14TH.—The army started at 6 o'clock in the morning, marching towards the right.

The regiment v. Rhetz again occupied a camp near Fort Edward, and two companies of the Hesse-Hanau regiment took possession of the camp near Jones' House, where the regiment v. Rhetz used to be. The army made seven English miles today on the right hand side of the Hudson, always keeping close to the river. The roads were fairly good and not at all hilly. All homesteads were deserted; corn and grass in the fields and pastures were dried up. We passed through Schuyler's Island, where we could still see the foundations of the bridge connecting the same with the mainland.

We encamped near Fort Miller, or rather to the left near Duars House, where General Bourgoyne established headquarters. This house is built in very good taste, has two stories and the roof is in Italian style. On each side of the house is a small building serving as kitchen and storehouse. Both of these are connected with the house by a covered passage. The doors and windows were badly damaged, and all furniture was taken away. The owner of the house is a member of Congress and

occupies the position of commissioner in the army. Fort Miller is on that side of the river. It never consisted of anything else but a poorly built loghouse and a penthouse surrounded by palisades. If ever any detachments of Fort Edward or Fort George stayed at Fort Miller, it must have been only for a short time or for the purpose of storing provisions intended for these forts to keep them safe from the Indians. However, all the above mentioned forts not having been occupied for a long time, this place has been deserted and few traces can be found of former fortifications.

The corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann has gone five English miles to Saratoga. It has instructions to build a suspension bridge there across the Hudson, so the army can cross over to the other side of the river. The enemy facing the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, had drawn back. We received news from this corps that they had gotten hold of some cattle and 70 head of horses, also of 90 tons of flour and about 1000 "minots" of corn which the enemy had left in different houses.

The heat during this day was so stifling that many of the men were in danger of suffocating on the march. All regiments had to leave behind a number of exhausted men, who did not arrive in camp until evening. The army received orders to be prepared to start at a moment's notice.

AUGUST 15TH.—A report arrived during the night from Lieutenant-Colonel Baum that the enemy was assembling in these parts and that an attack was to be expected. Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann was therefore ordered to start this morning with the grenadiers and chasseurs and two six-pound English cannon in charge of Lieutenant Spangenberg, of the Hesse-Hanau artillery, to reinforce the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, which was as far as 24 English miles away from Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann. According to these instructions, Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann really started at 9 o'clock in the morning, leaving baggage and tents behind.

The army corps employed its time on this day with building a bridge across the Hudson and transferring boats across the rapids.

AUGUST 16TH.—The bridge was completed and Brigadier Frazer took his stand on the other side of the Hudson at Saratoga. The magazine at Skenesborough had been transferred to Fort Edward, and Major Irwin with his men, who had been stationed there, again joined the army.

In the evening at 9 o'clock, orders were received to break camp at 6 o'clock in the morning and to pitch the tents at Saratoga.

AUGUST 17TH.—The army was ready for departure when sad news, caused by the shifting fortune of war, arrived. The news was that on the preceding day Lieutenant-Colonel Baum had been attacked on all sides near St. Cuicksmills (Sancoik's Mills?) before Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann had been able to reach him. After all the ammunition of the artillery, as well as of the rifles had been exhausted in a violent defense, he was forced to surrender unconditionally with what remained of his corps. Governor Skenes had already reported this unfortunate affair during the night, and Monsieur de la Nadière, who had been present at the event and had been able to escape, confirmed these statements the next morning. The latter added that Lieutenant-Colonel Baum had entrenched himself, as well as the circumstances permitted, on a hill, with his regiment of dragoons and some regular infantry. He had learned of the approach of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann and was resolved to defend himself to the utmost until the arrival of Breymann's corps, at the same time keeping all the provisions captured, to obtain which had been the purpose of his mission. The hostile army, consisting of a great number of regulars from Stillwater, and militia summoned from the provinces within 24 miles, amounted to at least 4000 men. Their attack on Baum's corps had been so desperate and violent that they did not even hesitate to rush within eight paces of the cannon, loaded with grape-shot.

After Lieutenant-Colonel Baum's corps had lost almost all light troops and the ammunition began to fail, Lieutenant-Colonel Baum decided to cut his way through with the rest of his dragoons. At this attempt, however, he had to surrender to the enemy. It must be added that Lieutenant-Colonel Baum was

shot in the abdomen; Lieutenant Bock, from the Hessian artillery, was also wounded, and the English engineer, Lieutenant Dumford, was killed.

We could learn nothing about the fate of the other officers of the corps; but it may be taken for granted that they were either wounded or killed. As missing may be reported: Major v. Meibom, Captains Fricke, v. Schlagenteufel, Jr., and Reinking; Lieutenants Brevia, v. Bothmer and v. Reckroth; also Cornets Graef, Stuzzer and Schönwald, the clergyman, auditor and surgeon, and Captain Dommès and Cornet Specht, from the battalion v. Berner; Lieutenant Burghoff, from the grenadiers, and Cornet Andrée from the regiment v. Riedesel, also Captain O'Connell.

The messenger of this sad news informed us likewise that Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann was also attacked on the same day not far from Baum's corps, but that nothing was as yet known of the result, except that this corps had to retreat on account of lack of ammunition.

This news changed our marching plans altogether. The army did start at 6 o'clock, but left the bridge across the Hudson at their right and pushed towards Bennington to support the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, in case of further attacks from the enemy. However, certain news was received that Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, with his two battalions was safe and only a few English miles away. Therefore, the main body of the army stopped near the river Battenkill, and General Bourgoyne took only the 47th English regiment with him to meet Lieutenant-Colonel Baum.

Towards 4 o'clock in the afternoon the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann arrived, much worn out and weakened. They told us the following exact circumstances:

Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann arrived yesterday afternoon at 4 o'clock at the place where Lieutenant-Colonel Baum had met with such misfortune. He was informed that this corps had been completely defeated. However, he clung to the hope that it might at least be possible to release the prisoners and violently attacked the enemy with his two battalions at once. He suc-

ceeded in driving the enemy from three different points persuing them for about an hour, when his ammunition began to give out. The enemy noted this, and turned around to attack again his already weakened and decreased corps, forcing him to seek a retreat.

The rebels, who probably had paid dearly for the advantages of the day, did not dare to pursue the retreating corps longer than a quarter of an hour. They remained in their position and left Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann to retreat quietly, which retreat was still more protected by the approach of night.

As this affair had also taken place in the woods and among the bushes, it had been impossible to ascertain the fate of all missing. Captain v. Schick was killed, and Lieutenant Mühlenfeld, from the battalion v. Berner, who was left on the spot, mortally wounded, has to be counted among the dead. Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann was wounded on the leg, while Captain v. Baertling, Lieutenants Meyer and Gebhard, who was wounded, and Lieutenant d'Anniers, Jr., are missing. Major v. Berner received a bullet in his right arm and another one in the chest. Capt. v. Geysau was shot through the flesh of the upper leg, and Captain v. Pleissenberg received a bullet in the abdomen. Lieutenant Hannemann, of the Yaeger, was shot through the neck under the chin. Lieutenant Spangenberg of the Hanau artillery, who had to give up his two cannon, was wounded badly through the shoulder. Cornet Hagemann is missing.

The hostile corps is under the command of a general by the name of Starke. Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann's corps took up its quarters in the old camp, and the army went back to camp at Duars House to remain there for several days until enough provisions from the storehouses can be supplied to enable them to undertake further expeditions. Besides, the bridge across the Hudson was broken and had to be repaired.

The corps of Brigadier Frazer changed its camp also, and took up a position above the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, near Battenkill, in the same part of the country where the army had been in bivouac for several hours during the day.

In the evening many of the Indians, Canadians and men from

the provinces, who had been with the corps, came back, also Major Campbell and Captain Charret, who made their retreat through the thickest woods and wilderness. These men told us, how the rage of the rebels, who had been partly drunk, had turned upon the men from the provinces. All of them who were caught were treated with the utmost cruelty. By and by, in the evening and through the night, more men arrived who had been either wounded or completely worn out.

AUGUST 18TH.—The enemy had only received reinforcements from Stillwater, but had summoned a great number of men from the provinces, and it could be expected that the rebels, encouraged by the affair of the 16th, might attempt an attack this side of the Hudson on our headquarters, storehouses and magazines at St. George. Therefore, Major-General v. Riedesel, with the 47th regiment broke up camp and marched, after being joined by the regiment v. Rhetz, which had been at Fort Edward, to Jones House, where the entire regiment Hesse-Hanau also joined them. Several roads coming from the populated districts unite with the main road to St. George and Fort Edward at this point, so that it proved to be an excellent position for covering these two places. General v. Riedesel expected besides two 12-pound, and six 6-pound cannon to make this post still stronger. The 62nd English regiment, which had been relieved at Carillon, was to encamp near Fort Edward. Today 100 men from Albany arrived to offer their services to the army. They had already had several slight skirmishes with the rebels on their way. Some more men from the Breymann corps returned, who had been wounded or lost in the woods. These told that they had been half an hour's distance from the place of battle without seeing a sign of the enemy. They had even buried Captain v. Schick. They raised our hopes to see Lieutenant d'Anniers, Jr., and Lieutenant Gebhard who had been wounded, return; possible some more of our men, who had been very much fatigued. Captain Fraser and Makay also came back, bringing with them some Indians and Canadians.

A hospital was erected for the wounded, where they were well cared for. In the evening General Bourgoyne was informed

through a reliable source, that the enemy had commenced to fortify himself on the spot where the skirmish with Col. Brey-mann had taken place, probably anticipating an attack from our army.

AUGUST 19TH.—Some more men of Col. Brey-mann's corps arrived. They were, however, unable to give us any information in regard to the regiment of dragoons, or of the fate of the above mentioned officers. One hundred and one men of the chasseur battalion were still missing in the afternoon, not including 28 wounded ones in the hospital and camp. This battalion had started out on the 12th of August with 317 men. From the battalion of grenadiers, 97 enlisted men were missing. The regiment of dragoons consists now of three officers, three non-commissioned officers, two drummers, seventy-three privates and nine wagoners. These figures include those need to protect the camp, the sick, the ones who had to stay with the baggage and in Canada, and the recruits. The officers are, Captain v. Schlag-enteufel, Sr., who is ill, Lieutenant Borneman, who has charge of the camp, and Lieutenant v. Sommerlatte, who has been sent to Canada for the baggage. A part of the Indians from Fraser's corps had a meeting today, and some of them requested the campaign to be ended that they might go home. They did not receive much inducement to stay, and on the 20th of August, 200 Indians departed for Fort George to return to their native woods.

AUGUST 20TH.—Reliable news was received that Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger was really in possession of Fort Stanwix. We were also informed by Howe's army, that several ships with troops were coming up the Hudson and had already advanced close to Albany.

This news was still more confirmed by the retreat of the rebels from Stillwater to Albany, for which there could be no other reason than the fear of becoming surrounded on three sides, which would, without doubt, make a retreat impossible.

AUGUST 21ST.—More and more fugitives from Albany arrived, fearing the cruelties of the rebels. They and their cattle occupied the houses and sheds on the other side of the Hudson. Sometimes ten or more families were found dwelling together.

They assured us that the country people, the greater part of whom were German descent, could only have been prevented from taking sides with the crown of England by main force of the rebels or their superiors. We might therefore expect not only all possible assistance around Albany, but also to see fugitives and people taken along by the rebels by main force, leave the enemy to go back to their homes. The number of people arriving at headquarters, about 30 to 60 a day, confirmed this opinion, especially as many of them were willing to take up arms for the benefit of the cause. We even hoped to have a whole regiment of them under the command of a man named Peterson join our army.

AUGUST 22ND.—Colonel Skenes received news today, through some men from the provinces that Lieutenant-Colonel Baum was not wounded, but had been made prisoner. Yesterday and today, it was so hot during the day as well as in the night, that even several English officers, who had been in East India, assured us that they had not felt the heat as much in Madras as here.

The transfer of our boats around the rapids and of our provisions overland progressed successfully and we hope soon to have completed the shipment of all our baggage from St. George; also to be able to desist voluntarily from receiving provisions from Canada.

AUGUST 23RD.—Almost all Indians left this day for Canada, so that Brigadier Fraser has now hardly more than fifty with him. His corps of white men has increased, and increases daily. We have hopes of soon forming an entire regiment of men from the provinces.

The position of the army and of the detachments did not change at all during these days.

AUGUST 24TH.—Our train of artillery with ammunition arrived at this camp, also a shipment of horses from Canada for drawing it.

The news of a fleet with Howe's army coming up the Hudson and being close to Albany was confirmed by people from the provinces. We were also informed that this army had

taken possession of some posts and that Count Cornwallis had made such progress in his march, that we could hope to be joined by him soon.

AUGUST 26TH.—The remainder of the dragoons received horses for 20 men today.

AUGUST 27TH.—Today the musketeer Hundertmark, a German, who had deserted while on picket, was executed before the 9th English regiment.

Nothing happened from the 28th to the 31st of August.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL, DESCRIBING THE MARCH OF
BOURGOYNE'S ARMY FROM BOSTON TO VIRGINIA, 1778.

As the Congress of America had declared that it was impossible to fulfill the convention of Saratoga until confirmed by the King, General Clinton, who had been authorized to ratify the treaty, informed Congress of this fact and requested that permission be granted for the departure of the troops. Congress, however, refused to accept his authority. As it was evident that Congress was unwilling to make good the convention, holding the troops like prisoners of war, General Clinton declared that he would neither furnish provisions nor money for the keeping of them. Congress replied that it had to submit to this, but the State of Virginia was the only one which could supply the army with flour and that it was to be hoped that free exportation of flour from Virginia to Boston would be granted. They would appoint commissioners to see that only such an amount of flour would be exported as was actually needed for the British army. If this condition could not be agreed upon the army would be obliged to march to Virginia, no other province being able to furnish the flour. General Clinton refused the free passage of flour from Virginia, and the army received marching orders for Virginia on October 28th.

Although we had wished for a change from the miserable barracks, we were frightened at the prospect, as we could foresee the difficulties and the consequence of the same on our men. Besides, our pockets were not filled to such an extent that we could wish for such a long trip. However, in order not to dis-

courage the men, the officers had to hide their feelings and pretend to be well pleased with the change.

According to instructions received, the English corps, as well as the German had to march in three divisions, the first to start from Routland, where they had been quartered, the next one to follow in time to take up the quarters just left by the first, and the third doing likewise. The first German division was formed of what was left of the regiment of dragoons and the grenadier battalion under command of Lieutenant-Colonel v. Menger. The 2nd, under Brigadier-General Specht included the regiments v. Riedesel and Specht. The 3rd, under Brigadier-General v. Gall, was made up of v. Baerner's battalion of light infantry, the regiment Hesse-Hanau and the company of Hanau artillery. An English speaking officer was appointed to act as commissary for each division. His duties were to find quarters for the soldiers and to get wagons and provisions for the division. The provisions were afterwards turned over to the quartermasters of the regiments for distribution. These commissaries received 5s. extra each day for their services.

Gen. v. Riedesel appointed me commissary of the 2nd division. This position released me from many hardships and unpleasanties of the march. I was to ride ahead of the troops, finding quarters for them. I was also able to choose my own quarters, so that I could be by myself, a convenience much to be appreciated. The advantage of having 5s. extra did not amount to much, as my expenses were much higher; I was obliged to keep a servant to care for my horse and to do other things for me.

As we had not received any money from General Clinton for four months, and the money chests of the regiments were empty, General v. Riedesel was obliged to negotiate paper money for gold in a certain proposition to be able to pay the troops during the march. We suffered quite a loss by these manipulations, as gold was higher in value than this paper money. These negotiations also compelled General v. Riedesel to stay behind in order to await the arrival of the money which was needed to redeem the paper notes, after which he followed his corps.

After having lived exactly one year, from November, '76 to November '77, in the miserable barracks of Boston, and after repairing them and getting them in shape for winter, the first division broke up on November 9th, and the British troops, who had been Routland, 60 miles from Boston, started on that day.

NOVEMBER 10TH, 15 MILES.

The 2nd division left Winterhill at 9 o'clock in the morning, escorted by one captain, three officers and 100 men of militia from New York. The wagons granted for the transportation of the baggage failed to appear, and the quartermaster of the militia, who was to assist me, forced the drivers of wagons passing on the road, to load up our baggage. All this took so much time that the baggage did not get started from Cambridge until 5 o'clock. I was hardly able to reach the division again before it arrived at its quarters in the evening. The troops marched through the towns of Cambridge, Watertown, Waltham, Weston to Sudberg, a village or township, the inhabitants of which had been persuaded to take in the troops, placing the men in the barns, while the officers received quarter in the houses. The officers did not even get a bed free, but had to pay for everything and as much as the host was inclined to ask. The villages or townships in New England are often 4 to 5 miles long. The houses on the road are placed at such a distance that all the ground belonging to one estate, surround the house. The houses are mostly well and regularly built, however, they are made of wood. Although there is hardly a country anywhere rockier than Massachusetts, very few stone houses are found. It seems to be easier, especially with such an abundance of wood, to build houses of wood. The rooms are big and well furnished.

In comparison with the weather at home, we began our march with rather good weather, almost too warm, as winter does not commence as early as in Germany. However, we had had a good deal of rain.

NOVEMBER 11TH, 11 MILES.

The division marched as far as Marborough, a township similar to Sudberg. Although our escorts had treated us rather well and had allowed our men to walk as they pleased during the march, we had to submit to being marched through all the places with fifes and drums. They lost no opportunity to show us that we were miserable prisoners, subject to the authority of adventurous peasants, who were set to watch us.

NOVEMBER 12TH, 10 MILES.

We marched to Shrewsburg, arriving there at noon. The captain of militia, who had his quarters always in the same house with me, and I were invited to a wedding in our house. After the ceremony, the bride and groom remained standing in the middle of the room. Every man, except the very old one, went up to the bride, kissing her and wishing her good luck. Then they shook hands with the groom. Then the women came to kiss the groom. Afterwards they sat down to eat and drink. This was followed by dancing.

NOVEMBER 13TH, 7 MILES.

As far as Worcester, a pretty little town with about 150 well built houses. On our march from Saratoga to Boston, we had met with a bad reception in this place and had been refused quarters. We did not fare any better this time and the militia had to compel the inhabitants to take us in. A part of our wagons had to be given up; nobody was willing to furnish others. There was nothing to do but to force all the wagons in the streets to unload their own baggage and load up ours. For every wagon in this province, 9s. per day were paid, not counting provisions for men and horses.

(November 14th, 14 miles.)

NOVEMBER 15TH, 10 MILES.

We marched to Brookfield during continuous rainstorms and on muddy roads. We were received particularly well in

this small town. My business and the welfare of the division required that I take up quarters in the same place as the captain of the escort and the quartermaster of the militia, that I might get all that was necessary for the division. However, this was very expensive for me, because these gentlemen lived at public expense, getting a receipt for everything they ate, which was afterwards paid back to them. This was rather hard on my purse.

NOVEMBER 16, 13 MILES.

We proceed as far as Palmes. On the road we met a major of cavalry, who was sent by General Washington to take command of the three German divisions. He reported to Brigadier Specht, and showed his instructions from General Washington. These instructions were worded in a very polite manner considering our circumstances, and mentioned that the chief reason for sending him, was to facilitate matters for our troops on the march, and to see to it that we were well treated by the inhabitants. Colonel Bland took command of all six divisions while on the march to Virginia.

NOVEMBER 17, 8 MILES.

We went as far as Wilbraham. Here the drivers refused to stay with us any longer. They were dissatisfied because the pay was not as big as they expected. We had gone only 8 miles and their remuneration was in accordance with the short trip. No other means was left but to make them a present of money, as the captain of the escorts was determined to keep them. Their refusal resulted almost in a riot. They all formed a circle and, lifting up their hands, swore that they would not stay. They fully proved themselves to be inhabitants of the State of Massachusetts, not to be governed so easily.

The province of Massachusetts, the borders of which we reached today, is particularly well cultivated. Although the houses are of light structure, they are regularly and tastefully built, very clean inside, comfortable and roomy. They are

also well furnished. In comparison with the size, this province is the most populated. Married people without children are very scarce. The girls mature very early; I have seen quite a number of them, hardly 17 years old and as big and developed as they would ever be. I met even some only 13 years old, who were already married. However, they get old very early, and a woman of 30 often looked like one 50 years old. The people are very fond of luxury, especially the women, which fondness shows itself in their dress and also in their houses. However, the way of living in regard to food is very poor. No German stomach can put up with it. The men are very industrious, especially in business, but they are selfish and not sociable. The women are exceedingly proud, negligent and very lazy. The men have to do all outside work, as milking the cows, etc. The woman in New England is the laziest creature I know in this world, and not much good for anything. The land is cultivated rather well, but is, however, full of rocks. It is, therefore not well fitted for the culture of wheat and oats. Corn will grow very well and is planted the most. From the stems of the corn, when still green, a syrup is obtained which is almost as good as the molasses produced in the West Indies. All work in the field is done with oxen, as also the driving of wagons, etc., while horses are used for riding or as carriage horses for the lady of the house. The climate is very healthy, and even strangers find it so after getting accustomed to the frequent changes and the heat, and after going through some little illness.

PROVINCE CONNECTICUT. NOVEMBER 18TH, 15 MILES.

Today we marched continuously through woods and did not see a house for about 5 or 6 miles, when we reached the little town of Enfield in the province of Connecticut. Enfield covers a great deal of ground for so small a place. There are about 250 houses, many of which are bad. This town is situated on the Connecticut River, which fact helped to make the place a good business town. Much of the wealth, however, is lost now. The escort of the province of Massachusetts was

released today by militia from Connecticut. The latter showed themselves much more agreeable and polite than the ones from Massachusetts.

NOVEMBER 19TH, 5 MILES.

The ferry across the Connecticut River is seven miles from the city, and the big flat boats are used for crossing. These are 70 feet long and can carry 50-60 men. The crossing was accomplished in a rather short time, although the river is more than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide and has a swift current. When the last English division was taken over, the boat was carried down stream by the current for about 4 miles, and two men were drowned. We went as far as Suffield, a little town with well built houses, where we were well received. We noticed a great difference in the behavior of these people from that of those in the province of Massachusetts, who at all occasions treated us badly and showed themselves very ill mannered. Our officers gave the belles of the town a ball in the evening. Everyone, even the clergyman's wife, came and we danced till daybreak.

(105 MILES.)

NOVEMBER 20TH, 14 MILES.

To Symsburg, a small town, Brigadier Poor had arrived here with the brigade before us and took command of the escort. Therefore the militia left us. Brigadier Poor was very polite and issued strict orders that none of his officers were to go to our quarters, so that we might be undisturbed. He also ordered his men to camp out, in spite of the cold, while our men were to be quartered in the barns. Instead of an escort of 100 men, a whole regiment turned out. Its commander was rather strict at first, but as soon as he saw how orderly our men behaved he left them alone.

NOVEMBER 21ST, 14 MILES.

We marched towards and crossed the Symsburg River, which is something like our Oder, however, not navigable on account of the many rocks and cliffs, and passed through a thickly

wooded country almost without population, until we reached New Hartford, a place of about 8 houses. We only got four barns for the division. It froze hard during the night, much to our pleasure, because the roads were greatly improved by it.

NOVEMBER 22ND, 15 MILES.

The march through the mountains, or the so-called "Green Woods" to Nortfolk, which we took today, had been described to us something very bad, and we were expecting the worst road possible. However, our expectations and every idea of a very bad road were still surpassed. It was certainly hard work to take a brigade of four regiments with six cannon and a lot of baggage 14 miles through the woods, down a very steep mountain, then up again another one still higher and steeper, and so on. Sometimes rock of 3-4 feet circumference lay in the middle of the road. It was very cold, and the water coming down the mountains was frozen, which made the ascents and descents very difficult for men and almost impossible for horses. In short, everything was surpassed that could be called a bad road, since in addition the valleys were so swampy that it was almost impossible to walk through them. Nevertheless, the regiments would have made it, had not broken wagons of the brigade of General Poor barred the way. They had been on the march since 8 o'clock in the morning when night set in. They stayed about three miles from Nortfield in some houses in the woods to wait for the next day. I rode on as hard as I could and arrived about 4 in the afternoon in Nortfolk, where I met our 1st division, which had been compelled to remain there to wait for their baggage. The 1st division left Nortfolk, and at 11 o'clock our division took their place. The wagons with the baggage arrived late in the evening, with the exception of four which had broken down and had been left behind in the woods. Brigadier Poor received orders to go to their winter quarters in Middleborough, and militia took the place of the escort. The clergymen of the place had a concert and ball today. An affair of this kind is not considered wrong here at all, as it is at home.

NOVEMBER 24TH, 13 MILES.

To Salisbury, a very good township, where we found many nice people and good quarters. None of the other divisions had been here before us. The place was situated in a very pleasant part of the country, which had induced many rich people to settle here. (November 25th.) Brigadier Specht had applied for a day of rest for the division of Colonel Bland, but the reply did not come until we had started on our march. However, when the answer was received that the request was granted, we returned to our quarters. A ball was given in the evening, and we had a very pleasant time. Twenty-five belles of rank were present and the ladies danced very well till morning. There were iron works in the place and a smelting furnace laid out very well and on a large scale. All establishments which had been erected to supply the necessities of war and its continuation, have developed exceedingly well, considering the short time of their existence, and it is astonishing how people who had been completely ignorant of these matters, succeeded so well.

NOVEMBER 26TH.—We started at 9 o'clock and marched to Sheron, a small town with 100-200 well built houses. This town is situated in the border of the province. Our militia escort left us here and Continental troops took the place. The province of Connecticut is also well cultivated and populated, perhaps not quite so much as Massachusetts. The country is very mountainous, but the soil is not so rocky as in the latter province, and more wheat is planted. It has especially good pastures and consequently many cattle, so that other provinces get their supply of stock from Connecticut. The inhabitants are better mannered and not so haughty as those in Massachusetts, also more hospitable. They were very nice to us. There was quite a number of them who were for the King and would tell us so as soon as they were alone with us. The women are more inclined to work and take an interest in their housekeeping. The province is altogether in a very flourishing state. All arrangements in regard to our march had been well made, so that we had an ample supply

of wagons and other necessities. Our hosts were immediately paid for the loss of wood and straw used by our soldiers.

PROVINCE OF NEW YORK. 18 MILES, NOVEMBER 27TH.

Since Congress thought it probable that many of our men might want to desert to New York City, a closer watch was kept over us and patrols were placed on both sides to prevent desertion. The border of the province is near the village Amenia, a place about two miles long. It is 5 miles from Sheron. The houses are very poor and like the Canadian houses, built of beams put up one on top the other. Some of them are not better than the shanties of the Indians. We marched to Nein Partner (?), the inhabitants of which are almost all Quaker and Tories, who received us very friendly in consequence. The road was very hilly and hard to travel until Oswego and Beckmanes Place. We found very few and bad houses on the way.

14 MILES, NOVEMBER 28TH. 14 MILES, NOVEMBER 29TH.

We passed through well cultivated country to Fishkill, where I learned on arrival that General Washington had come to the place to see the German division march through. I informed the division of this fact, and we marched in particularly good order. The general sent at once one of his adjutants to Brigadier Specht, inviting him and his suite to dinner. Brigadier Specht, Brigadier Major Cleve and I went to see him and were received very politely. He shook hands with us according to the custom here, and we sat around the fire place for one half hour, drinking toddy, a drink made of whisky water and sugar. The general was very nice, wished to be able to facilitate matters for Brigadier Spect on the march and was quite satisfied that we did not complain of anything. As Brigadier Specht was indisposed, we did not stay to dinner, although General Washington urged us much. I acted as interpreter, since Brigadier Specht did not understand English, and Washington knew no German. General Washington is a man of medium height, well built and well educated. He has a rather large nose, but not out of proportion. He speaks very distinctly and expresses himself

rather more sincerely than complimentary, however, is quite polite. In short, he impresses you as a good man, who can be trusted. He has nothing extraordinary or great about him, which I expected. We received in Fishkill money for provisions for 165 days, sent by General Clinton. Each lieutenant got four guineas. I received also a letter from my best wife, dated May 31, 1777, which Lieteuant Cleve, whom General v. Riedesel had sent from Cambridge, brought along. I was one among five who received letters. Fishkill is a small town and has about 100 houses, spread over 4 miles. The barracks here can shelter a thousand men, and there is also a hospital for the army, which, however, has few doctors and surgeons.

NOVEMBER 30TH.

All six divisions had a day of rest. General Washington departed.

DECEMBER 1ST. 5½ MILES.

We marched about 4 miles to the Hudson River, or North River, and crossed it on a two-masted vessel, which held 150 men. The Hudson is here 7 miles wide and has a swift current. It takes about 12-16 minutes to cross, if the wind is from the northwest. It took us 4-5 hours before the division and all the baggage were taken over. We marched to Newburg, because there were not enough houses on the banks which are very rocky and steep. The greater part of the division had to get quarters again with the assistance of the escort.

220 miles.

DECEMBER 2ND, 13 MILES.

We did not start until 1 o'clock in the afternoon, because the wagons for transporting our baggage did not arrive before that time. We passed through Little Britain, a place with poor little houses built on both sides of the road. We arrived at Kilen, or Otterkill, where we found only a few poorly built houses. We marched continuously through woods and did not arrive at our quarters until night.

DECEMBER 3RD, 7 MILES.

To Goshion, a town of 200 nice houses. In New Burry, our escort was changed again to one of Continental troops. The commander, a very refined man, who had formerly been in English service and had traveled through France, Italy and Germany, was very nice to me, and I formed an agreeable friendship with him during our march.

DECEMBER 4TH, 13 MILES.

Through a place called Florida to Warrick, a township. The weather was very changeable during our march through York State. It froze at night, but was warm enough in the day to melt the ice again. The part of the province of New York through which we marched is little cultivated. The houses are miserable and most of the country is wooded. There are some good corn fields, however. A great part of the inhabitants is for the King and many have for this reason, besides kept prisoners, lost all their possessions. The Tories are treated very badly in this province and sometimes tortured half to death.

NEW JERSEY. 17 MILES, DECEMBER 5TH.

Today we passed the so-called Heihland's (rather high mountains) which commence at the Delaware River, running down to the coast. It rained very hard and the roads were bad. We went as far as Hardystone, a badly cultivated country.

DECEMBER 6TH.

The whole line had a day of rest.

DECEMBER 7TH, 16 MILES.

We were supposed to march to the small town of Sussex. However, the first division was unable to leave the place for want of wagons and provisions. We went to Endores Forniss (an iron smelter), where the greater part of the division had to camp out in the woods on account of an insufficient number of houses to take us in. We had to remain here for two days, because our

provisions from Sussex did not arrive sooner. (December 8th and 9th.)

DECEMBER 10TH, 14 MILES.

We had a dreary march. It rained and snowed continuously and the roads were very bad. We marched to Haketstown, a small place.

DECEMBER 11TH, 12 MILES.

On the 11th, we went on to Changewater Ironworks (?) where our quarters were miserable.

DECEMBER 12TH, 14 MILES.

To Pittstown, a small city. Half of the division got quarters in Quakerstown, where only Quakers live.

DECEMBER 13TH, 4½ MILES.

We were unable to cross the Delaware River, because the water was too rough. We stayed on this side in a small place called Everit, and in some other houses. The province of New Jersey is very hilly and woody, and is little populated. It has good pastures, corn fields and orchards. There are also a good many people here who take sides with the King, and who are therefore badly treated. The inhabitants are industrious, but poor. They have suffered too much from the war.

DECEMBER 14TH, 16½ MILES.

We crossed the Delaware River in big flat boats at Scharrots Ferry. The river here is about ½ mile wide; the banks are very high and beautiful. We marched on good, even roads to the township Hilltown.

DECEMBER 15TH, 8 MILES.

To the township Montgomery and Nortwallis, where we met many Quakers. I was obliged to give up my horse, which I had brought from Boston. It had been used too much and was worn out. I had to buy another one. Some of the officers went from here to Philadelphia.

DECEMBER 16TH, 13 MILES.

We crossed the Schuylkill on the Sullivan Bridge (built by General Sullivan) which is 228 paces long and rests on 9 wooden pillars. The current is very swift, on account of which fact many stones had to be sunk to keep the pillars in place. Near Fishkill are the sheds where the army of General Washington had been stationed during the winter of 1777 (called Washington-town). These huts, about 3000, are built in lines, and are made of beams covered with glue. The place is fortified with lines and batteries, making this camp "insusprenable" (insuperable). These huts had been built in three weeks and the camp looks like a badly built town. It is remarkable that the army could stand these quarters for a whole winter without many of the necessities of life, as shoes and stockings, etc. We marched to Norington and Wally Forge, not far from these huts. The whole line had a day of rest on December 17th and a change was made in our escort to militia from Pennsylvania. Our good Captain Price left us. Every one of the officers was sorry to lose him, especially I, because I was very much attached to him, we got along so well.

DECEMBER 18TH, 16 MILES.

We marched 7 miles without an escort. Then an old colonel appeared, who had a letter of recommendation to me. He asked me to tell him for heaven's sake, what he was expected to do. He confessed at the same time that he did not know anything about military service and that he was willing to do anything I would tell him, so that no complaint would be made. We marched to Daunings or Mill Town on the big route to Lancaster and on December 19th (16½ miles) we crossed the Brandewine River and went to Est Caln in the county of Chester, where we found a well cultivated country.

DECEMBER 20TH, 17 MILES.

Across the Canastaga Kreek, $\frac{1}{4}$ English mile wide. The water not being very deep, the troops were taken to the other side in wagons, and from there to the town of Lancaster. Here

the men received quarters in well built barracks two stories high, while the officers stayed in town. Lankaster has about 1000 houses; most of them are built of stone in the best taste, 4 or 5 stories high. In front of the houses is a sidewalk made of brick for pedestrians. This is kept very clean. The place has 5 churches with steeples, one of the churches is built entirely of brick and is a magnificent building. Inside it has decorations and an organ. The clergyman is a man called Helmuth, born in Helmstadt, a very nice and educated gentleman. The greater part of the inhabitants are Germans, who have kept their language and customs, but speak English also. All sorts of artisans are there, and especially many merchants. All things are very high, for instance, one bottle of wine, 6 rth., one dinner, 3-4 rth., etc. The inhabitants are very wealthy. They came as poor people from all parts of Germany. The houses are very clean inside and the way of living is exactly like that in Germany. Our hopes of being received in this town by our countrymen in a hospitable manner, were cruelly deceived. Most of them had to be forced by the escort to let the officers have a room in their houses. They behaved altogether very mean to us. However, I must say that there were a few nice ones among them. On the whole, we were ashamed of being Germans, because we never had met so much meanness in one spot as from our countrymen.

DECEMBER 21ST.

We had a day of rest. The first division, which was still here, departed. It was very cold and froze hard in these days.

DECEMBER 22ND, 10 MILES.

We marched to the Susquehanna River, which we were unable to cross on account of stormy weather. We took our quarters on this side of the river in Hampton Township. The river at Wright's Ferry is $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles wide and full of little islands and cliffs, which prevent vessels from coming up. High and low tide can be noticed 25 miles from here. The current is so swift that it is difficult to cross, and impossible when the weather is

bad, although it has no great depth and ground can be reached with poles in many places.

DECEMBER 23RD.

We crossed the Susquehanna in big flat boats like those on the Delaware River. The oars were fastened to the boat with iron. It took the first division from 8 o'clock to 12 to reach the other side. We marched through plain, well cultivated country to Yorktown, a place similar to Lankaster, with German inhabitants. The town is not quite as big and there are only two Dutch Reformed and one English church here. The Anabaptistes, of which there are many, also have a chapel. The city has about 500 houses, but little ground, and the inhabitants make their living mostly by trade. At night it snowed very much and froze hard. It was impossible to find quarters in this city of our respected countrymen. Everyone refused to take us in, and even outside the town, nothing could be found. This compelled most of our poor men to camp out in the woods, although it was very cold. It really does credit to the character of the Germans, that our countrymen were the only ones who treated us mean and tried at the same time to get something out of us and to cheat us. They were also very rude.

DECEMBER 24TH, 18 MILES.

The, division marched to Hanover or McCallestertown where one regiment received quarters. The rest of the men in groups of 5-16 men were quartered in the houses. The city was named after a man called McCallester, who founded the place.

This man receives a tax of 15 shillings a year for each acre. There are about 100 nice houses and one Lutheran and one Reformed Church. The inhabitants are mostly Germans. They received us very well, indeed, which reconciled us a little with our countrymen.

DECEMBER 25TH.

We had a day of rest and all the German maidens came to a ball given by us and danced with our officers in spite of it being Christmas and a holiday.

DECEMBER 26TH, 7 MILES.

It had snowed so much at night that the roads had become very bad. As we were unable to go as far as Townytown, we took quarters in Little Piterstown, or Piterborough, a little town of 50 houses, which were very plain and poor. This place has been in existence only for 9 or 10 years. Not far from here is the border of the province of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania is a very flourishing state, not very hilly. It has good soil for wheat, rye, etc. There are also good pastures. It has the most beautiful estates, and almost all houses in the cities as well as in the country are built of brick. All the houses are fine and big, also the barns and stables. There is no other country with so many beautiful houses. The inhabitants are also mostly Germans, and there are quite a number, who cannot even understand English, let alone speaking it. They are very industrious, and consequently rich. Their estates look very prosperous. However, they do not live extravagantly, on the contrary, they are inclined to gather more riches. A great part of them are Quakers or Anabaptists, or they belong to one of the many other sects found in America. All these sects are not much thought of by the other inhabitants of America, because they refuse to go to war or to carry arms. The Quakers live very well, but do not care to associate with other people. Men as well as women dress very plainly, choose, however, the finest and best material, being magnificently dressed in this way. They are very kind to strangers, and we have good reason to be pleased with them, as they received us always very kindly. We found many nice, good girls among their women, who were in many ways not so shy as others. Almost all the Quakers are wealthy people, who never let any one belonging to their sect, be reduced to poverty. However, they expel every one from their congregation who does anything against their principles, even if the crime committed is not a religious crime. They look out for their own interests a good deal, and allow only Quakers to share their profits.

(481 miles.)

The Pennsylvania people are the best manufacturers and

artisans in America. The best educational institutions and excellent factories are found in the town of Bethlehem; all other provinces receive their best grade of merchandise from this place. The Penn family still has the right of possession of the province to the extent of owning the country within the old outlines as long as they do not side with the King. However, it is to be doubted, if they will be allowed to sell in the future the parts which are not yet cultivated. We were exceedingly well received in Pennsylvania (excepting the cities the cities of Lankaster and Yorktown). We liked it best at the Quakers, Anabapatists and other sects; they were the most hospitable to our men. Each wagon carrying our baggage, was paid for with 55 shillings per day and free forage. The horses of this province surpass all others in regard to the amount of work they can do. They are stronger and bigger than all I have seen.

PROVINCE OF MARYLAND. DECEMBER 27TH, 9 MILES.

We passed through woods and badly cultivated counrty until we reached Towny Town, a miserable little place with 50-60 houses. The militia of Pennsylvania left us here and an escort from Maryland took its place. We lost everytime when a change was made, because the new comers did not know what to do, nor were they inclined to help us.

DECEMBER 28TH, 14 MILES.

We crossed the Pempeip Kreek on a bridge, and went to Pempeip Hunnert, a very badly cultivated country with only miserable huts. These are owned by a man named Baltimore to whom also a great stretch of land around them belongs. This man used to get a tax of 10 shs. a year for each house. This tax is no more in force now.

DECEMBER 29TH, 11 MILES.

We marched over the ice across the Manakescy Kreek to Fredericks Town, a beautiful little town mostly inhabited by Germans. There are about 100 houses. A great number of the Germans came here from the Palatinate. They gave us very good

quarters. The first division left as soon as we arrived and advanced to the banks of the Potomac River.

DECEMBER 30TH, 17 MILES.

We did not start for the Potomac until noon, and even stopped on our way to take quarters. Conditions for crossing the river were, however, so favorable today, that we received orders to proceed, as the drift ice might get worse and prevent us from crossing for some time. Only the regiment Specht succeeded in crossing, because night was coming on. They had to go quite a distance for their quarters, the first division having taken up all quarters available near the crossing place.

DECEMBER 31ST.

The rest of the division crossed the river and took up the quarters vacated by the first. The Potomac River at Wnoland's (?) Ferry, where we crossed, is one English mile wide. It is not very deep, and it is possible to ride through in summer. The current is, however, very strong, and the crossing is dangerous at this time of the year on account of the drift ice. We were taken over in big flat boats like those at the Delaware River, and made good time, the water being quiet. The 1st division returned, because the last English division had been obliged to remain in Luisburg for want of provisions. We had also been short in provisions for the last two days. I rode ahead to Luisburg to send some supplies from there.

VIRGINIA. JANUARY 1ST, 1779.

The last English division departed, and our first took their places. The Potomac River forms the border between Maryland and Virginia. The latter province as well as Maryland is still very woody, and only poorly built houses are found. In no other province are such poor houses as here. There are many Germans in Maryland, but as they have only rented their farms for a few years, they are unwilling to build good houses. Their way of living is miserable.

The city of Luisburg has about 50 houses, which are badly constructed. It is a wretched place.

All things cost a good deal here, except fowl, which can be had in abundance. Especially good are the wild turkeys, of which there are plenty in the woods of Virginia. They are similar to the domestic turkey, only bigger and black. On all plantations are a great many black slaves, which often run around naked, because clothes are too expensive. I saw myself a girl of rank being served with a drink by a negro of about the same age, who had no clothes on at all.

JANUARY 2ND, 1779.

The first division not having received the necessary supplies, had to stay over; so did ours.

JANUARY 3RD, 11 MILES.

The first division left, and ours took up their quarters at Luisburg. We had to be contented with cornmeal here, as no arrangements for other supplies had been made.

JANUARY 4TH, 16 MILES.

The division marched through badly cultivated country to the county of Laudon, and from there to

JANUARY 5TH, 15 MILES.

"Red House," a place with a few miserable little houses, 5-6 miles apart.

JANUARY 6TH, 15 MILES.

To Fouquier Court House, on incredibly bad roads. The wagons were unable to get here until late

JANUARY 7TH.

And we were obliged to lay over for a day. I rode ahead to Windsor, where I took my quarters at a gentleman's house who treated me exceedingly well.

JANUARY 8TH, 16 MILES.

The division marched to Windsor. I rode ahead again and took quarters with a Mr. Nox, a true Virginian gentleman, who received me most cordially, treating me in great style. I had to promise him that I should visit him for 3-4 weeks, after we reached Charlotteville. I intend to keep my promise, because he was such a gentleman and his wife an exceedingly nice woman. I can be sure of a very good time there.

The roads in this part of the country are very bad. They get worse every day on account of the weather getting warmer. It was sometimes too hot for marching during the day. The march was made more difficult by the many creeks which we had to cross and all the men had to be taken to the other side in wagons.

(605 miles.)

JANUARY 9TH, 17 MILES.

The division marched to Calpeper Court House. On their way hence they had to cross a big creek and the inhabitants let the men ride through it on their horses. The country is very woody.

The court houses of the counties are always surrounded by a few other houses. These few houses, sometimes only 6 or 7, pretended to be a city. The houses in Virginia are mostly far apart, because each plantation is surrounded by all the land belonging to it.

JANUARY 10TH, 16 MILES.

The division marched to the Robinson River through a country which was little cultivated. The snow was melting, but we were able to cross the river on a bridge. It was, however, impossible for us to cross a tributary of this river, which runs along the fallow land of the Rapahamac for six miles. There were no houses nearby, and the division was obliged to return to their old quarters.

JANUARY 11TH, 6 MILES.

I was obliged to go on to Orange Court House, as our provisions were giving out. I had to swim through the river with my horse; the water came above the saddle. I almost lost my servant at this occasion. He had been careless and was taken down the river by the current.

JANUARY 12TH, 15 MILES.

I procured two wagons which took the men through the river Rapid Anne, which had fallen considerably. The division marched to Orange Court House, where the greater part had to remain outdoors on account of too few houses.

JANUARY 13TH, 16 MILES.

We marched to the end of Orange County. The last quarters occupied were already in Albemarle County. The roads were very muddy and in the worst condition possible.

JANUARY 14TH, 16 MILES.

We went as far as the North Branch of the James River. I started early in the morning for Charlotteville to hunt up quarters, in which attempt I was, however, unsuccessful. There were very few houses, and I could hardly get quarters for myself for the night.

JANUARY 15TH, 10 MILES.

The division left for Charlotteville, where the men got quarters in the woods. It was hardly possible for the officers to get a room in the hotel. The few houses in the place were still given up to the English officers, who did not know where else to go. All the officers of our 1st division had gone with the men to the barracks.

JANUARY 16TH, 6 MILES.

At last our difficult march was at an end, and I took the division to the barracks. Also the officers had to stay there, be-

cause they could not find any other places. I was lucky enough to find a quarter and returned to Charlotteville.

(707 miles.)

JANUARY 17TH.

On the 17th of January the last division arrived also in the barracks. This ended the march of the army.

We have no right to complain of the treatment received during the march. Although we were refused quarters in some places, we were most the time well received. The officers were always treated with distinction. The commanders of the escorts left it entirely to the commanders of the divisions to decide the time of the march. They allowed the divisions to march as we thought best and had no objection to sending some of the men back, or to giving them permission to arrive later. Most the time the escort only showed the way or assisted in getting quarters for our men, when we met with a refusal. We have, however, much cause to complain of the expenses during the march. We were often taken advantage of and could not help ourselves. In the first place, the judge often lives 5 to 6 miles away. And, even if we could have reached him, it would have done no good. The inhabitants of the province of Connecticut were the most reasonable ones, and lower classes in Virginia the worst. These presented the most outrageous bills. I had to pay \$30 in paper money for two days board and lodging in Luisburg. I am sure that I had to spend at least 1000 paper dollars during the trip from Boston to Charlotteville. I had not been extravagant at all, and had even fared very poorly at times. The weather was not as unbearable as might have been expected in this season. We suffered more from wet weather than from the cold. It was never very cold, and the cold weather lasted never more than 4-5 days. During the last part of our march we had to pass over very bad roads, especially in Virginia, where the ground was often swampy. This caused the greatest difficulties, because the weather was warm and the roads in consequence soft. We were luckier than we expected to be in regard to desertion.

When we left Boston, we had good reason to fear that we would not be able to land here with one third of our men. However, only a few more than 400 deserted. We had very few sick men, and had to leave only two behind. This is remarkable, as we marched every day regardless of the weather. It was sometimes impossible to provide the men with shoes and stockings. Besides, they were not able to protect themselves against the cold, their clothes being much torn and ragged. Our men had to stand a great many hardships, although everything was done for them that could be done. In Pennsylvania and other places with German inhabitants, we lost most of our men. They were persuaded to stay behind, and the girls did their best to keep them for husbands. Even the officers were not safe from such proposals, and I know of some to whom girls were offered with a fortune of \$3000 to \$4000.

After having gone through all the hardships of the march, we reached the climax of all bad things, when we reached the barracks at Charlotteville. They are 5 miles (taking the foot-path) or 10 miles (taking the main road, from Charlotteville). They are built on a hill in the woods. There is only one house between Charlotteville and the barracks. The barracks are built in four rows in a square, each row consisting of 12 barracks. There are seven of these squares one after another, which makes altogether 336 barracks, 36 of which in the quarters of the German troops, were not intended to be built. The 12 barracks in each row are close together without space between. Each barrack is 24 feet long, and 14 feet wide, big enough to shelter 18 men.

The construction is so miserable that it surpasses all that you can imagine in Germany of a very poorly built log house. It is something like the following :

Each side is put up of 8 to 9 round fir trees, which are laid one on top the other, but so far apart that it is almost possible for a man to crawl through. At the ends where they join, they are indented, thus keeping them in place. The roof is made of round trees covered with split fir trees, intended to take the place

of boards. These trees, most the time only one hand wide, make bad roofing, and the rain comes through everywhere. Heavy beams hold these so-called (meant-to-be) boards in place so that the wind does not blow them away. A hole is made in the middle of each hut, in which a door is fastened. (The door is put in in about the same manner in which we fix the door in pig pens.) There is not a single nail in the whole lot of barracks, except 5 or 6 in the doors. Everything is just put together without nails. Windows are superfluous, fresh air, rain having free passage. No chimney is needed for the same reason, and the fire is made in the middle of the floor. The people lie around it on the floor to warm themselves. This was the condition of the barracks when we moved in. The only difference was that most of them did not even have a roof. The first impression of the quarters was especially bad as it had been snowing hard when we arrived. A great number of our men preferred to camp out in the woods, where they could protect themselves better against the cold than in the barracks. Never shall I be able to forget this day, which was terrible in every way. Never have I seen men so discouraged and in such despair as ours, when, tired and worn out from the long trip and the hardships, they had to seek shelter in the woods like wild animals. There were no barracks for the officers. According to the order from Congress, they were to take up their quarters in the houses whenever they liked. None of the English officers were therefore with their regiments. Most of our officers, however, stayed with their men. They did not care to leave them, besides having no other places to go. The English officers occupied all the houses near Charlotteville. They had arrived eight days sooner than we did.

The next morning our men started right away to improve their dwellings, although they lacked almost all tools. They filled the spaces with logs, built chimneys from wood, covering them thickly with glue, fixed up the roofs that they would not leak, and succeeded in making the barracks tight and fast, although it was impossible to make them comfortable.

The officers had their barracks improved also, and had another kind of loghouses put up with their own money. Our

abode is now tolerable. Some of the officers went to live in a little town called Stanton, about 40 miles from the barracks. The commander of each regiment stayed with his men, also one captain and 10 officers. These are to change places after a time with those in the town. Our limits are much more extensive here than they had been near Boston. We have the freedom of three counties; Albemarle, Orange and Augusta. Each officer had to give his word of honor not to leave these counties. We have plenty of provisions, and everything is brought to us in abundance. The only trouble is that the people ask tremendous prices for them, especially for groceries, for instance, for one pound of coffee, 2 to 3s., one pound of white sugar cost 6s.; brown sugar, 3s.; 1 bottle of wine (which is bad), 6s.; one quart of whisky, 5s.; one pound of butter 1s. to 4s., paper money. Cloth, linen and ready made garments are exceedingly expensive, being scarce besides. Paper money runs high here in exchange for gold or silver, and 1 guinea is worth 30s. in paper money. The only trouble is that we have not received gold since we left Boston, and have always been paid with paper money. One paper guinea is worth only 22s. The scarceness of gold is probably the cause of its increase in value. The officers as well as the men have suffered quite a loss through this way of payment; we often might have had 40s. or more during the march, if we had been paid in gold.

Immediately after my arrival in Charlotteville, I was introduced to the Clerk of the county of Albemarle by Col. Devenport, a friend of mine. As I was unable to find quarters anywhere, this man was kind enough to offer a room in his house. I accepted this offer because I had no other place to go. When we became better acquainted, he wished me to remain with him for the sake of my company, not because he wanted the money. In order to have some of my friends with me, I asked Lieutenant v. Burgsdorff to share my quarters. The amount we pay for them, is, however, so very small that it can hardly be called payment. My host did not want to accept any money at all, but I refused to stay for nothing and compelled to ask at least a small sum.

We have a living room and a bedroom for ourselves, but take our meals with our host except in the morning when we breakfast alone. We have everything we need, even horses, should we care to go riding. For all this we do not pay more than \$60—paper money, or 2 guineas a month, which is considered very cheap here.

The complaisance of my host and his nice wife will certainly do much to make our stay in Virginia a pleasant one. Almost all the other officers envy us.

Our host is a man of rank and has so much company that it is often a bore to me. Many a time I wished to be alone, but had this privilege only a few times during my stay with him. We live very high and no stranger, whether he comes to see our host or us, leaves the house without having dined with us. If he cares to stay over night, he is welcome. It have made the acquaintance of almost everybody of rank around here and received so many invitations that I could go visiting all summer, and not have any expenses whatever. I have accepted some of these invitations and have been received most cordially every time. I was never allowed to leave before 3-4 days, as much as I begged them to let me go. I appreciate my good fortune most, when I go to the barracks and see how my comrades have to live. They do not get half as much as I for a greater amount of money and their life is a great deal less pleasant. I have permission to go hunting through three counties, and everything that makes life comfortable and pleasant is at my disposal. I am in constant fear it cannot last long; I am so much more fortunate than others. In my capacity of adjutant of the regiment, I ought to have remained with the regiment at the barracks. However, I had to stay with Brigadier Specht to act as interpreter before General v. Riedesel arrived. General v. Riedesel was pleased with my services, and since I was by that time acquainted with all the people we had to deal with, he wanted me to remain with him to transact all business. It was agreeable to him that I should live in Charlotteville (no other German officer was there). He gave orders to another officer to do my

work and I am quite free from duties of that sort. I get my pay, have little or nothing to do and live as I please.

The province of Virginia, although very hilly, has good, fertile soil, well suited for cultivating all sorts of plants and fruit. Wheat thrives especially well. During the last three years the harvest in this state has, however, been spoiled by a worm, (weevil), which eats the grain, and many a man lost as many as 1500 bushels in one year. Little oats, barley and rye are found, but plenty of corn, the leaves of which are used in place of hay. They are picked while green and give excellent food for cattle. There is little hay and few pastures on account of the high mountains. All sorts of fruit grow in abundance, particularly peaches, which grow wild and are so plentiful that whisky is made of them and the pigs eat them. I have seen plantations where there were more than 100 peach-trees ruined by the super-abundance of fruit in the preceding year, all branches being broken to the ground by the too heavy load. All the different kinds of fruit which we have at home, are also found. The only trouble is, that the people do not take the proper care of them. The chief product of Virginia is, as everybody knows, tobacco. The tobacco here has many leaves, and when it is properly pressed and a few years old, its quality equals that of the best tobacco anywhere. Besides tobacco much cotton is raised, which only suffers if the cold weather sets in too early. Rice is also grown, but not very much. The kernels never grow as big and nice as those farther south. The province of Virginia is the largest of all and the most thickly populated, however, not enough for its dimensions. Each plantation has so many acres that it is impossible to cultivate all the grounds. A man considers himself poor unless he has 4000-5000 acres in his plantation. There are even some plantations of 15,000 acres. Only a small part of the land is tilled, the rest is wooded. All the houses are therefore quite a distance apart, which gives the country an appearance of wilderness. Besides, everybody wants to have his house situated on a hill to get the breeze in summer. This removes the houses from the main road to such an extent that they are not visible from the road and if you want to find a certain house, you have

to trust to luck while following one of the narrow footpaths which cross the woods. The houses are not well built, most the time put up of blocks of wood. They contain a few rooms and are one story high. Whoever lives in a better built house, must be a wealthy man and a man of rank (here called gentleman). Near the house of the owner are the abodes for the slaves. Only few negroes live together in these miserable little sheds, because they are very quarrelsome as a rule. There are few gardens, and landscape gardening is something extraordinary. All vegetables, etc., are planted in the fields which are fenced in, so they are as safe there as in a garden. The Virginians do not make a business of cattle raising. They pay, however, much attention to horse breeding and pride themselves on having the best riding horses. The horses are very high in price and sometimes cost as much as 6000 paper dollars. There are a great many pigs which furnish meat for the negroes, who seldom get any other meat but pork. As soon as the acorns and chestnuts are ripe, the pigs run out in the woods and mountains; nobody looks after them until fall when the owner has to go as far as 40 miles sometimes to take them home for slaughtering. Stags and deer are plentiful, hares also, but they are small and very much like rabbits. They are not considered any good. There is much wild fowl, especially pheasants and partridges, which are smaller than ours. Wild turkeys are either shot or caught in traps. They are much bigger than our domestic turkeys, but firm and tasty. There are also plenty of wild ducks and geese around the tributaries of the St. James river. We have two tributaries in our neighborhood. The climate of Virginia is considered healthy, although the weather is very changeable and in winter seldom cold for any length of time. The summers are very hot and would be unbearable, if there was not so much wind which cools the air. The weather since our arrival is considered extraordinarily good, and everybody says that it never was like this before. The month of January ended with very pleasant days, and almost all through February we had the most delightful spring weather. (This month is generally very cold with plenty of snow.) I saw peach-trees in full bloom in the open fields dur-

ing February, also cherry trees. On many trees the leaves are already out (March 16th), and it is uncomfortably warm for walking. If cold weather should set in, or snow fall, as everybody expects, it is certain that the branches of the peach trees will not break this year from too heavy a load of fruit. The beginning of spring is much more beautiful here than in New England, where spring is hardly noticeable. There the hot weather commences immediately after the cold. The warm days, which are so delightful here, are entirely missing. The spring here is as pleasant as it ever can be in Germany.

Although there are not many mosquitos in the upper part of Virginia as near the sea shore, we are much, if not more, annoyed by another kind of vermin. This is an insect about the shape, color and size of a bedbug, which is found in the woods. There are so many of them, that it is impossible to escape them. This insect digs its head so tight into the skin, that the head will not come out when the insect is removed. Its bite is hardly noticeable at first, but hurts much after a time. These insects trouble us a great deal, but we are told that during July and August another smaller kind appears, which is much worse. One may find 6000 to 8000 of them all over his feet and legs in a short time. Their bite causes the feet to swell at once and hurts considerably. The only preventative is fumigating the stockings and trousers with tobacco before going out.

There are plenty of snakes, the bite of which is not fatal except that of the rattle snake. This snake is, however, seldom found near houses.

All white people in Virginia live in great style; the work is done entirely by the slaves. A man who owns even a small plantation keeps a white man as overseer. His duty is to make the slaves work. He also punishes them whenever he thinks it necessary. One overseer has sometimes 100 and more slaves to look after. The slaves seldom get anything else to eat than bread made of corn. They prepare this bread themselves, baking it on an iron shovel over an open fire. They are very poorly clad, almost half naked. The slaves quarrel a good deal among themselves in spite of all their misery. For this reason not more

than one or two live together. It is necessary to threaten them with severe punishment for not keeping peace. Every master has the right to sell his slaves whenever he pleases. Marriage cannot be legal for this reason, and the slaves only live together as man and wife. As soon as a couple has made up their minds on this point, the man goes to his master to tell him about it. Permission is then granted for building a hut. Here they live together as long as they like. Sometimes the man belongs to one master, while the woman is owned by another. The children always belong to the master of the mother, and he can sell them if he likes. Slavery is even extended to illegitimate children who have to serve as slaves for 21 years before they are free. They are sold by the county ship for this length of time for the benefit of the county.

INDENTURED SERVANTS.

There is still another kind of slaves. This kind is made up of the people who are sold to the ships by kidnappers or of those who sell themselves in Europe in order to get free passage to America. These are sold by the ship's captains at their arrival at a high price to anyone who wants them. The time for serving is set by the government according to the sum paid, sometimes 4 or 5 years, and even 10 years if the captain had asked a very high price. During my stay here, I have met many of these people, men as well as women, who had not served out their time. They are generally better treated than the negroes, sometimes very well. If they behave very well, it happens that they are set at liberty before their time is up. I have also met some slaves, who were born free in America, but were sold by their parents for a certain number of years. This is permitted by law. The master has the right to whip and punish a slave as much as he likes, no limit is fixed by the law. However, the master will receive severe punishment should he kill a slave or wound him mortally. He may even be imprisoned for life, but will never be condemned to death. The import of the negroes is now forbidden by law. This causes the prices of the slaves to go up.

A healthy strong negro of about 30 years old, costs from 1500. to 2000 pounds. A woman of the same age, able to weave or spin, brings the same price. They are paid for in proportion to their age and strength. I have seen a free girl, 6 years old, sold at 600 pounds. At the sale they are examined by the purchaser exactly like cattle. They must walk up and down for him, move their limbs and do everything they are asked to do, so he can see if they are capable of work. It is terrible to see these slaves say good-bye to their comrades and relations, sometimes parents or wives, when sold to a master living in another province, and when there is no prospect of seeing their dear ones again. Young white men have frequently entered into relationship with black girls. Their children are called mulattos. They are mostly well mannered and you may find real pretty girls among them. Some gentlemen have only mulatto slaves on their plantation, because they are brighter and better mannered than the real negroes.

The free men in Virginia are a lazy lot, who expect their slaves to do all the work for them. The lower class of white people is very grasping and apt to impose upon strangers. The wealthy and educated people of rank (gentlemen) are almost all reasonable in what they ask and hospitable to the highest degree towards strangers. Any gentleman, be he a native of the country, or a stranger, known to them or not, can be sure of a warm reception in their houses as a guest for a few days, without ever being asked to pay the smallest amount. The master of the house would even consider the offer of payment an insult. In short, a Virginian gentleman is a sociable, courteous, good creature, who has only the one fault, that he is too fond of gambling. It is best never to join him at cards, especially, as he never plays for a small stake. Sometimes the amount gained in a short time is as much as 2000 to 3000 rth. There are few men who manage their own estates. This work is left to their overseers, who generally take advantage of this fact to such an extent that they are able to buy a plantation after a while, thus becoming gentlemen themselves. All those, who look after the management of their own plantations and are besides economical, become rich

men, if they are not rich to begin with. All an owner of a plantation has to do to get rich, is to look after the work himself. The women are a great deal more industrious. A gentleman's wife considers it highly honorable to do some of the work herself. She sees to it that all clothes for the family are made at home by the negroes. This can be done very easily, as cotton goods are very suitable for fall and spring wear. Cotton is just as easily woven as linen. Sometimes hemp and cotton are woven together. This makes a warm material for winter.

Since the war commenced much more is paid for weaving than formerly. The price for a negro, who can weave well, has gone up considerably. Even ticking is woven now in pretty patterns. It is considered a thing to be ashamed of, if not all cotton and linen goods needed in the house are woven at home. Although much cotton cloth is manufactured it is very high in price. The women here deserve to be highly respected for their industrious tendencies. They are quite the opposite of those in New England, and although not as pretty as those, as a rule, they are much more polite, and better mannered, also more courteous towards strangers.

Although this report of our march to Virginia is rather short, it will serve to show how it was accomplished. I did not write more fully, because, in the first place, the letter would have been very thick and might for that reason have missed its destination. In the second place, I have not had time to arrange the notes of my diary drawn up in a hurry to provide a more interesting report

Charlottesville, Virginia, March 16, 1779.

Richmond, March 7, 1779.

In regard to the particularly good weather during February, I wish to add that the same changed suddenly. We had some hard frost at night in April, which ruined all the fruit. After that, the weather became warm again, and the trees have all their foliage now. The days were often as hot as in July at home, but

towards the end of April it turned cold again. The leaves of many trees, and in fact the whole trees were frozen. Green peas, strawberries, all fruits, cabbage and green vegetables, are dead. This cold spell did not, however, include the whole province, but covered about twenty miles in the direction of Williamsburg. Some of the higher situated plantations near Charlotteville were not touched in the same degree. We have now nice warm weather. It is, however, very dry and nothing will grow in the gardens.

Richmond, where I am at present, is a pretty little town of about 100 houses, most of which are stores. The chief article of trade is tobacco, brought here from all parts of the province. From here it is shipped down the St. James River to the sea. On account of the late disturbances, not many shipments are made at present and an astonishing amount of tobacco is stored here. I believe there are more than 10,000 to 12,000 large barrels of it ready for shipment, each of which contains 10,000 to 15,000 pounds of tobacco. The price is at present 50 to 60 £ paper money, sometimes 1 guinea and 5-6 shillings gold per 100 pounds. That is for the best quality. Richmond is situated in the most beautiful country you can imagine, on the St. James River near the fall, which is, however, not very high. For 6 miles up, near Charlotteville, the water runs over rocks with great noise. It is impossible for even a canoe to go up stream. Below the fall the river is navigable for big canoes, holding about 3-4 tons of tobacco.

The country here is flat toward the sea and well cultivated. There are many beautiful plantations and fine houses, the owners of which are all wealthy people. Williamsburg, where I intend to go for a few days, is 60 miles from here. The governor lives there and the council of the province assembles there at this time of the year. Two-masted vessels can go up the river as far as Richmond. There are no rocks and cliffs up to this place. Bigger vessels can come up as far as 20 miles from here, which fact makes this city very well suited for business transactions. The trade, however, does not amount to much, because the imports and exports of goods are very few.

[ADDITIONAL MATTER]*

Ticonderoga, July 12th 1777.

Parole: St. Peter. C. S.: Fort Miller.

By Brigad. Gen. Hamilton.

Six of the Artillery at Mount Independance are to mount dayly with the 62d Regim. et one of the six detached to the three Gun battery.

The 62d Regiment et Prince Fredericks will prepare three rounds p. man of practice cartridge for the number they will have under Arms to-morrow evening.

Mr. Commissary Clarcke will appoint à Commissary solely for giving Provisions to the Troops, Hospital and Prisoners at Mount Independance.

The Prisoners are not to be tacken out to work on that side without the knowledge of the Captain for the day and then a certain proportion to be left at home to cook for the rest.—

Mr. Commissary Clarcke will also appoint à Commissary for the Ticonderoga side, who will also victual the Prisoners.

A number of horses will set out for the Army at Skenesborough to-morrow morning at Daybreak—an Escort of a Captain, Two Subalterns and a hundred men with Arms must go with them to Huberton, where the late action happened, à like Escort from the Germans will be ready there, to receive them and then the Ticonderoga one to return.

Detail for the Escort:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|--------|---------|---------|---------|----------|
| 62d Regim: | 1 Capit. | 1 Sub. | 2 Serg. | 2 Corp. | 1 Drum. | 46 Priv. |
| Pr. Frederick Reg.... | | 1 “ | 2 “ | 2 “ | 1 “ | 54 “ |

| | | | | | |
|----------|--------|---------|---------|-------|-----------|
| 1 Capit. | 2 Sub. | 4 Serg. | 4 Corp. | 2 Dr. | 100 Priv. |
|----------|--------|---------|---------|-------|-----------|

Kickmann, M. Br.

Note: The Escort to take three days Provisions with them. That part of the Escort from Prince Fredericks Regiment to be at the Sergeants Guard in the Lines on the other side of the bridge, by day break in the morning and the horses will go over at that time.

*What follows is printed as it stands in the manuscript with the faulty English intact. The Tables which precede this in the MS. have been placed at the end of the *Journal*.

Camp at Skenesborough House, July 10th, 1777.

Ordres Parole: St. Eustace. C. S.: Falmouth.

Picquet, British Field Officer, Major Forster.

On the 6th of July the Ennemy were dislodged from Ticonderoga by the meer countenance and activity of the Army and driven on the same day beyond Skenesborough house on the Right, and to Huberton on the Left, with the Loss of all their Artillerie, Five of their armed Vessels taken and blown up by the spirited conduct of Captain Carterof from the Artillery with a part of his brigade of Gun boats à very great quantity of ammunition, provision and stores of all sortes and the greatest part of their Bagage.

On the 7th, Brigadier General Fraser at the head of a little more than half the Advanced Corps and without Artillery (which with the utmost endavours it was impossible to get up) came up with near Two thousand of the Ennemy strongly posted, attacked and defeated them with the loss on the Ennemy's part of many of their principal Officers, Two hundred men killed on the spot, and a much greater number wounded and about Two hundred made prisoners.

Major General Riedesel with his advanced guard consisting of the Chasseurs Company and 80 Granadiers and light Infantry arrived in time to sustain Genl. Fraser and by his judicious orders and a spirited execution of them obtained a share for himself and for his troops in the Glory of the Action.

On the 8th, Lt. Colonel Hill at the head of the ninth Regiment was attacked near Fort Anne by more then six times his number and repulsed the Ennemy with great Loss after a continued fire of three hours.

The consequence of this action Fort Anne was burned and abandoned and a party of this Army is in possession of the Country on the other side.

These rapid successes after exciting a proper sense of what we owe to God, entitle the troops in general to the warmest praise; and in particular distinction is due Brigadier General Fraser, who by his conduct and bravery supported by the same

qualities in the Officers and Soldiers under his command effected an exploit of material Service to the King, and of signal honor to the profession of Arms.

This Corps have the further merit of having supported fatigue and bad weather without bread and without murmur.

Divine Service will be performed on Sunday morning next at the head of the Line and at the head of the advanced Corps and at Sun set on the same day a feu de joye will be fired with Cannon and small arms at Ticonderoga Crownpoint and at the Camp at Castleton and the post of Breymanns Corps.

These orders will be read to every battallion by the commanding Officers.

Major General Riedesel will have them conveyed to the detached post of the Left Wing and Brigadier General Hamilton will have them conveyed to Crownpoint.

A Return to be sent to Head-Quarters this afternoon of what wounded officers and men are in a condition to be moved to the Hospital at Ticonderoga.

The General Officers will send an account to Mr. Rousseau Commissary of the Staff of the number of Rations they chuse to be daily supplied with.

Those regiments that have Volonteers serving with them, will send in a List of those Gentlemens names this afternoon to the Dep. Adj. Gen. mentioning *when* they joined, and by *whom* recommended.

Ticonderoga, July 11th, 1777.

Brigadier Hamilton desires Major Williams of the Artillery will give necessary directions with regard to the Cannon, to be fired on Sunday evening.

Kickmann, M. Br.

Ticonderoga, July 11th, 1777.

No Bullocks to be killed at Mount Independance or Ticonderoga without particular orders from the Commissary General.

Kickmann, M. Br.

Ticonderoga, July 13th, 1777.

Parole: St. Paul. C. S.: Atheni.

Capt. Jones of the Artillery will have every thing prepared and his men so stationed as to fire three round's from every guns on Mount Independance et Ticonderoga, that are not spilled on hou(r) before Sunset this evening.

The 62the Reg. will be drawn out on the Hill, on the Ticonderoga side of the Barracks and when one round of the Guns has fired, the 62the will fire once, that is a running fire from right to left, it will then be answered by the Regiment of Prince Frederick and so alternatly with great and small Arms till each has fired three round's.

Kickmann, M. Br.

Ticonderoga, July 14the 1777.

Parole: St. Patrick. C. S.: Dublin.

The Abbates round the different works at Mount Independance and Ticonderoga, are by no means to be destroyed, or made use of as firewood. The Former orders with regard to collecting the Military Stores at both posts, to be strictly complied with, and compleated so soon as possible. Orderly hour to be at Eleven à Clock, at the Brigade Majors Quarters, when the Adjutants and will attend.

Kickmann, M. Br.

Ticonderoga, July 14the 1777.

Spruce beer will be issued to the Two Regiments every morning at eight a Clock. The allowance is à quart for every Officer and Man on the Spot and a Receipt given by the Quarter Masters.

Kickmann, M. Br.

Nota: Spruce beer man just below the Brigade Majors Quarters.

Ticonderoga, July 15th, 1777.

Parole: Bourgoyne. C. S.: Skenesborough.

Orders

by Brigadier General Hamilton in consequence of those received from General Philips.

4 Company's of the 62th and 2½ Company's of Prince Fredericks Regiment are to move in their Batteaux to morrow-morning at 6 à Clock to the Bridge near the Saw Mills, with Camp-Bagage etc.

Lt. Colonel Amstruther is to tacked the Command of that part of the Regiments that advances and to aid as much as lyes in his power the transport of all Kind's. Major of Brigade Kickmann will Shew the ground where the Company's of the 62th and Prince Fredericks are to encamp.

The remainder of Prince Fredericks will occupy the heights on the Lines, neared the Captains post formerly planted.

The Detail of the Guard's of the Company's of the Two Regiments that remain are as follows:

| | <i>Ticonderoga.</i> | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| | Off. | Serg. | Capor. | Drumer. | Privates. |
| Fort | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 24 |
| Redoubt | | 1 | 1 | | 15 |
| Batteaux | | | 1 | | 6 |
| by General Philips | | | | | 6 |
| | <hr/> | | | | |
| | 1 Off. | 3 Serg. | 4 Corp. | 1 Drummer | 51 Pr. |

| | <i>Mount Independence.</i> | | | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| | Off. | Serg. | Capor. | Drumer. | Privates. |
| Advance | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 15 |
| Barrack | | 1 | 1 | | 12 |
| Redoubt | | 1 | 1 | | 9 |
| Batteaux | | | 1 | | 6 |
| Provisions | | | 1 | | 3 |
| | <hr/> | | | | |
| | 1 Off. | 3 Serg. | 6 Corp. | 1 Drummer | 45 Pr. |

Ticonderoga, July 16th, 1777.

Parole: Hubberton. Countre Sign: Fort Anne.

Ticonderoga, July 16th 1777.

Parole: Hubberton. Countre Sign: Fort Anne.

The Captain for the day to be discontinued.

The Officer of the Fort-Guard at Ticonderoga do Report to the Brigadier.

Ticonderoga, July 19, 1777.

Parole: St. Barbara. C. S.: Bland Ford.

Major General Phillips orders the Artillery, 62th Regim. and the Regiment of Prince Friederick, to send Returns directly of what Cattle they have, and how they got them, as also, of what number of Cattle each Regiment has killed since they have been at this Fort, exclusive of the Provisions delivered to them by the Commissariat.

The Commissary General to send in a return of what fresh provisions have been delivered at this post to the Artillery, the two Regiments and the Hospital.

Three longboats arrived yesterday with Rice and Oatmeal and other Provision Stores, which have been unloaded without orders and no Receipts given by any persons for the delivery.

The Brigadier General will endeavour to find out whence this has arrose and report upon it.

The commanding Engineer will take such draft Oxen as are necessary for the Service and will keep them under à proper guard—all others to be deliverd to the Commissary General for the use of the Troops—and it is to be understood that no particular Regiment has a right to save and keep Cattle, as it is intended to make an equal distribution throughout the Army, of all fresh Provisions that can to be obtaind.

The Physicien General to send proper persons to visit the Prisoners, and any who are found ill are to be immediately taken of—Report to be made of any to whome it may be necessary to give fresh provisions.

The Major of Brigade will take care, that the Orders are distributed to the Artillery, the Hospital, the other Corps and the Commissariat. It being reported to Major General Phillips

that the Duty is too severe for the present Garrison at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Brigadier Hamilton is authorised to order a Company of the 62th Regim. and half a one of the Regiment of Prince Friederick to Return and do duty in those Garrisons.—

By Brigadier Hamilton—

The Company of the 62th Regim. and the half Company of Prince Friedericks to return to these Garrisons at six o Clock this evening.

The Prisoners are be no means to be struck or ill treated, by any person whatever.

Orderly hour at the Major of Brigade Quarters, at Eleven o Clock in the morning.

Kickmann, Brig. Maj.

Ticonderoga, July 20th, 1777.

Gen. Ord. By Maj. Gener. Phillips.—

Parole: St. Timothy. C. S.: Sarum.

Return to be given in this evening to Brigadier General Hamilton, by the Regiments and by each Department of the number of their effectivs in order that a Distribution of fresh Provisions may be made.

By Brigadier Hamilton—

Any horses that are in possession of the 62th Regim. and Prince Fredericks, purchased near this and claimed by the inhabitants on proveing the propriety most be delivered of.

Ticonderoga, July 21th, 1777.

Parole: St. Cecilia. C. S.: Marlborough.

Head Qr. Skenesborough-house, July 18th, 1777.

Each Brigade to send to the Adj. Gener. the names of their Dellys(?) Suttlers and others followers and Servants.

All persons desirous of establishing huts or tents on the Rear of the Army, for the Sale of usefull commodities, are to apply

to the Adjud. General in order that their character of the nature of their traffish may be enquired into - - - and any persons presuming to traffish with the Troops without à proper permit in writing or who shall abuse such permit by retailing liquors to Soldiers or Indians will be punished with Severity.

The disturbance of the 16 inst. between some British and German Soldiers was occasioned by liquor and one of the greatest principale of Military Orders was so far forgot by some British Soldiers, that a Guard was insulted.

Any conduct for the future whether of the British or German that shall tend to obstruct the harmony, which has hithertoo so happily reigned between the Two Nations, and which must continual subsist among brave Troops, serving in the same cause, unless violated by intoxication or misapprehension, will be punished as a Crime the most fatal to the Succass of honor of the Campaign.

A Captains Guard with the Colours of the eldest Regiment to mount to morrow upon the Congress with the Indians Nations.

The Inspector of the Hospital having represented that Two Women from each Regiment of the Army will be absolutely necessary to take care of the Sick and wounded, the Commanding Officers of Corps, will give their directions accordingly.

Ticonderoga, July 22the, 1777.

Parole: St. Clement. C. S.: Calne.

By Brigadier Hamilton.

All Officers, non Commissioned Officers and Soldiers ordered on Detachment, are litterally to obey the Commanding Officer of the Detachements Orders; and when men are taken sick or lame on à march the Officer or non Commissioned Officer of the Troops those men belong to, is to acquaint the commanding Officer with the Situation of the mens not able to march with the Detachment, who will leave a number of well men sufficient to take care of them, who be easy marches are to regain their Corps with all possible dispatch.

Ticonderoga, July 23, 1777.

Paroles: St. Bridget et Chippenham.

Orders By Brigadier Hamilton.

No Fires to be made at the Saw Mills, or at the Landing at Lake George, except for cooking as setting fire to the stumps and the woods—startle the horses much (?) in passing and repassing.—

Fourteen horses and seven drivers, with Provisions for the wounds at Hubberton, will set out to morrow morning at 4 o Clock—from the 62th Barracks at Mount Independence—an Escort of à Corporal and Six men, to be there at that hour.

Detail.

| | Corporal | Privates |
|-------------------------------------|----------|----------|
| 62 th Regiment | 1 | 3 |
| Prince Friederick | | 3 |
| | — | — |
| | 1 | 6 |

Ticonderoga, July 24th, 1777.

Parole: St. Justin. C. S.: Frome.

The Troops here to receive Provisions to morrow morning from the Commissary General, to the 28th inclusive—and it is strictly enjoined that none but the effectivs are drawn for—Mr. Price will draw for the Canadians—Mr. Fletcher for the horse department—as Commissary General Clarcke will take care to victual the Prisoners.

Brig. General Hamilton will arange every thing necessary for the half of Prince Friedericks Regiment taking Possession of Mount Independence (leaving however such a small detachment of the 62th Regim. as he may think necessary in charge of the Hospital) when the five Company's of the 62th Regiment will move to the carrying place of Lake George this movement to take place on the 26th as early as possible in the morning.

The Brigadier will give the necessary orders to the Regiment of Prince Friederick to camp on the Transport to the Portage as usual.

Order By Brigadier Hamilton.

The Detachement of the 62th Regiment left with the General Hospital—to be—

1 Sub: 1 Serg. 1 Corpor. 1 Drummer 20 Privates

Ticonderoga, July 25th, 1777.

Parole: St. Rosalind. C. S.: Canterbury.

Gen. Orders by Maj. Gen. Phillips.

The proper Officer of the Hospital will send to the Commissary General every day at 4 o'Clock, a Return of the Quantity of Provisions the Hospital will require for the following day, in order that the Cattle may be killed quietly and the meat time to cool.

Being found very inconvenient to deliver Provisions in the evening, the Purveyors Clarks will send for it at 5 o'Clock in the morning. From the present scarcicity of Cattle it will be impossible to issue fresh Provisions to all the Hospital, it will therefore be proper to divide the Sick into classes, and in the Return sent to the Commissary to mark the number for whome it will be necessary to provide fresh provisions every day. Whenever the Cattle arrives which is expected the whole Hospital shall be provided with fresh provisions.

Brigadier Hamilton will give orders for the Batteaux on Lake George being loaded with Provisions, in the doing which care is to be taken, that the Batteaux are loaded according to their size, and it is intended to send Five men with their baggage etc. in each Batteaux. It is meant that all the Batteaux on Lake George should be loaded with Provisions and every other Craft which may be on the Lake, and which may not be employed, for the carrying Artillerie or Stores. Capt. Schank the Commissioner of the Navy will superintend this business under the Brigadiers Orders.

Should the 62th Regiment be ordered to embark suddenly, it will leave a Detachment of a Captain 2 Subalt. and 50 men as a Guard upon the Landing place at Lake George, who are

to have charge, also, of the Canadians upon Corvées, who will be left to work there.

By Brigadier Hamilton.

The Five Company's of the 62th Regiment are to march to-morrow-morning to 5 o'Clock, and encamp with the Three Companies already advanced—the Quarter Master will make out the ground this day. They will send this afternoon to the Commissary General for six Batteaux, in which the baggage is to be loaded this evening and unloaded the moment they come to the Saw Mill, that Prince Friedericks Regiment may have them to return with their baggage. The Two Companies of Prince Friedericks now at the Portage, to move as soon as possible after the 62th arrives to Mount Independence where the Stores etc. will be delivered to them by an Officer of the 62th Regiment, whose present Guard's are to continue till releivd by the Regiment of Prince Friederick.

The Subaltern Officer left with the General Hospital Guard of the 62th Regiment will also superintend the convalescents.

Ticonderoga, July 26the, 1777.

Parole: St. Mathew. C. S.: Winburn.

General Orders by Gen. Phillips.

Captain Monin Company of Canadians will the Artillerie and a Detachement of one hundred Men of the 62th Regiment with proper Officers, the whole under the Command of Lt. Colonel Amstruther are to embark this afternoon at 4 o'Clock and proceed accross Lake George, so as the be at the head of the Lake as early to-morrow as possible.

Lt. Colonel Amstruther will receive his Instructions and orders from Maj. Gen. Phillips as many Batteaux loaden with provisions as can be taken over Lake George are, also, to go this afternoon.

Mr. Commissioner Shanck will give his directions that every thing proceed forwards in his department, taking care proper Persons are left upon the carrying Place at Lake George to aid

the Transport and Batteaux, which will be send from the Army—the Commanding Engineer will proceed to Morrow-morning very early across Lake George and will send such persons in his Department with intrrenching tools and every thing necessary to form an immediate Establishment on the other Side of the Lake and à Post for the defence of it.

A detachment of Two hundred Man composed of Sixty Man of the 62th Regt. and one hundred and forty from the Regiment of Prince Frederick with proper officer and to be commanded by a Field Officer to march to Morrow-morning at Four à Clock to Hubberton to remove the Hospital and Wounded Men from thence to the General Hospital at Mount Independence one third of this Detachment only will be armed as the rest will be employed in carrying the Wounded Men upon Biers. Maj. Hughes will furnish fifty horses for this service—Provisions must be taken for four days and Brigadier General Hamilton will given the Instruction and orders relative to the removal of the Hospital.

Continuatio d. 26^{ten} July, '77.

The troops which across Lake George are to be provided with Provisions to the 31th inst. inclusive as are, also, the Troops at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence.

A Detachment of Artillerie will be left upon this post and order are to be given by the Brigadier that all the Artillery, Shot and Shells be collected near the Wharf at Ticonderoga and on the Ground by the lower Line on the North Side of Mount Independence, excepting such serviceable Species of Artillery, which it may be necessary to keep in Battery for the defence of the Post.

Commodore Lotwidge will be applied to, to station an armed Vessel to the South of Mount Independence, to defend the passage of the low Ground and the Road leading from thence.

Four armd boats will, also, be stationed near the Creek running into the Lake Champlain on the North Side as a defence on that Quarter.

Charles Green,

Aid de Camp to M. G. Phillips.

Orders by Brigadier Hamilton.

Detail for the Party to Hubberton under the Command of Major von Hille of Prince Friedericks Regiment.

| 62the Regim. Prince Frederick | Without Arms | | | | | | With Arms | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|-----------|------|-------|-------|-----|-----|
| | Cap. | Sub. | Serg. | Corp. | Dr. | Pr. | Cap. | Sub. | Serg. | Corp. | Dr. | Pr. |
| | 1 | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | 40 | . | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 20 |
| | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 94 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 46 |
| | 1 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 134 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 66 |
| | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 66 | | | | | | |
| Total | 2 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 200 | | | | | | |

The above Detachment is to assemble to morrow morning at 5 à Clock by the Encampment of Prince Friedericks Regiment on Mount Independance, with Four days Provisions and Five tents from each Regiment to cover the wounded.

Major von Hille will acquaint Maj. General Riedesel the Day and hour he intends to move from Hubberton, which is to be as soon as possible after his arrival there, it being expected that by to morrow evening every thing will be in readiness.—The Commissary will send by the horses two days bread for the wounded at Hubberton—

Maj. Hughes will order proper conductors, with the same number of days Provisions and forage for the men and horses who are punctually to attend where the Detachment is to parade to morrow-morning—

It is particularly recommended to Major von Hille that he keeps the strictest order—that the wounded be used with the greatest tenderness and not pushed to march beyond their strength—and to endeavour as much as possible to halt near Water—

Wine and necessary ravishment is to be sent from the Hospital in such quantity as are judged necessary for the March—

Kickmann, M. B.

Ticonderoga July 27th 1777

Paroles: St. Geoffry. C. S.: Sherborn.
July 28th St. Barnard Biddeford
“ 29 “ St. Edward Exmouth
“ 30 “ St. Gervas Newcastle
“ 31 “ St. Basil Lyeno

Ticonderoga, July 28th, 1777.

Parole: St. Barnard. C. S.: Biddeford.

Gen. Ord. by Maj. Gen. Phillips.

It is necessary that a Survey be taken upon the Provisions left at this Post, by the Rebels.

Brigad. Gen. Hamilton to give the proper directions thereon, and report upon it so soon as possible in the mean time, should any of the damaged provisions be likely to cause sickness in the Camp it must be destroyed either by burning, burying, or throwing it from Batteaux into the middle of the stream.

Brig. Gen. Hamilton is left in Command of this important post untill farther Orders and will take every means for securing the Post and also forwarding the Transport of the Army over Lake George.

The Brigadier will if he sees necessary remove the whole of the Regiment of Prince Friederick to Mount Independence, but in that case à Captains Guard must mount at the Fort of Ticonderoga.

The Artillery will also encamp on the Mount and the Brigadier will order such Artillery to be in Battery, as he may see necessary.

The Brigadier will communicate with and consult with the Commodore for such arrangement of the Naval Department à float as may send to securing the Post and aiding the Transport.

Mr. Commissioner Shank will for some days be on the carrying place, to assist the transport into Lake George.

Lt. St. Eloy, has charge of all the Batteaux and to whome orders must be given for delivery of such as are required for any particular Service.

Lieut. Price has charge of all the Canadians Corvées. Lt. Fletcher is assistant commissioner of horses and has the mustering and foraging the horses belonging to the Army.

Maj. Hughes is Agent for the Contractor for the Carts and horses for the Provision Train.

Mr. Handfield has charge of several Stores, but is to be answerable to Lt. St. Eloy for what Batteaux he has and to Lt. Price for the Canadians he employed.

Particular orders are to be given concerning all detachments from the Army which may be stationed on the carrying place, where they may be usefull and also, ready to cross Lake George when orderd.

The Prisoners to be musterd and the numbers and names of those who have engaged in the Kings Service to be marked, those who remain Prisoners are to be employed in the Kings works as usual and are to be in care of Lt. St. Eloy—such as are with the Hospital are to be in charge of the Clerke of the Hospital.

The Prisoners are to be lodged in the great barn near the landing place at Lake George, where being under charge of the British they will be able to explain themselves and are to be humanely used and to be under charge of the Adjutant Mr. Elliot.

The Barracks in the Fort are to be immediately cleand out by the Regiment of Prince Friederick and order to be given to have them put into a State of Repair. Lt. Beacroft is chargd with the Repairs etc. untill the arrival of Lt. Twiss.

Mr. Asst. Commissary General Clarke is to take every means for supplying the Hospital and if possible the Troops, also with fresh Provisions.

Orders By Brigadier Hamilton.

The Prisoners now in the citadel of Ticonderoga are to be sent to morrow-morning [after Guard mounting] under an Escort of Prince Friedericks Regt. to the Barn near Lake George, where the other Prisoners are, they are to be deliverd to Lt. St. Eloy who will grant a receipt for them.

A Subaltern and 20 men from the 62th Regt. for the Guard of the Prisoners till further orders, to mount dayly.

The Regiment of Prince Friedericks in consequence of Maj. Gen. Phillips Orders, are immediately to clean out the Barracks of the Citadel, on the Prisoners having [leaving?] them.

Mr. Elliot [:of the Provincials:] who has the care of the Prisoners and who has given his Parole to remain till liberty is given him to return home or be exchanged—has Brigadier Hamilton Permission to live at Mr. Adamsy or in à hut or Tent, and leave to walk from the above mentioned house to the Barn where the Prisoners are kept.

* * * * *

Lt. St. Eloy will make a Muster of the Prisoners to morrow agreeable to orders.

Ticonderoga, July 30th, 1777.

Parole: St. Gervas. C. S.: Newcastle.

Ordres By Brigad. Hamilton.

The Prisoners are on ns(?) and to be made to work longer than half an hour before Sunset, at which hour, and in the morning, the Officers and Non Commissioned Officers of the several Guards, where they are kept, are to have the Rolls Calld and the numbers carefully counted—they are likewise to secure every window by which the Prisoners can make their escape and frequently to examine the Prison during the night as well as the Sentries who are never to sit on their posts.

The Brigadier is sorry to find that from neglect and Inattention, no less than Seven Prisoners have made their escape in two days.

Ticonderoga, July 31th, 1777.

Parol: St. Basil. Countersign: Lyons.

Order By Brigadier Hamilton.

The whole of Prince Friederick Regiment [:leaving the present Guard at Ticonderoga, which are to be relievd as usual:] and the Compagny of Artillery to encamp on Mount Independence

to morrow-morning at Six à Clock. The Quarter Master to make out the Ground this evening at 5 à clock. The Brigade Major will shew it them.

The Company of Artillery and that part of Prince Friedericks Regiment on this side, will get Batteaux to carry their baggage by applying to Lt. St. Eloy. A Detachement from the Artillery, sufficient for one Gun to be sent to the top of Sugar-Loaf-Hill, from whence the morning and evening Gun is to be fired.

The 62th Regt. will send a Corporal and 4 Men as a Guard at the top of said hill and to be relievd every 48 heures, they must take a Tent with them.

Kickmann, B. M.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 1st, 1777.

Parole: Ferdinand. C. S.: Minden.

Orders by Brigadier Hamilton.

The situation here, by the many Guards on Prisoners, Stores etc. will not admit of fixed regulations as to Camp Duties, which Brigadier Hamilton begs that Colonel Praetorius will dispence with and make the usual Quarter Guard suffice for the whole and to consist of a Sergeant, Corporal and twelve men, who are to be posted on the Battery of the right, and a Corporal with six on each of the other two Batteries.

The Guards are to make use of the Guard rooms adjacent to said works and it is recommended that the Centries have the strictest Orders to be alert on their Posts.

Capt. Bortwick will order ammunition suitable to the Guns on those Batteries and one or two Gunners, as he can spare them, to each as those are not meant to be defended further than by firing as many Guns as it is possible without risking being cut off.

The Non-Commissioned Officers on said Posts must have those directions carefully explaind to them and on being pushd to spike their guns and tho the Regiment, who is already retired, within the Stocade at the Barracks, they are immediately to follow.

Captain Bortwick will order some grape for those Guns and any mounted for the defence of the Barracks.

Prince Friedericks Regiment are immediately to compleat their ammuniton to One hundred Rounds P man to keep them so, with two good flints.

Kickmann, M. B.

Ticonderoga, August 2the, 1777.

Parole: St. Mark. C. S.: Canterbury.

O. By Brigadier Hamilton.

In case of Alarm, the 62the Regt. will detach a Subaltern, Sergeant, Drummer and 26 Privates to the top of Sugar-Loaf-Hill.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 3the, 1777.

Parole: St. Xavier. C. S.: Glamorgan.

Order by Brigadier Hamilton.

Capt. Bortwick will commence to morrow, collecting the different Artillery Stores at Mount Independence and Ticonderoga and placing them agreable to Gen. Phillips Orders.

The following working Party will parade every morning till the whole is finished, at six ô Clock, in the front of the Artillery Camp for the above purpose.

Detail.

| | Serg. | Corp. | Drummer. | Privates. |
|----------------------------|---------|---------|----------|-----------|
| Royal Artillery | | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| 62the Regiment | 1 | | | 10 |
| Prince Friedericks | 1 | 1 | | 20 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total: | 2 Serg. | 2 Corp. | 1 Dr. | 20 Pr. |

A Subaltern of the Artillery to superintend the above Party, who are to leave off work about half an hour before sunset, that the Party from the 62the Regiment may have time to return to Lake George.

The Party from the 62th Regt. may apply to Lt. St. Eloy for à Batteaux to carry them from the Saw mills to Mount Independence and back again.

States to be given on every Monday to the Brigade Major—from the two Regiments, Company of Artillerie and the Officer who has charge of the Convalescents.

By the orders of His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton Lt. Dambourgesse of the Emigrants, has charge of the Canadians on Corvées.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 4th, 1777.

Parole: St. Adelaide. C. S.: Carnarvon.

Brigadier Hamilton cannot longer see the distresses daily occasioned by the intemperance of those men recovering from dangerous wounds without being affected, not only on their own accounts but that of the Public.

Out of the Justice to both and most particularly to the Medical Faculty to whome so much praise is due, The Brigadier Orders, that spirituous liquors of no kind be Vended on Mount Independence, and that no Convalescent be sufferd to pass to Ticonderoga, excepting à number sufficient, with any assistance, thought requisite by Lt. Naylor of the 62th Regiment, for carrying in Batteaux the Spruce for those who have liberty to drink it. The Two Hospital Carts it is expectd will make this easy and save the weak from much Fatigue, and to prevent Complaints from the Settlers near Mount Independence, the Centrys of Prince Friedericks Regiment are to suffer no one to go beyond their limits without a pass.

All Officers Servants and those attending the Gentlemen of the Hospital may have them that Vegetables and on being paid for may be procured.

The Major of Brigade will give the form of the pass, which is to be wrote in German and English, and to be signed by Lt. Colonel Praetorius of Prince Friedericks Regiment.

Form of the Pass.

Mount Independence 1777.

The Bearer Servant to
has leave to pass the Centries.

Lt. Colonel.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 5th 1777.

Parole: St. James. C. S.: Bristol.

None of the huts between the old Fort of Ticonderoga and the French Lines on any account to be pulld down, as they are intended for use.

Any Inhabitants near these Posts that harbours strangers in their houses, without acquainting the Commanding Officer will be punished.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 6th, 1777.

Parole: St. Joseph. C. S.: Polton.

A Subaltern from 62th Regt. to come up to the Barracks at Mount Independence this afternoon about 5 o Clock, to receive from Lt. Nailor some Convalescents, whome he is to take charge of as far as Fort George, from whence they will be forwarded by another Subaltern to the Army. The Officer will call on the Brigade Major for his instructions as he passes to the Mount.

No Prisoner to be releavd that is in charge of any Guard without the Brigadiers Orders or thro' his Brigade Major.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 7th, 1777.

Parole: St. Lucree. C. S.: Burton.

The Rolls of the Convalescents to be calld Twice a day and not one of them sufferd to go out of the Barracks after Gunfiring at Sunset the German Centries to have Orders accordingly.

The Officers Servants are excepted.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 8th, 1777.

Parole: St. Anne. C. S.: Biggleswade.

The Brigadier is not willing to put á stop to the only amusement the Gentlemen can have in a place like this, viz. Shooting—

but as there is plenty of time thro' the day for that diversion, begs there may be no firing before Sunrise or after Sunset, as it is contrary to all Rule—No body to go beyond the Gunboats in the Creek, or the Shipping at the other end of the Mount.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 9the, 1777.

Parole: St. David. C. S.: Conway.

Orders By Brigadier Hamilton.

The number of men able to move from the Hospital and Convalescents wards, renders it almost impossible for one Officer to attend to them as he ought—that of seeing their Barracks clean and swept out by ten in the morning, with Parades and other necessary avocations will be duty sufficient—which with the aid of the convalescent Officers of the different Regiments able to move could, by the knowledge of their own men, contribute much to augmenting the Army.

By giving health to those that wish to rob themselves of it and preventing the waste of Necessaries, which undoubtedly must happen where no pay is given to supply the immediate calls of that poison so prevalent at present.

Brigadier Hamilton cannot exact this of Gentlemen who have and now suffers so much, all he means is, that from the consciousness of the spirit that has distinguished this Army, every individual in his belief wishes but to be put in the way of doing his utmost.

Ticonderoga, Aug. 11the, 1777.

Parole: St. Mathias. C. S.: Penzance.

The Kings horses on no account to be used except for the public Service.

After Orders.

The Regiment of Prince Frederick is immediately to relieve the Cattle guard, consisting of à Corporal and Four men, as the 62the Regiment are under Orders to join the Army.

Kickmann, Maj. Br.

Ordres.

Quebec, ce 4 me d'Aout 1776.

Les Officiers commandants des Corps auront un Soïn particulier d'informer tous ceux, qui sont sous leurs Ordres, que les lettres ou messages des Rebelles ne doivent point être reçus, come venans des traitres, qui ont pris les armes contre le Roi, des Seditieux, des perturbateurs du repos public, des pillards, des Voleurs, d'assassins ou des meurtriers. Que si des Emissaires de tels hommes, qui ne sont plus sous la protection des loix, pretendent encore approche l'armée, même sous les noms de Parlementaires ou d' ambassadeurs (à l'exception de ceux, qui viendraient pour implorer la Grace du Roi) ils seront aussitôt pris et mis en prison, pour être poursuivis en justice, suivant la rigueur des loix. Que leurs papiers ou lettres, pour qui que ce puisse être, même pour le Commandant en Chef, seront delivrés au Prevôt de l'armée, qui sans les lire et les ouvrir, les fera brulés par le main du Bourreau.

Le Commandant en Chef croit cependant, que ni l'assassinat du Brigadier-Général Gordon, ni les dernier manquement de foi, conne de tous, en refusant de rendre les troupes et les Canadiens pris à St. Jean, en exchange de leur rebels, qui ont été pris par les Sauvages aux Cédres et à Quinchin, racheter d'Eux à grand pris et rendus à leur patrie, sous cette expresse condition, ne doivent point être attribués aux Provinciaux mentier : mais à quelques peus d'hommes mal intentionés et méchants, qui aiant commencé à les tromper, ont, petit à petit, conduit la populace crédule à sa ruine, après avoir usurpé sur eux l'autorité, établi une tyrannie absolue, qui ne peut être tolérée. Et donc l'impudence et la frénésie ont occasioné l'effusion du sang de nos malheureux compatriotes dans ce continent dans l'espérance de couvrir leurs fautes ou d'établir leur tyrannie sur la ruine entiere des leur pais. Que les remords du Crime accompagnent toujours ces perfides, hommes sanguinaires, qui soutinnet que le noir est blanc et le blanc noir. Il est de l'honneur de la Nation Britannique de se distinguer autant par son humanité que par sa Valeur. Il est de la Gloire des troupes du Roi d'epargné le sang de ses Sujets trompés,

dont la plus grande faute, peut-être, est de s'être laissé conduire par de tels hommes à leurs ruine.

Il est de l'honneur de la Couronne et il est le devoir de tous les fideles Serviteurs du Roi de sauver de l'oppression et de rendre à la liberté le peuple de ce continent, autrefois heureux, libre et fidel.

Tous les prisonniers des Provinces rebelles, qui choisissent de retourner chez eux, se tiendront prêts à s'embarquer au premier avertissement.

Le Commissaire Mr. Murray visitera les Transports, qui leurs seront destinées et ferra à ces, que des bonnes provisions, les habits nécessaires et toutes autres commodités, pour leur passage soient préparés pour ces hommes malheureux; leurs différentes provinces seront leurs prisons et ils y resteront, jusqu' à ce qu'ils soient elargis de nouveau ou qu'ils soient sommes de paroître devant le Commandant en Chef de cette Province, ou devant tout autre Commandants en Chef pour Sa Majesté alors aux quelles Sommations ils obéiront.

Le Général Howe ordonnera le lieu de leur débarquement.

Guy Carleton.

* * * * *

| | | Müntz-Sorten. | Wehrt nach Halifax Courant. | |
|---|-----|--|--------------------------------|--------|
| | | | £. | Sh. P. |
| 1. Portugiesische. | | | | |
| 2 | 40 | Rees-Stuecke | | 7½ |
| 1 | 50 | “ “ | | 4½ |
| 1 | 80 | “ “ | | 7½ |
| 2 | 100 | “ “ | | 9 |
| 2 | 200 | “ “ à 1 sh 6 P. | 3 | |
| 1 | 400 | “ “ | 3 | |
| 2. New-England. | | | | |
| 6 | | Shilling, Massachusets-Bay vom Jahr 1652 à 9 P. | 4 | 6 |
| 3. Italienische. | | | | |
| 1 | | Due Carlini Romani | 1 | |
| 1 | | Hollaendischen Gulden | 1 | |
| 1 | | Species-Thaler v. Marie Theresia | 5 | |
| 1 | | “ Braunschweigisch | 5 | |
| 1 | | Braunschweigischen Gulden | 2 | 6 |
| 1 | | Bayerisch. Species Thaler | 5 | |
| Spanische. | | | | |
| 1. In den Bergwerken von Potosi geschlagen. | | | | |
| 1 | | Pezza da Otto, Stueck v. Achten, Piaster, 8 Reales | 5 | |
| 1 | | “ halber, 4 Reales | 2 | 6 |
| 1 | | “ viertel, 2 Reales | 1 | 3 |
| 1 | | “ achtel, 1 Real | | 7½ |
| 1 | | “ ¼, ½ Real | | 3½ |
| 2. de Plata Mexicana. | | | | |
| (a) | | | | |
| 1 | | Pezza da Otto, Stueck v. Achten, Pilaren, Mexicane, 8 Reales | 5 | |
| 1 | | “ halber, 4 Reales | 2 | 6 |
| 1 | | “ viertel, 2 Reales | 1 | 3 |
| 2 | | “ achtel, 1 Real | 1 | 3 |
| 7 | | “ ¼, ½ Real | 2 | 2 |
| (b) de Plata Mexicana mit dem Brustbilde des Koenigs. | | | | |
| 1 | | Piaster, 8 Reales | 5 | |
| 1 | | “ halber, 4 Reales | 2 | 6 |
| 1 | | “ viertel, 2 Reales | 1 | 3 |
| 1 | | “ achtel, 1 Real | | 7½ |
| 6 | | “ ¼, ½ Real | 1 | 10½ |
| 1 | | “ “ “ | 3 | 3½ |

(a) 3. de Plata Provinciala.

| | £. | Sh. | P. |
|---|----|-----|----|
| I Piaster, 8 Reales | | 4 | |
| I " halbe, 4 Reales | | 2 | |
| I " viertel, 2 Reales | | 1 | |
| I " mit geschlung. Nahmen Phil. V. | | 1 | |
| I " " " von Carl III, nachher Carl VI | | 1 | |
| I achtel od. 1 Real | | | 6 |
| 4 1/16 oder 1/2 Real..... | | 1 | |

de Plata Provinciala mit dem Brustbilde des Königs.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|---|---|
| I Piaster, 8 Reales | | 4 | |
| I halber, 4 Reales | | 2 | |
| I " viertel, 2 Reales | | 1 | |
| I " achtel, 1 Real..... | | | 6 |

Englisches.

| | | | |
|---|--|----|---|
| I gantze Crown v. Karl II..... | | 5 | 6 |
| 4 halbe " Jacob II, William III, George II..... | | 11 | |
| I " " v. William und Maria..... | | | |
| 5 Shilling v. Carl II, William III, Anne | | 3 | 3 |
| 2 Sixpence von Georg II | | | |
| I Threepence v. Carl II..... | | | 3 |
| I Twopence v. Georg II | | | 2 |

II.

Franzoesisches.

| | | | |
|--|---|---|----|
| 4 grosse Laub-Thaler | I | 2 | |
| 4 halbe Laub-Thaler | | | II |
| I ein Livres Stuecke v. Louis XIV..... | | | 10 |
| I " v. Louis XV | | | 10 |
| 2 Isles du Vent..... | | | 10 |

Kupfer.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|-------|
| I russisches 10 Kopecken Stueck | | 1 | |
| I Spanisch 6 Rees Stueck..... | | | 1/2 |
| I Skilling Danske | | | 1/2 |
| I Portugiesisch 5 Rees Stueck..... | | | 1/2 |
| 3 Englische Halfpenny's | | | 1 1/2 |
| 10 Irllaendische " | | | 5 |
| 10 engl. Farthing's | | | 2 1/2 |
| 2 Virginische Halfpenny's | | | 1 |
| II Franzoes. Sols | | | 5 1/2 |
| 2 " Colonies Francoises | | | 1 |
| I Spanisch. 4 Rees-Stueck | | | 1/2 |
| 2 Halfpenny's v. Carl II | | | 1 |
| 2 Franzoesische Sols | | | 1 |

Gold.

| | £. | Sh. | P. |
|--|----|-----|----|
| 5 Hollaend. Ducaten à 10 Sh. | 2 | 10 | |
| 1 Spanisch. Doublon | 1 | 16 | |
| 1 ½ Spanisch. Doublon oder Pistole | | 18 | |
| 1 Achtel " " | | 9 | |
| 1 ¼ " " | | 4 | 6 |
| 2 viertel Moed'ors à 7 sh. 6P. | | 15 | |
| 1 ⅛ Portugais à 5 sh. | | 5 | |
| 1 Viertel Guinea von George I | | 5 | 19 |
| 2 Halber Portugais 76 | 4 | | |
| 1 " " 77 | 2 | | |
| 1 Moed'or | 1 | 10 | |
| 3 Franzoes. Louis d'or à 22/6P. | 3 | 7 | 6 |
| 7 Guineas à 23/4P. | 8 | 3 | 4 |
| 6 Halbe dito à 11/8. | 3 | 10 | |
| 6 dito, dito à 11/8. | 3 | 10 | |

Orignal, Rennthier,

Rehe

Baeren

Hirsche

Woelfe

Dam Hirsch

Caribouc

Hasen

Pekang

Fuechse, schwarze, silber, gold oder ordinaire

Marder, Baum, Stein, Nordische

wilde Katze, Rakounen, Enfant de Diable

Eichhoerner, 4 Sorten, fliegende

Hasemaeuse, braun mit schwarzen Streifen (Suisse)

Murmeltier, Sifleur

N. B. Der Silberfuchs klettert auf die Baeume, der Goldfuchs aber nicht.

In Canada

Capillaire haeufig und schoen

Serpentaria

Sassaparilla

Kl. Rothe Kirsche,

Traubenkirsche,

Cerises en Grappes

Der Goldfish (Poisson d'oré)

der Silberfish - - d'argenté)

der Masquinongé

der Hecht

die Karpe

der Alaender

die Queche

der Stoer

der Aal Weissfish

Strawberry's Erdbeeren, Fraises

Rasberry's Himbeeren, Framboises

Blackberry's Brombeeren,

Billberry's Heidelbeeren, Gueule noir

wie in Deutschland

wohlriechende Himbeeren Framboises

odoriferantes

Belloys, eine blaue Beere fast wie die

Heidelbeere, doch innwendig weiss,

nicht roth.

Alose (Shad)

Chepea Cinn: eine Art grosser Heer-

inge

der Lachs, im Lorentz Fluss, unter-

halb Quebec

Achignan blanc

- - - verd

Male Achignan (Brun) Sheephead

der Bers
die Quabbe (Barbot) Catfish)
— — — (Barbué)
die Karutsche—Sunfish, poisson armé
Krebse—Neunaug, Lampret
die Wasser Eidechse ohngefähr 1 Fuss lang.
der grosse Frosch (Bull frog) (Ouawarong) (Belard)
die Schildkroete
die Wasser Schlange
die Rat-musquée
Otter, eine kl. Art.

Die Becassine, Bachstelze, alouette
12 Arten Endten
weisse Fisch-Reiher
der Taucher
Gaense an den Lacs
Kropf-Gans
die Canadier nennen alle wilden Gaense falsch, Outardes.

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