

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
VERMONT  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FOR THE YEARS  
1923, 1924 AND 1925



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were left, in order to relieve those who had served the first Month's tour. All the Officers of the Company to which I belonged, with the exception of Nath<sup>n</sup> Merrill, went with the first posse which had been drafted. he was first Lieut. of the Company. he expressed an unwillingness to go on account of his inexperience. I shewed him the ill consequences that would arise in case he should not, of which he was as well aware as myself. his abilities were much superior to my own. he said if I would go, he would go also, and that I should share equal pay with himself. I replied to him that I would volunteer as a soldier, if he would take command of the company. he said that he was too proud to be laughed at by Continental Officers. One Lieut. Jacob Fowler came to him and said that he would go as Capt. if he was willing, Merrill said he did not care who was Capt. but he would not be, he was willing that any one should command who pleased the company.

On the 23<sup>d</sup> of Sept. met. I volunteered and many others followed the example our company was made up of Bradford, Corinth, Newbury, Ryegate, and Barnet. We had 10 new Scotchmen from two last towns. they were fine soldiers, knew nothing but how to obey. The Company was large consisting of 80. or 90 Men. On the 25th we set out on our line of march and lodged at Lyme, and on the 26<sup>th</sup> at Windsor. here lieut. Fowler wished me to take an irish hoist as he called it, and be his Orderly seargent, as he was ignorant I might be of service to him. I said that I volunteered my services for my country's good & not for honour or lucre. that I was willing to be anything that should promote the public interest, but I must have the expression of the soldier's will before I could accept the appointment. It was their priviledge to elect their own Officers. I paraded the men Capt. Fowler came out, made known his request to the men which they granted. he returned to the house, as the soldiers thought for a little new rum. After waiting some time I thought it best that they should elect the rest of the

noncommissioned Officers. I told them that if they would nominate, I would put it to vote. they choosing rather that I should nominate, I according agreed to it, and after closing the election, dismissed to company. 27th, having drawn 40 days provisions, we marched to Cavendish, a distance of 13 miles, and encamped.

Here there was a mutiny. they all unitedly, with one exception, declared they would march no farther till they knew who was their real Capt. I told them, Fowler was their Capt. they replied, that if he were chosen they were contented. Merrill sent me to the house where Lieut. Col Kent and Fowler lodged, and request the former to come and pacify the soldiers. Kent sent Fowler, who observed to the men; that he considered himself their commander in as much as, Col. Kent & Lieut Merrill had declared their willingness that he should be. Merrill said he did acquiese in the arrangement that had been made previous to our March, and moreover, was then willing should it be the desire of the soldiers, to cast himself into the ranks; that he would go on with them if they should elect him to any post of command, other than a Captaincy. that They could not prevent his going as a private soldier. The Ensign said the same, and Fowler likewise. I then requested the Officers to take distance, and desired the Soldiers would lead off to him, they desired should Command them. They did not move. I had been kept in ignorance till now. Merrill ordered me to take a post, I held myself stationary as the soldiers. Merrill gave orders, They lead to me except a lad who was Fowler's waiter. Fowler left dissatisfied but said he would go to headquarters and accordingly marched with us. 30th day we arrived at Headquarters, at Pawlet.

October 2<sup>d</sup> Maj Benj<sup>a</sup> Whitcomb rec<sup>d</sup> Orders to take 200 on a Scout to Fort Edward. he applied to me as my men were well accustomed to the woods. he was acquainted with the most of them. 4th I marched with 45 of the best of my company. Capt. Joshua Hazen of Hartford, went with 25

men. we went to White Creek now Salem in N York. 5th Sunday, went to hear doc<sup>t</sup> Clark preach. the 6th day we drew our provisions for four days, which consisted of flour and fresh beef. As you desire me to give the characters of my associates in arms, I will endeavour to gratify you as far as I feel myself warranted.

At this place the hero Capt John Wheelock\* from Dartmouth College joined us. his company consisted of himself and waiter, Doct Stevens and waiter, together with a seargent, corporal and one private, making 7 in all. We had a Capt Taylor to pilot us. having entered the woods, Whitcomb halted, and calling the Officers aside, said, it was probable we might take some plunder, and in case we should, he desired the opinion of the Officers in what manner it ought to be divided? Capt Wheelock asked whether an Officer would draw most, by pay or rations? Why by pay was the answer.—Well then I move that they share in the booty according to their pay. his Doct seconded the motion. My opinion was next asked. I said All ought to draw equally. Wheelock reprimanded me, saying that the Officers had all the care on himself & and if there was any misfortune that should occur, the blame would naturally be attached to him. I replied, that they had the pay too & the honour. that I considered, I had men under my charge who would do as much if not more toward taking plunder as himself or I should do, and that their lives were as precious as our own. Hazen and all the Other Officers concured in

\*John Wheelock son of President Eleazer Wheelock of Dartmouth College, born in 1754, graduated at Dartmouth in 1771, member of the Provincial congress in 1774 and of the Assembly in 1775. In the spring of 1777 commissioned a Major of a New York regiment, and in November a Lieut. Col. in Col. Bedel's regiment of N. H. In 1778 he commanded an expedition against the Indians, and served on the staff of Gen. Gates until his appointment as President of Dartmouth. He was the first to propose the Union of western N. H. with Vermont, which is proof that the college was interested in the matter. If the Union had continued it would have been to the great advantage of the college, as it would have placed it in the center of a large state instead of remaining on the borders of two. See Vt. Gov. and Council, v. 1, p. 428; v. 11, p. 500.—Note by the Editor.

my opinion. It continued to rain very hard all the afternoon, we had a foot path part of the way. About 7 o'clock in the evening we came to an old shattered hut, situated in an opening of 2 or 3 acres partially cleared. taking the hut for a guard house, we stationed our sentinels. the rest of the men camped in the open field. there was not a dry thread about us all. the rain still continued until past midnight. we were not allowed fire during the night. In the morning we went into a low swamp and made a fire to cook our provision by. On opening my knapsack I found my meat stunk, and, was filled with worms. Many others found their own in a like conditions. I stirred my flour in water and made porridge.

Our encampment was half a mile from the River. the morning of the 7th we went to the road. there was a heavy log fence by the road side. we here waylaid. I was on the right and was charged to lay close, and quiet, a two-story house situated to the North of us, a distance of 30 rods perhaps, had its doors and windows open. but a short time had elapsed before Capt. Wheelock and the Doctor came along. I hailed them. Wheelock said he was going to that house. that it belonged to a Tory and might contain plunder. I told him that plunder was not our object, we wanted prisoners, I expected there would be some Messengers going to or from Burguoyne and that it was our aim to intercept them, he insisted upon going forward to the house. I told him I would drop him in his track if he attempted it. however he went back, entered the woods, and going round, crossed the road near the house which he entered. he found no booty we went up to Fort Miller and lodged in Barracks. the 8th day at dawn, we took two prisoners, who had a mess of fresh trout which they were carrying to Burguoyne, for his breakfast. we went up to Halfway brook, from this place, otherwise called Moses Creek. Whitcomb desired me to go with six men to fort Edward. Wheelock begged the privilege, he thought there might be some plunder. he went

accordingly and found a poor old french horse that had been worn out and left by the enemy. Wheelock took him through the woods.

On our return we camped in the woods it being very cold, we suffered much for the want of fire. the 9th we marched to Saratoga. about 11 o'clock in the day our Militia began their retreat from the Fort across the Hudson. they could ford on to the head of an Island, thence to the east shore, and to Tift's Mills.  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the eastward, where was erected a breastwork. I thought they were fools or cowards to go so far from the enemy. In the afternoon, Whitcomb asked me to accompany him to the lower end of the meadow. we went a little below Schuyler's church situated on the east side. there stood an ancient looking house, close by the river bank. to the eastward of the house, arose a high and very steep hill the summit of which was extensive, and very level. We stationed a sentinel here in a part adjacent to a wood which formed the back ground of the hill, we remained here two hours, and saw Hessian soldiers passing above us, perhaps a distance of 40 rods. presently we heard a ball whistle above our heads, and heard the report of a gun. Uncle *Uriah* Chamberlain said if their bellies were as empty as their guns the devil would have them soon, instantly we heard another report, we scrambled up the hill hilter-skitler, and he was the best fellow, who got up first. We came to our sentinel, who was stationed at the south end of the field. On coming up to him, he said that two men came out of the woods on the east side of the field and one of them fired at him, the ball passed just above his head, and he returned the fire and had wounded one of them, he supposed them to be Tories. We took his direction, and following in pursuit, we discovered blood by the way. they had descended into a steep Gulf and when ascending the opposite side, they saw us and stopped. the man's thigh was broken and badly shattered. he was a Militia man from Sutton had come from the breastwork over against us, contrary to orders. his

object was to see Burguoyne. the poor fellow survived only 3 days, in great misery.

We returned to the fording place and found our troops mostly gone, there stood in the meadow two large houses. I said to Whitcomb that I was weary faint, and hungry, and that we had better lodge in those houses, and send to Headquarters for provisions and cook it in them. He said that he should like to stay and have some sport with the enemy's boats when they should come up the river. Our party is few in number I replied, but we could then better secure ourselves and make good our escape from that circumstance, should necessity require it. he said he had orders to repair to headquarters, I asked him whether he had made report of his scout? he said he had not. then you are free to act as you may think proper said I. he replied, I will consult Col Bellows, and know whether he will stay with his Regiment. Bellows went to General Bayley and Gen<sup>l</sup> Whipple who highly approved of the proposition. We accordingly sent to headquarters for provisions. I sent six faithful men and charged them to return as soon as possible. Hazen did the same. Our men returned that evening. Bellow's and Whitcomb's got back the next morning. It had rained in the afternoon, the evening was very dark and lowry and the traveling bad. Soon after sunset we called the roll and numbered 95 men in all. Bellow's men were at headquarters, he sent for them by those who went for the provisions, but it was so dark that none came.

Hazen and myself cast lots for the guard. It fell to him. he had 50 men on guard, 11 of whom were continentals. I took the house near to the Island. Whitcomb and Bellows that next to the River. There were two ovens in my house. I ordered two men to get wood and heat the ovens make up the bread and Cook the provisions when it should be brought, the floors being an inch deep with mud and clay I took a door from the hinges on which Merrill and myself laid down very weary. we did not get much sleep, nor food for the 3

preceding days. All things being in confusion this day, we had no time to prepare our food.

At 9 oclock Bellows sent an express to me, to turn out, that the Boats were ascending the River. I left two men to proceed with their cooking and marched to the other house. I then ordered my men to pile their packs and place a sentinel over them. I asked leave to go to the lading. Bellows said not before he had got out his men, they seemed to be in disorder. I repeated my request saying that I was fearful the boats would go past us. Bellows said he would go with me, and leave Whitcomb to bring on his men. We proceeded to the landing. the first boat had got on not more than 5 rod distance before Bellows hailed her, she made for the island about 12 rods distance. We fired and wounded one man. they refused to strike to d—md Rebels. We fired again. by this time Whitcomb came and Hazen with all his guard, except the sentinels. some of them left their post. there were six of my new Scotchmen sentinels who kept their post until sunrise without a murmur. we fired 3 rounds to no purpose, the enemy in their turn fired on us but overshot us. there were 300 men on the Island which I afterwards learned, when a prisoner. We were surprised at finding the enemy so near. we little expected it. Bellows said we must retreat, for they were Sharpshooters and were under cover, whereas we were in the open field and unprotected. I said it was lower ground two rods distant. we withdrew to it laid down close and in 20 minutes they ceased firing. Bellows and Whitcomb retreated. I lay quiet. I have often thought of the old proverb, he that knows nothing fears nothing. I felt secure of danger, at this time, there was a moon, but it was obscured by flying clouds nearly half the time. my sergeant lay by me, I asked how many men were with us? he said six Is that all? Hazen answered no. Myself and waiter are here. two of my own men deserted at the first firing, viz Tuminic, and Indian, and Eph<sup>m</sup> Martin, they came in the next day. I asked my sergeant whether his

gun was loaded? It is said he. I then ordered him to go to the bank, and hail the boat ordering them to bring to that they should be treated as prisoners of war. I had discovered one man in the boat. the sergeant went and hailed the boat but the man refused to bring to: I had in the meantime advanced near to the edge of the bank, and had my gun in readiness, I spoke in rougher language than the sergeant, who was a very pleasant man and lisped a little, the man still refused, the moon at this time shineing clear I was able to discover his position. I fired, the ball cut the chime hoop of a barrel that partially screened him. he got out of the boat, pushed it off and came to our side. he said, before I shot, he was sick with the Ague and fever, that the boat was then aground the water knee deep and that it would kill him to attempt the water; When he came to land however I was much mortified at my prize, and deeply relented, for I found it consisted of a *poor sick man*, one old woman and a child 2 years of age; with another of only 2 weeks old. I had them carefully conducted to the house and sent a message to Bellows to come down and assist in unloading the boat. by the time he arrived, we had taken 3 others, in all, we took 11 and 2 scows, the rear of the boats proceeded no farther that Schuyler's Creek. the water was so shallow, that the men were obliged to get out and lighten the boats. A brisk west wind sprang up which blew them into the currant of the River.

I was informed that the Continental Army the next day, took up 150 boats. we were until the following morning unloading. the enemy firing upon us in the meantime; but they could not hurt us being unable to bring their guns to bear. they overshot us. we laboured hard all night, in carrying provisions, and Camp equipage up the bank, and across the meadow to the top of a high hill where we deposited them in the woods. We sent to Head Quarters for Wag-gons. Bayley and Whipple granted our request. they were got in readiness; but General Fellows of Massachusetts

found it out and countermanded the orders. He said it was a rainy bad night, and that they should not go. Whipple and Bayley demanded him to show his Commission, Fellow's being the oldest, his authority was of course the superior so we obtained no waggons. In the morning, the enemy's sharpshooters fired so close upon us that we were forced to quit our ground. They fired several 4 pound shot through the house which we occupied we retreated up the hill about a mile distant from the enemy. they wanted to take the boats a mile further up the river and make a bridge of them, as they did when going down, the road extended no farther northward, on the west shore, they were therefore, knocking the boards from off the Barracks, to cover the boats, which, had they not been stopped, would speedily have been constructed into a bridge, and their Advance Guards have been several miles ahead, the 11th day we marched to Batenhill River, and halted at the upper end of the Meadow upon the North side of it, a distance of  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile to the northward of the Fort. here we fired a six pounder at a house in which were, as we learned, several sick and killed An Officer whilst the Surgeon was in the act of dressing his wound. In the afternoon, General Chase ordered me to take a Batteau with six men and go down the river [past] the fort a distance of 5 miles, and bring up another boat when we got to the batteau, we found the bottom filled with Iron tools such as Axes, Saws, Hatches, all kinds of Carpenter and Joiner's tools and considerable bar-iron. On our return we took in a ton's burden. the 12th day we lay in Camp.

*The 14th There a Cessation of Arms.* 17th Burguoyne Surrendered and marched out of the Field, 18th we were discharged from the army, and repaired to headquarterd, where we rendered our plunder. 19th we finished our business, we had been plundered in turn, of all our best and most valuable articles, by Col Brown's Regiment, as we supposed, of Rangers. Merrill and myself took from the boats and carried up the bank, 7 Officer's Trunks, each one

being a heavy load for both of us. We also took several Chests of gold laced hats which we never saw after. Brown's Men sold the hats to the continental Army the next day, we understood.—One trunk, out of the whole was left, which we endured, we placed a Dutch guard over our booty. Capt Bellows' men guarded their own. on the 27th we got home.

On the 10th day of December following 1777 I set out for Canada with a flag of Truce.—

The Officers of our Regiment in '76 consisted of Col Bedle who was a bold soldier but desolute character. Lieut Col Wait, a haughty, proud Tyrant, Maj Butterfield, a pleasant, good, kind man, who made a fine Officer, *greater* than what he *was* his capability would not admit, Capt *Osgood*, a lazy, stupid, dissipated man, his Officers under him were decent, and likely men. Capt *Wilkins*, a gentleman soldier, his Lieutenants I never saw, they fell at the siege of Quebec. Ensign William Bradford, an excellent man, Capt *Green*, a very poor officer. his Lieutenants also died at Quebec. Ben Chamberlain, Ensign, a good soldier but very ignorant as an officer, he was suspended. Green was a hostage at the time the Cedars was captured. he went to Quebec. Capt *Ester Brooks*, was deemed a good commander. he and his Officer died at Quebec and St Johns. Capt *Carlile* who was broke, was the most courageous, bold officer in all the Regiment. Capt. *Wait*, good officer, man of surprising information. Capt *Young*, a somewhat sensible but conceited gambler, fought great battles at a distance, his first Lieut. Whitcomb whose name I have so often repeated was a presumptuous fellow. entirely devoid of fear, of more than common strength, equal to an Indian for enduring hardship or privation, drank to excess even when in the greatest peril, balls whistling around his head. 2<sup>d</sup> Lieut. Wales, a gentleman without property, a gambler, with other vices attached to his character. Capt *Everet*, an idle lazy coward, *his* officers were all good and faithful soldiers. As you desired me, I have given you a brief outline of the characters of all

the officers with whom I was more immediately connected, and in the manner, and circumstances under which I at the time conceived them.

## PART SECOND

On the 10th of Dec. 1777, I set out to go to Canada with a Flag, to take in George Singleton, a British Lieutenant, and to exchange him for an Ensign belonging to Albany. As you wished me to give characters I will. Singleton was from Ireland, his father was a merchant. One Torrey a Merchant of Montreal, traded with him. the old man wished Torrey to take his son as a clerk, for he was a prodigal. When his time of service expired, his Father sent him £1.000 value in goods. He soon spent it & involved himself. he went up to Carlton Island where Capt. Foster was stationed, and joined him as a cadet. When the Cedars was taken, he, with an Indian ran by all our garrisons to Quebec to carry the intelligence to General Carlton, for which service he gave him a lieutenant's Commission. The next year he was wounded and taken prisoner at the siege of Fort Stanwix. he importuned General Gates to let him be sent to Canada. I expect he made his visits in the afternoon, else he would not probably have prevailed. the Lake not being in our possession, Gates sent him to Coos, with orders to Col Bedle to furnish a Flag if practicable, but if not Singleton, might get to Canada the best way he could, as Singleton afterwards informed me. Bedle prevailed with me, & Lieut John Powel and Ensign Nehemiah Lovewell to go. There was also one Philo Hurlbut who went with us. The first day we arrived at Col Elkins in Peacham. there was an old Scotchman at Elkins, a friend to me, who said ye maun gang na further with yer Irishman, they are as deceitful as the devil. never ane came to Scotland but he got hangt, he wull get ye into a trap. ye had bather gang hame, if not ye'll no return soon I'm thinking. Surely the Old Man's prophecy proved true to a tittle.

The 15th we got to Metcalf's at Swanton-falls, very hungry. Singleton took only three days allowance, I took six, and the rest four. we had no more than half an allowance for the Journey, the last two days. we expected to find Metcalf & Family living at Swanton, he had resided there as being central, But the British were jealous of him and took him to Montreal. we got in about seven oclock in the evening and found two starved Indians there. they had some porridge in a kettle made of coarse meal, they gave us what they had left which was a small allowance. we left two of our party in the morning viz Powel & Hurlbut. their snow shoes being out of order they stoped to fix them. Singleton & Lovewell refused to wait for them. they slept two miles behind, without fire or food. In the morning I went up chamber and found a quantity of coarse meal and some corn. I ground the corn in a hand mill, and made a good breakfast. Singleton and Lovewell said they would not wait for Powell & Hurlbut, I told them I would not start till I saw them, and had made some bread for my journey. I set out in search for them, and having met them, came back made up some cakes and baked them in the ashes. they said they would see St Johns before they eat food, I took my cakes with me, and filled my handkerchief with meal. we went down to the river, [Missisquoi] a distance of 2 miles but finding the ice unsafe to travel upon, we left it and proceeded to the bay. the river runs 9 miles, to point of land. the bay makes up each side of the point of land, from the river to the bay, nearly 100 rods. Night overtook us before we got across the bay, we camped on the opposite side, eat our cakes. I cut through the ice to obtain water, and brought it in my hat, mixed up my meal on my handkerchief and baked cakes for breakfast.

In crossing the bay we lost our rout, in consequence of its being cloudy. we were some miles to the Northard of our proper course. after loosing several hours time we regained it and laid our course for the South River, which we

followed down. I signified to Powell, that I was suspicious of Singleton. he said that he was, and if we had 2 days provisions he would return; for he believed the old Scotchman's prophecy. We soon after met a British Scout consisting of a sargeant & six men. they turned about with us, when we came to the Isle Aux Naux] [Noix] Singleton said he would go to the Island and get a horse and overtake us before we should get to St. Johns. he and the sargeant went on. when we were within 5 miles of St Johns, night overtook us. we found a shanty and turned in. It was very stormy. whilst the scout were collecting wood as they had left their guns in a very careless manner. Powell said if I would join him, we would search their knapsacks, during their sleep, and, in case we could find 5 pounds of bread or meat, we would take their guns, awaken Lovewell, and return home. we made search but found only a small piece of butter. The next morning the sargeant came, I desired him to go forward and see how the commanding officer would receive us, and return to me again. he accordingly did as I requested him and returning, encountered a violent wind and storm. he said seeing it was so stormy we might come as we were. (and we might, had there been no storm I expect). 19th we were conducted to the Commander's Quarters, his name was Col French. I delivered my letters. I had several for private individuals. he treated us to a pleasant cordial of mint, saying, that spirits would injure us being fatigued and hungry. he further remarked, that he was sorry his accommodations for us were no better than the officers guard-room. That since a part of Burgoyne's Army had returned, every room was thronged. We went to the guard-house where we were treated to a plenty of food, but poor fires. they had nothing to burn but green hemlock & Poplar wood, which the soldiers drew on hand-sleds, the snow was now 3 feet deep and the cold severe. We continued there 12 days.

Jan<sup>y</sup> the first 1778 I was 29 years of age. this day I set out for Quebec in company with Ensign Ashley, Powell with

sergeant Short, and Lovewell with the Officer's Sev<sup>t</sup>. On the 5th we arrived at Quebec. In the evening we were conducted to one Darley's, at the sign of the Anchor, which was the best public house in the town. Here I had many tory acquaintances to visit me. on the 11th I went to Beaufort, and on the 12th to the Isle of Orleans. I was billeted out in the parish of St. James situated in the lower extremity of the Island, in a Canadian french family which I found to be very kind, neat, and accommodating. but a little deceitful withall. I turned in my rations and eat with the family. We had a British ensign and his servant to guard us, he was one of Burguoy'n's Officers, who had obtained leave to go to Canada. I knew him when I lay the North side of Battenkill River. those of the enemy who went to Canada usually crossed the Hudson, came up to the South side of Battenkill and camped. General Bayley wished me, one day as we lay there in camp, to go across the river and invite some of the British Officers to come and spend the evening with him. Mr. Robertson, Furgusson and several accepted the invitation. this Mr. Robertson recognized me and said, that as he was a prisoner as well as myself he would have nothing to show, that he was exchanged, and since he was known he would retire. Mr. Furgusson came.

Capt. Lamotte, Adjutant General to Sir Guy Carlton sent for me. I waited upon him. he handed me back General Gates' letter unbroken, saying, General Carlton held no correspondence with Gates. they did not thank him for sending Singleton back. he was a quarrelsome, drinking fellow, a very bad man. There were prisoners upon the Island from the thirteen States. we enjoyed ourselves by visiting each other through the winter. we were scattered all over the parish, two in a house, we often lamented, and felt discontented that we had no Liberty only in our own parish. we wished to go round the Island, and in every parish. as I had often called upon the Officer and been more familiar with him than any other person among the

prisoners Maj Frye desired me to make inquiry of him, why we were restricted to one parish? I accordingly did, the Officer told me we were not restricted, that we were at liberty to go to any part of the island we might choose. I reported this and it produced a general content. we never after mentioned it or even thought of going out of our own neighborhood. we had good provisions. In quantity and quality the same that British soldiers enjoyed. We drew clothing, when we needed it. the Officer sent his servant to me as often as once a week, with a Note requesting me to call upon him that he might enquire after the health, and condition of the prisoners; whether they needed any article of clothing & c. he desired me to make out a list of the names, and, the articles each wanted, and hand over to him. & when he should have procured them, that I would call the men to quarters to receive them. Why he applied to me was a mystery to myself and others, and remains so to this day. There were Officers higher in rank, and of superior education and abilities than myself among the prisoners Our friendship did not endure long however.

General Carlton came to the Island the 25th of Feby, and sent Capt Lamotte to acquaint me, that His Excellency General Carlton in his clemency would grant the Officers who were among the prisoners some money, if they needed, till such a time as they should be enabled to get home to their friends, that I might take their names, and the sums each should wish for, hand it to Mr. Furguson, and in a few days it would be forwarded to us. The Officers accordingly met at my quarters, all much pleased excepting myself. They thought they should make their fortunes and be made gentlemen at once. Some put down £10 Some 20£ I refused to sign for any; because I thought they were so extravagant, we should get nothing. They insisted upon my putting down something, so I signed for 20 shillings. They called me a low insipid fellow. I told them I should get as much as any of them, and they should acknowledge it within a

month. We *all* went to the Commander who informed us that the money would be sent in ten days. My comrades asked me what I thought then? I said I should not change my mind. Powell said he believed I would rather stay on the island than go home; but should he live to see the ground bare he would quit the cursed place. Lovewell joined with him. I told them, as the snow was 4 feet deep, and no possibility of escape, that I deemed it best to be as contented as possible. 8th of March I went to the Officer to receive the Moneys according to agreement. It had not been sent, but was expected the 19th of the month. when it should arrived he would send me word. Col Billinger and Maj Frye had obtained leave to go to Quebec, the last of Feby, they returned the 1st of March, well clothed and had some money, which I suspected they received from Free Masons, but they said not. They had some Dutch Acquaintances in Quebec.

About the 10th of March, Roberts, Rice and Hill deserted from the Island. They had planed their escape some time previous. had selected snow shoes, but the Family with which Roberts resided were warm friends of Government and they watched him very close. It seemed as if they almost knew his thoughts, they suspected him, he quit the house in a hurry had not time to get his rackets, neither had Rice or Hill. That night they passed Quebec. going to the north side of the town. daylight soon appeared, they left the road and entered the woods. the crust would not bear them to travel—in consequence of which they were obliged to crawl. had they gone 2 miles further they might have been safe. Roberts had friends at a village called Point au Tremble. whilst in the woods a Canadian who was hunting came up to them, of whom they made a prisoner. and detained for some time. having made him promise profound secrecy as to themselves they let him go. but he went immediately to the village and informed against them, a guard came to the woods, took them to Quebec and after being de-

tained there 2 or 3 weeks they were again sent to their old quarters upon the island.

March 19th I went to receive my money, but it had not been forwarded. I observed that I was not disappointed, for I had never expected that it would be sent. the Officer said we might have the money provided Col Billinger and Maj Frye would become our security for its remittance within a reasonable time. I told him they ought to have put their words nearer together. they should have mentioned their conditions at first. but I thought I understood the matter, since I had lived many years under John Bull. Powell and Lovewell were with me, they had applied for some clothing which he gave them, he said I had better take some, I answered, that I had not applied for any. It will make no difference said he, and laid some by with Powell's. We took them and on our return, called at the Major's to show our new suits. Upon examining them we found they were very coarse, much more so than any which had been sent to the prisoners. I hired Powell to take them back and tell the Officer they were too small for me & that I could not wear them. he accordingly did, and carried his own also, the Officer refused to receive them, however he left them, telling him, they had better be kept for some poor person who might need them. May 7th. I received orders to be at my lodgings at 8 oclock in the evening or go without my soup and to make proclamation to the rest of the prisoners, but little regard was paid to this order.

14th 5 prisoners deserted, viz Blanchard, Hill, Rice, Osgood & Evans. I sent by Blanchard a list of about 30 prisoners to be published in case he should get home. I will give their names, perhaps it will be interesting to you. Col. Frederick Billinger, of German Flats. Maj. John Frye of Johnstown commander of the Militia of that place. Capt. John Martin of Schenectady, he was an Irishman, by profession a schoolmaster, and spoke French *well*. the two former were Dutchmen, who were taken prisoners at the

siege of Fort Stanwix. Frye was wounded about the same time that Singleton was, in the same arm and in the same part. Col. Charles Campbell & Brother, Lieut George Campbell, R. Laughlin, David Dixon, John Gibson, 5 Pennsylvania-Militia-riflemen, of Armstrong County, who were taken by Indians the 25th of April 1777, on black lick waters. Daniel Horne of Dover. Thomas Bickford of York. Daniel Dana of Lebanon, Conn. Solomon Aubin of Newburyport, George a Negro, from the same palce, Oliver Bacon, Rindge, N. H. Levi Hubbardton, Isaac Robertson Calcut Westmoreland N. H. Jacob Stockwell, Newhaven Vt. Silas Pratt, Pownal Vt. John Weber McTown of Wells, Barnabas De Vine, Jersey. he was a sutler, born in Ireland, and died in Halifax. the last 12 were taken July 7th at Castleton, on their retreat from Ticonderoga. Lemuel Roberts of Bennington, Vt. James Hill and Sam<sup>l</sup> Rice of Charlotte, were taken Jany. 19 1778 at Bellam-Queen bay, by the Indians. they had been sent from Bennington on a scout to Canada. Abner Blanchard composed one of the party. he was an old woodsman and & excellent hunter. the party becoming straitened for provisions, sent Blanchard to one Parsons who lived at Shelburn, and who was the only person who had not removed from the Lake, to procure some. during his absence they were taken captives, the Indians had discovered them the preceding day, on which Blanchard left them, and ascertained their number. A part of the Indians waited two days, and on his return Made him prisoner.

At the time, *those 5*, of whom I have previously made mention, deserted, Roberts & Devine were to have gone. the Former seemed to assume the command, being a large, stout, hardy, and courageous man; tho he failed much in conduct. They had agreed upon the particular night on which they would desert provided the wind should prove favourable, if it should not they were to wait until it should be. On the approach of the appointed night, it blew so severe, that Roberts

concluded his party would not attempt to go, accordingly retired early. this he usually did, that he might quiet the suspicions of the family in which he quartered, and elude their vigilance of him. the party having set out dared not return to their lodgings. they came to Robert's window and spoke but did not awaken him. the dog barked at which taking alarm they left the house, crossed over to the east side of the Island, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles and proceeded to the river, which they found so high, they dared not venture to cross it. retreating to the woods they encamped. The wind continued to increase, upon the following day the Officers made search but could not find the deserters. they were confident they were on the Island, because there were no canoes missing. The next night they made search for a boat, but could find none, the Canadians having secured them. At length they found an old canoe in the bushes, fited it up, and crossed the river, which at that place is 4 miles in width, within 18 days from the time of their departure, they reached the Settlements on Kennebec River. having taken but 12 day's provisions with them, they were 3 days, on half an allowance, and 3 days without any. Roberts and Blanchard had often applied to me for information, respecting the country, Mountains and rivers of Maine, entertaining the idea that I had more knowledge of them than I really did. We had been cautious of being seen together, I advised them to go by Kennebeck; but not to set out until the last of the month, If they should, they would find, in all probability the snow knee-deep on the height of land, and that they ought to take 18 days provisions. But should they wait until the snow disappeared, 'twas my opinion that they might accomplish the Journey in 12 or 14 days at most. I desired them however not to rely upon my judgment as I was ignorant as they, in respect to the rout. Blanchards ideas coincided with my own, But Roberts more self sufficient, thought it best to go by the way of Memphremagog lake to Connecticut river. I said they might go that way if 'twas

their choice, but that they would find as much snow and many more indians; for the St. Francois Indians were all usually out at that season and it was not likely they would avoid them. At length they concluded to take the rout by the Kennebeck.

The Night following their desertion, the Officer placed a Canadian-guard over me, one centinel in my room and another at the outer door. he also guarded Powell & Lovewell in a similar manner. I was well acquainted with my guard. they had always appeared very friendly. I pitied them seeing they had to stand in the cold I picked up some loose boards and placed them at the door for a centinel's box. They were very merry and railed about the Officer; but went directly and acquainted the Officer All that had transpired. on the 16th day of May I went to the Commander for the purpose of ascertaining the reasons why I was guarded? seeing that I had given my parole. his reply was that I was not guarded. that he had ordered none to be put over me, 5 he said had deserted and he believed me accessory to their escape. however he had understood on that day, that they had been taken, and tomorrow, would be hanged, I told him he had a long tow rope and could hang well at a distance. he directly observed, they had made no search for them, it would be impossible to find an enemy on the east side of the river. they meaning the Inhabitants were all enemies to Government, but as the inhabitants gave a favourable account of the prisoners generally, and of you in particular I have placed no guard over you, but here through my ignorance of human nature & a want of education I interrupted, and told him plainly he had guarded me, he asserted it was false. I replied that there was a falsehood between us, but I was not its author, he again observed, I understood this morning, that you made a centinel's box for the guard: and *now* if you will give your parole I will not guard you. I told him I had given it to his Superior, General Murray. the Commissary general of the Prisoners. and that I had kept

it in every respect on my part, but he had violated it by guarding me, and I should not give it to every person whom I might meet.

Thos. Bickford was traitor to us, and gave information that Roberts & DeVine were to have gone with the party that deserted. he told the reasons why they did not go. he informed also against me, told of things which took place at 3 miles distance from him, between Roberts & Myself, and no person being present with us, Roberts declared, that none but the Devil could have informed him. Roberts and a number of the prisoners went that morning to see Bickford, whom he brased severely for his meanness. Bickford returned with the party to the officer and complained of them, who immediately took Roberts and DeVine, and that evening sent them to Quebec Jail. After leaving the officer I observed to Powell that I had been imprudent, in the heat of passion, I had gone too far, and should be sorry for it within 3 days he said, no. you spoke my mind, I should have said the same. I told him, we must *desert* tomorrow else go to jail, or else go aboard *the Mary*, he laughed at my apprehension, saying the matter would blow over in a few days and all would again be quiet. that we should have as good a time as the others had, and there would be much less snow in a week or two hence, which circumstance would greatly favour our attempt at an escape. I replied that there was now much less snow, than when the other party left, and that our present oportunity was much less hazardous. that the morrow being Sunday all the *males* would be at Church. I think it was Palm Sunday, or at least on that day the occasion specially required all the males should be present, and moreover the owner of the canoe, which we had selected for our use, would not stop us even if he should see us in the act of taking it, for he was a warm Bostonian. Lovewell's zeal for leaving the Island seemed to be much abated, on parting each one went to his lodgings.

The next morning by daylight, Daniel Horne and John

Haskill came to my quarters, under the expectation that I should leave the Island that day, and expressed a wish to go with me. I told them we would take Lovewell, in our way and go down to Powell's quarters which were nearly a mile distant from the place where lay our canoe. Powell was disheartened, however he said we would go and see old Mr Webber who had lived on the Kennebeck River, and who could give us better information, as to the way than probably any one else, Powell's wish was to pass the time by delay. Horne grew angry with him, left us and went home. It had now become too late in the day to start so I gave it up. the Canadians were returning from church. Lovewell & I passed the afternoon with Powell. On leaving him I told him he must pick up his duds and hold himself in readiness, for he knew not the hour he might be called for.

We had not proceeded far, before I discovered the officer at the distance of probably  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile. I asked Lovewell, who it was an what he supposed might be his business? some one riding to take the air was his reply. Well his domestic is in his rear, with his arms, what is that for? he is hunting birds, said he. the Officer soon came up and enquired for Powell. I told him we had just parted with him at his quarters, in good spirits. Well sir s<sup>d</sup> he. you must repair to my quarters immediately. I will sir, but I may call at my house & collect my clothing and take my supper I suppose? You may get your clothing, your Supper I will furnish, then he s<sup>d</sup> to his servant pointing toward us, take them along, I am in haste. I walked carelessly to the fence, near the road and s<sup>d</sup> that I would stop until his hurry was over before I should go. I did not wish to go under guard, while on parole. you were not unwilling last evening to take my word. I now pledge my honour to be at your quarters within  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour. he refused. and again addressing his serv<sup>t</sup> rode on after Powell. I told the servant to go home, that I would not go with him unless he put away his arms. James (that being his name) marched off. When at a proper

distance, I went to my lodgings, the family all met me at the door much concerned for me, saying, you will be grossly miserable, we will give you as much provision as you have a mind to take. you will need it in prison. John s<sup>d</sup> if I would go to the woods & come to his sugar camp he would furnish me with provisions. I told them I would go to prison and Government should provide for me. Lovewell & I then marched to the officers house. soon after our arrival, he came with Powell.

The following day May 18th, we were taken to Quebec, and quartered in the guard-house, 3 hours after, we were taken from thence, and put on board the Tryton Frigate of 28 Guns, this ship was built by the Ladies in England. It was a very fast sailing vessel, having ran 14 Nots an hour, under Jury-masts, as was asserted, she was dismasted in a severe gale, the first voyage she made. Capt Ludwidge commanded the British Fleet on Lake Champlain in '76 when Arnold was defeated. he was of royal blood. his person was tall and handsome. had more homage paid to him than any human being I ever saw. he was afterwards made a Rear Admiral. As soon as we were all on board we were ordered to go between decks, but the vermin were so plenty we returned to the main deck and there buffeted wind and weather. here we bewailed our rugged fortune. Our allowance was 13 ounces to the pound, and 3 prisoners were allowed at this rate the full rations of 2 Seamen. There were Banyan days, & Burgon days, but they were all alike to me, days of fasting, and sorrow. The Capt at arms came every day & conversed upon the subject of the unnatural war. he thought we were ungenerous, since England had done so much for us, that we would not help her to pay her debts. he owned a house in England, but his taxes were so great that he might as well be without he s<sup>d</sup>. I observed to him, you do not like to pay such large taxes then do you? no sir by no means s<sup>d</sup> he. well sir, then you are an American. they are of the same sentiments and will never change.—May 24th Roberts

& DeVine were brought on board. I thought of the old proverb, Misery loves company.

The 27th, the Prisoners from the Island went on board another Ship. the vessel came so near to us that we recognized each other, which brought tears to our eyes we never expected to see each other again, as we had heard it reported and from good authority that we were to be transported to England. In a short time however our mourning was turned into joy. On the 30th we were transferred from the Triton to the Maria, a guard Ship, and again joined our old companions. here we were more contented than when on the island. There were so many from different parts of the country that we had something new to enjoy and communicate every day. New Prisoners were frequently brought in. June 2<sup>d</sup> the Triton sailed on a cruise to the Gulph of St. Lawrence.

Capt Smith of Old Salem had, with a very small schooner, taken 3 prizes. Ascending the St. Lawrence as far as Beck the lowest settlement upon the river and about 150 miles distant from Quebec. he robbed a store and destroyed provisions. The Triton hove in sight of her. She played back & forth for 3 days but at such a distance the Triton could not bear down upon her. Some times she would run over bars for the purpose of entrapping the British Vessel but Ludwidge knowing the ground too well to follow her, gave over the chase. At length Smith had more sail, to show how easy he could leave them, and by so doing sprung his main-mast. The Triton put about and captured him. On the 21st the Triton returned with her prize. the crew were distributed, 2 in a ship. Capt Smith was put on board the Commador's Ship, Montreal. was badly treated, being obliged to labour before the mast. his vessel was a curiosity to the British being differently constructed from their own. She carried 2 three pounders and 12 Swivels. the Governour was so well pleased with the vessel that he bought it. Capt Smith and some of his crew went to

England in the Montreal with General Carlton. After he went on board Smith was treated with great kindness.

There were of our numbers 78. we had good allowance the same in quantity, which the soldiers drew. Our provisions consisted of good Irish beef 3 years old, & very good butter. We drew weekly beef for three days and of pork sufficient for 4 days, and an ounce of butter per day, one gill of Oatmeal and a gill of peas. Bond, Lovewell & myself messed together. We never drew our pork, peas or Oatmeal, nor all of our bread. for our proportions of these articles the Stewart paid us the money, so that we could purchase any other provisions we chose. we all lived pleasantly together with the exception of Beckford, and Wallace & wife. Wallace had been a sutler in our Army. he was from Pennsylvania, his wife resembled the old widow Green, both in appearance and conduct. being allowed to go into town every day, she reported many falsehoods respecting the prisoners, one of which in particular was, that, when we should sail as we expected to in about 3 weeks, I had agreed with Roberts to rise and take the ship, Webber being a seaman, was to navigate it to Boston. on account of which he was taken from it when we embarked and detained. we conjectured that she was bribed to make such reports. She received many presents in town. The tories who enlisted in Sir John Johnson's corps often came on board, some times to insult us. But Roberts would clear the deck of them. Some would return with broken heads, others would treat us with civility, and make us some small presents.

About the 1st of July Roberts said to me he felt very much mortified that his party had deserted and himself was left behind, and that he meant to desert from the ship if I would go with him. I asked whether he had laid any plan to escape from the Vessel? that was to be determined upon when he should have engaged his party. I observed to him that I had thought of it, and one night when all was quiet I got out at the ballast port hole and set my foot on the rope

that guarded the pinnace boat from the vessel, with one hand I took hold of the chain, but the other could not reach the rope that held the boat by a foot. Roberts said he could spare that foot. I told him I would not go and leave Powell & Lovewell. If he could persuade them to go, I would accompany him. we consulted them, and they seemed pleased with the idea and agreed to go the first opportunity that should present itself. two days after a dutch guard was placed over us and everything proved favourable. No one suspected us. Holmes of Springfield, Vt. and Jacob Pue of Georgia joined us, making six of our party. In the afternoon, we ascended to the roundtop under a pretence of playing cards, but in truth to lay our plan of escape. Powell & Lovewell thought, as there was a prospect that we should soon be exchanged, we had better wait, and not expose ourselves to such dangers and hardship as we must inevitably encounter if we should attempt to escape: but Roberts would not be brought to relinquish the idea and said that he would get a party upon which he could rely, and would start the next time a dutch guard should be replaced. He engaged one Bridges, from the South, I forget from what state, and Jedediah Blackman of Vt. the day arrived, Towards night the weather became cloudy and attended with a little rain. At sunset I urged the men to go between decks and take their beds for the dampness of the air was unhealthy. they all soon withdrew. the darkness commenced very soon, the guard were in the steerage room, and all were so still, the centinel went in out of the rain and likewise the watch of the vessel. All were soon wrapt in sleep. When I thought that Roberts had gone, I went to the porthole to look out. I had laid down without undressing. I ran against a man, and on enquiring I found him to be Bridges. Why are you not gone s<sup>d</sup> I? he replied that Roberts got into the boat, held it up to the vessel by the rope, that they all got in, taking their packs with them, that he being the last, had got partly in but Roberts being in too great a hurry cut the rope, thinking

to hold the boat by clinging to the vessel; but the tide was running so strong, that it swept them away in a moment. he came very near falling into the water. he had much difficulty in getting back. Roberts had got Bridges' pack instead of his own which contained all the bread for the party, their pocket compass with which I had furnished him and his own pocket book containing the directions for their course. I opened the pack, secured the contents and gave Bridges the blanket telling him to go to his hammock.

About 9 o'clock the Capt came and called for the boat. he generally went on shore every morning at eight. the mate having been sick that afternoon with a headache, had laid down, I called to him saying the Capt is on shore. he called for the boatman, but on examining they discovered the boat was missing. they supposed that some Frenchman with a raft of wood had run against the boat and knocked it off. the sailors being very noisy, I desired the Mate to still them, for they would disturb the prisoners. they went astern and took the long boat. the mate examined the rope that was attached usually to the small boat, and seeing it had been cut, said the prisoners are gone. the Stewart came with the roll, called it twice, and all answered to their names. I said to him, that I was happy none were missing. by this time the Capt came on board, ordered all on the quarter deck, we ran up in our shirts, the roll was again called and all answered. not feeling satisfied we were all numbered on the spot. we were arranged in two ranks. the light shone dimly. the Capt's son a lad about 16 years of age, said he knew every man's face. taking the candle from the lantern he examined each one and said there were none missing. after pausing a moment he observed, that great Roberts is gone. I always thought him a devil, and Little Sue is gone, a fine little fellow. he would not have gone had it not have been for Roberts. Holmes and Blackman are missing. The Capt enquired who had the watch of the Vessel. It was Jack a boy, partly a cabin boy and partly before the mast. the

Capt caned him unmercifully, he went from side to side of the ship like a bounce ball, immediately we were ordered to our hammocks.—

The next morning the mate said to me, he was very sorry for the loss of the pinnace, it was the Capt<sup>s</sup> property, cost him 50 Dollars & he was a poor man. I said to him, your boat is not lost, Roberts regarded the kindness of the Capt. & his crew, towards the prisoners too much to injure them a sixpence, he s<sup>d</sup> they had either broken the boat, or turned it adrift, that the current might dash it to pieces, he knew they should never hear of it again. there was a very thick fog that morning, it cleared up about 9 oclock, I asked the Mate to favour me with his glass, he refused, saying 'twas of no use he knew the boat was destroyed, I told him, it would be no great trouble to gratify me, he brought it on deck, and espied the boat about 3 miles distant, to his great joy. One of the sailors asked, what kind of beings are the Americans? I answered very different from John Bull. They took the long boat and went after the pinnace. the mate told them to take oars to row it back with. I told him her oars are all in her, and nothing was out of place, They could not believe it, but took some with them, when they reached the boat they found everything as I had stated to them, with the exception of the rudder which was gone. the mate saw at a distance a Canadian going up the bank, and proceed to his house, he followed him to the hut and demanded of him the rudder. the Canadian swore by St. Peter he had not got it. but the mate told him he must go on board ship unless he surrendered it. he then brought forward the rudder. they returned agreeably disappointed.

The mate was Native of N. Y. his name was George Lipencourt, about 23 years of age, a bright and well disposed young man, he was second Mate. Mr. Miles the first Mate was not a pleasant man, he was afterwards promoted to Captaincy of a Small Vessel. Lipencourt made himself familiar with the prisoners, he said I might make free in the

Cabin when the Capt was on shore, which was almost every day. he let us have newspapers to read and showed me many favors, he s<sup>d</sup> he was poor, that his mother put him aboard ship when quite young, a mere lad, and he had now no other means of obtaining a support; since the commencement of the war he had been on board that ship which was made a transport, It was dutch built of about 500 Tons burthen, and every way was considered a good sailing Vessel. The Sargeant of the guard that was placed over us the night, Roberts deserted, was turned back to the ranks and sentenced to receive 500 stripes, and the centinel 100.

But to return to Roberts,—It was a sore misfortune to him, leaving the compass and directions. he was advised to travel 45 or 50 miles up the River, then lay his course for Memphremagog Lake. to go up the river by night, keeping the road, and during the day to lay by, as the land at a small distance from the river is low and swampy. They traveled 4 days, then steered for the lake. they were out 17 days. When they arrived at the St Francis river they had been without food 7 days, except a rabbit which Roberts ran down. he thought this river was the Connecticut,—but the others thought it was not. however they were compelled to follow it down, in order to obtain food or starve, they saw some Indians descending the river in canoes, making signs of friendship, the Indians came on shore. they desired the indians to set them across on the other shore. they said they would; but after taking them on board they went down the river to St. Francois, and from thence they were conveyed to Montreal Jail, where were about 200 other prisoners. Roberts importuned the whole to rise like men and slay them like dogs; but he could not prevail with them, he with his party were placed in the second story, they had an old axe which was used to split fire-wood, with that they worked out the grates, waited till a dutch guard came on. It was dark and threatening as when they deserted from the Ship. Holmes and Pue had been in that Jail the preceeding

winter and knew how to unlock the gates. Roberts was to take the axe and keep off the centinels. he marched out first & Holmes followed close in his rear, Pue being small, let himself down by the grates. his feet however struck the lower window and broke it in which rallied the guard. Holmes & Pue got out, ran toward the Citadel, & leaped the wall which was low at that place, whilst they were engaged in unlocking the gate, Roberts was fighting the centinel, his gun was not charged, but he pricked Roberts in the arm with his bayonet. Rob<sup>ts</sup> knocked him down with the axe. the Guard had secured Blackman he being the last. They pursued Roberts so close, that he turned and ran down a narrow lane toward the Barracks, leaped the wall which was 16 feet, and made for the river a distance of 3 miles by himself. The other two did the same. finding a canoe they cross the river to Longgale that night, and secreted themselves until the following night, when they went to Chambl<sup>ee</sup>, there taking a boat, they crossed the Sorel river and ascended Chambl<sup>ee</sup> mountain, to ascertain what course they should steer in order to avoid the bays of the Lake. they went to a Canadian house to buy some bread, having but two twenty cent pieces, they gave them to the woman, and desired that she would let them have so much as she could afford for that money. She gave them one loaf. they were 7 days in getting to Castleton, and came very near being drowned twice in crossing rivers upon rafts. Roberts got himself a boat the night he escaped from jail. daylight appearing before he got across the river, he made for an Island from thence to Longgale, [Longueuil] where he met with a friendly acquaintance who kept him several days. he traveled on the west side of the Lake to Crown Point and from thence home to Bennington. —I received this information from Holmes who came to visit me the following December, and likewise from a printed journal of Roberts, which I suppose you may have seen amongst my old papers.

There is a little anecdote which was so amusing to me

at the time; that I must relate it to you, though it may hardly be deemed worthy of notice here. An old Dutchman from the Mohawk, Godfrey Shews, by name, had 3 sons who were prisoners and a son in law; the eldest of whom was 18 years of age. three or four sargeants belonging to Sir John Johnson's corps, came on board the Ship one day. they were Tories; but called themselves Loyalists. they were all well dressed and worn upon their heads, leather caps trimmed beautifully, having a large quantity of horsehair hanging pendant from the left side and flowing on the shoulders, their colours were red, black and gray. Approaching the old gentlemen, they asked him if he was willing his sons should enlist in Sir John's corps? yaw if they pe mint. but the boys declined; they asked if he had no other sons? I pe got son in law. will you be so obliging as to call him? Hans Rice? G-d d-n you plood, dont you want sell your countree for some of this d-nd horse hair? No. Tat pe right. I have got 14 horse in to hoods, and when we get home, I will cut off dare tails and you Mutter shall colour dem in her plue pot, and you shall have ash goot caps ash Sir John poys and keep you country too.—

At this time I was moneyless and we expected soon to sail. Lovewell had money but would not provide sea stores for the voyage. he and Powell had taken 50 Dollars from Constant Freeman a merchant of Quebec formerly of Boston. he had often helped the prisoners, much to his disadvantage. they wished me to join them and take 100 Dollars, but I s<sup>d</sup> we were not suffering for money, that we had good food and plenty of it. & that we all knew, if we should draw a bill on Col Bedle, that he would not answer it. I further stated to them, that if we were at home we could not command the hard money, and our paper currency would be of no use to Mr. Freeman. from those considerations I could not trespass on his kindness. Powell s<sup>d</sup> that Congress would pay it, but if they could get the money they did not care who paid it. had I been a gentleman he s<sup>d</sup> we might all have had

money sufficient to have enabled us to live like gentlemen. he had reference here to a circumstance which occurred at the Three Rivers on our passage from St. Johns to Quebec.— In the evening whilst the company were chatting in the room, a Gentleman winked at me, expressing by his looks a desire that I would remove back from the company to the farther side of the room. I accordingly did and when seated, he opened to conversation by observing to me, that he supposed I was a prisoner and therefore might possibly need some pecuniary assistance. s<sup>d</sup> he, I can accomodate you with any sum you please. s<sup>d</sup> I, I am a stranger to the people here and they to me. & I know not with whom I am conversing. he s<sup>d</sup> his name was Judah, of Montreal a Jew, that he traded in company with a Mr. David whom I well knew in 1776. Mr. David supplied our army to the amount of 25,000 Dollars. Davids wife once told me that if I would go to Congress and obtain the money due them from it, she would award me 2000 of the sum. They were very fearful of loosing it. Mr. Judah told me, that they had sustained great injury by aiding the American Government, for they had been prosecuted and sent to England for trial. he thought all was lost and that his ruin would be inevitable, but he had recently been to our Congress and had, contrary to all expectation received the whole of his money, beside pay for his trouble. this circumstance had inspired him with confidence in the Americans. I thanked him for his generous offer to me; but told him that as I had a few dollars at command, and the encouragement of being in a short time returned I would not trouble him, but in case I should have need of his aid I would call upon him. Powell and Lovewell were displeas'd when they were made acquainted with the matter, and always blamed me for not receiving at least 2 or 3 hundred dollars, when we had no real necessity for it. Powell expended all his money for clothing, Lovewell kept the greater part of his own, excepting 10 dollars—which he loaned me to purchase sea stores. Sometime after we were

sent home Mr. Freeman returned to Boston quite poor. he called on Powell and Lovewell for the payment of the Money which they borrowed of him at Quebec, during their imprisonment, on their pleading the limitation act, he sued them in N Hampshire and recovered his debt. Mr. Freeman has a son Constant in Bedle's regiment in 1776, who was a Lieut. I have since heard of him at the South and he had some public office.

On the 17th of August we sailed for Halifax. Old Mr. Webber and John Dodge were taken from the ship and kept in town. Dodge was a native of Lebanon Connecticut. when 17 years of age he ran away from his parents, went to N. Y. to an Uncle of his. he laboured for his uncle, drove his cart to market. he father upon learning where he was, sent 100£ to his brother, for the purpose of relieving his son, should he happen to get into difficult, which he thought not unlikely. this circumstance was made know to John by his Aunt. he laboured so diligently for his uncle, and made some small trades for him to so good an advantage, that he was well pleased and put him into greater business. At length John s<sup>d</sup> to him, If I had only £100 I could make a great bargain in the purchase of a farm, which must be sold for one half of its value. his Uncle gave him the money which his father had sent him in trust for John. the following night John set out and knew not in which way he was travelling till he found himself in Albany. Here he purchased a horse, loaded him with goods and taking what he could well carry upon his own back, went to Detroit to trade with the Indians. In the Summer of '76, he went to Quebec, purchased goods to the Amount of £200, half of which he paid the ready money and got credited for the remainder. he was suspected of selling goods or rather powder to our indians. Governor Deshon & Lieut Gov Hamilton took his goods and kept him chained between two Negroes all winter. their feet and hands during their confinement became frosted. Deshon would often send him word, that he

would be executed such a day; Dodge would say to the messenger, tell the Gov. Deshon and Hamilton they are d—d liars, I will not die till I have had the hanging of them. Dodge was a man of talents, and possessed a great deal of good common sense; but the most fearless, unguarded, and profane in his language of any person I ever saw.—When we parted I said to him if ever I hear from you again I expect to learn that you are hanged. he s<sup>d</sup> to me on our passage, I shall get home before you you think you are going to Boston in a cartel, and are only to touch at Halifax. I tell you this ship is no cartel it is bound for England, her guns are all mounted. I told him her guns might be taken out when we should get to Halifax. He went on shore, upon our arrival in port, & had the liberty of the town on parole a few days after. The Tory party of Officers held an entertainment at a public Inn. Capt. Simeon Scovil from Dutchess County N. Y. invited Dodge. When they had well drunken, the health of King George was drank. Dodge taking his glass drank the health of George Washington, upon this All drew their side arms and rushed at Dodge who defended himself with a heavy cane which he always carried with him. in the affray he wounded several, Corvil [Scovil] got a pass at him and inflicted a wound in his knee-pan. the next morning when the fumes of the preceding evening had passed off, they were very much mortified at what had happened as well as concerned both for themselves and Dodge. The latter was brought before a court of inquiry. he summoned Scovil as a witness, who testified that, as himself and Dodge were walking in the evening, a fierce dog came at them and he, in making a thrust at him with his bayonet missed the dog and unfortunately hit Dodge.—They required bonds of Dodge for a month. Mr. Freeman became his bonds-man. on the day his month expired (his wound mean time was healed tho' he has constantly made use of crutches) he walked through town very lame, which gave no suspicion. he had made, sometime previous, an agreement with an indian to Meet him at a

certain place, on a particular evening, with a bark canoe. He went to Mr. Freeman at sunset and asked him whether he has cleared his bonds? Freeman told him he had, He then made his escape from town, going aboard of the canoe he first descended the river some ways, entered another which he ascended to a portage, from whence he transported his canoe across to the Kennebeck River and followed it down nearly to its confluence and from thence proceeded by land to Head Quarters in Dutchess County N York.

After I came home I went to headquarters for my pay. I saw Dodge standing at the door of General Washington's Quarters. I could not believe it was he until I came up to him, tho' he at first sight recognized me. and came forward to meet me. It was at this time he gave me the history of himself which I have above related. Further I cannot give a correct account of him excepting what I collected from News-Papers the particulars of which I have almost forgotten. he told me that it was his intention to take a tour to the West and pressed me very hard to go with him, and help him hand-cuff Deshon & Hamilton. The circumstance of my having a family prevented me. he started for the west, and upon his arrival joined Capt Clark. he proposed to Clark the expediency of surprising a British Fort, but Clark deemed it impracticable it being so well protected on one side by an extensive morass, they, however ventured, and having encountered great danger and difficulty succeeded in reducing it. On learning that Deshon and Hamilton had gone to another Fort for the purpose of reviewing and inspecting it, they went and reduced that also. here Dodge had the pleasure of triumphing over his two old enemies. besieging another fort Dodge was shot by an indian and died instantly. his stature was six feet, of beautiful form, and possessing uncommon strength. he weighed 184 pounds. he died I think at the age of six and twenty.

at the time we sailed there were 40 sargeants and corporals on board. the greater part of whom had their

wives with them. Some of them were as genteel women as I ever saw. Among the number was a Mrs. McLeod a native of N. Y. her husband was a British Officer and was slain in some engagement during the Revolution. she had her daughter and Son in law in her train. The noncommissioned Officers above named were going to England on the recruiting service. Two ensigns and some tories were also bound for England. Our fleet consisted of 7 Sail, the Garland Frigate went as a convoy, all the other Vessels being Merchantmen. when we got into the Gulph, we kept near land to avoid American privateers. In Gaspee Bay we lay<sup>d</sup> to for the space of 3 hours, whilst the Officers were landing the Gov. from the Garland who had come down with us from Quebec. The bay was very rough and winds high. We had to lay to every half hour, and sailing under our mainsheet only, for the Garland to come up. Whilst laying too the crew became very sea-sick. the Garland was a very slow sailing ship. we sailed through the straits of Canso, which separate Cape Breton Island from the Maine on the 24th of August we came to anchor in Canso Basin, a fine safe harbour. here had been a settlement made by some Irish emigrants, but all had forsaken the place except one man, whom our ship brought off. This man usually went out fishing every after noon and in two or three hours he would return with his boat laden.—I could buy of him ten pounds of fish for two Sea biscuits or one pound of pork, the day on which we anchored in Canso bay, we saw 7 Sail steering northward. They were supposed to be American privateers. Our crew was much alarmed, particularly the Women. The Garland went in pursuit of them, but the Sailors s<sup>d</sup> they might as well send a cow to catch a hare. She returned in three days having discovered them to be Vessels bound to Cape Breton for Coal. On the 30th we weighed anchor and set sail for Halifax. we had a fair wind and a pleasant passage. we made that harbour before night, and dropt Anchor, just astern of Admiral Byron's ship. the 11th of Sept. we were

transferred from the ship Maria to goal. when in the goal yard our knapsacks and pockets were searched, ink, knives, razors, &c. were all taken from us; but while engaged in searching the prisoners, some of them would watch an opportunity to get among those who had been examined and thus secure their Articles.

The sargeant of the Prevost was a highland Scotchman belonging to the Duke of Argyle's Regiment which had recently come over. he was an ignorant, ill disposed fellow. he robed us of our allowance, sometimes one half of it for which we could get no satisfaction. I was placed in a large three story house, in the upper tier of rooms. There were two hundred American Officers in the same house, and one hundred French and Spanish naval Officers in one adjoining ours, there were also six hundred privates in a large brick building near by. I borrowed a half joe of Ebenezer Willoughby, to buy some provisions, it fell short in value according to the weight about 2 Dollars. I sold my silver knee & shoe buckles, had to give 3<sup>s</sup> for a fish which, I could have bought when in Canso bay, for two biscuit. paid 3<sup>s</sup> Halifax currency for 5 pounds of potatoes, none of which were as large as an egg. Our landsmen were sickly and many died.

Admiral Byron sent to the goal every day, for several days together and took out the seamen to man his fleet. Many would enlist voluntarily, they took many whom they suspected to be Englishmen. the recruiting Officers would tell some whom they pressed into service that if they were not really Englishmen, they would set them free upon the condition that they would designate to them such as really were; but they could induce none to point them out. the Officers told the prisoners that they desired none but their own native subjects. They were sensible however that there were some among them, tho they could not discriminate them. After some time had elapsed they finally discovered one who they were sure was an Englishman from the neatness

of his attire and person. he was immediately loaded with heavy irons and taken to the ship.—Byron had on board of his Ship 500 men. her compliment was 1050. he said if he could get 700 he would venture to cruise in search of De E Staing the French Admiral. The British Ships were rated at 90 guns; but the Flag Ship of Byrons mounted 100. he sailed while Count de E Staing lay in Boston harbour. They met in the West Indies. de Estaing had in his ship 1300 men. It looked much inferior to Byron's, twas not so lofty and majestic in its appearance.

We found friends even in this dismal place. there was a house opposite ours, separated by a narrow alley, at a window of which, nearly in front of our own two Ladies frequently sat. we could converse very easily with them in a low voice, and not be overheard frequently would we write the name of any article which we wanted, enclose the money in it and tie the billet to a stick and reach it across to them. They would get any article which we desired, such as tea, paper, quills, knives, teacups, &co. Some of the Officers would show the articles to the sargeant through the window, which would bring him up hastily in order to search them, but he could never find anything. he would say that he was sure there were *boggles*. he knew *Spunky* was in the gaol and had been for some time. the practice was to incarcerate us at six oclock in the evening and give us the liberty of the yard at six oclock in the Morning. We were numbered at our ingress and egress from the gaol, and also at the hours of 9, 12 and 3 oclock. Sometimes the prisoners would keep the sargeant until the next watch. some that had not been numbered would leave their apartments and enter the rooms of those that had been and then would he have to begin numbering again.—Governor Marcy had 3 bears chained in the yard, he allowed the sargeant to give them each day, six loaves of bread, and a certain quantity of meat. this allowance he secured for himself, and fed the bears upon what he robed from the prisoner's rations as we discovered. The

prisoners, who were confined in the large brick building before mentioned undermined the wall which was six feet thick, and extended their excavation across the street terminating at a garden, All the labour was accomplished except breaking the ground at the surface where the excavation terminated. A shower of rain fell in the afternoon, which so much softened the earth, that the Centinel happening to cross the way, fell through & and by this accident discovered the plot.

October 11th we were transferred from the gaols to the Ship Silver Eel, a large vessel, of great burthen. we embarked in the afternoon under head winds. in beating out of the harbour we ran foul of a rock, on which we stuck till evening, when the tide wafted us off. we made but little progress that night. in the morning the wind shifted in our favour and blew with increasing Violence. by 9 oclock all became very sick both Seamen as well as landmen. Powell & myself gave up our births to the sick and went into the hole. the storm increasing we were likely to be forced into the bay of Fundy in the night. the Capt. observed that his ship was so old, he dared not venture into the bay at night, and therefore kept out to sea. In the morning he went on another tack but could not entirely avoid the Bay. It was very rough, what Sailors call rolling Seas, runing mountain-high. this was very bad for the sick, four persons died that day. On the following day George Campbell died. The Col. his brother being too sick to attend to his burial, I tendered my services, & gave the Sailors a quart of rum to sew him up in his blanket and put him into the sea. Three others died on the same day with Campbell. There were more than one hundred seamen, prisoners and sixty eight landmen from Quebec. This day was much worse than the preceding day though the wind was not so severe. Not one of the landmen, with the exception of Col. Billinger and myself, but were either sea sick or otherwise severely afflicted. the Col was so much indisposed for nearly three hours, that he could not enjoy his pipe. I experienced not the slightest

indisposition during the whole voyage. The Sailors were as sickly and as many, proportionably, to their numbers, died, as there were of our own men. The filth on deck was completely over shoes.

On the 12th of the month we dropped Anchor off Hospital Island 9 miles below Boston harbour. We brought in three dead bodies upon the forecastle. they died so near to the land, that we were not allowed to put them overboard. We buried 12 in the Sea, on our passage and 3 on shore making a loss of 15 in all. the 13th day we all debarked for the Island, and the Sailors commenced cleaning the ship. The Capt said that it was so much infected, it could not be cleaned but by fire. three young women came from Boston to aid in cooking food for the sick and in nursing, and two Doctors. We all went into a smoke house which was fumed with brimstone three times a day, so that having well cleansed ourselves in baths, and by the aid of Sulphur, all, who were able, were permitted on the 17th day to go over to Boston. We left Lovewell, confined with the Small pock. He reached home in three weeks after Powell and myself had arrived. He informed us that those who had the Small pock recovered, but the greater part of those who were sick with other diseases died. The female nurses and both of the Physicians died before he left the Island. The Capt and many others said, if any person should go into that ship having previously been accustomed to fresh and pure air, it would prove as certain death as to have ones head chopped off.

There were 30 who came with me to Boston from the Island, we landed about dark and went to four public houses to get entertainment but feeling a dread of us they would not take us in. Capt. Edward Raymond of Worcester s<sup>d</sup> had he money to buy a glass of grog he would enter the tavern and would not suffer them to turn him out into the Street. I let him have all the money I had which was 25 cents and we soon found an Inn. Raymond called for some spirit. I told the Landlady who we were and what was our situation. She s<sup>d</sup> we should have as good accommodations as her house

could afford. her husband had been a prisoner at N. Y. and suffered everything but death. She urged us to take beds, there were six of us, but I told her it was possible that we might not be perfectly clean, and we could sleep quite as well if not better upon Straw Mattresses.

The next day I called upon General Heath to get money for my expenses home, he s<sup>d</sup> that he could not furnish me with any for Col. Bedle was not in command when he sent me to Canada. I returned to my lodgings and told Powell that he must make up some story in order to persuade the General to furnish us with money as he had always been very fortunate in that way. he said Bedle was Superintendent over the Indians in the Northern department. I told him that he had been, but that General Bayley had supplanted him in that Office. I observed to Powell that I would go the next morning, to the General's and renew my efforts, perhaps he might not be aware that Bedle had been displaced. Accordingly, the following day I went & received 70 Dollars. I paid my bill which was 30. the Continental money being greatly depreciated at this time. the Succeeding day I set out quite early for home, thinking to reach my sister's residence in Methuen, a distance of 28 miles, from Boston, that day. We traveled as far as Woburn 9 miles from town, by one O'clock in the P. M. we were so fatigued and our feet became so lame that we tarried there over night. the next morning we got a conveyance to Andover in a horse-cart. I went from this place to visit my Sister where I met my Brother Enoch whom I had not seen for 5 years, not having money sufficient for my own expenses and Powell's, My Brother & I went to Col Little of Newburyport who let us have 50 dollars and a horse to carry us home. We got to my residence the 29th day of October 1778. My brother returned with me.

Thus ended the toils, the sufferings and perils of Our Father's eventful life—Enoch Bayley to Garner [Gardner] Bayley.

Shoal Creek December 26, 1830.