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COLONEL FRYE BAILEY'S REMINISCENCES,

Colonel Frye Bayley, nephew of Gen. Jacob Bayley of Newbury, Vermont, came to Newbury in 1763 at the age of fourteen at the request of his uncle. He lived with and worked for his uncle until 1767. He married two years later; his wife died in 1772. He married again the next year and bought 500 acres of land in Peacham, a near-by town. He worked on it three years, the first year carrying his food to it on his back, there being then only a spotted line of trees between Newbury and Peacham.

He built the first house in the town in 1776 and had intended to be the first settler. At that time he had eighteen months supply of food stored in chests and casks, and had a team engaged to move his family, but he was hired in March by his uncle to take some dispatches from General Washington to Montreal to General Wooster who was supposed to be at Montreal.

He went to Montreal and returned. A few weeks later he was hired to pilot a company of soldiers over the same route to St. Johns; and not being given permission to return home he enlisted in the army as an ensign and remained with it until it retreated to Ticonderoga. He then resigned and got home in October 1776.

The men of Coos were drafted in August 1777, to join the American army which were fighting Burgoyne. Bayley volunteered and went to the Hudson and served as captain in a regiment under General Lincoln. He remained until after the surrender of Burgoyne.

In December he set out for Canada, for the third time, with a flag to conduct a worthless British Lieutenant Singleton to exchange him for an American Ensign of Albany, New York. The flag was not respected and Bayley and the rest of the escort were held as prisoners, and taken to the Isle of Orleans near Quebec. In the summer he with a lot of other

prisoners were taken to Boston by boat to be exchanged. He reached home in October 1778.

Later he served as Captain in a company under Col. Peter Olcott and under Col. Robert Johnston in guarding and scouting to the end of the war, but was not in continuous service.

After the war he lived on a farm in Newbury, and engaged in much town and county public business. Being appointed sheriff of the county he removed to Chelsea, the county seat, where he spent his last years. He died January 11, 1827 and was buried at Newbury.

He was a very intelligent man and read much. Besides keeping several diaries during his life, especially during the Revolution, he wrote an extended account of his war experiences undoubtedly based on his diaries. These reminiscences, or Journal, were copied by his son, Rev. Enoch, in 1826, to be sent to another son, Gardner Bayley, living in Maryland. This copy, in the handwriting of Rev. Enoch Bayley, was obtained by Professor Justin H. Smith while he was writing his "Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony," securing it from a dealer of manuscripts. Mr. Smith later disposed of the manuscript to the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mr. Frederic P. Wells of Newbury has kindly aided the editor by suggestions and information in the editing of this article and the following one of the Johnson Papers. The following paper is an exact copy of the one owned by the Massachusetts Society, and is in the hand writing of Rev. Enoch Bayley.

REMINISCENCES OF COL. FRYE BAYLEY

Newbury, Vt., July 26th, 1826.

Dear Enoch,—

I rec'd your kind letter of the 20th June. It came to hand the 6th of July, the day after I came home from a visit, with my wife, to Berlin and Barre, where our friends now reside. I was disappointed, my main object was to see the

widow Ticktom, to get information of our fore-father's coming to America.

She was the best informed of any in this quarter, but she died last February. After my sincere regards to you, and thanking you for the grateful favours received, I will inform you all I know of our family; but some of it will be imperfect.—My Grandfather's name was Joshua, whose father's name was Isaac, and I think his Grandfather's name was John.

He [John] came to America, bought at Old-Salisbury, opposite Newbury-Port. He returned to England for his family, and soon died, leaving two sons, John and Isaac. The latter came, leaving his brother to settle the affairs at home and follow him with the property; he embarked with it, but never arrived, was blown off as supposed, and settled in the West Indies. I believed *John* had but two sons, one of whom was Isaac, my great-grandfather. My *Grandsire* was a neat* Farmer and Malster and Cooper, rather close and saving, his wife a great economist, very industrious, taught her boys to weave and cook in bad weather. They were both professors of the Arminian Order. They lived independently and left a decent property.

He settled his eldest son Stephen on lands adjoining him. Stephen was a man of good sense, and enterprising in accumulating property in the farming line. He was always at home, and his neighbours never troubled him except *the Rude* would steal his peaches and pears. His wife, a pleasant moderate, simple, good woman, they were both professors. *His* eldest son Stephen was a bright respectable man. He died young leaving four children. Enoch the next to Stephen was weakly, of a sober disposition, kept all his father gave him, but never added to his estate. He died before he had arrived at 50 years of age. Left several children. Sarah, the third, never married, she was not bright, she outlived her brothers. Joshua had the rickets, walked with crutches,

*Cattle

his education was classical, and he wrote well. he was incapable of supporting himself, he died at the age of about 60. Amos, my Uncle's youngest son, had the rickets also, and walked with crutches, his education was not so good as Joshua's he died about 50 years of age. My Grandsire died before my Grandmother, his age was 77. Uncle Stephen died at nearly 90 years of age. My Uncle Joshua was a farmer, had 60 acres of land, his constitution was feeble, not able to perform much hard labour, he was a justice of the peace, Lieut. of a company and deacon of the church, he lived in good fashion for a farmer of that day, he had three sons and four daughters, he dressed, and educated his family in fashion, they were very industrious but proud, and a little scornful, my aunt was a smart, sensible, and very capable woman. I cannot tell the precise age of my uncle but believe him to have been about 70. he left a decent settlement for all his children. His widow lived many years after his decease with her son Ebenezer, at Berlin, Vt.

My Uncle Abner had a Liberal education, settled in the ministry at Salem, N. H., preached 54 years, and died aged 84 years. he had 4 Daughters, but no sons. 2 of them are living. his style of living was genteel and independent, he left a good property altho' he began the world poor, his manner was cheerful, and lively, a good economist, and feeble of constitution, his enemies would always apply to him for advice when in difficulty. he was a peacemaker and died lamented. My Aunt Sarah married Edward Tappan, they lived very happy together, laboured very hard, and accumulated property. They had 6 sons and 6 daughters, two sons lost at sea, the other 10 all married into good and respectable families and have a great many descendants, some of whom are distinguished. My aunt lived to be 90 years old. Enoch was the most rebust, and stout, handsome and well-built, he was by far the most healthy; but was a great enemy to labour, for that reason he was sent to College. He was fond of study and a much brighter scholar than Uncle

Abner. He was pleasant, good-natured, bore a smiling countenance, and was very fond of good living. He preached two or 3 years after he graduated, but did not like to settle, he quit preaching, bought an old vessel, got badly cheated, he made a number of voyages up the Mediterranean and to the West Indies. After the French War broke out, he and Doct. March, a classmate of his, and a neighbor, agreed to go into the war as long as it should continue if they lived. He had a capt^s Commission in the establishment in Col. Scott's Reg^{mt}. They went to Nova Scotia to subdue the neutral French. Doct. March was killed in the first battle, the French were captured, those who did not make good their escape to Canada, were made captives, and brought to the N. E. Provinces, Men, Women, and Children,—He was gone two years before he returned. The following year 1758, he went to the westward. 1759 he set out from Albany for Oswego on Lake Ontario, was taken with the Small Pock, returned to Lansingburg, at Capt Abraham Jacob Lancon's where he so far recovered as to be able to walk to the door,—one day, as he saw a lad passing with fresh fish, he bought them, and having indulged too freely with them he survived but a short time. His death occurred in August 1759. He left 4 children, but no property. his estate was disposed of like all other dead men's. It took all to settle it.—My Uncle Stephen, Joshua, and Enoch, my Father, and all the rest of the Family, were born at *Newbury-newtown* 6 miles from Newburyport. They settled by and adjoining my Grandsire, my aunt Sarah, above mentioned, settled at Newburyport, on High st. her children are settled in the vicinity, Enoch on the homestead, Edward and Abner upon the Merimack. My Aunt Judith and Abigail were twins. Stephen Little married Judith, he lived at Turkey-hill 4 miles from Newburyport, he had 5 sons and 2 daughters, the eldest son Stephen was a noted doctor, he lived at Portsmouth, N. H., was a tory and somewhat dissipated, he went to England and there died. Joshua was a wealthy farmer, was a Col.

had but one daughter. David and Jonathan were twins, the former was a farmer, and a justice of the peace, he died about two years since, Jonathan was a Col. lives at Hamstead, Jacob a merchants and failed, he went to the City of Washington and there died, I believe he has two sons there now. Abigail married Moses Little a brother of Stephen's who lived at Turkey hill, they had two sons and 8 daughters. Col. Josiah Little married Aunt [Sarah] Tappan's eldest daughter, he is the greatest landed proprietor, in Massachusetts. Moses the youngest, is a wealthy farmer. Aunt Judith I believe did not live to be 50 years of age. Abigail died at the age of 91. My Uncle Jacob settled at Hamstead, he had 10 children, one daughter only who died at the age of 15. He moved to Newbury, Coos, in 1764 in October, and died aged 87. My Uncle John lived on my Grandsire's old Farm, had 4 children and died young, his eldest son Daniel lives on the old place, he could give an accurate genealogy of the first settlers, their descendants names and where they emigrated to. One of them went to Roxbury, one to Rhode Island, & one to Connecticut,*—

As to the first settlers of Coos;—In the year 1761 Col. John Goff commanded the N. Hampshire Regiment destined for Crownpoint when they had got to No. 4. now Charlestown, Lieut Col Jacob Bayley and Capt John Hazen sent John Pettie and Micah Johnston and others of the Soldiers, with provisions, up the Connecticut River, as far as the *Great Oxbow*, to cut hay. Soon after, Capt. Oliver Willard sent Thomas Chamberlain and others to cut hay in the meadow below and make possession fences round the head of all the meadows, that is, lop a small tree every few rods. Those fences were standing in my meadow after I began to improve it. There was a sore strife between Bayley and Willard for the township. In Autumn, Bayley and Hazen sent Pettie and Johnston from N^o 4. with a number of cattle to

*For the genealogy of the Bayley family see Wells' History of Newbury, Vt. p 454-458.—EDITOR.

the Oxbow to winter, and in the winter of 1762 Samuel Sleeper moved his family up on the ice, and Capt John Haseltine went with Sleeper and wintered at the Oxbow, in the side of the hill where there is now a brick-kiln. Mrs. Sleeper was called the handsomest woman in the Town—Soon after Sleeper, came Tho^s Chamberlain and I think Benoni Wright, with their wives, under Willard. They arrived in the spring. John Haseltine went home with Capt. Miles of Canterbury N. H., who had been hunting beaver up the River.—When they reached Baker's River they felled a tree, made a canoe, and landed at Canterbury. In April, Colo Howard, Jesse Herriman, and Capt. Hazen and Webb arrived, Herriman superintended Bayley's & Hazen's business in building a Saw and Grist mill—in June Rich'd Chamberlain came with part of his family. Uriah Morse came, his wife cooked for the men who built the mills these Mills wer on Mill-brook that empties itself into the Connecticut below the Little Oxbow in Haverhill. John and Maxey Hazeltine came with their families, in May the next Season following, and I think Noah White, Simeon Stevens and John Hughes, Those all settled in Newbury except Morse.—In June 1763, Jacob Hall, Col. John Taplin, his son John, and Ben Chamberlain and Nabby Chamberlain came. When they had arrived at Pompey Meadows, in Norwich, Hall's wife and Nabby not liking their ground, selected for a camp, took one of loaded canoes, went up an inlet 3 miles thro' bad water, found a place that suited them, struck a fire, and encamped.—Taplin's object in coming was to trade with the Indians—In the fall he brought his family. Ben Hall, and Glazier Wheeler, the old Money-maker came also, the 3 last settled in Haverhill. I think Sylvester and Master Sanders came this season to Newbury. Col. Kent came in November, James Abbot about a week after, and Gideon Smith in December.—

In April 1764, Col. Joshua Howard, Judge Woodward, Sylvanus Heath, John Beard, and Ephr^m Bayley came to

Newbury. In May my uncle came, and Amos Moody a minister who was hired to preach six months. The 7th of July I came, with Eph^m B. and Sylvanus Heath who had been sent from Newbury after some cattle. There was no house from Salisbury to Coos. We camped in the woods three nights, There were eighteen Families in Newbury and 5 in Haverhill, there were about 30 Indians, some with families, who came in with Hunts, chiefly to trade with Taplin. Some of them got indebted to him who never came afterward.

In October I went down *Below* on business for my Uncle, and as Mr. Moody's six months preaching had nearly expired, we wanted to obtain another Minister. My Uncle wrote to his Brothers to send one, but they could find none willing to venture so far out of the world. when I arrived at Concord on my return, I found Mr. Powers had been waiting 3 days for company, to go to Coos. He set out with one Simeon, when we got to Ben Sanborn's which was the last house in Salisbury, we overtook Stephen Webster with his family moving to Plymouth. We camped with them that night, the next morning we set out, and reached Plymouth on that day. There were no families in Plymouth when I went down; but before my return, Capt. Tho^s or James Hobart, Old Cap^t Weston, Col Webster, Lieu^t Brown, Mr Blodget and Stephen Webster made six Families who had all located there. The next day being sunday, Mr. Powers preached. The snow had fallen to the depth of 10 inches. On Monday it was cold and bad traveling. We camped in Rumney, the snow had increased and cold became severe, had it not been for the minister, we must have been without fire that night; for our hands were so benumbed we could not strike fire. The next day we got into Capt Hazen's at 7 of the clock in the evening. In Jan^y 1765 The People of Newbury gave mr. Powers a call. Feby 1st he returned them an answer. on the 5th he set out to go *Below* for his Family, Bayley & Hazen accompanied him. the 27th. he preached his re-

instalment Sermon at Hollis and set out on the 4th of March for Coos where he arrived the 4th day of April 1765.

I resided with my Uncle until May 1767, was poorly fed and clothed. I then went for myself, I married in 1769, before the age of 21. My wife died Jan^y 1772. I married again in 1773, bought 500 Acres of land in Peacham, laboured upon it 3 years, the first year I carried my provisions on my back there being at that time nothing but a spotted line of trees between Newbury & Peacham. I built the first house in this town in the year 1776, and intended to have been the first Settler. I had 18 months provisions packed in chests, and casks, and my teams engaged to move my family and effects; but a sore misfortune prevented me from prosecuting my undertaking, and which resulted in a great loss to me. General Bayley wished to send an express to General Worcester who was at this time at Montreal, and who commanded the Northern department. He had tried to engage a number of old hunters to carry the express; but they thought it not practicable to go, they said the snow would be 5 feet deep on the height of land. The General then importuned me, saying he would give me 4 shillings per day, and move my Family to Peacham at my return. I accordingly agreed to undertake the journey. He also engaged Bill Heath of Rumney, a stout, good woods-man and an old hunter, Abiel and Silas Chamberlain. Silas was thought to be the stoutest, but he proved otherwise, he possessed neither courage, ambition or activity.

We set out on the first day of Feby 1776. At this time the State was under New York. Some time previous, Bayley and Col. Sam'l Stevens of Charlestown had surveyed and measured the distance on a direct line from Macindoes falls in Barnet, to Swanton-falls on Misisque River. Their idea was to obtain grants of land, it was reported, that they had sent in petitions to N. Y. for a grant of all the lands lying between the two Rivers extending northward from this line which extended 78 miles to the frontiers of Canada. At

the close of our first days march we arrived at my house in Peacham, where we lodged. The 2d day, we proceeded 5 miles from Peacham Corner, the snow was so light and so deep that we could win no farther. Our packs were heavy, weighing, when we set out 59 pounds, we, not knowing how long we should be out, took plenty of provisions. We had now intersected the line just mentioned, which we were to follow, having rested our packs we held a council. Abiel asked what was best for us to do? Silas said go back. Heath was willing to follow; but not to lead the way. My answer was that I would go forward until all my provisions should be expended and then I would have a good path to come back in. Abiel said he could put the 4 packs into 3 and one should go first without any pack, and that I should go next and Silas behind, we traveled two miles and encamped opposite the outlet of Joe's Pond, the snow being nearly 5 feet in depth. this day we traveled 8 miles, on the 3d day we lodged in Woodbury about 6 miles from our camp ground the preceding night. On the 4th day we crossed the height of the Green Mountains. the 5th day good snow-shoeing, each took his own pack, and at night-fall camped upon the banks of the River Lamoile, the 6th day, we arrived at Maj. Metcalf's in Swanton, near to the Falls. He lived in a house built of hewed logs, erected by an Indian-Chief, There had formerly resided in this place a small tribe of Indians. Metcalf had been a British Officer in the French War, after the treaty of Peace, he obtained a Location of a large tract of land from N. York. This tract had been previously granted by N. Hampshire, Ira Allen purchased the Hampshire title took a free-hold Court deed, and turned him off naked and destitute. The 7th day, good snowshoeing, we arrived at St. Johns having traveled 30 miles. On the 8th we reached Montreal. 9th and 10th remained there. On the 11th, we returned to St. Johns, 12th got to Metcalfs and on the 18th reached home.

In our route we discovered signs of moose. About the

2d of March, Abiel and myself went to Peacham, killed 4 moose & brought the meat to my house in Peacham. At this time Col Bedle had raised a Continental Regiment to go to the Canadas. Bayley was anxious, that a part of them should go the rout I had been, perhaps more for private purposes than public. Capt. James Osgood, the first Capt in the Reg^t with his company went this rout and I accompanied them as Pilot. the rest of the Regiment went by the way of Onion River, and Crown Point. Osgood was from Fryeburg, he was a lazy, poor officer, cared for nothing but his cups, his soldiers did neither love nor fear him. His first Lieutenant, Sam^l Fowler of Boscawin, 2^d Lieut. John Webster of Conway and Ensign Jeremiah Abbot of Concord were all likely good men.

We set out on the 25th of March 1776. The first night we stayed at my house in Peacham. We reached Metcalfs on the 1st of April, on the 3^d we came to St. Johns, from thence, on the 7th, we arrived at Montreal, where I was to await the arrival of Col Bedle who had marched by the way of Crown Point, and who arrived some time in April. I went to him for Orders to return home, he said he had no orders nor word to send, that things had turned up differently from what he had expected, when he left home. He expected that Quebec was in our hands; but his best friend [Montgomery] except Washington had been defeated, and slain. And Arnold commanded and had ordered him to the Cedars, and moreover that he had that day taken the small pock, that the war was not likely to end soon, that I should have to do a tour in it, and that I had better stay, and accept an Ensign's Commission in Capt Sam^l Young's Company. I refused but said I would go to the Cedars and wait 3 weeks, by that time, he would know whether he lived or died, and I could have some word to carry home.

I accordingly went, lodged on the evening of the 22^d of April at Lachine, on the 25th went to Fort St. Ann, Maj Isaac Butterfield was in command there, he was from West-

moreland, N. H. he ordered Capt Ebenezer Green of Lyme, N. H. to go over the Bay, a distance of 5 miles, and on the 26th day to proceed to the Cedars 9 miles further, with 25 men who were volunteers. I tendered my services, we crossed the Bay, to the Cedars, & met with no resistance, the Canadians in those parts were much attached to the Government. the next day, Butterfield came with his party, he stationed Capt Young at St Anne Forte, at this time, we had but half a regiment, the other half came on sooner than we did, and were ordered to Quebec, under our Lieut. Col Joseph Wait, of Claremont. He was the most sovereign Tyrant, and cruel scoundrel I ever saw. The Cedars is a very pleasant country, possessing a very rich and fertile soil. On the 28th of April the spring wheat was 3 inches high, the finest horses are to be found here of any part of Canada that I have been acquainted with.

the 6th of May Col Bedle arrived. he came into the fort, as he passed the parade he beckoned to me, we went to the breast work which had just been finished, he asked me how I liked it, I replied that I was no judge; but thought it very nice and strong, he said it was; but that it was too large. I asked him, if there were no more troops coming, he said no. On enquiring how many I thought would be necessary to man it I replied, 2 Regiments, Yes said the Col. but we have not the half of one Reg^t I am unfortunate said he, I know not what my fate is to be. I supposed he had reference to Arnold, for he was his enemy, he enquired if I meant to stay? I said no. that I had not left my affairs at home, in such a condition, that I could well remain. I cannot help that now said he, I am so sick with the Small Pock that I fear I shall not do well. Do you come to my Quarters in the morning & I will talk with you further, I accordingly went to his Quarter. Adjutant Hibbard was sitting at the window, he informed me that the Col. was so sick, he could see no one. Hibbard handed me a paper, on discovering it was print, I turned about, told him I expected a letter; he replied, that it was all

the Col. could give me, and that I must go to Fort Anne and join Capt Young. I accordingly went, being now the 9th of May. On the 10th I took the Small Pock. 11th took Medicine, 12th took Jalap, and so continued until my pock came out. On the 14th Young ordered me to take 10 Men and go to St. Mary's Village, 11 miles distant, and take the fire-arms from the French-men, of the village. They were all Tories. It was rumoured that they were about to take up arms. Montenney, a French Gentleman, owned St. Ann's Fort, which our troops took possession of and turned him out. He had great influence with the Inhabitants. When we were within half a mile of St. Mary's we were discovered, the Men all fled, the Women and children betook themselves to the church yard and concealed themselves in the prim hedge. We took 33 guns from 4 houses, and a quantity of Ammunition, and returned. It was an extremely hot day, I being very much weakened, from taking medicine, sustained considerable injury. Our 2d Lieut. Nath^l Wales joined our company at this time. the 18th. I was very sick but I thought not to give up, and accordingly went out of the fort to take the fresh air. I went on to the summit of Windmill Hill, while there, I heard the roar of cannon, and small arms.

The Cedars were besieged & taken. Capt Foster came down from Carlton Island, by water, where he had been stationed and marched all of his company with him, some Indians and a few Canadians came with him. They had no Cannon, but we had 2 Brass, 6 pounders. Capt. Stevens obtained leave of Butterfield to take some volunteers to drive off some Canadians and Indians who were near by, in a barn, and who annoyed our troops very much. Stevens beat up for volunteers, nearly all turned out. He proceeded onward, but had not got far before Butterfield seeing himself left almost entirely without a guard, became alarmed and sent for Capt Stevents to return, he came back crying, he had scourged the enemy so that they did not again venture to

approach so near. At this time, Capt Green, Capt Everett and some other officers were under the bank of the River, out of danger, a majority of the Officers were greater cowards than Butterfield, for he was in fact, very sick with the Small Pock. There was a Maj. Sherman or Sherburn, a bold stout courageous-looking man sent with a party, how many I do not know, to relieve the Cedars. He wanted some one of our men to pilot him. Capt Young sent Joseph Hadley, a lad about 19 years of age, and one other. They crossed the Bay, marched within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Cedars, came to a bridge over a small stagnant stream. A few Indians had way-laid them, they popped a few guns at Sherman's men, he ordered a retreat. Hadley told him that if he would let him have a few men, he would drive them off and they might pass in safety; but he refused, saying, he knew his own business, and immediately took the quick step. The road was on the River bank. Hadley went through the fields to the woods, five of the party followed him. They discovered some Indians in the swamp, and fired upon them. After having traveled 3 miles, they turned from the woods, towards the road, and came near to a barn, which stood but a little distance from the wood. They saw 7 Indians in the barn apparently watching Sherman's Party. One of them was a Chief who had on a laced hat and coat. They killed the Chief and wounded two Others.—Hadley took the Rifle & Hat which belonged to the Chief; and put it over his own hat and followed after his party. When he got to the Bay the boats were all gone, and Sherman with his party were all made prisoners, by about 40 Canadians and Indians. Hadley threw his rifle into the river, not thinking of his hat, an Indian came up & took the laced hat off his head & with it his own. At night Hadley and his party made their escape. the bay being very rough, their boat upset, they all swam to an island; but Hadley not being a good swimmer clung to the boat and righted it, he made for the island reloaded and arrived at the Fort the next morning, he said he was the most sorry for the loss of my gun,

which I had lent him, of anything he had sustained. I was obliged to return to the fort about 1 o'clock, being unable to sit up. I took a room to myself. There were 17 on the ground, neatly papered sending for a bundle of straw to the barn, I made my bed and laid down.

Before sunsetting, news came that the Cedars was taken. Young ordered all the sick to march to Lachine, I told him I was unable, that I had rather be made prisoner than attempt it. Montenay had left 50 doz. of wine in his cellar, we made no use of it excepting a few bottles for the sick. I got a bottle, drank a pint, and went to sleep, at 9 o'clock a frenchman came in and said the Cedars was captured. The Enemy had our two field-pieces and that early in the morning they would lay siege to our fort. It was built only as a defence against small arms of the Indians in ancient days. Silas came to me and said he must go, on enquiring how I was, I told him that I was better. He brought a light, my pock had come out, his appeared the day before. He was not at all sick. I did up my pack and marched. there were 9 of the company in all, six of whom were more afraid than sick. At the time of our departure there was a great freshet. the low grounds were overflow^d. we wade 40 rods on causeways, the water being up to our hips. Lieut Wales and Asa Bayley said they were so weak, that they could not travel. I told them that I knew a Capt of the Militia who lived 4 miles distance from the fort; of whom I thought we could get quarters. The Inhabitants were unfriendly. On our arrival at the Capt^s we found him at first unwilling to admit us, he was in an enemy's land as well as we he said, but upon my satisfying him that we were friendly to him, he took us in, he gave myself and Wales a good bed. The next morning I was sick. I told him I must have a horse for myself and that Wales wanted one. We rode to Lachine, a distance of 14 miles. (I had previously sent forward my pack) my pock had struck in, I took medicine which soon threw it outwardly. General Arnold was fortifying the Village of Lachine.

On the 22^d day Capt Young evacuated fort St. Ann, and marched to Lachine. Early in the morning, Arnold put him under an arrest by reason of his leaving the fort, and ordered him to Montreal, on the evening of the 23^d I was quite unwell, but notwithstanding, I set out for Montreal in a Batteau. We ran the wrong side of the falls which were 4 miles long, we had like, all to have been lost. the Batteau filled and we were wet to the skin. When we arrived at Montreal, it was past 9 o'clock. The gates were closed, we went to some old barracks and lodged there the night. the 24th we went to the general Hospital in the City, where we drew salt pork and bread which we could not eat. Bob Holland sold his gun for a quarter of veal, of which we all partook. I reprimanded him for selling his arms, he said an old woman *gave* it to him to distribute among the sick. The next day he stole my gun, and sold it for a whole calf, which was perhaps 3 months old; on questioning him concerning my gun; he said I must not blame him, that I had partaken of the food and the partaker was as bad as the thief. The Boats were all guarded. No soldier was allowed to go out of the City. Our troops were retreating from Quebec. I was tired of my living and situation.

On the 31 day of May, I asked Bob Holland whether he could steal a boat as well as a gun? He said If I would come to a certain place, which he named, that he would be ready.

—On the evening of the 31st of May, we met Bob, went on board, the river high, and the greater part of our men sick. At midnight we made Nun Island, being much fatigued. We went into a barn and slept till morning. June 1st we arrived at Laprarie. on the 2^d at St. Johns. I had 36 men under my command, the majority of them were invalids, In garison and out, all was confusion. My Captain being under an arrest, Benj^a Whitcomb my first Lieutenant having been sent with a part of the Company to Quebec, and my 2^d Lieut Wales, being a Quartermaster and consequently not

subject to a similar duty with other officers, I was left quite alone. I was raw and very ignorant of Military duty. I knew we must have something to eat and something also to cook it in; but where to get it I knew not. however I obtained some provisions, and drew 6 kettles. My soldiers had a good sargent in the person of old Burnham, but unacquainted with military service. the next consideration was to get Tents. there was none in the Store. Meeting a good looking man whom I took to be a Yankey, I made known to him my situation, and inexperience, he said he would lend me 6 tents, he informed me that he was an Adjutant in the Col John Starks' Regiment, his name was Chandler of Concord, N. H. we had formerly known each other. the 9th I made a return of our Company. the men are very sickly, many died of the small pock. Lieut Col Wait came in from Quebec and took the command.

Bedle was under an arrest on account of Butterfield's surrendering the Cedars. Bedle had the greatest influence over the Indians of any man, particularly with the females. and Washington had given him strict orders to attend upon them whenever they should desire him. the preceding year when he was in Canada with *Montgomery* the Indians proposed making him a king over the 5 nations, his *seat* was to be at Canasadaga, 45 miles above Montreal. two days before the Siege of the Cedars, the Indians held a council at Coughnawaga, they sent for Bedle and he attended their council. Arnold was glad of an opportunity to arest him. he was court martialed at Crown Point and broke. Washington never signed, nor sanctioned the result, and again Commissioned him. the 15 day was very hot. Capt Esterbrooks died, of Lebanon and the 3^d Capt in our Regiment. he was a fine man possessed of good talents, also Lieut Roby died, he was from Dunstable, attached to Capt Wilkins company, a brave and gallant officer. It is a very dying time. the 16th I turned out to fall trees across the road, and burn and destroy the

bridges to La Prarie, 17th. turned out to guard our troops and boats, that were retreating from Chambly.

The 18th the Army retreated to the Isle Aux Maux. Col Hazen crossed the river about sunset, and set fire to his house which was a very large one. Also to his barns and other buildings. It was almost morning when I got to the Island. Capt Jason Wait of Surry, and myself were drafted to go to Crown Point with Col Enos Poor of Exeter's Regiment, and take back the boats. I went in the boat with Poor and Maj Cilly. It was a small batteau which proved a misfortune to me afterwards. the wind blew strong ahead all the way. 23^d we arrived at Crown Point. Capt Wait came in the next day. 25th at noon we set out. the wind had shifted, we rowed 15 miles and made harbour. the 26th we set out early the wind being in our favour till 5 o'clock in the evening. It then subsided. I had an old sailor at the helm, he said he had better down with our sails and take oars that instant a flaw of wind struck us and we ran before it 5 miles, when we made an Island, some ran 20 before making land. the 27th we rowed to the Isle of Mott, where we fell in with the Main Army.

On the 28th we rec^d orders from Gen^l Sullivan, who had been sent to command the retreat, for every boat to take 30 barrels of Pork and 30 men each aboard, My boat being small was much too heavily laden. the wind was very strong ahead. Poor, Col Peters and Doct. Skinner left us and went to the British. The Prussian General led the Van and Sullivan brought up the Rear. Our Regiment being in the Van Guard, was ordered to slack oars every few minutes, that the rear might come up with us, the wind high and the Lake rough and white as a sheet we were unable to keep our ranks. At dark I wafted upon an Island. As we neared the Shore, all hands jumped out and seized the boat. some found bottom others did not. before we got our clothes dried, Sullivan came up in his whale-boat and ordered us off to the main Army. *It* had landed on the west side of the

Lake, about 6 miles distant and nearly opposite us. There were nearly 200 who made for this Island beside myself. The wind grew higher & the men refused to go on board unless I would take out some of the lading, and leave it on the Island. They were sure the boat could not live 10 minutes. I said, If we should be in danger of sinking, we could then throw the loading overboard into the Lake; but we soon found that would have been impossible with safety to ourselves; for had we attempted it we should have sunk the boat. I had 5 good men at the oars all night, nor was it practicable to relieve them, until after sun rise, at which time we landed. we went in troughs and had frequently to tack. many of the men were very sick. the 29th we lodged on Schuyler's Island, the 30th at Galenus Creek.

July the 1st we arrived at Crown Point. On the 8th Capt Wilkins died. he was a native of Amherst, a fine gentlemanly Officer. The New England men died from 15 to 20 in a day. the 15th we set out for Ticonderoga. 16th arrived. 19th Col Moses Hazen was tried by Court Martial and acquitted with honor. Arnold being dissatisfied sent him a challenge; but Gen^l Gates interfering prevented their meeting. 24th I had the command of the main guard in the fort for the first time and wished it might be the last. It Consisted of 103. I had only 33 of my Regiment. at first I refused to go, it not being my tour. I had been on duty 3 weeks, both night and day, no other officer had done a single tour except Capt Wait & Thurbur. I said I would go that day and learn my duty Adj Hibbard said you know now as much as any of the officers and they are all sick. I asked him whether there was any who could not eat their allowance? he said no, but that If I would go on guard he would go with me, and show me until the old guard should be relieved. I marched with my 33 men to the Generals Quarters, & paraded before his door. there were 30 men to come from *he Mount* and 40 from the French lines. Those had not arrived. Hibbard said he would go to the mount and bring

them down: I desired him not to leave me, if he did, I should see no more of him that day; but he went, I waited some time but none came from the Mount, nor from the french lines. One of the General's Aids came, and wished to know of me why I was so long on the parade? I informed that I had not my compliment of men. he said the men of the lines were always behind, that the old guard must be relieved, and I had better go to the fort; that you have men enough for one tour, as there are only 13 Centinels.

I marched, but could obtain no information from my sergeant, corporal nor from any of my men, as none had ever mounted guard, or been in the fort. I passed through the gate trembling, I saw the old guard and paraded, and a good-looking and well-dressed young officer, whom I thought was laughing at my awkwardness. by chance, I wheeled to the left, then to the right and addressed to the front of the old guard, which evolutions happened to be correct. I remarked certain characters on the list of the old guard, but what was their import I did not understand. Supposing I must be uniform I ordered my men to Number. After saluting the Officer, I desired him, being ignorant myself of Military duty, to acquaint me with it, telling him at the same time that I had never mounted guard before. he said he was surprised, he deemed me to be an experienced officer. said much to my praise. I thought that I was fit for a Col. he gave me the names and crimes of the prisoners and then with drew. About 2 oclock I sent to the general for the rest of my guard. It was all confusion, they were maning Arnold's fleet. They had drafted 20 Mechanicks belonging to the fort, the most of whom were from the South, a very profane and drunken set. In about two hours I had them all in the guard house. The Officer of the day was a Buckskin, stationed at the lines, he did not come to inspect the guard as was his duty nor, did he go the *guard round*, at night nor send a parole or countersign. I obtained the parole and countersign by other means. I was glad that he did not come the

grand round as I did not know *how* I should have received him.

The next difficulty I found was in making my morning report of my guard, to the General. I applied to Sargeant Minchin of our Company, who had served as a Clerk to General Worcester the preceding winter. he drafted one and signed my name. I was relieved soon, and marched to the General's parade, gave my report to the secretary at the door, he read, looked at me and read, viewing me very critically he said this is the best report received, since he had been on the ground, and that it should be kept for a form. Oh how happy. 26 & 27th I went over to the Mount to aid in clearing an encampment. the 28th our Reg^t removed to the Mount.

August 6th. I attended a court Martial between Col Wait and Capt Carlisle the latter of whom was broke, and that too in the opinion of every honest-minded man in the army, very unjustly. the history of the affair would be too lengthy to detail, but I marked the great General Wilkinson as a great coward at that time, and have never changed my opinion respecting him since. 7th day Lieut Benj^a Whitcomb of our company arrived from Canada. he had been in as a spy, and had killed General Gordon, 'twas a savage-like murder. Gordon was upwards of 70 years of age. not a fine Warrior, but was great in council. Sir Guy Carlton dismissed our flag that Gates had sent to the Isle Aux Naux [Noix] and sent word to Gates never to send another, unless to implore the King's mercy; If he should the bearer would be treated as a traitor and spy, and their letters burned by the common hangman; provided he would not deliver up Whitcomb to suffer the just retribution of his daring and horrid deed of Murder, committed on the person of Gen^l Gordon. It had been proposed that I should go with Whitcomb on this tour, the day before I was to have set out, the General sent me a note specifying, that he did not

recollect, at the time he gave me leave to go, that my company would be left without any officer in case I went.

Ensign Amos Webster, a brother of the Col^o, one Sturges, a very stout young man and two other men, making in all 5 men. They set out in two small canoes, lodged upon an island. the next morning Webster was taken with the Ague & fever. Whitcomb left one man to take him back. soon after, another one was taken sick, and Whitcomb proceeded on with Surges. They landed at Belamaquin Bay, and proceeded from thence by land. It was very swampy and wet land through which they traveled. They worn out their shoes and clothes, & exhausted their provisions. they came to Sorel. Between St. Johns and Chambly they found a boat in which they crossed the River Sorel and went through the woods westwardly to the road leading from St. Johns to Laprairie, perhaps a distance of 3 or 4 miles, and came to an house and farm, this was the only house for 9 miles either way. They slept in the bush until midnight. Whitcomb arose and called on Sturges to go with him to the barn-yard, kill a creature, get its hide for mocasins and bring what they could of the meat. Sturges said, I am just ready, I will overtake you in a minute. Whitcomb went to the road, passed on a short distance, and after waiting a short time, whistled, this being the countersign. presently he retraced his steps, went to the place where they slept and returned again to the road. he thought that Sturges, through mistake, might have taken the wrong course. he followed on rapidly the course which he supposed Sturges had taken, and came to a new breastwork, he knew not where he was it being very dark and a thick fog enveloping the surrounding region. hearing drums beat to arms, he was then first apprised of his vicinity to Chambly, and felt assured that Sturges must have gone there. he heard the sound of horsemen and infantry, thinking his situation critical, he set out with the intent to make good his escape. he came to a small river, recollecting it, he discovered, that

he had taken a wrong course, in repeating his effort, he again came to the River, after the third trial to leave the river it grew lighter and he found himself in a level country, extending for miles without hills or woods. he saw a bunch of hazel bushes in a pasture which afforded the only shelter for a great distance around. having reached them, he crept in and concealed himself. not far from the road he saw the Scouts passing and re-passing. at night, he came back to the half-way house very hungry, and in the hope that, he should find some domestic Animals by which means he might satisfy his more pressing wants; but he was disappointed. All the Animals were guarded. knowing there was no *other* place at hand where provision could be obtained, he went to the south of the house where was a common of 30 or 40 acres cleared, thinking that, in the morning the cattle might go on the common to graze, he waylaid them. In the afternoon they came in from the woods. he shot an ox in sight of the road and in plain view of the house. taking the hide and meat to the woods, he dried as much of the latter as would serve him, and made himself a pair of Macasins.

Shortly after, he returned to the road. It was made during the old French War, leading thro' the low grounds, causewayed and ditched on both sides.—The ditches were grown up to bushes and small copse wood. he entered the ditch, cut bushes which he arranged so thick as entirely to conceal himself. he counted 70 teams, carriages and people pass while he lay in the ditch, and so near to him that he could reach them with his gun, he began to think that he should not meet with an object which would suit him. At length he saw a Gentleman, on horseback and unattended. to take him prisoner would be folly, for he could not travel in the woods, and moreover he considered that by making the attempt to *capture him*, he should expose himself to a similar chance. as he approached, Whitcomb arranged himself and poised his gun, intending to aim at his vitals; but a leaf happened to get before the muzzle of it and in the act

of moving it the gun went off; lodging its contents in the shoulder of the General, he fell forward upon the pommel of his saddle and the horse galloped away with him. he survived three days. Whitcomb made the best of his way to Ticonderoga. It is my opinion that the watch and sword of the officer were Whitcomb's greatest objects which he had in view; for I had often heard him say, that he would never wear either, until he should take them from a British Officer. He never prospered; for I believe he lived a miserable wretch and died a vagabond. Gates was not well pleased with his conduct; but Arnold extolled him very much. the 10th of September I was seized with the Lake fever. the 26th I got Eph' Carter of Concord, N. H. to take my place and I left the Army. I anticipate my narrative a little. Capt. Young was nearly 3 months under an arrest, was tried and cleared without honor. Whitcomb had come in on the 22^d of this month, from a scout with two prisoners taken upon the same road and nigh to the place where he had killed Gordon. One of them was an Ensign. the 24th they were sent to Congress.

The 27th I set out from Mount Independence, afoot and alone, through the woods to Castleton. there had been a path cut out but there were no Settlements on the way. I camped in the woods the first night. I was very weak, and having set out on my journey at a late hour in the day I found myself unable to travel far; else I might have gone through to a house about 22 miles distant. I passed it the following morning, as I was going by the Man of the house hailed me. after enquiring who I was and receiving an answer, he said my Col was in his house, and he thought him dying. he desired me to go and see him I said I did not owe him so much service, that I was glad the World was likely to be rid of such men. On the 4th of October I got home.

In August 1777. Our Militia were drafted to go to Ticonderoga for one Month. Their time having nearly expired, we had orders to draft one half of the Inhabitants that