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## JOURNAL OF A PHYSICIAN ON THE EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA,

1776<sup>1</sup>

THIS diary kept by Lewis Beebe is of unusual interest to students of American history for many reasons. The author must have been an interesting person, but unfortunately little is known of him. From scattered sources<sup>2</sup> we gather a few salient facts: he was born in Salisbury, Connecticut, on March 10, 1749. He attended Yale College and received the A.M. degree in the class of 1771. Among his classmates was John Brown, who distinguished himself by setting forth the first proposal<sup>3</sup> to seize Fort Ticonderoga for the colonies and who, like Beebe, early accused Benedict Arnold

<sup>1</sup>This diary, together with two others kept by Beebe for the years 1799-1801, was recently presented to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Mr. Roland C. Ashbrook of Philadelphia. The task of editing that of 1776 has been considerably lightened by the excellent work of Justin H. Smith, *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony* (New York, 1907), in two volumes. Other works that have been useful are the following: C. H. Jones, *Campaign for the Conquest of Canada* (Philadelphia, 1882); John Codman, ed., *Arnold's Expedition to Quebec* (New York, 1903); Isaac H. Arnold, *Life of Benedict Arnold* (Chicago, 1880); Malcolm Decker, *Benedict Arnold* (Tarrytown, N. Y., 1932); and A. L. Burt, *Old Province of Quebec* (Toronto, 1933).

<sup>2</sup>F. B. Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College* (1903), III. 403-404; Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazette*, III. 901, 909; Hiel Hollister, *Pawlet for One Hundred Years* (Albany, 1867); *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, XII. 202.

<sup>3</sup>Dated at Montreal, March 29, 1775; Dexter, *op. cit.*, III. 405.

of possessing a treasonable character. After leaving college, Beebe studied medicine and settled in practice in Sheffield, Massachusetts. On September 20, 1774, he was married to Lucy Allen, sister of Ethan Allen. We know from his diary that he lost his bride on June 10, 1775, and from the same source we learn that little more than a year later the young physician, amid the rigors of camp life with its attendant disease, suffering and death, surrounded as he was by hard-drinking, loud-swearing soldiery, yet had time for thoughts of sentiment toward "that charming fair M—— K——."<sup>4</sup> This, obviously, was the girl whom he later married, Miriam Kellogg, twenty-one year old daughter of one of the leading citizens of Sheffield.

After the period of service covered by this diary, Beebe settled as a physician in Manchester, Vermont. Later he moved to Arlington in the same county. In 1785 he was a member of the Council of Censors, a body modelled after that of Pennsylvania under the Constitution of 1776, designed to deliberate at the end of a stated period to inquire into legislative action and determine whether or not the fundamental law had been followed and to recommend alterations. This, apparently, was the only civil office held by Beebe. In 1786 he was invited to the pastorate of the Congregational Church in Pawlet, Rutland County, and was ordained on June 14, 1787. His ministry was not successful, and, after a stormy church controversy in which one party supported him and the other demanded his dismissal, he was relieved of his charge on May 6, 1791. Afterwards he removed to Lansingburgh, New York, where he kept a shop for the sale of liquor. He died in that vicinity in 1816.

Why Beebe was unfrocked we can only surmise, but it may have been because of liberal ideas of theology. His may be only another example typical of New England's age of transition when the bulwarks of the old Puritanism and Federalism began to crumble, not, however, without bitter struggles here and there between exponents of the traditional forms and heralds of the new era.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, it is quite clearly proved by the diary here printed that Dr. Beebe had pretty definite ideas and would not hesitate to express them. Throughout the whole we find a distinct religious strain, showing that even in the midst of a campaign his mind was occupied with

<sup>4</sup> See the diary under date of September 26.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Richard J. Purcell's *Connecticut in Transition*.

thoughts of God and Church. We may also doubt, as based on inconclusive evidence, F. B. Dexter's statement that Beebe "abandoned the ministerial profession, if not also the Christian faith." His diaries covering the years 1799-1801 show that, a decade after his dismissal from the ministry, religion was still a potent force in his life.

What could be more probable than that such a temperament should clash with Benedict Arnold's? They were both positive characters and Beebe happened to be the subaltern and Arnold the officer! We must also remember that except on parade a private and an officer were much like Judy O'Grady and the Colonel's Lady, made famous by Kipling. At the beginning of the Revolution officers were recognized by colored feathers; epaulettes were not generally used. Furthermore, in the beginning officers were elected by their men, not appointed.

At the time Beebe joined the Northern army, the efforts to gain control of the province of Quebec had met with disappointing failure. A year had elapsed since the first blow was struck by the seizure of the posts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Arnold had made his heroic march down the Chaudière and had laid siege to the impregnable defenses of Quebec; the ailing Schuyler had yielded to Montgomery the command of the Northern expedition in the winter of 1775; and Montgomery had died in the attempt to storm Quebec on New Year's Eve, 1775. The American forces were in possession of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Montreal and Carleton had fled to Quebec. Five days before his death Montgomery had written Schuyler: "It is of the utmost importance we should be possessed of Quebec before succors can arrive; and I must here give it to you as my opinion . . . that we are not to expect a union with Canada till we have a force in the country sufficient to insure it against any attempt that may be made for its recovery."<sup>6</sup>

On January 18, 1776, Washington called a council of general officers and several members of the General Court of Massachusetts, and it was decided to call upon Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut for one regiment each for a year's service in the campaign against Canada. Beebe probably served in the Connecticut regiment thus raised. Governor Trumbull had indeed acted before called upon by Washington's council; immediately on hearing of the repulse at

<sup>6</sup> Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 17-18.

Quebec, he had called the Council of Safety and a resolution was promptly passed to raise a regiment of seven hundred and fifty men to reinforce the troops in Canada. Colonel Charles Burrell commanded this regiment. Beebe joined the troops after most of the companies had arrived at Lake George.

Beebe's diary gives further evidence of Carleton's well-known leniency toward the Americans: his mild and humanitarian treatment of prisoners, his refusal to employ Indians, his efforts to succor the wounded and distressed stragglers in Thompson's detachment at Rivière du Loup, his refusal to close the trap at St. John's when he might have captured the entire American army, and finally his failure to attack Gates at Ticonderoga. Carleton's policy was statesmanlike, but was not that of a man possessed of such military abilities as were known to be his. He sought to avoid pushing the Americans into an irrevocably hostile position, and instead tried to win them over by kindness. As a recent writer has put it: "Carleton felt that he was dealing with men who were not ordinary belligerents, nor even common rebels. They were fellow subjects who had been led astray. . . . By proving, as he said, that 'the way to mercy is not yet shut,' he hoped to undermine the influence of the revolutionary leaders in Philadelphia and thereby restore peace to troubled America."<sup>7</sup> This may have been statesmanlike, but it was rendered null by the different policies of Howe and Clinton, who, had they possessed similar characteristics, might have produced a very different outcome of the war.

The small-pox of which Beebe speaks so constantly, and which had depleted Arnold's force by one-third, had made its appearance late in February. Vaccination was not yet in use, and in spite of prohibitions against inoculation, according to Justin H. Smith, "soldiers insisted so constantly upon inoculating themselves, that finally it was decided to authorize the process; and the troops, three-fourths of whom had never had the disease at home, plunged by wholesale into the business of going through that horrible disease."<sup>8</sup> This, no less than the ambition and intrigue of jealous leaders, accounts for much of the confusion and lack of discipline described so vividly by Beebe.

*Philadelphia*

FREDERIC R. KIRKLAND

<sup>7</sup> Burt, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, *op. cit.*, II. 386.

## THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST CANADA, 1776

*Sheffield* 29<sup>th</sup> April 1776. I This day, set out in company with Esq<sup>r</sup> Sedgwick<sup>1</sup> for Quebec, and on the 3<sup>d</sup> of May arrived at fort George; the next day we embarked with Col<sup>o</sup>. Bond's Reg<sup>t</sup>. for Ticonderoga and at 9 in the evening arrived at the landing at the north end of Lake George, the next morning the 5th May we past the carrying place, to Ticonderoga where we found Col. Patterson<sup>2</sup> with his Regt. Just ready to embark for Canady, we took passage with him and reached Crown point about 6 in the afternoon, a hard snow storm attended us the whole of our passage from Ti. to this place which continued the evening and the greater part of the next day. on the 8th of may we again embarked for St. Johns had a fair wind. Dined at Bason harbour then proceeded to Gillelands River<sup>3</sup> where we arrived by 3 o'clock at which time it began to rain, the fleet encamped upon the beech, our Boat proceeded two miles up the river

<sup>1</sup> Theodore Sedgwick was born in West Hartford, Connecticut, May 9, 1746. He attended Yale, and was admitted to the bar in 1766. He served as military secretary to General Thomas in 1776 and gave up his military career after Thomas' death on May 30, but he was afterwards active in procuring supplies for the army. He served as member of the Continental Congress from 1785 to 1788, becoming a strong Federalist and advocate of the Federal Constitution in the Massachusetts Convention of 1788. He was a United States Senator from 1796 to 1799; and from 1802 to his death in 1813 he was a judge of the supreme judicial court of Massachusetts; *D. A. B.*, XVI. 549-51.

<sup>2</sup> John Paterson was born in New Britain, Connecticut, in 1744, and removed to Lenox, Massachusetts, in 1774. He commanded a regiment at Bunker Hill, afterwards took part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and was appointed brigadier general February 21, 1777. He was a lawyer, was a member of the New York legislature, and later a representative in Congress from that State, 1803-1805; Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Now the Bouquet River. William Gilliland, pioneer of the Champlain Valley, was born about 1735 near Armagh, Ireland. He served in America with the 35th Regiment as a private for four years. Discharged from the army at Philadelphia in 1758, he went to New York where he married Elizabeth Phagan, and became a partner in her father's mercantile business. At the close of the war, he invested a large part of his fortune in buying up soldiers' land claims on the western shore of Lake Champlain with the idea of founding a wilderness estate. In 1765 he and a few colonists started a settlement on the Bouquet River and the following year his family joined him. The settlement prospered until the Revolution, when he was forced to abandon it in the wake of Sullivan's retreat from Canada, 1776. Accused of treason, he spent some time in prison at Albany and on his release he was kept in a debtor's prison in New York until 1791. He spent the last years of his life with his daughter, Elizabeth, in Bessboro (Westport). His mind became hopelessly affected about this time, due to his many misfortunes. On February 1, 1796, while wandering over his former estate he became lost and died from cold and exhaustion.

When Gilliland brought his family to the new settlement, he had two daughters, Jane

to Mr. Gillelands where we were Elegantly entertained was much pleased in viewing his Garden Constructed in the most Curious manner. was charmed with the musick of his eldest daughter of about 14 who sang a variety of songs, in french Latin and english, with the greatest propriety. Colo. Reed<sup>4</sup> and the other officers were much fatigued and retired to rest about 10 in the evening. Mr. Gilleland and myself continued our conversation 'till one in the morning, we discoursed upon a variety of Topics, something was said upon Politics, a little upon Divinity, upon Education and matrimony much more, in general we agreed very well in Sentiment. In the morning Mr. Gilleland accompanied us down the river to the fleet where we took leave of Mr. Gilleland and having a fair wind hoist Sail for St. Johns, and arrived there about 12 in the evening, which was near 100 miles, the next morning the 10th May an express arrived from Gen'l. Arnold<sup>5</sup> at Montreal to Col. Pat-

and Elizabeth, aged six and two respectively. Jane was drowned on the trip up near Stillwater. Elizabeth, for whom Bessboro was named, was married in 1795 to Daniel Ross, the first judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Essex County; it was the talented Elizabeth whom Beebe mentions. Caroline Halstead Royce, *Bessboro: A History of Westport, Essex County, New York*, p. 3, 105, 112, 116, 130, 141, 142, 182, 183, 184, 260, 598.

<sup>4</sup> James Reed was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1724, and had served in the French and Indian War. He was a captain in the British army under General Abercrombie, and was present at his defeat before Ticonderoga in July, 1758. He was also with General Amherst in the following year when Ticonderoga fell into his hands. He was made colonel of a regiment of New Hampshire troops, June 1, 1775, with which he marched to Boston and took a conspicuous part in the battle of Bunker Hill. His regiment was incorporated into the Continental army upon its organization in January, 1776. After the evacuation of Boston by the British, he marched with his regiment to New York, and from there to Canada, in the brigade of General Sullivan. Shortly after the retreat of the army to Ticonderoga, he was attacked with the fever which was prevalent at that place, and was removed to the hospital at Fort George. He was made brigadier general by Congress, August 9, 1776. His illness resulted in the loss of his sight, and put an end to his military career. He died at Fitchburg, Massachusetts, February 13, 1807; Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Arnold was made a brigadier general by Congress in January, 1776, for gallantry before Quebec. He was encamped at Three Rivers, half way between Montreal and Quebec. General Wooster left Montreal for Quebec on March 27 and reached there on April 1, immediately assuming command of the army. Arnold, who was most sensitive and temperamental, felt grieved because he had not been consulted by Wooster and was relieved, at his own request, and returned to Montreal on April 12. One reason given for this action was the reopening of his wounded leg, when his horse fell on him; but, knowing Arnold as we do, it is not probable that any physical pain would cause such an action.

terson for his Regt. to repair immediately to that place which was accordingly. after dinner Esq<sup>r</sup>. Sedgwick & myself proceeded Down the rapids for Shamblee, and there found Maj<sup>r</sup>. Biggelow, with his train of Artillery, with him we went aboard the Gundalow bound for Quebec, in the evening and arrived at Sorrell the next day the 11<sup>th</sup> May about one in the afternoon, this River in General from Shamblee to where it enters the St. Lawrence is about 40 Rods wide, a gentle current, the Country is exceeding Level & pleasant greatly populated upon the river, Scarce 40 rods upon either side of the river, but that there is a french settlement, and many places are Considerable populous, their houses in general make no great appearance, yet their Churches & Nunneries are somewhat Elegant: Thier Superstition in religious matters carries them to a much greater lenth; than comfort and conveniency in other things. When we came to Sorrell we found Col. Greateon<sup>6</sup> with his Reg<sup>t</sup>. & some troops which had arrived from Quebec, occasioned by a considerable Reinforcement of troops from England, who came in two frigates and several transports, and landed to the number of 1800 men, who came out immediately to Give battle; but our army were so Scattered in besieging the town, besides great numbers sick with the small pox, that they were able at the alarm, to embody on the grand parade only 250 men, when it was thot expedient to mak a retreat, tho great numbers where wholly unable to make their escape and were left to the mercy of Britons, and those who Come safe to Sorrell were obliged to leave all their baggage and bring nothing away but the cloaths upon their backs. No person can conceive the distress our people endured the winter past, nor was it much less at the time of their retreat.

[May] 12<sup>th</sup>. Col. Bond with his Reg<sup>t</sup>. arriv<sup>d</sup>.

13<sup>th</sup>. The Camp remained in Confusion General orders were given for erecting a Battery on the point.

14<sup>th</sup>. had Intelligence of Col. Allens being on board the frigates

<sup>6</sup> John Greateon was born in Roxbury, Mass., March 10, 1741, where he kept an inn. Many of our foreign travelers comment on the number of our general officers who were inn keepers. He was an officer of the local militia and became colonel of the Massachusetts regulars, July 12, 1775. Later his regiment was incorporated into the regular army and served through the siege of Boston, after which it went to New York, and thence to Canada under General Thompson. Greateon was made a brigadier general in 1783, and died in February, 1784, at Roxbury.

15. Visited about 50 patients, performed the operation of Phlebot.<sup>7</sup> upon about one half, gave the rest either Tart. Emet.<sup>8</sup> or Jalap This evening Capt. Stoddard was promoted to Maj<sup>r</sup>. Brigade.

16. this Day the army began to come into some regulations about sunset Lieut. John Dean Died.

17. nothing material took place this Day. Human Nature is acted out to perfection, in a variety of instances. The camp is one of the finest Schools in the world.

18<sup>th</sup>. 10 o'clock A. M. Interred Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Jn<sup>o</sup>. Dean, when M<sup>r</sup>. Spring<sup>9</sup> made a most excellent Prayer; Near evening moved my baggage by invitation of Col<sup>o</sup>. Williams into his tent.

*Sunday 19<sup>th</sup> of May.* In the afternoon was entertained with a Sermon by one of the Chaplains; midling morallity.

On Thursday, General orders were given by Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold for Innoculation, accordingly Col. Porters Reg<sup>t</sup>. was innoculated. on fryday Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thomas<sup>10</sup> arrived at head Quarters from Quebeck and gave Counter orders, that it should be death for any person to inoculate, and that every person innoculated should be sent immediately to Montreal. And on this 19<sup>th</sup> day Gen<sup>l</sup>. orders were given that it should be immediate Death for any person to fire a gun in the Camp, without orders. General Thomas this day is under great indisposition of body.

*Monday 20<sup>th</sup>* General Thomas remained poorly, with many Symptoms of the small pox. early this morning 2 privates receiv<sup>d</sup> the lash for desertion express orders were sent early this morning to the three rivers for all there, to repair immediately to Sorrell. this day an Express arrived to G. Thomas from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Schuyler informing of 4000 Hanoverians Laying of boston 1000 more being gone to New York. also another express from Maj<sup>r</sup>. Sherburn who went with 150 men of Col<sup>o</sup>. Pattersons Reg<sup>t</sup>. from Montreal to reinforce

<sup>7</sup> I.e., opening a vein for the purpose of blood-letting.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., antimony and potassium tartrate.

<sup>9</sup> Rev. Dr. Samuel Spring ("the fighting parson") died in 1819, at the age of 73. On his return from Quebec he left the army and was a clergyman at Newburyport, Mass. He was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Missionary Society and the American Board of Foreign Missions. Spring was chaplain of Arnold's original expedition which started in 1775 and ended so disastrously December 31 with the death of Montgomery.

<sup>10</sup> General John Thomas was the sixth officer to be appointed a brigadier general and took Charles Lee's place when Lee was transferred to the Southern department. He was made a major general in March, 1776. Thomas was born at Marshfield, Massachusetts, in 1725, where he practised medicine and fought through the French and Indian War.



Col<sup>o</sup>. Beadle,<sup>11</sup> informing that Cap<sup>t</sup>. Bliss was taken prisoner by a party of 100 Regulars, 1000 Savages, but received the most humane treatment Contrary to the expectation of all.

*Tuesday 21<sup>st</sup> May.* early this morning I was called upon to Visit General Thomas, who upon first sight evidently had the small pox, he thought it most adviseable to remove to Shamblee till the disorder should have its operation, he desired me to accompany and attend him, during his Sickness accordingly I complied with his request this day G. Thomas gave the command to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thompson, and about 2 P. M. we set out accompanied by Maj<sup>r</sup>. Brewer the Sec<sup>ry</sup> Mr. Thoms, & Doct<sup>r</sup>. Linn we arrived that evening at Col. Dogins 10 miles from head Quarters, this evening an express arrived from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thompson ordering all the Cannon and military stores to be forwarded to Sorrell.

*Wednesday 22<sup>d</sup>.* an express arrived early this morning from Montreal by way of Chamblee, informing of an engagement between Maj<sup>r</sup>. Sherburn and a part of Savages, in which the whole of the former were either killed or taken. the wind being ahead we came but 5 or 6 miles this day.

*Thursday 23<sup>d</sup>.* With the assistance of some wind and good oarsmen we arrived at Chambly a little after Sunset, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thomas was so well as to walk half a mile to his Lodgings after Landing. found but a handful of Troops at Chambly, the greater part of which was in the heighth of the pekot. heard many reports from Montreal and the westward but knew not what to depend on.

<sup>11</sup> Arnold had posted Colonel Timothy Bedel of New Hampshire at The Cedars, thirty miles above Montreal, where 200 of his soldiers had built a small fort. When Butterfield surrendered this post to Forster, Bedel was absent; he claimed that he was attending to his additional duty of keeping neighboring Indians neutral. Arnold court-martialed him and dismissed him from the service, but the Board of War revoked the sentence some time later, recommissioned him, and he served under both Schuyler and Gates. Lossing was the first to attempt to rescue Bedel's reputation (*Life and Times of Philip Schuyler*, II. 73-76), but Justin H. Smith, after referring to him as "that stalwart scytheman and bold fighter, Timothy Bedel," made this remark about his responsibility for the affair at The Cedars: "As the text suggests, the author found himself driven to the conclusion that Bedel did not do his duty. . . . Bedel said that he left The Cedars to attend an important Indian Council; but this representation did not save him at the court-martial and does not bear examination now"; *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony*, II. 371, 593. The fact remains, however, that Bedel was away from his post at a time when he had reason to anticipate an attack, and whether his absence was necessary or not is an unsettled question.

*Fryday 24.* Nothing very material occurred this day, G. Thom.<sup>a</sup> remained exceeding well, his pock began to fill, and every Symptom appeared very favourable. For a week past we have had very Severe weather.

*Saturday 25.* this day Col<sup>o</sup>. Poor arrived from Sorrell, and march'd the same immediately for St. Johns, He gave me an invitation to join his Reg<sup>t</sup>. as Surgeons mate, of which I accepted &c

*Sunday 26.* Parts of different Reg<sup>ts</sup>. arrived from Sorrell, all being ignorant of their destination, but very few general orders, and they usually countermanded within a few hours after given. Yesterday & today I have been much unwell, troubled with the quick step, attended with Severe gripings. If ever I had a compassionate feeling for my fellow creatures, who were objects in distress, I think it was this day, to see Large barns filled with men in the very height of the small pox and not the least thing, to make them Comfortable, was almost Sufficient to excite the pity of Brutes.

*Monday 27<sup>th</sup>:* Early this morning an express arrived at head Quarters from Montreal, informing that in a late engagement we lost 10 privates & 2 officers, Capt. Mckinster wounded in the thigh, and a considerable number taken prisoners, but the loss of the enemy was double to that of ours. This day there arrived at St. Johns 150000 Dollars paper currency, for this department. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Woldke<sup>12</sup> also arrived here from Sorrell. there has been four Reg<sup>ts</sup>. here for 5 or 6 days, have been very industrious, in this time they have fixed one 4½ inch brass mortar in its bed, with which they threw 2 Shells yesterday, and this day they completed mounting one 32 pounder, and fired the same. Thus the brave Americans, not to be equaled by any power under Heaven for their activity & alertness in erecting works of defense against an approaching enemy, have within a week past mounted one gun, and fixt one mortar and discharged the same. But this amazing dispatch of Business cannot be accounted for nor any reason be given for the same, except it be the express that arrived here the other day from Sorrell, who informed that there had arrived

<sup>12</sup> Brigadier General Baron Frederick William de Woedtke, who was in command at St. Johns, was a Prussian of culture and entered the service of Frederick the Great in 1750. He came to America in 1775 to enter our army. He was created brigadier general on March 6, 1776, was immediately ordered to Canada, and joined the army at Montreal in May. However, by July his health made it necessary for him to return to Fort George, where he died a short time later.

three expresses there the day before from Trois Riveres, the last of which informed that an army of 5000 Regulars, together with a large body of Canadians were marching up the River St. Lawrence, and were with 5 Leagues of Trois Riveres, who brot a large artillery by land.

*Tuesday 28<sup>th</sup>*: Things go on after a confused manner as usual, the Captulation between Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold & the regulars above the Cedars, fully explains the conduct of the former. let execrations be multiplied and accumulated upon that infamous, villanous traitor, by all future generations.<sup>13</sup> This is a very cold day. Near evening made an incision in brachia ex Capt. Adams.

*Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup>*. This day left Chambly in order to join my Reg<sup>t</sup>. at St. Johns arrived there a little before evening. met with a kind reception by the Surgeon, who introduced me in a very polite manner to the field officers.

*Thursday 30*. A grand Council of war was held this day at Chambly, after the result, Col. Poors Reg<sup>t</sup>. was ordered to march immediately for Leprairry.

Friday 31. About 10 A. M. The Reg<sup>t</sup>. marched for Leprairry; Leaving the Maj<sup>r</sup>. and myself to take care of the Invaledes. At 11 A. M. made an incision in brachia ex Lieut. Ware. In the evening General Sullivan arrived with 57 Boats which brought part of his Brigade.

*Saturday June 1<sup>st</sup>. 1776*. After Breakfast, 18 drums, & as many fifes Paraded about 1200 men, who went thro part of the manuel exercise, and many of the manoeuvres, with Surprising dexterity and alertness; had we a W-n, or a Lee, to take the command from a Sett of Haughty, ambitious aspiring miscreants, who only pride in promotion & honour, we might have hopes of regaining Quebeck, notwithstanding the numerous difficulties which at the present attend us.

*Sunday 2<sup>d</sup>. June*, this morning a little after the first dawnsings of

<sup>13</sup> This is very unfair to Arnold as he was at Montreal at the time and could not have known what was going on at The Cedars. As soon as he heard that Sherburne had been unsuccessful in relieving the place, he set out with a hundred men and fortified a spot at Lachine. This checked Forster's advance. He accepted the cartel that had been agreed upon under threat of an Indian massacre, and the prisoners held by Forster were released; this cartel was later repudiated by Congress.

the day Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thomas expired, this was the 13th day after the eruption first appeared.

Thomas is dead that pious man,  
Where all our hopes were laid.  
Had it been one, now in Command,  
My heart should not be griev<sup>d</sup>.

*Monday 3<sup>d</sup>*. about 8 A. M. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sullivans Brigade, consisting of 1200 Men marched for Chambly. Their officers appeared to be men of good Education. The Soldiers of a good Stature, and well equipt for an engagement, and when upon the march made a most warlike appearance.

*Tuesday 4<sup>th</sup>*: one of our Reg<sup>t</sup>. died this morning very suddenly, and was interred in the afternoon, without so much as a Coffin, and with little or no ceremony. among hundreds of men it was difficult to procure 8 or 10 to bear the corps about 15 rods. Death is a Subject not to be attended to by Soldiers; Hell & Damnation is in almost every ones mouth from the time they awake till they fall asleep again, the Stupidity of mankind in this situation is beyond all Description. This day Maj<sup>r</sup>. Brewer, Maj<sup>r</sup>. Thomas, & Maj<sup>r</sup>. Sedgwick left this place for New England.

*Wednesday 5<sup>th</sup>*: For 10 days past I have been greatly troubled with the dysentery, and for three days it has been very severe, took Physic in the morning. hope for some relief. In the afternoon went across the river to visit Col. Reed who I found to have the disorder very light, the number of sick with the Pekot on this side is about 300, the greater part of which have it by innoculation, and like to do well. I accidentally met, near night, a little, great, proud self conceited, foppish Quack; the coxcomb appeared very haughty & insolent. But after some time in a stiff, starched and a most exalted manner, says, how do you do Mr. Beebe; after a few Complements had passed between us, I asked if he could let me have a little Physic; says he, I have a plenty of physic but God Damn my soul if I let you have an atom. here our conversation ended.

*Thursday 6<sup>th</sup>* felt some better as to my old disorder, A sloop & Schooner arrived here this day Loaded with Provision and medicine; also Receiv<sup>d</sup> intelligence that 1000 troops were ordered and gone from Sorrell to the three Rivers, things now appear rather better than they have done, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sullivan is determined to collect the broken &

Scattered Reg<sup>ts</sup>. Thus poor Soldiers Live, Sometimes better, but never worse amen & amen.

*Friday 7.* Last evening one died of the small pox, & early this morning one of the Colic, at 10 A. M. one of the Nervous fever, here in the hospital, is to be seen at the same time some dead, some Dying, others at the point of death, some Whistleing, some singing & many Cursing & swearing, this is a strange Composition and its chief intention has not as yet been discovered; however it appears very plain that it is wonderfully calculated for a Campaign, and if applied properly and in time, is very efficacious to prevent anything that is Serious or concerning futurity. Visited many of the sick in the hospital—was moved with a Compassionate feeling for poor Distressed Soldiers, when they are taken sick, are thrown into this dirty, stinking place, and left to take care of themselves. No attendance no provision made, but what must be Loathed & abhorred by all both well & sick.

*Saturday 8<sup>th</sup>.* this day the Sloop and two Schooners, sail<sup>d</sup> with a fair wind for Ticonderoga. Nothing of great importance this day. Camp News is that Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sullivan is killed in an engagement.

*Saturday, I mean Sunday 9<sup>th</sup>:* June Two of the artillery died this day of the small pox.

*Monday 10<sup>th</sup>:* June this day compleats a year Since the departure of my dear Consort, the memory of whom will ever be sweet to me; O! fleeting time, who dost make no delay, but with rapid force sweeps, all without distinction to one common grave; therefore Let me remember, that the same thing must take place with respect to me, as it did to her—O! that the noise and tumult of war, might not engage my mind so as to forget my own mortallity; may the great things of futurity, the infinite concerns of eternity, have their due weight upon my mind that they might have a place still in my breast. this day died two in Col<sup>o</sup>. Pattersons Reg<sup>t</sup>. with the small pox; No intelligence of importance comes to hand this day; except orders, from the great M<sup>r</sup>. Brigadier Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold, for Col<sup>o</sup>. Poor with his Reg<sup>t</sup>. to proceed to Sorrell immediately: Is not this a politick plan, especially since there is not Ten men in the Reg<sup>t</sup>. but what has either now got the small pox; or taken the infection. Some men love to command, however ridiculous their orders may appear. But I am apt to think, we shall remain in this Garrison for the present. It is enough to confuse & distract a rational man to be Surg<sup>n</sup> to a Reg<sup>t</sup>.

nothing to be heard from morning to night, but Doct<sup>r</sup>. Doct<sup>r</sup>. Doct<sup>r</sup>. from every side 'till one is deaf, dumb & blind, and almost dead; add to all this, we have nothing to eat; thus poor Soldiers live sometimes better, but never worse.

*Tuesday 11<sup>th</sup>*: An express arrived this day with Intelligence, that Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thompson with 1700 had engaged in three pitched battles, with the regulars of between 3 & 4000 last fryday at the three rivers, and that our army retreated with the loss of 20 men, & that of the enemy was supposed to be about 300, but I am apt to think this acc<sup>t</sup>. is somewhat imperfect. This day visited a patient, who was very weak & Low; formerly an ordained Minister, but by some misfortune respecting him and his maid he was Dismissed from his congregation, and now Served as a Serjeant in the Continental army. Thus is the fate of war, one rises and another falls.

*Wednesday 12<sup>th</sup>*: By invitation crossed the river and dined with Col<sup>o</sup>. Reed, Mr. Barnum & a number of other Gent<sup>n</sup> Had a most elegant table in the wilderness. It is pleasant and agreeable in this Strange land, now and then to see old friends, and be a little sociable in retirement. Returned to my own encampment about 3 P. M. Visited many of the sick, innoculated a number, extracted 2 teeth, was much fatigued at evening, Retired to rest a little before dark.

*Thursday 13<sup>th</sup>*: Arose this morning at the Revilee beat, put on my morning dress, walked abroad, & found the camp in a most profound Silence, the whole being buried in sleep, but it was not long before the whole Camp echoed with execrations upon the musketoos; was not a little pleased to hear the Characters of particular persons handled in the most familiar manner, and tho<sup>t</sup>. many observations which were made upon particular persons, were very pertinent and Just. Extracted one tooth a little after sunrise, which caused one hearty O! Dear—— About 10 A. M. extracted another tooth. Bought a fowl and some fresh Butter, with which we had a very good Dinner; the great Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold arrived here yesterday and began to give his inconsistent orders today & for his great pity and Concern for the sick; in the first place gave particular orders that every Sick man, together with everyone returned not fit for duty should draw but half allowance. In this order is discovered that Superior Wisdom, which is necessary for a man in his exalted Station of life to be possessed of.

*Fryday 14.* Receivd. intelligence, that in the late engagement at the three rivers Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thompson, Col<sup>o</sup>. Ervin, Parson McCauley, Doct<sup>r</sup>. McKinsie, and Lieuts. Bird & Curry were taken prisoners. One of our men died early this morning with the small pox, one about 12 with the Consumption, belonging to Col<sup>o</sup>. Bond.

*Saturday 15.* this morning a Schooner and 13 Batteaus arrived here with provision. Lost one man with the small pox. About noon had certain intelligence that our army was defeated at Sorrell, and that they were retreating to Chambly. This afternoon they began to Erect a breastwork for the defense of the Garrison. Now matters seem to be carried on briskly; they have for a long time as it were lain still; But being favored with such Superiour Men for Generals, what may not bee expected from this army; when so much attention has been paid by the Continent, to make their circumstances so agreeable and Comfortable under all their disadvantages in this wilderness Country; Surely Conquest Victory & Glory, must attend us. But more of this tomorrow.

*Sunday 16<sup>th</sup>.* Now matters go on with unusual rapidity — and new orders appear; instead of Compleating the breastwork, began yesterday, every man that is able to walk and Carry his arms are ordered at daylight to proceed upon the roads to Montreal, and Lepraire; to cut away all the bridges, and fell trees across the Roads, to retard the advances of the enemy — who for Certainty past Sorrell on friday, with 18 sail; upon which our people began their retreat, was pursued 9 miles up the river with 1000 men and 12 field pieces. Now some of our great Gen<sup>ls</sup>. propose it as a prudent step, to remove the sick to Isle a naux least the enemy should take it in their heads to visit this place, after they had taken possession of Montreal, & Chambly. Accordingly, after mature deliberation, they began to fix a number of boats for the above purpose, and about 12, there sailed 15 or 16 Batteaus Loaded with sick, for Isle a naux; fire was immediately set to the Schooner on the Stocks, and burnt to the ground. Below they were employed in hauling Batteaus, artillery, & baggage over the rapids, with all possible speed.

*Monday 17.* This morning had Col<sup>o</sup>. Poors orders to repair to Isle aux naux to take care of the sick there; accordingly sailed in a batteau, and arrived there about 3 P. M. was struck with amazement upon my arrival, to see the vast crowds of poor distressed Creatures.

Language cannot describe nor imagination paint, the scenes of misery and distress the Soldiery endure. Scarcely a tent upon this Isle but what contains one or more in distress and continually groaning, & calling for relief, but in vain! Requests of this Nature are as little regarded, as the singing of Crickets in a Summers evening. The most shocking of all Spectacles was to see a large barn Crowded full of men with this disorder, many of which could not See, Speak, or walk — one nay two had large maggots, an inch long, Crawl out of their ears, were on almost every part of the body. No mortal will ever believe what these suffered unless they were eye witnessess. Fuller appeared to be near his end. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sullivan set fire to all the armed vessels, 3 Gundalows & fort at Chambly, and at evening Came with all his army, with all the Stores & baggage, to St. Johns.

*Tuesday 18.* Early in the morning a Council of war was Called & held at St. Johns, the result of which was, to Quit the place, and repair to St. Johns.<sup>14</sup> The Stores & baggage was immediately put aboard the batteaus, on board of which the army embarked, and left the place in flames; they arrived at the Isle a little in the evening.

*Wednesday 19.* The army encamped in regular order.

*Thursday 20.* The Gen<sup>l</sup>. gave orders for all the sick to be removed to Crown point. I set out with the same, about 10 A. M. arrived at Isle emot<sup>15</sup> where we encamped.

*Fryday 21* went forward on our way, No wind, Crossed the large bay, in a perfect calm, Encamped on Isle Shappoo.<sup>16</sup> Slept on feathers, that were round and hard.

*Saturday 22<sup>nd</sup>.* put forward by day light, had a head wind, at evening Came to bason harbour, where we took Lodging after having suped on a most delicate dish prepared by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Miller.

*Sunday 23<sup>d</sup>.* again proceeded on our way, arrived at the point about 1 P. M. made a most excellent Dinner at Col<sup>o</sup>. Strongs, upon good bread & milk; it is reviving to Nature, to find something to eat and drink, once more in a Christian land.

*Monday 24<sup>th</sup>.* This day had intelligence that all the inhabitants had removed their families and effects from onion river. Lost one man this day with the small pox. several died on the way from Isle

<sup>14</sup> Beebe, of course, meant to say: "to Ile aux Noix."

<sup>15</sup> Ile la Motte.

<sup>16</sup> Ile au Chapon? This island is off the west shore of Lake Champlain between the Bouquet and Au Sable Rivers, now called Schuyler Island.



aux naux, to this place. The batteaus Loaded with sick continually arrive. Dined upon mustard greens, a most excellent dish.

*Tuesday 25.* Extracted 7 teeth, visited many with the small pox; had intelligence that the Savages fired upon a boats Crew of our men as they were landing below point ofair,<sup>17</sup> that they killed and took 15 men. When I reflect on the various Manoeuvres which have taken place in this department, it brings to mind the observation of a certain divine after Reading his text, "O ye fools when will ye be wise" he observed Brethern my text Cannot well be divided into heads, O, from ye, I may not, ye from fools I cannot, & when ye will be wise I know not.

*Wednesday 26.* The Regt is in a most deplorable Situation, between 4 & 500 now in the height of the small pox. Death is now become a daily visitant in the Camps. But as Little regarded as the singing of birds. It appears and really is so that one great lesson to be learnt from Death, is wholly forgot; (viz) that therein we discover our own picture; we have here pointed out our own mortality, in the most lively colours. Strange that the frequent instances, of so Solemn a Scene as this, should have such an effect, that it should harden, and render us Stupid, and make us wholly insensible of the great importance of so serious a matter, but herein is discovered the amazing blindness, and Stupidity which naturally possesses our minds. 40 to 50 batteaus sailed this morning for Isle aux naux, to bring the remainder of the army, having a fair wind they cut a pretty figure. this day had intelligence that the Congress had agreed to raise an army of 72 thousand men for the year 1777. Visited many of the sick, see many curious cases, find in General that I can effect greater cures by words than by medicine.

*Thursday 27.* Buried two of our Reg<sup>t</sup>. this day. The hot weather, proves very unfriendly to those who have the small pox. A large Schooner arrived from Isle aux naux, deeply Loaded with Stores. One thing by the way is somewhat remarkable, that a Reg<sup>t</sup>. so distressed with sickness as ours is should be so engaged in fatigue and doing duty, that they can by no means find time to attend prayers night & morning or even preaching upon the Sabbath; the Reg<sup>ts</sup>. are generally Supplied with Chaplains, who are as destitute

<sup>17</sup> Point au Fer, formed by the juncture of the Chazy River and Lake Champlain, just northwest of Ile la Motte.

of employ in their way: as a parson who is dismissed from his people, for the most Scandalous of Crimes. At Sorrell I heard one morning & evening prayer, and one Sermon — at Chambly none — at St. Johns none at Isle aux naux, one evening prayer, & one with the sick. At this place none as yet. Indeed it is esteemed very unpopular, and unbecoming a Gentlemen, in the Camps to attend upon any religious exercises, and happy would it be, did not many officers endeavour to inculcate, & establish this principle in the minds of others.

*Fryday 28<sup>th</sup>*: Nine were buried this day on the point, sundry on chimney point. the two Schooners saild for Isle aux naux to assist the army in their retreat. Six savages took a man from the mills opisite Crown point, and made him prisoner, without doing further mischief.

*Saturday 29<sup>th</sup>*. Buried 4 this day, 3 belonging to our Reg<sup>t</sup>. on the other side, they generally, Lose more than double to what we do here. Alas! what will become of our distressed army, Death reigns triumphant — God seems to be greatly angry with us, he appears to be incensed against us, for our abominable wickedness — and in all probability will sweep away great part of our army to Destruction.

'Tis enough to make humane nature shudder only to hear the army in General Blaspheme the Holy name of God. this sin alone is sufficient to draw down the vengeance of an angry God upon a guilty and wicked army. But what is still melancholy, and to be greatly lamented is, amidst all the tokens of Gods holy displeasure, we remain insensible of our danger, and grow harder & harder in wickedness, and are ripening fast for utter destruction.

*Sunday 30*. I hardly know what to say, I have visited many of the sick. We have a great variety of sore arms & abscesses forming in all parts of the body, proceeding from the small pox, occasioned by the want of physic to cleanse the patients from the disorder. however we had none so bad as yet, but what we have been able to cure, except the disorder otherwise was too obstinate. Buried two today. No preaching or praying as usual. The small pox rather abates in the Reg<sup>t</sup>. A number are employed the other side, almost the whole of the day to dig graves & bury the dead.

We took one Indian prisoner. Have intelligence, that the army have retreated to Isle Emot, expect their arrival tomorrow — also that the regulars are Cutting a road from St. Johns to Mescisco bay,<sup>18</sup> & that they are preparing batteaus to make us a visit.

<sup>18</sup> Missisquoi Bay?

*Monday July 1.* The Reg<sup>t</sup>. paraded this morning, and attended prayers. This is a remarkable Cuntry for thunder and lightning, this is the 9th day since my arrival here, during which time we have had it severely every day. the small pox rather abates, and the Regt. appears to be on the gaining hand. This day had an interview with Col. Chittenden, Capt. & Lieut. Allens, and other friends which was very agreeable. also Receivd a letter from Doctr. Sergeant which is the first that has come to hand since my arrival in this Cuntry, and of consequence was very reviving.

*Tuesday 2<sup>d</sup>.* Last evening about midnight, the army arrived at this place. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sullivan gave orders for Col<sup>o</sup>. Poor, and all the well in his Regt. to remove to the other side; and all the sick to be brot here. Hope we shall be better accomodated upon that side as to water.

*Wednesday 3<sup>d</sup>.* Had prayer last evening and this morning; hope the Reg<sup>t</sup>. will take a new turn of mind, and for the future give steady attendance. Buried 3 this day. How strange it is that we have death sent into our Camp so repeatedly, every day? And we take so little notice of it? Nay it will not prevent Cursing and Swearing in the same tent with the Corps. Several were confined the other side for quarreling; some of their party came to relieve them, which they effected by pulling down the guard house; upon which Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sullivan paraded the whole army. Confined a number of the offenders under a guard of every 4th man in the Regt. a Special Court is ordered to sit to morrow. Since I have been writing, one more of our men has made his exit. Death visits us almost every hour.

*Thursday 4<sup>th</sup>:* The army have been here for Several days, and notwithstanding they are under great apprehensions of an attack from the enemy soon — yet they are as Secure & easy as if they were Wholly at peace, and in a Garrison, not to be stormed by any finite power; Not the least preparation for Fortifying the Garrison, which has tumbled to ruin & decay. The Gen<sup>l</sup> have their hands full in riding about the camp — prancing their Gay horses The Field officers, set much of their time upon Court marshals. The Capts. & Subs may generally be found at the grog shops. the Soldiers either sleeping, swimming, fishing, or Cursing and Swearing most generally the Latter. Receivd. a Considerable pacet by the post, and Capt. Holmes from Berkshire County.

*Fryday 5.* Was employed great part of the day, in writing to my

friends; near evening Crost the river, and committed my packet to Mr. Gregory, to whom, the day before I had given the small pox. Learned by Doct<sup>r</sup>. Linn from Philadelphia; that a large number of Tories, and many of the army, in N. York, had been bribed by the ministerial army, and had in the most solemn manner, entered into a Conspiracy to assassinate the Gen<sup>l</sup> and Principal officers of the army.<sup>19</sup> Blow up the magazine, & spike up the Cannon; so that Howe might come and take possession of that Capital without opposition; in which horrid scheme was the Mare of the City; this evening Genls. Gates, Schyler, and Arnold arrived at this place. We have Generals, Field officers, and Soldiers in great plenty, vastly more than we employ in any kind of Business.

*Saturday 6.* A spirit of pride and ambition appears more & more evident, in our army; which I fear will yet prove our ruin. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gates, Superceeding Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sullivan, I find gives universal uneasiness to all the New England officers, and most likely will finally cause them to resign their Commissions; then we Shall be in a fine pickle to meet the enemy. A man that is engaged in the Service, and often promoted is zealous indeed. But Neglect him for a moment, and let another come even sides with him, without his being advanced; and he appears very different from what he did before; then he was all life and zeal, but now he is totally indifferent how matters go; 'tis nothing to him whether England, or America Conquers. Tis a matter in which he is in no way concerned. Should you ask him, why this great difference? they will tell you, they can be of no further service to their Country. Should you ask them why? they will answer, that they are Superceded, and therefore wholly incapacitated of being serviceable to their Country any further.

*Sunday 7.* Now the Camp appears to be on the mending hand. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Orders, for all the sick to be removed to fort George. In the afternoon was entertained with a Sermon, by Mr. Spring, from

<sup>19</sup> This was the so-called Hickey Plot. Thomas Hickey, one of Washington's bodyguards, was discovered to be the center of a conspiracy to take the general's life, and on June 28 a court-martial found him guilty; he was executed the same day. Dr. James Thacher, who was at Ticonderoga in September, records under date of September 20 substantially the same details concerning this plot that Beebe gives; *Military Journal* (2d ed.), p. 54-55; see also, *Minutes of the Trial and Examination of Certain Persons, in the Province of New York, Charged with being Engaged in a Conspiracy against the Authority, of the Congress, and the Liberties of America* (London, 1786).

Second of Timothy, Chap. 3d & 16 verse. In which he evinced with great clearness, the truth and Divinity of the Scriptures; a Subject well Calculated for the entertainment of our Gentlemen who are so very fond of their Deistical Sentiments; and I am apt to think the Composition of such a nature; their stomachs of such a make; that they digested it with the utmost difficulty. This afternoon our Gen<sup>l</sup>. meet to Consult matters; Schyler, Gates, Sullivan, Arnold, & Woeldk. And the devil begins to appear once more in orders; as he ever has done since I came into this department; and I fear ever will unless some of our Genl. officers are removed from their Station. It appears in after orders, that all the Artillery, & Stores are to be shipped on board batteaus tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock, for Ticonderoga; consequently, the army must soon follow; and Crown point, which Nature formed for defence must be deserted. By giving up this post, we give up the key of the whole Country, and leave thousands of Inhabitants, to make their Escape, or share the mercy of Britons & Savages; which is cruelty. My Sentiments respecting some of our Gen<sup>l</sup>. officers, have been invariably the same, since I came into this department; their Conduct hath been all of a piece; and hath spoke Villany, treason, & murder; let their Characters be represented with all those Stains and blots with which they are Blackened; and may all future Generations Read their treachery, and Load them with Execrations.

*Monday 8.* The above determination for Leaving this place, was entered into by the Gen<sup>l</sup>. officers, without Consulting a field officer on the ground, fine Conduct this. Buried 4 this day, among which was Capt. Shortridge, who left 2 young Sons in the Camp to lament the Loss of a kind and tender parent. Nothing material respecting the army this day; they are employed in shipping on board the batteaus, the artillery & Stores according to orders of yesterday.

*Tuesday 9.* Buried two. Some of the sick are removed for [*sic*] the Hospital. Two or three Regts. went forward to Ticonderoga. A number of Batteaus under the Command of Colo. Wait came in, which had been Down the Lake to make discoveries; and brot. with them Ten Savages which they had taken prisoners.

Col<sup>o</sup>. Beadle. & Maj<sup>r</sup>. Butterfield, remain under an arrest; pray that they may soon be try'd & hanged. Gen<sup>l</sup>. Arnold is very busy in making experiments, upon the field officers and others; within 2 days

he has arrested Colo. Hazen, & Colo. Dehose,<sup>20</sup> together with 5 or 6 Captains; but for what offense I know not. I heartily wish some person would try an experiment upon him, (viz) to make the sun shine thro' his head with an ounce ball; and then see whether the rays come in a Direct or oblique direction. Extracted 2 dentes, dressed many sore Legs & arms. indeed from morning to evening we are buried head and ears in all kinds of operations. The inhabitants are much alarmed at the army's being ordered from this place, and are preparing to remove their families.

*Wednesday 10.* The troops are removing as fast as possible for Ticonderoga. Last evening Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Robbins returned to his Reg<sup>t</sup>. in a comfortable state of health. Saw and heard a pretty high affair between Doct<sup>r</sup>. Sutton, on one hand; M<sup>r</sup>. Beech, L<sup>t</sup>. Converse, & Ensign Calkins on the other; it ran very high indeed so that Sutton Called them villains & Rascals, Charged them with being liars. In short he was extreemly drunk with passion, without the least command of himself. the others Shew their resentment to such abusive treatment, in a very modest manner, much to their honour. Good & ill nature, is very common in the army; many are favored with the Latter, but few with the former. Had an agreeable interview with Col<sup>l</sup>. Bond & Porter, Maj<sup>r</sup>. Fuller and Doct<sup>r</sup>. Waterman.

*Thursday 11<sup>th</sup>.* Felt much unwell lay in bed considerable part of the day. If I remember right, we buried none yesterday, nor today. A gentleman on the other side, informed me yesterday that in 8 days they had buried better than a hundred men. Nothing material has taken place today.

*Fryday 12.* Felt some better as to my health. Walked to visit some of the sick in the neighborhood. Dined at Col<sup>l</sup>. Strong's with Col<sup>l</sup> Gilman & others. Returned soon to Camp; Notwithstanding the Reg<sup>t</sup>. as a body are on the gaining hand; yet found 6 or 8 in the most deplorable situation, that ever mortals were in; it is in vain to pretend to give any Just description, of their unhappy Circumstances; as Language cannot describe, nor imagination paint their distresses. It

<sup>20</sup> John P. De Haas, of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, was appointed colonel of the First Pennsylvania Militia ("hardy fellows in business-like brown and buff"—Smith *op. cit.*, II. 378) on January 22, 1776, in place of Colonel John Bull, resigned. De Haas was born in Holland in 1735 and emigrated to Lebanon in 1750. He fought through the French and Indian War, was made a brigadier general by Congress on February 21, 1777, and in 1779 retired from the army.

is impossible for a person that has any feeling for humane nature, to enter their tents without dropping a tear of pity over them.

*Saturday 13.* Buried 3 yesterday & 2 today — a number more lay at the point of death. Last evening heard of the death of Col<sup>o</sup>. Williams, he left this place about 10 days past for Ruport, to regain his health, being much troubled with the dysentery, he arrived at Skenesboro, and grew so ill that he was unable to proceed any further, and there died July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1776, half after one in mane [morning ?] Genl. orders, for all the sick to be removed tomorrow morning for Ticonderoga. Likewise the whole army to hold themselves in readiness to march at minutes warning. Had intelligence from New York, that a party of Regulars Landed on Stratton Island, that they were repulsed by a party of our militia, who were stationed on the same; that they lost 150 killed, and one flat bottomed boat. The others made their escape on board the Ships Also heard from St. John that they had 7 vessels on the Stocks.

*Sunday 14.* Had no preaching this side the river; went over to the point a little afternoon, was entertained with a Sermon, by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Robbins, from Isaiah, 8-9 & 10, delivered in the presence of two Reg<sup>ts</sup>. it was a most animating & encouraging discourse, delivered with spirit & warmth; he gained the most strict attention of almost every hearer present, and was universally admired as an orator & divine. The above discourse was delivered within the Garrison, where they were inclosed with Barracks, and under the best advantages to hear.

*Monday 15.* Yesterday, and today Burried 9 or 10; expect the Reg<sup>t</sup>. will remove from here every hour.

*Tuesday 16:* Should remove immediately But Contrary winds prevent. A court of enquiry was held this day, Capt. Clough, Lieut. McClentick, and two other Subs, were members, and greater injustice & partiality were never seen in the Court of inquisition.

*Wednesday 17.* this day our Reg<sup>t</sup>. removed for Ticonderoga, arrived there about sun sett; one of our sick died on the way. another just after we Struck shore. found great part of the army at this Garrison; but Little preparation for fortifying.

*Thursday 18.* Felt somewhat unwell the Camp disorder seems to be creeping on; indeed our method of Living is such, that it is almost impossible to avoid it. heard that independency was actually

declared by Congress; also that a french fleet of 17 sail of the line were arrived at Rhodeisland the above intelligence came in a letter from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Schyler, to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gates.

*Fryday 19.* Last evening we had one of the most severe showers of rain, ever known; it continued almost the whole Night, with unremitted violence; many of their tents were ancle deep in water. many of the sick Lay their whole lengths in the water, with one blankett only to Cover them. One man having the small pox bad, & unable to help himself, and being in a tent alone, which was on ground descending; the Current of water, came thro his tent in such plenty, that it covered his head, by which means he drowned, this is the care that officers take of their sick. such attention is paid to the distrest, who are destitute of friends. Buried two yesterday, and two more today Cursing and Damning to be heard, and Idleness to be seen throughout the army as usual.

*Saturday 20<sup>th</sup>:* this day the army was divided into brigades, & three New Brigadier Gen<sup>ls</sup>. apointed, (viz) Col<sup>o</sup>. Starks, Colo. Sinclair, & Col. Reed. felt much unwell near evening, had a proper turn of the fever & ague.

*Sunday 21.* Felt no better, had considerable fever. Mr. Spring set out for Fort George.

*Monday 22<sup>d</sup>.* Set out with the sick for Fort George, arrived there the 23<sup>d</sup>: on the 24<sup>th</sup>. Felt a little better yet a continual fever attended me. Found that the number of the sick in the Hospital was near 2000.

*Saturday 27.* set out in Company with M<sup>r</sup>. Robbins & Doct<sup>r</sup>. Waterman at evening arrived at Fort Edward.

*Sunday 28<sup>th</sup>.* Proceeded to Saratoga.

*Monday 29<sup>th</sup>.* Came to Stillwater.

*Tuesday 30<sup>th</sup>.* arrived in Albany. Felt much unwell, my fever continued.

*Wednesday 31.* proceeded on my way for Stockbridge, by sunrise on horseback, and arrived there at sun set. was much fatigued with my Journey, put myself immediately under the care of Doct<sup>r</sup>. Sergeant who, in 5 days freed me wholly of my fever, with the simple article of Vinum antimoniale taken 3 times a day about gut.<sup>21</sup> 20 in a glass of water. Visited my friends at Canaan. began to recruit, and soon recovered my health to a considerable degree.

<sup>21</sup> Latin abbreviation for *guttae* (drops).



*Tuesday 20th*; August. took leave of my friends at Stockbridge, & set out again for Ticonderoga, in Comp<sup>y</sup>. with Mr. Kirtland & Lady together with Miss Lucy Hall, in a waggon via Albany, where we arrived on

*Thursday 22<sup>d</sup>*. see many old friends, with whom I had some agreeable interviews.

*Friday 23<sup>d</sup>*. Crossed the Ferry at 2 P. M. with Mr. Kirtland, where I took leave of him & the ladies, who were returning to Stockbridge.

*Saturday 24<sup>th</sup>*. found no convenient opportunity to be transported to Fort George by the waggons. took Lodgings at Mr. Williams near the dutch church.

*Sunday 25*. Left Albany, for Fort George, In Company with Mr. Burrall, who had 100000, Continental Dollars, for the Northern department. Near evening arrived at Stillwater.

*Monday 26*. proceeded to Saratoga But was prevented passing any further by reason of the rain. this day Called to see Doctor Sutton in Stillwater, who was very Sick and appeared to be near his end.

*Tuesday 27*. proceeded on our way, & at evening arrived at Fort George. It rained part of the day, which made it very uncomfortable, but the Bravery of good Soldiers consists in enduring hardships, and fatigue, with patience.

*Wednesday 28<sup>th</sup>*. the wind being ahead we were not able to cross the lake, visited the hospital found the number of sick to be about 700, viewed the burying place counted upwards of 300 graves, which had been opened in about 5 weeks. the appearance of which was melancholy indeed, to see such desolation made in our army.

*Thursday 29<sup>th</sup>*. Went on board the Batteaus about noon and went on our way to Ticond<sup>a</sup>. the wind being hard ahead we reached but 10 miles. slept comfortably in the woods, being under cover of a tent, it rained the whole night, which was a little uncomfortable to the boats Crew.

*Friday 30* had a head wind, arrived within 6 miles of the landing, lay again in the woods, it rained great part of the night. We were very Content in these unhappy circumstances.

*Saturday 31*. Arrived at Camp, which Mr. Spring left on account of the Rheumatism, was going to Berkshire to take the Country air, Col<sup>o</sup>. Bond died last evening, and was decently interred this afternoon.

*Sunday Sept<sup>r</sup>. 1.* Visited the sick in camp, found near one half the Reg<sup>t</sup>. unfit for duty, and many whose situation was truly dangerous. the dysentery, Jaundice, Putrid, intermitting, & Billious fevers, were the principal diseases that attended the troops, which proved fatal in a variety of instances.

*Monday 2<sup>d</sup>.* Some of our officers are continually upon Court marshals. Some they Cashier, some they break, and some whip &c. I suped this evening with Capt. Sloan, had a fine dish of tea, excellent Gammon, and a very tasty Applepie.

*Wednesday 4<sup>th</sup>.* Had intelligence of Doct<sup>r</sup>. Suttons death, who had lain sick for some considerable time at Stillwater. Also of a general battle at New York. But having many different accounts we defer making any Judgment about the matter till further intelligence shall arrive. Cap<sup>t</sup> Wentworth was Broke during my absence, for disobedience of orders.

*Thursday 5<sup>th</sup>.* felt somewhat unwell; in the afternoon Crost the Lake, made Mr. Burrell a Short visit. Returned near evening, which I spent with Col<sup>o</sup>. Swift, who had Just arrived, in company with Maj<sup>r</sup>. Sedgwick and M<sup>r</sup>. Robbins. Our army, expecially the Continental Troops, are one half unfit for Duty; the small pox, and fatigue has worn them out, and brot many to the grave, and will many more unless immediately discharged

*Fryday 6<sup>th</sup>.* Felt much unwell so that I lay on bed part of the day. In the afternoon wrote a few Short Epistles to my friends in Berkshire. Near evening it was reported that two expresses had arrived at head Quarters, one from N. York; the other from Arnold, which informed that he was warmly engaged, with the enemy, by water. But there are so may reports, that I give but Little Credit to any of them at present.

*Saturday 7<sup>th</sup>.* General orders were given over night, for every man able for duty to turn out at 5 in the morning and fatigue till sun set, half an hour only, allowed for dinner.

*Sunday 8<sup>th</sup>* A thousand reports come from New York, none of which suit me, and therefore give no Credit to them. General orders this evening that no man shall go out of his tent tomorrow morning before sunrise.

*Monday 9<sup>th</sup>.* In the afternoon set out for Crown Point upon business of no great consequence; arrived there a little in the evening:

Suped and Slep<sup>t</sup> at Mr. Keeps. took breakfast next morning & then Crost the Lake to Col°. Strongs from thence proceeded on foot to M<sup>r</sup>. Averests. See not one family but what had more or less sick. M<sup>ra</sup>. Strong appeared to be nearly in a confirmed hectic. Took Lodgings this evening with M<sup>r</sup>. Averest. was treated with the greatest Civility.

*Wednesday 11<sup>th</sup>*. After breakfast came to Col°. Strongs, where I dined, spent the afternoon at Esq<sup>r</sup>. Watsons.

*Thursday 12<sup>th</sup>*: Soon after dinner set out for Mount Independence. having a head wind, we did not arrive 'till after 12 at night;<sup>22</sup> was detained by the Centuries an hour before I could obtain the Counter-sign of the officer of the guard; at 2 in the morning by the Term Henery, I came to our encampment, and at 3 fell asleep.

*Friday 13<sup>th</sup>*: felt somewhat unwell, visited the sick in Hospital, which was crowded with distressed soldiers the camp disorder proves very mortal one died this afternoon, had two belonging to our Reg<sup>t</sup>. Lately killed in a battle fought near point of air. Some very Severe words passed this day between Col°. Poor & myself upon the most trivial matter; our discourse was short, but exceeding Spirited and Severe. the matter was then dropped, without any prospect of accommodations. thus a single spark will in a moment of time rise to a mighty flame

*Saturday 14<sup>th</sup>*: Doct<sup>r</sup>. Parker is much unwell, so that the whole business of the Surgeon devolves upon me. The Hospital is crowded full; many in their tents constantly wanting assistance, so that I find not much more rest, than the Dove when sent from Noahs Ark. In the afternoon wrote a Letter to Col°. Poor, but how he receiv<sup>d</sup>. it cannot say.

*Sunday 15*. Nothing material takes place in our army. We go on more regular than while in Canada. Preaching and praying in its usual Credit — nothing is thot or said about it. the vices which generally prevail in a camp, are in a very flourishing condition.

*Monday 16*. Doct<sup>r</sup>. Parker is taken poorly, & the buiness all comes upon me Hard fortune indeed to have so many sick upon hand at one time. But harder for those who are sick to be crowded into a dirty, Lousy, stinking Hospital, enough to kill well men.

*Tuesday 17*. spent great part of the day in writing to my friends

<sup>22</sup> The distance from Fort Ticonderoga to Fort Independence was slightly over a mile; the water passage less than that.

in Berkshire. am much afflicted with a large boil, hope to have some relief soon.

I have dined for 3 or 4 days past, on Corned Beef, cabbage Beans & potatoes. Who would not be a Soldier.

*Wednesday 18th.* two died in the hospital this day, several more appear to be near their end. David has given our Character, to the life, where he says

Fools never raise their thots so high,  
Like brutes they live, like brutes they Die.

*Thursday 19th.* Doct<sup>r</sup>. Parker is much unwell so that all the business comes upon me; beside I am troubled with boils, wish I might have good old Jobs patience.

*Fryday 20th:* this day sent off a packet of 11 Letters to my friends in Berkshire. Doct<sup>r</sup>. Canada, with another Surgeon, visited our sick, and out of 100 men who had been unable for duty for three months they discharged about twenty. the others they thot best to die here.

*Saturday 21.* Had a very striking instance of the frailty of human nature; as I was passing by a tent door two men brought one out to all appearance dead; however he breathed once more & expired, this was the second breath, after they perceived any alteration in him; he was sitting at the table, dining upon a Beef stake, as well, as he had been for some days. thus from a state of usual health, two breaths, landed him in the Eternal world. By instances of this kind, we learn the uncertainty of Life.

*Sunday 22<sup>d</sup>.* Our Brigade paraded at ten in the morning, was entertained with a lifeless tasteless, Senseless and inanimating discourse, by the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Porter. However as he had the badge of a chaplain, I shall say no more about the matter. This day Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Whitcomb arrived at head Quarters with two prisoners, an Ensign, and a quartermaster Serg<sup>t</sup>. which he took near St. Johns

*Monday 23<sup>d</sup>.* In the morning took a puke, which did not operate agreeable to my mind; felt some better in the afternoon, retired to rest in good season.

*Tuesday 24<sup>th</sup>.* In the forenoon Cross<sup>d</sup>. to the other side; viewed a little of their works, found them to be strong and good. obtained a few articles of Doct<sup>r</sup>. Canada, in the medicinal way; then returned home not a little fatigued. Near evening put Asa Nollin, under guard, for Disobedience of orders, and neglect of duty.

*Wednesday 25.* Confined one Macklain for the crime above mentioned.

*Thursday 26.* I have so many sick to visit so many invaledes to prescribe for; that I am in general like a hard labouring man, much fatigued come evening. this afternoon see a private in Col<sup>o</sup>. Maxwells<sup>23</sup> Regt. receive 100 stripes 62 more he is receive tomorrow agreeable to the sentence of the Court martial; he was convicted of desertion, thieving, and a number of other crimes. I cannot but take notice of the deceit cunning and deviltry of some of my acquaintance, which has been visible for a long time, and continues so from day to day.

It appears rational to suppose, that those persons, who are conscious that they are always studying to practice mischief, and deceit: must of necessity undergo much uneasiness in their own minds; lest, their villany and scandalous conduct, should be discovered, and detected by others. Innocence & a good Conscience is one of the greatest blessings in life. Such is the happiness of that charming fair M.—K.—<sup>24</sup>

*Fryday 27<sup>th</sup>.* felt much unwell, had a continual pain in my bowels, which is a symptom of an approaching diarrh: Doct<sup>r</sup>. Mingo has something of the Pleurisy. M<sup>r</sup>. Coxcomb, has a slight Intermittent; and M<sup>r</sup>. Blacksnake is a little Scorbutick.<sup>25</sup> Doct<sup>r</sup>. Mingo, is a pretty plain, honest, Sociable man. M<sup>r</sup>. Coxcomb, Can wink, Laugh, turn his head and Shuck his shoulders, according to rule. M<sup>r</sup>. Blacksnake generally keeps in the grass and is seldom seen, except now and then he puts out his head, runs out his tongue, turns a Sly and Serpentine eye at you, and then disappears.

*Saturday 28<sup>th</sup>:* Last evening was taken with a diarrh. this morn took a dose of Rhu & Callomel. feel some better this afternoon we have a very fine assortment of lies from New York, but as yet I give but Little attention to them.

<sup>23</sup> William Maxwell served through the French and Indian War and remained in the army, such as it was. He was appointed colonel of the Second New Jersey Regiment in the Continental Army, November 7, 1775, and was made brigadier general by Congress October 23, 1776. He commanded a brigade in Washington's Army at Morristown, and served throughout the war until 1780, when he resigned because of ill health and died in 1798.

<sup>24</sup> Miriam Kellogg, whom Beebe later married.

<sup>25</sup> *I.e.*, affected with scurvy.

*Sunday 29<sup>th</sup>.* The Reg<sup>t</sup>. is much pleased to spend this day at their Leisure. M<sup>r</sup>. Spring is not here so that they do not hear the disagreeable sound of the Drum, calling them to attend prayers, morning & evening; this is the greatest happiness, they experience, in their present unhappy situation; this has wonderfully raised their drooping spirits; and Bro<sup>t</sup> them from the very borders of despair. Should they be favored with his absence a little longer, they will in all probability regain their former health and Spirits; and with uncommon bravery, & fortitude, manfully attack, and nobly resist the approaching foe. In general the Reg<sup>t</sup>. have built Log Huts, & some of the officers have good framed houses, so that we live much more comfortable than in tents; 3 or 4 in the hospital are very dangerous.

*Tuesday October 1<sup>st</sup>.* After breakfast and waiting upon the hospital as usual, Crossed to head quarters. took a view of the Gundoloas and Rowgallies; two of which, were Just going to sail, in order to Join the fleet; in which goes Gen<sup>l</sup>. Waterbury;<sup>20</sup> In the afternoon it made my heart ach, to visit the Hospital, so see the Dysentery rage, with unabated fury among many of them; when I had not one article, calculated for their assistance; one with this disorder, and two with the Scurvey, were on the brink of the grave. Doct<sup>r</sup>. Mingo, is much as was a few days past, his disorder rather abates. M<sup>r</sup>. Coxcomb, is a little poorly, I almost wish sometimes, that he was a good deal so. but this I know does not discover a good disposition. Mr. Blacksnake is a Devil &c.

*Wednesday 2<sup>d</sup>.* Crossed the river early in the morning, to obtain a few articles for the sick; but had no great matter of Success. In the afternoon was visited by M<sup>r</sup>. Brick, Cap<sup>t</sup>. Stanton, and Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Claghorn: had a Sociable dish of Conversation; after we had drank together, & took leave of each other. I spent the evening in writing to my friends.

*Thursday 3<sup>d</sup>.* nothing very essential has taken place this day; we buried one yesterday, another today, and I suspect shall inter another

<sup>20</sup> David Waterbury (1722-1801) took part in the French and Indian War, being present at the battle of Lake George in 1755 and the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758. He was with Montgomery in the campaign against Quebec in 1775; on June 3, 1776, he was appointed brigadier general for the Northern department by the legislature of Connecticut and was assigned to the command of the post at Skenesboro (now Whitehall), where he remained during the summer of 1776. In the battle of Valcour Bay, October 11, 1776, he was captured with his vessel, the *Washington*, but was soon exchanged and during the remainder of the war commanded a brigade under Washington.

tomorrow. It is a cold rainy day very uncomfortable unless by a good fire. add to this a mug of good Cyder, a little old pork & cabbage instead of fresh beef and peas; good butter & Cheese; and some good old friends; this would be a composition enough to raise & elevate every drooping and dejected mortal in the Camp.

*Fryday 4<sup>th</sup>*: Agreeable to yesterdays prediction, we interred one man this day; and in all probability we must do the same for many days to come.

*Saturday 5<sup>th</sup>*: at nine in the evening. For three days past I have been much troubled with a Diarrh: but feel some better for a few hours past. It is a great misfortune to be taken sick in camp. But in all cases, where this has taken place, Patience has proved to be the most Sovereign, of any article in the whole Materia Medica; & in many cases, almost desperate, has proved a Specific. Doct<sup>r</sup>. Mingo, & M<sup>r</sup>. Coxcomb, passed some words this day which neither of their Stomachs were able to digest; there it Lay like a heavy load, for some considerable time, at length was evacuated by stool. M<sup>r</sup>. Black-snake upon occasion can appear as good natured, as any little innocent puppy.

*Sunday 6<sup>th</sup>*. My disorder caused me to rise several times Last night; again at the Revilee beat; at 8 A. M. took a puke of vinum antimoniale; which operated very kindly; was very weak the remainder of the day. I find by experience, and many other ways, that the general principle, upon which our army act, whether they are taken as a body or as individuals, is entirely self. yet doubtless their sinister views, run in very different channels. Some are in persuit of money, some of promotion & honor. But was we free from all; except those who have the cause of Liberty nearest their heart; and who engage, principally with a view of defending, and transmitting, those inestimable priviledges, to posterity; for which our Ancesters Left their native land, and fled to this a howling wilderness, encountering every danger. I say was we free from all, except those who act upon this principle; our army would be reduced to a small number.

*Monday 7<sup>th</sup>*: We have 21 Invaldes, of our Reg<sup>t</sup>. discharg'd; wish the number had been treble; which would have made much less trouble for the well. Col<sup>o</sup>. Poor has lately made his appearance in Scarlet; this, or something not much better, makes him feel his importance, in a very surprising manner. In general he is very sociable

and popular; But of an absolute, Despotick turn of mind. As to his principles, respecting religion, it is very difficult to determine, what they are; But in my opinion he has none at all. Our Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Col<sup>o</sup>. McDuffee, is a most excellent arminion &c. Maj<sup>r</sup>. Silly, who is rightly named is a very silly man: yet the fool, has learned to swear & damn by rule: to such a degree of perfection, that his equal is scarcely to be found in the Camp. Surprising genius! Our officers & soldiers in general, are remarkably expert in the swearing way. nothing comes more handy, or gives such power and force to their words, as a Blasphemous oath. In general the Reg<sup>t</sup>. is composed of Deists, Arminians, and a few who ridicule the Bible, and everything of a sacred nature. In short they Laugh at death, mock at Hell and damnation; & even challenge the Deity, to remove them out of this world by Thunder and Lightning.

*Tuesday 8<sup>th</sup>.* Felt some better, visited the sick as usual: before dinner walked half a mile, from which I found no inconvenience, unless giving me too much of a canine appetite: Last evening one of our thieftish disposed men, was detected in stealing upwards of 20 dollars, from one of his mess; By name Jn<sup>o</sup> Disco; he was safely conducted to a place, where men of this character generally resort, with a number under arms to guard him, he will doubtless soon dance a merry tune at the Regimental post, under the stimulating Lashes of the Cat & nine

*Wednesday 9<sup>th</sup>.* I am some better, gain in strength; a little in experience. Such a crooked, and wicked world, as this is, will learn every traveller a little before he gets to his Journeys end, especially if he should happen to pass thro' our encampments.

Our old college hog, alias, Ichabod E. Fisk,<sup>27</sup> a great blunderbuss of the Gospel: came into camp the day before Yesterday; and for

<sup>27</sup> Ichabod Ebenezer Fisk (1747-1810) was Beebe's classmate and was born in New Milford, Conn., on October 19, 1747. He married Eleanor Roberts of Middletown, Conn., on August 16, 1773, and about two years later removed to Vermont. He is said to have resided first at Poultney, Rutland County, and at that time to have preached occasionally. In 1788 he settled on Isle La Motte, where he was variously occupied as surveyor, school-teacher, etc. He is said to have officiated there as minister in the Episcopal Church, but never received orders. When about 60 years of age he went to Georgia on account of lung disease. In 1810 he left there for the Mississippi Territory. On his way (in July) he came to the Creek Indian Agency, near Macon, where he died. Fisk is said to have printed an English grammar in verse; Dexter, *op. cit.*, III. 378-79.



several instances of his conduct, was safely committed, to the main Guard, Yesterday afternoon By Maj<sup>r</sup> Sherburne.<sup>28</sup>

*Thursday 10<sup>th</sup>.* I have nothing material to relate of the transactions of this day. Shall only insert what was omitted last evening; A number of our Gent<sup>n</sup>. officers met last evening; and spent the time till midnight, in a very sociable, Drunken, & noisy manner to the great disturbance of the whole Reg<sup>t</sup>. Drunkenness, is a great beauty, and prophanity an ornament in an officer. And in this light, we can Justly view the characters of most of our officers as shineing with a superior Lustre. The whims, caprice, and vanity of this set of beings is rediculous to the last degree. Children are not often guilty of such scandalous behavior, without severe correction. Human nature thus disgraced is a crime which the Brutal kind, were never guilty of.

*Fryday 11<sup>th</sup>.* Nothing material.

*Saturday 12<sup>th</sup>.* Committed a letter to Cap<sup>t</sup>. Holmes, for Paul Dewey, with one inclosed to ——— dated the 3<sup>d</sup>. Octobr. each. This evening at retreat beating Jn<sup>o</sup>. Disco, mentioned under the 8<sup>th</sup> instant; receiv<sup>d</sup> 39 in good earnest. Doct<sup>r</sup>. Mingo remains very poorly, not able to go one step. M<sup>r</sup>. Coxcomb, is groaning under the weight of an intermittent. M<sup>r</sup>. Black-snake is continually in a fretful, peevish, turn of mind, constantly damning his own eyes, and ears; or the souls and skins of other people &c.

*Sunday 13<sup>th</sup>.* was agreeably entertained with a discourse by M<sup>r</sup>. Robbins, from Genesis 19<sup>th</sup>. & 16<sup>th</sup>. the latter clause of the verse. His doctrine from the words was: that every stupid, careless and impenitent sinner, treated the great truths and concerns, of a future state with the utmost disdain and contempt or rather as a Jest, a Joke, a mere whim. He made it appear that the conduct of Lots Sons in law, in their answer to him: and the conduct of sinners both spoke the same language, and in the application was all life and engagedness to Shew the sinner, the sad consequence, which would inevitably

<sup>28</sup> Major Henry Sherburne of Rhode Island ("a bold stout courageous-looking man"—Smith, *op. cit.*, II. 371) led 140 men from Paterson's regiment in an attempt to relieve Arnold at The Cedars in the middle of May. However, due to false information, Sherburne did not arrive in time and the force had to suffer the ignominy of a disgraceful capitulation, which was one of the most shameful events of the whole war, and has handed down the name of Butterfield to posterity as a coward. Smith, an impartial scholar, says: "It [Butterfield's surrender] was a clear case of poltroonery, tempered only by the small-pox"; *op. cit.*, II. 371.

follow from an allowed course of wickedness. This day a boat arrived express from the fleet: which informed, that our fleet was attacked by British Butchers on fryday 11<sup>th</sup>. which continued the greatest part of the day, that on Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> our fleet retreated near split rock; where they lay in sight of the enemy; their army being a little in the rear in flat bottomed Boats. This morning the fleets engaged the second time; as we heard an almost incessant fire from day break, till afternoon. What damage is done on either side, we have as yet not heard. At 4 o'clock P. M. the several Brigades which compose our army, paraded and made a most respectable appearance.

*Monday 14<sup>th</sup>*. Last evening about sunset two Schooners, one shallop, 1 Gundaloe, and one Row galley; being the whole of our fleet which remained out of 16 sail that were not destroyed or taken by the enemy; arrived at the Garrison. Several of our vessels were obliged to strike to them, some being disabled by their shot made for the shore, ran aground, set fire to their vessels and made their escape, and this evening upwards of 160 have arrived safe in Camp. A flag, from the enemy is now here, of 150 men, with whom came Gen<sup>l</sup>. Waterbury, the contents are not yet known.<sup>29</sup>

*Tuesday 15<sup>th</sup>*: The flag, mentioned yesterday, came only to transport the prisoners, which they took, in the late engagement, to this place; who were permitted to return to their several places of abode on parole, that they would not take arms against them during the present contest; and would return to them whenever called for; the number taken was 104. one of which was Gen<sup>l</sup>. Waterbury. Carlton was with the fleet, which we expect to visit us every hour; for which reason our works go on day and night without any intermission.

<sup>29</sup> Before the fleeing Americans had reached Crown Point, Arnold pronounced it as of "the utmost importance that the Lakes be immediately secured by a large number (at least twenty or thirty) gondolas, row gallies and floating baterries." (Smith, *op. cit.*, II. 462.) His advice was followed; Arnold himself took command of the vessels, and early in September controlled Lake Champlain. He stationed the fleet off Valcour Island and on October 11 Carleton's fleet attacked. It was a short struggle. One British ship, the *Inflexible*, was more than a match for Arnold's whole fleet, and after three hours of hard fighting in which Arnold was the main inspiration, he executed a masterly retreat, after being bottled up by the British vessels, by filing through the enemy fleet at night. Only five out of the original fifteen vessels reached Crown Point. A contemporary tribute containing high praise of Arnold's exploit is that of Dr. James Thacher: "Several letters, lately received from Canada, acknowledge that no man ever manoeuvred with more dexterity, fought with more bravery, or retreated with more firmness, than did General Arnold on the 11th and 12th instant"; *Military Journal* (2d ed.), p. 65-66.

This day Doct<sup>r</sup>. Mingo set off for Skenesboro much troubled with Rheumatic disorder. M<sup>r</sup>. Coxcomb this evening is taken very violently with the dysentery. Mr. Blacksnake is much better, so that he is able to crawl about and lurk under old Logs and in the weeds, watching an opportunity to spit his venomous, and Serpentine poison at some harmless and innocent person.

*Wednesday 16.* The near approach of the enemy, has as it were re-animated our officers, and put new life and vigor into our Soldiers. Every one exerts himself to the utmost, for an approaching battle — our works go on day and night, without any cessation. This day had certain intelligence, that Gen<sup>l</sup>. Carlton had landed at Crownpoint and that his army was hourly arriving. Last evening between 11 & 12, the whole army on this hill, was alarmed, by 5 or 6 guns fired by the enemy, near the alarm post; thro mistake the fire was at an ox, which was taken for one of the enemy, for not giving the Countersign when demanded.

*Thursday 17<sup>th</sup>:* Nothing in particular comes to hand from Crown point. The wind has not favored their advances here, since their arrival at that place. we expect them every hour. Our works go on to an amazing degree, Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gates desires Carlton, to make him a visit tomorrow.

*Friday 18.* Nothing material occurs. In the afternoon M<sup>r</sup>. Coxcomb left camp for the country, on furlough, being much unwell.

*Saturday 19<sup>th</sup>:* We get no intelligence from the enemy, can hear their morn. and evening gun as usual. The near approach of the enemy and our constant expectation of the same, occasions our works to go on with great rapidity. About sunset there was a general discharge of all the Loaded Arillery and musquetry in the camp, it being damaged by several days rain.

*Sunday 20.* Yesterday Col<sup>o</sup>. Maxwell with his Reg<sup>t</sup>. was ordered over the other side. and this day Col<sup>o</sup>. Poor, Graton, & Read, with their Reg<sup>ts</sup>. are ordered over, immediately upon an attack. Some spies have arrived at head Quarters this afternoon, from Crown point; but have heard no particular account which they bring respecting the Situation of the enemy.

*Monday 21.* The Wind favours the advance of the enemy, we much expected them, had everything in the best position possible for a warm reception: In the afternoon walked in the woods, a few miles with Col<sup>o</sup>. Poor, was Surprised to see what large pieces of timber;

designed for a boom & bridge across the Lake; were drawn 100 rods or more, & tumbled into the Lake, from thence towed by Batteaus to their proper destination.

In the afternoon they were alarmed on the Garrison side, supposing the enemy to be near at hand. their lines were instantly maned; but were disappointed in their expectations.

*Tuesday 22d.* We are not as yet disturbed by the enemy; by our spies we learn that they have a considerable army at the point, chiefly on the east side; our military officers, conjecture very differently respecting their next movement. Some say they will attack this post, others that they will return to Canada, and others that they will winter at the point. But these cold nights must be very uncomfortable in their present situation.

*Wednesday 23d.* Last evening, a number of savages killed one man, and took two Prisoners, as they were passing from the mills to Adams Landing. This evening had intelligence by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Buel, in 6 days from Sharon, that my Hon<sup>rd</sup> Father was very ill, and that his life was much despaired of.

*Thursday 24<sup>th</sup>:* Nothing very extraordinary takes place amongst us. Our men daily recover health & spirits, and I believe was they called to action, would fight valiantly.

*Fry 25<sup>th</sup>: or Fryday;* A man of our Reg<sup>t</sup>. died last evening was opened this morn. by Doct<sup>r</sup>. Holmes, found his difficulty to be worms. Nothing new. Our chaplain does not yet return, the Reg<sup>t</sup>. is extremely happy in his absence, as they can bear to hear Edwardeanism preached with the same degree of pleasure as a Living animal can bar hot burying coals (*Hoc verum est*)

*Saturday 26<sup>th</sup>:* Sent 12 or 14 of our sick this morning for the hospital at Fort George. Our men, within 3 weeks past have recovered their spirits to a Surprising degree. Sickness abates. We hear nothing from the enemy &c.

*Sunday 27<sup>th</sup>.* This day M<sup>r</sup>. Spring arriv<sup>d</sup> at camp, having regained his health to a considerable degree. Had intelligence of a Battle fought at West Chester on the 18<sup>th</sup>: Instant in which the enemy lost 1000 killed besides wounded. The enemy were discovered to encamp last evening, on Putnams point and this afternoon a number of batteaus were discovered but 3 miles distance. We now begin to think that they have some thots of making us a visit soon, & somewhat expect it tomorrow.

*Monday 28.* This morning at 8 o'clock the alarm was given soon after which several sail, and a number of boats hove in sight, all which landed on 3 mile point. One of their boats receiv<sup>d</sup>. a few merry shot from our Batteries for Coming too near us.

*Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup>:* The enemy who landed yesterday at 3 mile point, removed near evening, toward Crown point; however we expect to hear from them again soon. Two deserters from the enemy came this afternoon, to head Quarters. The militia come in by hundreds.

*Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup>:* Nothing material.

*Thursday 31<sup>st</sup>.* Much as usual.

*Friday Nov<sup>r</sup>. 1<sup>st</sup>:* Procured of Doct<sup>r</sup> Potts, a pretty assortment of medicine, hope now to be able, to set some of the enfeebled soldiers upon their legs again.

*Saturday 2<sup>d</sup>.* Near evening a large party of men, about 6 or 700, Commanded by Maj<sup>r</sup>. Cilley, left camp, for to make the enemy a vis<sup>t</sup>. at Crown Point, on the east side of the lake. Another party somewhat larger, went on the west side. This day had intelligence that M<sup>r</sup>. Coxcomb cut his own throat, a few days since at Stillwater; which put an end to his life instantly.

*Sunday 3<sup>d</sup>.* Nothing extraordinary except a sermon by Mr. Spring.

*Monday 4<sup>th</sup>:* this evening our Scouting party came in, who inform, that Carlton having intelligence of their approach left Crown point yesterday at 11 A. M. in much confusion, and that the whole fleet have sail<sup>d</sup> for Canada.

*Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup>.* Mr. Fogg left camp this morn. in order to return the effects of M<sup>r</sup>. Persons to camp. In the afternoon Col<sup>o</sup>. Wain with his Reg<sup>t</sup>. was Drummed out of Camp By order of the Gen<sup>l</sup>.

*Thursday 7.*

*Friday 8. Nihil Novum.*

*Saturday 9.* This day sent a packet of 4 letters of this date by Lieu<sup>t</sup>. Holcomb. Two Reg<sup>ts</sup> of militia are discharged and have left Camp.

*Sunday 10<sup>th</sup>.* No preaching, all those in the Reg<sup>t</sup>. fit for duty are busy in compleating the picket fort and attending the grog shops. Fine times for Sutlers on sunday. The character before mentioned by the name of Coxcomb ought to have been, Snipper Snapper. One of our gentleman officers, lately asked a Chaplain, if he believed the whole of the bible to be true? The Chaplain answered in the af-

firmative, to which, the officer replied: Ah! I see you do not know much.

*Monday 11.* Great numbers in the Reg<sup>t</sup>. have lately been taken sick, their symptoms and complaints have been exactly the same and required nearly the same treatment. They were first taken with ague and chills; a violent pain in the head, back, and in every bone, & limb in the body; with a loss of appetite, Nausea, and a considerable degree of weakness. These symptoms were succeeded, with an inflammatory fever. The method of treating the disorder was, first, to evacuate with Tart: emet: then gave the common febrifuge, Nit<sup>r</sup>. with camphor: to which was added a little of Tart: emet: as a deobstruent. This soon performed a proper Crisis. A nourishing regimen was the only thing that remained necessary to effect a cure. This method in almost every instance proved Successfull. In some cases a gentle anodyne was necessary, where the pain was severe. As well as in other cases, to allay the spasms, and prevent too great an irritation, after the first evacuation.

*Tuesday 12<sup>th</sup>:* Some intelligence has this day come to head Quarters from Canada which occasions great speculation, in consequence of which it is said our brigade will leave camp in a few days.

*Wednesday 13<sup>th</sup>:* Nine in the evening. I am almost Starved, have drew no bread for several days, yet fare as well as the rest of my fellow Sufferors. We must quit the camp soon, or brot to the short allowance of faith, which is poor provision for a campaign. I have for some time been troubled with harsh sound of the scotch fiddle, otherwise should feel considerable well.

*Thursday 14:* Near evening about 150 of our invaledes left camp for New Hampshire: I pity the poor feeble Shadows, fear many of them, will never reach home. This evening have orders for the Reg<sup>t</sup>. to embark to morrow morn, for Fort George.

*Fryday 15.* Should have embarked early this morn, agreeable to orders of yesterday, had there not been several objections in the way, such as the want of provision, the want of Batteas, the want of good weather and lastly the want of orders, &c. &c. The snow has given the earth a fine and delicate complexion. Wish we were not always to be betwixt hawk & Buzzard, one day have orders to march for N. Hampshire; the next for Fort George, and the next for neither. This brings Canada to remembrance.

*Saturday 16<sup>th</sup>*: Left Mt. Independence encamped at evening, at Adams's landing.

*Sunday 17<sup>th</sup>*: Embarked early in the morning for Fort George, arrived within seven miles of the Garrison, and by reason of a headwind was obliged to encamp in the woods: a large fire and plenty of bedding made us comfortable.

*Monday 18<sup>th</sup>*: Nine o'clock arrived at the Garrison, which we left within one hour, and at evening came to Fort Edward.

*Tuesday 19<sup>th</sup>*: Marched with the Reg<sup>t</sup>. for Saratoga, where we found some of the most curious Barracks ever made; which kindly received us from the inclemency of the weather.

*Wednesday 20<sup>th</sup>*: Found no duty for the Regt. except cutting Turneps for the remaining troops at Ti.

*Thursday 21*. left our Curious Barracks, and proceeded for Albany encamped at Stillwater.

*Fryday 22*. In the afternoon went on to the New City.<sup>30</sup>

*Saturday 23<sup>d</sup>*. came to Albany, found the town, full of troops on their return; heard that Fort Washington was taken.

*Sunday 24<sup>th</sup>*. Was busy all day about nothing, could not so much as go to church.

*Monday 25<sup>th</sup>*. Left Albany, at 10 A. M. and arrived at the stone house before 8 in the evening, which is 30 miles — pretty well for a New Traveller.

*Tuesday 26*. Last evening had orders to march for Manor Livingston, set out afternoon and at even arrived at Claverack.

*Wednesday 27*. Came to the manor house, where we waited for orders.

*Thursday 28<sup>th</sup>*. Was not a little pleased to take a view of the accommodations of the good old Col<sup>o</sup>. he has everything that heart could desire, ready at hand.

*Fryday 29<sup>th</sup>*: No orders yet arrives, for our removal one way or the other, Ergo, we shall remain here. The child, the boy and the fool, is so obvious in many of our officers, that I am weary of their Company.

*Wednesday Decem<sup>r</sup>. 4<sup>th</sup>*: Last evening had orders to march to Esopus, accordingly set out this morn, and at evening came to Scharmehorns.

<sup>30</sup> Now Troy, New York.

*Thursday 5<sup>th</sup>*: Proceeded to Rhymebeck Put up at Cap<sup>t</sup>. Radclifts.

*Fryday 6*. Crossed the river to Esopus which is a beautiful little town.

*Saturday 7*. Again went on for the menescincts [Minisinks] was joined by Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gates & Arnold together with Starks, Pattersons, and Reeds Reg<sup>ts</sup>. at evening come to Rochester 15 miles.

*Sunday 8*. Fine weather and good marching. Went on to Laurenkill 18 miles the road and Country from Esopus to this place is very even and beautifull — settled the whole of the way — fine farms and orchards, and a plenty of stock.

*Monday 9*. Pased thro a wilderness Country 24 miles, then came to one branch of the Delaware, at the entrance of the menesincts.

*Tuesday 10<sup>th</sup>*: Went 6 miles and there waited for the Rear part of the Reg<sup>t</sup>.

*Wednesday 11*. Again went on our way, soon entered the Jerseys. Came to Decamps 20 miles.

*Thursday 12*. In the afternoon went to Sussex 13 miles where we took a Tory with £700, Continental bills, both of which we safely conducted to Gen<sup>l</sup>. Gates the same evening.

*Fryday 13*. Crossed the mountains again to Sussex. About 12 Gen<sup>l</sup>. Lee was taken prisoner by the light Horse.

*Sunday 15*. Left Sussex for Pennsylvania Proceeded 13 miles.

*Monday 16*. Again went on, came to the Ferry 8 miles, proceeded 10 miles further on our way for Bethlehem.

*Tuesday 17*. Past thro Nazareth 9 miles, from thence to Bethlehem 10 miles. These are two remarkable places for curiosities.

*Thursday 19<sup>th</sup>*: Yester[day] Gen<sup>l</sup>. Sullivan with his division left town. This day came 15 miles on our way, was taken poorly in the even.

*Friday 20<sup>th</sup>*. proceeded 8 miles found myself unable to continue my Journey. Put up at a private house in order for recruiting. Saturday, Sunday, Monday & Tuesday was very ill, Wednesday some better.

*Fryday 27<sup>th</sup>*: Having recovered a Little strength, set out with my pack slung for Bethlehem, where I arrived Saturday 28<sup>th</sup>.

*Sunday 29<sup>th</sup>*: Went to church in the forenoon, dined upon Roast Fowl, then took a ride in the Sleigh so far as Nazareth, returned at even.



*Monday 30<sup>th</sup>*: the weather being pleasant I set out for home crossed the ferry at eastown, and left the same 18 miles at even.

*Tuesday 31*. proceeded thro Sussex, and came to Col<sup>o</sup>. Martins.

*Wednesday Jan<sup>r</sup> 1, 1777*. Set forward for New Windsor, But the weather being wet & Lowry, was obliged to put up in Warrick, felt so unwell soon betook myself to the bed, remained so unwell, was obliged to Lay by Thursday and fryday.

*Saturday 4<sup>th</sup>*: Felt so much better as to put forward in the morning, came to the ferry at New Windsor at sunset, crossed the ferry, rode about a mile and put up.

*Sunday 5th*: Pased thro the fishkills and at even came to the Widow Thorns, a fine Quaker Woman.

*Monday 6<sup>th</sup>*: Went on my way and at evening came to Salisbury. Here I tarried a Tuesday and on Wednesday 8<sup>th</sup>: rode to Canaan. Here my Journey and campaign ends and I once more returned to my Fathers House.