

# FORT TICONDEROGA

National Historic Landmark

phone: (518) 585-2821  
fax: : (518) 585-2210

[fort@fort-ticonderoga.org](mailto:fort@fort-ticonderoga.org)

PO Box 390  
Ticonderoga  
NY 12883

## Bibliography

### The Campaign of 1758 at Carillon

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Current: July 16, 2000

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#### Key Names

- Major General James Abercromby
- Brigadier General Lord George Augustus, Third Viscount Howe
- Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, Highland Regiment
- Major Robert Rogers
- Général Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm Gozon de Saint Véran
- Chevalier de Lévis
- Louis Antoine de Bougainville

See Dictionary of American Biography (US) and Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vols. II and III, for key names.

See also related campaign bibliographies available from this museum.

#### Regiments Committed

##### British Regulars

27th Foot (Lord Blakeney's, or The Inniskilling Regiment)

42nd Foot (Lord John Murray's, or The Highland Regiment)

44th Foot (General Abercromby's)

46th Foot (Lt. General Thomas Murray's)

55th Foot (Lord Howe's)  
60th Foot (1st and 4th Battalions, Royal American Regiment)  
80th Foot (Gage's Light Arm'd Infantry)  
4th and 17th companies Royal Artillery  
His Majesty's Independent Companies of Rangers (Major Robert Rogers)

### **British Provincials**

Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel Thomas Doty's Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel Ebenezer Nichols' Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel Jedidiah Preble's Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel Oliver Partridge's Massachusetts Battalion of Light Infantry or Rangers  
Colonel Timothy Ruggles' Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel William Williams' Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel John Bradstreet's Batteauxmen (pronounced "Broadstreet")  
Sir William Johnson's Mohawk Indians  
Colonel Oliver Delancy's New York Regiment  
Colonel John Hart's New Hampshire Regiment  
Colonel Henry Babcock's Rhode Island Regiment  
Colonel John Johnson's New Jersey Regiment  
Colonel Phineas Lyman's 1st Connecticut Regiment  
Colonel Nathaniel Whiting's 2nd Connecticut Regiment  
Colonel Eleazer Fitch's 3rd Connecticut Regiment  
Colonel David Wooster's 4th Connecticut Regiment

### **French**

La Reine  
Guyenne  
Royal Roussillon  
Béarn  
Languedoc  
1st Berry (actually 2nd)  
2nd Berry (actually 3d)  
La Sarre  
Troops of La Marine  
Canadians  
Indians

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### **News Reports / Magazine and Newspaper Poetry**

"A Chronological Memoir of Occurrences for August 1758," Miscellaneous Correspondence, London, vol. II (1758), pp. 866-867. [FTA] Extract of a Letter from Major General Abercromby to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Secretary Pitt, from Camp at Lake George, 12 July 1758. Followed by a notice that the Highland Regiment has been raised to Royal status; to augment its numbers to 2000 men by adding a second battalion of 700 men; and naming the newly appointed officers.

"Monthly Report," The American Magazine, Philadelphia, vol. I no. x (July 1758), pp. 511-512. (John Carter Brown Library #H1a/1758); another: Huntington Library, AE 7829 // 26957 (rare). Transcript in Fort Ticonderoga research files. Concludes with a long catechism on why the campaign failed.

Written by a Lady, "Methinks I see Britannia's Genius here," Boston News-Letter, no. 2989 (14 December 1758), p. 3 col. 1. [LeMay #1528]. "Lines . . . Upon General Amherst's leading his Troops from Boston, after the Conquest of Louisbourg, to join our Army that had been repulsed at Tionderoga." Frequently reprinted.

"Rise! Britons, Rise! Defend your righteous Cause," On the Present Expedition by a young Genius. Boston Gazette, no. 173 (24 July 1758), p. 4, col. 2. [LeMay #1459]. Reprinted in New Hampshire Gazette, no. 95 (28 July 1758), p. 2, col. 2. [LeMay #1460].

"Extract of a Letter from New-York to his Friend in this Town [Portsmouth, N.H.], dated May 31st," Boston News-Letter, 22 June 1758, p. 3. Reprinted in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 6 July 1758, p. 2. Re the qualities of Lord Howe.

"Extract of a letter from Albany dated June 1, 1758," Boston News-Letter, 15 June 1758, p. 2, cols. 2-3.

"Extract of a letter dated Flat-Bush, June 12, 1758," Boston News-Letter, 29 June 1758, p. 2. Letter is continued in the issue of 6 July 1758, p. 3 Reprinted in part in the Pennsylvania Gazette, 6 July 1758, p. 2.

"Encampment near Fort Edward, on the other side of the River, June 22, 1758," Boston Gazette, 3 July 1758, p. 3 col. 1; reprinted Boston News-Letter, 6 July 1758, p. 2, col. 1.

"Extract of a letter from Fort-Edward, June 22," Boston News-Letter, 6 July 1758, p. 3, col. 3. Re: clothing, morale, and camp preparedness.

"Advices from Albany, Lake George, from June 22 to June 26," Boston News-Letter, 13 July 1758, p. 1.

"Advices from Albany, Lake George, from June 26 to July 7," Boston News-Letter, 13 July 1758, p. 2, col. 1. Reprinted Boston Gazette, 17 July 1758, p. 1. Re the gasconade of Wolf's flag of truce to return Col. Schuyler.

"Boston, July 13," Boston News-Letter, 13 July 1758, p. 2, col. 1. Reprinted in the Boston Gazette, 17 July 1758, p. 1, col. 3. Re the express reports which arrived "last evening" from Albany concerning the landing on the 6th and Howe's death.

"Extract of a letter from Albany to a Gentleman in this Town, dated July 10, 1758," Boston News-Letter, 13 July 1758, p. 2. Reprinted Boston Gazette, 17 July 1758, p. 1, col. 3.

"An Account of the Actions at Ticonderago, together with an Exact List of the Kill'd, Missing & Wounded, both Regulars & Provincials, [Published by Order.]" Boston Gazette, 24 July 1758, p. 1. Reprinted Boston News-letter, 27 July 1758, p. 1.

"Extract of a letter from an officer at the Camp at Lake George, dated July 11," London Chronicle, vol. IV (22 August 1758), p. 183, col. 1. [FTA].

"Extract of a Letter from Saratoga, to a Gentleman in this Town, dated July 12, 1758," Pennsylvania Gazette, 3 August 1758, p. 2.

"From the Newport [R.I.] Mercury, Newport, August 7," Boston News-Letter, 10 August 1758, p. 2, col. 1. The extraordinary story of brave William Smith, a private in Capt. John Whiting's Coy, the Rhode Island regiment.

Boston News-Letter, 24 August 1758, p. 3, col. 3. Re celebrating the "good News of the Reduction and Surrender of Louisbourg."

Boston News-Letter, 31 August 1758 supplement, p. 2, col. 1. Re action at Halfway brook, attempt to exchange prisoners.

Americanus, "On Col. Bradstreet's Success," New-London Summary, no. 8 (29 September 1758), p. 4, col. 2. [LeMay #1482]. Reprinted in Boston News-Letter (12 October 1758); New Hampshire Gazette (20 October 1758); New American Magazine (October 1758).

"A Letter from Lake George, 10 July 1758" Pennsylvania Gazette, 3 August 1758, p. 1.

"Extract of a Letter from Lake George, July 21, 1758," Pennsylvania Gazette, 27 July 1758, p. 2.

"Extract of a letter from a lieutenant in Howe's regiment dated at Lake George, July 10," Scots Magazine, vol. 20 (August 1758) p. 439. A paean to the service of the Highland regiment.

"Extract of a letter from Maj. Gen. Abercrombie to Mr. Sec. Pitt, dated at the Camp at Lake George, 12 July 1758" The Scots Magazine, vol. 20 (August 1758), pp. 436-438. With maps. Reprints substantially the official report.

"From other newspapers / Extract of a letter from an officer at Lake George dated July 11" Scots Magazine, vol. 20 (August 1758), pp. 438-439. (This latter appeared in the New York Mercury, 24 July 1758, p. 2 col. 3.)

"Deaths," The Scots Magazine, vol. 20 (August 1758), p. 442. Obituary for Lord Howe.

"Historical Chronicle [under date of Monday 12 July]," The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XXXII, (July 1762), p. 340. [FTA]. "A monument to the memory of the late gallant Lord Howe was opened in Westminster Abbey," donated by the province of Massachusetts Bay.

"A French account of the action at Ticonderoga," The Scots Magazine, vol. 20 (September 1758), p. 491.

[Lt. William Grant], "A Particular Account of the Action at Ticonderoga," *The Scots Magazine*, vol. 20 (December 1758), pp. 698-699. "Written by an officer of Lord John Murray's regiment, who never had seen the low country till anno 1740." "How can we recruit and when shall we have so fine a regiment again?"

[report on the care of 45 wounded highlanders at Chelsea], *The Scots Magazine*, vol. (April 1759), p. 213.

"Letter from a Gentleman at Lake George, dated 11 July 1758," *New York Mercury*, 24 July 1758. RE the "red handkerchief" episode.

"Letter from an Officer," *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, vol. 28 (September 1758), p. 444-446. [FTA #P-5096]. Officer is Captain Peter Duboise from DeLancy's New York regiment of provincials, entrusted with guarding prisoners captured on the 6th. The Magazine version is a slightly expanded version of the P. DuBoise ms in Bancroft Library, New York, and published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 1 (January 1945), pp. 15-18.

"On the Death of Lord Howe" [title]; "Britannia mourns her youthful hero slain," *Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. XXVIII (October 1758), p. 530. Dated "Nottingham, Oct. 23." Howe is MP for Nottingham. (LeMay #1510). Reprinted in *Scots Magazine*, vol. 20 (October 1758), p. 530.

A Lady in America, "Verses on the Defeat at Ticonderoga or Carilong," *London Magazine*, (February 1759). (LeMay #1475 and #1560.) Reprinted in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 2 (July 1936), pp. 42-43.

[Annis Boudinot Stockton], "Dear to each Muse, and to thy country dear," *New York Mercury*, no. 282 (9 January 1758), p.1 col. 1. [LeMay #1404]. On the temporary return of Col. Peter Schuyler on parole. Reprinted in *New American Magazine*, vol. I no. 1 (January 1758). [LeMay #1412]. On the poet, see Carla Mulford, ed., *Only for the Eye of a Friend: The Poems of Annis Boudinot Stockton*, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1995. Reviewed in *William & Mary Quarterly*, vol. LIII no. 4 (October 1996), pp. 819-823.

Nassovicus [Benjamin Youngs Prime], "Amherst, while crouds attend you on your way," *New York Mercury*, no. 331 (18 December 1758), p. 1 col. 3. [LeMay #1529]. Lines to be presented to Amherst on his way across Long Island to relieve Abercromby. Frequently reprinted. A satirical reply is "Dogma Poeticum" by Philo Metros in *Boston Gazette*, no. 198 (15 January 1759), p. 3 col. 1. [LeMay #1545].

[Benjamin Youngs Prime], *The Unfortunate Hero*, New York, 1758. Author lived on Long Island. Two poems: an ode on the death of Howe and another on the fall of Louisbourg. Both are reprinted, pp. 26-39, in *The Patriot Muse, or Poems on Some of the principal Events of the late War; By an American Gentleman*, London, 1764. Unique surviving complete copy is at Huntington Library. See *Annual Report of the John Carter Brown Library*, vol. 35, pp. 48-49.

"On the Death of his Son, Col. Bever, who was killed in the Engagement at Ticonderoga," *New-York Mercury*, no. 341 (26 February 1759), p. 1 col. 1. (LeMay #1558).

By a Young Gentleman, "What! Can an infant muse attempt to sing," *Weyman's New York Gazette*, no. 25 (6 August 1759), p. 1, cols. 1-2. [LeMay #1618]. Including lines on the fall of brave Howe. "And with him the whole Army's courage fled / Their soul, their Life, and their conducting Head."

## Journals and Correspondence

A Journal or Proceedings of the Army under the Command of Maj.-Gen. Abercromby from June ye 17th until July ye 9th Campaign 1758. Marquess of Bute Collection (0631), Mount Stuart Trust Archives, Scotland.

Correspondence between Abercromby and Vaudreuil in late summer 1758 concerning exchange of prisoners; "Correspondence des Généraux Anglais," in *Lettres et Pièces Militaires in Manuscrits de Lévis*, Casgrain, ed., pp. 233-272. [FTA #3314].

Abercromby Papers. Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. The auction catalog for the March 1917 sale of these Papers by Major R.W. Duff, Fetteresso Castle, by Sotheby is [FTA #P-4094], pp. 83ff.

James Abercromby to Lord Barrington [Secretary at War], New York, 25 April 1758. Plimpton Collection [#183A and #183B] at Amherst College. "Abercromby . . . an older officer raised in the dilatory school. This lengthy letter is . . . typical of his habit of writing long-winded letters . . . while the campaign remained neglected."

Major-General James Abercromby to William Pitt, Camp at Lake George, July 12, 1758. Draft versions of Abercromby's report to Pitt are found in War Office series 34, volume 73, folios 172-174 (in Appy's hand), and another on folios 175-177 (probably Abercromby's own hand); Public Record Office. The retained copy of the manuscript ("in mutilated condition") is in collections of the Huntington Library (AB 436). Also published as "Montcalm's Victory: General James Abercromby to William Pitt," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. V no. 5-6 (July 1940), pp. 140-142. Same letter appears in Gertrude S. Kimball, ed., *Correspondence of William Pitt*, vol. I, pp. 299-300 (heavily edited). The recipient's copy of the letter is in *America and the West Indies*, vol. 87, pp. 297-302, Public Record Office. Published in *London Gazette Extraordinary*, 22 August 1758. Reprinted in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 725-727. "Official Dispatch of General Abercromby," published as Appendix I in James Austin Holden, "New Historical Light on the Real Burial of George Augustus, Lord Viscount Howe, 1758," *Proceedings, New York State Historical Association*, vol. X (1911), pp. 309-313. [FTA #4809]. Written from "Camp at Lake George, July 12th 1758" but misprinted in the above as "July 2." Contemporaneously published versions of this dispatch delicately omitted the passage about the disposition of Howe's body in Albany.

Major-General James Abercromby to William Pitt, Camp at Lake George, July 12, 1758; War Office series 34, volume 73, folio 178. Concerns the dispatch of Cunningham, aide-de-camp to carry the report of action at Ticonderoga, and return on leave to recruit his health.

Major-General James Abercromby to Major-General Jeffery Amherst, Camp at Lake George, 18 July 1758. Amherst Family Papers, MG 18, L-4, 32/1. National Archives of Canada. Abercromby's retained copy is AB 450 in the Abercromby Papers, The Huntington Library. The received copy is in Amherst Papers, Kent County Archives, U1350/032/1; 9 pp. and 2 maps.

Major-General James Abercromby to Lord Barrington, Camp at Lake George, July 12, 1758; War Office series 34, volume 73, folio 179. Concerns death of Lord Howe.

Major-General James Abercromby to Col. Peter Schuyler, 12 August 1758 [FTA ms #2000.0034.001]. Returns Schuyler to his parole.

Major-General James Abercromby to William Pitt, Camp at Lake George, 19 August 1758; Colonial Office series 5, vol. 50, ff. 260-260v. Printed in *Pitt Corresp.*, vol. I, pp. 316-327.

Major-General James Abercromby to Mr. James Abercromby, Camp at Lake George, 19 August 1758; Marquess of Bute Collection (0631), Mount Stuart Trust Archives, Scotland. With an accompanying letter from James Abercromby transmitting the General's letter to Lord Loudoun.

James Abercromby to Abraham Mortier, 1758. Re settlement of accounts for John Bradstreet for construction of batteaux. [FTA #M-1993.72]. Abercromby's retained copy is AB 915 in the Abercromby Papers, The Huntington Library.

James Abercromby to Abraham Mortier, 31 October 1758. settlement of accounts for Preble's Massachusetts regiment. [FTA #M-1913]. Abercromby's retained copy is AB 964(3) in the Abercromby Papers, the Huntington Library.

Nathaniel Ames, *Astronomical Diary & Almanac for 1758*. [FTA #P-3083].

Statement of the account of provincial soldiers, Charlemont, Massachusetts, March 1758, sworn before Elijah Williams. Plimpton Collection [#42] at Amherst College.

Garret Albertson, *A Short Account of the Life, Travels, and Adventures of Garrett Albertson, Sr.*, 1845. [FTA #P-4013]. Reprinted in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 2 (July 1936), pp. 43-47. Albertson (1735-1813) mis-remembered the year he sailed up the Hudson and arrived in Albany; it should read "1758." Served with the New Jersey "Blues."

Josiah H. Temple and George Sheldon, "Diary of Ensign Thomas Alexander," *A History of the Town of Northfield, Albany*, 1875, pp. 303-305.

Captain Hugh Arnot to your lordship, Stillwater, 1 August 1758 and enclosing "A Journal or Proceedings of the Army under the Command of Maj.-Gen. Abercromby," 19 August 1758. Marquess of Bute Collection (0631), Mount Stuart Trust Archives, Scotland. Captain Arnot served in the 80th regiment of foot. Published in Nicholas Westbrook, ed., "Like Roaring Lions Breaking from their Chains": *The Highland Regiment at Ticonderoga*, *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XVI no. 1 (1998), pp. 22-43.

Col. Henry Babcock, letter, Lake George, 10th July 1758, pp. 12-13, in Howard M. Chapin, ed., *Rhode Island in the Colonial Wars: A List of Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors in the Olde French and Indian War, 1755-1762*, Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society, 1918. Reprinted as Chapin, *Rhode Island in the Colonial Wars*, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1994. [FTA #1994.51].

Col. Jonathan Bagley, orderly book, Camp at Lake George, 20 August-11 September 1758, ms. in American Antiquarian Society. Acquisition announced and entries for three days quoted in *Proceedings, AAS*, vol. I (April 1881). Ms is 34 pp. in 1 vol.

Captain Salah Barnard, manuscript Journal, 1758 campaign. Fort Ticonderoga collections. [FTA #M-1991.58]. Barnard was from Deerfield, Massachusetts, serving in his first campaign as captain. He served in Col. William Williams' regiment.

Lieutenant Thomas Barnsley to Henry Bouquet, Albany, 7 September 1758. Ms is in Bouquet Collection, British Museum Add. Mss. 21643, folio 262.

Thomas Weston, ed., "Diary of Abner Barrows," *History of the Town of Middleboro, Massachusetts*, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1906, pp. 90-100. [Copy in FTA research files.] In collection of Society of Mayflower Decendants. Barrows was 25 in 1758, having already served in 1756 and 1757. Captain Benjamin Pratt's company of Col. Thomas Doty's Massachusetts regiment.

William Benton to "Dear and louing wife [Sarah]" from Lake George, 13 July 1758 and 15 July 1758. Served in Captain Samuel Chapman's (Twelfth) Company of Col. Phineas Lyman's (First) Connecticut regiment. Connecticut State Library.

Diary of David Briggs, 1758. At Lake George with Richard Cobb's Co., Col. Timothy Ruggles' Regiment. Massachusetts State Archives, Boston. Matthews, American Diaries in Manuscript #324.

[Colonel Joseph Blanchard], "Rogers' Scout at Lake George: A Journal of the New Hampshire Scout of Three Men Sent from Lake George to Reconnoitre Fort Frederic or Crown Point Fort, the New Works and Army There," *Granite State Magazine*, vol. III (1907), pp. 13-15.

Simeon DeWitt Bloodgood, *The Sexagenary; or Reminiscences of the American Revolution*, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1866. [FTA #3629: Benson J. Lossing's copy]. Author is sometimes shown as John P. Becker. Waggoner for Bradstreet to Ticonderoga, pp. 10-19.

Henry Bouquet, *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, S.K. Stevens, D.H. Kent, A.L. Leonard, eds., Harrisburg, PHMC, 1951, vol. II.

Notification to Massachusetts militiamen to muster, 1758. Issued to Richard Boylston and signed by Richard Devens, Sergeant. Plimpton Collection #62 at Amherst College.

Letter: Rev. John Brainerd, Chaplain, New Jersey Regiment, to P.V.B. Livingston, from Lake George, 11 July 1758. Typescript in FTA research files. [FTA #P-5001]. Published as "The Death of Lord Howe," *New York History*, vol. XXXIV (1936), pp. 206-207. [FTA #4833].

"Col. John Bradstreet Manuscripts," *Manuscript Records of the French and Indian War in the Library of the [American Antiquarian] Society, Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. XI (1909), pp. 60-63. [FTA #3344]. Reprinted by Heritage Books, 1992. [FTA #1992. ]. Eight letters concern operations and accounts of the Bateaux service.

John Bremner, *Journal for April 1756-December 1764*; Manuscript in Collection of New-York Historical Society. Served with 55th Regiment (Howe's) of Foot, 10th Company (Monypenny's). Includes (p. 31) "An Alphibiticall Role of Capt. Many-penies Companies mens names, Albonie, May 3, 1758,"; (pp. 36-41) extract of a letter from Saratoga dated 12 July 1758 (also published in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 3 August 1758); (p. 42) List of Killed and Wounded; (p. 47) map of the French Lines. [Photocopy of rough transcript from N-YHS ms is in FTA Research Collections.]

Letter: Capt. Peter DuBoise, [from Camp at Lake George], 1758. Published as "Attack and Repulse at Ticonderoga, July 1758," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 1 (January 1945), pp. 15-18. Ms in Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library. Significant passages are echoed in *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, vol. 28 (September 1758), p. 445. On DuBoise, see "New York Muster Rolls," *Collections, New-York Historical Society*, p. 521.

Asa Burr, *Journal 1758*; ms in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society (French and Indian War Collection). Burr served in Captain Parker's Company, Col. Joseph Williams' Massachusetts Regiment. Served in the Mohawk Valley (German Flats).

Lt. Col. Lewis Butler, ed., "Ticonderoga, 1758," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. I no. 1 (September 1921), pp. 10-14. [FTA #4226]. Unsigned letter (translated here from "bad French"), 14 July 1758; thought to be from an officer in the 1st Battalion Royal Americans to his colonel, Henri Bouquet. (A likely candidate for author is Major John Tullikens, commanding six companies of the 1st battalion, Royal

Americans, at Ticonderoga. Original MS in Pennsylvania State Library. French version published in Pennsylvania Archives; First Series, vol. III, pp. 472-475, including casualties among the 55th Regiment and the Royal Americans (omitted in the later English translations); copy in Fort Ticonderoga research files. A somewhat different translation appeared in Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 734-736.

Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe to John Campbell of Cloichombie, Inveraray, Albany, 14 March 1758, quoted in full in Richards, *The Black Watch at Ticonderoga and Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe* (1911), the Fort Ticonderoga paperback reprint [FTA #P-1808], pp. 38-40.

John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, Loudoun Papers (North America). Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

A sentinel, "The Anonymous Journal . . .," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XII no. 4 (September 1968), pp. 291-297. Written at Lake George, 25 July 1758-5 November 1758. Author was a member of Col. William Williams' Massachusetts regiment. In 1968 the ms was in the collection of Crosby Milliman, Eaton Center, New Hampshire. In 1995 the ms is in the collection of the Adirondack Museum.

Henry Champion, "The Journal of Colonel Henry Champion," in Francis Bacon Trowbridge, *The Champion Genealogy*, New Haven, Connecticut, F.B. Trowbridge, 1891, pp. 417-439. [FTA # 1580]. Ms is part of "Accounts and Journal of Captain Henry Champion of Colchester, Campaign of 1758," in the Connecticut State Library. Commanded the Twelfth Company of Colonel Nathan Whiting's (Second) Connecticut regiment. Champion's company paymaster bond for the 1758 campaign, 9 January 1759, is in the Plimpton Collection, Amherst College, Box 2.

Henry Champion to Loving Wife, Lake George, 4 July 1758. In Francis Bacon Trowbridge, *The Champion Genealogy*, New Haven, Connecticut, F.B. Trowbridge, 1891, pp. 437-439.

Chatham Manuscripts, Bundles 96 and 98. Canadian Archives Transcripts.

"Journal of the Rev. John Cleaveland, 14 June 1758-25 October 1758." Ms in FTA collections [FTA #M-6036] since 1959; donation by Armand Erpf. Published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. X no. 3 (1959), pp. 192-233. Nehemiah Cleaveland, "The Journal of the Rev. John Cleaveland," *Essex Institute, Historical Collections*, vol. XII, April 1874 (diary for 14 June-1 July 1758), pp. 85-103 and July 1874 (diary for 2 July-30 July 1758), pp. 179-196. [FTA #P-5003 and -5004]. The diary was cited by Francis Parkman in *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 1884. See Jedrey, p. 221. Cleaveland was chaplain to Col. Jonathan Bagley's Massachusetts Regiment in 1758 (Ticonderoga campaign) and 1759 (Louisbourg campaign).

Rev. John Cleaveland's letters and diary were published in Howard H. Peckham, ed., *Narratives of Colonial America, 1704-1765*, Chicago, Lakeside Press, 1971, pp. 132-154. [FTA/Olson #30; another copy is #57]. Cleaveland's letters to "My dear & loving wife" are 10 June 1758, 17 June 1758, 26 June 1758 ("my third time of writing since coming into these parts"), and 11 July 1758. For more on Cleaveland, see Christopher M. Jedrey, *The World of John Cleaveland: Family and Community in Eighteenth-century New England*, New York, 1979. Most of the John Cleaveland Papers are in the Essex Institute.

Samuel Cobb, "The Journal of Captain Samuel Cobb, May 21, 1758-October 29, 1758," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XIV no. 1 (Summer 1981), pp. 12-31. Manuscript in the collections of the New York State Historical Association. Published as an anonymous journal, Isaac B. Choate, ed., "The Journal of a Provincial Officer In the Campaign in Northern New York in 1758," *The Historical Magazine*, vol. X (August 1871), pp. 113-122. Reprinted in *Yearbook for 1905*, Portland, Maine, Society of Colonial Wars in the State of

Maine, 1905, pp. 90-113. [FTA #3240]. Cobb's complete service record is found on pp. 124-125. Cobb was a shipwright and commanded the first company of Colonel Preble's Massachusetts regiment.

[Alexander Colden], "Eyewitness Accounts of the British Repulse at Ticonderoga," Charles Edmund Lart, ed., *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 2 (1921), pp. 360-363. Letters of 17 July to Major Francis Halket, Brigade Major at Carlisle, Brigadier General Forbes' aide. Text of first letter closely parallels text of article in *The American Magazine*, July 1758. Originals are in the British Library (Add. Mss. 21,643, folio 191 and folio 195). Encloses a copy of a letter to Dr. Peter Middleton, New York City, from Lake George, 10 July 1758. Middleton was born in North Britain and served as surgeon-general with the provincial troops on the Crown Point expedition (d. 1781).

Cadwallader Colden to Peter Collinson, Flushen, 23 August 1758, "Cadwallader Colden Papers," *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, pp. 249-255.

Christopher Comstock, "Diary of Christopher Comstock, 1758-59," Connecticut Historical Society. Clerk in Captain Henry Champion's (Twelfth) Co., Whiting's (Second) Connecticut regiment; sergeant in Ichabod Phelps' Co. Matthews, *American Diaries in Manuscript #328*.

*Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle*, Stanley Pargellis, ed., 1931; reprinted Hamden, Connecticut, Archon Books, 1969. [FTA].

Elijah Estabrooks, "The Journal of Elijah Estabrooks." Typescript in the Fort Ticonderoga library. [FTA #3284]. Estabrooks served in Col. Preble's Massachusetts regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonel William Eyre to Lieutenant-General Robert Napier, 10 July 1758, from Camp at Lake George, in *Military Affairs in North America*, Pargellis, ed., pp. 418-422. Reports on Eyre's absence from the engineering staff and role as commander of the 44th Foot, and the confusion of orders on the field on 8 July.

A Petition of Ruth Farmer, 13 August 1760. Manuscript in Fort Ticonderoga collections, [FTA #M-1921]. Published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. II no. 2 (July 1930), p. 79. Husband William Farmer served in Col. Bagley's Massachusetts Regiment. Petitioner lost her husband and his musket in 1758 campaign at "Tiaconderoga."

Samuel Abbott Green, "Papers Relating to the Companies of Captain Thomas Farrington and Captain Samuel Tarbell both raised in Groton, Massachusetts During the French and Indian War, 1758," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser., vol. VI (1891), pp. 426-432.

Samuel Fisher, "Diary of Operations Around Lake George, [23 June-12 July] 1758." Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Fisher served in Capt. Ebenezer Cox's coy, Col. Ruggles' Massachusetts regiment

Samuel Fitch to Henry Lloyd, Boston, 24 July 1758, in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, 1928, pp. 552-553. *Papers of the Lloyd Family of Lloyd's Neck, New York*, vol. II, 1752-1826.

Alfred Procter James, ed., *Writings of General John Forbes Relating to His Service in North America*, Allegheny County Committee, Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Dames of America, Menasha, Wisconsin, Collegiate Press, 1938, pp. 20-23, 30-33, 36-37, 124-127, 164-167, 188-191. Most are letters from Loudoun and Abercromby Papers at the Huntington Library.

A Calendar of the Headquarters Papers of Brigadier-General John Forbes Relating to the Expedition Against Fort Duquesne in 1758 in the Tracy W. McGregor Library, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Library,

1988. [FTA]. Calendar of a collection of ≈530 manuscripts in Forbes' Papers (1729-5 February 1759) auctioned at Sotheby's in 1974. The existence of this collection was not known when James compiled Writings in 1938.

Asa Foster, "Diary of Captain Asa Foster of Andover, Massachusetts," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, vol. 54 (April 1900), pp. 183-188. Col. Nichols' Massachusetts regiment. Stationed at the Lake George base camp during the battle. Voys gives name as Capt. Asa Forster in Col. Ebenezer Nichols' Massachusetts regiment.

Christopher French, *Journals*, vol. I: 21 October 1756-11 July 1758, July 1758-9 November 1760, 22 December 1760-14 November 1761; vol. II: 14 November 1761-19 August 1763; vol. III: 15 September 1776-1778. Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

"Journal of Col. Archelaus Fuller of Middleton, Massachusetts, in the Expedition against Ticonderoga in 1758," *Essex Institute, Historical Collections*, XLVI (July 1910), pp. 209-220. [FTA #P-5006]. Covers period of 25 May-11 November 1758. Reprinted in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XIII no. 1 (December 1970), pp. 5-17. Ms in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Fuller was lieutenant in 1758 in Captain Andrew Fuller's Company of Colonel Bagley's Massachusetts regiment. Fuller became lieutenant colonel in Wigglesworth's regiment (and died) in the 1776 campaign to save Ticonderoga.

"French and Indian War Diary of Benjamin Glasier of Ipswich, 1758-1760," *Essex Institute, Historical Collections*, vol. 86 (January 1950), pp. 65-92. [FTA #P-5201] Ship carpenter's diary covers 28 February-20 November 1758. Troops play "bat and ball." Captain Gerrish's Company. Ms at Essex Institute.

J. Goodrich, *Diary, 1758, Lake George*; unpublished (Loescher, *Genesis*, biblio, 1969).

"Letter from North America [from Lieutenant William Grant], Fort Edward, 17 August 1758," *Scots Magazine*, vol. 20 (Appendix 1758), pp. 698-699. Reprinted in *Maclachlan, Highlands*, vol. II (1875), pp. 339-340. Quoted briefly in *Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. II, p. 316.

Anne McVicar Grant, *Memoirs of an American Lady*, 2 vols., New York, 1808; reprinted Albany, Joel Munsell, 1876 [FTA #1365 (W.L. Stone's copy) and FTA #1491]; reprinted New York, 1901; reprinted New York, 1972, pp. 20-33 with biographical appendix by James G. Wilson. Mrs. Grant lived with the Schuylers in Albany during her father's service in the British army. Long recollection of the death of Howe, and the impact on Albany.

Letter: J. Gray to Abram E. Wendle, 27 June 1758. 1972 gift of Harrison Bird, Jr. [FTA #65.75 and #M- ].

Shubael Griswold, "Journal During Service in the French and Indian Wars," manuscript in the Connecticut State Library. Ensign in Capt. Josiah Lee's (Tenth) Company of Col. Phineas Lyman's (First) Connecticut regiment.

Aaron Guild, "A Copy of the Diary of Ensign Aaron Guild," *The Dedication of a Monument . . . Walpole*, n.p., Walpole Historical Society, 1901, pp. 16-19. [FTA #P-3069]. Guild's company was assigned to guard the portage at Half-Way Brook.

Douglas Brymner, comp., "Calendar of the Haldimand Collection," *Report on Canadian Archives, 1884-1889*. [FTA #2011-2015]. Nothing relevant in 1889 volume.

Obadiah Harris, "A rigmental jarnil . . . Timothy Ruggels Rigment . . . 1758. A very difficult to read journal of Col. Timothy Ruggles' Regiment in the expedition against Ticonderoga, 22 May-23 October 1758. Huntington Library, #HM 591. Matthews, *American Diaries in Manuscript #333*.

A[ugustine]. Hayden, Diary, 1758-59, Records of the Connecticut Line of the Hayden Family, H. Hayden, 1888. Served in Captain Gideon Wolcott's (Ninth) Company of Col. Phineas Lyman's (First) Connecticut Regiment.

Dr. Thomas Haynes, Sr., "Memorandum of Collonial French War A.D. 1758," The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, vol. XII no. 1 (March 1966) pp. 72-78; vol. XII no. 2 (September 1966) pp. 150-160; vol. XII no. 3 (October 1967) pp. 193-203. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M- ].

James Henderson, "Journal of James Henderson [28 May 1758-7 November 1758]." Typescript in Fort Ticonderoga collections, [FTA #P-5002; missing 2/94], based on copy in the New England Historical and Genealogical Society. Matthews, American Diaries in Manuscript #334. James Henderson, "James Henderson's Journal," The First Half Century of the Society of Colonial Wars in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1893-1943, Publication no. 11 (Boston, Society of Colonial Wars, 1944).

Captain William Hervey, Journals of the Hon. William Hervey in North America and Europe, from 1755 to 1814, with Order Books at Montreal, 1760-1763, with Memoir and Notes, Bury St. Edmunds, Paul & Mathew, 1906, pp. 47-52. Hervey served with Abercromby's regiment, the 44th Foot. Hervey's Journal III (16 April-1 August 1758) covers this campaign. [HL: DA506 / H5A2] also R199992. For a brief bio of Hervey, see DRCHSNY, X, p. 989.

Captain David Holmes, "Diary, 4 June-25 October 1758" vol. 1 of 2 volumes in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Available on MHS microfilm P-363, reel 13. Holmes was captain of the Sixth Company in Col. Eleazer Fitch's (Third) Regiment of Connecticut provincials from 5 April-16 November 1758. Rolls of Connecticut Men, vol. II, pp. 62-63.

Joseph Holt, "Journals of Joseph Holt, of Wilton, New Hampshire," New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. 10 (October 1856), pp. 307-310. Served in Col. Ebenezer Nichols' Massachusetts regiment, Captain Ebenezer Jones' company.

Rev. Samuel Hopkins to Rev. Dr. Bellamy, Sheffield, 20 July 1758; "Letter," Proceedings, New Jersey Historical Society, vol. VII (1853-1855), pp. 126-128. [HL: F131 / N65] Largely the account of Col. Oliver Partridge, who commanded a Massachusetts Battalion of Light Infantry or Rangers.

Lord George Augustus Howe to Major-General James Abercromby, Camp at the Upper Falls, 28 May 1758. Abercromby Papers #293, Huntington Library.

Captain Oliver Hunt, Diary. Ms in collections of the New York State Historical Association.

Carr Huse [1740-1833], Diary, April-July 1758. Ms in New-York Historical Society collections. Diary/B.V. Sec./Huse. From Newburyport, Huse served in Bagley's Massachusetts regiment.

Israel Hutchinson to Gov. Thomas Pownall, 1 March 1759. Petitions for relief from losses at Ticonderoga in 1758. A.D.S. 1 p. American Antiquarian Society ms. Hutchinson was a lieutenant in Captain Andrew Fuller's company, Col. Bagley's Massachusetts regiment.

An account owing to Joseph Jackson by "the honorable committee of war," 1758. Probably Massachusetts. Plimpton Collection [#52] at Amherst College.

Benjamin Jewett, "The Diary of Benjamin Jewett, 1758," National Magazine: A Monthly Journal of American History, vol. 17 (1892-1893), pp. 60-64. [FTA research files]. Served in First Company, Col. Eleazer Fitch's (Third) Connecticut regiment.

William Johnson, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson, James Sullivan, A.C. Flick, and M.W. Hamilton*, eds., Albany, State University of New York, 11 vols., 1921-1953. See esp. vols. II and IX.

"William Johnson to James Abercromby, 18 June 1758," *The Papers of Sir William Johnson, James Sullivan, et al.*, eds., Albany, State University of New York, vol. II, 1922, pp. 843-845.

Letter from Archibald Kennedy to Governor DeLancy, New York, 17 July 1758. [FTA #M-2041].

Captain John Knox, *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760*, 2 volumes, London, 1799. [FTA #3220-3221]. Vol. I, pp. 145, 148-152. Reprinted by the Champlain Society, Arthur G. Doughty, ed., Toronto, 1914, vol. I, pp. 188-195. Under date of 20 August 1758, Knox quotes letter from a wounded friend dated Albany, 29 July 1758, from "a friend in the Commander in Chief's army."

Samuel Abbott Green, "Papers Relating to Captain Thomas Lawrence's Company Raised in Groton, Massachusetts During the French and Indian War, 1758," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser., vol. VI (1891), pp. 21-33. [FTA #P-1866]. Original mss in Massachusetts Historical Society. Papers relate to massacre at Halfway Brook, 20 July 1758. Inventory of the possessions of ten men killed.

Charles Lee to sister, Miss Sidney Lee, in England, from Albany, 16 September 1758, cover letter [FTA #M-6008] transmitting "Narrative" re debacle at Carillon [FTA #M-6009]. Mss in Fort Ticonderoga collections; 1969 purchase. Letter and narrative published as part of "The [Charles] Lee Papers," vol. I, in *Collections*, New-York Historical Society, 1871, pp. 6-15. [FTA #4531]. Lee served in the 44th Regiment in this campaign. An engraved portrait of Lee is in the Fort Ticonderoga collection.

Henry Lloyd II to Henry Lloyd, Boston, 6 March 1758, in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, 1928, pp. 547-549. Papers of the Lloyd Family of Lloyd's Neck, New York, vol. II, 1752-1826.

John Lloyd to Henry Lloyd, Stamford, 4 March 1758 and 27 July 1758, in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, 1928, pp. 545-546 and 553-555. Papers of the Lloyd Family of Lloyd's Neck, New York, vol. II, 1752-1826. "They Talk no more of Secret Expeditions . . ."

Lemuel Lyon, "Military Journal for 1758," in Benson J. Lossing, ed., *The Military Journals of Two Private Soldiers, 1758-1775*, Poughkeepsie, New York, Abraham Tomlinson, 1855, pp. 11-45. [FTA #3286]. Lyon served as a private in Captain David Holmes' (Sixth) Company, Col. Eleazer Fitch's (Third) Regiment of Connecticut provincials from 5 April-16 November 1758. Whereabouts of the Lyon manuscript has been unknown since 1926. See also Clarence W. Bowen, *The History of Woodstock, Connecticut*, Norwood, Massachusetts, The Plimpton Press, 1926, pp. 117-119. Bowen says (p. 122) that Captain Holmes' 2-volume diary is in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Lyon faithfully washes his clothes every two weeks.

Solomon Mack, *A Narrative of the Life of Solomon Mack*, Windsor, Vermont, S. Mack, n.d., pp. 7-9. [photocopy in FTA #3296]. Active in English campaigns against Crown Point from 1755 on. With Col. Nathan Whiting's second Connecticut regiment, third company, commanded by Major Joseph Spencer of East Haddam at Ticonderoga in 1758. Reports Howe's bowels taken out and buried; embalmed body carried to England.

Massachusetts lottery ticket, May 1758. Plimpton Collection [#147] at Amherst College.

Major Thompson Maxwell, *Narrative of the Military Life, 1757-1820*. [FTA #P-1859]. Reprinted from *The New England Historic and Genealogical Register* (October 1891), pp. 271-278. Massachusetts Ranger in Captain Lovell's Company (Partridge's Light Infantry?). The memoir of a senile man, æ 79.

James Montrésor, "Journals of Colonel James Montrésor," Collections of the New-York Historical Society for 1881, vol. XIV (1882), pp. 39-65. [FTA #4541]. Montrésor was a Royal Engineer, and Engineer-in-Chief in America. Not on the expedition northward in 1758, but centrally involved in the planning for it.

Captain Alexander Monypenny, Orderly Books, 23 March 1758-September 1759. Monypenny served in the 55th Regiment of Foot. Mss. in Fort Ticonderoga collections [25 March-5 May 1758, FTA #M-2156; 6 May-20 June 1759, #M-2164; 20 June-14 July 1759, #M-2162; 15 July-3 August 1759, #M-2170; 4 August-5 September 1759, #M-2161]. Published in The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, 23 March 1758-29 June 1758 in vol. XII no. 5 (December 1969), pp. 328-357; 30 June 1758-7 August 1758 in vol. XII no. 6 (October 1970) -- note that entries were not made for 6 July 1758 or for 8-9 July 1758, pp. 434-461; 8 August 1758-26 October 1758 in vol. XIII no. 1 (December 1970), pp. 89-116; 29 October 1758-6 May 1759 in vol. XIII no. 2 (June 1971), pp. 151-184. [All the above are from FTA #M-2156]. For acquisition of the Monypenny Orderly Books, see Fort Ticonderoga Scrapbook, vol. III, p. 48 [April-May 1920].

Capt. Alexander Monypenny to Mr. Calcraft, Camp at Lake George, 11 July 1758. Concerning the death of Howe. Published in James Austin Holden, "New Historical Light on the Real Burial of George Augustus, Lord Viscount Howe, 1758," Proceedings, New York State Historical Association, vol. X (1911), pp. 272-273. Reprinted in "Lord Howe," The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, vol. II no. 2 (July 1930), pp. 51-52. In 1930 this letter was in the muniments of the Marquis of Sligo, Westport House, Ireland; it is now in a private American collection.

Elkanah Morgan to Captain John Morgan (father), Camp at Lake George, 19 August 1758. The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, vol. I no. 5 (January 1929), p. 31. Manuscript in the Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-1916]. Served in Whiting's Regiment, Connecticut troops; see Abel Spicer's diary. Morgan died 29 September 1758.

Samuel Morris, "Journal," mss in William L. Clements Library. (Cuneo, p. 259).

R.M. [ascribed by N-YHS to Richard Montgomery] to Colonel Jacob Glen from Camp at Lake George, 24 August 1758. New-York Historical Society: From the Beekman Collection; in 1997 catalogued in Misc. Mss.: Glen, Jacob. Copy in FTA Research Files. Montgomery served in the 17th Foot; at Louisbourg with Wolfe in 1758.

Edmund Munroe, "Orderly Book of Rogers' Rangers," New England Historic and Genealogical Register, vol. 16 (July 1862), pp. 217-220. Remnants of an orderly book kept at Lake George and Fort Edward 7 August-9 November 1758. Munroe was an Ensign in the Rangers.

Captain James Murray to brother Murray of Strowan, Albany, 19 July 1758, in Frederick B. Richards, "The Black Watch at Ticonderoga and Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe," Proceedings, New York State Historical Association, vol. X (1911), pp. 386-388. [FTA #4809]. Murray served in the 42nd, and was wounded on 8 July.

New Jersey Archives, First Series, vol. XVII (1892) (FTA #2965). The Journal of the Governor and Council from 1756-1768. The first half of the volume concerns the challenge of protecting the northern and western frontiers against the French and their allies. Through the spring of 1758 we read of the bickering about reimbursing Col. Peter Schuyler £6,000 for expenses during the previous campaign (including the failed defense of Fort William Henry and the captivity of Col. Parker's contingent) and debate about the advisability of raising another 1000 men for Abercromby's 1758 army.

New Jersey Archives, First Series, vol. IX (1885) (FTA #2966). General administrative correspondence for the period. A detailed roster of the officers for the 1000-man contingent under Col. Johnston, raised for the 1758 campaign, pp. 184-187.

New Jersey Archives, First Series, vol. XX (1898) (FTA #2967) contains newspaper extracts for the same period. This volume contains some 50+ references to the New Jersey Regiment during the Seven Years' War.

Joseph Nichols, "Joseph Nichols' Military Journal, 1758-1759," Henry E. Huntington Library, #HM 89. Clerk in Capt. John Taplin's Company, Col. Bagley's Massachusetts regiment in campaign against Ticonderoga. Matthews, American Diaries in Manuscript #338.

Rev. Samuel Niles, "A Summary Historical Narrative of the Wars in New England," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Fourth Series, vol. 5 (1861), pp. 440-441.

Aaron Noble, Journal, 30 May-7 November 1758. Served in Capt. Jonathan's coy on the march to Northampton. Item #164 in the 1999 Siebert Sale, Sotheby's. Sold to the Huntington Library. Nothing on the death of Lord Howe. "July 8 day the fight was and after it was over we marched back to ye breastwork and Lay a little while and then set out and came back to Fort William Henry."

"Journal of John Noyes of Newbury in the Expedition Against Ticonderoga, [4 April-8 November] 1758," Essex Institute, Historical Collections, XLV (January 1909), pp. 73-86. Colonel Bagley's Massachusetts regiment; Captain Joseph Newell's company. Strong on food and drink. Lots of "points of rum." Copy in [FTA #P-5005].

William Parkman, extracts of "Journal" in Proceedings, Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. XVII (First Series, 1879-1880), pp. 243-244. [Copy in FTA Research Files.] Diary of William Parkman of Concord on the march to Ticonderoga and back, 22 May 1758-21 April 1759. Massachusetts Historical Society ms cat. #101.157.

Jesse Parsons, "A Journal of an Expedition Design'd Against the French Possessions in Canada Kept By Jesse Parsons Philom." [Manuscript in a private American collection; copy in FTA Research Files.] Campaigns for 1758 and 1759. Parsons served as company clerk in Col. David Wooster's Connecticut regiment.

Lt. Col. Nathan Payson, Orderly Books, 1758 and 1760; Connecticut Historical Society, Hoadley Collection, Box 9. Commanded Second Company in Col. Phineas Lyman's (First) Connecticut regiment.

David Perry, The Life of Captain David Perry . . ., Windsor, Vermont, Republican & Yeoman Printing Office, 1822, 55pp. [FTA]. Reprinted in The Magazine of History, vol. XXXV no. 1 (1928), pp. 7-37. [FTA #P-2027] Reprinted as "Recollections of an Old Soldier," The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, vol. XIV no. 1 (summer 1981), pp. 3-11. Perry enlisted in Captain Job Winslow's company of Col. Preble's Massachusetts regiment.

Gertrude S. Kimball, ed., Correspondence of William Pitt When Secretary of State with Colonial Governors and Military and Naval Commissioners in America, 2 vols., New York, Macmillan, 1906.

Peter Pond, "Experiences in Early Wars in America," The Journal of American History, vol. I (1907). Reprinted in Five Fur Traders of the Northwest, Charles M. Gates, ed., St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1965, pp. 18-24. Served in Col. Nathan Whiting's Connecticut regiment. "the Most Ridicklas Campane Eaver Hard of."

"History, Roster and Record of Col. Jedidiah Preble's Regiment: Campaign of 1758 Together With Capt. Samuel Cobb's Journal," Yearbook for 1905, Portland, Maine, Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maine, 1905, pp. 114-180. [FTA #3240].

[Benjamin Youngs Prime (1733-1791)], *The Unfortunate Hero: A Pindaric Ode Occasion'd by the Lamented Fate of Viscount George Augustus Howe; Together with an Ode on the Reduction of Louisbourg . . .*, New York, Parker and Weyman, 1758. [The unique copy is apparently at the Huntington Library.] Both reprinted in the author's anonymously published *The Patriotic Muse*, London, 1764.

Rufus Putnam, *Journal of General Rufus Putnam, 1757-1760*, E.C. Dawes, ed., Albany, Joel Munsell's Sons, 1886. [FTA #3297]. Served in Capt. Joseph Whitcomb's company; Col. Timothy Ruggles' regiment of Massachusetts troops.

Rufus Putnam, *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam and Certain Official Papers and Correspondence*, published by the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Ohio, Rowena Buell, comp. and ed., Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1903. [FTA #1415].

Caleb Rea, "The Journal of Dr. Caleb Rea, Written During the Expedition Against Ticonderoga in 1758," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vol. XVIII, Fabius Maximus Rea, ed., Salem, Massachusetts, 1881, pp. 81-120. [FTA #3298]. Dr. Rea was surgeon in Col. Jonathan Bagley's Massachusetts regiment; cf. Rev. Cleaveland's journal.

"Amos Richardson's Journal, 1758" *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, XII no. 4 (September 1968), pp. 267-291. Woburn, Massachusetts. 23 May-18 October 1758. Manuscript in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-6035]; 1967 gift [FTA #12.75]. Richardson served in Col. Ebenezer Nichols' Massachusetts Regiment.

Major James Robertson to the Earl of Morton, 19 December 1758, in *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle*, Stanley Pargellis, ed., 1931; reprinted Hamden, Connecticut, Archon Books, 1969, pp. 429-432. [FTA]. Robertson of the Royal American Regiment discusses the comparative virtues of the Loudoun and Pitt plans for the 1758 campaign.

Robert Rogers, *The Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, London, 1765. Dublin, 1769. [FTA].

Robert Rogers, *The Journals of Major Robert Rogers*, Franklin B. Hough, ed., Albany, Joel Munsell's Sons, 1883. [FTA] Note that Hough's edition has scrambled pp. 117-119.

Robert Rogers, [extracts from] "Journals of Major Robert Rogers," *The London Chronicle*, vol. XIX no. 1422, 28-30 January 1766, p. 101. [FTA #P-1913b]. Battle of Carillon passage.

Luther Roby, ed., *Reminiscences of the French War with Robert Rogers' Journal and a Memoir of General Stark*, Concord, New Hampshire, 1831 [FTA #1430]; reprint edition, Freedom, N.H., Freedom Historical Society, 1988, pp. 45-73 (Rogers) and pp. 201-202 (Stark). [FTA #1990.50]

Dr. James Searing, "The Battle of Ticonderoga," *New-York Historical Society Proceedings*, vol. V (October 1847), pp. 112-117. [Photocopy in FTA research files]. Searing was 19 at the time of the battle.

James Kimball, ed., "A Journal of the Rev. Daniel Shute, D.D., Chaplain in the Expedition to Canada," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vol. XII (April 1874), pp. 132-151. Pastor of Second Church, Hingham, Massachusetts. Chaplain in Col. Joseph Williams' regiment of Massachusetts provincials. Stranded in

Schenectady during the Ticonderoga action, but accompanied Bradstreet's attack on Frontenac. Copy in [FTA #P-5003].

Joseph Smith, "Journal of Joseph Smith of Groton," Proceedings, Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars, vol. I (1903), pp. 305-310. Smith served in Captain John Denison's (Twelfth) Company in Col. Eleazer Fitch's (Third) Connecticut regiment. Manuscript sold at auction, November 1996, Skinner, Bolton, Massachusetts. [Photocopies of manuscript, typescript, and published version in FTA research files.]

Leonard Spaulding, "Journal of Leonard Spaulding," Vermont Historical Gazetteer, Abby M. Hemenway, ed., vol. V part 2 (Dummerston), pp. 24-33. [HL: F57 / A1V42] Served in Captain Ephraim Wesson's Company, Colonel Ebenezer Nichols regiment of Massachusetts troops. Spaulding was a resident of Westford, Connecticut, at this time. A photocopy of Spaulding's diary for 26 July 1758-2 November 1758 is in Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

Abel Spicer, "Diary of Abel Spicer from June 5th until September 29th, 1758," in History of the Descendents of Peter Spicer, A Landholder in New London, Connecticut, Susan Spicer Meech, ed., 1911, pp. 388-408. Copy in FTA Research Files. Reprinted in Russell P. Bellico, Chronicles of Lake George: Journeys in Peace and War, Fleischmanns, N.Y., Purple Mountain Press, 1995, pp. 91-119. Spicer served in Captain John Stanton's Company, Col. Nathan Whiting's Regiment, Connecticut troops.

Letter from General John Stanwix to Lt. Governor James DeLancey (NY), 9 July 1758. [FTA #M-2043]. Published with a cover letter from Governor DeLancey to Governor Denny, 12 July 1758, in Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, 1757-1762, vol. III, Harrisburg, Theo. Fenn & Co., 1852. Concerning the death of Howe and the raising of the provincial militia. DeLancey adds an embargo on New York harbor. The Papers of Henry Bouquet, vol. II, pp. 174 and 196 report these two letters as "originals not found."

Caleb Stark, Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark, with notices of several other offices of the Revolution. Also a Biography of Captain Phineas Stevens, and of Col. Robert Rogers, with an account of his services in America during the Seven Years War, Concord, N.H., Edson C. Eastman, 1877.

Simon Stevens, "A Journal of Lieutenant Simon Stevens, from the Time of his being Taken, near FORT WILLIAM HENRY, June the 25th, 1758. With an Account of his Escape from QUEBEC, and his Arrival at LOUISBOURG, On June the 6th 1759." Handwritten transcription (c. 1910) of book published by Edes and Gill, Boston, 1760. (FTA #P-1936).

Paul O. Blanchette, ed., "Captain William Sweat's Personal Diary of the Expedition Against Ticonderoga, May 2-November 7, 1758," Essex Institute, Historical Collections, vol. XCIII (January 1957), pp. 36-57. Typescript is [FTA #P-4099]. Manuscript is in Essex Institute. Matthews, American Diaries in Manuscript #341. Sweat was a private, not a captain, in 1758. Sweat and his men worked as bateaux-builders at Lake George.

Samuel Thompson, Diary of Lieutenant Samuel Thompson of Woburn, Massachusetts While in the French War, 1758, William R. Cutter, ed., Boston, Press of David Clapp & Son, 1896. [FTA #3299]. An unannotated version appeared in Samuel Sewall, History of Woburn, Boston, Wiggin & Lunt, 1868, Appendix IX, pp. 547-549. [FTA #2562]. Served in Captain Ebenezer Jones company, Col. Nichols' Massachusetts regiment.

Seth Tinkham, diary of 1758 campaign. D. Hamilton Hurd, comp., History of Plymouth County, Massachusetts, Philadelphia, J.W. Lewis & Co., 1884, pp. 995-998. Tinkham served as a sergeant in Captain Benjamin Pratt's company, Col. Thomas Doty's Massachusetts regiment.

Commission of Captain Andries Truax in Schenectady battalion of Sir William Johnson's Albany regiment, 5 January 1758. [FTA #M-2042]. Signed by Lt. Governor James DeLancy.

Major Tulleken to Bouquet, Albany, 2 August 1758. Bouquet Collection, British Museum Add. Mss. 21,643, folio 210. Account of casualties and promotions at Ticonderoga. Stanwix has gone to German Flats to build fort. Abercromby at Lake George. Another letter 1 October 1758, folio 293.

Diary of Daniel Upton, 1 July-17 September 1758. New York Public Library. Matthews, American Diaries in Manuscript #342. Gives number of British killed, wounded, missing at Ticonderoga. Brief irregular entries.

Captain Goose Van Schaick, Orderly Book, Lt. Colonel Oliver Delancey's New York Regiment. #M-1997.027. [FTA].

Diary of Artemas Ward, 1758. Ms at Massachusetts Historical Society, among 16 boxes of Ward Papers. MHS published a guide to the microfilm edition of the Papers of Artemas Ward, 1967.

Captain David Waterbury, Personal Roster and Diary for the Lake George Campaign, 3 July-30 October 1758. Commanded the Fourth Company of Col. David Wooster's (Fourth) Connecticut regiment. Typed transcript of the first 97 pages, 1895. [FTA Research Files #B-27]. [May be at Yale.]

Muster Roll, Captain Edmund Wells' (Fifth) Company, Colonel Nathan Whiting's (Second) Connecticut Regiment, 14 June 1758. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections. [FTA #M-1917].

Nathan Whiting, Orderly Book, 1758, Litchfield (Connecticut) Historical Society.

"Letters of Col. Nathan Whiting, Written from Camp during the French and Indian War," Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, vol. VI, New Haven, 1900, pp. 133-150.

Major General R.H. Whitworth, "Some Unpublished Wolfe Letters," Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, vol. LIII no. 214 (summer 1975) pp. 65-86. Letters from Wolfe to Cumberland, 1755-1758, including 28 July 1758, reporting news from Ticonderoga and Louisbourg, pp. 83-86.

William Marinus Willett, A Narrative of the Military Actions of Colonel Marinus Willet, Taken Chiefly From His Own Manuscript . . . , New York, G. & C. & H. Carvill, 1831, pp. 10-13. [FTA #3900]. See also Larry Lowenthal, Marinus Willet: Defender of the Northern Frontier, Fleischmann's, Purple Mountain Press, 2000, pp. 9-14. [FTA]. Willet served as a lieutenant in Delancy's New York regiment.

Certificate of Benjamin Williams listing the number of men in Col. Thomas Doty's Massachusetts regiment at the inn of William Scott, Palmer, Massachusetts, 5 August 1758. Plimpton Collection [#35] at Amherst College.

Letters of Melancthon Taylor Woolsey, 1758, Champlain, N.Y., Moorsfield Press, 1927. [FTA #P-3002]. Woolsey was Colonel of the 2nd battalion, New York provincials, from Long Island. Woolsey's estate inventory is found in Collections of the New-York Historical Society, 1928, pp. 557-560. Papers of the Lloyd Family of Lloyd's Neck, New York, vol. II, 1752-1826.

## Primary Sources: French

"La Bataille de Carillon Chantée," *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. XXXI (1925), pp. 390-391. Also refers to an earlier article in BRH, juin 1923, p. 183, dealing with historic songs collected in Montréal in 1886.

French regimental assignments to winter quarters are discussed in Faesch, 4 December 1757, Loudoun Papers (LO 4945); Huntington Library.

"Un plan des retranchements sur les hauteurs en avant du fort de Carillon (Ticonderoga) attaqués par 25,000 Anglais, sous Abercromby, le 8 juillet 1758, et défendus par 3600 Français commandés par Montcalm," map #5 described in Lucien Brault, "Les documents de Lévis aux Archives Canadiennes," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, vol. IV no. 4, pp. 550-559. Brief description of the contents of nine volumes (of eleven) of manuscripts "recently" acquired by the Public Archives of Canada. Volume One contains nine large manuscript maps not published by Casgrain.

"An Account of the Victory Gained by the King's Troops at Carillon, July 8, 1758" Report on the Public Archives for 1929, Ottawa, 1930, pp. 102-106. [FTA]. See related account in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 737-741. "The Battle of Carillon: Account of the Victory Won by the Royal Troops at Carillon on the 8th Day of July, 1758," translated and published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. II no. 2 (July 1930), pp. 69-76. Original mss in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-2151, M-2151A, etc.]. Acquisition noted in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. X no. 2 (1958), pp. 166 and 168. Published in French as "Relation de la Victoire Rempportée sur les Troupes de Roi, le 8 juillet 1758, aux Ordres de Mr le Marquis de Montcalm," *Rapport d'Archives de Québec . . . 1932-1933*, Québec, 1933, pp. 357-362. Two additional unsigned accounts are published as "Relation de la victoire remportée . . ." and "Autre Relation" in *Relations et Journaux* [FTA #3321], vol. 11 of *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis*, Casgrain, ed., Québec, 1895, pp. 149-164 and 165-174.

Relation de l'affaire du 8 juillet 1758 (4 pp.); [endorsed] "a French Relation of the Affair of the 8th July 1758 at Tienderoga, found in the woods at Gaspé." Enclosed in Brigr Wolfe's of 30th Sept. 1758. In Abercromby Papers (AB 423), Huntington Library.

Copie de la Lettre de Mr de Montcalm, Paris, 1758. Pristine copy described in *Annual Report of the John Carter Brown Library*, vol. 26, pp. 5, 8-10.

Journal de l'affaire du Canada passée le 8 Juillet 1758 entre les Troupes du Roi, commandées par M. le Marquis de Montcalm, & celles d'Angleterre, qui, au nombre de vingt mille hommes, ont été mises en fuite par trois milles deux cens cinquante Français, Rouen, Borel, 23 septembre 1758. [FTA]. Translation published as "Journal of the Affair that took place in Canada on the 8th of July 1758 . . .," in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 741-744. DRCHSNY is in error in recording this item as December 1758.

"Champredond, capitaine au régiment de la Sarre," *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. XXI, p. 49.

[Jean-Baptiste d'Alegrac], *Aventures militaires au XVIIIe siècle d'après les mémoires de Jean-Baptiste d'Alegrac*, Paris, Charles Coste, édit, 1935. See also Claude de Bonnault, "Les aventures de M. d'Alegrac," *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. XLIV (1938), pp. 52-58. Armand Yon, "La 'dolce vita' en Nouvelle-France . . . la vielle de la guerre (1740-1758)," *Cahiers des Dix*, vol. 37 (1972), pp. 168-170. D'Alegrac served in régiment Languedoc at Carillon, 1756-1758.

L.A. Bougainville, "Journal," Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec, 1923-24; "La mission de M. de Bougainville en France en 1758-1759," pp. 1-70; "Le journal de M. de Bougainville," pp. 202-393. [FTA]. Translated and edited by Edward P. Hamilton, *Adventure in the Wilderness: the American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1964; pb ed. 1990. [FTA #1990.56].

Bougainville to Mme. la Marquise de Montcalm, 25 July 1758, Report on the Public Archives for 1929, Ottawa, 1930, p. 84. Cover letter for the "Report," pp. 102-106.

M. Daine to Marshal de Belle Isle, Québec, 31 July 1758, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 813-817.

Abbé Charles Nicolas Gabriel, *Le Maréchal de camp Desandrouins, 1729-1792*, Verdun, Imprimerie Renvé-Lallemant, 1887. "Recueil et Journal des choses principales qui me sont arrivées, et de celles qui m'ont le plus frappées, depuis mon départ de France." Based on the two surviving manuscript journals of Desandrouins for 1758 and 1759 (p. 119); their current whereabouts is unknown.

"Mémoire de Canada," Rapport des Archives du Québec, 1924-1925, pp. 94-198. Written between 1758-1770. [FTA #2113]. Original manuscript was then in the collection of the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, Russia. Ian K. Steele suggests that this was written by Jean-Nicolas Desandrouins; *Betrayals*, p. 235 fn 53.

"Dispositions de Carrillon [sic]," Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1932-1933, Québec, 1930, pp. 353-357.

André Doreil, "Lettres de Doreil," Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1944-1945, Québec, 1945, pp. 120-124, 136-153. Doreil was war commissary based in Québec, and a confidante of Montcalm.

M. Doreil to Marshal de Belle Isle, Québec, 30 April 1758, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], p. 702. French regulars troop strength by regiment as of that date; total = 3781. Published in *RAPQ* 1944-45, pp. 123 ff.

M. Doreil to M. de Moras, 28 July 1758, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 744-752.

M. Doreil to Marshal de Belle Isle, Québec, 28 July 1758, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 752-756. Published in *RAPQ* 1944-45 pp. 136-140.

[Aegidius Fauteux], "Officiers de Montcalm," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, vol. III no. 3 (December 1949), pp. 367-382. Biographical sketch of le Chevalier de Bassignac, of the red-flag incident (reported by Pouchot), pp. 371-373. "Quelques officiers de Montcalm," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, vol. IV no. 4, pp. 521-529. "Quelques officiers de Montcalm," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française*, vol. V no. 3 (d.c. 1951), pp. 404-415.

D'Hughes to Marshall de Belle Isle, Carillon, 1 June 1758, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 706-710. Including "Remarks on the Situation of Fort Carillon and its Approaches." Gipson says he is a Captain of engineers, but gives no source.

[Pierre] Lebert [Pepin] La Force ... sa père et sa mère, de Carillon, 28 juillet 1758, *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, vol. XXXI, p. 300. Letter is addressed to M. Baptiste Desjardins at Camoarouska. Lebert-Laforce was born at La Prairie, 12 March 1725, and married a daughter of J.-B. Roy dit Desjardins on 23 November 1751.

Chevalier de Lévis au roi de Polonge, 12 juillet 1758 ... Carillon, National Archives of Canada, Manuscripts Division, MG 18 K8, vol. 11, p. 243.

Michel Chartier, Marquis de Lotbinière, "Situation de la Nouvelle France au mois de mai 1758, et extrait de ce qui s'y est passé, de plus intéressant dans la dite année." Ms copy in Fort Ticonderoga Museum collection. Gift of George C. Aycrigg. *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XII no. 3 (October 1967), p. 236. Published in translation as "Condition of New France in the month of May 1758," *DRCHSNY*, vol. X, pp. 890-897, with the cover letter from Lotbinière to Marshall de Belle-Isle, Québec, 11 November 1758

Adjutant Malartic, "Journal of the Military Operations before Ticonderoga," *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329]. 30 June 1758-10 July 1758, pp. 721-725; 20 October 1757-20 October 1758, pp. 835-850.

le Comte de Maurès de Malartic, *Journal des Campagnes au Canada de 1755 ... 1760*, Paul Gaffarel, ed., Dijon, Librairie Plon, 1890. [Lydon #825. FTA; purchased 1966]. Malartic came to Canada as brigade major in the Béarn regiment, 1755; captured with Dieskau at Lake George, 1755, and exchanged; served at Carillon in 1758. This version suggests a variety of alternative translations to those offered in *DRCHNYS*.

Montcalm, "Journal des Campagnes de Montcalm," *Manuscrits de Lévis*, vol. 2, part 3: *Journal 7bre 1757 au mois de juin 1758* (68 pp.) et continuation du journal 1er juin 1758 au 1er 7bre (64 pp.). *Collection des manuscrits du Maréchal de Lévis*, l'Abbé H.-R. Casgrain, ed., *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, pp. 384-409.

Montcalm, *Letters of Montcalm*, Report of the Public Archives [of Canada] for the Year 1929, Ottawa, 1930, pp. 72-78, 83-84, "An Account of the Victory Gained by the King's Troops at Carillon, July 8, 1758," pp. 102-106.

*Collection des manuscrits du Mar,chal de Lévis*, l'Abbé H.-R. Casgrain, ed., 12 vols., Montréal, C.O. Beauchemin et fils, 1889-1895. [FTA].

Montcalm to Count d'Argenson, from Carillon, 14 July 1758. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-2151]; 1969 purchase [FTA #46.75]. Published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XII no. 4 (September 1968), pp. 264-266.

Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle, Carillon, 12 July 1758, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 732-733.

Montcalm to Marshal de Belle Isle, Carillon, 20 July 1758, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], p. 737.

Montcalm to his wife, from Carillon, 14 July 1758. Manuscript presented to Fort Ticonderoga by the Marquis. [FTA #M-3025]. Published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VIII no. 4 (Summer 1949), pp. 129-131.

Montcalm, "Orders of Battle," 7 July 1758, translated and published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. II no. 2 (July 1930), pp. 67-69.

Montcalm to Marquis de Vaudreuil, from Carillon, 9 July 1758, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 748-750.

Chevalier de la Pause, "Le mémoire et observations sur mon voyage en Canada," Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1931-1932, Québec, 1932, pp. 1-125. Carillon, pp. 22-46. The Battle of Ticonderoga is found in pp. 80-85.

Chevalier de la Pause, "Les 'mémoires' du Chevalier de la Pause," Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1932-1933, Québec, 1933. "Relation des Affaires du Canada depuis l'automne dernière 57 jusqu'à," pp. 347-350. "Relation de ce qui s'est passé en Canada du Commencement de la Campagne au 8 juillet, jour de l'affaire des abattis," pp. 351-352. "Dispositions de Carrillon," [almost certainly an analytical piece written after the Battle of Carillon] pp. 353-357. "Relation de la victoire remportée sur les troupes de roi, le 8 juillet 1758, aux ordres de Mr le Marquis de Montcalm," pp. 357-362. [FTA #2121].

Chevalier de la Pause, "Les 'Papiers' la Pause," Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1933-1934, Québec, 1934. "Détail du Commencement de la campagne 1758 jusques au 8 juillet de la journée des abatis," pp. 87-89. "Mémoire et réflexions politiques et militaires sur la guerre du Canada depuis 1746 jusque au 1760," pp. 147-153. [FTA #2122].

Capt. Nicolas Sarrebourg de Pontleroy, "Memoir on Fort Carillon," attached to a letter from Pontleroy to Marshall Belle-Isle, Camp au Carillon, 26 juillet 1758, [A.H.G. vol. 3498]; English translation published in Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], p. 720. For cover letter by Doreil, see "Lettres de Doreil," RAPQ 1944-45, p. 140. "C'est un mémoire sur le fort de Carillon qui me paroît fort important." Pontleroy was a captain in the royal corps of engineers.

Pierre Pouchot, Memoir Upon the Late War in North America Between the French and the English, 1755-1760, translated and edited by Franklin B. Hough, Roxbury, Massachusetts, W. Elliott Woodward, 1866. vol. I, pp. 103-126. [FTA #3226-3227].

Pierre Pouchot, Memoirs on the Late War in North America between France and England, trans. Michael Cardy, ed. and annotated by Brian Leigh Dunnigan, Youngstown, Old Fort Niagara Association, 1994, pp. 137-138. [FTA].

Pierre Pouchot, Mémoires sur la dernière guerre de l'Amérique septentrionale, entre la France et l'Angleterre . . . , 3 vols., Yverdon, 1781. [FTA #3223-5].

"Relation de Mr Poulhariès envoyée ... Mr le Marquis de Montcalm," Rapport d'Archives de Province de Québec pour 1931-32, Québec, 1932, pp. 47-65. Poulhariès was a captain of grenadiers in the Royal Roussillon régiment.

"List of French Killed and Wounded in the Battle of the 8th of July [1758]," The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, vol. I no. 3 (January 1928), p. 12. Manuscript in the Museum [FTA #M-].

"Return of the Officers killed, wounded, and drowned in the Affair of the 6th of July and in battle of the 8th," published in Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Albany, 1858, vol. X [FTA #4329], pp. 750-751; another list is on pp. 798-800.

"Tués et blessés ... l'affaire de 8 juillet," in Chevalier de la Pause, "Le mémoire et observations sur mon voyage en Canada," Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1931-1932, Québec, 1932, p. 83.

Pierre-Georges Roy, "Qui Était M. Hébécourt?" Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, vol. LVI no. 3 (mars 1945), pp. 125-127. Captain in La Reine.

Vaudreuil to the minister, 4 August 1758, AC, c11a, vol. 103, NAC, MG 1 reel F-103, f. 159. Encloses "Paroles des Iroquois, Nepissingues, Algonkins, Abenakis, et Mississagués, de 30 juillet 1758."

### **Aftermath: The British Attack Against Frontenac**

Lieutenant Benjamin Bass, "Account of the Capture of Fort Frontenac by the Detachment Under the Command of Col. Bradstreet [14 August-31 October 1758]," *New York History*, vol. XVI no. 4 (October 1935), pp. 449-452. [FTA #4832]. Bass served in Captain Timothy Parker's Company of Col. Joseph Williams' Massachusetts Regiment. Original diary at Massachusetts Historical Society. Matthews, *American Diaries in Manuscript*, #322.

[John Bradstreet], *An Impartial Account of Lieutenant Colonel Bradstreet's Expedition to Fort Frontenac . . . by a Volunteer on the Expedition*, Toronto, Rous & Mann, 1940. [FTA 1998. ; gift of Erik Goldstein]. First published in London in 1759. [FTA/Olson #28].

Charles Clinton, "Colonel Charles Clinton's Journal of His Campaign in New York, July to October 1758, During the French War," Robert E. Mulligan, Jr., ed., *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XV no. 4 (1992), pp. 292-315.

Ensign Moses Dorr, "A Journal of an Expedition Against Canaday By Moses Dorr Ensin of Capt Parkers Company Roxbury May 25th 1758," *New York History*, vol. XVI no. 4 (October 1935), pp. 452-464. [FTA #4832]. Original at Massachusetts Historical Society. Matthews, *American Diaries in Manuscript* #329. Dorr served in Captain Timothy Parker's Company of Col. Joseph Williams' Massachusetts Regiment. Dorr served in the campaign against Oneida which resulted in the construction Fort Stanwix.

James Kimball, ed., "A Journal of the Rev. Daniel Shute, D.D., Chaplain in the Expedition to Canada," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XII (April 1874), pp. 132-151. Pastor of Second Church, Hingham, Massachusetts. Stranded in Schenectady during the Ticonderoga action, but accompanied Bradstreet's attack on Frontenac. Copy in [FTA #P-5003].

Francis Jennings, *The Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies and Tribes in the Seven Years' War in America*, New York, W.W. Norton, 1988, Chapter 16, pp. 364-367. [FTA #1991.20]

Robert Arthur Preston and Leopold Lamontagne, *Royal Fort Frontenac*, Toronto, Champlain Society, 1958. The best full-length study of Bradstreet's successful campaign against Frontenac.

## **Regimental Histories**

Thomas Chapais, "Les irlandais et la bataille de Carillon," *Revue Canadienne*, n.s., vol. 6 (1910), pp. 481-489.

Thomas Chapais, "Les irlandais et la bataille de Carillon," *Revue Franco-Américaine*, vol. 6 (1911), pp. 362-377.

René Chartrand and Francis Back, "Canadian Militia, 1750-1760," *Military Collector and Historian*, vol. XXXVI no. 1 (Spring 1984), pp. 18-21. Plates #553 and 554. [FTA].

John Cuneo, "Factors Behind the Raising of the 80th Foot in America," *Military Collector and Historian*, vol. XI no. 4, pp. 98-103. [FTA].

George Allen Dary, "Soldiers in the French and Indian War, 1758" *New England Historic and Genealogical Register*, vol. 58 (1904), pp. 141-142. Governor Pownall's order to raise the Provincial forces, and a list of forces then serving.

Gerry Embleton and Philip Haythornthwaite, "The British Infantry of the Seven Years' War," *Military Illustrator*, nos. 36, 37, 38. Detailed analysis of uniforms and accoutrements. [photocopy in FTA research files]

Andrew Gallup and Donald E. Shaffer, *La Marine: The French Colonial Soldier in Canada, 1745-1761*, Bowie, Maryland, Heritage Books, 1992. [FTA].

Pierre Heliot, "La campagne du Régiment de la Sarre au Canada," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique Française*, vol. 3 (1950), pp. 518-536. [FTA].

"3rd New York Battalion, 1758," *Military Collector and Historian*, vol. XV no. 2 (summer 1983), pp. 44-45. Uniform Plate # 541. [FTA].

"55th Regiment of Foot," *Military Collector and Historian*, vol. XV no. 2 (summer 1963), pp. 44-45. Uniform Plate # 226. [FTA].

"80th Regiment of Foot, 1757-1764," *Military Collector and Historian*, vol. XV no. 3 (fall 1963), pp. 82-83. Uniform Plate # 230. [FTA].

Eric I. Manders, Brian Leigh Dunnigan, John R. Elting, "80th Regiment of Foot, 1757-1764," *Military Collector and Historian*, vol. XXXIX no. 4 (winter 1987), pp. 172-173. Uniform Plate # 613. [FTA].

H. Charles McBarron, Jr. and Frederick P. Todd, "The New Jersey Regiment (Jersey Blues), 1755-1764," *Military Collector & Historian*, vol. V #4 (December 1953), p. 98-99. Plate #77. [FTA].

Robin May and G.A. Embleton, *Wolfe's Army (Osprey Men-at-Arms Series #48)*, London, Osprey, 1974. [FTA].

*Massachusetts Officers in the French and Indian Wars, 1748-1763*, edited by Nancy S. Voye, Boston, Society of Colonial Wars, 1975. [FTA]

Albert Bates, ed., "Rolls of Connecticut Men in the French and Indian War, 1755-1762," *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, vol. IX (1755-1757), [FTA #710], and vol. X (1758-1762), [FTA #711], Hartford, Connecticut Historical Society, 1903 and 1905.

Regimental Historical Records Committee, *The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers: Being a History of the Regiment from December 1688 to July 1914*, London, Constable & Company Ltd., 1934. [FTA #661].

Gary Zaboly, "Descriptions of Military Uniforms and Equipage in North America, 1755-1764," *Military Collector & Historian*, vol. XXXIX no. 1 (Spring, 1987), pp. 2-20 and no. 2 (Summer, 1987), pp. 71-72. [FTA]

Edward A. Wilson, et al., "The 80th Regiment of Light Armed Foot, 1757-1764," *Military Collector & Historian*, vol. XV no. 3 (Fall 1963), pp. 81-82. Plate #230.

"History, Roster and Record of Col. Jedidiah Preble's Regiment: Campaign of 1758 Together With Capt. Samuel Cobb's Journal," *Yearbook for 1905*, Portland, Maine, Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maine, 1905, pp. 114-180. [FTA #3240].

Howard M. Chapin, ed., *Rhode Island in the Colonial Wars: A List of Rhode Island Soldiers and Sailors in the Olde French and Indian War, 1755-1762*, Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society, 1918. Reprinted as Chapin, *Rhode Island in the Colonial Wars*, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1994. [FTA #1994.51].

J.R. Harper, *The Fraser Highlanders*, Montreal, The Society of the Montreal Military and Maritime Museum, 1979. [FTA]. For details on uniforms and accoutrements, see pp. 20-36.

## **Artifacts**

Powder horn: "John Collins, Sept 9, 1758 / At Ticonderoga July the 8th 7 hours we fought the French / While we ware all in open field & they within a trench" [FTA #PH-44].

Powder horn: "William Davison / Inniskilling 1758 / or XXVII Reg" [FTA #PH-43].

Powder horn: "Timothy Ludintun / July 8 1758" "The fire begun July 6, and wee lost 1947 men. The Rose is Red, The Grass is Green, such Days is past which we have seen." [FTA #PH- ]. See: BFTM, vol. XII no. 3 (Oct. 1967), p.186.

Powder horn: "Abel Maish, . . . I powder with my brother Baul, herow like Do conker all."

Powder horn: "Iesse Parsons Philomaith Fecit / Lake George Aug 1758" [FTA #PH-3]. See Parsons diary above.

Locket containing Howe's hair [FTA # ]; provenance to Chaplain with Howe's 55th Regiment in Fort Ticonderoga Scrapbook, vol. III, pp. 75-77. Sold by Miss Euphemia Johnson. See *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. II no. 4. Related letter by Rev. Ogilvie donated by her [FTA #M-1920]. On the provenance of the locket, see *Fort Ticonderoga Scrapbook*, vol. III, pp. 75-77.

## **Regiments Committed**

### **British Regulars**

27th Foot (Lord Blakeney's or The Inniskilling Regiment)  
42nd Foot (Lord John Murray's or The Highland Regiment)  
44th Foot (General Abercromby's)  
46th Foot (Lt. General Thomas Murray's)  
55th Foot (Lord Howe's)  
60th Foot (1st and 4th Battalions, Royal American Regiment)  
80th Foot (Gages' Light Arm'd Infantry)  
4th and 17th Battalions Royal Artillery  
Major Robert Rogers' Rangers

### **British Provincials**

Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel Thomas Doty's Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel Ebenezer Nichols' Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel Jedidiah Preble's Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel Oliver Partridge's Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel Timothy Ruggles' Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel William Williams' Massachusetts Regiment  
Colonel John Bradstreet's Batteauxmen  
Sir William Johnson's Mohawk Indians  
Colonel Oliver Delancy's New York Regiment  
Colonel John Hart's New Hampshire Regiment  
Colonel Henry Babcock's Rhode Island Regiment  
Colonel John Johnson's New Jersey Regiment  
Colonel Phineas Lyman's 1st Connecticut Regiment  
Colonel Nathaniel Whiting's 2nd Connecticut Regiment  
Colonel Eleazer Fitch's 3rd Connecticut Regiment  
Colonel David Wooster's 4th Connecticut Regiment

### **French**

La Reine  
Guyenne  
Royal Roussillon  
Béarn  
Languedoc  
1st Berry  
2nd Berry  
La Sarre  
Troops of La Marine  
Canadians  
scarcely any Indians

**[NOT this campaign!!]**

Charles F. Mullett, "James Abercromby and French Encroachments in America," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. XXVI (March 1945), pp. 48-59. Concerns James Abercromby, cousin of the General and agent for the Carolinas and Virginia and counsel to Georgia. No direct relevance to this campaign.

"Letter from a New Englander," *Gentleman's Magazine*, London, vol. XXIX (1759), p. 224. Concerns Forbes' expedition to Duquesne in 1758.

## **CAMPAIGN JOURNALS by Regiment**

### **New Jersey Blues (Col. John Johnson)**

Garret Albertson, *A Short Account of the Life, Travels, and Adventures of Garrett Albertson, Sr.*, 1845. [FTA #P-4013]. Reprinted in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 2 (July 1936), pp. 43-47. Albertson (1735-1813) mis-remembered the year he sailed up the Hudson and arrived in Albany; it should read "1758." Served with the New Jersey "Blues."

Letter: Rev. John Brainerd, Chaplain, New Jersey Regiment, to P.V.B. Livingston, from Lake George, 11 July 1758. Typescript in FTA research files. [FTA #P-5001]. Published as "The Death of Lord Howe," *New York History*, vol. XXXIV (1936), pp. 206-207. [FTA #4833].

### **Massachusetts**

#### **Bagley's**

Col. Jonathan Bagley, orderly book, Camp at Lake George, 20 August-11 September 1758, ms. in American Antiquarian Society. Acquisition announced and entries for three days quoted in *MDRV Proceedings MDNM*, AAS, vol. I (April 1881).

*MDBO MDNM* "Journal of Col. *MDBO* Archelaus Fuller *MDNM* of Middleton, Massachusetts, in the Expedition Against *MDNM* Ticonderoga in 1758," *Essex Institute, MDRV Historical Collections MDNM*, XLVI (July 1910), pp. 209-220. [FTA #P-5006]. Covers period of 25 May-11 November 1758. Reprinted in *MDNM MDRV The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum MDNM*, vol. XIII no. 1 (December 1970), pp. 5-17. Ms in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Fuller was lieutenant in 1758 in Captain Andrew Fuller's Company of Colonel Bagley's Massachusetts regiment. Fuller became lieutenant-colonel in Wigglesworth's regiment (and died) in the 1776 campaign to save *MDNM* Ticonderoga.

*MDBO* Joseph Nichols *MDNM*, "Joseph Nichols' Military Journal, 1758-1759," Henry E. Huntington Library, #HM 89. Clerk in Capt. Taplin's Company, Col. Bagley's Massachusetts regiment in campaign against Ticonderoga. Matthews, *MDRV American Diaries in Manuscript MDNM* #338.

"Journal of *MDBO* John Noyes *MDNM* of Newbury in the Expedition Against *MDNM* Ticonderoga, [4 April-8 November] 1758," *Essex Institute, MDRV Historical Collections MDNM*, XLV (January 1909), pp. 73-86. Colonel Bagley's Massachusetts regiment; Captain Joseph Newell's company. Strong on food and drink. Lots of "points of rum." Copy in [FTA #P-5005].

Caleb Rea, "The Journal of *MDBO* Dr. Caleb Rea *MDNM*, Written During the Expedition Against *MDNM* Ticonderoga in 1758 *MDRV MDNM*," *Essex Institute MDRV Historical*

Collections@MDNM, vol. XVIII, Fabius Maximus Rea, ed., Salem, Massachusetts, 1881, pp. 81-120. [FTA #3298]. Dr. Rea was surgeon in Col. Jonathan Bagley's Massachusetts regiment; cf. Rev. Cleaveland's journal.

### **Thomas Doty's**

Thomas Weston, ed., "Diary of Abner Barrows," History of the Town of Middleboro, Massachusetts, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin, 1906, pp. 95-98. In collection of Society of Mayflower Decendants. Barrows was 25 in 1758, having already served in 1756 and 1757. Captain Benjamin Pratt's company of Col. Thomas Doty's Massachusetts regiment.

Certificate of Benjamin Williams listing the number of men in Col. Thomas Doty's Massachusetts regiment at the inn of William Scott, Palmer, Massachusetts, 5 August 1758. Plimpton Collection [#35] at Amherst College.

### **Ebenezer Nichols'**

Asa Foster, "Diary of Captain Asa Foster of Andover, Massachusetts," New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. 54 (April 1900), pp. 183-188. Col. Nichols' Massachusetts regiment. Stationed at the Lake George base camp during the battle.

Joseph Holt, "Journals of Joseph Holt, of Wilton, New Hampshire," New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. 10 (October 1856), pp. 307-310. Served in Col. Ebenezer Nichols' Massachusetts regiment, Captain Ebenezer Jones' company.

Samuel Abbott Green, "Papers Relating to @MDBO Captain Thomas Lawrence@MDNM's Company Raised in Groton, Massachusetts During the French and Indian War, 1758," @MDRV Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society@MDNM, 2nd ser., vol. VI (1891), pp. 21-33. [FTA #P-1866]. Original MSS in Massachusetts Historical Society. Papers relate to massacre at Halfway Brook, 20 July 1758. Inventory of the possessions of ten men killed.

"Amos Richardson's Journal, 1758," The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, XII no. 4 (September 1968), pp. 267-291. Woburn, Massachusetts. 23 May-18 October 1758. Manuscript in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-6035]; 1967 gift [FTA #12.75]. Richardson served in Col. Ebenezer Nichols' Massachusetts Regiment.

Leonard Spaulding, "Journal of Leonard Spaulding," Vermont Historical Gazetteer, Abby M. Hemenway, ed., vol. V part 2 (Dummerston), pp. 24-33. [HL: F57 / A1V42] Served in Captain Ephraim Wesson's Company, Colonel Ebenezer Nichols' regiment of Massachusetts troops. Capt. Wesson succeeded Capt. Thomas Lawrence after the Half-way Brook attack on 20 July 1758. Spaulding was a resident of Westford, Connecticut, at this time.

Samuel Thompson, Diary of Lieutenant Samuel Thompson of Woburn, Massachusetts While in the French War, 1758, William R. Cutter, ed., Boston, Press of David Clapp & Son, 1896. [FTA #3299]. An unannotated version appeared in Samuel Sewall, History of Woburn, Boston, Wiggin & Lunt, 1868, Appendix IX, pp. 547-549. [FTA #2562]. Served in Captain Ebenezer Jones company, Col. Nichols' Massachusetts regiment.

### **Jedidiah Preble's**

"History, Roster and Record of Col. Jedidiah Preble's Regiment: Campaign of 1758 Together With Capt. Samuel Cobb's Journal," Yearbook for 1905, Portland, Maine, Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Maine, 1905, pp. 114-180. [FTA #3240].

## **Timothy Ruggles'**

Diary of David Briggs, 1758. At Lake George with Richard Cobb's Co., Col. Timothy Ruggles' Regiment. Massachusetts State Archives, Boston. Matthews, American Diaries in Manuscript #324.

Samuel Fisher@MDNM<sup>-</sup>, "Diary of Operations Around Lake George, [23 June-12 July] 1758." Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Fisher served in Capt. Ebenezer Cox's co@MDSU<sup>-</sup>y@MDNM<sup>-</sup>, Col. Ruggles' Massachusetts regiment.

Obadiah Harris@MDNM<sup>-</sup>, "A rigmental jarnil . . . Timothy Ruggels Rigment . . . 1758. A @MDRV<sup>-</sup>very difficult to read@MDNM<sup>-</sup> journal of Col. Timothy Ruggles' Regiment in the expedition against Ticonderoga, 22 May-23 October 1758. Huntington Library, #HM 591. Matthews, @MDRV<sup>-</sup>American Diaries in Manuscript@MDNM<sup>-</sup> #333.

Rufus Putnam@MDNM<sup>-</sup>, @MDRV<sup>-</sup>Journal of General Rufus Putnam, 1757-1760@MDNM<sup>-</sup>, E.C. Dawes, ed., Albany, Joel Munsell's Sons, 1886. [FTA #3297]. Served in Capt. Joseph Whitcomb's company; Col. Timothy Ruggles' regiment of Massachusetts troops.

## **Joseph Williams'**

Diary of Asa Burr@MDNM<sup>-</sup> (1739/40-1816, Hingham and Bellingham, Mass.) Served in Captain Parker's Company; Col. Joseph Williams' Massachusetts regiment. Manuscript in American Antiquarian Society's French and Indian War collection.

James Kimball, ed., "A Journal of the @MDBO<sup>-</sup>Rev. Daniel Shute@MDNM<sup>-</sup>, D.D., Chaplain in the Expedition to Canada," Essex Institute @MDRV<sup>-</sup>Historical Collections@MDNM<sup>-</sup>, XII (April 1874), pp. 132-151. Pastor of Second Church, Hingham, Massachusetts. Chaplain in Col. Joseph Williams' regiment of Massachusetts provincials. Stranded in Schenectady during the Ticonderoga action, but accompanied Bradstreet's attack on Frontenac. Copy in [FTA #P-5003].

## **New York Regiment**

Letters of Melancthon Taylor Woolsey, 1758, Champlain, N.Y., Moorsfield Press, 1927. [FTA #P-3002]. Woolsey was Colonel of the 2nd battalion, New York provincials, from Long Island. Woolsey's estate inventory is found in Collections of the New-York Historical Society, 1928, pp. 557-560. Papers of the Lloyd Family of Lloyd's Neck, New York, vol. II, 1752-1826.

## **Connecticut Regiments**

### **Fitch's**

Joseph Smith, "Journal of Joseph Smith of Groton," Proceedings, Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars, vol. I (1903), pp. 305-310. Smith served in Col. Eleazer Fitch's (Third) Connecticut regiment.

### **Whiting's**

Abel Spicer, "Diary of Abel Spicer from June 5th until September 29th, 1758," in History of the Descendents of Peter Spicer, A Landholder in New London, Connecticut, Susan Spicer Meech, ed., 1911, pp. 388-408. Copy in FTA Research Files. Spicer served in Captain John Stanton's Company, Col. Nathan Whiting's Regiment, Connecticut troops.

Muster Roll, Captain Wells' Company, Colonel Nathan Whiting's Connecticut Regiment, 14 June 1758. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections. [FTA #M-1917].

N. Whiting, Orderly Book, 1758, Litchfield, Connecticut Historical Society.

"Letters of Col. Nathan Whiting, Written from Camp during the French and Indian War," Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, vol. VI, New Haven, 1900, pp. 133-150.