

FORT TICONDEROGA

National Historic Landmark

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Bibliography

Defending “Ty”:

MOUNT INDEPENDENCE and THE ‘OLD FRENCH FORT,’ 1776-1777

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Materials in the Fort Ticonderoga research collections in the Thompson-Pell Research Center may be studied by appointment on weekdays. The library collections do not circulate. The condition of certain volumes may prohibit photocopying.

Most of the unique manuscripts in the Fort Ticonderoga collections have been reprinted in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, published since 1927. *The Bulletin* may be found in state historical society libraries in the Northeast and in major university libraries. Some back issues are still available.

As a private, not-for-profit educational institution, Fort Ticonderoga welcomes contributions to support the expansion of its research collections and services.

The necessary point-of-beginning is Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, New York, David McKay Company, 1966. Reprinted 1974, 1994. [FTA #1990.xxx].

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MAPS OF TICONDEROGA AND MOUNT INDEPENDENCE

American

David Avery, manuscript map of Lake Champlain and accompanying notes re placement of guns and troops, 10-24 May 1776, 8 pp. From the Papers of Chaplain David Avery in the Archives of the Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey; in 2001 to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.

Map of American positions, autumn 1776?: "Ticonderoga Fort out of Repair," "St. Clairs, Waynes, and Dehaases" brigades positioned at French lines, "old [Germain] redoubt," "Mount Independence / Three Brigades Encamp'd here." New York State Library map accession no. 12267. Positive and negative photocopies in Fort Ticonderoga collections.

Map of American positions, winter 1776?: numerous redoubts and fortifications identified with key (missing). New York State Library map accession no. 12268. Positive and negative photocopies in Fort Ticonderoga collections.

Manuscript "plat showing location of Col. Mott's Regiment at Skenesborough," Connecticut State Library. c. 1776. Mount Independence encampments, batteries, bridg, boome. Photocopy in Fort Ticonderoga collections. Mott commanded Connecticut troops.

Facsimile of Norton's map of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Robert O. Bascom, ed., *Orderly Book of Capt. Ichabod Norton of Col. Mott's Regiment of Connecticut Troops Destined for the Northern Campaign in 1776*, Fort Edward, Keating & Barnard, 1898. Covers 13 August 1776 -- 25 November 1776. [FTA #4052; photocopy of ms is #P-5094].

John Trumbull's maps of Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, 1776, in Joseph R. Frese, S.J., "A Trumbull Map of Fort Ticonderoga Rediscovered," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XIII no. 2 (June 1971) pp. 128-136. Frese located four of the five Trumbull's maps. Most familiar is the engraved version found in the 1841 *Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull, 1756-1841*, opposite p. 33 [FTA #1432 and #3807]) showing the development of Mount Independence in August 1776. Frese's "rediscovery" is likely the manuscript antecedent of the engraved 1841 version.

Map of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, c. 1777. Found among Dr. Jonathan Potts Papers in the Fort Ticonderoga collections. [FTA #M-2095].

Map certified by Col. Kosciuszko and introduced as evidence at St. Clair's court-martial is the most complete just prior to British occupation. ("Proceedings of a General Court Martial . . . for the Trial of Major General St. Clair . . .," *New-York Historical Society Collections for 1880*, 1881, vol. III, p. 172. FTA #4540) A broken copy is found in *Proceedings of a General Court Martial*, 1778 [FTA #1998.024]. See also Kenneth Nebenzahl, ed., *Atlas of the American Revolution*, Chicago, Rand-McNally, 1974, pp. 96-97. [FTA]. Original is in the Cornell University collections.

"Plan of Carillon or Ticonderoga which was quitted by the Americans in the night [sic] from the 5th to the 6th of July 1777" with additional annotations for "Position of the Ennemys [British and German] the 24 October 1777." National Archives of Canada. Ph / 1250 / Ticonderoga / 1777. Photocopies in Fort Ticonderoga collections.

British

Map prepared by Lt. Charles Wintersmith by order of Lt. Twiss, Burgoyne's chief engineer, July 1777. Fort Ticonderoga Museum collection. Color facsimile published by Fort Ticonderoga Museum, 1996. Other manuscript copies may be found in the John Carter Brown Library and the University of Vermont Special Collections (facsimile of UVM copy published by Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, 1996).

(1) "Ordre de Bataille" on the eve of Valcour action; (2: panel 1, folding out of page 123--marked upper right) "PLAN du Lac Champlain et de ses Endroits ou le General Carleton donnu le 11^{me} et 13^{me} d'Octob^r 1776 dessa Batailles contre les Rebelles," signed lower right, "HD. Gerlach" [Crown Point to Carillon]; (panel 2) Button Mold Bay to Valcour and Split Rock; (panel 3) Ligonier Bay, Grand Isle, Pointe au Fer; (panel 4) Pointe au Fer to Isle aux Noix. (3) "Plan xxx Fort Carillon xxxx Ticonderoga xxxxxx Mount Independent." George Bay, floating bridge, batteries at Mount Independence, esp. along eastern margin, "Old French Lines," 8 batteries at Ti, SugarLoaf Hill and battery. Series of mss. maps on microfilm from Heeresarchiv. R???. 15 ? ?? .XXXIV. Nr. 881. STAATSARCHIV. BERLIN. Bad photocopy in Fort Ticonderoga research collections.

"Plan von den Fort Carillon oder Ticonderoga vic auch von Mount Independent." George Bay, floating bridge, batteries at Mount Independence, esp. along eastern margin, "Old French Lines," 8 batteries at Ti, SugarLoaf Hill and battery. Series of mss. maps on microfilm from Heeresarchiv. Rep. 15 A. Kap.XXXIV. Nr. 853. PREUSSISCHES GEHEIMES STAATSARCHIV. BERLIN. Bad photocopy in Fort Ticonderoga research collections. Two versions of this map exist.

"Plan von den Fort Carillon oder Ticonderoga wic auch Mount Independent." c. 1777 (date published by Doblin is given as 1782). Heeresarchiv V. Rep. 15A Kap. XXXIV, 139. Published in Helga Doblin, trans., and Mary C. Lynn, ed., *The American Revolution: Garrison Life in French Canada and New York: Journal of an Officer in the Prinz Friedrich Regiment, 1776-1783*, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1994, frontispiece. [FTA]. Ms map is an appendix to a letter from Lieutenant Schroeder to Major General von Riedesel.

Map prepared by Capt. Heinrich Daniel Gerlach, July 1777, with accompanying explanatory letter. (Original in German archives; LCM.) [Captain von Geismar?], "Journal of the Brunswick Corps in America Under General von Riedesel," V.C. Hubbs, editor and translator, *Sources of American Independence: Selected Manuscripts from the Collections of the William L. Clements Library*, vol. I, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 197 . 3 July 1777: Captain Gerlach and 100 men reconnoiter Mount Independence, p. 277.

Maps of the Burgoyne invasion by Lt. James Hadden in Horatio Rogers, ed., *Hadden's Journal and Orderly Book: A Journal Kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 and 1777 by Lieutenant James M. Hadden*, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1884. (FTA #4055). "Ticonderoga and its Vicinity," facsimile opp. p. 83. "Country between Lake Champlain and Stillwater, including Lake George," facsimile opp. p. 90.

Map drawn by Lt. John Starke to accompany "Remarks on affairs at the Portage between Ticonderoga and Lake George, and at Mount Independence, in Sept. 1777." [FTA #T-1.63M] Manuscript in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-2126]. Narrative published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. I no. 1 (January 1927); map and narrative reprinted in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XI no. 4 (July 1964), pp. 164, 206-213.

MAPS ON POWDER HORNS

John Calfe's horn, April 1777. 14-5/8" long. New Hampshire Historical Society. Cf. John Calfe, "Journal of Capt. John Calfe," in H.E. Noyes, *Memorial of the Town of Hampstead, New Hampshire*, (Boston, 1899), vol. I. (Copy in Fort Ticonderoga research collections.) For Capt. Calfe's service as Judge Advocate, see Anonymous Orderly Book, 19 March 1777 [FTA]. Horn listed as #146 in Stephen V. Grancsay, *American Engraved Powder Horns*, New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1946 [FTA #186].

William Hardy, "1776 his powder horn made October 30 at Mount Independence / In defence of American liberty / M I Hand." New Hampshire Antiquarian Society, Hopkinton, N.H. Listed as #416 in Stephen V. Grancsay, *American Engraved Powder Horns*, New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1946 [FTA #186].

Jesse Perry's horn, "bought at Mount in Dependance March the 13 AD 1777." 13-1/4" long; 2-3/4" diameter at mouth. Fort Ticonderoga Museum. The engraved horn depicts the French lines, halfmoon battery, Ty Fort, bridge, "Mountin Dependance," including the shore battery, horseshoe battery, and fort, the lake and a "rogally."

Lieutenant John Rily's horn, "made at Mt. Independa," 17 December 1776. 13-1/2" long; 3-1/8" diameter at mouth. Mirror in plug. Fort Ticonderoga Museum [FTA # PH-32.] The engraved horn depicts the French lines, shore redoubt, Ty Fort (flying the Grand Union flag), boom, bridge, "Fort Independence," shore battery, horseshoe battery; also a map from Ty north to Crown Point, the mills, Isle LaMotte, Isle aux Noix, and St. Johns. [Depicted on cover, *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IX no. 4 (winter 1954).] For Rily's promotion to First Lieutenant in Col. Burrell's Regiment, see Deputy Adjutant General's Orderly Book for 19 September 1776 (FTA #3954).

Sergt. David Strong, "His HORn Made At Mount Independence Jany 10 1777." Guthman Collection. Illustrates both Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. (Depicted in William H. Guthman, *U.S. Army Weapons, 1784-1791*, American Society of Arms Collectors, 1975, fig. 59B, p. 91.)

Nathan Tubs' horn, "Drummager in Coln. Burrels Regt. Made at Ticonderoga in January 1777. Made By Jonas Cleveland." Fort Ticonderoga Museum. Listed as #865 in Stephen V. Grancsay, *American Engraved Powder Horns*, New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1946 [FTA #186]. (Depicted in John S. du Mont, *American Engraved Powder Horns*, Canaan, N.H.)

Captain Titus Watson's horn, St. Albans, Vermont, c. 1777. 4" high x 14" long x 7" wide. Franklin County Museum. Watson was a pioneer family in St. Albans. The engraved horn depicts Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence and the connecting bridge and boom. (Depicted in *Always in Season: Folk Art and Traditional Culture in Vermont*, 1982, p. 58.)

LANDSCAPE VIEWS of TY

Lt. Henry Rudyerd, RCE, "View of the Old French Fort, Redoubts, and Batteries at Ticonderoga . . ." (also known as "Fort from Mount Independence"), 1777; watercolor, 15"x23-1/4". Fort Ticonderoga museum collection [FT44.76 (PEM 46)]. Purchased 1929.

James Hunter, "A View of Ticonderoga from a Point on the North Shore of Lake Champlain," 1777; watercolor. 34 cm x 42 cm. Trustees of the British Library. [Cat.: K. Top. CXXI. 107.b] Published [item 85, p. 75-76] in *The American War for Independence, 1775-1783*, The British Library, 1975; [item 380, pp. 150-152] in *1776: The British Story of the American Revolution*, National Maritime Museum, 1976.

James Hunter, "A View of TICONDEROGA from the Middle of the Channel on Lake Champlain," also 1777, (another version of the above watercolor), is in the collections of National Archives of Canada. Vessel in the center is shown in "A Draught of a Boat to carry One Carrige Gun Forward," Navy Office, 1 March 1776.

James Hunter, "North Shore of Lake Champlain," 1777; watercolor. 28.5 cm (11-1/4") x 39 cm (15-1/4"). Sold at auction [item 78] Lawrence: Fine Art of Crewkerne, 1978.

Framing diagrams for "one of the Hospitals on Mount Independence 120 feet Long 24 feet Wide," AD 1777. Schuyler Papers. New York State Library. Reverse photocopy in Fort Ticonderoga research files.

PRIMARY SOURCES: AMERICAN OCCUPATION and LOSS

Journals of the Continental Congress. Mount Independence: **1776**: pp. 990, 1048. **1777**: Evacuation, pp. 569, 585, 596, 653, 659, 669, 674, 681; Committee visit, pp. 688, 787, 901, 1053; Evacuation by the British, p. 1004. **1778**: Evacuation inquiry, pp. 66, 92-93, 125, 239, 403; Report, p. 593; Trial of officers ordered, p. 628; Works to be demolished, p. 287. (Numerous entries also appear for Ticonderoga, 1775-1786.)

"Genl. Return of the Troops at this Post Commanded by the Honble. Major General St. Clair." Ticonderoga, 28 June [1777]. Offered in Joseph Rubenfine, List 145, #39. (1/2001). 3604 rank and file in ten under-strength regiments.

"A General Return of Ordnance and Stores at Ticonderoga, Mount Independence, and on Board the Fleet on Lake Champlain, July 4, 1777," Gates Papers, New-York Historical Society. Photostat copy in FTA research collections. A retrospective inventory of materiel lost in the Evacuation.

"An Account of the losses sustained by the subscriber at the evacuation of Ticonderoga on the 7th July 1777," 19th-century handwritten transcript in the collections of the Concord (NH) Public Library Papers donated by a descendent of Capt. David Livermore. New Hampshire Historical Society ms collection, 1983-1984, Box 14, folder 20. Copy in Fort Ticonderoga research files.

"Evacuation of Ticonderoga, 1777," *The Magazine of History*, vol. VIII no. 8 (August 1882), pp. 566-573. [FTA #4457]. Correspondence from Richard Varick, Major John Lansing, Philip Schuyler for 6 July-12 August 1777.

"Princeton and Ticonderoga, 1777," *The Magazine of History*, vol. VIII no. 10 (October 1882), pp. 684-685. [FTA #4457]. Letters from Schuyler concerning the evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence.

"Return of Ordnance Stores in the upper Laboratory on Mount Independence, April 17, 1777." Part of lot #52 of manuscripts offered for sale by Thos. Birch's Sons, Auctioneers, Philadelphia, December 1891 (catalogue no. 677). Current whereabouts of this item is unknown (11/93).

Reverend Thomas Allen (The Fighting Parson), Address to regiment, 5 July 1777, *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 2 (July 1936), pp. 31-33.

Anonymous Orderly Book, 2 February 1777 - 28 April 1777. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections. Probably from a unit based on Mount Independence.

Anonymous, "Observations for a Deffensive war at Ticonderoga," 22 February 1777, Gates Papers, vol. VI, p. 41 (4 pp.), New-York Historical Society. Photostat copy in FTA research collections. Preventing the enemy

navy from coming around to the rear by constructing a jetty; building shore redoubts; enhancing Mount Hope.

Anonymous, "Additions to the Reflections concerning the Defence of Ticonderoga," [1777], Gates Papers, vol. VI, p. 45 (3 pp.), New-York Historical Society. Photostat copy in FTA research collections. Enhancing defenses at Mount Hope; Mount Independence; providing a supply of good water at Ticonderoga.

From Cambridge to Champlain, March 18-May 5, 1776, A Manuscript Diary, Bruce Lancaster, ed., Middleboro, Massachusetts, Lawrence B. Romaine, 1957. [FTA].

The Orderly Book for the Second New Jersey (Maxwell's) Regiment was edited by Doyen Salsig, *Parole: Quebec; Countersign: Ticonderoga; the Second New Jersey Regimental Orderly Book, 1776*, Rutherford, N.J., Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980. [FTA]. [8 December 1775 - 11 November 1776].

John Trumbull's Orderly Book during much of the time he was Deputy Adjutant General (beginning 18 July 1776) for the American forces is in the Fort Ticonderoga collection: manuscript (FTA #M-2172) and typescript for 10 July 1776 to 18 November 1776 (FTA #3954). *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, [10 July 1776-31 August 1776] vol. III no. 1 (January 1933), pp. 30-57. About half of the Orderly Book, focussing on the Carleton invasion in autumn 1776, was published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, [September 1-October 31, 1776] vol. III no. 2 (July 1933), pp. 84-123; [November 1-November 19, 1776] vol. III no. 3 (January 1934), pp. 151-161. Records first use of "Mount Independence" as place name on 30 July 1776.

Unsigned manuscript Orderly Books for Anthony Wayne's Battalion, Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment are in the Fort Ticonderoga collections and have been published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*. These have traditionally been identified as "Anthony Wayne's Orderly Books."

<u>Dates</u>	<u>Ms #</u>	<u>BFTM</u>
10 July 1776 to 15 October 1776	uncat.	XI nos. 2-4 (1963-64), pp. 93-154, 177-205.
20 November to 1 December 1776	M-6018	III no. 4 (July 1934), pp. 191-198
1 December to 16 December 1776	M-6018	III no. 5 (January 1935), pp. 218-225
17 December 1776 to 8 January 1777	M-6018	III no. 6 (July 1935), pp. 248-260
17 October 1776 to 8 January 1777	M-6018	Munsell's Historical Series No. 3 (1859) (FTA #3955; another is #3956)

Significant holdings of Anthony Wayne manuscripts include the William L. Clements Library (4 linear feet), Morristown National Historical Park (10 volumes of transcripts), and Historical Society of Pennsylvania (6500 items). Significant elements of Wayne's Ticonderoga correspondence from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania collection were published in Charles J. Stille, *Major-General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army*, Philadelphia, J.P. Lippincott, 1893, pp. 33-59. [FTA #1579].

Related to the Wayne material is "Memoir of John Lacey, Captain, Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, 1776," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, April 1901-July, 1902. [FTA #4002] Lacey and Wayne squabbled constantly. See also "Instructions to Captain Lacey [re recruitment, November 1776]," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. III no. 5 (January 1935), pp. 211-212; reprinted in *BFTM*, vol. IX no. 1 (winter 1952), pp. 31-32. Manuscript is [FTA #M-1988].

"Diary of John Harper, Quartermaster, 4th Pennsylvania Battalion," Typescript in the Fort Ticonderoga research files. A short account of his journey from Philadelphia (27 May 1776) to Ticonderoga and service there until 17 December 1776.

Peter F. Copeland, "Clothing of the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, 1776-1777," *Military Collector and Historian*, XVIII (Fall 1966), pp. 69-74.

Regimental and company muster lists for the Pennsylvania battalions are found in Saffel, *Officers and Privates of the Revolution*, pp. 178-214: Capt. Bernard Romans' Pennsylvania Artillery (February-November 1776); Capt. Nelson's Company in DeHaas' Regiment (January-November 1776); Capt. Samuel Watson's Company in St. Clair's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. Rudolph Bunner's Company in St. Clair's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. Thomas Craig's Company in St. Clair's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. William Butler's Company in St. Clair's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. Stephen Bayard's Company in St. Clair's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. John Brisban's Company in St. Clair's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. John Reese's Company in Wood's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. John Huling's Company in St. Clair's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. Thomas Robinson's Company in Wayne's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. Thomas Church's Company in Wayne's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. John Lacey's Company in Wayne's Battalion (January-November 1776), muster roll dated 26 November 1776 is FTA #M-2079; Capt. Persifer Frazer's Company in Wayne's Battalion (January-November 1776); Capt. James Taylor's Company in Wayne's Battalion (January-November 1776); Col. William Irvine's Regiment as it stood at Mount Independence, 28 November 1776.

"Colonel Frye Bailey's Reminiscences," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, 1923-1925, pp. 22-86. [FTA #2950] See especially pp. 40-50. Bailey's memoir was written in 1826 based on several journals kept during the Revolution. Bailey served in the Canadian campaign of 1775-76 and retreated with the army to Ty, remaining there through October. For Bailey's discharge, see Wayne's Orderly Book for 24 September 1776. ("Ephraim Carter is app^{td} Ensign in late Col. Bedle's Reg^t in room of Engs. Fry Bailey, discharged." Deputy Adjutant General's Orderly Book: 24 September 1776).

Col. Jeduthan Baldwin's journal for 7 July 1776 - 5 July 1777 describing the construction of the Mount Independence fortifications under his direction appeared in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 6 (January 1938), pp. 10-40. That issue is no longer available; a photocopy can be prepared for \$1. (This excerpt covers the period from Baldwin's receiving orders at Crown Point to go to Ticonderoga until General St. Clair ordered the general retreat in the face of Burgoyne's army.) The full journal was published in a very limited edition: Thomas Williams Baldwin, ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Col. Jeduthan Baldwin 1775-1778*.

Thomas Williams Baldwin, ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Col. Jeduthan Baldwin 1775-1778*, Bangor, Maine, The DeBurian Society, 1906. [FTA #3963 and #6022] The manuscript journal, owned by the Society of the Cincinnati in Massachusetts, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society [MHS microfilm P-381]. See also "Baldwin Letters," *American Monthly Magazine*, Washington, vol. VI (1895), pp. 193-200.

"Memorandum of Agreement . . . this Sixteenth day of Decm^r 1776, Between Colonel Jedun Baldwin Chief Engineer . . . and Jedih Thayer and Nathaniel Emerson . . ." to supply 60 carpenters in a Company of Artificers. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Heath Papers, vol. 2, p. 320.

Nathaniel Batcheller to Mrs. Susanna Batcheller [wife], Scattacook, 2 October 1777. Ms in the Fort Ticonderoga collections (FTA #M-2006). Published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VI no. 6 (July 1943), pp. 182-183. Concerns Brown's attack on Ticonderoga in September 1777.

William Bayley to his mother, Fort Miller, 13 July 1777. One-page ms letter sold at auction 7/2001. Good detail about evacuation of "Tyconteroge." Regimental affiliation unknown, but refers to "our Colonel Francis . . . killed in the fight." Copy of auction catalog entry in FTA research files.

Benjamin Beal, Journal, July-October 1776. Ms in the collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Beal served in Greaton's 24th Continental Regiment (Massachusetts).

Journal of Lewis Beebe, A Physician on the Campaign Against Canada, 1776, Frederic R. Kirkland, ed., Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1935. [FTA #3920] (Offprint from *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 59, October 1935, pp. 321-361.) Covers period 29 April 1776 to 6 January 1777.

Henry Blake, Journal, 1 April-7 October 1776. Ms in collections of the American Antiquarian Society. Sue Cifaldi, "Henry Blake, a New Hampshire Fifer in the Revolutionary War," *The Sonneck Society Bulletin*, vol. 14 no. 3 (Fall 1988), pp. 115-116.

"Lieutenant Thomas Blake's Journal [13 May 1777 - 25 October 1780]" in Frederic Kidder, *History of the First New Hampshire Regiment in the War of the Revolution*, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1868, pp. 25-56. [FTA #717]. Passages referring to service at Mount Independence and Ty appear on pp. 25-29.

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. Hauling supplies to Mount Independence 1776-77; construction of the floating bridge, pp. 51-59; Knox trek, pp. 25-36; Udney Hay as quartermaster, pp. 51-57; Lady Acland, pp. 86-93, 216-219.

M.E. Lender and J.K. Martin, *Citizen Soldier: The Revolutionary War Journal of Joseph Bloomfield* [Third New Jersey Regt.], New Jersey Historical Society, 1982. [FTA]. A portrait of Bloomfield is in the collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, D.C.

Colonel William Bond, to (wife) Lucy Bond, from Mount Independence, 10 August 1776. In Sherman Lohnes, ed., "Another Voice from the Mount," *The Mount Independence Courier*, vol. 9 # 3 (Autumn 2000), p. 2. [FTA]. Bond raised and commanded the 25th Continental Regiment. This letter begins with a grim report of illness in the camp. "We have fresh Beef enough now, last week I had Some Green Peas, Beans, Squash, and Turneps. Some of them were Brought near forty miles." Col. Bond died three weeks after writing this letter, "the last words from a loving husband to his wife." Long description of testing (and splitting) 13-inch mortars brought from Roxbury, and of outfitting the fleet. Four letters from Col. Bond to his wife are preserved in the Mandeville Special Collections, Geisel Library, University of California, San Diego.

General Brickett, Order, 22 October 1776, in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. V no. 1 (January 1939), p. 16.

Samuel Brewer to General Gates, letter, 20 October 1776, in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. V no. 1 (January 1939), p. 12.

Colonel Samuel Brewer to General William Heath, Ticonderoga, 10 June 1777 and 3 July 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Col. Brewer commanded the 12th Massachusetts Regiment. The letter of 3 July 1777 discusses abandonment of Mount Hope.

Sylvanus Brimhall, Plymouth and later Hardwick, Massachusetts, 1832 pension deposition. December 1775-December 1776. Captain Thomas Mayo's company, Col. Bond's regiment. At Mount Independence July-December 1776. Copy in Fort Ticonderoga research files.

[concerning Col. John Brown's attack, 24 September 1777] Benjamin Lincoln to Horatio Gates, Pawlet, Vermont, 14 September 1777; Samuel Herrick to Gen. Powell, Pawlet, Vermont, 1 November 1777, and Herrick to Gates, Pawlet, Vermont, 14 November 1777; in B.F. De Costa, *Notes on the History of Fort George During the Colonial and Revolutionary Periods*, New York, J. Salon and Sons, 1871, pp. 42-45. [FTA #P-1896]. See also *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XI no. 4 (July 1964), pp. 206-213.

Nathaniel Buel to Gen. Schuyler from Mount Independence, 3 December 1776. [FTA #M-1943].

Isaac Burnet to wife, from Tyy Conrogay 16 August and 4 October 1776. *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. I no. 4 (July 1928), p. 5. Manuscript [FTA #M-1944 and #M-1945].

Isaac W. Hammond, ed., *The Diary and Orderly Book of Sergeant Jonathan Burton, 1775-1776*, Concord, N.H., 1885. (FTA #3951) At Mount Independence August-November, 1776. Captain William Barron's Company, Colonel Isaac Wyman's Regiment, New Hampshire militia. List of members of company. In collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, ms. #1886-2(v). Published in *State Papers*, vol. XIV, pp. 690-702.

John Calfe, "Journal of Capt. John Calfe," in H.E. Noyes, *Memorial of the Town of Hampstead, New Hampshire*, (Boston, 1899), vol. I., pp. 288-295. February 1777 to August 1777. Copy in Fort Ticonderoga research collections.

Reverend Wheeler Case, "St. Clair's Retreat and Burgoyne's Defeat," 1777, [poetry] *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. I no. 5 (January 1929), pp. 14-20.

William Chamberlin, "Letter of General William Chamberlin," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 10, second series, 1895-96, pp. 490-504.

Jonathan Chase, Diary, June 1777. Ms in the Dartmouth College collections.

Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, Albany, University of the State of New York, 1914. Ticonderoga: vol. X (G-Z), pp. 876-877. [FTA].

John Clymer and Richard Stockton to General Gates, letter, 20 October 1776, in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. V no. 1 (January 1939), pp. 10-11.

Congress, "Report of the Congressional Committee, 1776," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. III no. 5 (January 1935), pp. 205-211. Manuscript in the Fort Ticonderoga collections. [M-#].

Ephraim Collins to Samuel Collins, Ticonderoga, 2 July 1777. [FTA M-]. Gift of Mrs. Samuel C. Beane, 1958. Published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. X no. 3 (1959), p. 246.

Jabez Colton, stationed at Mount Independence, to Dr. Stephen Williams, 19 June 1777. [FTA #M-1998].

Lewis G. Costigan to General Gates, 16 October 1776, in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 7 (July 1938), p. 54.

Peter Crane, Orderly Book, 1 January-7 August 1776. Greaton's Regiment: 24th Continental Infantry. Henry E. Huntington Library #HM 612.

Vernon A. Ives, ed., "Narrative of Uriah Cross in the Revolutionary War," *New York History*, vol. LXIII no. 3 (July 1982), pp. 279-294. Cross was a Connecticut resident with Allen at the taking of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Skenesborough, and Montreal. Aided the evacuation from Canada in 1776; mustered out in August 1776.

John N. Cumming to Dr. Nathaniel Scudder, 25 October 1776, *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. V no. 26 (January 1939), pp. 19-20.

Captain Charles Cushing, Journal, 18 June-26 September 1776. Library of Congress. Force transcript. 15 pp. 12mo.

Jeannette D. Black and William Greene Roelker, eds., *A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution: Letters of Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown, 1775-1778*, Providence, Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, 1949. [FTA #3798] David's letter of August 1776 from Ticonderoga is found as Letter VIII, pp. 23-30.

Major General Henry Dearborn, "A Narrative of the Saratoga Campaign," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. I no. 5 (January 1929), pp. 2-12. [Manuscript is FTA #M-2152.]

Henry Dearborn, *Revolutionary War Journals of Henry Dearborn, 1775-1783*, eds. L.A. Brown and H.H. Peckham, Chicago, 1939. For 1777 campaign, see pp. 97-114. Ms journal for 1777 is in Boston Public Library.

James Dickey, pension narrative, National Archives. Describes construction of Bridge and entrenchments at Mount Independence, June 1776. Captain Daniel Emerson's Company; Colonel Wingate's Massachusetts regiment. [Copy in Fort Ticonderoga research files.]

Colonel William de Hart to Governor Livingston, 1 October 1776; published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 7 (July 1938), pp. 20-21. Re the Jersey Regiment.

Colonel William de Hart to Theunis Day and J.C. Symes, 26 October 1776, published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. V no. 1 (January 1939), p. 20. Concerning activities of the New Jersey troops.

Nathaniel Brown Dodge, "A Letter and Diary of 1776," *Vermont History*, vol. XXI (January 1953), pp. 29-35. [FTA]. Letter is to "Loving Wife," from Crown Point, 4 July 1776. Diary covers 23 March 1776-77 December 1776. Letter alone was published as "The Fourth of July in 1776 at Crown Point," *New York History*, vol. XXXIV (1936), pp. 75-78. [FTA #4833]. Dodge was a teamster at Mount Independence.

William Duer to General Philip Schuyler, 29 July 1777. Commiserates on loss of Ticonderoga and urges that he address Congress on the matter. "Be not surprised if you should be desired to attend Congress to give account of the loss of Ticonderoga . . . I entreat you, the Ties of our long Acquaintance not to be silent." Offered by Scott J. Winslow Associates, Inc., March 2004. [Copy in FTA research files.]

Lt. Ebenezer Elmer, "Journal [of service in the Third New Jersey Regiment, winter 1776-1777]," *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, vol. II (1848), pp. 95-194 (3 March 1776-77 September 1776); vol. III (1848), pp. 21-56 (8 September 1776-23 January 1777); pp. 90-102 (24 January 1777-3 November 1782). See also "The Lost Pages of Elmer's Revolutionary Journal [10 October 1776-19 November 1776]," *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, October 1925, pp. 410-424. Copy in Fort Ticonderoga research files. Elmer was at Ty from November 1776-2 March 1777. Inventory of artillery at Ty in November 1776 on p. 44.

Rev. William Emerson, *The Diaries and Letters of William Emerson, 1743-1776*, ed. Amelia Forbes Emerson, Boston, Thomas Todd, 1972, pp. 108-118. [FTA]. Emerson accompanied the Concord Militia as chaplain; at Ticonderoga 26 August 1776 until his death of a "Mongrell fever," 23 September 1776. Buried in West Rutland, Vermont. See p. 109 for roster of troops arriving in late August 1776. Emerson and Hitchcock (q.v.) serve together as chaplains to the Massachusetts regiments.

John Foster, *The Story of a Private Soldier in the Revolution*, Manchester (N.H.) Historical Society, 1902. [FTA #1992.] Moses Fellows of New Hampshire with Arnold to Quebec and at Ticonderoga, Fort Edward, Saratoga, Sullivan Campaign.

Ebenezer Francis to his wife ("mam," Mrs. Francis, and Judith), 16 April 1777 (Albany), 2 May 1777 (Ticonderoga), 10 May 1777 (Ticonderoga), 17 June 1777 (Ticonderoga), 20 June 1777 (Ticonderoga), 30 June 1777 (Ticonderoga). Ebenezer Francis Letters in the Beverly, Massachusetts, Historical Society. Copies in Fort Ticonderoga Research Files. Francis' Massachusetts Regiment at Ticonderoga, 23 April 1777-6 July 1777.

Persifer Frazer, "Letters From Ticonderoga, 1776," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. X no. 5 (February 1961) pp. 386-396 (eight letters from June? 1776 to 10 August 1776) and vol. X no. 6 (January 1962) pp. 450-459 (five letters from 21 September to 18 November 1776). Originals in the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Frazer served at Ty with the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion as Captain and then Major (in orders for 24 September 1776). His description of the American fortifications at Ty is perhaps the most complete available. July 15th 1776: "We have heard here this day that Independency has been declared by the Congress." (p. 388).

A rich sampling of the Persifer Frazer (P.F. signed his name "Persifer".) Family archive is to be found in Persifer Frazer, *Notes and Papers of or connected with Persifer Frazer . . . and his son John Frazer of Philadelphia, 1735 to 1765*, n.p., 1906, vol. I; and Persifer Frazer, *General Persifer Frazer: A Memoir*, n.p., 1907, vol. II. The revolutionary manuscripts are published in vol. II. Ten Persifer Frazer manuscripts were acquired by the New York State Library in 1958. Bielski #670-679.

An Orderly Book of Captain Frazer's Company, 4th Pennsylvania Battalion, kept by Edward Vernon, Sergeant, Colwell's, Long Island, 30 May 1776 - Ticonderoga, 26 August 1776. Typescript is FTA #3953. Manuscript Orderly Book is FTA #2156.

Major General Horatio Gates to Col. Richard Varick, Ticonderoga, 16 August 1776. New York State Library ms. #1913. [Bielski #725]. Directs Varick to send musket cartridges and grindstones.

Major General Horatio Gates to Brigadier General Danielson, Albany, 17 May 1777. Re supply of 1500 militia from Massachusetts under Danielson's command; Gates will provide "Iron potts, or Camp Kettles" in Albany, Ticonderoga, or Skenesborough. Offered by Alexander Autographs, Inc., as item #20, 21 April 2001. Malcolm Freiberg, "The Reverend William Gordon's Autumn 1776 Tour of the Northeast," *The New England Quarterly* (September 1992), pp. 469-480. Visits Ty and the Lake George camps in late September.

Morris Graham to Richard Morris, 3 miles above Stillwater, 17 September 1777. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #T-9.64M]; reprinted in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XI no. 6 (September 1965), p. 344.

Captain Moses Greenleaf, Diary, 23 April 1777-9 November 1777. Ms in Massachusetts Historical Society collections. Transcript in FTA Research Files. Published as Donald H. Wickman, ed., "'Breakfast on Chocolate': The Diary of Moses Greenleaf, 1777," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XV no. 6 (1997), pp. 483-506. Greenleaf served in Colonel Ebenezer Francis' Massachusetts (later 11th) Regiment. At Mount Independence from 23 April through the evacuation. Good detail on food and recreation.

Jeremiah Greenman, *Diary of a Common Soldier in the American Revolution, 1775-1783*, Robert Bray and Paul Bushnell, ed., DeKalb, Northern Illinois University Press, 1978, p. 77, 78, 79, 81. 19 August 1777, No. 2 (near the "Continental Village" above Peekskill): "we hear that ye enemy is almost got down to albernny." 28 September 1777, Morristown: "we hear that ticontiroge is taken again by our people." 13 October 1777, Morristown: "we are informed of the Sucksess of our army to the Northward / the Army gave the Cheers & fired 13 Cannon." 20 October 1777, Fort Mifflin: "this day we hear Burgines Army is all captured at which this fort and fort Mercy fired 13 Cannon."

John Greenwood, *A Young Patriot in the American Revolution, 1775-1783*, n.p., Westvaco, 1981. [FTA]. Memoir written 1809; reprints 1922 limited edition by deVinne Press, NYC: *The Revolutionary Service of John Greenwood*. Served in Patterson's (15th Massachusetts) Regiment. At Mount Independence, summer and fall 1776, pp. 76-80.

Journal of Joseph Guild [19-23 July 1776]. Ms in the collection of the Dedham, Massachusetts, Historical Society.

Col. Nathan Hale to Abigail Hale, 12 August 1776. Ms in the collections of the Library of Congress.

William Heath to Col. Edward Wigglesworth, Roxbury, 22 February 1777. Sold as part of a multi-item lot, #5, Christie's, 24 May 2002. Orders Wigglesworth to march his newly recruited 13th Massachusetts regiment to Ticonderoga: "In Consequence of Express orders from his Excellency General Washington you are immediately to march the Regiment Under your Command to Tyconderoga, to which place the Fifteen Battalions which are to be raised by this State, and all the Brigadier Generals in Continental Service residing in it are Destin'd." Offered by Rubenfine, Cat. No. 150, November 2003.

William B. Weeden, ed., *Diary of Enos Hitchcock, D.D., A Chaplain in the Revolutionary Army*, Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society, no. XXVIII, 1900, pp. 106-134, 147-163. [FTA #4053] April through November 1777. Note on hospital, p. 113. Ms in the collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society. Transcript of entries for 24 August-18 November 1776 in FTA Research Files.

Col. Thomas Johnson, "Col. Thomas Johnson's Papers," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, 1923-1925, pp. 87-140. [FTA #2950]. See esp. pp. 92-93 for letter from Camp near Independence, Sept. 12, 1777, reporting on the capture of "Ticonroga" [sic] and the siege of Mount Independence then underway. By 1780 Johnson had become a Tory.

Captain John Kellogg, Mount Independence, 22 June 1777. Society of the Cincinnati manuscript #88.190.260.

Matthew Kennedy to Mr. Robert Kennedy in Goffstown [N.H.], 11 October 1776, from Camp at Mount Independence. Kennedy Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Vermont. Published in *Proceedings, Vermont Historical Society*, vol. I no. 4 (1930), p. 182. [FTA].

Thomas Killam to wife, 19 August 1776. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Transcript in Fort Ticonderoga research files.

Francis Lightfoot Lee to Mann Page, Philadelphia, 15 July 1777, ALS, single sheet. Passes on the just-received news of "the unfortunate loss of Ticonderoga." Sold as item #68 at Sotheby's, 3 May 1994 auction of Fine Manuscript and Printed Americana.

Losses sustained at Ticonderoga, 7 July 1777, 1 p. Later copy from descendents of Captain Daniel Livermore. In the collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, ms. # CPL Box 14 / fld 20.

Henry B. Livingston, Orderly Book, Troops under General Schuyler, St. Clair, etc., Ticonderoga, Stillwater, &c., 13 June-19 August 1777. Ms in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

Henry B. Livingston to Gov. William Livingston (N.J.), Ticonderoga, 20 June 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Henry B. Livingston to Gov. William Livingston (N.J.), General Hospital, Tyonderoga, 25 June 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Livingston Papers, letterbook B, no. 101.

Henry B. Livingston to Gov. William Livingston (N.J.), Tyonderoga, 3 July 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Livingston Papers, letterbook B, no. 106.

James MacIntosh, "Inquisition of a Spy," 18 June 1777 by Brig. General Simon Fraser at Boquet River. Ms. in Fort Ticonderoga collection; published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. X no. 3 (1959), pp. 240-245. Gift of Admiral and Mrs. Thomas C. Hart, 1958. Rev. Enos Hitchcock reports on actions at

Macintosh's on 17-18 June 1777. General Fraser reports a scout of the periphery around Ticonderoga in early July "to see if the ground on that side was such as MacIntosh had represented it." Fraser describes Mackintosh in General Simon Fraser, "General Fraser's Account of Burgoyne's Campaign and the Battle of Hubbardton," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, 18 October and 2 November 1898, Montpelier, Vermont, p. 141-142. [FTA #2939]. *Patches and Patterns*, p. 265. "Genealogical Notes on the Samuel Cook Family," *Patches and Patterns Extended*, vol. I no. 3 (July 1990), np. The March 1786 deposition of "Rachel Bryan, late wife of James M^cIntosh of Ticonderoga" is in the PRO A.O. 13/14, fols. 176-179; it lists the household effects for which the widow made claim, including much booze. Signed by Lt. Col. C.J. Prætorius, Prinz Frederic regt. Copy in Fort Ticonderoga Research Files.

Mrs. Sally Markham, November 1846 pension application. Typescript is FTA #P-5106. Vermont refugees from the Valcour action seek haven at Mount Independence.

Colonel Thomas Marshall and Col. Ebenezer Francis to William Heath, Albany, 16 April 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Heath Papers, vol. 4, p. 52,

Colonel Thomas Marshall to William Heath, Mount Independence, 19 May 1777. Marshall commanded the 10th Massachusetts Regiment. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[Nathaniel Miller,] "A Revolutionary Soldier Who Settled in Ticonderoga," *Patches and Patterns Extended*, vol. 2 (winter/spring 1991), pp. 16-20. 1832 pension application. Picket duty at Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence at the time of American withdrawal. Served with Warner's troops.

Augustus Moore to his wife, 3 October 1776. Quoted in Carroll V. Lonergan, *Ticonderoga: Historic Portage*, Ticonderoga, Fort Mount Hope Society Press, 1959, pp. 180-181. Concerns Mount Hope. Ms is in FTA collection [FTA #M-]. Moore served in Col. Samuel Brewer's Massachusetts regiment, Capt. Simon Edgel's company.

Edm^d Munro to his wife, from Ticonderoga, 16 August 1776 and 13 November 1776, published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. II no. 1 (January 1930), pp. 40-41. Massachusetts (Lexington area) regiment. Munro is said to have been a Lexington Minuteman.

Robert O. Bascom, ed., *Orderly Book of Capt. Ichabod Norton of Col. Mott's Regiment of Connecticut Troops Destined for the Northern Campaign in 1776*, Fort Edward, Keating & Barnard, 1898. Covers 13 August 1776--25 November 1776. Includes a facsimile of Norton's map of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. [FTA #4052]. Ms is in the collection of Columbia University [photocopy in FTA collections: #P-5094].

Matthias Ogden to Aaron Burr, Ticonderoga, 19 July 1776. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, C.P. Greenough Collection. "The Generals have Fix'd on a spot opposite the fort to be fortified it is still to clear & without Tools, the General told me to day the plank were not yet sawed for the Gun carriages nor platforms."

Abraham Perkins (1735-1807) diary, 6 July 1777--7 November 1777. Evacuation of Ticonderoga and conclusion of service at Albany, including accounts (17 March 1777--22 May 1777) for shoes and clothing within the company. In the collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, ms. #1922-6. Copy in Fort Ticonderoga research files. "Mount Independence, July 6. This morning was given up to the British forces without their firing one Cannon: then we Retreated to SkeensBorough." Followed by an annual memorial litany: "July ye 6: 1778 one year passed Since ticonderoga was given up to the British forces" and so on through 1780.

John Pierce Papers. Letter to ---, 16 August 1776. Letter to Andrew Adams, 28 August 1776. Letter to ---, 9 September 1776. Mss in the collections of the New York State Library.

J. Earle Percy, ed., "To Saratoga and Back, 1777," *New England Quarterly*, vol. X (1937), pp. 785-789. Record of Joshua Pillsbury, Massachusetts militia.

Brigadier General Enoch Poor to General John Fellows, Ticonderoga, 28 May 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Col. Elisha Porter, *Elisha Porter's Almanac, 1776* [19 January-25 August 1776]. Written on 36 pp. interleaved with the *North American Almanack . . . 1776*. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-]. Published as "Manuscript Journal of Col. Elisha Porter," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. X no. 1 (1957), pp. 34-58. Porter raised a regiment of Massachusetts militia.

Morris H. Saffron, "The Northern Medical Department, 1776-1777," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XIV no. 2 (Winter 1982), pp. 81-120. Publishes the Papers of Dr. Jonathan Potts in the Fort Ticonderoga collections.

Brigadier General Jedidiah Preble to John Waite, Boston, June 1777-17 August 1777. Four letters sold as item #8, Christie's, 24 May 2002. 1 July 1777: "The Scandilous Retreat of general St. Clear, from Tyconderoga, is matter of grate speculation, I have seen two letters from him & if he can give no better satisfaction to the Publick . . . he deserves the severest Punishment."

Ammi Robbins, *Journal of the Rev. Ammi R. Robbins, A Chaplain in the American Army, in the Northern Campaign of 1776*, New Haven, B.L. Hamlen, 1850. [FTA #1989.25] 18 March 1776-31 October 1776. At Ty from 20-24 April and then intermittently. Chaplain to regiment brigaded at Mount Independence, 31 August-16 October 1776. Reprinted in Theron Wilmot Crissey, *History of Norfolk*, Everett, Massachusetts Publishing Company, 1900, pp. 97-121.

Lemuel Roberts, *Memoirs of Captain Lemuel Roberts, containing Adventures in Youth, Vicissitudes Experienced as a Continental Soldier, His Sufferings as a Prisoner, and Escapes from Captivity . . .*, Bennington, Vermont, Anthony Haswell for the author, 1809. Arno reprint, 1969.

"An Address to General St. Clair's Brigade, at Ticonderoga, when the Enemy were hourly expected, October 20, 1776," broadside, n.p., n.d. (c. 1776), octavo. [FTA #2158 in vault]. Published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. III no. 2 (1933), pp. 82-84.

Josiah Root, Conductor, Ordnance stores in the magazine at Mount Independence, 17 April 1777. [FTA #M-2107].

Arthur St. Clair to Major General Philip Schuyler, Ticonderoga, 25 June 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Heath Papers, vol. 5, p. 26. "we shall be Obligated to Abandon this side . . . but what can be expected from Troops ill Arm'd, naked & unaccoutred."

Arthur St. Clair to ???, Ticonderoga, 26 June 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Heath Papers, vol. 5, p. 335. "The Scene thickens fast."

Arthur St. Clair to Major General William Heath, Tyconderoga, 1 July 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Heath Papers, vol. 5, p. 175. Encloses a Return of Stores immediately wanted at Tyconderoga. Enemy "have now two large Ships and eighteen Gun Boats lying at about 3 Miles Distance."

General [Arthur] St. Clair to Congress, Fort Edward, 14 July 1777. Published in *Pennsylvania Evening Journal*, 22 July 1777; reprinted *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. I no. 2 (July 1927), pp. 18-21.

Ar. St. Clair to unknown addressee, Tyconderoga, 25 October 1776. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections (FTA #M-1972). St. Clair reports completion of boom and shore batteries to protect shattered fleet following Valcour action.

Arthur St. Clair, *Narrative of the [1791] Campaign Against the Indians*, Philadelphia, 1812. Includes on pp. 185-192, St. Clair's exculpatory letter to John Hancock, 14 July 1777; and the minutes of the final council of war at Fort Ticonderoga, 5 July 1777.

Proceedings of a General Court Martial, Held at White Plains, in the State of New-York, By Order of His Excellency General Washington, Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States of America, For the Trial of Major General Arthur St. Clair; August 25, 1778, Major General Lincoln, President. Philadelphia, Hall and Sellers, 1778. [FTA #1998.024]. Gift of Mrs. Sally Slaymaker. Sabin 75021; Evans 16141. "Proceedings of a General Court Martial . . . for the Trial of Major General [Arthur] St. Clair . . .," New-York Historical Society *Collections for 1880*, vol. XIII (1881), pp. 5-171. (FTA #4540 and another, #4542) Summarized by Eleanor M. Murray in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 6 (July 1947) pp. 3-20. *Annual Report of the John Carter Brown Library for 1949*, pp. 29-33. [FTA].

Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair to Robert Morris, Fredericksburg, [New York], 7 October 1778. Asking Morris to speed up Congressional action on his Court Martial, written coincidentally on the day that the Continental Congress received *The Proceedings*. Offered by Catharine Barnes Autographs, *Catalogue #25*, item 99. November 2001. [FTA #2001.0099].

William H. Smith, comp., *The St. Clair Papers: The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair*, 2 vols., Cincinnati, 1882. [FTA #1422-1423]. Reviewed in *The Magazine of History*, vol. VIII no. 8 (August 1882), pp. 538-549. [FTA #4457].

Alexander Scammell to "My Dearest Naby [Bishop]," 8 June 1777, Ticonderoga, Manuscript in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-]. Published as "A Love Letter," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. II no. 3 (January 1931), pp. 106-107.

Alexander Scammell to Ebenezer Thompson, 27 June 1777, Ticonderoga. Manuscript "Copy from original" in a private American collection. Photocopy in Fort Ticonderoga research files. Reports on the near approach of Burgoyne's army and especially Indians; sanguine hopes for success in holding the Fort. The original is apparently ms #791 in the Edward E. Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library, Chicago.

Alexander Scammell to Samuel Scammell, 21 September 1777. Huntington Library #HM 28920. A second copy is in the New York State Library #6013 [Bielinski #1500]. One copy of this letter was sold by A.S.W. Rosenbach in 1926; Catalogue "1776 Americana" #189. "You have enjoined me to give you a particular Detail of the Evacuation of Ticonderoga—The hurry of the Camp, and most critical Situation of Affairs will not permit me as we hourly expect another Action. . . . It was evacuated for want of men . . . the post was an exceeding bad one, a perfect Mouse Trap."

Major General Philip Schuyler to ??, Albany, 6 March 1776. Requesting supplies for a relief column to save the failing invasion of Canada led by Montgomery and Arnold. Offered by Alexander Autographs, Inc., item # 40, 21 April 2001.

Major General Philip Schuyler to William Heath, Albany, 1 July 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Heath Papers, vol. 5, p. 173.

Major General Philip Schuyler to George Washington, Saratoga, 10 July 1777. Huntington Library #HM 5456.

Major General Philip Schuyler, "Proclamation, Head Quarters, Fort Edward, 13 July 1777," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 6 (July 1947), pp. 23-24. Manuscript in the hand of Colonel Richard Varick. [FTA #M-]. Response to Burgoyne, "Proclamation, Head Quarters at Skeensborough House, 10 July 1777," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 6 (July 1947), pp. 22-23. Manuscript in the hand of Colonel Richard Varick. [FTA #M-2012].

Major General Philip Schuyler, Orderly Book, Fort Edward, Albany, 29 June-18 August 1777. Ms in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

"Proceedings of a General Court Martial . . . for the Trial of Major General Schuyler, October 1, 1778," New-York Historical Society *Collections for 1879*, vol. XII (1880), pp. 5-211, esp. pp. 70-116. Schuyler's orders to Baldwin, 13 February 1777, pp. 78-80. (FTA #3804 and #4539). The original publication is Sabin 78059 and Evans 16142. See *Annual Report of the John Carter Brown Library for 1949*, pp. 29-33. [FTA].

Henry Sewell, "Diary," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XI no. 2 (September 1963) pp. 75-92. June 1776-July 1777. Manuscript in collections of Massachusetts Historical Society. Published in *The Historical Magazine*, vol. 10 (August 1871), pp. 128-137. Ensign from York, Maine, in Colonel Phinney's Regiment. See also Nathan Goold, *History of Colonel Edmund Phinney's Eighteenth Continental Regiment*, Portland, Maine, 1898. Frederick P. Todd, "18th Continental Regiment, 1776," *Military Collector & Historian*, vol. VI no. 4 (December 1954), p. 97. Plate #93. [FTA].

Zephaniah Shepardson, *A Narrative of Soldiery*, manuscript, Guilford, Vermont, 1826. Edited with an introduction by Charles H. Butterfield, 2000. [FTA research files]. Manuscript was loaned to Vermont Historical Society in 1976 by P. Wayne Canaday, Willowbrook, Illinois. Manuscript was returned to Canaday, whose whereabouts are unknown in 02/2005. Edited transcript is based on a photocopy at VHS. Shepardson served in Col. Timothy Bedel's New Hampshire regiment, part of Montgomery's invasion force, participated in The Cedars, and then withdrew with the American army to Ticonderoga/Mount Independence in spring 1776. Good description of hut-building on Mount Independence; rations and ill-health; Gates as a notorious "tippler."

Justus Sherwood, [British spy report], 7 April 1777, Haldimand Papers, British Library, Add. Ms. 21841 folios 50-51b. Public Archives of Canada, Haldimand Papers, B-181, p. 62. [FTA research files].

Lt. Col. Israel Shreve to Mary Shreve, 28 August 1776. Ms in the collections of Rutgers University. Shreve served in the 2nd New Jersey Regiment.

Gen. Horatio Gates to "All whom it may Concern," Ticonderoga, 12 November 1776. Grants leave to Lt. Col. Israel Shreve to return home to New Jersey for the winter. Manuscript offered as Item #20 in Christie's auction, 19 May 1995. Now in Dr. Gary M. Milan Collection (i.2002).

John Stark, Orderly Book, July-August 1776. Ms in the collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society.

Major Ebenezer Stevens to Samuel Philip Savage, President of the Board of War, Ticonderoga, 24 June 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Stevens commanded the artillery.

Elihu Stevens (1731-1814), Claremont, N.H., four items related to service at Ticonderoga in Captain Oliver Ashley's Company, Colonel Benjamin Bellows' New Hampshire Regiment. In the collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, mss. #1976-16(M). Copy in Fort Ticonderoga research files. Contains a roster of men in the company who received horse money and who were charged shoe money. Also: a roster of men in the company who received payment "in full of all our wages for going to ty when it was Evacuated." 29 March 1778.

"A Most Unsettled Time on Lake Champlain: The Lake Champlain Journal of Jahiel Stewart," Donald Wickman, ed., *Vermont History*, vol. 64 no. 2 (spring 1996), pp. 89-98. Served in Captain Ferguson's company in Captain Samuel Brewer's Massachusetts regiment. Served at Mount Hope in October 1776 after Valcour action.

James Thacher, MD, *Military Journal of the American Revolution*, Hartford, Hurlburt, Williams, & Co., 1862. [FTA #3720]. Reprinted 1969. See esp. 51-52, 60-69, 73, 77-86, 99. Jane McCrea (95); Silver bullet (106); Lady Acland (110); log huts at Morrystown (158-59). Earlier editions in 1823, 1827, 1854, 1856, 1861, 1862, and 1969. Thacher's "A List of Articles which I Lost on our Retreat from Ticonderoga, July 6th, 1777" was published in *The Walpole Society Note Book*, 1933, p. 59. [FTA #2540].

John Trumbull, *Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters, 1756-1841*, New Haven, 1841. (FTA #1432 and #3807) Another edition: Theodore Sizer, ed., New Haven, Yale University Press, 1958.

Timothy Tuttle, *Journal*, 21 December 1775-8 November 1776. Ms in the collection of the New Jersey Historical Society. Sergeant Tuttle served in Capt. Joseph Morris' company in Col. Wind's 1st New Jersey Regiment. Tuttle and his company built the Jersey Redoubt in August 1776. Calls the regiment's camp at the French Lines "Liberty Hill." Donald Wickman, ed., "The Diary of Timothy Tuttle," *New Jersey History*, vol. 113 nos. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 1995), pp. 61-80.

George Baxter Upham, "Burgoyne's Great Mistake," *New England Quarterly*, vol. III no. 4 (October 1930), pp.

Captain Samuel van Vechten, Receipt Book, 1777. [FTA #T-5.64M]. Daybook at Skenesborough, 14 August 1776. [FTA #T-6.64M]. Orderly Book at Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Skenesborough, 10 May 1776-4 October 1776. [FTA #T-7.64M // FTA #M-6014]. A related account book for 12 March 1776-13 May 1777 is in the Society for the Cincinnati, cat. #L93.1.129. Records disbursements to officers and men of the 4th New York, commanded by Cornelius Wynkoop.

Lt. Colonel Richard Varick to Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, and Henry Lawrence, Albany, 10 October 1777. 11-page ms letter reporting on the loss of Fort Ticonderoga; sold as Lot #8 at Christie's, May 1992.

John Spargo, *Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Wait of Rogers' Rangers and the Continental Army: Freemason and Pioneer Vermont Settler*, Grand Lodge of Vermont, 1942. (FTA #P-2125) Wait was a veteran of the abortive Canadian invasion and mortally wounded in action just prior to Valcour. A memorial stone stands in Clarendon, Vermont, where Wait was buried. (See Frye Bailey, "Reminiscence" for an appraisal of Wait's personality: "a haughty, proud Tyrant.")

Petition of Captains Osgood, Wait, and Young, officers of the late Lt. Col. Wait's regiment to General Gates, Mount Independence, 15 October 1776. *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 7 (July 1938), p. 48.

Adjutant William Walker, Orderly Book, 19 June 1776-2 October 1776. Col. Patterson's Massachusetts regiment in service from Cambridge to Isle-aux-Noix to Crown Point to Ticonderoga. Brigade and regimental orders. Includes an index of commissioned and staff officers mentioned in FTA #M-6020. Manuscript in the Fort Ticonderoga collection [#M-6020 and #M-6021]. The Orderly Book covering the period 19 June-2 October 1776, Isle-aux-Noix, Crown Point, and Ticonderoga, is FTA #M-6021. Gift of Hon. Herbert C. Pell, 1958.

David E. Alexander, ed., "Diary of Captain Benjamin Warren on the Battlefield of Saratoga," *Journal of American History*, vol. 3 (1909), pp. 201-216. Extracts from 21 July-16 October 1777 with annotation. Warren served with 7th Massachusetts Regiment. On pp. 377-384 is the record of Warren's service with the 6th Massachusetts at the Cherry Valley massacre.

George Washington to H. Clinton, 1 July 1777. Reports an intended British attack on Ticonderoga. [FTA #M-3022].

Anthony Wayne to Anthony Robinson, 14 October 1776. A breathless letter written in the aftermath of the action at Valcour: "just time to inform you that the Enemy is approaching." Manuscript for sale by Joseph Rubenfine, January 1992, List 114, item 49. Copy in FTA research files.

[Anthony Wayne's] *Orderly Book of the Northern Army at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence from 17 October 1776 to 8 January 1777*, Albany, Joel Munsell's Historical Series No. 3, 1859. (FTA #3955; another #3956).

Anthony Wayne to John Hancock, 2 February 1777. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-2000.0034.003]. Describes state of the garrison and desperate need for supplies.

Anthony Wayne to General Philip Schuyler, Ticonderoga, 4 February 1777. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-2133]; published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 1 (January 1936), pp. 22-23.

Anthony Wayne to the Massachusetts Council, Tyconderoga, 25 March 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Heath Papers, vol. 3, p.367.

Anthony Wayne to wife Polly, 1 April 1777. Ms in Fort Ticonderoga collections; reprinted in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XI no. 6 (September 1965), p. 343.

Anthony Wayne, "Return of the Forces of the United States of America which Compose the Garrisons of Ticonderoga and M^t Independence, under Command of Col. Anthony Wayne," 1 April 1777. Ca. 900 men from regiments commanded by Cols. Long, Warner, Bradford, Marshall, Francis, Stark, Brewer; plus ca. 150 in the Corps of Artillery, and 12 "In the Fleet. Copy in FTA research collections. Offered by Rubenfine as item 127 in Cat. No. 150 (November 2003).

Anthony Wayne to Major General William Heath, Ticonderoga, 18 April 1777. Ms in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

William Weeks, Letter to ?, At the French Lines, 7 June 1777, 4 pp. In the collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, ms 1990.091 (M) [formerly #17C-7]. Trip and conditions in camp. Photocopy in Fort Ticonderoga research collections.

Bayze Wells of Farmington, "Journal: May 1775-February 1777," *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, vol. VII (1899), pp. 239-296. [FTA #2982] Sgt. Wells in Capt. Sedgwick's Co., Col. Benjamin Hinman's Regt. January 1776: Ensign Bayze Wells in Capt. John Stevens' Co., Col. Charles Burrell's Regt.

"Journal of Lieutenant Rufus Wheeler of Rowley," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, vol. LXVIII (October 1932), pp. 371-377. [FTA #P-3063]. Ms in the Essex Institute collections.

E. Vale Smith, "Diary of Colonel Edward Wigglesworth," *The History of Newburyport*, Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1854, pp. 357-359.

Thomas Smart, Adjutant's Orderly Book, 30 July-23 November 1776. For Edward Wigglesworth's Massachusetts regiment. Covers Charlestown, New Hampshire to Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. Henry E. Huntington Library #HM 618.

Ebenezer Wild, "Journal of Ebenezer Wild," Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings*, vol. 6 (1890-1891), pp. 84.

Brigade Major James Wilkinson, Ticonderoga, to General Gates, 16 May 1777, in *Memoirs of My Own Times*, Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1816, vol. I [FTA #1469], pp. 162-164.

Brigade Major James Wilkinson, Ticonderoga, to General Gates, 22 May 1777, in *Memoirs of My Own Times*, Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1816, vol. I [FTA #1469], pp. 164-165.

Brigade Major James Wilkinson, Ticonderoga, to General Gates, 26 May 1777, in *Memoirs of My Own Times*, Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1816, vol. I [FTA #1469], pp. 165-167.

Brigade Major James Wilkinson, Ticonderoga, to General Gates, 31 May 1777, in *Memoirs of My Own Times*, Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1816, vol. I [FTA #1469], pp. 170-172.

Brigade Major James Wilkinson, Ticonderoga, to General Gates, 10 June 1777, in *Memoirs of My Own Times*, Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1816, vol. I [FTA #1469], pp. 172-173.

Brigade Major James Wilkinson, Ticonderoga, to General Gates, 25 June 1777, in *Memoirs of My Own Times*, Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1816, vol. I [FTA #1469], pp. 177-178.

General James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1816, in three volumes. [FTA #1469, 1470, 1471] On action at Ty, see Vol. I: spring 1776, pp. 38-39; summer 1776 retreat to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, pp. 64-80; fortification of Ty, pp. 80-86; action at Valcour, pp. 87-97; winter 1776-77, pp. 96-99; spring and summer 1777, defense of Ty, pp. 158-220.

Captain Edward Payson Williams, Skeensborough, to Colonel Joseph Williams, Roxbury, Massachusetts, 27 August 1776. Capt. Williams served in Col. Greaton's 24th Continental (Massachusetts) Regiment. Ms letter is item #9 in Joseph Rubenfine's *List 121*, 1994. Much discussion of the Cedars.

Colonel William Worthington, Orderly Book, 16 August-19 November 1776. (Mott's regiment of Connecticut militia.) [FTA #M-2173].

Colonel Joseph Wood, Tyconderoga, to Robert Morris, Philadelphia, 14 December 1776. [FTA #M-1992]. *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. I no. 2 (July 1927), pp. 23-24; reprinted *BFTM*, vol. VIII no. 3 (January 1949), p. 96.

James Yancey in Albany to Brigadier General Enoch Poor, 16 May 1778, re rations at Ticonderoga. 3 pp. In the collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, ms. #1971-33(M). Copy in the Fort Ticonderoga research collections.

Dr. Joseph Young to Captain Gersham Mott, Albany, 25 August 1777. Ms in New York State Library #15116. [Bielinski #1841]. Discusses evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga and Battle of Bennington.

"By a letter from Mount Independence," 5 August 1776, re naval construction at Ticonderoga, found in a footnote on p. 88 in Royal R. Hinman, comp., *A Historical Collection . . . of the Part Sustained by Connecticut During the War of the Revolution*, Hartford, E. Gleason, 1842. [FTA #709]

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Spy report of Samuel Adams, resident at the Lake George landing, March 1777; in the Haldimand Papers, Roll B-33, folio #113. National Archives of Canada.

Albert W. Haarman and Donald W. Holst, "The Friedrich von Germann Drawings of Troops in the American Revolution," *Military Collector & Historian*, 1964, pp. 6-7. [FTA].

“Articles of Convention: Burgoyne’s Surrender to Gates,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, vol. III (1919-1920), pp. 89-93. The text of the agreement.

Lieutenant Thomas Anburey, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of America; in a Series of Letters by an Officer*, London, W. Lane, 1789. [FTA #6059 and 6060]. London ed., 1791. [FTA #2784-85]. Boston ed., 1923, [FTA #2782-83]. (reprint Arno Press, 1969). Anburey was a volunteer in the grenadier company of the 29th Regiment of Foot. See also Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., “Thomas Anburey’s ‘Travels Through America’; a Note on Eighteenth-Century Plagiarism,” *Papers of the Bibliographic Society of America*, vol. XXXVII (1943), pp. 23-36. Half of Anburey’s letters were drawn from other sources.

C.T. Atkinson, “Some Evidence for Burgoyne’s Expedition,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, London, vol. 26 (Winter 1948), pp. 134-141. [FTA].

John Burgoyne, Proclamation, Boquet River, 23 June 1777. [FTA #M-3026]. Transcribed in Hudleston, *Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne* (1927), pp. 145-147. A parody by Francis Hopkinson appears on pp. 148-151.

John Burgoyne, “Manifesto, Camp near Ticonderoga, 2 July 1777,” *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 6 (July 1947), pp. 21-22. Manuscript in the hand of Colonel Richard Varick. [FTA #M-2009].

John Burgoyne, “Proclamation, Head Quarters at Skeensborough House, 10 July 1777,” *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 6 (July 1947), pp. 22-23. Manuscript in the hand of Colonel Richard Varick. [FTA #M-2012].

John Burgoyne, *The Gentleman’s Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, vol. XLVII for 1777, 30 June-11 July 1777, pp. 398-403. [FTA P-1854].

John Burgoyne, *A State of the Expedition from Canada, as Laid before the House of Commons*, London, John Almon, 1780 [1st ed., FTA #4010; 2nd ed., FTA #3994]. 2nd ed. reprinted: Arno Press, New York, 1969. A manuscript leaf for pp. 170-174 of *A State of the Expedition* in Burgoyne’s handwriting is FTA #M-2138. This was published in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. III no. 4 (July 1934), pp. 167-171. On artillery necessary to reduce the forts at Ty, see pp. 13-16. Burgoyne’s *Thoughts* memorandum is reprinted as Appendix III. For Burgoyne’s account of the action against Ty, see esp. Appendix VII, Letter to Lord Germain from Skenesborough, July 11, 1777, pp. xxv-xxxvi. A most useful index to the **first edition** is Edward A. Hoyt, comp. and ed., *Table of Contents and Index to Burgoyne’s Expedition*, Montpelier, Vermont Historical Society, 1998.

John Burgoyne, *A Supplement to the State of the Expedition from Canada Containing General Burgoyne’s Orders, Respecting the Principal Movements, and Operations of the Army to the Raising of the Siege of Ticonderoga*, London, John Almon, 1780, 26 pp. [FTA].

E.B. O’Callaghan, ed., *Orderly Book of Lt. General John Burgoyne from his Entry into the State of New York until his Surrender at Saratoga, 16th October 1777*, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1860. [FTA #4014; another copy is FTA #4015]. Horatio Rogers claims that this edition is inaccurate and incomplete.

“Orderly Book for Burgoyne’s Campaign of 1777, Ticonderoga to Saratoga, 16 July-6 October 1777: 47th Regiment of Foot.” [FTA #2168 (OB)]. **Typescript** edited by Frank C. Deering, Saco, Maine, in 1932 [FTA #4016; another copy is #4017]. A third typescript is located in the Edward Hill Collection at Adirondack Community College. From Camp at Skenesborough, 16 July 1777, to Camp at Freeman’s Farm, 6 October 1777. Regimental orderly book probably written by a sergeant taken prisoner just prior to the second Battle of Saratoga. Acquired with the Phillip Skene Papers in 1910.

Sir Guy Carleton to Lord George Germain, letter, 14 October 1776, in *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. IV no. 7 (July 1938), p. 46.

Cleve, Journal 16 June-29 June 1777 (pp. 121-126) and letter 11 July 1777 in Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin. Heeresarchiv. Rep. 15 A. Kap. XXXIV. Nr. 853. Library of Congress [Microfilm] Facsimiles from German Archives, 1929.

James Phinney Baxter, ed., *The British Invasion from the North: The Campaigns of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne from Canada, 1776-1777, with the Journal of Lieutenant William Digby, of the 53d, or Shropshire Regiment of Foot*, Albany, Joel Munsell and Sons, 1887, pp. 187- . [FTA #4049]; reprinted 1970. A compilation made by the author after the campaign. The manuscript diary entitled "Some Account of the American War between Great-Britain and her Colonies" was acquired by the British Museum in 1884; now in the British Library, Department of Manuscripts Add. MS 32413. Bridge and boom at Ticonderoga (p. 215); Jane McCrea (pp. 235-239).

Elizabeth Cometti, ed., *The American Journals of Lt. John Enys [29th Regiment of Foot]*, Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1976 [FTA]; participates in Valcour, p. 23 (29th arrives at St. Johns, 1777), pp. 37-40 (1778 raids into Vermont), pp. 37-50 (7-31 October 1780 "Year of the Burning" raids on Ballston). Reproduces manuscript maps of Champlain Valley; map V (pp. 38-39) is Crown Point to Fort Edward.

J.A. Houlding and G. Kenneth Yates, "Corporal Fox's Memoir of Service, 1766-1783: Quebec, Saratoga, and the Convention Army," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. LXVIII no. 275 (Autumn 1990), pp. 146-168. [FTA]

General Simon Fraser to [John Robinson], 13 July 1777. Stevens Facsimiles, No. 1561. New York Public Library. "I found this mountain Commanded everything at Ticonderoga . . . any kind of work on the hill took the [American] works . . . *en Revers*, at the medium distance of about 12 or 1300 Yards & it was very practicable to make roads for transporting . . . ordnance to the top of it." Brigadier-General Simon Fraser to John Robinson, 13 July 1777, in *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, vol. IV (1898), pp. 139-147.

General Simon Fraser, "General Fraser's Account of Burgoyne's Campaign and the Battle of Hubbardton," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, 18 October and 2 November 1898, Montpelier, Vermont, pp. 139-147. [FTA #2939]. From Stevens "Facsimiles," vol. XVI no. 1571. A letter from "Camp at Skeensborough on Wood Creek, July 13th, 1777." Fraser is candid about his relationships with Burgoyne and his fellow field officers.

David Geddes, "David Geddes, Whom You Pronounced a Dunce . . .": Some Notes on the Military Career of the Paymaster to General Burgoyne's Army, 1777-1781" *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XV no. 6 (1997), pp. 425-475. Geddes reconstructs his ancestor's career through long-forgotten bank records.

"Instructions to Captain Samuel Greaves appointed to command All His Majesty's Vessels upon lakes Champlain and George," 3 October 1777, *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 2 (July 1945), p. 36.

Horatio Rogers, ed., *Hadden's Journal and Orderly Book: A Journal Kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 and 1777 by Lieutenant James M. Hadden*, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1884. (FTA #4055). Journal is pp. 1-166. Manuscript of the journal is in the Fort Ticonderoga collections [FTA #M-1981.]. Six manuscript orderly books belonging to Hadden and sold at the same Charles Hamilton auction in 1981 are in a private American collection.

Haldimand Papers, "Miscellaneous Papers Relating to the Provincial Navy, 1775-1780," National Archives of Canada, Microfilm H-1649, vol. I, B144, 99.

Thomas Hughes, *A Journal by [Ensign] Thos: Hughes*, introduction by E.A. Benians, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1947. [FTA #1989.77]. Focuses primarily on 1778-1789; "having unfortunately lost my first Journal on the 18 Sept: 1777" Hughes was part of the 53rd Regiment of Foot at Ticonderoga; captured by Brown's forces.

Roger Lamb, *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences During the Late American War*, Dublin, Wilkinson & Courtney, 1809 (FTA #3659) and reprint Arno Press, 1968.

Roger Lamb, *Memoir of His Own Life*, Dublin, 1811. (FTA #1383). Draws heavily on Anburey: cf. 167-168, 170-173 with Anburey, vol. I, 275-277, 293-296, 303-306.

Joseph Tasse, "Charles [-Michel] Langlade [de Mouet]'s Movements in 1777," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1873-1876*, vol. VII, pp. 405-408. [FTA #1355]. Author believes that Langlade was at Michilimackinac in June 1777, and therefore unlikely to have been at Ticonderoga. *DCB*, vol. IV: "MOUET" disagrees.

John M'Alpine, *Genuine Narratives and Concise Memoirs of... the Adventures of J. M'Alpine, A Native Highlander . . .*, Greenock, W. M'Alpine, 1780; reprinted Edinburgh, 1883; reprinted Greenock, The Black Pennell Press, 1985. [FTA]. For actions at Ty, see Black Pennell Press edition, pp. 2-45. For a *prae se* of M'Alpine's narrative, see Brian Burns, "Mad Jack M'Alpine, A Soldier of the King," *Vermont History*, vol. 51 no. 3 (1983) pp. 158-169. For M'Alpine's corps, see E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Orderly Book of Lt. General John Burgoyne*, Albany, Joel Munsell, 1860, pp. 116, 126. [FTA #4015]. See also 21 September 1777 in Frank C. Deering, *Orderly Book for Burgoyne's Campaign of 1777, Ticonderoga to Saratoga, 16 July-6 October 1777: 47th Regiment of Foot*, Saco, 1932. Typescript of Ms at Fort Ticonderoga. [FTA #4017]. See also General James Wilkinson, *Memoirs of My Own Times*, Philadelphia, Abraham Small, 1816, vol. I [FTA #1469], p. 163: Whitcomb's rangers sent after "M'Alpin's crew" on 14 May 1777.

Allan McLean to Sir Guy Carleton, 30 September 1777, *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 2 (July 1945) pp. 35-36.

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[sale of abandoned artillery, etc.] John Strong, for sale in Orwell at the house of Shadrach Hathaway, "To be sold at Public Vendue . . . A Quantity of broken Cannon, Mortars, Mortarbeds, Carriage Wheels & Bumbshells lying on or about Mount Independence," *Vermont Gazette*, Bennington, 1 November 1785 (repeated 7 and 14 November), appearing with classifieds on pages 3 and 4.

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Other useful material includes the following, all found in *The Bulletin* and cited as vol./#/pp.:

III/4/188-198	Return of Garrison: 29 Nov. 1776
	Return of Artillery: 30 Nov. 1776
IV/7/18-55	Correspondence re Sept.-Oct. '76 campaign
VII/6/20	American troops at Ti before '77 evacuation

RELATED MANUSCRIPTS IN THE FORT TICONDEROGA COLLECTION

Listed in chronological order; catalogue numbers indicated.

<u>Cat. #</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Document</u>
1991	1776	Commission: Col. Edw. Wigglesworth
2073	1776	Diary of Lt. Wm. Frost, Capt. S. Wild's co., Col. Phinney's regt.
2072	1776	men with Lt. Wm. Frost, Capt. S. Wild's co., Col. Phinney's regt., who drew arms from the Continental stores (<i>BFTM</i> , vol. IX no. 1, p. 35.)
3039	30 July 1776	Payroll; Capt. Alexander's co., Col. E. Porter's regiment at Independence (<i>BFTM</i> , vol. IX no. 2, p. 141.)
2085	6 August 1776	letter from Wilkinson to Schuyler
6005	4 Sept. 1776	letter from Josiah Blood
2070	7 Sept. 1776	Inventory of goods belonging to Anthony Mash (Marsh), Col. Edmund Phinney's regt.
2087	17 Oct. 1776	Charles Terrot to John Frott

1972	25 Oct. 1776	Maj. Gen. A. St. Clair to ??
1974	4 Nov. 1776	Maj. Gen. A. St. Clair to ??
1949	5 Nov. 1776	Col. Elias Dayton to Philip Schuyler
2091	5 Nov. 1776	Payroll of Capt. James Endicott's Company, Massachusetts militia, for October 1776 service (<i>BFTM</i> , VII-6, pp. 36-37)
1976	7 Nov. 1776	Samuel Stringer to Maj. Gen. Schuyler
2088	13 Nov. 1776	Charles Terrot to John Frott concerning battle at Valcour
2071	16 Nov. 1776	Receipt for goods drawn from stores (<i>BFTM</i> , vol. IX no. 1, p. 34.)
2001	26 Nov. 1776	Enlistment papers for Capt. Burbank's co., Col. Phinney's regt.
3035	26 Nov. 1776	Payroll receipt; 3d NJ Battalion, Capt. Bloomfield's company, Col. Elias Dayton's regiment. (<i>BFTM</i> , vol. IX no. 3, p. 210)
2092	21 Jan. 1777	Instructions for raising New Hampshire troops for service at Ticonderoga
2093	10 Mar. 1777	Letter from Col. E. Cox <u>re</u> Col. M. Ittigh's company of militia
2107	17 Apr. 1777	List of ordnance stores in magazine at Mount Independence
2117	7 May 1777	Public stores at Ticonderoga
2127	20 June 1777	Maj. Ebenezer Stevens <u>re</u> a company of artificers in the Artillery Corps
2094	6 July 1777	Capt. Michael McClary's claim for supplies lost in evacuation
6002	17 August 1777	Congressional investigation of evacuation of Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence

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Chester W. Bowie, *Mount Independence Summer 1966*. Manuscript prepared for the Board of Historic Sites, Montpelier, Vermont. [FTA].

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- Bruce A. Hedin, "Faunal Analysis from Mount Independence, 1989, Orwell, Vermont." Student report for Anthropology 295 (Fall 1989), University of Vermont.
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5th II 23 September 1776 (p. 484)

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Horatio Gates Papers (partial list)

letter: 11 July 1776 to Benedict Arnold
letter: 12 July 1776 to Moses Morse
letter: Schuyler to Gates, 13 July 1776; reports the Declaration of Independence; arrives at Ticonderoga, 18 July 1776
letter: 16 July 1776 to John Hancock
letter: 2 September 1776 to John Hancock
letter: Schuyler to Gates, 23 September 1776
letter: 30 December 1776 to John Hancock
letter: Baldwin to Gates, 15 May 1777
letters: Kosciuszko to Gates, May and June 1777
(Box 6: items 144, 190, 192)

MANUSCRIPTS IN NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY (partial list)

Philip Schuyler Papers

Letters Received: Boxes 5-11, January 1776-December 1777

Letters Sent: vols. 4-6, 28 June 1775-1 July 1778

Military Papers: Boxes 49-55, Reports, returns, rolls

Orderly Book Collection

Orderly Book of Brigade commanded by General James Brickett, Massachusetts, 14

August-17 November 1776,

covering the Regiment's entire duty at Ty.

MANUSCRIPTS IN NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY (partial list)

(cited are both catalog number and Bielinski bibliography RWM-)

11 June 1777 Col. Henry Livingston to Lt. Col. Cornelius Van Dyke. From Mount Independence seeking more axes. AU7002:63. RWM #760.

2 July 1777 Maj. Gen. A. St. Clair to Cols. Moses Robinson, Seth Warner, and John Williams. Re threat to Ticonderoga; requests reinforcements. HY12382, vol. I:85. RWM #1821.

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