

heartbroken wife she was the whole cause of all their trouble and that now he was going to leave her." Within a month, Isaac Sarles was found dead in New York City. Only then was Sally free of his abuse. She was then fifty-three and had five living children. The Guions and Browns, who lived nearby, did what they could to help her and her children. Sally finally died in 1857. Her tombstone at St. Matthew's church, Bedford, sums up her inability to escape her husband by identifying her as "Relict of Isaac Sarles." Her lot reminds us of the very real limits of women's power in early nineteenth-century courtship and marriage.

The War of 1812 in Northern New York: General George Izard's Journal of the Chateaugay Campaign

Edited by JOHN C. FREDRIKSEN

Historians may regard the battle as something of a fiasco, but the general's journal indicates, among many other things, that some American units acted in a calmly professional manner. John C. Fredriksen received his doctorate in American history from Providence College.

Few New Yorkers were enthusiastic about the War of 1812 and a great many were strongly opposed to the conflict. It is therefore slightly ironic, though geographically logical, that northern New York was a major theater of military operations—the object of invasions and incursions from Canada and a springboard for American invasions of Canada. In 1812, American forces mounted invasions from Detroit and from western New York. Both failed, as did a half-hearted attempt from Lake Champlain led by General Henry Dearborn.

In the fall of 1813, northern New York was again the staging area for an invasion. This time the project was an ambitious two-pronged campaign that centered upon Montreal, an important supply center in Lower Canada. The plan, authored by Secretary of War John Armstrong, held that once the attenuated British supply lines were severed, all military posts west of Montreal would collapse. Over all direction of the campaign was entrusted to Major General James Wilkinson, the army's senior military commander. He would assemble 6,000 men from western and northern New York and lead

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them from Sackets Harbor, New York, eastward on an amphibious foray down the St. Lawrence River. Concurrently, Major General Wade Hampton would direct a second column, 4,000 strong, up the Champlain Valley into Lower Canada. Armstrong anticipated that both forces would converge near the St. Lawrence River and launch a united drive against Montreal, ending the war.¹ In contrast to the misdirected efforts of 1812, the Americans enacted a strategy that was militarily sound, would have a decisive effect, and was seemingly in their means to accomplish.

The plan did, however, have several inherent flaws: success depended on close coordination between the two pincers as they closed upon their objective from the south and east, but Wilkinson and Hampton were bitter enemies whose personal feuding endangered unity of command. Hampton was so disgusted by his subordinate role that he agreed to serve only on the condition that he receive orders directly from the War Department. Furthermore, neither man comprehended the topographical and climatic conditions arrayed against them. Hampton's division had to traverse miles of swampy woodland that was ably defended by Canadian militia. The lateness of the season also guaranteed that Wilkinson's water-borne transit would be plagued by inclement weather. The biggest obstacle, however, related to logistics. Owing to primitive frontier conditions and reliance on balky civilian contractors, supply shortages were endemic to American operations through the war.² Not surprisingly, the campaign had no sooner commenced than events began to go awry.

Of the two movements, Wilkinson's is by far the better known. He arrived at Sackets Harbor, New York, on August 20, 1813, and began organizing his army. However, the task of cobbling troops together from as far away as the Niagara frontier proved difficult,

1. For details on the lives and careers of Armstrong, Wilkinson, and Hampton: Carl E. Skeen, *John Armstrong, Jr., 1758-1843: A Biography* (Syracuse, 1981); James R. Jacobs, *The Tarnished Warrior* (New York, 1938); Ronald E. Bridwell, "The South's Wealthiest Planter: Wade Hampton I of South Carolina" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1980).

2. For literature on supply consult Erna Risch, *Quartermaster Support for the Army: A History of the Corps, 1775-1939* (Washington, D.C., 1962), and Glenn A. Steppeler, "A Duty Troublesome Beyond Measure": Logistical Considerations in the Canadian War of 1812" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1974).



John Armstrong, left, and James Wilkinson. Portraits, respectively, by Rembrandt Peale and Charles Willson Peale. Courtesy of Independence National Historical Park.

and the general was detained at Sackets Harbor until mid-October. It was not until early November that his immense flotilla negotiated storm-tossed Lake Ontario and entered the St. Lawrence River. His troops were drenched while valuable supplies foundered on the river banks, but several British strong points were successfully by-passed and by November 10 Wilkinson's main force had reached Williamsburg, Ontario, half-way to Montreal.³

A number of British troops and gunboats had shadowed the American advance from Kingston, and Wilkinson, gravely ill, determined to shake off his pursuers before advancing further. On November 11 he ordered Brigadier General John P. Boyd to drive them off.⁴

3. Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior*, 290-96.

4. John Parker Boyd (1764-1830) had a strange career. He served as a mercenary in India from 1789 to about 1808 when he returned to the United States and joined the army. An apology for his conduct of the battle is in *Documents and Facts Relative to Military Operations During the Late War* (n.p., 1816).

The ensuing battle of Crysler's Farm proved a severe tactical check for the poorly-trained Americans. Though opposed by only 800 men under Lieutenant Colonel Joseph W. Morrison, Boyd's force of 2,400 was beaten back by superior discipline and firepower. The Americans withdrew, having sustained 102 killed, 237 wounded and 100 prisoners compared to British losses of 22 killed, 148 wounded, and 9 missing.⁵ Unwilling to admit defeat, Wilkinson persevered as far as Cornwall when he learned that Hampton had turned back. Following a hastily summoned council of war, he ended the campaign, crossed to the American side of the St. Lawrence, and established winter quarters at French Mills, New York (present-day Fort Covington).

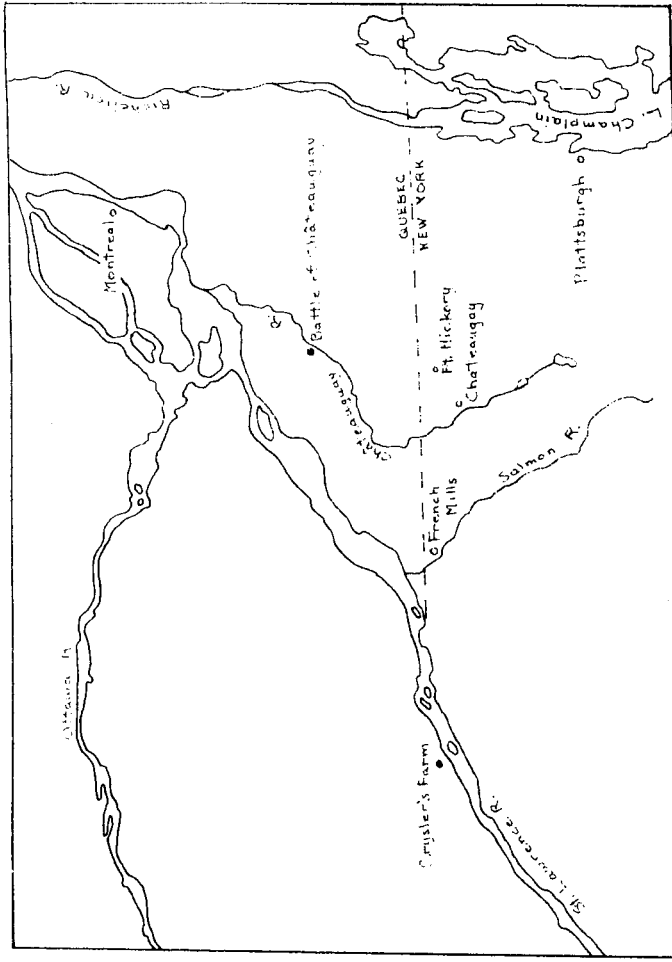
Unbeknownst to Wilkinson, Hampton's own unraveling had occurred seventeen days prior to Crysler's Farm, and in far more humiliating fashion. The general had been stationed at Plattsburgh, New York, training and equipping his 4,000-man division. Though sizable for this theater it was "composed principally of recruits who had been but a short time in the service, and had not been exercised with that rigid discipline so essentially necessary to constitute the soldier."⁶ After several false starts, Hampton put his column in motion on October 21 and crossed the border. The troops endured the hardship of cutting through miles of dense forest while being victualled on half-rations. Indians were also a constant danger. "This is a woodland country," bemoaned one officer, "& requires [us] to be on the alert to keep off the copper skins who are lurking about our camp."⁷ Four days of incessant toil brought the weary Americans in contact with advance elements of the Canadian militia at Chateaugay River. This placed Hampton's division fifteen miles from the St. Lawrence River and fifty miles from its final destination.

Hampton determined to sweep away this resistance, which consisted of 460 men under Canadian Lieutenant Colonel Charles de

5. See William J. Patterson, "A Forgotten Hero in a Forgotten War," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 68 (1990), 7-12.

6. Robert Purdy to James Wilkinson, n.d., *Official Letters of the Military and Naval Officers of the United States During the War with Great Britain*, ed. John Brannan (Washington, D.C., 1823), 275.

7. John G. Blount to Thomas H. Blount, Oct. 7, 1813, *The John Gray Blount Papers*, ed. David T. Morgan (Raleigh, 1953-1982), 4:219.



The New York-Quebec theater of operations. Map by Adele L. Johnson.

Salaberry.⁸ The general, though he enjoyed an eight-to-one manpower advantage, decided against an immediate frontal assault because de Salaberry's men were ensconced in breastworks behind the river. Instead, on the night of October 25 Hampton ordered Col. Robert Purdy's brigade to march through the woods, cross the river, and attack the enemy's rear. Purdy, unfortunately, was misled by guides and became hopelessly entangled in a swamp. Hampton then ordered Brigadier General George Izard's brigade to assault the Canadian position. Canadian sources, which have been accepted

8. Among general studies of the War of 1812 by American authors, the following include accounts of the Battle of Chateaugay: Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: Forgotten Conflict* (Urbana and Chicago, 1989), 145; Reginald Horsman, *The War of 1812* (New York, 1969), 126; John K. Mann, *The War of 1812* (Gainesville, Fla., 1972), 211. For de Salaberry and Chateaugay see Patrick Wohler, *Charles de Salaberry: Soldier of Empire, Defender of Quebec* (Toronto, 1984).

by most writers on the subject, indicate that this assault failed because de Salaberry's troops made so much noise, with shouts and bugle calls, that the Americans concluded that the Canadian force was a very large one and therefore retreated. The army had sustained only a handful of casualties, but Hampton became discouraged and withdrew to Plattsburgh. There he resigned his commission and returned to South Carolina shortly before Wilkinson issued an order for his arrest. Thus concluded Secretary of War Armstrong's "decisive" 1813 campaign, the victim of personal rivalry, logistical shortfalls, and enemy tactical prowess.

The battle of Chateaugay is appreciably enshrined in Canadian history as a virtual David and Goliath encounter. Its memory is perpetuated by several historical studies that utilize the numerous manuscript accounts that have survived. It is thus possible to reconstruct the minutia of de Salaberry's defense down to the placement of individual companies.⁹ South of the border, however, there is much less awareness of the battle or its participants. National pride may partially account for this long-standing lack of interest as, considering the disparity of numbers, Chateaugay was a bigger humiliation for American arms than Crysler's Farm. A more plausible explanation is the glaring lack of primary resources connected with the event. Only one American account was ever published, that of Charles Fairbanks of the New Hampshire Volunteers. He provides a lively rendition of Chateaugay, but because he composed it fifty years after the battle his veracity is suspect. Furthermore, in stark contrast to the movement of Canadian forces, little is known of the American advance from Plattsburgh, the deployment of various regiments in battle, or the conduct of Hampton's withdrawal. It remains a glaring omission in War of 1812 historiography.¹⁰

9. For example, consult Victor J. Suthren, "The Battle of Chateaugay," *Canadian Historic Sites*, Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History no. 11 (Ottawa, 1974), 95-150, and Michelle Guitard, *The Militia of the Battle of Chateaugay: A Social History* (Ottawa, 1983). Older, more biased accounts include William D. Lighthall, *An Account of the Battle of Chateaugay* (Montreal, 1899) and Ernest A. Cruikshank, "From Isle Aux Noir to Chateaugay," *Royal Society of Canada Proceedings* 7 (1914), 129-73.

10. Charles Fairbanks, *The Old Soldier's History, Containing an Account of the Movements of the Northwestern Army During the Years 1813-1814* (Haverhill, N.H., 1861). An excellent overview of strategic considerations is Allan S. Everest, *The War of 1812 in the Champlain Valley* (Syracuse, 1981). John A. Bilow, *Chateaugay, N.Y. and the War of 1812*



George Izard, in the uniform of a U.S. colonel of artillery, 1812. By Charles Bird King. Courtesy of the Arkansas Historical Commission.

Fortunately for historians of this conflict, a first-hand account that touches upon the campaign in all its facets has survived. General George Izard, whose brigade made the frontal assault on the Canadian position, kept a journal for the period October 2, 1813, to January 18, 1814, in which he tells of his journey from Philadelphia to join his unit in Wade Hampton's army at Chateaugay Four Corners (present-day Chateaugay, New York) and then describes the battle, the American withdrawal, winter quarters near Plattsburgh, and his own return to Philadelphia. Izard's journal presents details of the battle and of contextual events that, taken together, create a distinct view of this theater of operations.

Of the various American commanders in the War of 1812, George Izard is perhaps the least appreciated by students of the conflict. Izard was the son of Ralph Izard, a distinguished Revolutionary patriot from South Carolina, and Alice De Lancey, a member of one of New York's most prominent colonial families. He was born in London on October 21, 1776, while his father was on a diplomatic mission. Despite his southern roots, Izard attended King's College (now Columbia) in New York City. In 1794, sponsored by James Monroe, he enrolled at the prestigious *École du Génie* at Metz to study military engineering. Prior to the founding of West Point, he was the only American officer so educated.¹¹ Izard was appointed colonel of the Second Regiment of U.S. Artillery on March 12, 1812, and served in Military District No. 2, with headquarters at New York. A fine administrator, he was promoted to brigadier general on March 12, 1813, and took post with Hampton's division at Plattsburgh.

Izard accompanied the general throughout the Chateaugay campaign and when Hampton resigned in disgrace, Izard was appointed major general to succeed him on January 24, 1814. The thirty-eight year old soldier, having been commissioned two months ahead of noted contemporaries Jacob Brown and Andrew Jackson, thus suddenly found himself the army's senior officer.

(n.p., 1984), does present excerpts from the Izard journal and from the journal of Richard Bishop, but offers no provenance.

11. Gabriel Manigault, "Military Career of General George Izard," *Magazine of American History* 20 (1888), 465-72.

George Izard's tenure as commanding general proved controversial. In May 1814 he returned to Plattsburgh to assume control of the Right Division, which he found in tattered condition. "I will not conceal from you my disappointment," he confided to James Monroe, "on taking command of what was called an army in this quarter. Instead of a force respectable by its numbers and discipline, I found the wretched and ragged remains of what had undergone the fatigues of last winter's deplorable attempt at the enemy's frontier." Fortunately, Izard was a superb organizer and within ten weeks he transformed his charge from a tottering wreck into a highly disciplined force, 5,000 strong. It was an impressive achievement by War of 1812 standards and eclipses the smaller but more famous efforts of Winfield Scott at Buffalo.¹²

Izard fully expected to remain at Plattsburgh to thwart an expected British invasion of New York when Secretary Armstrong ordered his division to the Niagara frontier. The general reluctantly obeyed and entrusted his fortifications to Brigadier General Alexander Macomb.¹³ Following a lengthy and exhaustive march, Izard arrived at Niagara only to find British forces entrenched behind Chippewa River and in control of Lake Ontario. "I confess, Sir, I am embarrassed," he explained to Monroe, now acting secretary of war, "At the head of the most efficient army which the United States have possessed during this war...I can discern no object which can be achieved at this point worthy of the risk which shall attend its attempt."¹⁴ Rather than sacrifice his men in costly frontal assaults, Izard decided to abandon Canada altogether and take up winter quarters at Buffalo. It was an unpopular decision and the beleaguered general tendered his resignation, but the secretary allowed him to be honorably discharged on June 15, 1815.¹⁵ When Monroe

12. George Izard to James Monroe, May 24, 1814, James Monroe papers, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library. See Donald E. Graves, "I have a Handsome Little Army": A Re-examination of Winfield Scott's Camp at Buffalo in 1814, in *War Along the Niagara*, ed. R. Arthur Bowler (Youngstown, N.Y., 1991), 43-52.

13. Alexander Macomb, (1782-1841) became a national hero for his defense of Plattsburgh in September 1814. See Allan S. Everest, *The Military Career of General Alexander Macomb* (Plattsburgh, 1989).

14. George Izard to James Monroe, Oct. 16, 1814, in George Izard, *Official Correspondence with the War Department* (Philadelphia, 1816), 103.

15. A complete review of Izard's military career is in John C. Fredriksen, "Niagara, 1814: The United States Army Quest for Tactical Parity in the War of 1812 and its Legacy" (Ph.D. dissertation, Providence College, 1993).

became president he appointed Izard the second territorial governor of Arkansas. Izard died while serving in that capacity on November 22, 1828.

General Izard's journal confirms a fact of military operations—that for every day spent in battle, a soldier spends a score in preparation, anticipation, recovery, and waiting. When the soldier is a good observer, as Izard was, the result is a trove for historians. Izard meticulously records movements prior to Hampton's offensive, the activities of his brigade at the battle of Chateaugay, and the difficulties of retreat and winter internment. His observations are also a convenient gauge of the hardships and difficulties imposed on military operations in this forgotten theater. Beyond that, Izard presents details of travel in early nineteenth-century New York and of the sluggishness of ordinary communications. His account also suggests the complications created by the tendency of New Yorkers and Canadians, regardless of nationality, to settle on either side of the border. Perhaps equally important from a personal standpoint, this journal also sheds light on the character of Izard himself. Despite a historically-imposed reputation for cautiousness, he emerges as a confident individual, self-assured and ready for action. Izard's determination to remain with the army during the winter, following their shameful abandonment by senior officers, is another good indication of his character. In sum, this is the record of a professional officer dedicated to the service of his country and committed to the well-being of his men. Considering the preponderance of Canadian narratives of the Chateaugay campaign, the journal of George Izard proffers much-needed American perspective to a little-known episode of New York military history.

The original document is in Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives. The provenance of this document is not known. There are no records to explain when or by whom it was deposited at the National Archives. However, some segments relating to the battle are quoted in Gabriel Manigault's biographical sketch of Izard, and John Bilow, historian of the Town of Plattsburgh, presents quotations from the Izard journal in his *Chateaugay, N.Y. and The War of 1812*.¹⁶

Izard's journal is presented here exactly as it was written, with editor's commentary on illegible words or segments enclosed in brackets.

The Journal of General George Izard

1813

Oct. 2 Returned to Farley from Phila. where I finished all my business with Mr. Hopkinton, with whom I left my will and a check for \$1000 to be applied to the use of my family when wanted.

3d. Left Farley in a hired carriage with H. Manigault at 3 o'clock this afternoon—arrived at Princeton 1/2 after 7.¹⁷

4th. At N. York, 7 o'clock—at Mr. Gallop's.

5. Embarked in the steam boat at 5 o'clock p.m.—at Albany late at night of Wednesday the 6th.

7th. Alb[an]y—Horses not arrived. There is a report that a sloop with horses aboard is in Tappan Zee. See Col. Jenkins, Q. M. Genl., of whom received a [illegible] ordered by young Hampton as I requested.¹⁸ Price \$143, very dear—Met. Col. Burn, who is in ill health.¹⁹ He is going to Phila.—Wrote this morning to Mrs. I. by Mr. Moore, the supply commissariat. He asked me if I had heard how his wife did. I answer that she was very ill when I left N. Y. The fact is that I heard she was dead. H. M. with his usual promptness assured him that she was a great deal better.

8th. Horses arrived at last. Bought a pair of small black horses for the handy.²⁰ 5 yrs. old—warranted—price \$200. Horses all sent to

16. Manigault, "Military Career"; John A. Bilow, *Chateaugay, N.Y.*, 37.

17. H. Manigault, whom Izard later refers to as Captain Manigault and as "H.M.," was apparently Gabriel Henry Manigault, Captain, Forty-third Infantry.

18. Young Hampton was probably General Hampton's son Wade, who served as his aide-de-camp.

19. James Burn (1768–1833) was a colonel in the Second U. S. Light Dragoon Regiment. A review of his papers is in John C. Fredriksen, ed., "Colonel James Burn and the War of 1812: The Letters of a South Carolinian in the War of 1812," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 90 (1989), 299–312.

be shod. Draw a check for \$500 on Manhattan Bank to order of Col. Jenkins. Visited late evening by Judge Taylor and his son in law Mr. Cooper, who is C.C.'s uncle. Gen'l Van Rensselaer not at home. Judge T. is a very sensible old gentleman.²¹ Meet Mr. C. Corder who goes in [illegible]

9th. Horses all ready and at last we let off at 9 o'clock—fine country but bad weather. Troy, 6 miles, Pittstown, 10, Checkered Tavern, 13 miles. Here we put up for the night and fare very decently.

10th. To Cambridge, 2 miles; Salem, 13; Hebron, 8; Granville, 9; Poultney, 7 1/2; Castleton, 6; Hubbardton, 7; Meekies—tolerable house—get in late and fare indifferently.

11th. Sudbury, 5—Whiting, 5, Middlebury, 10; this last is a fine thriving village, beautiful scenery—college to which I am informed Mr. Burgess Allison is invested as President. To Vergennes, 12 miles. Painter's—a decent house but much crowded—landlord drunk—a judge who enters into conversation with me, is intelligent, but in the same [illegible] as Boniface.

12th. To Burlington about 1 o'clock p.m. 20 miles. The major with our baggage & Cooper's herd set out the afternoon before us from Albany and kept very well with us the first two days. He arrives this evening.

13th. The A.D.Q.M. Staunton is very awkward but disposed to do well. He engages a sloop to take me, carriage & baggage this morning to Plattsburg. With great difficulty we get everything on board by 10 o.c. This vessel lies 1/4 of a mile from the wharf, an awkward flat or scow with as awkward soldiers to manage it, making two trips with my things. I despatch Capt. M. with Thomas, John and all the horses to go with a guide to cross a ford to Grand Island

20. The "handy," which Izard utilized on his journey to and from the war zone must have been a sturdy lightweight vehicle. The term, which Izard perhaps coined, does not appear in reference sources.

21. "C.C." was apparently Colden D. Cooper of New York, lieutenant, Second Artillery, who was another of Izard's aides. "Gen'l Van Rensselaer" was probably Stephen Van Rensselaer (1764-1839) who was commander of American forces defeated at Queenston Heights in October 1812. Judge John Taylor, a member of the New York senate, and his son-in-law, Charles Cooper, were involved in a widely-publicized physical assault on Solomon Van Rensselaer in Albany in 1807. See Catharina Bonney, *A Legacy of Historical Gleanings* (Albany, 1875), 194, 178-82, 189.

and thence ferry to Cumberland Head. At 10 o.c. go on board the sloop with Cooper & his man Antonine. The wind fair and strong enough to waft us in 2 hours to PL. Some delay about Navy stores, occasioned by a midshipman who chooses to drink his grog at Burlington instead of attending his business, prevents our sailing before 12. The anchor is at last hoisted, the sails set and the cabin filled with women & children, rendered untenable by means of smell when, after a few minutes of pleasant motion the wind dies away and we remain without anything to eat (it being expected we should end our passage before dinner time) till 8 o'clock at night—when the skipper sculls us, C & Me, to land. We walk a short distance in the dark to Green's Inn to which we were directed at 11 and the 2nd door I open is B. Genl Parker's.²² Green's Inn cannot accommodate us but [illegible] who keeps another Inn does. We sup under the auspices of Genl P. and retire to our lodging place. Capt. M. arrives soon afterwards with his charge, safe.

14th. See Genl P.—he is disoriented. Says he has applied to join his brigade and cannot obtain leave. His wife is with him.—I do not see her, though I hint to that purpose. Col. Thomas, Q.M. Genl, provides me with a wagon & pair which with Antonine precedes us. After dinner, 4 o'clock, set out with handy and all our mounted party. To Judge Newcomb's, 6 miles from PL. The Judge is a plain homespun farmer and his house a log one—he is accommodating and we sup and sleep well.

15th. Set out early this morning, get into the new road cut by the troops a few miles from N's. The Judge told me the new one was better but some of the inhabitants, whose interest it was to have it pass by their door, persuaded Genl H. to make the other. This, the new, is assuredly as bad as roads can be. Tired of driving the handy over stumps at the rate of 1 m[ile] an hour, I mount my horse and with H.M., followed by Thomas, ride on to Yarell's, 3 miles short of the H.Q. of Genl H. where we put up for the night. Pass the 10th Infantry on the road. 31 m[iles] from Newcomb's.

16th. Arrive at 8 o'clock a.m. at Chateaugay 4 Corners—wait on Genl H. who offers his table & quarters till I can make my arrange-

22. Thomas Parker of the Vermont militia.

ments. Mr. Cooper makes his appearance, having left the handy with a broken axle tree on the road 12 miles off.

17th. The baggage wagon arrives—send down artificers to mend the handy. Capt. L. has charge of a detachment of flying artillery. My brigade, the 2nd, composed of the 10th, 29th, 30th and 31st Infantry—the latter two consolidated. Lt. Col. Pickens commands the first, Col. Melancthon Smith the 2nd, and Col. Dana the last. H.M. very anxious to be appointed B[rigade] Major—he does not know what he wants and granting his request would be doing him injury and myself a great deal of trouble.

18th. Status quo. Capt. L. wishes to be again with me—I tell him that as I sent him on as my B[rigade] M[ajor] and he had chosen to accept another appt. it was a matter for him to arrange with M. Genl. H.—if the latter had no objection (which he was to ascertain & not I) I would restore him to the place he held. Genl. H. speaks to me on the subject, and I consent.

19th. Send Cooper for the handy with which he returns at 1 o'clock. Capt. Leonard, L. Arty, reports himself and takes the detachment which Lomax had.

20th. Receive Genl H's orders to proceed tomorrow with all the dragoons & light infantry and the 30th Regt. through Smith's road to Spear's on Chateauguay River.

21st. At break of day I march with the squad[ron] of dragoons comm'd by Capt. Hall, 2nd LD, from 4 Corners to Fort Hickory (so nicknamed by the soldiers who call Genl H. Old Hickory), where I find the infantry and move into the woods. Maj. Snelling with half the L[ight] I[nfantry] in front, followed by the 30th and the dragoons. Major Wool with the other half of the Light Corps bring up the rear of the column.²³ Left the ground of last night at 1/4 after 7 o.c. Lieut. Harris to bring up the rear and once at the Outardes River to water the horses. At 1/4 past 4 p.m. form the advanced L.

23. Josiah Snelling (1782-1828) was a veteran of the surrender of Detroit and had recently been exchanged. See Josiah Snelling, *Remarks on General Hull's Surrender of the Northwestern Army* (Detroit, 1825). John Ellis Wool (1784-1869) was a future Mexican War hero who remained in active service until 1863. See Harwood P. Hinton, "The Military Career of John Ellis Wool" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1960).

Infy on the skirt of the wood on the clear ground of the farm called Spear's—everything here is destroyed. The advance finds fires yet burning. Major Snelling is ordered to reconnoiter some houses on the right, down the river. The whole of my detachment form in the cleared ground. The 30th front the river, the dragoons en potence on the right, Wool's L[ight] I[nfantry] in the wood & on our left flank. Snelling on the right in advance of the dragoons. Snelling's reconnoitering party of 1 sub[altern] and 24 men surprises a party of 60 to 80 Indians—2 killed on the spot, a number wounded—the whole fled, some into the wood, others swim the river—probably several will die for their tracks are very bloody. We find 115 blankets, 30 to 40 muskets & fusils, cartridges, powder, 2 kegs of rum, waumpum belts, tobacco pouch, etc. Make our fires in expectation of some skirmishing in the night but all is quiet. Two of our men were slightly wounded in the action with the savages. They are only taken care of and the whole are in fine spirits. My force, 700 L[ight] I[nfantry], 650 30th Infy of Col. Dana—150 L[ight] D[ragoons], Capt. Hall.

22nd. This morning detach Major Snelling to examine the opposite side of the river with 130 men. Major Wool up the river with a company and Capt. Hall with 80 drag[oons] and 1 compy of L. Infy head towards Johnson's to reconnoiter. They all return about 2 o'clock p.m. The 2nd pursued 3 Indians through a wood beyond when they discover from 5 to 600 men in red uniforms in line about 6 miles below. This when commencing our movement across the river, M. Genl Hampton rides up with all his staff—he has come by the road we took yesterday. Soon afterwards the head of the 1st Brig. under Col. Purdy appears on the opposite side. The M. Genl. directs the [crossing?]. H.Q. on the west side of the Chateauguay—sleep there in a barn with my party.

23rd. Build a hut of branches near H.Q. News of M. Genl Proctor's defeat communicated in a printed handbill of Genl Orders by Lt. Genl Prevost, dated Montreal 18th Oct.²⁴ Our artillery & baggage

24. Henry Procter (1763-1822) was one of the most vilified characters of the War of 1812. See Sandor Antal, "Myths and Facts Concerning General Procter," *Ontario History* 79 (1987), 251-62; George Prevost (1767-1816) was an effective but much-criticized governor-general of Canada. See J. McKay Hittman, "Sir George Prevost's Conduct of the Canadian War of 1812," *Canadian Historical Association Report* (1962), 34-43.

(the former 8 six pdrs and 1 5 1/2 [nch] howitzers) close to us. 29th Regt. halts & encamps for the night in the rear of the 1st Brigade.

24th. The 29th Regt. crosses to our side of the river and encamps in the rear of our position—a small detachment of militia volunteers, 24 men, are placed on the bank in a wood in our rear. Wool's picket's cover flanks and rear—rain and wind. I cross to my brigade. In the afternoon an alert—the dragoons, 1st. Brig., Light Infantry and the 4th Regt. proceed to the advance picket on the left bank. They return at sunset.

25th. Pass the last night with my brigade; very wet. Troops under arms from 3 o'clock this morning till half an hour after reveille. The 4th Regt. with the greater part of the 1st Brig, and all the Light Infantry under Col. Purdy cross the river at dusk this evening, and march through my camp on their way down the river.

26th. At reveille my brigade crosses the river to the west bank. The object of the M. Genl is that we should attract the enemy's notice while Purdy gets in their rear. We march down the road on the left bank, below Baird's house; here we halt for a couple of hours; the 10th Regt. leads. Two dragoon horses in the advance are wounded. The 10th Regt is pushed forward. Genl H., on hearing some firing below, asks if I have any objection to proceed with the 10th alone—that the others, which are a mile and a half behind, shall be sent immediately. Of course I go. On the brink of a deep ravine, within a hundred yards of a thick wood, we are met by a volley of musketry. Some confusion in forming the 10th in line, but at last succeed. The action is brisk for about 20 minutes, when our ammunition fails us. Some is procured from a working party in our rear. We advance to the wood. The enemy silenced. The rest of the brig comes up. I advance with the 30th, under Col. Dana, 150 yards into the wood. Halt the 29th, its right on the river. Heavy firing on the opposite side, where the 1st Brig is driven down to the bank. Remain till dark to afford our friends on the other side protection. They are apparently in the greatest confusion. Orders at last arrive to retreat which I do, withdrawing the 30th by files from the right of platoons, through intervals in the 10th; the 29th, with a



Artistic reconstruction of the battle, by Henri Julien. Courtesy of the National Archives of Canada.

company advanced on the opposite side of the ravine keeps its ground. The whole then form column of sections where the ground does not oblige them to file—the 10th leads, followed by the 30th and the 29th in rear of the column. The advance company of the 29th forms the rear guard. The movement is executed and in good order; indeed, better than any they have hitherto shown since I commanded them. 1 private killed, 1 lieutenant and 7 privates wounded of the 10th Regt.

27th. We halted last night on ground which we had passed in the morning, where forage had been observed, and encamped in open

column of battalions in the order of march, the right on the river, the left on the wood. Purdy's detachment returns in the utmost confusion. He had about 1800 men, of which the L. Corps and the 4th Infy, considered the best in our army, were the majority. Several officers made their appearance yesterday, while we were retreating with our brigade, without their swords and hats, after swimming the river. The rout is disgraceful.

28th. M. Genl H. calls a council of the staff and all the chiefs of corps. It is unanimously resolved to retreat *slowly & in good order*. A sergeant and private of the British rangers, called Canadian Fencibles, and the principal bugler of the Canadian Light Infantry deserted after our brush of the 26th. They are all intelligent men and when examined separately corroborate one another's statements. They state the force of the enemy at Baker's to be 3000 men, regulars—that Lt. Genl P. and 2 other general officers, one of them Genl DeWatteville, were with them—that the party which was engaged with the 10th at the ravine consisted of 4 comp[anies] of the Lt. Infy of 80 men each—that they lost 20 killed and 7 wounded. This last statement is highly improbable on account of the disproportion.²⁵

At the council of war this morning, the M. Genl communicated an order from B. Genl Swartwout, Q.M. Genl, to the officers of his department, directing them to provide winter quarters for 10,000 men near the lines.²⁶ No information has reached us of the movements of the grand army. It is believed they are going on to Kingston—but this is merely surmise.

This day we march about 8 miles up the river Ch[ateauguay] and encamp 1 1/2 miles above the two fords where we first crossed. The enemy's light parties hang at respectful distance in our rear and amuse themselves with burning the houses and destroying the bridges & roads which we had repaired.

In the affair of the 26th, a Major Bates of the N. York militia, while speaking across the river to some of the officers of the 1st Brig, is

²⁵ Louis DeWatteville, a ranking British officer of Swiss extraction, was better known for his service along the Niagara frontier. See Joseph W. Whitehorn, *While Washington Burned: The Battle for Fort Erie, 1814* (Baltimore, 1993).

²⁶ Robert Swartwout (1778-1844) was, in civilian life, a noted New York merchant. See A.J. Weise, *The Swartwout Chronicles, 1338-1899* (New York, 1899).

severely wounded. M. Genl H. had been at that spot but a few minutes before.

I should not have omitted in that day's notes that the dragoons under Capt. Hall were close by me when our skirmish took place and that H., asking me if he could afford any assistance, I expressed "none, but by despatching somebody to hasten the regts in our rear—Our left flank said I is uncovered—take a volunteer immediately in our rear and that will answer our purpose." They were cheerfully and evidently longing for an opportunity to take a share in what was going on. That H. is, I am sure, a gallant young fellow.

29th. This morning the wagons, cattle, etc. proceed up the river, leaving of the 1st Brigade only the 4th Regt. About noon an alarm at the rear guard. Capt. Nelson of the 10th, who with some other officers of that Regt, had requested that I would send them out as volunteers the preceding night, had a subaltern and 40 men ready for a little excursion near the spot attacked, and by Genl H., who rode there on the 1st gun, was posted in a barn near our picket. Some Indians and Canadians attacked it with considerable perseverance for one hour and a half. Mounted men are discovered in the background and very probably a considerable force of the enemy was prepared to strike if an opportunity presents itself. The troops in camp are under arms the whole time by order of the M. Genl. At 4 o'clock the savages retire. 1 officer and 4 men wounded on our side. The enemy must have suffered more as the fire from the force was deliberate. Capt. N. is a model & good officer.

30th. At Keaville's that baggage of the brigade (under charge of the 4th Regt.) and 4 six pdrs. proceed up. At 9 o.c. a.m. the 2nd Brigade marches up from our encampment: the left in front for the Long Rapids. Snelling's Lt. Infantry (350 men) 4 six pdrs and 50 artillerymen, and 12 L. Dragoons are attached to my command. General H. goes forward with his staff. Halt at 1/2 past 4 at the Long Rapids, not the least appearance of an enemy, though the rear guard say that they were occasionally in sight but at a very respectful distance.

31st. At 4 o'clock this morning Capt. Leigh of the 10th with a subaltern & 40 men goes up the river till he is within 1/4 of a mile

from the encampment at Elliot's—then takes to the right and returns circuitously to camp—see nothing—no roads, no tracks—last night our horses (which were turned out from want of forage) were uneasy and kept close to the fires. This probably occasioned by the neighborhood of bears and wolves of which there are said to be many in these woods. At 8 o'clock I send forward the artillery under Major McRee and despatch some men with a major to bring away the wheels, axles, and iron work of a wagon we passed on the road yesterday of which the tongue was broken about a mile off.²⁷ The above are just in the cellar of the loghouse where some of our sick are quartered. At 9 the Brig marches—we overtake M. Genl H. at Ormsby Place (a dejected farm). He directs that I leave my wagon & that of the sick (the only two with my B[rigade]) in order to hasten with my command to Chateaugay blockhouse. The M. Genl rides with me till within three miles of the latter, at sunset we arrive and encamp. I find him in Col. Lawes Tavern in very high spirits.

Nov. 1st. Ride with Cols. Purdy, King, Adj. Genl, Atkinson, Insp. Genl, to the 4 Corners to choose ground for hunting the troops.²⁸

2nd. At 11 o'clock the whole march to 4 Corners. The 1st B[rigade] encamps in the wood on Marble River—the right on the latter—the left extends through the woods in one line facing north (4th, 33rd & 34th consol'd and Volunteers, 1st Brig) The 2nd Brigade is on the skirt of a wood. H.Q. at the red tavern.

3rd. The M. Genl receives news of the enemy being stronger than was supposed before Old Chateaugay and of his intention to have surrounded us!! Malecki, father & son, make their appearance this morning and request to be allowed to pass with their families to the U. States. They are frightened out of their wits at the idea of being massacred by the Indians who, they say, burned Baird's house with his wife & child in it the day after we left it. I cannot give credit to so atrocious a story—if it should prove founded no abhorrence is

27. William McRee (1787–1833), a West Point graduate, distinguished himself at the siege of Fort Erie in 1814. See *Memoir of Colonel William McRee, United States Engineers* (Wilmington, N.C., 1854).

28. Henry Atkinson (1782–1842) was best known for his role in the Black Hawk War of 1832. See Roger L. Nichols, *General Henry Atkinson: A Western Military Career* (Norman, Okla., 1965).

equal to what must be inspired by a system so barbarously executed under the eyes in a manner of M. Genl George Prevost and several other officers of the final authority in Canada. The children alluded to I noticed as we advanced—they were remarkably fine—seven in succession from 12 years of age to a baby at the breast. The woman, too, was intelligent and not ill-looking. The husband Baird is a native of Massachusetts—has been 12 years in Canada—was brought to our camp by the dragoons on the 22nd Oct. and was allowed to return the next day to his home with a passport from me, by order of the M. Genl. His wife informed me on the 26th that in less than half an hour after he reached his home he was carried away to Montreal.

4th. Nothing new in camp. The Maleckis with their families (5 or 6 children, their wives) come in—I give them provisions. My A.D.C. Cooper has been indisposed for some weeks with an [illegible]. I have directed him to proceed to Albany or New York for his health. He has a letter from me to my wife and one for his uncle. M. Genl H. also writes by him to Secy of War.

5th. I have hitherto (except the first night of our being here when I had a wretched bed which W. & Mr. Morse insisted on my taking) kept in my tent under the shed belonging to the house in which Genl. H. lives. This morning I remove my baggage to a dog house on the opposite side of the road with which some difficulty is roughly covered in for me. It was intended for Col. Thomas, Q.M. General, who very civilly yielded it for my accommodation. The Light Corps dissolved yesterday and joined their respective Regts.

6th. An officer with a flag arrives at the blockhouse. The M. Genl. sends Col. Atkinson for him in the evening, who brings him to H.Q. He is a bearer of a note for Genl H. from Lt. Genl Prevost and of packets for Col Barclay, Comm[issioner] of Prisoners.²⁹ Some exhilaration at H.Q. We have a printed copy of the British Comm'd in Chief dated 27th Oct. in which the most bombastic flourish is made about the affair of the 26th. The little 10th Regt. was not 250

29. Thomas Henry Barclay (1753–1830), formerly of New York City, was an important loyalist settler of Nova Scotia. See Mary A. Dunn, "The Career of Thomas Barclay" (Ph.D. dissertation, Fordham University, 1974).

strong, was the only corps engaged on our side of the river, completely silenced the enemy before the rest of the Brig came up and the 30th advanced without hearing or seeing any but runaways of the enemy 150 yards into the wood where they had been. They acknowledged to have 3 full companies, 300 men, of Voltigeurs opposed to this. This evening received 2 letters from Mrs. I. and one from Mr. Sites, my cousin, another for A.M. Dates 19th & 23rd Oct., forwarded from Albany by Major Bombford and from Plattsburg by Cooper.³⁰

7th. A number of sick have been sent to Plattsburg since our return hither—but every morning the list increases. B. Genl Parker joins the army this afternoon—not well rec'd by the M. Genl who has ordered him here in consequence of repeated statements from him of apprehended danger on Lake Champlain. Col. M. Smith, 29th Infy, went yesterday to take his place in the local command at PS. Before dismissing the Br. officer (who came with a flag last evening) the M. Genl this morning sent him with Col. Atkinson to inspect the huts of the 1st Brig. At midnight I am sent for by Genl H.—Col. King, Adj., has arrived with a letter from Genl Wilkinson who is going down the St. Lawrence. It is left discretionary for Genl H. to meet on the 9th or 10th the main army at St. Regis, or to take a position in L. Canada—I am clearly of opinion for the latter.

8th. Genl & field officers summoned to H.Q. at 8 o'clock this morning to consult respecting the alternative. The thing is determined but *pro forma* they are asked. Majors Hamilton and Wool are of the council. I am requested to pencil the decision which I do as on a former occasion. We were last night to have moved at 11 o.c. this forenoon. Reveille is the order today for tomorrow. Col. Atkinson goes express to Genl W. this afternoon. Genl H. calls on me and asks me over to his lodgings, where he gives me some details of his southern campaign. He speaks a good deal of H. Lee and not in very respectful terms.³¹ My servant Thomas expressed

30. Voltigeurs were light infantry units of the Canadian army, including the companies led by de Salaberry. George Bombford (1780-1848) was a significant designer of artillery pieces. See Merritt R. Smith, *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology* (Ithaca, 1977).

31. Since Wade Hampton had served in the south during the Revolutionary War and had served in Louisiana before he was ordered to northern New York in 1813, it is not clear whether he was talking about his experiences in the Revolution or in the War of 1812. In any

yesterday his wish to be allowed to go home. He is a good groom, but a drunken rascal, and having succeeded in promising two lads from the Brig to take care of my horses & H. M.'s. I pay him \$14 and shall give him directions to Mr. Cooper to pay him ten \$ more on his delivering a pair of letters which he has of mine at N. York. I ask where his trunk is—he sent it off last Feby by a wagon and I have no doubt has robbed me—but *que faire?*

9th. The 1st Brigade under Genl Parker marches at reveille—followed by all the baggage—at 8 o'clock the 2nd goes on. We reach Pomeroy's after sunset. M. Genl H. sent to Platts. early in the morning.

10th. B. Genl Parker desires my Brig to precede his, as the fatigue of covering the baggage is considerable. I accept his offer. The 1st (4th, 30th) under Major Pinkney was left yesterday to bring up the baggage with which the 10th, 29th and 30th I passed. In the afternoon early I ride on with S.W. to view the ground. The appearance of a farm called Goodspeed's pleases me and I propose to halt my Brig here and let his proceed to Robinson's. It is so done. Many sick left behind—no baggage comes up but mine which being light & with good horses keeps up.

11th. Halt at Goodspeed's all day—a young lad taken from the line as a waiter by H.M. was well appreciably last evening—is taken with violent pains in the stomach last night and dies this day. He drank copiously of cider on the road yesterday.

12th. March to Chazy—arrive at 10 o'clock p.m. 1st Brig in line beyond the village—the 2nd en potence to the south of it—the right on the road to Odeltown. I get a room at a Dr. Raucom's which looks clean & comfortable. I am very much tired—as much in consequence of my interminable indisposition and want of sleep for many nights as of fatigue in our late marches.

13th. Slept for the first time in several weeks with my clothes off and am much refreshed this morning. Genl H's arrival is announced

case, Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee (1756-1818), the father of Robert E. Lee, served with distinction in the Revolutionary War and took part in the Battle of Eutaw Springs (September 1781), as did Wade Hampton. See Charles Royster, *Light Horse Harry Lee and the Legacy of the American Revolution* (New York, 1981).

by his son & A.D.C. who comes to see if they cannot be accommodated here—that is impossible without turning me out. Col. King visits me this morning—the old story—strange!! I sent two small patrols out last night as far as Champlain—they have seen nothing. A sutler with a cart and three barrels of rum is detected going into camp by Capt. Lomax, L. Arty [Lieut. Artillery] who orders him off. He however remains and on his return, the night dark, the later hears the [sutler] counselling with 2 soldiers how to smuggle in the liquor. I order the man under guard and the liquor divided among the whole B[rigade] which is done.

14th. Call on the M. Genl this forenoon with B. Genl Parker. The latter is unduly spoken to as if his going to Robinson's on the 10th was the cause of the baggage being delayed. The B.G. speaks up better than usual. The M. Genl comes to visit me as I am sitting down to dine and accepts my invitation to join us. He is merry this evening. The idea held is a push through [illegible].

15th. Orders this morning to march at 11 o'clock towards Plattsburg. The baggage at 9. It seems letters are received from Genl W. who has halted at French Mills, which attribute that measure to our not joining him and orders us into W[inter] Q[arters]. Very cold—we march with a storm of snow at our backs till dark when we halt in a wood on the bank of L. Champlain in two lines—2nd Brig in front facing the lake—the 1st Brig 80 yards in our rear. The M. Genl visits us as my tent is pitching—strange!—he orders Col. Atkinson to arrest Col. Purdy which is done!!! The night stormy and very cold—the smoke is suffocating.

16th. Field officers assembled at my tent by Genl. H. who rides in from Plattsburg to advise about the place for hunting. He is determined to halt today where we are to select the sick & feeble to be sent to Burlington and to commence hutting tomorrow. Somebody was so drunk last night as to fall off his chair and remain unable to rise. I ride in to PS where H. has secured a room for me at Skinner's Farm.

17th. The troops march to a wood on the bank of the lake about a mile & a half from Plattsburg where they are to build huts—I accompany them to the ground, where I meet Genl H. I am much indisposed.

18th. Yesterday I got into lodgings at Mr. Wait's where I have a parlour below, and bedrooms for myself & Capt. Manigault, with the use of a kitchen—the whole decent at \$1.25 per day. I have a violent sore throat & headache.

Dec. 5. I have been prevented by illness from continuing my journal. Genl H. staid a few days after the date of the last article of this journal—saw me frequently—saw how ill I was and went off unexpectedly to Burlington, from whence I rec'd a letter from him of the 24th Nov. devolving on me the command of the army. B. Genl Parker having a leave of absence. Before going away he granted leave of absence to almost every efficient officer of the division. I was under necessity of ordering Col. Purdy, 4th Infy, to assume command, being myself incapable of exercising it. Some days afterward Col. Pinkney, Genl Wilkinson's aide, arrived with an order for the arrest of Genl H. Not finding him & understanding that he had gone to Albany, he despaired of accosting him & therefore forwarded the arrest to the Ch. of the Insp. Genl. Office, Washington, and returned himself to Malone, where lies Genl Wilkinson very ill. Genls Lewis, Boyd and Porter, with many others pass through Plattsburg on their way home. Col. Scott among others.³² By Capt. Archer, 2nd Arty. I write to Mrs. I. as I had done some days before by Col. Swift.³³ Yesterday 6 English row galleys, profiting of the calm, row up to Cumberland Head, land 300 men and burn an old barn in which were a couple of kegs of whiskey and three kegs of damaged cartridges. They then retire—Capt. MacDonough pursues as fast as sweeps can carry him along but with every disadvantage, our row galleys having unfortunately been

32. Izard refers to: Morgan Lewis (1754–1844), Revolutionary War veteran and former governor of New York, who served on the Niagara frontier and then commanded American forces in the New York City area; Moses Porter (1756–1822), another Revolutionary War veteran and senior American artilleryist, known by the nickname "Old Blowhard"; Winfield Scott (1786–1866), who would soon be promoted to Brigadier General. A hero of this war, Scott was perhaps the most influential American soldier of the nineteenth century. See Julia Delafield, *Biographies of Francis Lewis and Morgan Lewis* (New York, 1877); Alfred Putnam, "General Moses Porter," *Danvers Historical Society Collections* 15 (1927), 11–25. There is no modern biography of Scott, but a recent account of his activities in the War of 1812 is Donald E. Graves, *The Battle of Lumdy's Lane* (Baltimore, 1993).

33. Joseph Gardner Swift, (1783–1865), was one of two members of the first graduating class at West Point and the first graduate to reach the rank of general. The army's chief engineer, he became a brigadier general in February 1814. See Harrison Ellery, ed., *The Memoirs of General Joseph Gardner Swift* (Worcester, Mass., 1890).

unmanned yesterday afternoon.³⁴ Today, though far from well & very weak, I resume the command. This evening receive a letter from Mrs. [zard] brought by Col. Burn from Philad. & forwarded from Albany, Capt. McSheery, 5th Infy, being ordered to Utica.

6th. Nothing new.

7th. I hear nothing from B. Genl Swartwout, who went over to Burlington on the 5th in the morning. Col. Thomas, as appears from a letter I had from Capt. Staunton, Vols, N. Y. at Burlington, is gone to Washington. I wrote last evening to M. Genl Wilkinson by an express to go early this morning. His [illegible] will probably relieve me from some of the embarrassments of my situation.

31st. I have been very ill for the last three weeks, confined to my bed and delirious part of the time. The ignorance of the surgeons who attended me did me more harm and exposed me to more danger than the disease itself. Genl W. obligingly sent Dr. Bull, Head Surgeon, his own physician, who staid two days with me & whose good advice has in a great measure restored me. I am yet very weak—my throat at times very sore. I intended to wait for snow in order to travel more easily to the Southland but the weather, after promising snow for several days, seems to be settled clear—I shall unless it changes between this & the day after tomorrow, set out in my little carriage. I shall be more exposed to fatigue but I must govern myself accordingly. As long as I could attend at all to business I retained the command of the division. On the _____ I turned it over to Col. Purdy; resumed it on the 5th & again gave it over on _____.

1814 January 4th. At 12 o'clock at noon I hung thermometer on the outside of one of the north windows of my room at Plattsburg. After a few minutes I took it in. The mercury stood at 4° of fahrenheit, 11° below 0 of Reaumur.³⁵ Yesterday at 3 p.m. it was 1° lower.

34. Thomas Macdonough (1783-1825) was commander of American naval forces on Lake Champlain. See Edward K. Eckert, "Thomas Macdonough: Architect of a Frontier Navy," in *Command Under Sail*, ed. James G. Bradford (Annapolis, 1984), 147-72.

35. René Réaumur (1683-1757) created a thermometer that divided the distance between freezing and boiling points into eighty degrees. The Réaumur scale was in use in France until 1789.

5th. Left Plattsburg in W. Anderson the contractor's carriage at 1 o'clock p.m.—arrived at Anderson's Tavern, Sable River (17 miles) a little below sunset with Capt. Lomax. Capt. Manigault arrived at the same place about 7 o'clock with my sleigh—the handy body placed on runners.

6th. Lomax returns after breakfast with A's carriage (I gave the coachman \$5) and we set out at 10 o.c. in the sleigh with the black ponies. M. and his servant Alex Lacoupe of the 29th Regt. in the sleigh and Vitric or Macho (M's purchase in Vermont for \$60). Tolerable snow for the first 16 or 17 miles; overset without hurting anybody. Arrive at Elizabethtown. Newell's Inn after sunset. The last two or three miles very bad sleighing.

17 miles from Plattsburg to Anderson's

21 " from Anderson's to Elizabethtown

Very comfortable at Anderson's

7th. Every appearance of snow and we determine to lye-by [sic] for the day. It snows little, tolerable fare—indeed good.

8th. To Potter's, 24 miles—bad enough!

9th. To Warner's, 33 m[iles]—better arranged for summer than winter—bedroom without fireplace. Good fare enough.

10th. To Saratoga Springs, 33 m[iles]. Holmes' Columbia Hotel—comfortable.

11th. Troy, Seymour's, 31 m[iles]—good. Lt. Col. Young of the 29th Regt. and Major Wool call in the evening. Tell the latter that I shall endeavor to provide an order for him to collect the accts. in the state of New York. The former has received an order from Col. Larned to remain on the recruiting service. He does not dislike this, as it will enable him to remain with his family. He argues the point whether or not he is bound to obey an officer of superior rank, not withstanding previous orders from an officer commanding the whole. I believe I have convinced him that Genl Wilkinson is the only authority in District No. 9. If I have not, he must take the consequences.

12th. To harbor on ice down the North River—pass Albany without stopping.

13th. Sleighing all over. Leave my sleigh with Mr. Joseph Pierce, who gives me a receipt for it & harness and hire a carriage & pair to Poughkeepsie for \$16. The black ponies led by Alex, Harry's servant, follow. 45 miles, Pepon's Inn, good.

14th. Poughkeepsie. Hire a carriage for \$35 to N. York, arrive at Peck's Hill—Dean's, a very good inn.

15th. Arrive at New York an hour after dark. Stop at Mrs. Gallop's door, her house is completely full, and we drive to the City Hotel where we find Major Tallmadge who accommodates us with his parlour and is extremely obliging and polite. My A.D.C. Cooper stays with him—has been very ill.

16th. Snows very hard all day which detains me in New York. In the evening am visited by Capt. Dyson, 1st Arty and Col. Wadsworth, Ordnance Dept., who lodge in the room.³⁶

17th. Proceeded to Princeton in a comfortable carriage & pair hired by Sanford for \$60. We pay turnpikes & he all other expenses—at Tokett's.

18th. Arrive at 4 o'clock at Philad.—myself greatly benefitted by the journey which has been infinitely more pleasant than I expected and throughout which I experienced little inconvenience and really had accommodation but one night—at Potter's. Found my wife and children well in 9th Street.

³⁶. Decius Wadsworth (1768–1821) was another influential ordnance officer. See C. Wingate Reed, "Decius Wadsworth, First Chief of Ordnance, U.S. Army, 1812–1821," *Army Ordnance* 24 (1943), 113–16.

Historickal Crotchets

Historical sources abound in brief glimpses of men and women at their most curious. Too ephemeral to warrant analysis, or, in the usual course of things, to justify publication, these glimpses do dramatize various human qualities and are of at least passing interest to students of history. We invite our readers to submit such items, as excerpted from newspapers, letters, diaries, and other original sources. The items should relate, directly or indirectly, to the New York State scene, should be relatively brief, and in the spirit of this venture. Contributors will receive a personalized scroll, in which they are accorded the approbation of King George III.

VIEWS OF THE THIRD OLDEST PROFESSION

By the 1840s some people thought of teachers as professionals. Many others, including local school boards, had a lesser opinion. But all seemed to agree that teachers must demonstrate loftier public behavior than, say, lawyers and doctors. This is revealed in the following documents: A letter written in 1844 by Samuel Young, Superintendent of Common Schools for the State of New York, to Flavel B. Sprague, a Fulton County teacher, and a 1910 teacher's contract created by school officials of the Town of Cohecton, Sullivan County. The documents also suggest loftier expectations for women than for men.

AMUSEMENTS

Albany, June 20, 1844

Dear Sir—I have received yours of the 14th inst., in which you state, that "a few teachers in this county are in the practice of attending balls, playing at cards and checkers and using alcoholic drinks as a beverage;" that you have invariably condemned such practices, and as a consequence are at issue with those teachers. And you ask my opinion on this subject.

If, instead of "playing at cards and checkers," you had said they were in the practice of gambling; and in lieu of "using alcoholic drinks as a beverage," were in the practice of becoming inebriated or disguised with liquor, I should have had no hesitation in advising you, that such indi-