"Flags, Uniforms, Currency & Arms of the Revolution," by Henry A. Ogden (1856–1936). Ogden was a prolific American illustrator, especially of military and historical subjects. He was commissioned by the U.S. Army to illustrate Uniforms of the United States Army, *published 1890–1907. Courtesy collection of Ron Toelke.*

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Introduction

Revolutionary War veteran Nicholas Veeder welcomes visitors to his museum in Scotia, New York. In the 1850s, Veeder created "The Old Fort," a now-vanished museum, but a place of deep memory. There he assembled a wonderful artifact collection to recall comrades who had responded repeatedly with him to all the "warnings" to defend the settlements of neighbors in a 50-mile radius. Veeder told his collection's stories as a veteran alarmed about another approaching civil war. In your own imagining, visit Halcyon Street and listen closely to the stories coming from Veeder's lost museum. Courtesy Schenectady County Historical Society.

For more than 400 years, three strategic waterways have triangulated present-day New York State, becoming "waterways of war" as European powers, native nations, and immigrant settlers all sought to control the future of North America. The Saint Lawrence River, Mohawk River and the Hudson River-Lake George-Lake Champlain chain provided navigable conduits leading deep into the continent.

This guidebook focuses on the waterway that links Quebec City and Montreal to Albany and New York City. By the 1770s that route had become well-lined with established forts, and depots for food supplies and modern military materiel. As the revolutionary tensions between Britain and her colonies increased, leaders on both sides knew well the strategic importance of that north-south waterway. British hopes to quash the incipient revolution depended on control of this waterway, with the goal of cutting off New England, the seedbed of revolution, from the rest of the continent. Existing British control of Quebec and Montreal at the northern end — and seizure of New York City at the southern end — would surely permit a quick mop-up of this minor insurrection!

The schoolbook story of the American Revolution opens with a series of dramatic exclamation points in New York State, highlighted in major events launching the war: The capture of Fort Ticonderoga in 1775 ("America's first victory"); Benedict Arnold's construction of the first American navy on Lake Champlain which succeeded only through failure in 1776; the improbable American defense of Fort Stanwix and the British surrender at Saratoga in 1777 ("Turning Point of the Revolution"), which brought France decisively to our side as an ally.

This is the third in a series of travelers' guidebooks to the military history of New York's "Waterways of War." The first guidebook is to the Seven Years' War / French & Indian War in America, *Waterways of War: The Struggle for Empire, 1754–1763*. The second is *Waterways of War: The War of 1812*. Now we jump in between the two earlier guidebooks to capture the stories and people of the American Revolution in northern New York along the "Turning Point Trail" from the invasion of Canada to climax at the battles of Saratoga. Each of these three world wars were fought by men raised in just a couple of back-to-back generations—sometimes the same men fighting on the same battlefields, but now on different sides. This is another guidebook to their stories and to the sites they fought for, with a particular focus on 1775–1777.

After those early years of the Revolution, the locus of major actions in the war shifted southward to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the southern colonies. Yet war in the north was not over. Especially in New York, it became widely disparate, deeply divisive, and small-scale. From Westchester County, to the Mohawk Valley, to the foothills of the Adirondacks, the "Revolution" became a vicious, relentless, unforgiving civil war among neighbors. The war became such a fragmented story that there are few well-preserved sites that capture that long, grim, ending chapter of the Revolution in New York.

Days after Burgoyne surrendered his British army at Saratoga, teenager Nicholas Veeder (1761–1862) from Schenectady County joined the New York militia to hold off the likely-to-be-renewed British assault southward. He served the final four years of the war repeatedly standing guard for perilous weeks at forgotten crossroads hamlets across the region; defending his neighbors against a major vicious British raid in 1780; attempting the next year to capture a nearby neighbor and the former hero of the 1776 naval battle at Valcour, now a notorious spy. Today there is no monument, no historic site commemorating his service. But 150 years ago, folks still ***did*** try to commemorate that last chapter of the war—paying tribute to both the Revolutionary civil war (in the midst of a new one!) and to survivors of that earlier war.

This is the world I grew up in. These are the people and the stories that populated my childhood imagination. More importantly, drive the Lakes to Locks Passage byway. Visit ***today's*** historic sites that await you, eager to tell their stories. Cherish our founders' commitment to Liberty and Independence. Fill your own imaginations with history and Freedom. Keep the faith!

Nicholas Westbrook
Director Emeritus, Fort Ticonderoga
December, 2016

The Turning Point Trail Site Locations

1. **Clinton County Historical Association and Museum**
www.clintoncountyhistorical.org

2. **Lake Champlain Maritime Museum**
www.lcmm.org

3. **Valcour Island Birding Conservation Area**

4. **Willsboro Heritage Museum**

5. **Crown Point State Historic Site**
nysparks.com/historic-sites/34/details.aspx

6. **Chimney Point State Park**
historicsites.vermont.gov/directory/chimney_point

7. **Fort Ticonderoga**
Mount Hope
Mount Defiance
www.fortticonderoga.org

8. **Mount Independence National Historic Landmark**
historicsites.vermont.gov/directory/mount_independence

9. **Hubbardton Battlefield State Historic Site**
historicsites.vermont.gov/directory/hubbardton

10. **Skenesborough Museum**
www.skenesborough.com/skenesborough-museum

11. **Fort Ann Historical Society at the Old Stone House Library**

12. **Old Fort House Museum**
www.oldforthousemuseum.com

13. **Hudson Crossing Park**
www.hudsoncrossingpark.org

14. **Saratoga National Historical Park**
Saratoga Battlefield
Saratoga Monument
Saratoga Surrender Site
Schuyler House
Victory Woods
www.nps.gov/sara

15. **New York State Military Museum and Veterans Research Center**
dmna.ny.gov/historic/mil-hist.htm

16. **The Van Schaick Mansion Project**
www.vanschaickmansion.org

17. **Schuyler Mansion Historic Site**
nysparks.com/historic-sites/33/details.aspx

18. **Bennington Battlefield State Historic Site**
nysparks.com/historic-sites/12/details.aspx

19. **Bennington Museum**
www.benningtonmuseum.org

20. **Bennington Battle Monument**
www.benningtonbattlemonument.com

www.lakestolocks.org

LAKES TO LOCKS
PASSAGE

THE GREAT NORTHEAST JOURNEY

Lakes to Locks Passage, Inc. is a nonprofit organization with the mission and vision to stimulate community revitalization and build a commitment to the stewardship of the region's rich historic, cultural, recreational and natural resources.

Lakes to Locks Passage, P.O. Box 65, Crown Point, NY 12928
518-597-9660 | www.lakestolocks.org | info@lakestolocks.org

Lakes to Locks Passage

Lakes to Locks Passage takes you through a spectacular landscape laden with history. Find your way through four story-filled regions that connect New York's historic water of Lake Champlain and Lake George with the Champlain Canal and Hudson River to the south and the Chambly Canal to the Richelieu and St. Lawrence Rivers of Quebec to the north. Streams of history flow through these valleys, reflecting stories that continue to unfold.

Conflict and Settlement

When Europeans came to these valleys intent on claiming the territory, the waterway now known as Lakes to Locks Passage provided the travel route. Samuel de Champlain explored and claimed Lake Champlain for France in 1609. This book is the third in a series of "Waterways of War" regional guidebooks exploring the various battles fought for control of this region.

As the French traveled down from Quebec, during the next 150 years they built forts to stake their claims to the new lands along the Richelieu River and northern Lake Champlain. Simultaneously, the English built forts as they moved north along the upper Hudson River, Lake George and the southern reaches of Lake Champlain. Fur traders and settlers streamed into the new country and established communities along the river, waterfalls, and lakeshore harbors. The distinctive French and English influence of these communities is still evident today.

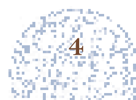
Lake Champlain became the battleground of the European superpowers, and later between the Americans and British Canada. The final battle played out in Plattsburgh Bay on September 11, 1814. That American victory led to the treaty that established the boundary between the United States and Canada, and more than two hundred years of peace and prosperity between the two countries. ■

Cannons at the Saratoga National Historic Park overlook the Hudson River.

Visitors enjoy the view on Buck Mountain high above Lake George.

Glorious autumn foliage along a feeder to the Champlain Canal.

Visitors approach the Neilson House located at the Saratoga National Historic Park.



"Ever Vigilant," photo by Deborah Austin. Standing in Fort Ticonderoga's gateway portal, a reenactor portrays an American soldier or militiaman, c.1777

The American Revolution 1775–1783

The summer of 1776 was not going well for the American Continental Army. With the departure of British troops to Nova Scotia from Boston in March, General George Washington had recognized that New York would likely become the next target. The strategic advantages of its deep harbors and its location at the mouth of the Hudson River were an open invitation to a British armed force determined to strike a decisive blow against the revolutionary insurrection.

Early April had seen the American army, ragtail "rabble in arms" that it was, pack up and move south to New York along what is now the Interstate-95 corridor, where Washington, in anticipation of a naval assault, sought to occupy two defensive positions – one on the island of Manhattan; the other on the Heights of Brooklyn.

In June, General William Howe sailed back with his army from Halifax to the protective waters behind Sandy Hook, a peninsula projecting into Lower New York Bay, to await the arrival from England of his brother Admiral Richard Howe and his convoy of reinforcements. July and August saw tensions steadily mount at the mouth of the Hudson as the two armies prepared for what would become, in terms of numbers of combatants, the single largest battle of the war. How had the rupture between the mother country and her rebellious colonial children come to such a critical impasse?

By 1774, relations between Britain and its American colonies had deteriorated to the point where armed conflict seemed inevitable. A decade of dissension had spiraled into an uncompromising position on both sides.

The catalogue of grievances began soon after the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 marking England's triumph over France in the French and Indian War. Colonists looking to move into western areas previously unavailable because of the French threat found themselves stymied by England's prohibition of moving beyond the crest of the Appalachians by the Proclamation of 1763. The Sugar Act of 1764, the first of the revenue measures imposed by the British Parliament was designed to replenish a treasury depleted by the expenses incurred in fighting the French. This perceived grievance was compounded by the appearance the following year of the Stamp Act, a tax on all things paper — deeds, wills, newspapers, calendars… even playing cards — which provoked riots and defiant protests. Parliamentary attempts, not only designed to raise money, but to keep increasingly restless colonists in line, continued to appear with disconcerting regularity.

The Stamp Act denounced, *from Benson Lossing's* History of the United States of America, *1913. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

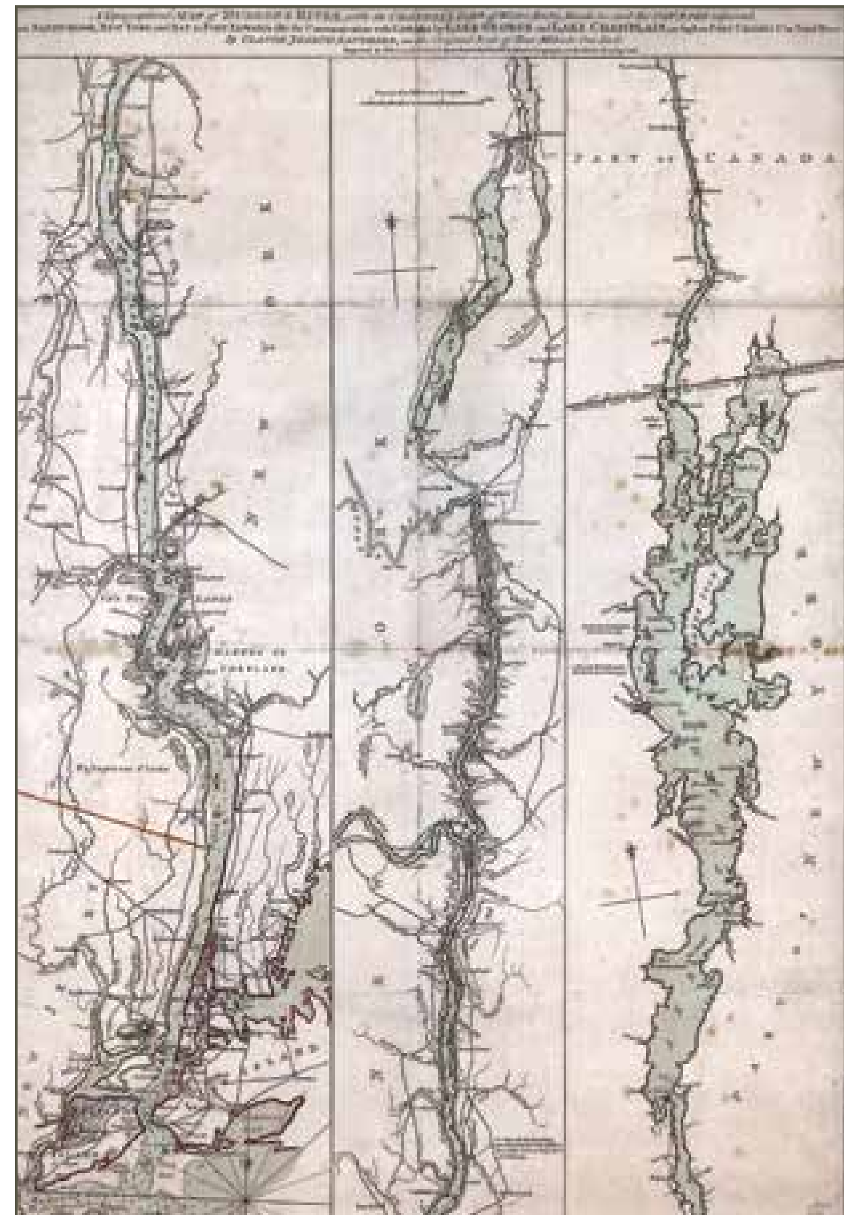
The Quartering Act of 1765 required colonists to provide housing and supplies for British troops. The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, a conciliatory gesture rendered hollow by the accompanying Declaratory Act, in which Parliament asserted its legislative authority in all matters related to the colonies, reflecting George III's determination to bring the colonies to heel. The Townshend Revenue Act in 1767 — imposing duties on tea, lead, glass, paper, and paint — also punished the colonies' resistance by creating an American Board of Customs Commissioners and suspending the Massachusetts Assembly until it complied with the Quartering Act. These measures only hardened the colonists' resolve. "No taxation without representation" became the rallying cry. As unrest escalated, most notably in Massachusetts, Parliament responded by sending warships and two regiments of English troops to Boston to maintain order. Not surprisingly, this perceived provocation eventually resulted two years later in what became known as the Boston Massacre, when a crowd taunting a detachment of British soldiers and pelting it with snowballs was fired upon, resulting in five deaths. The inevitable slide toward war continued.

More confrontations and violent protests followed, among them the boarding and burning of His Majesty's revenue schooner *Gaspée* which had run aground in Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island in 1772, and the seizure and deep-sixing into Boston Harbor of a valuable shipment of tea in 1773. Identifying the Northeast in general, and Boston in particular, as the center of resistance, Parliament responded with a series of five separate pieces of legislation

The Bloody Massacre perpetrated in King Street, Boston on March 5, 1770, by a party of the 29th Reg[t], *by Paul Revere. The print was copied by Revere from a design by Henry Pelham for an engraving eventually published under the title "The Fruits of Arbitrary Power, or the Bloody Massacre." Revere's print appeared on or about March 28, 1770.*

The "Boston Tea Party," from the History of North America, *published in London, 1789.*

A map of the provinces of New-York and New-Yersey [Jersey], with a part of Pennsylvania and the Province of Quebec *(detail). Claude Joseph Sauthier and Matthäus Albrecht Lotter, published in Augsburg (Bavaria), 1777. Courtesy Library of Congress.*



A topographical map of Hudsons River, with the channels depth of water, rocks, shoals &c. and the country adjacent, from Sandy-Hook, New York and bay to Fort Edward, also the communication with Canada by Lake George and Lake Champlain, as high as Fort Chambly on Sorel River. 1776*. Claude Joseph Sauthier and William Faden, published in London, 1777. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

in 1774 intended to punish the malcontents and to assume direct control of the Massachusetts government. The worst of these "Intolerable Acts," as they were called by the colonists, closed the port of Boston to all commerce and turned over to royal officials the administration of government at all levels. In its determination to impose its will on the American colonies, Parliament thus backed the colonists into a corner and set the stage for the events of April, 1775, when the first shots between British regulars and American rebels were exchanged at Lexington and Concord.

After failing in their mission to capture arms and ammunition stored at Concord, the British fell back on Boston, running a gauntlet of musket fire from colonial militia for the entire 16-mile trek. With militia streaming in from all over the East, the British found themselves penned up and under siege in the city, where they would remain for the next 11 months, surrounded by forces coming together under the command of George Washington, who arrived in early July, having been commissioned by the Continental Congress on June 15, 1775 as commander of the newly created Continental Army.

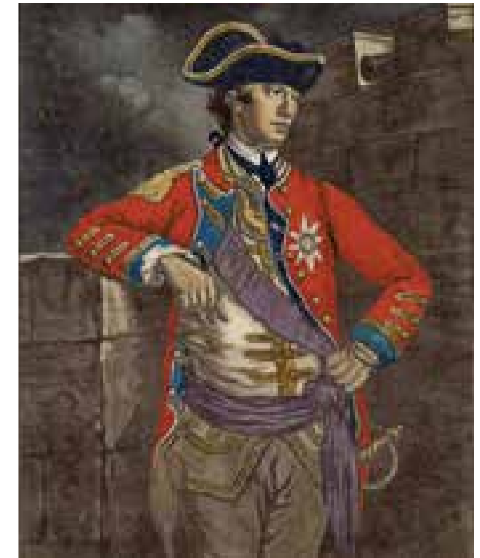
Even then, the primary goal of the rebels was to address their grievances, not outright separation from England. The desire for independence would gradually take hold, but would not become the defining characteristic of the Revolution until Congress' official declaration on July 2, 1776 (published July 4, 1776). In the meantime, the opposing armies jockeyed for position.

The Battle of Lexington April 1775 / A. Doolitle [Doolittle] sculpt. *One of a series of prints of the events by Amos Doolittle (1754–1832). Courtesy Library of Congress.*

By the time of Washington's arrival, other consequential military activity had already occurred. Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold had captured Fort Ticonderoga on May 10, and, with Arnold's subsequent raid on St. John's, taken control of Lake Champlain. Efforts by both sides to occupy the Charlestown peninsula in Boston Harbor had resulted on June 17 in a confrontation that became the Battle of Bunker Hill, a tactical victory for the British, but one which came at an unacceptably high cost. Although the American rebels had ultimately pulled back, they had demonstrated that they could hold their own against British regulars in open combat, inflicting sizable casualties. The British command would, to their detriment, proceed much more cautiously in the future.

With the British in Boston, the remainder of 1775 was taken up militarily with Henry Knox's departure for Lake Champlain to retrieve the ordnance captured in the seizure of those forts and with the launching of the ill-fated two-pronged invasion of Canada — Richard Montgomery's siege of St. John's followed by his move on Montreal and Benedict Arnold's expedition up the Kennebec River and through the wilds of Maine to strike Quebec.

The year 1776 began with the fallout from the collapsed Canadian venture — the death of Montgomery, the wounding of Arnold, and the northern army's flight to a temporary haven at Ticonderoga. On January 25, Henry Knox made a triumphant return to Boston of with 60 tons of artillery after a daunting early winter trek of 300 miles over snow covered terrain and frozen rivers and lakes. On the night of March 4, those captured cannons would be hauled to the top of the strategically definitive, but inexplicably unoccupied, Dorchester Heights overlooking the city of Boston and its harbor. Bowing to the inevitable, General Howe ordered the evacuation of all British forces to Halifax, which took place on March 17th. With the disengagement at Boston, the focus now shifted to New York and the preparations for a major battle for its control.



The HonBLE SR. WM. Howe, Knight of the Bath and Commander of His Majesty's Forces in America, *mezzotint by John Morris, 1777.*

As the summer of 1776 wore on, the British built up an overwhelming force numbering 32,000 in the waters of New York Harbor, poised to strike in force. Not sure where to expect a British landing, Washington divided his army between Manhattan, home to a sizable Loyalist population, and Long Island, where it was understood that the Heights of Brooklyn would play a large

The Delaware Regiment at the Battle of Long Island. August 27, 1776. *The Delaware Regiment was one of the best-led and best-equipped units in Washington's army, and served throughout the Revolution in both northern and southern campaigns. Painting by Domenick D'Andrea for the United States National Guard.*

A plan of the city and environs of New York in North America, *London, 1776. Amost all of Manhattan Island was still a countryside of fields and forest, dotted with small villages north of the city, which was concentrated on the southern tip of the island. Today's Hudson River was known then as the North River. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

The British Army of the American Revolution, 1775–1783

During the many 18th century wars with France — both in Europe and in America — the British army, though small by European standards, became one of the most formidable military forces in the world.

The British army relied on volunteers to fill the ranks — almost always from the very lowest classes of society. Recruiters roamed throughout the country, using every trick or promise necessary to entice young men to "take the King's shilling" — the daily pay for a soldier. Soldiers led a hard and difficult life. Pay was poor — most pay was deducted for food and clothing, leaving very little for personal use. Discipline was harsh and promotion was limited to the non-commissioned ranks — corporal and sergeant. Despite these conditions, the average British soldier was hardy, persistent, and courageous.

Great Britain was a society of class division, and officers in the army came almost exclusively from the gentry and nobility. A commission as an officer in the army was "purchased" from a regiment (often the personal property of the colonel in command) — the higher the rank and more prestigious the regiment, the more the commission cost. A commission became the personal property of the purchaser, entitling the holder to the pay and privileges of his rank, and could be sold at any time back to the regiment or to another person.

Army officers learned their trade on the job. Only artillery and engineer officers had formal training. Peacetime promotion was by purchase, but in war officers were sometimes promoted to fill a vacancy. A regiment might have company officers who were a mix of inexperienced teenagers and much older men who knew their business but could not afford to purchase higher rank. As "gentlemen," officers lived a very different life than that of their men — they had money to spend, and could amuse themselves as they wished. Officers were rarely punished, even when neglectful of their military duties.

The British Army was organized in regiments of around 450 men. A typical infantry regiment was divided into ten companies of about 40 to 50 men (sometimes more), each commanded by a captain, with one or more lieutenants as assistants. The majority of the men— the eight battalion companies — were known as "hat men," since they wore the black military cocked hat. The light infantry company and the grenadier company were the "flank" companies, elite units forming on the left and right of the regiment when drawn up in line of battle or on parade.

The grenadiers were generally bigger men, wearing a tall bearskin fur cap, with special distinctions on their red uniform coats. The light infantry wore a shorter coat and a distinctive cap modeled after those worn by the light cavalry. On campaign, it was customary to take the light and grenadier companies from several regiments and form independent battalions of each type.

Each regiment's uniform coat had distinctive colored lapels, cuffs (facings), buttons, and decorative lace. Two flags or "colours" helped identify the regiment in battle and served as a rallying point for the soldiers. Loss of colours in battle was considered a terrible disgrace.

RT

A British grenadier of the 57th Regiment of Foot, painting by Don Troiani. Courtesy National Park Service.

role in whatever fighting took place.

On August 22, 1776, 15,000 British troops and 40 pieces of artillery came ashore at Gravesend Bay on the southwestern corner of Long Island. Over the next few days the numbers increased to 20,000, and on the night of August 26, Howe exploited the unguarded Jamaica pass, slipping the main body of his troops behind American lines. Caught completely by surprise on August 27, the rebels, after six hours of desperate fighting, suffered a convincing defeat. Had Howe pressed his advantage that afternoon, he might have inflicted a mortal blow to the American cause. He did not.

Heavy rains kept the British at bay for the next two days, and on the night of August 29, Washington escaped across the East River, moving 9,000 men under the cover of darkness and a fortuitous early morning heavy fog to relative safety on Manhattan.

An argument can be made for the fact that the Battle of Long Island was as definitive as the Battle of Saratoga in determining the future course of the war. Britain had the means and the opportunity to deal the revolutionary forces a death blow. Howe's failure to do so allowed Washington to fall back into the defensive, hit-and-run posture he would adopt for the remainder of the war. Permitted to slip away relatively intact from New York, Washington was able to run, dodge, harass, and avoid committing his forces to a final pitched battle against what was considered the finest military machine in the world.

Autumn 1776 saw the two armies engaged in a deadly cat-and-mouse game — the British capturing New York City with the September 15 invasion at Kip's Bay; the Americans protecting their foothold on Manhattan in the battle of Harlem Heights on the 16th. Threatened with being trapped on the island of Manhattan, Washington moved north to Westchester, where he was beaten at White Plains on the 28th of October. While Washington then retreated southward, the American garrison at Fort Washington was overwhelmed on November 16, and Fort Lee was captured on the 20th, after which the American army fled through New Jersey to the relative safety of Pennsylvania, just beyond Howe's reach. Turning the tables, Washington crossed the icy Delaware River to launch a daring Christmas Day attack on Hessians occupying Trenton, following that with a successful attack on the British occupying Princeton on January 3.

The Battle of Trenton as depicted by Charles McBarron. The ragged condition of Washington's troops contrasts with the warm clothing of the Hessian garrison. Courtesy U.S. Center of Military History.

The Attack Upon the Chew House *by Howard Pyle, which appeared in* Scribner's Magazine, *June 1898. Pyle's painting depicts the furious American attack on Cliveden, the home of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew. Washington's initial attack at Germantown overwhelmed the surprised British. Cut off from the main British army, Colonel Musgrave ordered 120 men of his British 40th Regiment to fortify and hold Chew's substantial stone house. Though greatly outnumbered, his men repulsed every American assault, causing them heavy casualties. The house was held by the British throughout the battle, which ended with Washington's disorganized army in full retreat, pursued by the victorious British for some nine miles before nightfall.*

The year 1777 began with the British occupying New York City, but the American army had restored its credibility and its morale through the Trenton and Princeton successes. Rather than aggressively pursue Washington's army, over which he maintained a significant numerical advantage in effective combatants, or provide expected material assistance to the Burgoyne campaign, Howe decided to target Philadelphia, seat of the Second Continental Congress. Leaving a small occupation garrison in New York, Howe transported his army by ship south to the Chesapeake Bay. In late August, he moved north toward Philadelphia, defeating Washington soundly at the Battle of Brandywine Creek on September 11 and entering the city of Philadelphia on September 26. The Continental Congress was forced to relocate first, to Lancaster, PA, and then York, PA, and Washington's army had to fall back, once again, out of Howe's

reach. In a daring attack, Washington's army very nearly defeated Howe in the Battle of Germantown on October 4. December saw Washington's army settling into winter quarters at Valley Forge, 20 miles north of the city, where his men suffered through a brutal winter only to emerge the following spring in relatively decent strength, having been subjected to a rigorous training regimen by the Prussian-born drillmaster Baron von Steuben.

With Burgoyne's defeat, the subsequent entry into the war by France, and preoccupation with European threats, British strategy in 1778 took an entirely new direction. General Howe, having missed several opportunities to inflict damaging blows on Washington's army, was recalled in favor of the more aggressive Henry Clinton. After wintering in Philadelphia, the British army abandoned that city to return to New York, where the new French naval threat demanded attention. Washington's attack on the British rearguard resulted in the hard-fought Battle of Monmouth on June 28, 1778. By July, the two opposing armies had resumed the same relative positions they had achieved two years previously — the British in Manhattan, with the rebels keeping close watch from the nearby countryside.

Large-scale fighting in the North thus gave way in 1778 to a British policy of coastal hit-and-run raids and an increased emphasis on subduing the southern colonies, where anticipated support by Loyalists might improve their chances of success. Fighting ranged across the South, with the British initially faring well. Capturing Savannah in December 1778, Charleston in May 1780, and administering a humiliating defeat to Horatio Gates at Camden in August 1780

The American Army of the American Revolution, 1775–1783

Since the founding of the British colonies in North America, military and defense matters were largely a local concern. Militias — non-professional citizen soldiers — were organized locally, made up of eligible able-bodied men over the age of 16. As the colonies became involved in the wars of the 17th and 18th centuries, militias took part in these conflicts (not always willingly) and in many cases militiamen volunteered or were drafted into more formal "provincial" units under British Army command. Provincial corps were numerous during the French and Indian War and gave many colonists experience in military service — valuable experience that would soon be sorely needed. Most of these provincial units were disbanded after 1763, but many veterans went on to serve during the Revolution.

As political confrontation with Great Britain increased in the 1770s, along with the possibility of armed conflict, local and colony-wide militia organizations grew in size and importance, especially in New England. After the bloody battles of Lexington and Concord, when Massachusetts militia drove British troops back to Boston, the need for effective military organization to fight the British was obvious.

To meet this need, a "Continental Army" was created by the Second Continental Congress on June 14, 1775 to coordinate the military efforts of the thirteen colonies in their war against Great Britain. The Continental Army was to be augmented by local militias, independent units, and units remaining under the control of the individual states. General George Washington was named commander-in-chief, serving in this role throughout the war.

Along with the thousands of militia besieging Boston, all the colonies — soon to become states — began raising regiments for continental service. Unlike militia, who were legally obliged to serve only within their state, continental units could serve where needed, and enlistments were for up to three year's service.

Despite this promising start, the Continental Army was beset throughout the war with serious deficiencies, which at times compromised its effectiveness. Adequate supplies of food, clothing, weapons and munitions were always a problem, money was greatly lacking, and there was sometimes serious rivalries between the states. Congress meddled in military affairs, military appointments were often politicized, and lack of cooperation between senior officers was a constant headache.

The Northern Army that confronted Burgoyne was typical of American forces at the time, a mix of Continental troops and regional militia. Militia under the right circumstances and leadership could perform well on the battlefield, as shown in the Battle of Bennington. At other times militia would run at the first sight of attacking British troops. Militiamen also had the right to leave for home when their period of service was over (sometimes after as little as a month) no matter the military necessity. American regiments generally followed British organization, though formation of grenadier companies was very rare.

Still, over time, and despite many catastrophic defeats and the near dissolution of the main army in late 1776, the Continental Army, under the inspired and diligent leadership of General George Washington, managed to stay in the fight. After Burgoyne's defeat, France entered the war on the side of the colonies. American military efforts benefited greatly from France, which contributed not only clothing, supplies, munitions, and money, but ships and soldiers — enough in the end to force Great Britain to accept American independence. RT

American soldiers at the siege of Yorktown*, 1781, by Jean-Baptiste-Antoine DeVerger, watercolor, 1781. Typical American soldiers include from the left: Rhode Island Regiment soldier, Continental infantryman, rifleman, and artilleryman. Though slavery was legal in the colonies, many free African-Americans served in the the Continental Army.*

This depiction of the Siege of Charleston (1780) by Alonzo Chappel (1828–1887) gives a good impression of the event.

gave General Cornwallis, now in charge of British operations in the South, control of both Georgia and South Carolina.

Moving north into North Carolina, however, General Cornwallis met with stiffened rebel resistance. Two battles, in particular, turned the tide of fighting in the South in favor of the American cause. At Kings Mountain, just short of the North Carolina line on October 7, 1780, a rebel militia surprised and destroyed a Loyalist militia, breaking the string of British triumphs. And, on January 17, 1781, General Cornwallis, while making another effort to invade North Carolina, ordered Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton to pursue a detachment of rebels. Charging overzealously at Cowpens into the jaws of a tactically brilliant trap set for him by Daniel Morgan, commanding the rebel force, Tarleton's force suffered a crushing defeat. Particularly devastating for the British cause was Tarleton's loss of some of General Cornwallis's finest troops.

Determinedly pushing north, largely abandoning his hard-won territory to the south, on March 15 Cornwallis engaged an American force twice his size commanded by Nathaniel Greene at Guilford Court House in North Carolina. Tactically a British victory — the Americans were driven from the field — it was a costly one for General Cornwallis, with British casualties more than a quarter of his force.

By the time General Cornwallis arrived in Virginia after abandoning the Carolinas, his effective troops numbered about 2,000. Bolstered by reinforcements from New York, and at the direction of Henry Clinton, in early summer he began construction of a deep-water base at Yorktown on a peninsula at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay, unaware of the magnitude of the forces to which he would be subjected in the coming months. Given the vulnerability of General Cornwallis's exposed position on the peninsula, in mid-August, Washington and 3,000 troops marched south from New York accompanied by General Comte de

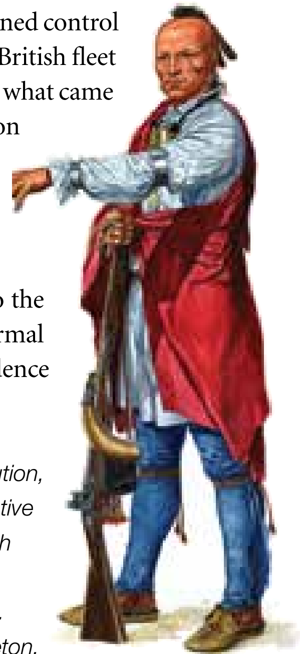
Portrait of Sir Banastre Tarleton *(1754–1833) by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1782. Tarleton is shown in the uniform of his British Legion, a mixed force of Loyalist cavalry and infantry. A capable leader, his reputation was tarnished by accusations of brutality, as well as his devastating defeat at the hands of Daniel Morgan at the Battle of Cowpens. Courtesy National Gallery.*

Battle of the Chesapeake — the French fleet is at left, the British fleet at right. Courtesy US Navy Naval History and Heritage Command.

Bataille de Yorktown *by Auguste Couder (1790–1873). Washington and Rochambeau stand at center accompanied by various staff officers. French troops comprised regular regiments uniformed in white, German regiments in French service in blue uniforms, and Lauzun's Legion, a combined infantry and cavalry force.*

Surrender of Lord Cornwallis *by John Trumbull. Trumbull's iconic painting of the surrender hangs in the rotunda of the United States Capitol building. In 1817 The United States government commissioned Trumbull to create four large paintings of Revolutionary War subjects, including this one, completed in 1820. The white flag at left is that of the Bourbon kings of France, not a flag of surrender. Courtesy Architect of the Capitol.*

Rochambeau and 4,000 French troops. A French fleet under the command of Admiral Comte de Grasse gained control of sea access to the peninsula after defeating a British fleet commanded by Admiral Sir Thomas Graves in what came to be known as the Battle of the Chesapeake on September 5th. Surrounded by a besieging force now numbering close to 14,000, General Cornwallis surrendered his entire army on October 19, 1781. This event effectively brought major hostilities to a close, leading to the Peace of Paris of 1783, which established formal recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the United States of America. ■



A Native American fighter of the American Revolution, likely Iroquois. Many Indians wore a mixture of native and European dress, and were usually armed with muskets as well as traditional weapons, such as tomahawks, bows and arrows, knives, and clubs. Courtesy Parks Canada, painting by Gerry Embleton.

Burgoyne and his Indian allies

The Indians who joined Burgoyne were members of some seventeen tribes, and there were around 500 accompanying the army when it left Canada. Several hundred more Indians joined Burgoyne's army after the fall of Ticonderoga. While it was agreed by the British that Indians were a necessity for an army operating in wilderness areas, many British officers regarded them with mixed feelings at best, one commenting: "The Indians are cunning and Treacherous, more remarkable for rapid marches and sudden attacks than Courage." These negative attitudes were a result of a lack of understanding about how Indians traditionally conducted warfare, so radically different from the standards of European military operations. Even so, Burgoyne greatly valued their abilities on campaign, needing them as a screen to drive off enemy scouting parties. As with Rogers' Rangers in the French and Indian War and Whitcomb's Rangers serving with the American Northern Army, they also acted as long-range scouts. Lt. Thomas Anburey, a British officer with Burgoyne, remarked that the Indians "were of vast service in foraging and scouting parties, it being suited to their manner."

On June 21, 1777 at the falls of the Bouquet River, close to the western shore of Lake Champlain near present-day Willsboro, New York, Burgoyne arranged to meet some 400 Indians in council, and after a feast he made a grandiose and stirring speech to them. The speech was designed to both encourage the Indians and put fear into the Americans. Burgoyne also published a widely-circulated manifesto that included this florid warning to the rebellious Americans:

> "I have but to give stretch to the Indian Forces under my direction, and they amount to Thousands, to overtake the harden'd Enemies of Great Britain and America, (I consider them the same) wherever they may lurk. If notwithstanding these endeavours, and sincere inclinations to effect them, the phrenzy of hostility shou'd remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the Eyes of God & Men in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the willful outcasts.
>
> The messengers of justice & of wrath await them in the Field, and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant but indispensible prosecution of Military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return."

The manifesto was met with mocking derision by the Americans, who published a satrical reply. Although the Indians provided valuable service, their depradations as well as the sensational murder of Jane McCrea ultimately made them a liability. By early August 1777, frustrated by the slow progress of the campaign, most of the Indians left Burgoyne's army to return home and did not fight at Saratoga. RT

A 19th-century impression of Burgoyne's meeting with the Indians. Courtesy Dover Publications.

The Great Warpath — Campaigns in the North 1775–1777

"I had hell's own time making folks realize these lakes were worth holding — that the safety of all the colonies depended on it."

The lakes to which Benedict Arnold refers in Kenneth Roberts's *Rabble in Arms*, a fictionalized account of the Saratoga campaign, were Lakes Champlain and George, at the center of the water highway that led from the Canadian provinces south, directly into the heart of the American colonies. From Samuel de Champlain's 1608 founding of Quebec and Henry Hudson's 1609 exploratory sail up the Hudson (then known as the North River), European invaders and settlers in the Northeast utilized the vast network of lakes and rivers in the region to move men and materials through the developing colonial landscape for the next 200 years — men and materials whose primary purpose was taking control of the land and its resources. In real life as well as in fiction, Arnold's recognition of the strategic significance of that network underscores its central role in military operations of the American Revolution.

An Indian warrior entering his wigwam with a scalp, *c. 1789. A European depiction of a Native American warrior holding a scalp and a tomahawk. From* Travels through the interior parts of America: In a series of letters *by Thomas Anburey, London, 1789. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

The primary route ran from the Atlantic up the St. Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal, south on the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain, Lake George, and portages to Fort Edward before gaining access to the Hudson and its direct path to Manhattan.

In 1614 the Dutch established Fort Nassau (today's Albany, New York). That first small fortification boasted a stockade surrounded by an 18-foot wide moat, eleven swivel guns, and two cannons. Poorly situated on a low-lying island, it was swept away by flood waters in 1618, to be succeeded nearby on higher ground in 1624 by Fort Orange, renamed Beverwijck in 1652, before being taken over by the English in 1664 and acquiring its present name of Albany. Its strategic location just south of the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers would make it the ultimate target of the Burgoyne campaign.

During those long years of the 17th and 18th centuries prior to the Revolution, European wars spilled over onto the North American continent, and fighting ranged across the Hudson/Champlain region between the Dutch and the English, the English and the French, and finally, the English and the American colonists. Those suffering the greatest losses, however, were the Native Americans, who were exploited by all sides. Not only were they targeted directly by invaders of all nationalities, but they were inevitably drawn into the European squabbles on one side or another. By the time of the Revolution, even the stable Iroquois Confederacy found itself torn apart by inter-tribal conflict, spelling the end of its extraordinary history of fraternal government.

Given its strategic significance and its history of military conflict, it is not surprising that by the time of the Revolution, the Hudson/Champlain corridor was dotted with the remnants of previous forts and battle sites. The most vulnerable and centrally located of those sites, Fort Ticonderoga, would become one of the first targets for

Henry Knox is usually given credit for proposing to General George Washington that the cannons captured at Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga could be decisive in ending the ongoing siege of Boston. Appointed by Washington to retrieve the cannons, Knox reached Ticonderoga on December 5, 1775. What became known as the "noble train of artillery" — 60 tons of cannons and armaments carefully inventoried by Benedict Arnold in May 1775 — was hauled over some 300 miles of frozen rivers and snow-covered mountains to Boston. Once positioned overlooking Boston harbor, the cannons forced the British to evacuate Boston on March 17, 1776. Knox is depicted arriving in the American camp besieging Boston in this 19th-century woodcut. The cannons and their carriages were disassembled and secured to sledges hauled by teams of oxen or horses. Image by William H. Van Ingen, c. 1831.

the American rebels. Prominent among those rebels was a Connecticut merchant, Benedict Arnold, who arrived outside Boston within days of the outbreak of open armed conflict at Lexington in April 1775 with a plan to capture the undermanned garrison and its stores of cannons and military supplies guarding the southern chokepoint of Lake Champlain.

Given authority by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety to implement his plan, Arnold lost no time in pushing on across Massachusetts to his target with armed recruits to follow. Arriving alone, he found a combined force of 200 Green Mountain Boys and militia commanded by Ethan Allen preparing to attack. The reality of the situation — Arnold had authority but no men; Allen had men but no real authority — produced an uneasy command-sharing alliance between the two men. Surprising the garrison in the early morning hours of May 10, Arnold and Allen jointly confronted Captain William Delaplace, who, recognizing the futility of resistance, surrendered the fort. The next day, a detachment under the command of Seth Warner descended on Crown Point and its nine defenders, 14 miles up the lake, who, likewise, surrendered without a struggle.

While Allen's Green Mountain Boys celebrated by breaking into and consuming the fort's liquor supply and drunkenly disbanded over the next several days, Arnold immediately set to work putting into place a raiding party to attack the British shipyard at St. John's, 80 miles to the north on the Richelieu River. Recognizing the vital importance of gaining control of Lake Champlain and that the greatest British threat to that control was the 80-ton sloop-of-war *Betsey* at St. John's, Arnold armed the 40-ton schooner *Liberty*, recently captured at Skenesborough (now Whitehall) and set out for the northern reaches of the lake on May 15 with thirty men and two accompanying bateaux.

Early on the morning of May 18th, 1775 Arnold's detachment came ashore at St. John's to accept the surrender of its outmatched defenders. Once again the unex-

The Battle of Longue-Pointe was an attempt by Ethan Allen and a small force of American and Canadian volunteers to capture Montreal from the British on September 25, 1775. General Richard Montgomery instructed Allen only to raise militia forces among the local Canadians. Allen had long considered capturing the lightly defended city, and when he reached the southern shore of the St. Lawrence River with about 110 men, he decided to try. Major John Brown, who Allen claimed was supposed to support the attack, did not cross the river with his forces as they had planned, isolating Allen and his men on the north side of the river. In response to the news of Allen's crossing of the St. Lawrence, British General Guy Carleton assembled a force of mostly of Quebec militia supported by some regulars to confront Allen. Allen's escape route was cut off, and after a brief battle, Allen and his men were surrounded and captured. Carleton later abandoned Montreal, which fell without a fight on November 13 to Montgomery's Continental Army forces. Allen was sent to England as a prisoner and then to New York City, and was eventually exchanged in 1778. Painting by Charles H. McBarron.

General Guy Carleton

Sir Guy Carleton, (1724–1808), was a soldier and administrator who was twice Governor of the Province of Quebec. From 1768 to 1778, he served as Governor General of British North America and again from 1785 to 1795.

Carleton was from an Anglo-Irish family with a strong military tradition, entering the British Army in 1742. He served during the Jacobite Rebellion, the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, during which he was selected as an aide to General James Wolfe. Carleton was wounded at the Battle of Quebec in September 1759, the battle where Wolfe was killed. He saw further action in France and the Caribbean. Named acting governor of Quebec in 1766, he became governor in November 1768.

In command of Canada when the Revolution broke out in 1775, he successfully defended Quebec City against the American invasion, and in the spring of 1776 drove the remaining American forces out of Canada. He organized the offensive against the Americans defending the Lake Champlain region, which culminated in his naval victory at Valcour Island in October 1776. Given the lateness of the season, he chose to pull back to Canada, an action for which he was severely criticized.

When Burgoyne was given command of the 1777 campaign, Carleton asked to be recalled, returning to England. After Cornwallis' surrender, he was made military commander-in-chief of the British war effort in 1782. With independence formalized by the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Carleton arranged evacuation by British forces.

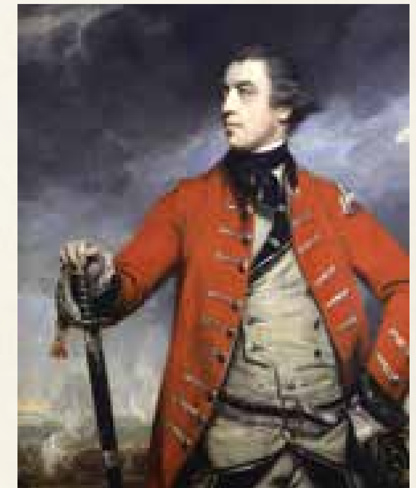
A capable administrator, he was a skilled but cautious soldier. In recognition of his services, he was made 1st Baron Dorchester, Knight of the Bath, in August, 1786. Painting by Baron H. de Dirckinck Holmfeldt. RT

General John Burgoyne

John Burgoyne (1722–1792) — the key figure of the 1777 campaign — was a soldier, politician, and playwright. Burgoyne joined the British Army in 1745. In 1751 he married the daughter of Lord Derby without permission, and they fled to the continent until he was accepted into the family in 1755. Burgoyne saw service in the Seven Years' War and was elected to Parliament in 1761. In 1775, now a major general, he arrived in Boston but seeing no action at the Battle of Bunker Hill, he returned to England. Coming back to Canada with reinforcements in 1776, he helped to drive out the American invaders. The following year, after convincing King George III and his minsters to accept his plan to divide the colonies by an invasion south from Canada, he embarked on the campaign that ended in capitulation (a formal agreement to surrender with conditions) at Saratoga in October 1777.

He soon returned to England to defend his conduct in a Parliamentary inquiry. He lost his rank in the army and was deprived of several other offices. However, with a change in government in 1782 he was restored to his rank and reentered public service. Burgoyne continued to write plays, his last in 1786. Many historians consider Burgoyne ruthless, aggressive, and willing to take risks, with a good understanding of his opponents, as well as a perceptive social and political commentator. RT

A map of the inhabited part of Canada from the French surveys, with the frontiers of New York and New England. *Published by William Faden and Claude Joseph Sauthier. London, 1777. The Lake Champlain region begins just below the border between New York and Canada. Directly north is Montreal, and following the St. Lawrence downriver (to the upper right) is Quebec City. The Chaudière River enters the St. Lawrence just below Quebec City, labeled "Colonel Arnold's Route in 1775." Courtesy Library of Congress.*



Portrait of General John Burgoyne, *by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Used with permission from the Frick Collection*

pected appearance of an armed rebel force had compelled an unprepared British garrison to submit. With British reinforcements only hours away, Arnold commandeered the *Betsey* and four serviceable bateaux and headed back up the lake, for the foreseeable future having secured complete American control of the lake.

The British retained St. John's, however, and by the end of the summer, intelligence that more ships under construction were nearing completion prompted General Philip Schuyler, in command of the Northern Army, to launch a campaign against St. John's and beyond to Montreal. At the same time, General Washington was putting into action a daring attack plan on Quebec, to be carried out by Benedict Arnold. Gaining control of the St. Lawrence cities would seal off the "Great Warpath" at its origin, effectively removing the threat of an invasion from the north. Setting out from the Maine coast, Arnold and a force of about a thousand would navigate the Kennebec River upstream to its source high in the Maine wilderness, negotiate a series of difficult portages through a chain of lakes, and then descend the Chaudière River to its outlet on the St. Lawrence, just upriver from Quebec, before attacking the reportedly undermanned citadel.

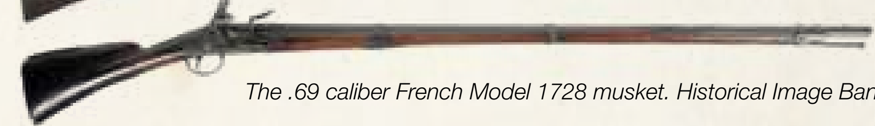
While Arnold was laboriously working his way across Maine in the fall of 1775, General Richard Montgomery, having replaced an ill Philip Schuyler, laid siege to St. John's, well reinforced by men and arms since Arnold's springtime raid. For 45 days beginning on September 17, the Americans bombarded the fort. Expecting help from General Carleton in Montreal, Major Charles Preston, commanding the fort, stubbornly held out. Two separate events, however, caused him to reconsider. On October 18, 1775 he received news that Fort Chambly, 12 miles downriver from St. John's, had fallen to the Americans,

A view of St. John's, upon the River Sorell, in Canada, with the redoubts, works, &c. taken in the year 1776, during the late war in America. *A view looking across the Richelieu River at St. John's — a cluster of buildings and fortifications used by the British. Published in London, 1789. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

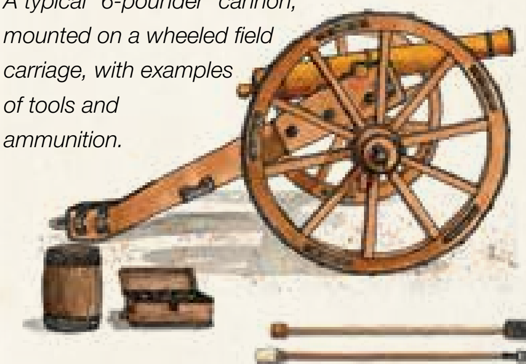
Weapons of war in the 1770s

The soldiers of the American Revolution were all armed and equipped in a similar manner. The British .75 caliber Long Land musket and the .69 caliber French Model 1728/1766 musket were the principal military firearms. Similar in capability, both were flintlock smoothbores reasonably effective at 100 yards, firing a destructive heavy lead ball. Each army had its own drill — a series of maneuvers and steps to enable the controlled movement of massed troops and operation of weapons. A well-trained soldier could load and fire his musket two to three times per minute. Ammunition consisted of a paper cartridge containing gunpowder and a lead ball. Soldiers carried anywhere from 18 to as many as 60 rounds. These muskets mounted a bayonet — a fearsome and effective weapon in the hands of determined troops. Other small arms included swords and pistols for officers and cavalrymen, pole arms, axes, and tomahawks for infantry. There were several types of cannons used during the Revolutionary War. The most common were field guns, mounted on wheeled wooden carriages, firing iron cannon balls from 3 to 12 pounds in weight and deadly grapeshot or canister rounds. Howitzers, short, wide-mouthed cannons firing exploding shells, were also used in the field. For siege work, heavy cannons firing 24-pound balls were used to batter down fortifications, and mortars lobbed exploding shells in a high arc into the interior of a fort or town. These specialized heavy guns were almost never used in battle since they were difficult to transport and required large supplies of ammunition. RT

The .75 caliber British Long Land musket. Historical Image Bank.



The .69 caliber French Model 1728 musket. Historical Image Bank.



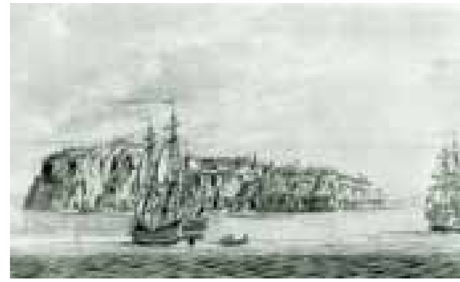
A typical "6-pounder" cannon, mounted on a wheeled field carriage, with examples of tools and ammunition.

Mortars were short-barrelled artillery pieces that came in many sizes — all fired an explosive projectile in a high arc to clear walls or obstacles.

Illustrations by Robert McNamara, The Art of Wilderness. Courtesy Great Lakes Seaway Trail

and on the 30th, a relief force sent out by Carleton failed to land on the south bank of the St. Lawrence in the face of an American troop buildup. On November 3, Preston, with supplies diminishing and facing increasing American troop strength, surrendered. On the November 11,1775, Carleton fled to Quebec, and on November 13, Montgomery occupied Montreal without a fight. On that very same night, Benedict Arnold and the remaining 600 of the 1000-man force that had left Newburyport, Massachusetts, in mid-September crossed the St. Lawrence and climbed to the Plains of Abraham outside Quebec City.

Bad weather, inaccurate maps, rough portages, and inadequate supplies had plagued the Arnold expedition from the start. Bateaux hurriedly constructed from green wood proved unreliable — leaking, swelling, splitting and contaminating food supplies. Illness from continual exposure to freezing temperatures, drenching downpours, and tainted food spread through the ranks. The Great Carrying Place, a 12-mile portage across swamps and ponds, the subsequent ascent of the Dead River, and the traversal of bogs and swamps around Lake Mégantic proved a nightmare of flood, misdirection, and starvation. A decidedly weakened force finally arrived at the St. Lawrence on November 9, having endured the torturous ordeal of the wilderness trek. Four nights later the Americans crossed the river under cover of darkness.



A View of Quebec from the Southeast, *by Joseph F. W Des Barres, c. 1777, showing the city's commanding location. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

Carrying the Bateaux at Skowhegan Falls, *by Sydney Adamson, a late 19th-century depiction of Arnold's expedition to Quebec. Maps of the period offered little real information about the route. The brutal conditions encountered — waterfalls, rapids, swamps, dense and often flooded forest — wrecked bateaux, ruined supplies and provisions, and for many, their health. The portage around waterfalls was especially arduous, as the bateaux needed to be unloaded and everything — including the boats — had to be carried over the rugged terrain, and then reloaded before continuing.*

Plan of the city and environs of Quebec, with its siege and blockade by the Americans from the 8th of December, 1775 to the 13th of May, 1776. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

Lacking the necessary weaponry and supplies to maintain an effective siege, and confronted with an enemy more formidable than previously reported, Arnold withdrew 20 miles upstream to Pointe-aux-Trembles to await the arrival of Montgomery from Montreal. Upon his arrival, the two officers and their troops returned to Quebec City in early December, establishing a threatening presence outside the city walls. With enlistments scheduled to expire on January 1, 1776 it became imperative for the Americans to strike almost immediately. The plan as devised by Montgomery and Arnold was, after a diversionary feint against the northern gates by Colonel James Livingston, for each to lead a column under cover of snow into the lower town from opposite directions, meet, combine forces, and move on to gain control of the upper town. As it happened, adequate snowfall would not appear until the night of the December 30.

The Americans moved into position in the pre-dawn darkness of the 31st. Leading his men into the narrow city streets, Montgomery was cut down in the first volley from the defenders, shot in the head, sending his wing of the attack into retreat. Arnold fared little better, carried to the rear after suffering a disabling leg wound as he entered the city. Virginia rifleman Captain Daniel Morgan carried the fight further but was soon enveloped and captured along with his men. By 10:00 a.m. the battle was over.

The surviving rebel forces camped outside the city until May 6 when the arrival of a

Warmly-clad British soldiers in blanket coats and fur-trimmed "Canadian" caps alongside local volunteers defend against Americans scaling Quebec's walls. Beginning at 4 am, the confused early-morning battle was fought during a snowstorm on December 31, 1775. Painting by F. H. Wellington, 1860. Courtesy New York Public Library.

flotilla of British reinforcements prompted them to abandon their position. In complete disarray, and with the British in pursuit, the Americans made their way back to the relative safety of Lake Champlain, in the process abandoning Canada. The stage was now set for a feverish ship-building race culminating in the October confrontation between Generals Carleton and Arnold in the Battle of Valcour Island and the subsequent unfolding of the Burgoyne campaign chronicled herein. ■

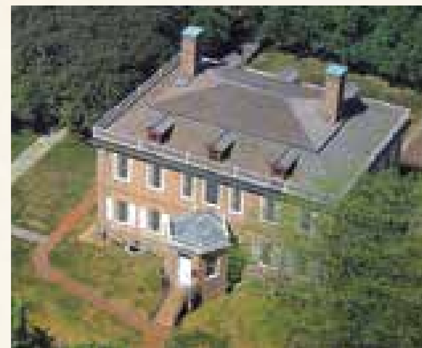
The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec, December 31, 1775. *John Trumbull's romanticized depiction of Montgomery's death captures the drama and confusion of the battle.*

Philip Schuyler and his homes

Philip John Schuyler (1733–1804) was a prominent and wealthy landowner, a major general in the American Revolution, and a United States Senator from New York. As commander of the Northern Department, Schuyler was an active and energetic organizer. Blamed for the failure to stop Burgoyne at Ticonderoga, he was replaced by Horatio Gates, who accused him of dereliction of duty. Schuyler demanded a court martial where he was exonerated, but he eventually resigned from the army in April 1779. He went on to serve in the Continental Congress, remained active in politics, and supported the adoption of the Constitution.

Schuyler Mansion State Historic Site, located at 32 Catherine Street in Albany, is now a museum and an official National Historic Landmark. Constructed from 1761 to 1765, Schuyler and his family lived there from 1766 until his death in 1804. Built on a bluff overlooking the Hudson River, the Georgian-style mansion was originally sited on 80 acres, which then included an orchard, a formal garden, and a farm. The house was a center of military, business, and family affairs, and later in the Revolution, Schuyler operated an intelligence network from the house, activities that led to a failed attempt to kidnap him on the evening of August 7, 1781. Schuyler Mansion is open from mid-May through October 31.

Schuyler inherited a country estate north of Albany incorporating tens of thousands of acres rich in resources in and around what is now Schuylerville. A British officer serving with Burgoyne wrote: "We passed Hudson's River and encamped in the plains of Saratoga at which place there is a handsome and commodious dwelling house." The orginal house was occupied by the British during the Saratoga campaign, and in October 1777, the house was burned to the ground by British forces retreating north after the battle of Bemis Heights. Following Burgoyne's surrender, Schuyler immediately began rebuilding the house. Begun in early November, and using glass, nails, locks, and hinges salvaged from the ruins, construction was completed in only 29 days. Today, restored to its 1787–1804 appearance, the Schuyler House is part of the Saratoga National Historical Park. Located on US 4 in Schuylerville, it is open from late May through Labor Day. RT



Left: Schulyer Mansion State Historic Site. Courtesy of NYS Parks. Right: Schuyler House. Courtesy of Saratoga NHP.

The Battle of Valcour Island

October 11, 1776

Friday morning, October 11, 1776 — the winds had turned around. For the past three days, kicking up relentlessly from the south, they had kept the British ships bottled up in the north end of Lake Champlain. Finally, this morning, a steady breeze freshening from the north freed Guy Carleton's forces to move out onto the lake, propelling them south toward their intended target — Fort Ticonderoga. Benedict Arnold's rebel fleet, such as it was, lay several miles south hidden behind Valcour Island in the channel between the island and the western shore of Lake Champlain.

Outmanned and outgunned, Arnold knew he lacked the firepower to confront the British on open waters. The potential combined weight of the munitions that could be thrown by the British guns was close to 1200 pounds of metal; that of the Americans only half that at 600 pounds. In all their ships, the Americans could list only three 18-pound cannons and twelve 12-pound cannons. The two largest British vessels alone could claim six 24-pounders and twenty-four 12-pounders. Faced with that kind of arms superiority on vessels manned by 700 veteran British sailors against his largely inexperienced crews, and determined to exploit whatever advantages he could find or create, Arnold hoped to draw the enemy into waters and conditions of his choosing. As the British vessels passed the southern tip of Valcour Island, Arnold sent out the schooner *Royal Savage* and three row galleys as bait. Captain Thomas Pringle, commodore of the British fleet, bit.

Wheeling against the wind in pursuit of the Americans, the British vessels struggled to chase the American vessels back into the narrow waters separating Valcour Island from the shoreline, at which point Arnold's resourcefulness became evident. Although the *Royal Savage* ran aground, to be overrun and later torched, the row galleys returned to take their places in the American line of battle. Lacking sufficient room to tack effectively into the wind, the largest and most powerful of the British ships, including the 180-ton warship *Inflexible* and the radeau *Thunderer*, effectively a large, flat-bottomed floating battery carrying the heaviest of the British weapons, found themselves stranded outside the arena, unable to bring their guns to bear, reduced to sniping ineffectively from afar. Within the battle zone, however, the artillery exchange was intense.

For several hours, British gunboats, arrayed in a crescent, each with a single heavy bow gun, pounded the American ships with a continuous bombardment. The Americans fought back gamely. A direct hit on one gunboat's powder magazine ignited a tremendous explosion. When the schooner *Carleton*, the only one of the larger British ships to join battle, and a much more inviting target than the bow-on gunboats, finally worked into range early-afternoon, it became the focus of the American gunners. With the *Carleton's* commanding officer and second-in-com-

A contemporary watercolor of Arnold's flagship Royal Savage *— she flies the "Grand Union" flag, the earliest national flag of the rebellious American colonies. Courtesy New York Public Library.*

A Sketch of the New England Armed Vessels, in Valcure Bay on Lake Champlain as seen in the morning of 11 October 1776 .... *Arnold's flagship* Royal Savage *is at center, the row galleys are seen in the distance. Courtesy Naval History & Heritage Command.*

LAKES TO LOCKS PASSAGE
The Great Northeast Journey

The attack and defeat of the American fleet under Benedict Arnold, by the King's fleet commanded by Capt. Thos. Pringle, upon Lake Champlain, the 11th of October, 1776 *(detail), showing the positions of the opposing fleets. A portion of Valcour Island is seen at top center. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

mand both badly wounded, half the crew dead and wounded, and the hold filling with water and with sails in a shamble, a 19-year-old midshipman, Edward Pellew, clambered out onto the bowsprit in the face of scathing enemy fire. He manhandled the disabled jib into position to enable the ship to turn and escape with the help of towlines from neighboring vessels. (Pellew would go on to become one of Britain's most celebrated naval heroes during the Napoleonic Wars.)

With the sun lowering in the west and both sides exhausted, the British pulled back, planning on resuming the assault on the morning of October 12. In addition to the *Royal Savage*, Arnold's former flagship, the American losses included the gondola *Philadelphia*, casualties totaling about 60, remaining ships battered and badly mauled, and severely depleted stores of ammunition. American prospects looked bleak.

Warships on Lake Champlain

Ever since the late Middle Ages (c.1450–1500), when gunpowder, cannons, and firearms were coming into general use in Europe, cannons have been placed on warships. The warship soon evolved into a floating platform for cannons ranged along both sides of a ship, an arrangement called a "broadside." By the time of the Spanish Armada in 1588, sea battles were mainly artillery duels. Larger and improved warships continued to be built, with several decks for cannons, so by the mid-17th century, large European warships had very powerful armament.

Cannons Most naval cannons were made of iron (some were brass or bronze) and all came in many sizes. The usual way to refer to a cannon's size was by the weight of the iron cannonball that it fired. The heaviest cannons in general use on a large ocean-going warship of the line fired a 32-pound cast iron ball, so it was called a 32-pounder. Ships of the line carried a mixture of cannon sizes from heavy 32s on the lower gun decks to 24s and 18s on the upper decks.

Naval cannons on truck carriages by MD Brockmann. Courtesy Getty Images.

Gun Carriages and Tackle Cannons were usually mounted on truck carriages — named for the four small wheels called trucks. Some guns were on slide carriages, and some (especially on gunboats) on pivoting carriages. The sides of the carriage, called brackets, were stepped to allow the heavy cannon barrel to be aimed up or down with a lever called a handspike. A system of heavy ropes and pulleys, called tackle, absorbed the dangerous recoil of the gun after it was fired. Once reloaded, the tackle allowed the muzzle of the cannon barrel to be run out of the gun port again for firing.

Ammunition All cannons used a charge of gunpowder, the heavier the shot, the bigger the charge. Cannonballs were used to smash into the hull (causing deadly splinters), to dismount guns, and punch holes below the waterline. Grapeshot (small iron balls) and canister (lead musket balls) inflicted casualties on crewmen. Special bar and chain shot flew whizzing through the air to tear sails and cut rigging.

The Opposing Fleets The fleets on Lake Champlain consisted of relatively small vessels (none larger than 91 feet in length) mounting a wide variety of cannons, from 24-pounders down to small 2-pounders. The *Inflexible*, the British flagship, was a powerful three-masted ship with 18 12-pounders, and was a match for a good portion of Arnold's fleet. The British "radeau" *Thunderer* — essentially a large floating raft — mounted 14 guns, including six 24-pounders, the heaviest guns afloat on the lake.

Arnold's fleet had a few 18-pounders on several ships—the rest was a mix of 12-, 9-, 6-, and even 4- and 2-pounders. Each fleet had some 85 guns all told (not including numerous small anti-personnel guns called "swivels"). Heavier cannons are much superior to lighter ones—one 12-pounder is far more destructive than two 6-pounders.

Despite a similar number of total cannons, the disparity in firepower between the opposing forces is best expressed in "weight of metal" — the total weight of the iron projectiles that could fired by every cannon in each fleet. In this case, Arnold's ships could fire a total of around 600 pounds to nearly 1,200 pounds for the British fleet. However, the clumsy *Thunderer* proved relatively useless in the battle. In addition, the British were able to man their ships with full crews of officers and sailors from the Royal Navy. Arnold's men were largely landsmen, though they performed with skill and bravery despite their many disadvantages. RT

A British cannonball identified by the "broad arrow," the customary mark used on all government property. Courtesy Saratoga NHP.

The American fleet (at left) engages the larger British ships led by the Carleton *as they round Valcour Island. Painting by Ernie Haas. Courtesy Lake Champlain Maritime Museum.*

The gunboat Philadelphia

The gondola *Philadelphia*, part of Arnold's fleet, is the only surviving gunboat from the Revolutionary War. Sunk during the battle, the wreck of the *Philadelphia* was discovered and salvaged in 1935 — well-preserved by the lake's cold water. In addition to the cannons and hull, hundreds of other items were found, including cannon shot, cooking utensils, tools, buttons, buckles, and even some human remains. For a time she was shown at locations along Lake Champlain and the Hudson River before she became an exhibit in Essex, New York. Donated to the Smithsonian Institution in 1961, the *Philadelphia* (a National Historic Landmark) and recovered artifacts are now part of the permanent collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of American History. RT

This scene of the battle by marine artist Peter Rindlisbacher shows the intensity of the fighting as the ships and row galleys maneuver and fire. Courtesy Peter Rindlisbacher.

It was a grim gathering that met aboard the *Congress* that evening. In light of their dire prospects for the next day, flight seemed the only reasonable option. After considering his limited choices, Arnold decided to take advantage of dense fog and a gap in the British line along the lake shore. After darkness had fallen, the American vessels, with oars muffled, slipped past the slumbering British fleet in single file, one after another, each led by the dim light of the veiled stern lantern of the preceding craft.

Daybreak of the 12th found the Americans several miles south of Valcour Island. Waking to the unwelcome discovery of the improbable escape

A cannon explodes aboard the gunboat Philadelphia *during the battle. Painting by Ernie Haas. Courtesy Lake Champlain Maritime Museum.*

of the American ships, Carleton ordered the British squadron into the chase. Capricious winds hampered hunter and hunted. By the morning of the 13th, crippled, fatigued, and with some taking on water, a number of Arnold's ships found it impossible to keep up and fell off the pace, one-by-one falling prey to their British pursuers. As the day progressed, *Congress* and four other ships fought a delaying action, eventually retreating to Ferris Bay where Arnold set them ablaze, escaping on foot with 200 men to arrive at Crown Point on October 14. There he was met by those of his fleet who had managed to escape, convinced Colonel Thomas Hartley, commander of the fort, that his exposed position was untenable, burned the fort's structures, and pulled back to Ticonderoga to await what was expected to be a British assault, an attack that did not materialize. At the end of a lengthy supply line, with winter in the offing, with some 13,000 American soldiers at Ticonderoga, and having experienced the obstinate defiance exemplified in the leadership of Benedict Arnold, Carleton withdrew his forces into winter quarters in Canada.

The British victory at the Battle of Valcour Island is beyond dispute. The effective destruction of the American fleet ceded control of the lake to the British navy, laying the groundwork for the Burgoyne campaign of 1777. Given British Captain Thomas Pringle's overwhelming material advantage, however, the victory was not the tactical success it should have been, nor was it even a strategic victory in the larger sense. Tactically, two critical errors by Pringle enabled Benedict Arnold to mount a spirited defense. By failing to determine Arnold's position before sailing up the lake, he allowed Arnold to dictate the physical parameters of the fighting, thereby neutralizing the biggest guns in the British arsenal and allowing Arnold's forces to survive the initial onslaught. Moreover, his failure to seal off the exit at the southern end of Valcour Island provided Arnold with an escape route he was only too willing to exploit. Both of those errors prevented Pringle from bottling up Arnold's ships in the narrow confines of the channel at Valcour Island. Pringle was later rewarded with promotion to admiral.

Of even greater significance strategically, perhaps, was the ultimate gift of time granted the American revolutionary forces by the tenacity of Benedict Arnold's defense throughout the 1776 naval campaign on Lake Champlain. By compelling Carleton to engage in a naval construction race over the course of the summer and by impeding his otherwise unchallenged expedition up the lake in the fall, Arnold delayed Carleton's assault on Fort Ticonderoga until the following summer, granting the fledgling American forces a year in which to prepare for what would be a definitive victory over General Burgoyne at Saratoga. ■

The badly damaged Phildelphia *is assisted by another ship. The* Phildelphia *sinks soon afterward. Painting by Ernie Haas. Courtesy Lake Champlain Maritime Museum.*

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

Lake Champlain Underwater Historic Preserve provides public access for experienced divers. Registration is required for every diver prior to using the Preserve System. www.lcmm.org

Benedict Arnold

No personality from the American Revolution is more controversial than Benedict Arnold (1741–1801). Born in Connecticut, Arnold was a successful merchant ship captain when the war broke out in 1775. Dedicated to the cause of independence from Great Britain, Arnold's exploits until his treason are legendary — the capture of Ticonderoga and the incredible wilderness march to Quebec in 1775; the naval campaign on Lake Champlain in 1776; the Battle of Ridgefield in Connecticut, the relief of Fort Schuyler, and his critical leadership during the battles at Saratoga in 1777.

Intelligent, brave, and a natural and inspiring military leader, Arnold was also temperamental and quick to take offense over real or imagined slights. He was several times passed over for promotion while political adversaries charged him with corruption and malfeasance—despite the fact that he used his own funds to support the war effort. His second wound at Saratoga temporarily ended his combat career and he was later given command of the important military post at West Point. Bitter and frustrated, and perhaps encouraged by his Tory-leaning wife Peggy Shippen, Arnold secretly planned to betray the fort to the British. When the plan was discovered, Arnold narrowly escaped to British-held New York City.

Arnold was made a brigadier general in the British Army and led British forces in Virginia and Connecticut. After the war he moved to London, dying there in 1801.

By changing sides in the midst of what is often considered a civil war with conflicted loyalties as much as a war for independence, Arnold's great successes in the service of his country are almost completely overshadowed by his treasonable actions in 1780. Engraving of Benedict Arnold by H. B. Hall after John Trumbull. RT

The Saratoga Campaign, 1777

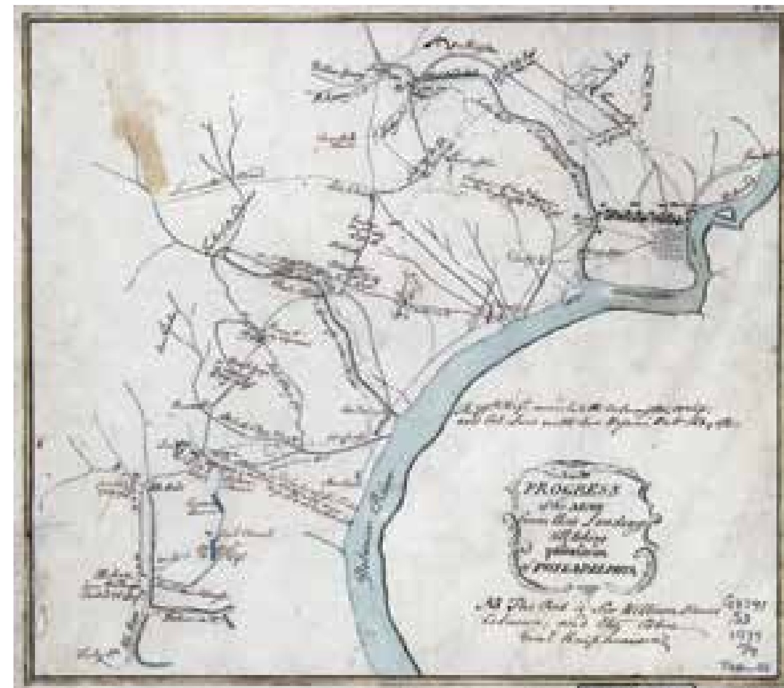
In mid-June 1777, General John Burgoyne set out from Quebec at the head of an army determined to drive a wedge between the unruly New England colonies and their colonial allies to the south. The plan was to sever and then isolate the offending region by launching a three-pronged attack on the Hudson/Champlain corridor via the natural water routes of the Northeast. Burgoyne would move south up Lake Champlain from the St. Lawrence River, Colonel Barry St. Leger down the Mohawk River from Fort Oswego, and General William Howe up the Hudson River from Manhattan, all converging on Albany.

The campaign began well enough for the British. Moving unhindered up Lake Champlain, they took possession of the unoccupied fortifications at Crown Point on June 25, in preparation for a planned assault on Fort Ticonderoga, 16 miles to the south. The next week, with British artillery on heights overlooking the fort and facing almost certain destruction, American General Arthur St. Clair ordered an evacuation to the south on July 5. Clashes between the retreating American troops and pursuing British troops took place at Hubbardton and at Skenesboro on July 7, and Fort Ann on July 8.

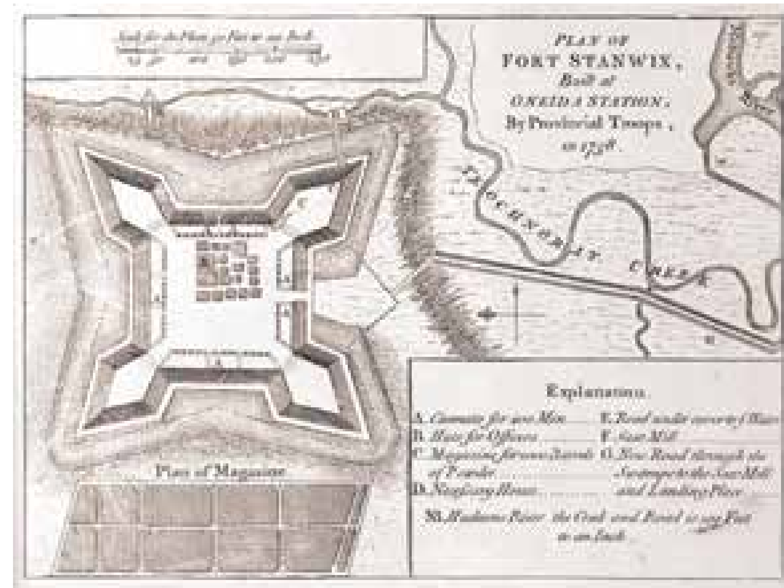
Although these actions were all tactical British victories, Burgoyne was coming to the realization that the Americans were capable of mounting stiff resistance to his advance. This became even more evident when he confronted a road from Fort Ann to Fort Edward effectively blocked by hundreds of trees felled by American axmen. By the time he finally arrived at Fort Edward on July 29, he knew his task had become much more difficult. A stubborn enemy, a lack of supplies, and dwindling British numbers had not been anticipated. Not only had he depleted his forces by leaving garrisons at Crown Point and Ticonderoga, but native allies were slipping off to return to their homes, disenchanted with the conduct of the campaign. Burgoyne's inability to impose discipline on the natives had also created an unforeseen problem for him, their random attacks on frontier families and the murder of Jane McCrea, a young American Loyalist, galvanized resistance among potential supporters.

Taking time out at Fort Edward to regroup, Burgoyne sent a foraging expedition to the east in search of draft animals, food, and recruits, a mission which proved disastrous to the British cause. Unexpectedly running into an overwhelming American force near Bennington, the British were soundly defeated on August 16. The ill-fated mission further depleted Burgoyne's force and left him without sorely needed supplies, recruits and a much needed diversion.

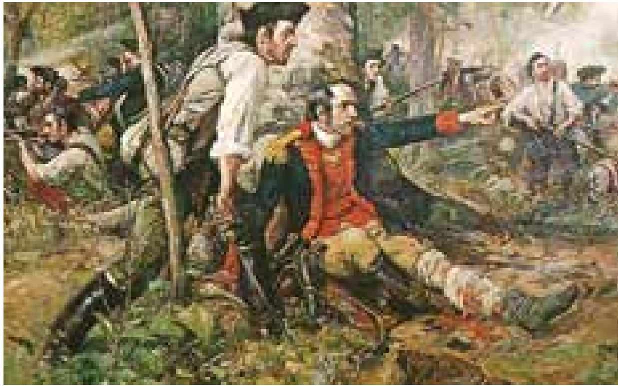
By fall, the plan had fallen apart. St. Leger's advance stalled at Fort Stanwix, and Howe had other plans — an attack on Philadelphia — that didn't include Burgoyne, who was left to fend for himself in the unforgiving wilderness of northern New York. Weakened by the loss at Bennington and at the end of a supply chain unable to provide sufficient provisions, Burgoyne felt he had no choice but to cut his supply-line and press on. Crossing the Hudson on September 13, he came face-to-face with a rejuvenated con-



Above: Progress of the army from their landing till taking possession of Philadelphia, *c.1777. The advance of Howe's army is noted with red and blue positions and dates. The city of Philadelphia is seen at upper right. Courtesy Library of Congress. Below, Fort Stanwix, 1758, renamed Fort Schuyler, from* A Set of Plans and Forts in America *by John Rocque, 1765.*



LAKES TO LOCKS
PASSAGE
The Great Northeast Journey



Herkimer at the Battle of Oriskany, painting by F.C. Yohn, c. 1901. New York's Tryon County militia, marching to the relief of beseiged Fort Stanwix, was ambushed by St. Leger's forces on August 6, 1777. In perhaps the bloodiest battle of the entire war, General Herkimer was mortally wounded and the militia forced to retreat. The siege was lifted on the 21st when a relief force under Benedict Arnold approached the fort. St. Leger's troops quickly retreated to Oswego. Courtesy Utica Public Library.

tinental army now commanded by Horatio Gates, having replaced Philip Schuyler on August 14. The ensuing month-long standoff, punctuated by two pitched battles – at Freeman's Farm on September 19 and Bemis Heights on October 7 — has collectively become known as the Battle of Saratoga.

Having failed to break through to Albany in the Freeman's Farm encounter, Burgoyne settled in to await hoped-for reinforcements from the south, a futile wish that remained unfulfilled. Finally, on October 7, mired in desperate circumstances, he launched another attempt, only to have his forces mauled at Bemis Heights. Burgoyne retreated upriver where, with all escape avenues blocked, on the 17th of October he surrendered his entire army under terms that became known as the Convention of Saratoga.

The victory came at a critical time for the Americans, and provided a much-needed boost in morale. Prior to the Burgoyne/Gates confrontation, Washington's armies had had few successes in the mid-Atlantic region. With the triumph at Saratoga, for the first time, a sizable American army had defeated a seemingly unbeatable British expeditionary force, making believers of many who had scoffed at the "rag-tag" colonials who now vaulted onto the international stage as a legitimate entity to be taken seriously. Burgoyne's northern army would dissolve and the focus of fighting would shift south. With the French entering the war after news of the Saratoga victory reached Paris, the Continental Army moved forward, now reinforced by a declared and formidable ally. ■

A map of Forts Clinton and Montgomery depicting Clinton's attack on October 6, 1777. A detachment under General John Vaughn advanced further north, burning Esopus (Kingston) and raiding Livingston Manor. The British returned to New York City on October 26 after destroying the forts. North is to the right. Courtesy Library of Congress.

On the battlefield

The infantry that fought in the Revolution — American, British, German, and French — all used similar drill and battlefield maneuvers. Soldiers marched en route in columns, but in battle generally formed into long lines, two or three men deep, to allow all the muskets to fire. The light infantry often skirmished in advance of the main force, protected the flanks, and were a highly maneuverable force on the battlefield. While firepower was important, the bayonet was considered the decisive weapon in battle, and in this the British soldier excelled. Their discipline and experience enabled them to better withstand the carnage of battle until ordered to "charge bayonets," driving their enemies from the field with ranks of fearsome bayonets. Over time, as American troops improved their training and gained battlefield experience, they were more and more often a match for British forces both on campaign and in battle.

The infantry was supported by artillery and cavalry, but these were not used in great numbers during the American Revolution due to difficulties in overland travel and a general lack of horses. Britain's Royal Artillery served with great distinction in every campaign during the Revolution. American forces began the war with relatively little artillery training or equipment, but gradually fielded many units of expert artillerymen.

Only two regular British regiments of cavalry served in America, the 16th and 17th Light Dragoons, supplemented by capable loyalist cavalry units such as Tarleton's "British Legion." Washington raised four regiments of Continental "light dragoons," cavalrymen who served throughout the war — also supported by numerous groups of militia and partisan horsemen. RT

American Continental infantry in two ranks, with a lieutenant in command. Artwork by Don Troiani. Courtesy National Park Service.

Crown Point

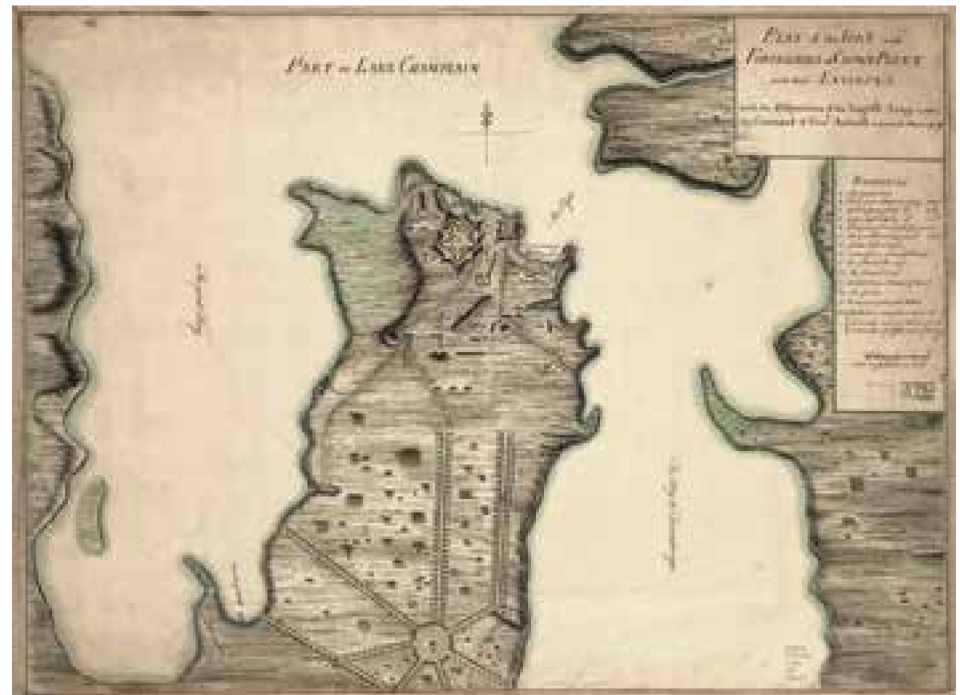
Since his arrival in the Lake Champlain theater on May 8 just prior to the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, Arnold's relations with Ethan Allen, the Green Mountain Boys, and their supporters had gone from bad to worse. The lines had been drawn that very first night. Arnold, newly commissioned with a directive to take the fort, had orders but only men on the way. Allen, poised to attack, had men but no orders. The Green Mountain Boys, an assemblage of frontier roughnecks loyal to Allen, had no intention of placing themselves under an outsider's command. The wily Allen, recognizing the legitimacy of Arnold's claim to command, agreed to allow Arnold to accompany his strike force. He figured that he could claim any success; Arnold could be blamed for any failure.

The assault was carried off pretty much as planned. Ticonderoga, and, a few days later, Crown Point, both garrisoned by skeleton forces, capitulated without putting up a fight. In the weeks that followed, as the Green Mountain Boys dispersed back to their homes to be replaced by colonial troops from Massachusetts and Connecticut, Arnold worked at establishing his legitimate authority over the Champlain forts, sailing down the lake to Crown Point, where he set up headquarters. On the 18th of May, he led a force in an attack on the British shipyard at St. John's on the Richelieu River, capturing its 70-ton sloop and several bateaux before returning to Crown Point. At the same time, reports of the Champlain successes, lauding Allen and highly critical of Arnold, were being communicated to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress by James Easton, Allen's second in command at the capture of Ticonderoga. News of Easton's vilifications reached Arnold's ears.

The issue of command came to a head on the evening of Saturday, June 10. Arnold returned from a week-long scouting expedition to be met by Allen, accompanied by Easton and a few Green Mountain Boys, who claimed command for himself. Arnold refused, and, outnumbered by Arnold's loyal soldiers, Allen and his party backed down.

The following morning, while leaving Crown Point, Easton vented his frustration in derisive insults of Arnold. An enraged Arnold confronted Easton, demanding satisfaction. When Easton refused to engage, Arnold "kicked him very heartily", throwing him and Allen's entourage off the grounds. A humiliated Easton vowed revenge, a threat that would come back to haunt Arnold in his quest for rank and respectability. (Although the after effects of this incident would linger for years, it didn't take long for Easton to gain a measure of revenge.

Thomas Davies' drawing of the British camps at Crown Point after the French retreat in 1760. Courtesy Library of Congress.

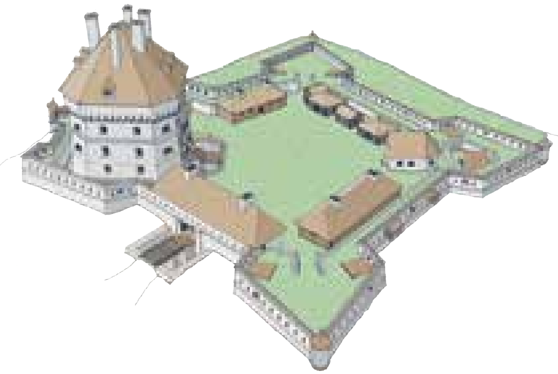


"A Plan of the Fort and Fortresses at Crown Point with their Environs…." The ruined French fort (K) sits just to the right of the much larger Crown Point (A). The elaborate tree-lined avenues were never constructed. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Within two weeks, for a variety of reasons, Arnold resigned his command and was replaced by Easton!)

Crown Point, the site of this confrontation, had a long and storied history. Despite its prominence commanding the narrows of Lake Champlain seventeen miles north of Ticonderoga; its immensity, being the largest earthen fortification constructed in North America by the British; and the fact that it changed hands many times during its existence, the fort at Crown Point somehow succeeded in avoiding ever being subjected to direct military assault. What it failed to do, however, was avoid destruction on three separate occasions at the hands of its own occupants.

The original fortification had been built as Fort St. Frédéric by the French in the 1730s to control the flow of traffic



Fort St. Frédéric as it probably looked in the 1740s. The citadel's towering presence on the shore of Lake Champlain must have been an awe-inspiring sight to the Indians and a potent symbol of French power. Courtesy Crown Point SHS.

Below: Thomas Davies' View of Crown Point from the north. *The odd-looking sailing vessel is the "radeau" (French for "raft")* Land Tortoise*, somewhat similar the the British* Thunderer *of 1776. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

Chimney Point, Vermont

Chimney Point, Vermont, lies eastward across the narrow strait once guarded by Fort St. Frédéric and later Crown Point. Site of a ferry crossing for some 100 years, today it is the location of the new Champlain Bridge, which opened in 2011, replacing the earlier bridge opened in 1929.

Native Americans related to the Abenaki culture occupied the site for thousands of years before Europeans arrived in the region. First settled and fortified by the French in 1731, Chimney Point was the scene of conflict in both the French and Indian War (1756–1763) and American Revolution. The French fort was a simple stockade — a *fort de pieux* — about 100' square, built to hold about 30 men. The fort's chimney, the foundation of which was recently discovered, may have been the origin of the name. During the Revolution, the site was occupied by both British and American forces at different times. Shortly after the Battle of Valcour Island, Benedict Arnold's forces abandoned the site, destroying all buildings, defenses, and naval stores. The remaining settlers fled south.

Legend has it that the tavern (actually built in the mid-1780s) was the place where Ethan Allen planned his 1775 surprise attack on the small British garrison at Fort Ticonderga, only a dozen miles or so to the south.

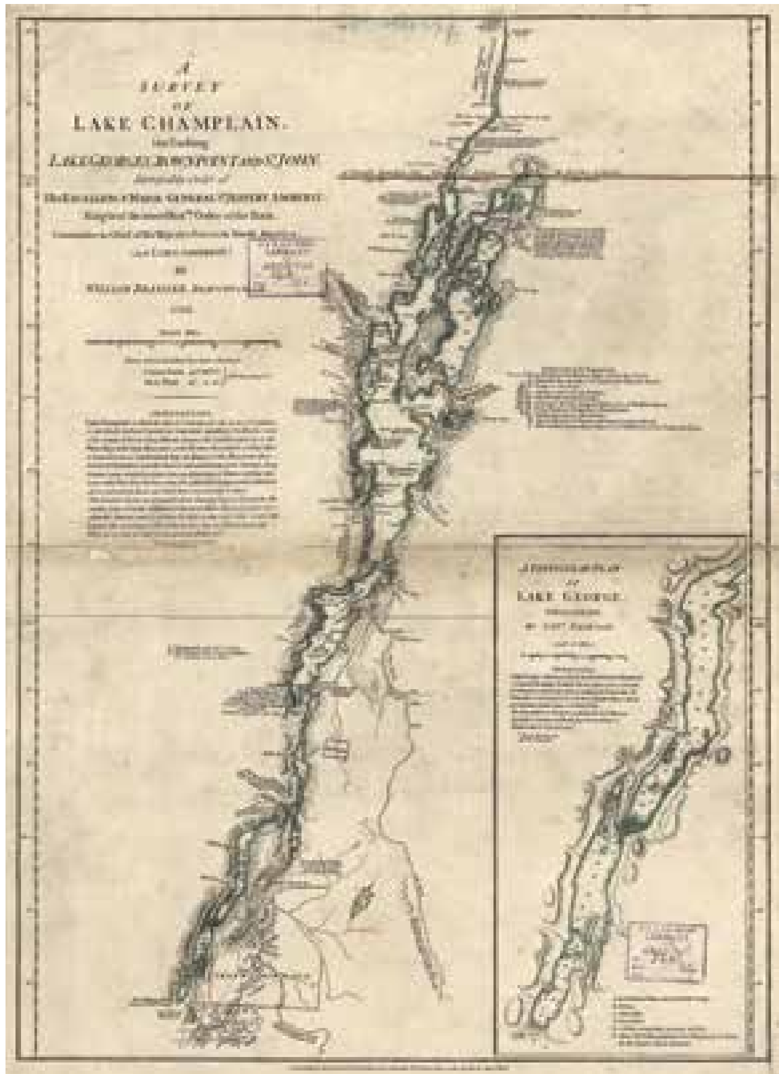
Today, Chimney Point and its historic tavern is a Vermont State Historic Site and listed on the National Register of Historic Places. RT

A 19th-century view of the Chimney Point tavern, courtesy Chimney Point State Historic Site.

on the lake and to extend French military presence further south from its St. Lawrence base. In 1759, during the French and Indian War, the French, pulling back to Canada to concentrate on defending Montreal and Quebec in the face of General Jeffery Amherst's advancing forces, razed the fort, including its massive four-story high stone citadel with its 12-foot thick walls.

Amherst's determination to utilize the military advantages of the site resulted in the construction of an entirely new and much larger fort just to the southwest of the ruins of Fort St. Frédéric. Among the structures erected on what then became Crown Point were stone barracks and an armory. The parade ground itself covered 6 acres and was surrounded by a twenty-two foot thick, half-mile earthen-filled stone and timber, forty-foot-high outer wall. The potential military usefulness of the fort ceased with the end of the war in 1763, and construction came to a halt. With the French threat neutralized, for the next decade Crown Point was maintained by a skeletal force. In 1773, an uncontrollable fire destroyed the installation when army wives accidentally ignited a chimney fire. Sparks carried by the wind into adjoining structures and timber-framed walls, including the powder magazine, set off an explosion which resulted in widespread destruction.

For the next two years, Crown Point was, for all practical purposes, abandoned by the British. Although the fort itself had been rendered useless, a community of settlers remained in the immediate area, only to be increasingly harassed by Green Mountain Boys involved in the border dispute between New Hampshire and New York. In May of 1774, a survey by a British engineer described the ruined fortifications as "…an amazing useless mass of earth only." A year later, and two days after Fort Ticonderoga surrendered to Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, the "forces" at Crown Point, consisting of one sergeant, eight privates, and ten women and children, offering no resistance, capitulated to Seth Warner and his party of Green Mountain Boys.



A survey of Lake Champlain, including Lake George, Crown Point, and St. John. *By William Jackson Brasier, 1762, revised and published by Robert Sayer and John Bennett in 1776. The strategic locations of Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point are shown, along with the Battle of Valcour Island. Across the border are Isle aux Noix and St. John's on the Richelieu River.*

The Embarkation of Montgomery's troops at Crown Point *by Sydney Adamson. Brigadier General Richard Montgomery led some 1500 troops, mainly from Connecticut and New York, north toward Montreal and to their ultimate goal — the capture of Quebec City — the key to Canada.*

For the remainder of the war, Crown Point became a camp and a staging area for both the Americans and the British. On August 30, 1775, General Richard Montgomery departed Crown Point with 1,500 men in what would be an ill-fated invasion of Canada. By year's end, he would be dead — and Arnold badly wounded — in their failed attempt to capture Quebec. The survivors of the decimated army returned to Crown Point in June 1776, broken in body and spirit. In August 1776, a year after Montgomery's embarkation, Arnold set sail in his undermanned Champlain fleet seeking to engage the British fleet somewhere to the north. The result was the action at Valcour Island. Fleeing from the pursuing British in October, Arnold subsequently ordered Crown Point burned and abandoned. By the third week in October, Carleton and his navy had arrived and taken over Crown Point, but with winter fast approaching, Carleton, too, abandoned Crown Point and headed back to winter quarters in Canada. By the end of June 1777, however, the British under Burgoyne had once again occupied the site as a staging area in preparation for what would be the Saratoga Campaign. The peninsula remained in British hands until the end of the war. ■

An early 20th-century postcard depicting the ruined officers' barracks at Crown Point. Courtesy Library of Congress.

The impressive ruins of the stone officers' barracks inside Crown Point are surrounded by the remains of the walls and ditch of the huge five-sided fort. The site overlooks the remnants of French Fort St. Frédéric and the Champlain Bridge to Vermont seen in the distance at left (since replaced by a new bridge in late 2011). Courtesy Crown Point State Historic Site.

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

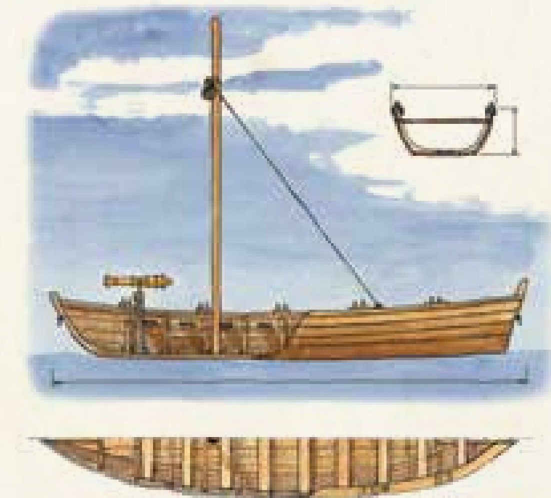
The ruins of Crown Point have been preserved for generations. Please avoid climbing on the rocks to help preserve this site for future generations.

Transport on the waterways

The difficulties of overland transportation through the vast New York wilderness made the movement of troops and supplies by water a critical part of any military campaign. The *bateau* (French for "boat") was the all-purpose transportation and cargo vessel (both military and civilian) used on the lakes and rivers of New York and Canada. Thousands were built by British, French, and American forces during the French and Indian War, the American Revolution, and the War of 1812. Double-ended with a flat bottom and a shallow draft, *bateaux* (in English "battoe" or "battoes") were sturdy, quick and cheap to build, and relatively easy for landsmen and soldiers to operate.

Built to many sizes and specifications, bateaux were generally 20 to 40 feet in length and similar in form — around 30 feet being the most common size. The demand for bateaux was such that many were constructed of green lumber cut from standing timber only a few days or weeks before. Bateaux were expected to last for a season or two at most, and were often sunk in shallow water to better preserve and protect them over the harsh northern winters.

Usually rowed with oars, in open water a simple mast and square sail allowed sailing with a favorable wind, one oar serving as a rudder. The typical north-south winds found on Lakes George and Champlain made sailing on these waters more practical. RT

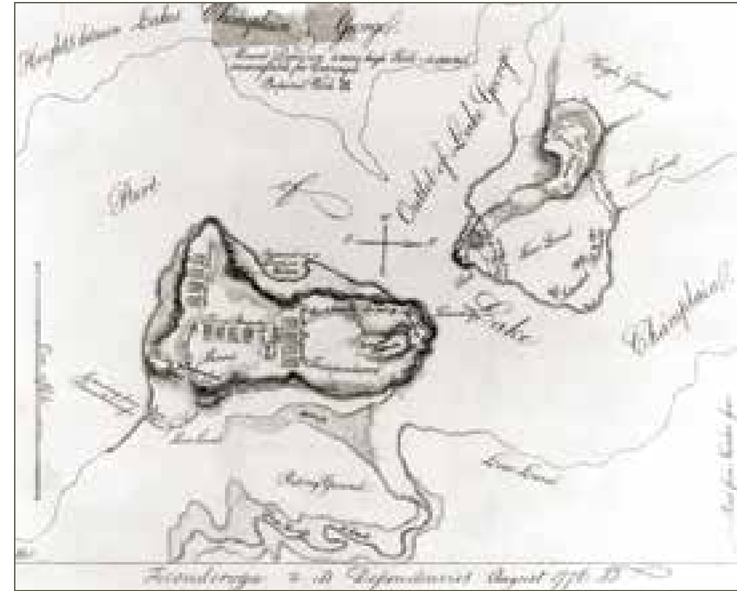


Cutaway and section views of a typical bateau with mast, mounting a swivel gun in the bow. Illustration by Robert McNamara, Art of Wilderness. Courtesy Great Lakes Seaway Trail, Inc.

Mount Independence

When the tattered remnants of the failed Arnold/Montgomery Canadian invasion force return to Crown Point in June 1776, American military planners acknowledged the real possibility of a British attack from the north. Recognizing the deficiencies of Fort Ticonderoga to repel such an attack, Major General Philip Schuyler, at that time in command of the northern theater, ordered the fortification of Rattlesnake Hill, a quarter-mile across the lake on the Vermont shore. Construction began on July 18, and, when the Declaration of Independence was read to an enthusiastic gathering there on July 28, accompanied by a 13-gun salute — one firing for each of the 13 rebelling colonies — the promontory was soon rechristened "Mount Independence."

Much better situated to command the approaches to the chokepoint than Ticonderoga, a well-fortified Mount Independence constituted a real deterrent to British invasion from the north. Unfor-



Ticonderoga & its Dependencies August 1776, *by John Trumbull. The artist dramatically emphasizes that the summer's central focus was to fortify Rattlesnake Hill to control the Ticonderoga chokepoint. The "old French fort" is at the upper right. Lake Champlain flows northward to the right.*

Fort Ticonderoga (lower left) and Mt. Independence (center right) in the summer of 1776 as seen from the brow of Sugarloaf Hill (Mt. Defiance). A floating "bridge of boats" connects the two. North is to the upper left. Painting by Ernie Haas. Courtesy the collection of the Mount Independence Coalition.

tunately, American engineers at the same time failed to adequately secure the heights of Sugarloaf Hill (rechristened Mt. Defiance), a mountaintop just south of Fort Ticonderoga on the west side of the lake overlooking both Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, an omission which would come back to haunt them. For the next few months, however, construction continued on Mount Independence. Forests were cleared. Barracks, breastworks, and batteries were constructed, along with storehouses, cabins, a powder magazine, and workshops. By October 28, when Sir Guy Carleton and his fleet carrying 8,000 British soldiers appeared on the lake — confident after their victory in the Battle of Valcour Island — the spectacle of artillery, battle flags, and reportedly more than 13,000 American men commanding both shores of the chokepoint convinced Carleton that discretion was in order. The imminent arrival of harsh northern winter temperatures threatened; a siege without adequate support was untenable; it was time to return to Canada to regroup. The Americans had gained a year.

The severe winter, combined with illness and a shortage of supplies, took its toll on the Americans entrenched at Ticonderoga. By the following July, when General Burgoyne reappeared with another invasion force, the forces at the chokepoint had dwindled to around 3,600. On July 5, British artillery occupied the heights of Mt. Defiance and trained their guns on both Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. General St. Clair, now in command at Fort Ticonderoga, ordered its immediate evacuation. By dawn on July 6, American troops were on the road to Hubbardton, Vermont, closely pursued by General Simon Fraser's Advance Corps, despite St. Clair's plans to disrupt that pursuit at its point of origin.

A battery on Mount Independence commanding the floating bridge from Ticonderoga had orders to fire on the British when they started across, with the objective of hitting the pursuers at their most vulnerable and, in the process, destroying the bridge. It was not to be. When the British arrived at the battery unimpeded, they found the four Americans of the gun crew dead drunk, having gotten into a cask of Madeira abandoned by their fleeing compatriots.

A view of the ruins of Ft. Ticonderoga from Mount Independence, a mid-19th century image from Benson Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the American Revolution, *1850–52.*

Burgoyne left a small occupation force on Mt. Independence through the remainder of the summer and early fall, but with his capitulation at Saratoga in October, in early November those remaining British and German troops fled back to Canada after razing hundreds of structures on the site. In the 19th century, Mount Independence became farmland and a quarry. Private and public interests working in partnership have protected the site, including — in the late 1970s — against a new threat to battlefield preservation, a proposed nuclear power plant! In the late 20th century archaeologists began to investigate the remains, clear away the debris, and prepare the way for development of what is now regarded as one of the most intact military sites from the Revolutionary War period. ■

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

The Baldwin Trail was built with gentle grades and compacted surfaces to accommodate people of all abilities. Please avoid damaging the trail surface.

Mount Defiance

Rising over 750 feet above Lake Champlain, this rattlesnake-infested eminence was called "Sugar Loaf Hill" by the British. In 1776, after the American colonies declared independence, the American army renamed it "Mount Defiance." This commanding mount overlooks Lake Champlain and the mouth of the La Chute River, which flows out of Lake George into Lake Champlain.

Plans to fortify this position were proposed, but many believed the summit to be practically inaccessible to troops and artillery, so work to defend Mt. Defiance never went forward, especially given more urgent priorities elsewhere around Ticonderoga. In July 1777, as the British army led by General John Burgoyne approached the American fortifications at Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence, Mt. Defiance was quickly seen by the British as critical to the capture of Ticonderoga. General William Phillips, Burgoyne's artillery commander, commenting on the difficulties of access, nevertheless stated "Where a goat can go, a man can go, and where a man can go he can pull a gun up after him."

He was proved right. Despite the rugged terrain, on July 5, British artillerymen managed to haul two heavy 12-pound cannons to the top of the mount. A mortal threat to the American positions and the vital floating bridge, these guns were a key factor in St. Clair's decision to evacuate Ticonderoga during the night of July 5–6. RT

British cannon command the American fortifications and floating bridge. Courtesy Smithsonian Institution.

Fort Ticonderoga

July 5, 1777

Under cover of darkness, General Arthur St. Clair directed the evacuation, sending combatants across the floating pontoon bridge between the fort and gun emplacements on Mount Independence just across the narrow chokepoint on the Vermont shore. From there, the American forces would move south toward Castleton. Fort Ticonderoga was being abandoned to the British.

Fort Ticonderoga. The rhythmic weight of the name still resonates, evoking American fortitude, strength, resolve against tyranny, and revolutionary zeal.

Fort Carillon, taken from the French in 1759 during the French and Indian War, was renamed Ticonderoga — "between the two waters" — by British General Amherst. Since then it had been garrisoned by a small British contingent. Captured in May of 1775 by rebel forces — Green Mountain Boys and a contingent of Massachusetts militia led by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold — its artillery would be transported by oxen over harsh winter wilderness terrain to the American army surrounding Boston. The threat of the big guns would prove instrumental in forcing the evacuation of British troops from that besieged city.

Two years later in the spring and early summer of 1777, however, the Americans had been struggling to prepare a severely, long-compromised Fort Ticonderoga for an expected British assault from the north. Command structure and common soldiers had toiled ceaselessly, trying desperately to ignore the unfortunate reality of the fort's fatal flaws, of which there were three.

First, Fort Ticonderoga had originally been constructed by the French on a southern facing promontory of the peninsula during the French and Indian War to withstand a British attack from that direction. Its vulnerability to the north was an invitation waiting to be exploited.

Second, by June 1777, the garrison totaled somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000 men, far short of the estimate of 10,000 men required for the fort's defense. George Washington, who had never visited the fort, relied on continued, but mis-

Ethan Allen demands Lt. Feltham surrender the fort "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" Most depictions of this event derive from this rather fanciful nineteenth-century version. Courtesy of Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

A Map of Ticonderoga with the Old and New Lines and Batteries taken from an Actual Survey & other Authentick Informations, *1777. This map shows the imposing position of the fort, the "Lower Town," and surrounding defenses, as well as the boom across the narrows (seen at upper right) placed in the hope of obstructing ship traffic. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

LAKES TO LOCKS PASSAGE
The Great Northeast Journey

A View of Ticonderoga from a Point on the North Shore of Lake Champlain, *watercolor by James Hunter, c. late 1776. This painting depicts the campaign dress of Burgoyne's soldiers in red and an artilleryman in blue. Several sailors climb up from the lake, and a variety of boats — one a gunboat — maneuver on Lake Champlain. Mt. Independence and several redoubts are seen in the distance. Courtesy the British Library.*

guided, reports of its impregnability to justify his refusal to send reinforcements.

And third, and perhaps ultimately of greatest significance, ever since the fort was built Ticonderoga's defenders inexplicably had continued to ignore the threat posed by the superior elevation of Mount Defiance, which conveniently provided an artillery platform overlooking the fort from the south. Its vulnerability had been identified — most recently by Colonel John Trumbull and Polish engineer Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko in 1776 — but measures to prevent enemy access to the summit were never implemented.

Having arrived in mid-June to take command, and with British forces massing in Quebec for a major thrust south, Major-General Arthur St. Clair continued to fortify the site's defenses. Burgoyne, believing that the combined sites of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence would be the only serious obstacles in his drive toward Albany, was coming well-prepared for a siege, bringing with him 138 cannons and an army of 8,000 well-trained British and German soldiers. Work proceeded feverishly to strengthen Mount Independence, but with Burgoyne's June 27th occupation of Crown Point, 17 miles to the north, St. Clair was faced with a difficult lose-lose decision. He knew that

General Arthur St. Clair (1737–1818), by Charles Willson Peale, 1782. Courtesy Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia. After the war, St. Clair served as President of the Continental Congress, and was governor of the Northwest Territory. He suffered a severe defeat in a battle with a tribal confederation in Ohio in 1791.

Mount Hope

A visit to Mount Hope, located to the northwest of Fort Ticonderoga, provides a vantage point that makes it easy to understand the strategic value of this site. Sentries would have had a 360-degree view of the military road north to Crown Point, the portage and falls of La Chute River — as well as a clear view of any army coming by way of Lake George.

The revolutionary Americans occupied British Fort Ticonderoga in the opening hours of the insurrection in 1775. After word of the Declaration of Independence reached Ticonderoga in late July 1776, the rebel troops celebrated by giving the surrounding promontories inspirational names: Mounts Independence, Defiance, and Hope. Rebel engineer Jeduthan Baldwin laid out earthworks on Mount Hope in September 1776, as it commanded the heights overlooking La Chute River — the mills, portage and extensive camp grounds to the south and east. The remains of a star-faced edifice can still be seen. In early July 1777, General Burgoyne's first engagement with the rebels was on Mount Hope, resulting in fatalities, and forced them to abandon this post, thereby closing the American escape route to Lake George once the British occupied Fort Ticonderoga.

Much of the site today is occupied by the Mount Hope Cemetery. In the mid-twentieth century the Lonergan brothers of Ticonderoga acquired and developed Mount Defiance and the southern quarter of Mount Hope as tourist attractions. Since 1908, the Fort Ticonderoga Association (FTA) has sought to acquire key "dependencies" of the 18th-century Fort in order to tell as complete a story as possible. In 1910, the FTA acquired the north end of Mount Independence and began its preservation; today the FTA and the Vermont Division of Historic Preservation have joint stewardship of the entire Mount. During the latter years of the Revolutionary War Bicentennial (1977–1981), the Fort Ticonderoga Association was able to acquire Mount Defiance and Mount Hope from the aging Lonergan brothers. Now all three historic dependencies of Fort Ticonderoga are reunited under the FTA's stewardship; and in 1984, the boundaries of the Fort Ticonderoga National Historic Landmark were formally revised to embrace all three dependencies. LtL /NW

This period German print depicts idealized soldiers of the continental army. Continentals wore of range of clothing and colors, often brown or blue with colored facings like the soldier at right, as well as loose linen hunting shirts as seen on the rifleman at left. Courtesy Library of Congress.

abandoning what was believed in the minds of the rebels to be an invincible fortress would draw condemnation, but he also knew he had a responsibility to save his army. Discussions with his staff had already taken place with respect to possible scenarios involving withdrawal in the face of Burgoyne's superior force. When enemy artillery appeared on the summit of Mount Defiance during the day of July 5 prepared to bombard the entire American fortifications on both shores, St. Clair made the unavoidable decision to effect an evacuation that night.

The operation began quietly, with women, children, the sick and wounded, and tons of provisions loaded into watercraft destined for Skenesborough at the extreme southern end of Lake Champlain. Much was left behind, including four soldiers too critically wounded to be moved. By 1 a.m., however, what had started as a relatively orderly retreat had deteriorated into undisciplined chaos, spurred on by the inconceivable ineptitude of an alcoholic French general serving in the rebel army, Roche de Fermoy, who, against all orders, set his own quarters on Mount Independence on fire, exposing the fleeing Americans to British view in a flickering glare encompassing the entire hillside.

Slow to respond, the British allowed the last American soldiers to vacate the area at 4 a.m. with only a few parting shots having been exchanged. Fort Ticonderoga, the citadel of the north and the primary impediment to a British invasion of New York, had fallen to Burgoyne without a struggle, and the chase was on.

Ticonderoga continued to be an inviting target. Two months later on September 18, the very eve of the Battle of Saratoga, Fort Ticonderoga became the focal point of a successful American raid. As one element of Major General Benjamin Lincoln's coordinated operation to disrupt Burgoyne's long and tenuous supply line, already stretched to its limit, a force of 500 men under Colonel John Brown attacked British positions near the fort, including Mount Defiance. Realizing he lacked the resources to

The ruins of Ticonderoga in 1818, from The American Revolution *by John Fiske,* 1891*, collection Ron Toelke.*

A View of the old French Fort and Batteries at Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain and His Majesty's Ship Inflexible*,* also the Piers constructed with the trunks of large trees by the American Army for the conveyance of their Troops to Mount Independence taken on the spot by H. Rudyard Lieu[t] Corps of Royal Engineers in the year 1777*, Courtesy of Fort Ticonderoga Museum.*

capture the fort itself, he contented himself with freeing 118 American prisoners, seizing more than 200 boats, taking 300 British prisoners, and capturing large stores of arms and materials before embarking four days later on a less successful venture to capture more British supplies at British-held Diamond Island at the south end of Lake George. Repulsed at the island, the very magnitude of his earlier victory at Ticonderoga had already made it problematic for Burgoyne to receive reinforcements or supplies from those sources. ■

Today, Fort Ticonderoga is a museum, major cultural destination, and non-profit educational organization. Courtesy of Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

The ruins of Fort Ticonderoga in 1910. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Above: Fort Ticonderoga today. Center right: Fort Ticonderoga as seen from Mount Independence. Photos courtesy of Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

Fort Ticonderoga today

In 1755, at the beginning of the Seven Years' War in North America, the French military began a fort to overlook the outlet of La Chute River that connected Lake George with Lake Champlain. This area was a critical portage in the waterway linking New York with New France (Canada).

In July 1758 a small French garrison defeated a vastly superior British army in the bloodiest battle in American history until the Civil War. The next year the British army succeeded in driving the French from Carillon (as Ticonderoga was then called) and secured it for Great Britain for the next sixteen years. On 10 May 1775, Americans captured Fort Ticonderoga in what many people consider the first significant American victory of the Revolution. Two years later the British army returned with superior numbers and forced the evacuation of the American army from Ticonderoga. After the defeat of the British army at Saratoga that fall, the British evacuated Ticonderoga largely destroying its fortifications and structures.

The grounds of the former military post were purchased by New York merchant William Ferris Pell in 1820 and remained in the family's possession for the rest of the 19th century. Pell's acquisition of the land launched America's first private preservation effort. Stephen H.P. Pell (William Ferris Pell's grandson) and his wife Sarah G.T. Pell initiated the reconstruction of the fort around the old ruins in 1908, completing the first portion in 1909, and the site has remained open to the public since.

Stephen and Harriet Pell assembled the core museum collections together. In 1931, they established the nonprofit Fort Ticonderoga Association to assure the preservation and interpretation of the site in perpetuity, simultaneously embracing the family's commitment while ensuring preservation of the site beyond the vagaries of succeeding generations. Fort Ticonderoga museum's collection has grown in the century since the Pells began collecting and now encompasses thousands of artifacts acquired in the 20th century, archeological material recovered from the site from over a century, and a large collection of archival material.

Restored Fort Ticonderoga was named one of the first National Historic Landmarks in 1960. In 1972 this museum was one of the first accredited by the American Association of Museums and has achieved re-accreditation each decade since. Today, Fort Ticonderoga offers diverse, multi-day experiences for its guests, including historic boat tours on Lake Champlain, new exhibitions, dynamic interpretive programs, beautiful gardens, and stunning views from Mt. Defiance. Courtesy Fort Ticonderoga Museum

The Battle of Hubbardton

July 6, 1777

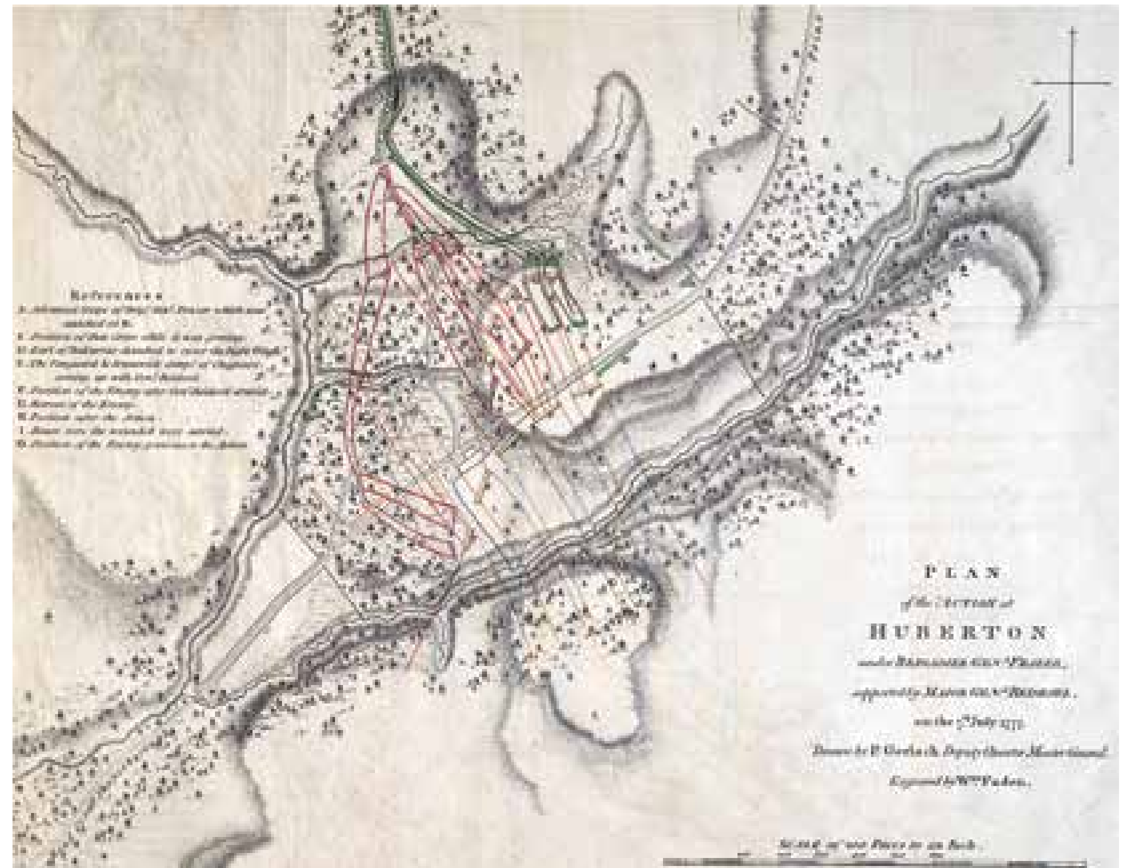
American forces fleeing in disorder from Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence coalesced into several distinct groups as they made their way toward Castleton, where they hoped to regroup. Stopping temporarily at Hubbardton to rest the main body of the American troops, General St. Clair instructed Seth Warner of the Green Mountain Boys to command a reconstituted rear guard of a combined force of his Green Mountain Boys, Nathan Hale's 2nd New Hampshire, which had been gathering stragglers, and Ebenezer Francis's 11th Massachusetts, which, having been designated to provide the cover for the initial withdrawal, had yet to appear. The vanguard under St. Clair continued on its way to Castleton, where they settled in for the night.

Throughout much of the day, British General Simon Fraser's Advance Corps remained in close pursuit with General Friedrich von Riedesel's Brunswickers close behind. By nightfall, exhausted forces from both sides were strung out along the Ticonderoga-Castleton road and settled in for some much-needed rest — St. Clair in Castleton; Warner, Hale, and Francis in Hubbardton; Fraser three miles further back; and Reidesel trailing Fraser by another few miles.

Fraser had his men up and moving by 3 a.m. on the 7th. Making slow progress in the pre-dawn darkness, it was not until 5 a.m. that Fraser's Loyalists and Indian scouts made contact with, and drove back, a picket established by Hale in the saddle overlooking Sucker Brook. Electing not to wait for von Riedesel's reinforcements, Fraser sent two companies from his own 24th Regiment under Major Robert Grant into action, attacking Hale's troops along the brook. Firing from behind an abbatis, American volleys took their toll, inflicting 22 casualties including Major Grant himself. Fraser then initiated a flanking action, and, for the next several hours, fierce back-and-forth fighting ensued, both sides trying to gain an advantage from occupying neighboring hilltops. American forces spent much of the battle repelling several British attempts to overrun their primary defensive position established on what is now known as Monument Hill.

At one point, two companies of British grenadiers encountered 60 Americans presenting "clubbed" muskets, i.e., firearms held in the air butt high, a symbol of surrender. At 30 feet, the Americans reversed their weapons and fired,

A diorama at the Hubbardton battlefield site depicts a British attack on Monument Hill, courtesy Hubbardton Battlefield Historic Site. Below: A Plan of the Action at HUBERTON [Hubbardton], *published in 1780, courtesy Library of Congress.*



Roy Frederic Heinrich's depiction of the Battle of Hubbardton.

inflicting heavy casualties before turning tail and fleeing through the woods, pursued by the remaining incensed grenadiers.

Attack and counter-attack continued until the arrival of von Riedesel — with band playing and soldiers singing Lutheran hymns — whose fresh Brunswickers shifted the balance, adding to the mélée the threat of encirclement. With the Castleton Road cut off as an avenue of escape, Warner ordered his men to pull back to the east. While crossing an open wheat field, the gallant Colonel Ebenezer Francis, wounded but still calling out orders to his men,

Reenactors portraying American troops advance to battle at the annual Hubbardton battle reenactment. The rugged Green Mountain terrain is seen in the distance. Photo courtesy Hubbardton Battlefield Historic Site

An early 20th-century post-card of The Hubbardton Battlefiled monument, erected in 1859.

was cut down by enemy fire. The sight of him falling sent the Americans into flight across the Pittsford Ridge toward Rutland and New Hampshire. The fighting at Hubbardton was over.

The stiff resistance put up by the rebel troops made Hubbardton a costly victory for the British. The American rearguard action had served its purpose, putting more distance between the British pursuit and the main body of American troops, inflicting heavy casualties on well-trained British units, and demonstrating the rebellious colonials' willingness to fight.

Hubbardton was the only battle of the war fought in what is now the state of Vermont. At the time it was territory disputed by New York, New Hampshire, and the independent-minded settlers in the contested area, who had declared their independence in January 1777 but had yet to be recognized by Congress. ■

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

Hubbardton Battlefield is also a designated Important Birding Area (IBA). Keep an appropriate distance from nests and nesting colonies so as not to disturb them or expose them to danger.

The "Republic of Vermont"

Vermont was originally inhabited by two Native American tribes (the Algonquian-speaking Abenaki and the Iroquois). Claimed by the French as a part of New France (Québec), the French built Fort Ste. Anne on Isle La Motte in 1666. British Fort Dummer, built in 1724, protected the settlements of Dummerston and Brattleboro. After France's defeat in the French and Indian War, the region became British territory in 1763.

The provinces of New Hampshire and New York, both claimed the area (then called the New Hampshire Grants). Disputes over land titles granted by New York and New Hampshire led to the formation in 1770 of the "Green Mountain Boys" militia, which enforced the New Hampshire claims. Regional militia leaders who became prominent during the Revolution included brothers Ethan, Levi, and Ira Allen, and Seth Warner.

On January 15, 1777, representatives from the New Hampshire Grants declared their independence, briefly calling the region "The Republic of New Connecticut." On June 2, 1777, a second convention met adopting the name "Vermont," and on July 4, a constitution was drafted, formally adopted by the delegates on July 8.

Vermont remained a sovereign entity for 14 years, governed from the town of Windsor. Independent Vermont issued its own coinage from 1785 to 1788 and also operated a postal service. Thomas Chittenden (1730–1797) was the governor in 1778–89 and again in 1790–91.

Because Vermont was still claimed by New York, admission to the union required the consent of the New York legislature. On March 6, 1790 the New York legislature agreed, contingent on a final boundary settlement. Negotiations were succesfully concluded in October, 1790, when Vermont agreed to pay $30,000 to settle New York land claims. Vermont became the first state to join the original thirteen, being admitted to the union on March 4, 1791. RT

The Battle at Fort Anne

July 7–8, 1777

While the main body of American troops crossed over into Vermont and fled south toward Castleton with the appearance of Burgoyne's artillery on Mount Defiance on July 5, the remainder of the Fort Ticonderoga garrison — dependents and the sick and wounded, along with a large amount of supplies and a 600-man escort under the command of Colonel Pierce Long — was loaded onto every available vessel in the middle of the night and headed up the lake in the early hours of the 6th to Skenesborough, present-day Whitehall.

Mistakenly assuming that Jeduthan Baldwin's bridge and an iron-and-timber boom constructed the previous month between Forts Ticonderoga and Independence would prevent the British from pursuing those escaping by water, Long proceeded at a leisurely pace. He could not have been more wrong about the effectiveness of the obstructions. The British gunboats blasted their way through in half an hour.

A few hours later, the British fleet caught up with Long's troops at Skenesborough. Caught by surprise and subjected to cannon fire which set three ships ablaze, Long and his men abandoned the remaining vessels and provisions to the British torch and fled through the rapidly falling dusk and the woods to Fort Anne. Colonel John Hill and 190 soldiers of the 9th Foot followed in close pursuit, settling in for the night about a mile from the fort.

The following afternoon, an American scouting party tangled with Hill's pickets in a four hour firefight, but it would not be until the next day that a more generalized action would take place.

After being informed of Hill's inferior numbers from a returning American who had managed to infiltrate the British camp, Long launched an attack on the morning of July 8. Augmented by several hundred militia under the command of Colonel Van Rensselaer, Long drove Hill's troops back through dense woods and over rocky knolls to a defensive position atop a ridge. For two hours the British held off Long's increasingly effective fire. With ammunition running out, Hill was on the verge of surrendering when an Indian war whoop echoed through the forest. Fearing the imminent arrival of British and Indian reinforcements and with his own supply of ammunition running low, Long reluctantly pulled back to Fort Anne. What he did not know was that he had fallen victim to the cunning of a single British officer successfully imitating the battle cry of the dreaded Indians.

View of a Saw Mill & Block House upon Fort Anne Creek the property of Genl Skene. Which on Genl Burgoyne's Army advancing was set Fire to by the Americans, *by Thomas Aubrey, published in 1789, London.*

Part of the counties of Charlotte and Albany, in the Province of New York: being the seat of war between the King's forces under Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne and the rebel army *(detail). By Thomas Kitchin and Robert Baldwin, published in London,1778. The region around Wood Creek, Skenesborough, and Fort Anne is seen at center.*

LAKES TO LOCKS PASSAGE
The Great Northeast Journey

Musket tool and worm dug from the Saratoga battlefield. Soldiers were required to keep their muskets clean and functional. The tool had two screwdriver blades and a sharp point to clean the musket's touchhole. The worm, attached to the threaded end of the ramrod, was used to remove the lead musket ball when unloading the weapon was required. Courtesy Saratoga National Historic Park.

Site of Fort Anne, *from Benson Lossing's* Pictorial Field-Book of the American Revolution, *1850–52.*

The "Battle Plaque" cut into the rock face of Battle Hill along U. S. Route 4, just north of the village.

With information provided back at Fort Anne by a prisoner freed in the attack, Long did learn that a legitimate and sizable British relief force was expected soon. Given that knowledge, the soldiers at Fort Anne packed up, burned the fort, and made their way 14 miles to relative safety at Fort Edward.

The spirited action had resulted effectively in a draw. The American rebels failed to take the ridge top position of the British, but they gave a good account of themselves, despite losing the flags of the 2nd New Hampshire Regiment. They rescued a number of prisoners, and escaped with few casualties to Fort Edward to fight another day. ■

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

In 2016, local historical groups came together to preserve the site of the Battle of Fort Anne for future generations. For more information about Battle Hill and the preservation initiative visit the Old Stone House Library.

Fort Edward

Fort Edward's strategic location north of Albany commanded the southern terminus of the critical portage between the Hudson River and Lake George. Defensively, it provided a last line of protection for Albany and the lower Hudson Valley against invasion from the north.

On July 10, Burgoyne ordered most of his army to advance overland on the primitive road from Skenesboro south to Fort Edward, via Fort Anne. After receiving word of Ticonderoga's fall, General Schuyler went to Fort Edward where there was a force of about 700 Continentals and 1,400 militia. He planned to impede Burgoyne's march by obstructing the enemy's route, which slowed Burgoyne's advance to a crawl, as his weary troops had to laboriously remove obstacles to clear the road. On July 11, Burgoyne wrote to Lord Germain in London complaining that the Americans were systematically felling trees, destroying bridges, and damming streams along the road to Fort Edward. Burgoyne's army finally reached Fort Edward on July 29, only to find that Schuyler had already abandoned it, his forces retreating to Stillwater.

Today, visitors can tour the Old Fort House Museum, a house built by Patrick Smyth in 1772 with wood taken from the ruins of Fort Edward. Smyth, accused of being a loyalist, was arrested in 1777 by General Benedict Arnold. During the Revolutionary War, the house was occupied by both British and American troops as a headquarters. General Stark built a stockade fence around the house and for a time the building was called Fort Stark. It was used by General Burgoyne for a short time and the Baroness Riedesel also mentions staying at the house in her memoirs. Colonel Adiel Sherwood purchased the house after Smyth's arrest and operated it as an inn and tavern. A later owner of the house was Dr. John Cochran, George Washington's personal surgeon and the first Surgeon General of the American army. In July 1783, General George Washington dined at the house twice on his way to and from Crown Point, bringing with him another future president, James Monroe. RT

The Old Fort House Museum, Fort Edward, NY. Courtesy of the Fort Edward Historical Association.

Walloomsac, New York

The Battle of Bennington

August 16, 1777

Many factors can shape the course of a battle — weather, manpower, firepower, and terrain, among others. The outcome of the Battle of Bennington, however — despite the roles played by each of those factors — can perhaps be better traced to the sharp contrast in leadership between rebel and British forces: one commander being the right man in the right place at the right time; the other, the wrong man in the wrong place at the wrong time.

With Burgoyne continuing to head south after Hubbardton, communities in New Hampshire and newly independent Vermont were fearful that the British would turn to the east. They scrambled to raise defensive troops. Having little confidence in the military command at Ticonderoga, the New Hampshire General Court turned to John Stark for help. Stark, fiercely independent and with a long history of distinguished service going back to the French and Indian War, had recently resigned his commission in the Continental Army, having unjustly been passed over for promotion. Now named a brigadier general with responsibility only to New Hampshire authorities, the popular Stark embraced his independent command, raising a force of 1500 men in less than a week. By the beginning of August, his forces had moved into southern Vermont with the intention of harassing Burgoyne's left flank and rear, cutting off his access to the east.

Meanwhile, Burgoyne, learning of a plentiful supply of horses in the Connecticut River Valley, had determined to send a force composed primarily of German Brunswick troops on a foraging mission for horses and supplies east toward the river. Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich Baum, the German officer selected to lead the expedition, inexperienced at independent command and unable to speak English, was an unfortunate choice.

Baum's mission had difficulties from the start. His heavily-laden troops advanced slowly over the rudimentary roads. Indian and loyalist scouts preceding the main force attacked individuals, slaughtered livestock, and looted homes and farms, alerting the countryside to the approach of the German troops. Indians, angry at not being compensated on the spot for the few animals they had brought in, killed or drove them off rather than deliver them to the Germans. Harassment by armed citizenry further slowed his progress.

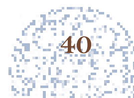
General John Stark *(1728–1822) by Alonzo Chappel. New Hampshire-born John Stark was a veteran of the French and Indian War and served with distinction throughout the American Revolution. He is said to have rallied his men at Bennington with this cry — "There are your enemies, the Red Coats and the Tories. They are ours, or this night Molly Stark sleeps a widow!" Courtesy Ron Toelke.*

At right: The mill at Sancoick, site of the skirmish on August 14, 1777. *Illustration from Benson Lossing's* Pictorial Field-Book of the American Revolution, *1850–52.*

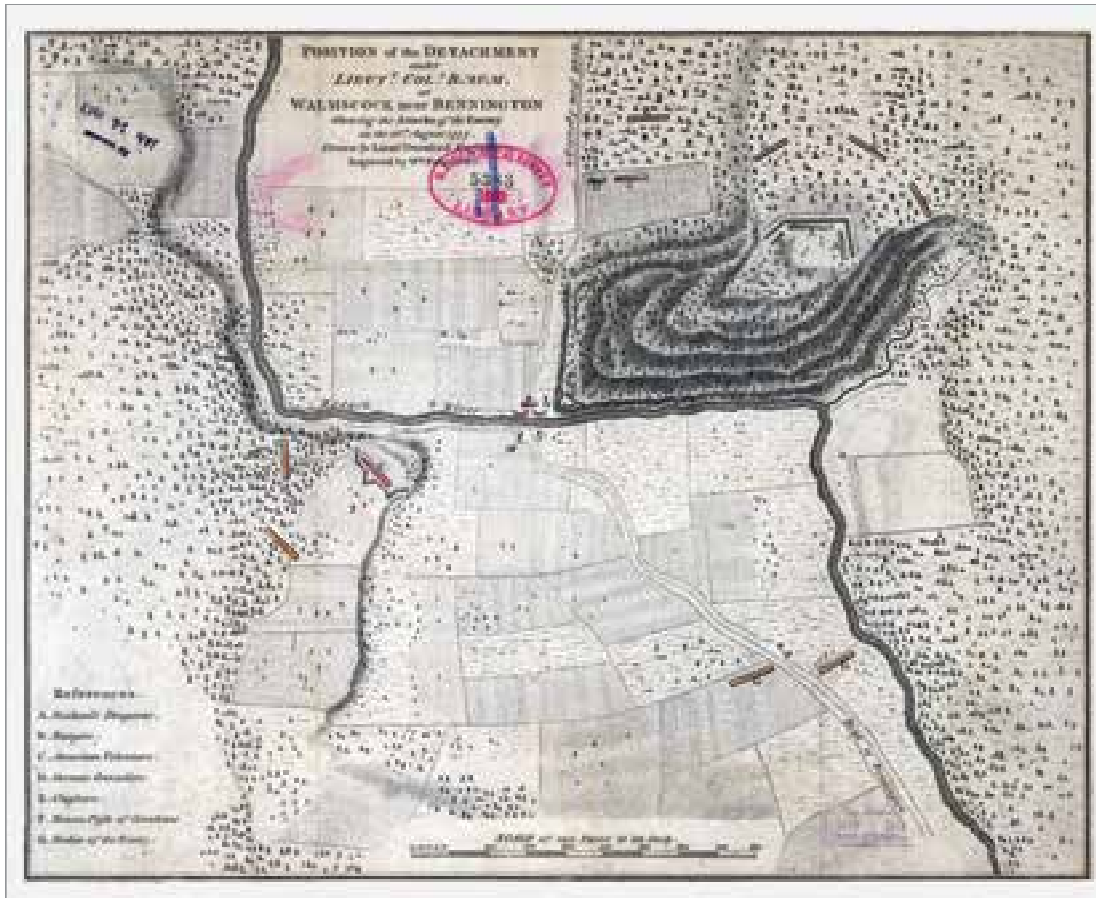
On the morning of August 14, Baum encountered a scouting party of 200 men under William Gregg sent out by Stark the previous afternoon to investigate reports of British activity. Having occupied a mill in what is now North Hoosick, NY, but finding himself outnumbered, Gregg pulled back, joining with Stark about 4 miles west of Bennington near a small bridge crossing the Walloomsac River. Baum advanced to the bridge, where, confronted by the sizable rebel force, he established a defensive position, occupying buildings west of the bridge and siting an artillery battery on a hill overlooking the bridge. Stark, unable to lure Baum forward, pulled back and established camp, the two sides settling in for an uneasy night.

Heavy rain throughout August 15 prevented any significant action and allowed Baum, outnumbered almost two to one, to dig in and await expected reinforcements sent by Burgoyne under the command of Colonel Heinrich von Breymann. Stark, at the same time, took advantage of the hiatus, sending out teams of sharpshooters and scouts to harass Baum's troops and to map out the

At right: Position of the Detachment undr Lieut[t] Col. Baum.... *This map was drawn in 1777 by Lt. Desmaretz Durnford, a British engineer with Baum's expedition who accurately depicted the landscape and positions of the various forces. It was engraved and presented to the British Parliament in 1780 as part of General Burgoyne's explanation of the failure of his campaign. Considered a fine example of 18th-century map making, north is to the right. Courtesy Library of Congress.*



Brunswick's Prinz Ludwig dragoon (cavalry) regiment arrived in Quebec in June 1776 — without horses. Few horses were available, so most of the regiment fought as infantry. They exchanged their boots for overalls or gaiters, otherwise keeping their cavalry uniforms, including their long dragoon swords. Most of the regiment was captured at Bennington. Courtesy Parks Canada, art by Gerry Embleton.



Skirmish at SanCoick Mill

Aware that Baum's men were in the vicinity, Major General John Stark was growing impatient. He sent Colonel William Gregg and two hundred men to locate Baum's advancing forces. Gregg's troops moved about seven miles ahead, halting at a mill in Sancoick on the evening of August 13th. Early on the morning of the 14th, Baum encountered Gregg's scouting party and a skirmish ensued. Gregg's men fired a volley, then withdrew into the woods, having dismantled the bridge surface to delay Baum's further advance. Gregg felll back two miles to meet Stark and his army at the ford of the Walloomsac. Learning the movements of Baum's force, Stark sent instructions for Col. Seth Warner (who was camped in Manchester) to bring his men up as soon as possible.

Baum wrote to Burgoyne (in German) that morning to inform him of the situation — the translation below:

Sancoick, Aug. 14, 1777, 9 o'clock

Sir:

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that I arrived here at eight in the morning, having had intelligence of a party of the enemy being in possession of a mill, which they abandoned at our approach, but in their usual way fired from the bushes, and took the road to Bennington. A savage was slightly wounded. They broke down the bridge, which has retarded our march about an hour. They left in the mill about seventy eight barrels of very fine flour, one thousand bushels of wheat, twenty barrels of salt, and about one thousand pounds' worth of pearl and potashes. I have ordered thirty provincials and an officer to guard the provisions and the pass of the bridge. By five prisoners here they agree that fifteen to eighteen hundred men are in Bennington, but are supposed to leave it on our approach. I will proceed so far today as to fall on the enemy tomorrow early, and make such disposition as I think necessary from the intelligence I may receive. People are flocking in hourly and want to be armed. The savages cannot be controlled; they ruin and take everything they please.

I am, etc.

F. Baum RT

The diorama at the Bennington Battle Monument depicts Stark's advance on the center of Baum's defenses. In the left distance is a detachment of Brunswick jägers, troops armed with rifles who were skilled in skirmishing; to their right are Brunswick grenadiers, distinguished by their tall, brass-fronted mitre caps. Courtesy Bennington Battle Monument.

Brigadier General John Stark directing the victorious American forces at the Battle of Bennington, Vermont*, by Alonzo Chappel (1828–1887). A prolific painter of American history scenes, Chappel's iconic work, while capturing the drama of the action, is not always an accurate portrayal of an event. The group of prisoners at left depicts some men wearing mid-19th century uniforms. Courtesy Bennington Museum. Bennington, VT.*

locations of Baum's units. Picking off Baum's men from the protection of the wooded slopes that day, Stark's marksmen accounted for thirty mostly Indian casualties without losing a man. With the rain ending by noon on the 16th, Stark prepared to attack.

Having determined the exact positions of Baum's defensive forces, Stark chose to forego a frontal assault in favor of an encircling action. Dividing his forces into four columns, Stark positioned three of those to attack specific targets. Colonel Moses Nichols, at the head of 300 New Hampshire troops, would swing around to the north and west to come in on Baum's left, which included a hilltop artillery position. Colonel Samuel Herrick's Vermont rangers accompanied by local militia, a small force of 100, would move west and hit Baum's right flank. Colonels David Hobart and Thomas Stickney with 200 troops would mount an assault against the Tory Redoubt protecting the bridge — militia battling loyalists, neighbor fighting neighbor.

Once Baum's troops were engaged and occupied by those three flanking maneuvers, Stark would lead the main force of 1200 into action directly across the bridge. By 3 o'clock on what had become a hot, sticky afternoon, Stark's troops were in position, and the pre-arranged signal to attack — two musket shots — initiated the onset of fierce fighting.

The battle did not last long. Baum's inadequate defenses, spread out too thinly on the hillsides overlooking the bridge and compromised by the absence of adequate lines of communication, quickly collapsed. Indian and loyalist units were rapidly overcome; German units fought on, but were overwhelmed by Stark's superior numbers. By 5 pm, with Baum himself mortally wounded and his forces fleeing in disarray, exuberant rebel soldiers pursued the enemy from the field. Amidst the chaos of the battle's aftermath, von Breymann's reinforcements belatedly appeared on the scene. Having been delayed by both weather and von Breymann's own misplaced priorities — his insistence that his 500 men proceed through rough wilderness in disciplined marching order — von Breymann was simply too late. Meeting resistance by Seth Warner's own reinforcements, Breymann's Germans were quickly put to flight.

General John Stark leads his men to victory in this 19th-century engraving. The German redoubt is seen on the hill in the distance. From Our Greater Country, 1901, *by Henry Davenport Northrop. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

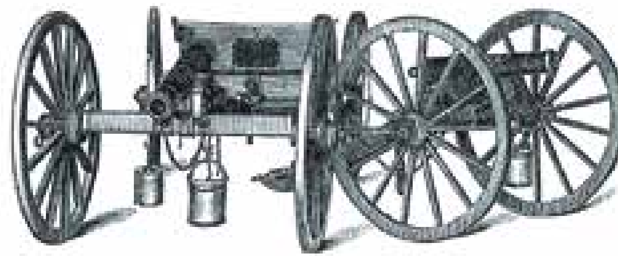
The British defeat at Bennington was a major setback for the Burgoyne campaign. Not only did he fail to secure the supplies that were the object of the mission, but he lost fully 15 percent of his fighting force — killed, wounded, or captured. Expected Loyalist support never appeared, and Indian fighters, disillusioned and disappointed, drifted back into the wilderness.

John Stark's masterfully choreographed victory — not only designed by him, but, it is widely reported, spirited on by his inspirational presence on the battlefield throughout the afternoon — rarely receives the credit it should. It crippled the British campaign; as a result of Stark's prowess combined with Baum's fatal mismanagement, Burgoyne entered the critical months of September and October deficient in manpower, transport, and military materiel. ■

ACTION OPPORTUNITY!

The Emerald Ash Borer is an invasive species that feeds on Ash trees, such as those found at the battlefield. If you see signs of the beetles, please report it to park staff. The site is carry in and carry out — please help keep the picnic area tidy.

A nineteenth-century engraving of two of the four cannons captured at the Battle of Bennington. These famous bronze cannons were cast at Britain's Woolwich Arsenal by Jan and Pieter Verbruggen in 1776. They continued to be used by American forces during the remainder of the Revolution, and later during the War of 1812. Declared obsolete after the latter war, they were refurbished at the Watervliet Arsenal near Troy, New York, and presented to the State of Vermont in 1848. One is at the State House in Montpelier, and one is at the Bennington Museum. Courtesy collection Ron Toelke.



Prisoners Taken at Battle of Bennington on Aug. 16, 1777, *painting by Leroy Williams, WPA artist (1930s). As a result of the battle, around 200 of Baum's men were killed and some 700 were captured, plus many stands of arms and four cannons. Courtesy Bennington Museum, Bennington, VT.*

The Bennington Battle Monument

The actual Battle of Bennington was fought in New York State, about 10 miles away from Bennington, Vermont. The Bennington Battlefield is a U.S. National Historic Landmark and is entirely within New York State.

Local organizers in Vermont proposed building a monument to commemorate the battle's hundredth anniversary in 1877. Many designs were proposed, and eventually a design by J. Phillip Rinn was accepted with some changes, and the cornerstone was laid in 1887. The monument was completed in November 1889 at a cost of $112,000. The 306-foot tall monument is built of Sandy Hill dolomite from Hudson Falls, New York, a bluish-gray magnesian limestone that contains many fossils. President Benjamin Harrison attended the dedication ceremonies in 1891 and held a reception at the nearby Walloomsac Inn. Today the Bennington Battle Monument is a Vermont State Historic Site.

From the observation level (200 feet above the ground), visitors can see Vermont, New York, and Massachusetts. Period artifacts and a diorama of the battle as well as information on how the monument was built are on view. Statues of John Stark, Seth Warner, and other notables are located on the grounds. RT

A colored lithograph of the Bennington Monument published in August, 1891. Courtesy Library of Congress

Saratoga — The Battle of Freeman's Farm

September 19, 1777

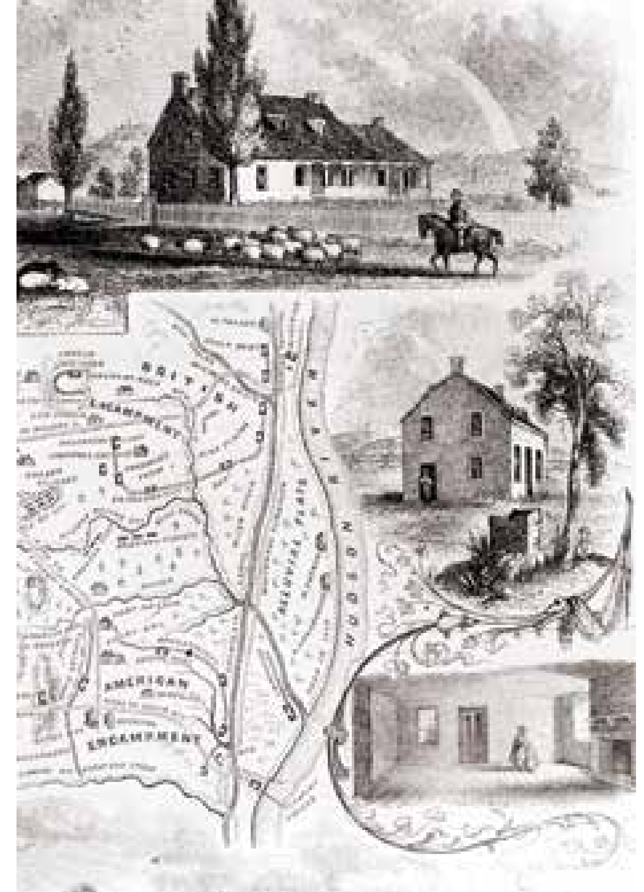
The moment had finally arrived. A thick, cold fog enshrouded the bluffs overlooking the western shore of the Hudson River north of Albany. After months of planning and an arduous trek through the forests of the northern upstart colonies, General John Burgoyne's army prepared to spread out across a three-mile front with only two miles of difficult terrain separating his troops from the American rebel force, the final impediment standing between him and his prize objective — Albany.

Rather than focus his attack on the more heavily defended River Road along which the British would have to travel to reach their destination, Burgoyne planned a flanking maneuver on the less accessible western perimeter that would throw Gates's defenses into disarray. The resulting chaos would facilitate an encirclement, pinning the American army against the river and forcing its capitulation. The offensive consisted of three columns: Friedrich Von Riedesel would command a combined German/British force of 1,100 on the left along the River Road; Hamilton, another 1,100 soldiers in the center; and Fraser, in what was envisioned as a repeat of his triumph at Ticonderoga, the bulk of the attacking forces, 2,000 of Burgoyne's most reliable soldiers, on the right. Burgoyne understood that moving his troops into position to launch the attack would take hours.

Riedesel's column encountered felled trees and demolished bridges; Hamilton's men, encumbered with 50 to 60 pounds of gear and arms, scrambled down, and then up, the steep, rugged faces of the Great Ravine; and Fraser swung much further west than planned to avoid those same difficulties. All would eventually focus on 12-acres of roughly cleared fields known as Freeman's Farm in the midst of the densely forested area.

As the fog lifted, American pickets observed these movements and relayed the information back to Gates, whose inclination was to sit back and await Burgoyne's attack at the American breastworks. Benedict Arnold, however, in command of Gates's left wing, recognizing the threat Fraser's movement represented, managed to convince Gates that it would be prudent to block any attack from that quarter. Arnold reasoned that taking on the British in rough, wooded terrain would work to the advantage of the Americans, who could still fall back to the breastworks if needed. Gates gave Arnold permission to move Morgan's riflemen and Dearborn's light infantry forward.

By midday, Morgan's men were advancing in column on the southern border of Freeman's fields where forward American and British sentries were already exchanging fire. In support of the outnumbered sentries, concealed behind stumps, a rock-and-rail fence, and in, among, and behind trees and outbuildings, Morgan's rifles had barely arrived when an advance guard under British Major Gordon Forbes was ordered forward by Hamilton and emerged from the northern wooded edge of the fields. Unsuspectingly making their way onto the open turf, Forbes and his men suddenly found themselves beset by the accurate and withering fire of a largely unseen enemy. Within minutes, their officer ranks decimated — all killed or wounded by Morgan's sharpshooters — Forbes's men fled back to the protection of the woods to the north. Overjoyed at their initial success, Morgan's men recklessly set off in pursuit of Forbes's survivors, only to run headlong into the bulk of the British troops, massed and waiting at the woods's edge. Themselves routed in turn, Morgan's impetuous riflemen headed back to the safety of their own lines. As both sides abandoned the field, carrying off their respective casualties, impulsive friendly fire from Hamilton's men in the woods inflicted even more damage on the returning British.



Map and localities around the armies at Saratoga; at top the Neilson house (the part to the right is the original structure from 1777; the middle building is Gate's headquarters; below is the room in the Neilson house used as a headquarters by General Poor and Colonel Morgan. From Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the American Revolution*, 1850–52.*

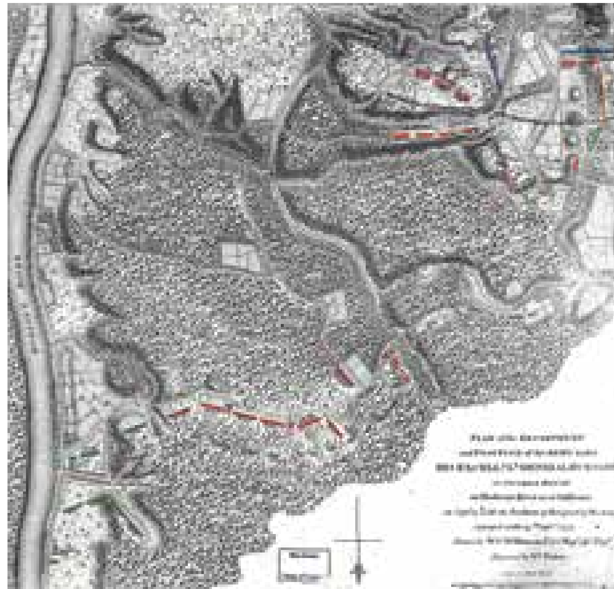
A momentary lull gave both Burgoyne and Arnold the opportunity to send fresh troops into what had now become the focal point of the struggle. Fighting shortly resumed, and for the next several hours, as reinforcements poured in, a pitched battle enveloped the farm and its environs.

LAKES TO LOCKS PASSAGE
The Great Northeast Journey

First one side, then the other, gained the upper hand. Generals Arnold, Learned, Poor, Burgoyne, Riedesel, Phillips, and Fraser all took the field. The fighting was fierce. As described by Lieutenant William Digby of the 53rd Regiment: "…such an explosion of fire I never had any idea of before, and the heavy artillery joining in concert like great peals of thunder, assisted by the echoes of the woods, almost deafened us with the noise…crash of cannon and musketry never ceased till darkness parted us…." Units fired at each other from point-blank range. Tomahawk and bayonet were bloodied in hand-to-hand combat. Bodies lay strewn across the battlefield. As darkness fell, the final American surge against the British center met stiff resistance, and the decision was made to retire to the fortifications on Bemis Heights.

Who won? At the end of the day, with the Americans having pulled back behind their breastworks, the British, occupying the ground on which the battle had been fought, could justifiably claim victory, but a hollow one at best. The British attack had been blunted. Von Riedesel's appearance late in the day prevented Hamilton's center from being overrun, and it was only his quick response that secured British control of the field. Gates, on the other hand, by utilizing only a fraction of his forces and refusing to commit to the combat any troops other than Arnold's left wing, had perhaps missed a splendid opportunity to terminate Burgoyne's campaign on the spot. In the end, Burgoyne had failed to achieve any part of his ultimate objective — utilizing the Freeman farm as a jumping off point to sweep aside the American defenders on Bemis Heights, thereby opening the route to Albany. He had suffered crippling losses and was now mired in place for the foreseeable future with little or no help in sight. Benedict Arnold's initiative and charismatic leadership, and the courage and resilience of the rebel fighters had seen to that. ■

American continental soldiers retreating in the foreground while British soldiers are advancing on John Freeman's house, September 19, 1777. Courtesy National Park Service/Harpers Ferry Center Commissioned Art Collection/artist Don Troiani.



The encampment & position of the army under His Excy. Lt. Gl: Burgoyne at Swords's and Freeman's Farms on Hudsons River near Stillwater, *by William Cumberland Wilkinson, 1777. This map shows the heavily wooded and broken terrain that lay between the armies, with few open clearings. Positions of British (red) German (green) and American forces (blue) at different stages of the battle. South is at top, and the major actions later in the day are seen at upper right. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

Daniel Morgan

Daniel Morgan by Charles Wilson Peale

Daniel Morgan (1736–1802) was one of the most gifted and inspiring leaders active during the Revolution. He gained military experience in the French and Indian War and afterwards helped protect the frontier, serving as a rifleman. In 1775, Virigina agreed to send 10 companies of rifle-armed men to the siege of Boston, one of which was raised and commanded by Morgan. He marched with Arnold to Quebec and was later captured, a prisoner of war until he was exchanged in January 1777.

In June, 1777, Morgan was given command of the 500-man Provisional Rifle Corps, a detachment of which served under Morgan during the Saratoga Campaign. Morgan and his men distinguished themselves in battle, where their accurate rilfes proved deadly to British officers on the field, most notably the mortal wounding of British General Simon Fraser at Bemis Heights.

Frustrated with Congress and passed over for promotion, Morgan resigned in 1779. However, after the American defeat at Camden, South Carolina in 1780, he joined the American Southern Army, winning the Battle of Cowpens in January 1781, severely disrupting Cornwallis' British campaign to conquer the southern colonies. After the Revolution Morgan helped supress the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 as a major general. He later served a term in Congress from 1797 to 1799. RT

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

Although there are no gravestones, Saratoga Battlefield is a cemetery where hundreds of soldiers are still buried. Please be respectful of this hallowed ground as you contemplate the fighting that happened here in 1777.

Saratoga — The Battle of Bemis Heights

October 7, 1777

After the fighting on September 19, 1777, Burgoyne planned to resume the attack the next day. Advice from subordinates, however, convinced him to rest his weary troops for a day and postpone action until the 21st. In the early hours of that morning, a messenger arrived bringing news that changed his plans entirely. General Clinton in Manhattan offered assistance. Though the communication was limited in scope and ambiguous in tone, Burgoyne seized upon the possibility and ordered the construction of defensive works in preparation for an anticipated arrival of reinforcements.

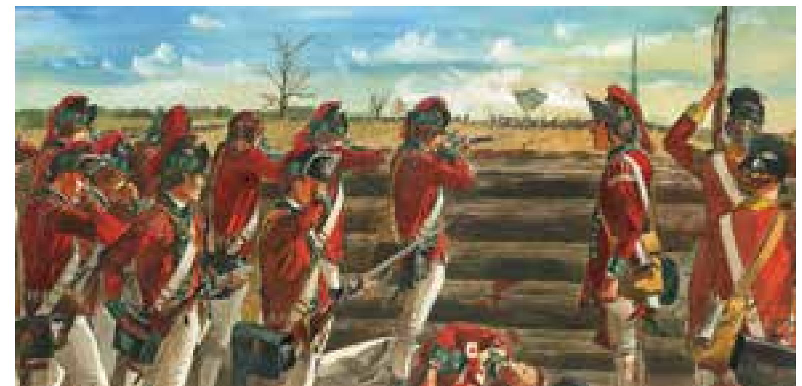
Laying claim to the ground so dearly acquired on the 19th, engineers sited redoubts — temporary fortifications — in three strategic locations. What was christened the Great Redoubt near the river consisted of gun batteries on hilltops north of the Great Ravine protecting British stores, ammunition depot, hospital, and transport. The Balcarres redoubt, a 12- to 14-foot high earthen and log enclosure, stretched more than a quarter mile at the Freeman farm between two ravines along the right front prospect of the British lines. And, finally, what would prove to become the critical element in the upcoming battle, the 200-yard long Breymann redoubt, extended to the northwest, refusing the western terminus of the British line.

By the end of the first week in October, however, Burgoyne's position had become untenable. Clinton's effort had proved minimal, and did little to direct the attentions of Gates to the Hudson Valley. Burgoyne's supplies were running out, his forces depleted by desertions while large numbers of militia were flooding into Gates's camp, providing welcome backbone to the American threat. Burgoyne refused to heed von Riedesel's counsel and pull back to Ticonderoga from where they could retreat to Canada should the situation dictate. Push had come to shove.

On the 7th, Burgoyne launched a substantial probing action, looking to find and exploit a soft spot in Gates's defenses, gain a foothold on Bemis Heights with an initial limited advance, and follow that up the next day with a more substantial push. As on the 19th of September, his ultimate goal remained the same — turn Gates's left wing and pin him up against the river. Unfortunately for him, he did not realize that while he had been strengthening his own line, Gates, with his additional troops, had extended his defenses much further west. Under orders from Burgoyne, Captain Alexander Fraser, General Simon Fraser's nephew, tested those outer defenses on the morning of October 7, he found himself continually pushed further and further to the west. What he did accomplish, however, was to stir up a hornet's nest. Gates, informed of the activity in that sector and of weaknesses in the British position, decided to attack.

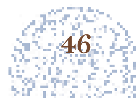
Once again, it was the American left wing which was called into action, and once again, it was Morgan and his riflemen in the vanguard. At the onset, Morgan, assisted by Learned, Poor, and Dearborn put Alexander Fraser's and Balcarres's troops to flight. According to legend, in the heavy fighting that followed, Timothy Murphy, one of Morgan's most experienced and skilled sharpshooters, climbed a tree at Morgan's command and picked off General Simon Fraser,

Morgan's riflemen move up to engage the advancing British. From his perch in the trees (upper right), Timothy Murphy's rifle shot was said to have mortally wounded British General Simon Fraser. Painting by Charles H. McBarron.



British light infantry hold off American assaults at the Balcarres Redoubt. Courtesy National Park Service/Harpers Ferry Center Commissioned Art Collection/artist Don Troiani.

LAKES TO LOCKS PASSAGE
The Great Northeast Journey



Benedict Arnold, though he may have had no official command, leads American troops into the rear of the Breymann Redoubt. Courtesy National Park Service/ Harpers Ferry Center Commissioned Art Collection/artist Don Troiani.

conspicuous in his officer's dress, riding back and forth, exhorting his soldiers to stay the course. The loss of Fraser, critically wounded and carried to the rear — was a particularly disheartening blow to British efforts.

As the American push gathered momentum, British lines fell back toward the Breymann and Balcarres redoubts, but it soon became clear the original thinking, that the redoubts would provide cover and anchor for lines of British soldiers, enabling them to stiffen, form up, and repel attacking Americans, had failed. The rebels furiously assaulted both redoubts. The traditional account of Arnold's surprise appearance here in defiance of Gates's orders inspiring the rebel forces on to victory has been called into question by the recent discovery of a letter from a New Hampshire adjutant placing Arnold on the field at a much earlier hour, seemingly in the good graces of Gates. That Arnold fought in the battle is clear; that he suffered a grievous leg wound — to the same leg damaged at Quebec — is indisputable. One can only assume that his battlefield performance here, as in earlier battles, was exemplary. Conflicting accounts from sources varying widely in their reliability, however, make his exact role in the Bemis Heights encounter difficult to determine.

American troops overwhelm the German defenders of the Breymann Redoubt. Courtesy National Park Service/Harpers Ferry Center Commissioned Art Collection/artist Don Troiani.

Certain facts are not in dispute. With the Balcarres redoubt putting up fierce resistance, The Americans turned their attention to the Breymann redoubt anchoring the extreme right wing of the British line. Manned by a contingent of Brunswick troops, and under frontal attack by Morgan's riflemen, its vulnerability was to the rear, an opening exploited by rebel troops, whose numbers proved irresistible. Breymann, reputedly wielding his sabre against his own men to keep them from running, was shot, perhaps by one of his own men. Arnold's wound came in the late stages of this attack. He would spend the next several months in an Albany hospital, wondering if he would ever walk again.

The fall of the Breymann redoubt exposed the entire rear of the British line to attack. With darkness approaching, Burgoyne, witnessing the collapse of his right wing and having suffered heavy losses, ordered a withdrawal to the works established at the Great Redoubt. Among the many losses in his officer corps, his most trusted confidante and mainstay, Simon Fraser, would succumb to his wounds early on the 8th. With his army crippled and in disarray and with the resurgent rebel army poised to follow up its successes, Burgoyne's march on Albany had effectively come to an end. That evening, under cover of darkness, Burgoyne's broken expeditionary force packed up and retreated north. ■

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

To help us preserve history, digging and metal detecting are not permitted. If you find an artifact on the ground during you visit, please leave it in place and report the location to a park ranger.

The "Boot Monument"

The Boot Monument commemorates Arnold's contribution to the American victory over the British at the Battles of Saratoga. His injury at the Battle of Bemis Heights happened near where the monument is located, at Tour Stop #7 — the Breymann Redoubt. The memorial was donated by John Watts de Peyster, a former major general in the New York State Militia during the American Civil War. The dedication on the back reads:

"Erected 1887 By JOHN WATTS de PEYSTER Brev: Maj: Gen: S.N.Y. 2nd V. Pres't Saratoga Mon't Ass't'n: In memory of the most brilliant soldier of the Continental Army who was desperately wounded on this spot the sally port of BORGOYNES GREAT WESTERN REDOUBT 7th October, 1777 winning for his countrymen the decisive battle of the American Revolution and for himself the rank of Major General." RT

This is the only war memorial in America that does not carry the name of its honoree. Courtesy Saratoga National Historical Park.

Saratoga — Siege and Surrender

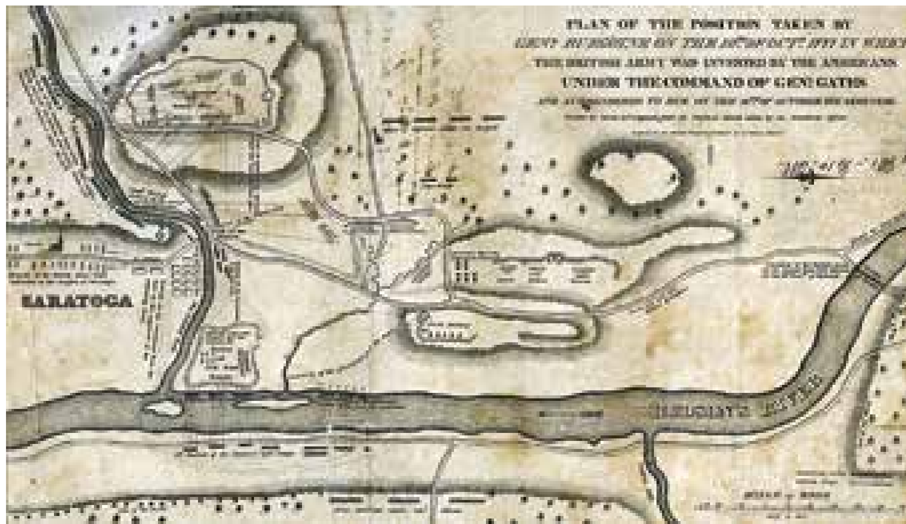
Neither side pressed the issue on the 8th. Hostilities were reduced to sporadic firing by the Americans from a distance, the only significant casualty occurring when Gates lost the reliable General Benjamin Lincoln to a serious leg wound during a reconnaissance. While Burgoyne sent Lieutenant Colonel Nicholas Sutherland with a small force to search out and secure an assembly area near the Fish Kill, Gates directed General John Fellows to immediately relocate 3,000 militia up the east side of the Hudson to the Batten Kill.

It was a dreary and disheartened British procession that pulled up stakes and struck out north later that night. In order to facilitate his army's escape, Burgoyne was obliged to leave behind 400 of the most grievously wounded. The onset of a torrential downpour soon turned the river road into a quagmire, compounding the misery of the train of soldiers, wounded, pack animals, wagons, camp followers, and artillery caissons. Carts overturned; lame and undernourished horses were put down and abandoned; a chastened British army slogged on. By evening of October 9, the weary troops, after a nightmarish seven miles, arrived at the mouth of the Fish Kill where it empties into the Hudson River near present-day Schuylerville. Burgoyne sought refuge in the Philip Schuyler House just south of the Kill. That evening and the next morning the bulk of the troops crossed to the north side and established camp.

While Burgoyne contemplated his next step, Gates ordered Learned, Morgan, Nixon, Glover, and Dearborn forward immediately to engage and harass the retreating British with the rest of the army to follow. With Morgan's corps and Dearborn's light infantry taking up positions to the northwest, Fellows's militia in place in the northeast, and John Stark, returning with a sizable force from New Hampshire, to where he had retired following the action at Bennington, sealing off a northern escape route near Fort Edward, Burgoyne's options were vanishing. Captain Fraser, scouting a location to construct a bridge to move men and materials to the east bank of the Hudson, encountered rebel resistance and had to fall back. Lieutenant Colonel Sutherland, exploring and preparing an escape route to the north, was recalled. Burgoyne, recognizing the imminent danger of encirclement, ordered the Schuyler compound torched and his troops to dig in. The noose was tightening.

On the morning of October 11, Gates made what could have been a fatal mistake. Convinced that the British had broken camp and were moving toward Fort Edward, he ordered Nixon's brigade, to be followed by others, to cross the Fishkill and initiate a rearguard action with the fleeing army. Only the last-minute capture of a talkative deserter prevented a debacle. Clueless units in the early morning thick fog already in motion toward the heart of

View of Burgoyne's encampment, *from Lossing's* Pictorial Field-Book of the American Revolution, *1850–52. The rugged terrain adjacent to the Hudson River is evident in this sketch.*



Plan of the Position Taken by Genl Burgoyne on the 10th of Octr 1777 in which the British Army was Invested by the Americans Under the Command of Genl Gates and Surrendered to Him on the 16th of October the Same Year. *Burgoyne's several entrenched encampments just north of the Fish Kill are detailed in this period map (north is to the right in this map). The ruins of Fort Hardy are marked where the Fish Kill enters the Hudson.*

the British position were recalled just in time. The Americans pulled back and settled for the next few days into siege mode, subjecting the British encampment to continual artillery and small arms fire while the steady arrival of additional militia units augmented their numbers, presenting an impregnable wall of containment.

Despite repeated pleas from many in his officer corps during the early stages of the siege to attempt a breakout, Burgoyne had remained indecisive. It soon became clear, moreover, that that option had long since passed. What was now a poorly-equipped and hungry expeditionary force of 6,000 was surrounded by well-supplied defenders that had grown in number to more than 15,000. Isolated, beleaguered, and hundreds of miles from nearest relief, Burgoyne had no choice but to come to terms. Arriving at those terms, however, would prove to be a daunting process.

From the evening of the 13th, when Burgoyne first requested a truce, until the evening of the 16th, officers beat a path between the two camps, carrying demands and counter demands from one general to the other.

Discussions began on a particularly hostile note. To maintain a semblance of civility and ceremony, eighteenth-century military convention incorporated an accepted protocol for the surrender of one army to another. The losing side would present terms to the winner. Those terms would provide the basis for a negotiated agreement. Gates chose not to respect that protocol. Upon hearing Burgoyne's opening proposals as delivered by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Kingston, Gates dismissed them out of hand, presenting Kingston with an ultimatum: the grounding of arms in camp and the unconditional surrender of the entire British army as prisoners of war. Not surprisingly, Burgoyne and his

The Spot Where Genl Burgoyne surenderd to Genl Gates, *lithograph after Jacques Gerard Gilbert. This 19th-century French lithograph depicts British troops marching to the surrender field, grounding their arms and accouterments, ready to march off into captivity under the terms of the surrender convention. The artist, in a fanciful touch, shows crowds of cheering civilians. It is highly unlikley that few, if any, local civilians (other than those under arms) were witness to this somber and ceremonial event. Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery.*

Baron and Baroness Riedesel

Baron and Baroness Riedesel in a pair of portraits c. 1795, by Johann Heinrich Schröder

The Riedesel family — Friedrich Adolf, his wife Frederika Charlotte, and their daughters Gustava, Frederica, and Caroline — accompanied Burgoyne's army during the entire campaign. Friedrich, an experienced soldier who saw extensive service during the Seven Year's War in Europe (1756–1763), was given command of Burgoyne's German troops. In support of Britain's military efforts, a treaty with the Duke of Brunswick provided some 4,400 soldiers under the command of the now major general Riedesel.

Frederika and her children arrived in Canada in June, 1777 and joined her husband on the march south—it was not unprecedented in this period for senior officers to bring wives and families on campaign. After spending the winter of 1776–77 in Quebec, his mostly Brunswick contingent marched south with Burgoyne, playing an important part in the actions and events of the campaign. His troops adapted to the conditions of wilderness warfare as best they could, and the Baron and his men gave a good account of themselves throughout the campaign.

Frederika was witness to many events of the campaign, including the Battle of Freeman's Farm. During the retreat she took shelter at the Marshall House in Schuylerville during a bombardment by American cannons. She was often critical of General Burgoyne, as was her husband — Frederika kept a diary, an important first-person account of the campaign.

Made captive when Burgoyne's army surrendered, the Riedesels resided with the "Convention Army" until 1779, when they were allowed to move to British-held New York City. The Baron was exchanged for American general Benjamin Lincoln in 1780 and in 1781 the family was permitted to return to Canada, finally returning to Germany in 1783. Before retiring, the Baron campaigned in the Netherlands from 1788 to 1793. Frederika published her diaries in Berlin in 1800. RT

staff recoiled, responding with a proud set of conditions of their own — troops would march out of camp, grounding their arms on the banks of the Hudson at the order of their own officers, who would themselves retain their swords and gear, and would then march to Boston, from where they would be transported home to England. To everyone's amazement, given the belligerence of his initial demands, Gates agreed, arousing Burgoyne's suspicions and setting into motion a dance that would play out over the next two days.

News that Clinton's troops under the command of Major General John Vaughan were once again on the move in the Hudson Valley confirmed Burgoyne's suspicions: Gates wanted to expedite an agreement for fear that Vaughan would arrive at Burgoyne's relief. Burgoyne, his own hopes now raised, stalled for time. Further messages passed between the adversaries. Finally, late on October 16, when it became evident that expectations of help from Clinton were unrealistic, a reluctant Burgoyne, succumbing to pressure from his staff officers, signed the "treaty of convention," formally ending the campaign. At ten o'clock the next morning, the proud remains of Burgoyne's army exited camp in formation, headed for Boston, drums beating while ranks of soldiers laid down their arms and accouterments.

British troops ground their weapons in surrender as depicted in Die Americaner machen das Corps des General Bourgoyne zu Gefangnen, bey Saratoga, am 16ten Octobr 1777 *by D. Chodowiecki and D. Berger, 1784. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

The Encampment of the Convention Army at Charlotte Ville in Virginia after they had surrendered to the Americans*. This camp was established in November 1778, and relocated in 1781 to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Survivors did not return to England until 1783. Courtesy Library of Congress.*

Soon to be known as the Convention Army, Burgoyne's troops were not sent home from Boston as agreed, but were rather detained by a Congress upset with the generosity of Gates's terms. They were first housed outside of Boston before being moved south to Virginia and Maryland, their numbers eroding slowly over the ensuing war years, with only a handful remaining to be freed at war's end. Burgoyne himself finally made it to Albany, but only as a guest of the Schuylers for several days before leaving to join his troops in Boston. And, with the British defeat, the now irrelevant few remaining units at Fort Ticonderoga abandoned the fort and retreated to Canada. For all practical purposes, fighting in the Northern Theater had come to an end. ■

The most famous depiction of the surrender is John Trumbull's 12- by 18-foot mural in the United States Capitol, painted in 1821. Gates stands at center, while Burgoyne offers his sword in token of surrender. Daniel Morgan is prominent in his white hunting frock. Many of the figures in this scene portray specific personalities who participated in the Saratoga campaign. Courtesy Architect of the Capitol.

ACTION OPPORTUNITY

Many places associated with the Saratoga siege and surrender are open to the public thanks to a number of land preservation organizations. Please note their names on the various signs and contact them if you are interested in helping conserve these important sites!

American Battlefield Protection Program

The American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) promotes the preservation of significant historic battlefields associated with wars on American soil. The ABPP focuses primarily on land use, cultural resource and site management planning, and public education.

Battlefield preservation enables current and future generations to better understand the connection between military conflicts and important social and political changes that occurred in American history. Saving the site of every military conflict that occurred on American soil is impractical; however, the ABPP is committed to helping states and local communities preserve the most important battlefields for future generations.

How They Help

The ABPP provides professional assistance to individuals, groups, organizations, or governments interested in preserving historic battlefield land and sites associated with battles. The ABPP also awards grants to groups, institutions, organizations or governments sponsoring preservation projects at historic battlefields; and state and local governments seeking to acquire Revolutionary War, War of 1812, and Civil War battlefield land. These public-private partnerships save American taxpayers millions of dollars that would be required for federal acquisition, oversight, and interpretation of battlefields. Through these partnerships, the ABPP specifically enables communities near historic battlefields to develop local solutions for balanced preservation approaches for these sites.

Toolkit for Battlefield Stewardship

The future of our battlefields rests upon stimulating local residents and visitors to participate in the preservation and stewardship of battlefield resources. Whether you are a life-long resident or a visitor for a day, there is plenty that you can do to become a battlefield steward. Throughout this text and in the associated Toolkit for Battlefield Stewardship users will find information about how to become more involved in the stewardship of our regional battlefield resources. The Toolkit can be downloaded at the www.passageport.org/toolkit webpage.

Here are a couple of general rules for battlefield exploration:

- Stay within designated park boundaries.
- All refuse shall be placed in designated containers or carried out as directed.
- Use of bicycles is limited to the established roadways and trails.
- Possessing, destroying, injuring, defacing, removing, digging, or disturbing artifacts, structures, plants and/or wildlife is prohibited.
- Possessing or using a metal detector is generally prohibited.

Victory Woods — this 22-acre tract of land, located in the Village of Victory, NY (about 8.5 miles north of the Battlefield), marks the final encampment site for the British Army under General John Burgoyne prior to their October 17, 1777 surrender to American forces under General Horatio Gates. For its creative design embodying universal accessibility and resource protection, Victory Woods Trail received the National Park Service 2010 Architectural Design Project Achievement Award. Courtesy Saratoga National Historic Park.

Timeline of the American Revolution

1754 to 1763

French and Indian War (also called the Seven Years' War in Europe)

1763

February 10: The Treaty of Paris formally ends the French and Indian War. Canada is ceded to Great Britain

1764

April 5: British Parliament passes the Sugar Act, intended to raise revenues in the colonies

September 1: British Parliament passes Currency Act, prohibiting the colonies from issuing paper money. These Acts, coming during the economic slump that followed the French and Indian War, are resented by the colonists and lead to protests

1765

February 17: The Stamp Act is passed — a further attempt by British Parliament to cover the costs of the Seven Years War and to pay for the stationing of troops in America. Political opposition grows in the colonies — "No taxation without representation!"

March 24: British Parliament enacts the Quartering Act, requiring the Colonies to provide housing, food, and other provisions to British troops

1766

March 18: British Parliament votes to repeal the Stamp Act, which aroused angry protests in both Britain and America

1767

June 29: British Parliament enacts the Townshend Acts, a series of taxes and duties to replace the Stamp Act

1770

March 5: Boston Massacre — 6 men were killed in the "massacre," but colonists are outraged

1771

May 16: Battle of the Alamance (North Carolina)

1772

June 19: Gaspee affair; colonists in Rhode Island capture and burn a British revenue schooner

1773

May 10: British Parliament passes the Tea Act

December 16: Boston Tea Party

1774

May–October: Lord Dunmore's War

September 5 to October 26: First Continental Congress meets

1775

April 18, 1775: British troops leave Boston; Paul Revere and Willam Dawes ride to alarm the militia

April 19, 1775: Battle of Lexington (Massachusetts)

April 19, 1775: Battle of Concord, (Massachusetts)

April 19, 1775 to March 17, 1776: rebel army besieges Boston

May 10, 1775: The Second Continental Congress convenes in Philadelphia and remains in session throughout the war.

May 10: Rebels capture Ticonderoga

June 17: Battle of Bunker Hill (Massachusetts)

September 11: American General Benedict Arnold begins march to Quebec City

September 17 to November 3, 1775: Siege of Fort St. Jean by rebels (Quebec, Canada)

October 11: American General Montgomery marches north from Crown Point

December 3: Henry Knox leaves Ticonderoga with cannon — arrives in Boston January 24, 1776

December 31, 1775: Battle of Quebec (Quebec City, Canada)

1776

January 10: Thomas Paine publishes *Common Sense*

February 27: Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge (North Carolina)

June 28: Battle of Sullivan's Island (Charleston, SC))

July 2–July 4: Declaration of Independence

August 7: Arnold takes command at Skenesborough

August 27: Battle of Long Island (Battle of Brooklyn)

September 16: Battle of Harlem Heights (Manhattan)

September 22: American spy Nathan Hale executed for espionage

October 11: Battle of Valcour Island (Lake Champlain)

October 28: Battle of White Plains (New York)

November 16: British capture Fort Washington (Manhattan)

November 20: British capture Fort Lee (New Jersey)

December 26: Battle of Trenton (New Jersey)

1777

January 3: Battle of Princeton (New Jersey)

February 23: Lord Germain (British Colonial Secretary) receives Howe's plan to capture Philadlephia, which he approves in March

February 28: Burgoyne presents a written plan of his campaign to Lord Germain, who gives his approval

May 17: Battle of Thomas Creek (East Florida)

June 14: Burgoyne's army marches south

June 27: Burgoyne captures Crown Point (New York)

July 5–6: American General St. Clair abandons Fort Ticonderoga

July 7: Battle of Hubbardton (Vermont)

July 8: Battle at Fort Ann (New York)

August 2 to August 22: British besiege Fort Stanwix, known in 1777 as Fort Schuyler (New York)

August 6: Battle of Oriskany (New York)

August 16: Battle of Bennington (New York)

Auust 19: American General Horatio Gates takes command at Saratoga

September 11: Battle of Brandywine (Pennsylvania)

September 19: Battle of Freeman's Farm (First Battle of Saratoga)

September 26: British occupy Philadelphia

October 4: Battle of Germantown (Pennsylvania)

October 6: Battle of Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery (New York)

October 7: Battle of Bemis Heights (Second Battle of Saratoga)

October 16: General Burgoyne surrenders at Stillwater (New York)

October 22: Battle of Red Bank (New Jersey)

1778

February 6: Treaty of Alliance with France

May 20: Battle of Barren Hill (New Jersey)

June 18: The British begin to abandon Philadelphia

June 28: Battle of Monmouth (New Jersey)

July 3: Wyoming Valley Massacre (Pennsylvania)

August 29: Battle of Rhode Island

November 11: Cherry Valley Massacre (New York)

December 28: Battle of Savannah (Georgia)

1779

July 16: Battle of Stony Point (New York)

August 19: Battle of Paulus Hook (New Jersey)

September 16 to October 18: Americans and French unsuccessfully besiege Savannah (Georgia)

1780

April 8 to May 12: British siege and capture of Charleston (South Carolina)

June 7: Battle of Connecticut Farms (New Jersey)

June 23: Battle of Springfield (New Jersey)

August 16: Battle of Camden (South Carolina)

September 23: Capture of British Major Andre; Benedict Arnold's treason discovered (New York)

October 7: Battle of Kings Mountain (South Carolina)

1781

January 17: Battle of Cowpens (South Carolina)

March 1: Articles of Confederation ratified

March 15: Battle of Guilford Court House (North Carolina)

September 5: Naval battle of the Chesapeake

September 8: Battle of Eutaw Springs (South Carolina)

September 28 to October 19: Siege of Yorktown (Virginia)

October 19: British army led by General Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown

1783

September 3: The Treaty of Paris is signed, officially ending the American Revolution

1784

January 14: Congress ratifies the Treaty of Paris

1787

September 15: The United States Constitution is approved by unanimous vote.

September 17: John Hancock and 38 others sign the Constitution

1788

July 2: The United States Constitution is ratified when New Hampshire becomes the 9th state to approve it

Canadian Battlefields

Fort Chambly Historic Site

2 De Richelieu Street,
Chambly, Quebec, J3L 2B9, Canada
www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/qc/fortchambly

The fortress at Chambly fell to the Americans under Maj. John Brown and James Livingston on October 18th, 1775. It was recaptured by the British in 1776.

Fort Saint-Jean Museum

15 rue Jacques-Cartier Nord
Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu, Quebec, J3B 8R8, Canada
http://www.museedufortsaintjean.ca/EN

Situated near the Richelieu River, 40 kilometers South-East of Montreal, this site has been declared a National Historic Site because of the three forts that were built and its importance during the American invasion in 1775 when the fort withstood a 45-day siege under General Montgomery.

Above: Fort Chambly, photo by Mickael Pollard; at right: Québec City fortifications, photo by Christophe Finot,

Fortifications of Québec National Historic Site

2, D'Auteuil Street, Québec, G1R 5C2, Canada
www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/qc/fortifications/index.aspx

On December 31, 1775, New Year's Eve, the rebels attempted an attack by the Lower Town. Montgomery was killed in the opening exchanges of fire while Arnold, wounded, was forced to retreat. The Americans tried to lay siege to the city until spring, but the arrival of British reinforcements at the beginning of May forced them to leave.

Château Ramezay — Historic Site and Museum of Montréal

280, Notre-Dame East Street
Montréal, Quebec, H2Y 1C5, Canada
www.chateauramezay.qc.ca/en

Following the capitulation of Montréal, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery made the Château Ramezay his campaign headquarters. By occupying the place of residence of the political authorities of the Province of Québec, the invading troops appropriate one of the main symbols of British power.

Resources for more Information

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Visitor Information

Lakes to Locks Passage: New York's Great Northeast Journey

Midway between Manhattan and Montreal, this inter-connected waterway shaped the destiny of the United States and Canada. By bike, foot, boat, train or car, Lakes to Locks Passage provides access to charming cities, rural landscapes and Adirondack hamlets. Through all four seasons, you can travel through numerous historic, natural, cultural and recreational experiences along the scenic waterway that links upstate New York to southern Quebec.

The Lakes to Locks Passage website (**www.lakestolocks.org**) offers comprehensive visitor information and resources. Here are other products that Lakes to Locks Passage has to offer.

Waterways of War Series

Waterways of War: The French & Indian War (1756–1763) *A traveler's guide to Forts, Battlefields, and Historic Sites along America's Byways in New York and Pennsylvania*

Waterways of War: The Turning Point of the American Revolution (1775–1777) *A traveler's guide to Forts, Battlefields, and Historic Sites along New York's Lakes to Locks Passage*

Waterways of War: The War of 1812 (1812–1815) *A traveler's guide to Forts, Battlefields, and Historic Sites along America's Byways in New York and Pennsylvania*

Regional Guidebook Series

A Crease in the Landscape *Perspectives on the Working Landscape and Slate Valley of Lakes to Locks Passage*

Northern Inland Passage *An Interpretive Guide to the Champlain Canal of Lakes to Locks Passage*

Nature's Frolic Hour *Appreciating Lake George*

Northern Reaches of Lake Champlain *An Interpretive Guide to the Borderlands of Lakes to Locks Passage*

Relishing our Resources: *Along Lake Champlain in Essex County, New York*

Other Books

From Forest to Field *A History of Agriculture in New York's Champlain Valley: A history and guide for exploring the history and culture of agriculture and farming.*

Video Documentaries

Dead Reckoning *Champlain in America*

The Forgotten War *The Struggle for North America*

Lakes to Locks PassagePort

The Lakes to Locks PassagePort is your guide for exploring Lakes to Locks Passage scenic byway. Visit the PassagePort website to select a story that will guide you to multiple theme-based destinations. The tale unfolds through text, images and audio as the mobile-responsive website narrates your GPS-guided journey. A journey could take a few hours or a few days, but with this guided on-your-own experience you can choose your own pace and explore at your leisure. Learn more at **www.PassagePort.org**.

Afterword

In 1757, at the crux of the French & Indian War which contested the domination of the northeastern American continent among Britain, France, and the many native nations, Benjamin Warner was born in New Haven, CT.

Warner's generation had hardly reached manhood when news of the British incursion at Lexington and Concord (19 April 1775) spread rapidly across New England. Men, especially young men, rallied to the cause! Eighteen-year-old Benjamin Warner was among them. He shouldered his canvas knapsack, painted in red barn-paint for water-proofing, and marched immediately with Col. David Wooster's New Haven regiment toward Boston, MA, spending the summer keeping the British forces besieged in that city.

In September 1775, he signed on to fellow-New Haven resident, Col. Benedict Arnold's "secret expedition" to attack Quebec City via a march through the Maine wilderness. A few months later, when the New Year's Eve attack failed and the troops had retreated to Ticonderoga in spring 1776, Warner returned home briefly and then almost immediately re-enlisted for the defense of New York City and Long Island. In autumn 1777, he marched to buttress Gates' desperate defending forces at Saratoga, but had only reached Rhinebeck when his company met a south-bound express rider bearing the astonishing news that Burgoyne had surrendered. He continued to serve, and carry his knapsack, intermittently for another two years.

After the war he returned to Ticonderoga, NY, where he became an active abolitionist, signing county-wide petitions as early as 1833. He was keeping the freedom flame alive. We find in Benjamin Warner's service the certainty of his youthful guiding compass — Freedom and Independence for all, regardless of race, color or creed. For him, the knapsack stood for all he had believed since his youth. A decade before he died, he challenged his son and future descendants to preserve and cherish both the object and the values it embodied.

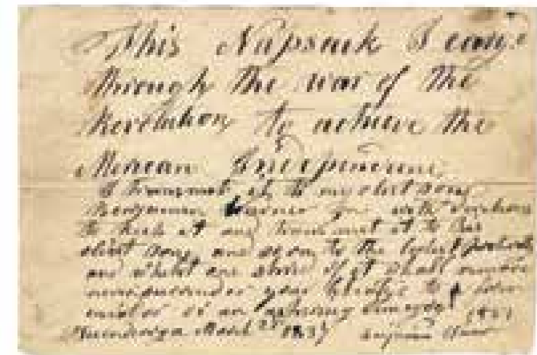
> *Whilst one shred of it shall remaine never surrender your libertys to a foren envador or an aspiring demegog.*

Visitors to the sacred historic sites embraced in this book are "the latest posterity" to which old veteran Benjamin entrusted his vision of Freedom and Independence when he challenged his son with that hand-written admonition, enclosed in his war-worn knapsack, now preserved at Fort Ticonderoga.

Benjamin Warner (1757–1846) is buried near his son's house in Crown Point, NY, under a simple epitaph:

> *A Revolutionary Soldier and a Friend of the Slave.*

Nicholas Westbrook
Director Emeritus, Fort Ticonderoga



This Napsack I cary'd through the war of the Revolution to achieve the Merican Independence.

I transmit it to my olest sone, Benjamin Warner Jr. with directions to keep it and transmit it to his oldest sone and so on to the latest posterity and whilst one shred of it shall remane never surrender your libertys to a foren envador or an aspiring demegog.

Benjamin Warner
Ticonderoga, March 27, 1837

Photos courtesy Fort Ticonderoga