

The
Mount Independence-Hubbardton
1776 Military Road



Joseph L. Wheeler
and
Mabel A. Wheeler

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By
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AND
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Published by J. L. Wheeler
BENSON, VERMONT 05731

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Printed by Lane Press
Burlington, Vermont

To the memory of our son
JOSEPH TOWNE WHEELER
killed in action in Italy, October 24, 1944
And to the memory of
MABEL ARCHIBALD WHEELER
1882-1960
They loved history and they loved Vermont

Reprinted from *Vermont History* magazine, April, July, October 1959, by kind permission of Vermont Historical Society, with a few alterations and with new material including illustrations and redrawn maps. See references, at bottoms of the pages, to the Addenda, gathered at the end. The pagination of the magazine articles has been retained.

SPOKE HOLLOW*

by Robert R. Wheeler**

Spoke Hollow lies below, all hazy in the August sun,
The river glist'ning at the falls winds off among the trees
And faintly now the clatter of the mowing
Rises with sweet clover scent upon the breeze.

Straight and clean limbed the graying beeches reach
To a leafy canopy sweeping upward on the ridge;
Soft afoot the leaf-laid carpet leads
By moss-mantled footpath to an old stone bridge.

Here the slanting sunshafts light a slate-laid causeway;***
Bemused, I sit and sense the forest wake with sound,
Distant echoes and iron caissons**** grinding on the ledge,
Grim soldiers straining through the swampy ground.

Proud Provincials in swift retreat from attack at Fort Ti,
Struggling in the windfalls, counting their comrades slain,
Fleeing, and cursing their outflanked guns,
Driven by redcoats from Lake Champlain.

This military road through battlefield at Hubbardton
Is not on guided tours for cars and yachting folk;
Vermonters traced where powder horn and musket rots
And marked it plain across their farms and woodlots.

Sept. 1950.

* Site of early spoke factory on Hubbardton River below Sunset Lake.

** Petroleum Consultant, Dallas, Texas; spent many summers in Benson.

*** Locally called the Military Bridge.

**** The Americans drew cannon from Ti to Hubbardton.

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THE MOUNT INDEPENDENCE-HUBBARDTON 1776 MILITARY ROAD

I. RELATED EARLY ROADS. MOUNT INDEPENDENCE.

THIS is the first of a three part article on a Revolutionary Road, sorely neglected by historians and by the State of Vermont, almost obliterated, but important and interesting to the public at large as well as to the hundreds who have seen or heard of some part of it. It might be considered as a short cut branch of the Crown Point Road, though that was built seventeen years earlier.

What one British officer called "The Great Road," was built in 1776, through Orwell, Benson, Hubbardton, Castleton, Ira and West Rutland, to Rutland Falls, when, after the taking of Fort Ticonderoga, May 10, 1775, the Continental Congress determined to fortify Mount Independence, opposite Ticonderoga. It was used by the soldiers going back and forth from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence to Castleton, Rutland, Bennington, and "Number Four Fort" at Charlestown, New Hampshire and other parts of New England. From Mount Independence as far as the Battlefield and thence for two miles south on the earlier East Hubbardton road it was also the main road, from the Mount, in a wide half circle through Castleton, to Skenesborough (Whitehall); no shorter road from Orwell then existed until the Hydeville branch road was built, probably in 1781. No doubt much of the ammunition, equipment and stores on Mount Independence were hauled by wagon and packload over the earlier Crown Point Road up to Center Rutland and thence over this rough frontier road.

There are grounds for holding that Mount Independence is the most important, interesting and neglected historic site in Vermont. Independence was the main encampment for the Northern Army. According to Orders of July 22, 1776, three of the four brigades, under General Arnold, Colonel Reed and Colonel Stark, more than three thousand men at times, were stationed there and only one brigade at Fort Ticonderoga.¹ Most of the new construction was on the Vermont side rather than at "Ti". Most of the New England

soldiers assigned to the Mount and to Fort Ticonderoga must have marched over our road, and some 2500 men retreated over it to Hubbardton, Rutland and Skenesborough, in July 1777, pursued, as far as Castleton, by more than 2000 British and their allies; then in September 1777 on the second and final attempt to retake the Fort; thereafter by soldiers and settlers to the lake towns after it was given up by the British in 1780. As we shall see below, a branch road forking off in northeast Benson, a mile east of Howard Hill, was built in 1781 to the mills and new stockade at Hydeville, then called Castleton Falls.

Thousands of men from the northern colonies, and British, Hessians, French and Indians, travelled this road, through woods and swamps, between Mount Independence, Castleton and Center Rutland, three of the main frontier outposts of American civilization. For some time such celebrities as Benedict Arnold, Thaddeus Kosciusko, the Polish engineer who volunteered for the American cause, Generals Schuyler and Gates, and Colonels Anthony Wayne and John Trumbull were busy at the Mount. Over this road a famous American General Arthur St. Clair, as well as Seth Warner, retreated with two noted British and German Generals in pursuit, Simon Fraser and Baron Riedesel. Are we mistaken in thinking it should be of interest to our own generation? And that all those efforts, the memories of these men, many of whom died of hardships and disease at the Mount, deserve some recognition at this late date?

Several hundred persons are directly interested in this road, having lived on or near it at some time; some of them now living in distant states have given vital information. Scores have generously taken the time, in the true spirit of Sherlock Holmes, to search carefully through woods and fields for traces of the exact roadway; such traces still keep turning up. Old corduroy, stone abutments, fills and dugways are still visible at many points, but in general the road, after these 180 years of disuse, is scarcely traceable, just as the better known Crown Point Road is almost completely obliterated for most of its course. Strangely, we have discovered no other attempt to trace either the history or the route of this road, with the exception of a two page all too general letter from Captain Charles Abell, cited below, which describes part of the route, and led us to think at first that it went only to Hubbardton.

Since the summer of 1945, by spending two or three hours a week, by countless trips over portions of the route, by conversations with anyone who had a clue, by continual correspondence and hundreds of

telephone inquiries often resultful, by search through books, documents and maps, we have pieced together the story here told. We are grateful to the more than 350 persons who have helped us.

This was furthered by issuing three successive mimeographed summaries: 50 copies of 17 pages in March 1947; 75 copies of 45 pages November 15, 1949; 100 copies of a third draft, 81 pages, July 4, 1956, to interested persons, asking further help. A tentative account was published in four articles in *Rutland Herald*² in August 1951, the 175th anniversary of the road, with several air photos taken by the *Herald's* Andrew Merusi, and a map by Robert Wheeler from the Mount to Hubbardton line. Several assumptions in that series have since been corrected. At our request the Castleton Historical Society appointed a committee in 1950, and in 1952 the Vermont Historic Sites Commission appointed a committee in each town, resulting chiefly in valuable ground work by Mr. John Reil of Castleton. In December 1957 a request to West Rutland Rotary Club to appoint a committee to study the route there, resulted in three detailed articles based on extensive document and field research, by Mrs. Phyllis Humphreys in the *Rutland Herald*³, with promise of one or two more.

In October 1958 the Vermont Historic Sites Commission, after our continued requests, erected fifteen steel posts and metal signs "Hubbardton Military Road, 1776," at the intersections of the old road with present blacktop highways, with one in Belgo Gap. As this investment of \$75 by the State of Vermont seemed inadequate to mark the route followed by thousands of our Revolutionary soldiers, the selectmen in the seven towns concerned paid for and erected forty additional markers through the woods and fields where the route is easily lost, in the spring of 1959 to coincide with the 350th Champlain Celebration.

We shall attempt to give first the history of the road with a brief account of Mount Independence, and then its detailed course, including the Hydeville Branch.

PREVIOUS ROADS

The Hubbardton Military Road was not built, as some have thought, for the taking of Fort Ticonderoga. That expedition of the Green Mountain Boys under Ethan Allen from Bennington and Castleton to Ticonderoga, was a fairly sudden one. Paul Revere's famous ride "on the 19th of April in '75" occurred less than a month earlier. Ethan Allen had not heard of it until his own plans were well along. If any preparations, like the building of a new road, had come

to the ears of the British, it would have been fatal to the success of Allen's expedition. He and his men came up from Bennington, through Pawlet and Poultney (now East Poultney),⁴ and according to a tablet in front of Castleton Church were joined by Benedict Arnold at the Remington Tavern, a half mile west of Castleton village on present U.S. Route 4. However, it is more likely that Arnold found Allen and his men gone and caught up with them at the Abel Randall-Benjamin Hurlbut farm in Shoreham a little south of Hand's Cove.⁵ Their route thence is thought by some persons in Castleton to have been northerly along a bridle path west of the north road in Castleton village, coming out west of Pine Pond to the east shore of Bomoseen near Prospect Point, thence approximately along Route 30, via the north end of Bomoseen and the west side of Beebe Pond. This may have been the trail cut earlier by the Allens to reach their lands in Colchester, and later improved.

This seems to conform to a *Rutland Herald* letter⁶ describing corduroy and other traces of what was reported as "a military road" that ran "from the village . . . just north on the Rogers farm . . . skirts the ledge along the eastern side of the lake and joins the Troy-Burlington turnpike [Route 30] near the site of Castleton Town Farm [a bit SE of Crystal Beach] thence past Hubbardton Church where at Webster's Stand [in Sudbury] it joins the main route to Crown Point." Evidence of a "Ticonderoga Road" running along Beebe Pond's west shore, is noted below, in describing the road near Austin Pond, where we mention a Hubbardton deed and a letter to us,⁷ both citing a "Ticonderoga Road." This road could only have come from along the northeast shore of Bomoseen and connected further north in Sudbury with the Crown Point Road. It seems unlikely it could have been built as a real road before the Mt. Independence Road was built. Burgoyne's maps of his campaign and of the Hubbardton Battle, show no north-south road west of the East Hubbardton road. It seems more likely a branch north from the Hubbardton Military Road at the outlet of Austin Pond.

It is surprising to discover on a large wall map of Rutland County,⁸ 1854, that from Hydeville, on the Whitehall & Castleton Railroad, a branch of the Rutland and Albany Railroad had been surveyed and appears as "projected," leading along the east side of Lake Bomoseen, west of Route 30, passing near the outlet of Austin Pond, crossing the highway that had been the Hubbardton Military Road and skirting the west shore of Beebe Pond close to the present campers' road, then crossing the later turnpike Route 30, probably at the north end

of the hill on this main highway. It continued up through Whiting to the main line of the Rutland Railroad. Evidently this was a good grade for the obscure route of an early road along Beebe Pond, to reach up through Sudbury west of the 1772 East Hubbardton road, and strengthens the idea of some sort of road or path up from the Remington Tavern.

L. E. Chittenden⁹ quotes Goodhue's *History of Shoreham*:¹⁰ "It has been supposed by many that the expedition followed the nearest route through Benson, to a point opposite the fort in Orwell. This supposition is incorrect. Leaving Castleton, it moved by the way of Sudbury, where it struck the old Crown Point road, and following that through Whiting, reached the lake shore at Hand's Cove in Shoreham, about two miles north of the fort on the other side. The distance by this route was about twenty-five miles, seven or eight farther than by the other [i.e. by the Mt. Independence Road.] There were two reasons for taking it: it was farther from the lake, and there was less hazard of discovery, and it brought them to the shore in a wooded ravine, where they were perfectly sheltered from observation."

But Chittenden and Goodhue were in error in mentioning "the nearer route" through Benson; the latter was not built until seventeen years after the Crown Point Road and a year and a half after Allen's men took Ticonderoga. The mistaken idea that the Castleton-Hubbardton-Benson military road was used by Allen's troops seems to have started in Thompson's *Green Mountain Boys*,¹¹ "The route of [Allen's] troops was along the military road, which in the French war of 1759, had been opened from Charlestown, on Connecticut River, across the Green Mountains to Lake Champlain. . . . This road, leading directly through Castleton, and taking a northerly direction, branched off within a few miles of the lake, one fork . . . to Ticonderoga, and the other . . . to Crown Point." The 1759 road did have two forks, but Thompson's error lay in thinking that this Crown Point Road went near Castleton village or into Castleton at all. All the studies of the Amherst-Stark-Hawks-Goffe road, its two Rutland branches and its Ticonderoga branch, quite naturally fail to mention the Castleton-Hubbardton-Independence road because it was not built until 1776, and the Skenesborough Road through Castleton not until 1772. As Smith's *Rutland County* says,¹² "The first of the two Rutland branches of the Crown Point Road passed through Rutland, from what was called the Little Falls and Center Rutland and was only in use prior to 1759." [This date seems questionable]. "The second branch ran north from what is now Main Street, intersecting the first branch in Pittsford."

"Many towns have claimed to have been on the line, through which it did not go, especially in the western section of the county."¹³ This latter statement is important because occasional references are found in various printed sources, that Castleton or Hubbardton were on the Crown Point Road, whereas this could not be so.

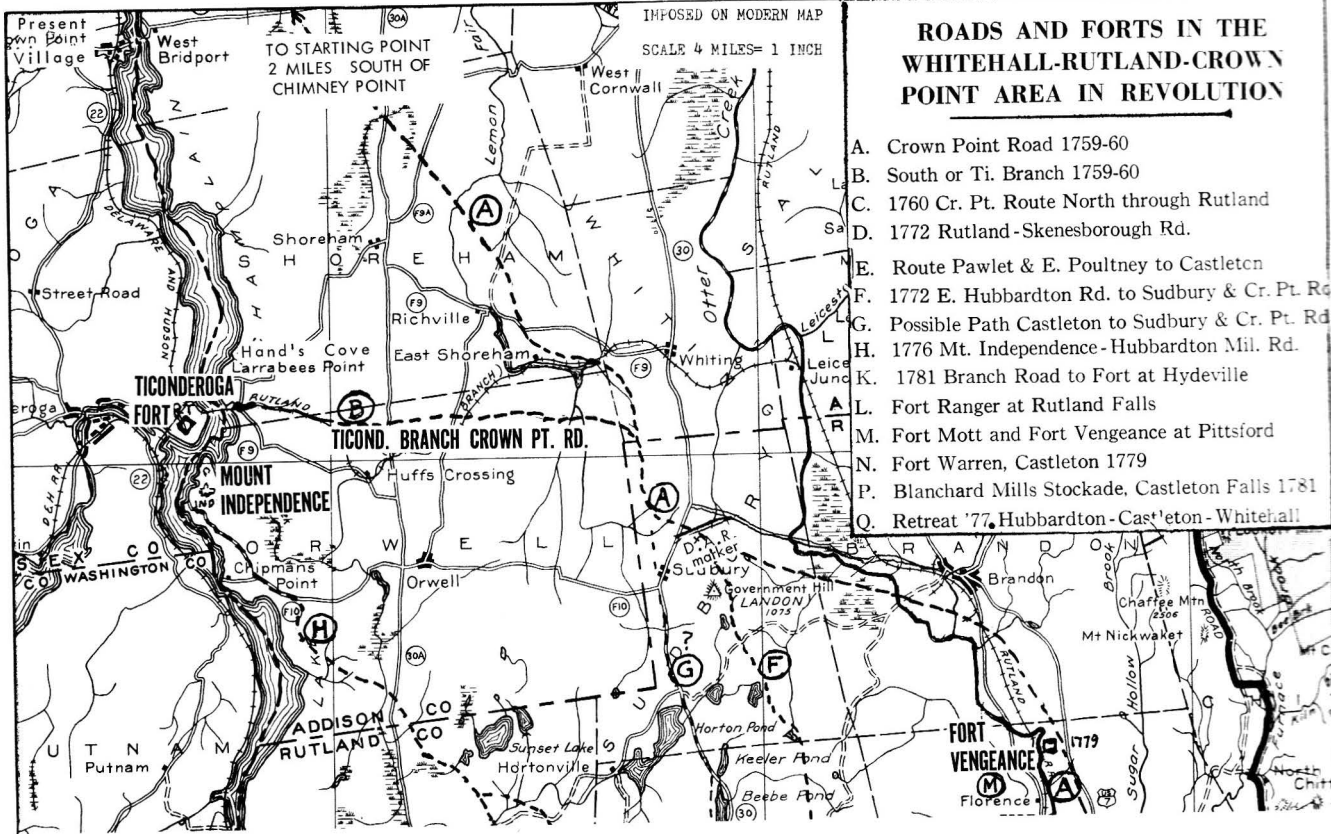
Smith states¹⁴ that "The first road in town, [Hubbardton] was the old "Ti." road, which was too rough and crooked to be of much use to the settlers. The next was more useful, being a north and south road through the east part of town." Unfortunately, the early records of Hubbardton were lost or destroyed so that events there are shrouded in uncertainty. But it is important that he mentions two roads in Hubbardton, the latter sounding like the present East Hubbardton highway past the Battlefield.

It is said¹⁵ that in 1772 Ira Allen had cut a bridle path from Castleton through Vergennes to their "Onion River land project" at Colchester. This may have been along Pine Pond, but it is known that the present main road from Castleton north through East Hubbardton* was built in 1772. On October 3, the proprietors of Castleton chose three of their number to lay this out, and another three men including Reuben Hickock, to lay out an improvement of the Skenesborough road.

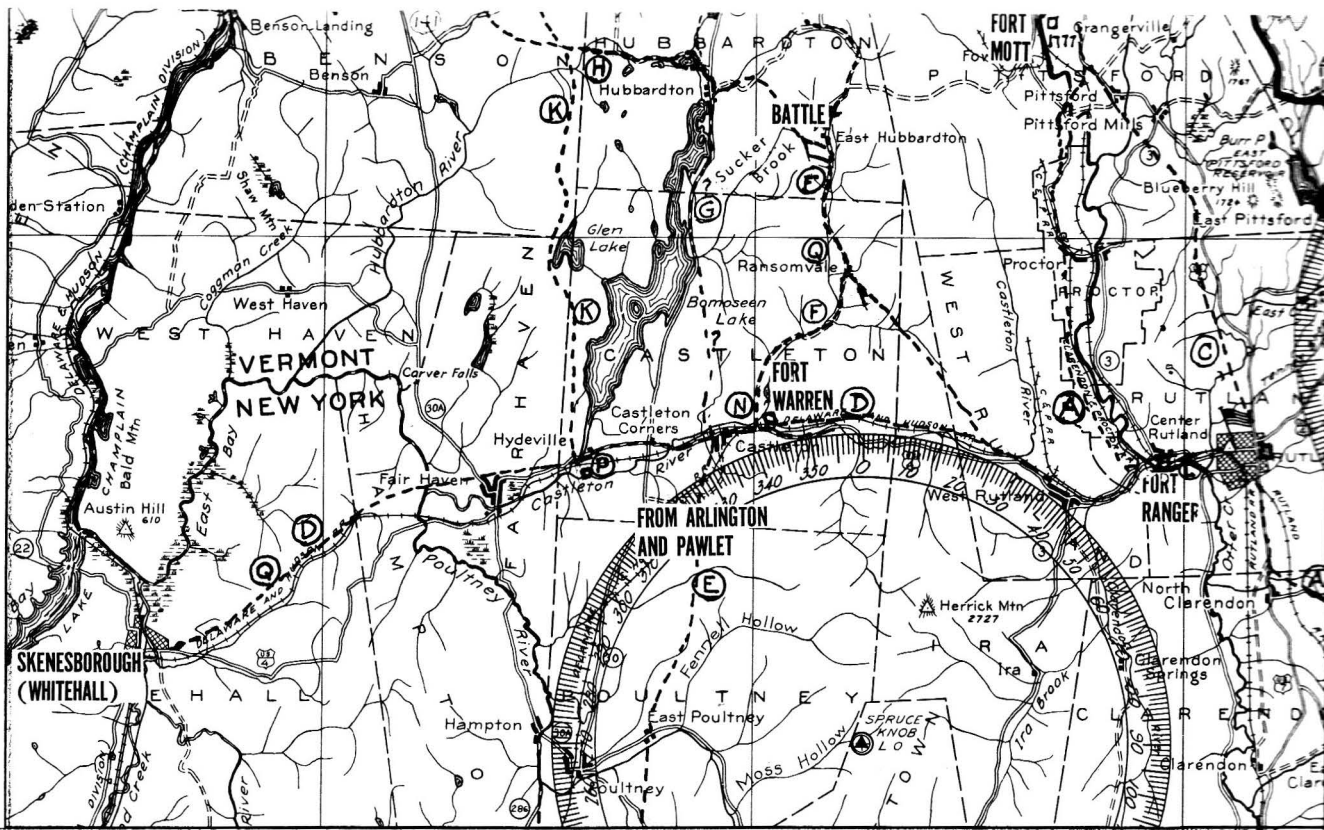
Among diaries and letters of soldiers, such as Epaphrus Bull¹⁶ of Stockbridge, we have found no clarifying description of the route used. If they went from Remington's Tavern via the Skenesborough-Rutland road east to where Fort Warren was built in 1779, thence northward through East Hubbardton (then called Hubbardton) to Sudbury, it would have been two miles longer than the Pine Pond route; most of the men appear to have been on foot, and a trail or bridle-paths rather than a road was all they needed.

As for the famous Crown Point Road, a full description of its route is almost certain to be written and published within the next year or two, by someone among the many persons now tracing it. In 1956 the writers realized that the 200th anniversary of the first building of this road would soon come up, that its route still uncertain in many towns should be traced and marked, and after collecting data that had drifted in to us we fortunately prevailed on Miss Flora B. Weeks of Rutland, later appointed State Historian of D.A.R., to undertake to head up the project of getting persons in each of the eighteen towns on its 87 mile route, to studying the detailed course of this famous road, which was started in 1759, finished in 1760, at the end of the French and Indian War. Little used by soldiers until the Revolution it immediately opened up central Vermont for settlement.

*Addenda, 93.



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At this writing more than two hundred enthusiasts, encouraged by Miss Weeks, have been at work in 1957-1958 and several towns are ready for markers. Beside a series of preliminary articles by Miss Weeks¹⁷ a descriptive article and map is needed for each town, to draw out further data. This will supplement and modify the excellent substantial thirty-page account and map Mrs. Mary Fletcher Charlton prepared in 1931,¹⁸ which stimulated erection of a number of stone markers by chapters of the D.A.R. (so well informed a person as Mrs. Charlton told us in 1946 that she had never heard of the Mt. Independence-Hubbardton Road).

We therefore omit details of the history and route of the Crown Point Road from Fort No. 4¹⁹ at Charlestown, New Hampshire, crossing the Connecticut at Wentworth's Ferry, and through Springfield to North Clarendon, where its earlier route may have crossed Otter Creek, with a second route a year or two later running up Main Street in Rutland, the two routes joining again at Pittsford, thence through the southwest part of Brandon, into Sudbury, Whiting, Shoreham, Bridport and perhaps, as many writers assume, reaching the lake at Chimney Point opposite the Crown Point Forts, though this crossing point is uncertain to date; early maps show the road coming out at points on the east shore of Champlain, some distance south of Chimney Point. We leave this for others, as well as an account of the French village at Chimney Point, another interesting site neglected by Vermont historians, of Forts Mott and Vengeance, in Pittsford, and of Rutland Fort (which was at the northeast corner of the intersection of Main and West Streets and not where the D.A.R. marker stands in front of the Armory; the old well of this 1775 fort was filled in some years ago in the rear of the lot where Lindholm's restaurant stands.) The history of the building of Crown Point Road, but not its detailed route, has been thoroughly covered in an article²⁰ and a book²¹ by William Howard Brown.

Between Rutland, Rutland Falls and West Rutland the Crown Point Road is of direct concern, for evidently a short cross road, described in later pages, was built directly to the fort and bridge at Rutland Falls, the eastern terminus of the Hubbardton Road.*

We are also concerned with another fork, which might be called the Ticonderoga branch of the Crown Point Road which Ethan Allen's men took when they reached it in Sudbury; its destination was Fort Ticonderoga. Both branches are shown on the old Walling and Hagar²² wall map of Vermont, 1869, but neither of them on Scott's map of Rutland County, 1854.⁸ Walling's map shows it

branching off westward in the southwest corner of Whiting, through the northeast corner of Orwell above the present railroad station, and thence just above and close to the south line of Shoreham, to the present Larrabee's Point. Hand's Cove where the Green Mountain Boys embarked in crossing the lake to take the Fort, on May 10, 1775, is about one third mile north of Larrabee's Point Ferry. Several traces, noted by local residents, warrant our surmise that the route may have been from the northwest corner of Sudbury and across near the northern boundary of Orwell, until it passed the north side of Hardigan Hill and then swung north across the Shoreham line where later the Addison Branch of the Rutland Railroad²³ was built, in 1871, to its former Larrabee's Point station and crossing trestle, at a smaller point somewhat south of Larrabee's Point.*

The difference between our 1776 Hubbardton road to "Ti," and the "Ti" branch of the Crown Point Road is effectively shown in the remarkable map drawn in August 1776 by Col. John Trumbull, later famous as "Artist of the American Revolution" which appears in the 1841 edition of his Autobiography,²⁴ but not in Sizer's annotated edition of 1953.²⁵ This beautiful steel engraved map herewith reproduced in part, shows the "Road from Number Four" in words only, but not lines, coming out close to what seems to be the later railroad trestle point. It was two and a half miles south where a short road led down from the south end of Mount Independence to the "Landing from Skenesborough." It was from the easterly bend in this road that the new Hubbardton road builders started, about a month after Trumbull made his map. As it ran southeasterly instead of easterly it cut nearly five miles of travel compared to the Crown Point Road. We have tried, unsuccessfully as yet, to persuade a number of persons to trace the Ticonderoga branch of Crown Point Road.

As far back as 1861, Elias Hall, son of a soldier who had "walked the Old French Road in 1759"²⁶ wrote that "the state surveyor is now unable to locate this road on the west side of the mountains." This may explain doubts as to Walling and Hagar's map and uncertainties a century later.

Various chapters of the D.A.R. have erected numerous stone markers along the Crown Point Road; some of those on the Ticonderoga branch may not be accurately placed, as they do not seem to line up realistically. However, on Route 22A the granite marker at the first intersection south of the former Orwell railroad crossing and more than a mile south of the Shoreham boundary reads "Mili-

Heights between Lakes Champlain & George

Mount Defiance, a very inaccessible for Carriages. Proposed Work. ⚡

Part

of

One Mile



Outlet of Lake George

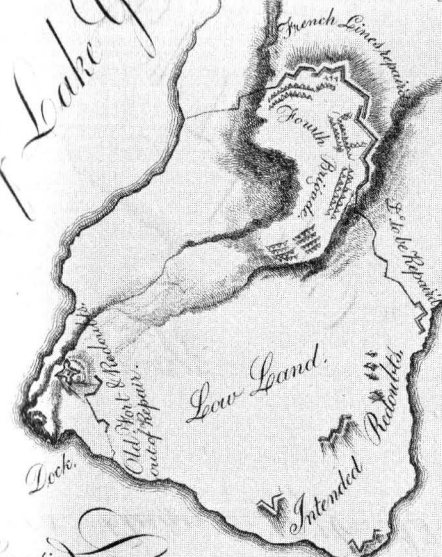
Landing Lake

High Ground

Low Land

Low Land

Champlain



Road from Number four

Ticonderoga & its Dependencies August 1776 J.J.

tary Road from Mount Independence to the Amherst Road. Erected by Hand's Cove Chapter. D.A.R."

In 1958 Mrs. Mary Bodfish of Orwell told us all the members of the committee for this marker had passed away and that the chapter records contain no material about this road, which we have never seen mentioned in any book, document or map, but which could possibly have been used in the few weeks after Mount Independence was for the first time, in July, occupied by soldiers and before the Hubbardton Road was started in September. Tom Daniels of Orwell has found traces of an old roadway eastward crossing East Creek below the Mount. There is also the tradition of soldiers using the spring a few hundred feet southeast of the D.A.R. marker. We have not followed up this short crossroad, and have wondered as to why it should have existed.*

In the winter of 1775-1776, a few months before the Army officers considered and decided on fortifying Mount Independence, the situation at Boston was crucial, and some of the roads just discussed were used to transport guns and material through Vermont to Boston. Washington had tardily been appointed Commander in Chief of the Continental Army on June 15; the Americans were defeated at Bunker Hill on June 17; they were in desperate straits for military equipment and ammunition, with which to continue the siege of Boston in July. General, then Colonel, Henry Knox made an expedition to Fort George at the south end of Lake George, and to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, to gather all available guns and ammunition. More than fifty cannon, howitzers and mortars, and other materials from Crown Point and Ticonderoga were hauled through the winter snows to Boston, leaving the northern garrisons in a bad plight. "The winter of 1775-1776 was a terrible one for the American garrison at Ticonderoga. The sufferings were worse than at Valley Forge. Many men froze to death in their tents."²⁷

A large colored poster, published in 1947 by the Dixon Pencil Company to advertise Ticonderoga pencils, shows Knox's men and oxen hauling the dismantled cannon on sleds over the hills. The caption reads, "Immortal Guns. General Knox and his men taking guns from Fort Ticonderoga to General Washington at Dorchester Heights in

OPPOSITE. Portion of Trumbull's map, August 1776, with the three brigades spread out on the Mount before the Star Fort and Horseshoe Battery were built, but with road running from north to south. The star shaped stockade fort and the hospital were built later.

the siege of Boston in the winter of 1776." This colored illustration is also reproduced in *Vermont Life*²⁸ Autumn 1948, and in Newton's *The Vermont Story*.²⁹ When the writers first saw this poster, which shows Fort "Ti." across the lake, we thought it might portray the Hubbardton Military Road. But these guns were hauled more than six months before our road was built. We then thought they must have been drawn over the Crown Point Road. But a bronze tablet in the central yard at Fort Ticonderoga shows a map of their route south from "Ti." to Skenesborough, Fort Edward and Albany, where they crossed the Hudson on the ice, thence southerly into western Massachusetts and eastward to Boston. Another bronze tablet to the same effect is mounted on a boulder on the library lawn at Hudson Falls. In crossing the Mohawk River ice at Half Moon they lost one cannon (recently fished up and now set up in the central yard at the Fort). A third tablet stands at Woronoco, near Westfield, Massachusetts. This roundabout way was evidently the quickest and easiest at that time, for it was much more heavily travelled, especially in winter. A stone bridge at Wayland, Massachusetts, twenty miles west of Boston, had to be abandoned in 1956, damaged beyond repair after 233 years. Over it a train of forty sleds drawn by 80 yokes of oxen brought the guns to Boston.³⁰ No doubt this was the train that went through Westfield.

However, data at East Poultney seem to indicate that some of the guns, probably from Crown Point, were sledged "over corduroy roads down from Castleton by the old road [to Pawlet and Bennington] made the turn at Eagle Tavern, [around the northeast corner of the Green] over the old road where I had marked in 1935, 'The First Union Church in America,' then south over a bridge over Poultney River, the remnants of the old masonry still there the last time I looked at the site, and on top of the hills, to avoid sniping by British and Indians, and on in the direction of Boston."³¹ These guns probably came down over the Crown Point Road to Sudbury, thence by the East Hubbardton Road to Castleton. See also W. E. Johnson's article "The Eagle Tavern."³² Perhaps they took this roundabout way because the Pawlet, Bennington, Williamstown road was in better shape than some portions of the Crown Point Road. But there is also evidence that some of the cannon went via the latter road. Photographer C. E. Walker²³ says that below Twenty-Mile Encampment and Whitesville, "I have seen the rotted logs which were piled against the embankment at Downer's to ease the cannon for Dorchester Heights down onto the lower level to follow the North

Branch of Black River." The best account of Knox's trip, with an excellent map of the route taken by the main party, appears in *American Heritage* magazine.³⁴

MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF MOUNT INDEPENDENCE

It is difficult to explain the regrettable neglect of what, as we suggested above, is in many respects the most interesting and important historic site in Vermont. Chimney Point and the Hubbardton Battlefield are by many others thought to be Vermont's chief historic spots. The Mount is infrequently mentioned in state histories of the last half century.

The text and index, for example, of one of the best known and excellent Vermont histories, Earle Newton's,¹⁵ makes no mention of Mount Independence, though two or three of the maps show it.

No state official or organization has initiated any action to acquire, recognize and develop for public use the peninsula, once a hive of activity, on the Vermont shore, in Orwell, opposite Fort Ticonderoga. Adjutant General Francis W. Billado deserves credit for his long time interest in the Mount and his efforts, though unsuccessful, to persuade one of the Veteran's organizations to develop it. Judge Milford K. Smith of Rutland has also urged that the state acquire the Mount. Here several thousand American soldiers spent their time and labors for a year, elaborate fortifications and a hospital were built, many gave their lives for lack of sanitary and medical knowledge and proper shelter.*

If not technically true, as one local historian³⁵ has claimed, that "The Mount" was "designated as Headquarters of the Northern Army," it was unquestionably considered by the Continental Congress and by the Generals in charge as more important militarily than famous Fort Ticonderoga across the lake, which continued to be officially designated for orders and dispatches from the combined fortifications. This was no doubt because the name Ticonderoga was already so widely known and because the old stone buildings were soon repaired for occupancy by the officers directing operations on both sides of the lake. Many dispatches and reports, however, were dated from Mount Independence. A beautiful granite fourteen foot shaft on solid rock foundation was erected August 20, 1908 by Hand's Cove Chapter of the D.A.R. near the north shore of the Mount. "Memorial to the brave soldiers buried here from 1775 to 1784 in unmarked graves and to the military importance of this mount in the War of the Revolution," are the words on its west face.

Judge Robert Bascom's address³⁶ does some justice to the Mount's importance.

The only comprehensive account of Mount Independence was written as recently as 1954 for the Fort Ticonderoga Association, which now owns most of the land on the Mount. It was originally purchased by the late Stephen H. P. Pell, who gave it to his son John H. G. Pell, who in turn in 1952 deeded it to the Association. This eighteen page article³⁷ by Thomas B. Furcron of Brooklyn College, the Fort Association's 1953 Fellow, incorporates much of the material from the second, 1949, draft of this present report. But as it is not easily available to readers of *Vermont History* we give a shortened account which in turn borrows from Mr. Furcron's article which is very fully footnoted.

In May 1775, when Crown Point and Ticonderoga fell to the colonists' surprise attacks by Ethan Allen and Colonel Warner, the Continental Congress determined to retain these strongly fortified positions, and on May 22 directed General Schuyler to command the Northern Department including the Champlain forts, with headquarters at Albany. The British were planning to attack through Canada; the colonies must hold the Hudson River-Lake Champlain waterway. All the residents in the New England colonies and New York were aware of the constant threat to their safety; the British were at their northern gateway. "If the British could control the line of water communications from the St. Lawrence through Lake Champlain, Lake George and on down the Hudson, they might form in Canada an expedition which would cut the colonies along that line, isolate the New England colonies and conquer them at leisure."³⁸

The chief reason for building the Hubbardton Military Road was that Mount Independence in July 1776 became the major northern military post. Fort "Ti" had fallen into bad disrepair. Colonel John Trumbull's scale map of Mount Independence in August 1776³⁹ shows how comparatively unimportant the Ticonderoga works were then considered. The fort itself is labelled "Old Fort and Redoubts out of Repair." The first, second and third Brigades with elaborate fortifications were laid out on Independence, not on the New York side, a Fourth Brigade was located just inside the old French lines to the west of Fort "Ti." and these were repaired and continued eastward to the lake more than a half mile north of the Fort. Three redoubts were to be built along the shoulder north of the Fort. "Proposed Work," a fortification, was to be built near the lake at the foot of Mount Defiance, which Trumbull labelled "A very high hill sup-

posed inaccessible for carriages." This and the redoubts never materialized. See Trumbull's Map, reproduced in part, on page 98.

Early in 1776 after the Americans had made the unsuccessful attack on Quebec and feared reprisal by the British, a study was made by the American generals to see what should be done in the Champlain valley. A commission sent by the Continental Congress to Canada to win the Canadians to the American cause, consisted of Samuel Chase, Charles Carroll of Carrolton and John Carroll, a Jesuit priest, all three from Maryland, and Benjamin Franklin. According to Judge Bottum, one of the Carrolls, Chase and Franklin actually visited Mount Independence, which was even then being considered for fortification. Bottum, and Van Doren's biography⁴⁰ indicate this would have been on or about April 24, on their trip north. As the Colonies had been bitterly critical of Canada and religious animosities had been aroused, this mission failed.

Quoting from Crockett:

Early in June 1776, when General Schuyler saw the probability that the Northern army must abandon Canada, he made plans for strengthening the positions on Lake Champlain. He hoped to send an engineer to repair Ticonderoga, but held that a post on the ground opposite the old fortress 'would more effectually secure us against the enemy.' He so reported to General Washington, who wrote him on July 13 that Chase and Carroll, the commissioners who were sent to Canada by Congress, as associates of Benjamin Franklin, were of the same opinion, but he asked it if would not be well to fortify both Ticonderoga and the point opposite. Schuyler replied to Washington, June 17, 1776: 'If a fortress was erected on the east side of Lake Champlain, nearly opposite Ticonderoga, it would equally command both communications, with this advantage, that the militia of the northern colonies are more at hand for immediate succor, may all march by land to the post, and attempt to raise a siege.'

Early in July Generals Schuyler and Gates, having occasion to go to Crown Point, took Colonel Trumbull across the lake to inspect the site of the proposed fortifications, and the latter made such a favorable report that at a council of general officers held on July 7, 'it was unanimously resolved to take post there'.

In other words, Mount Independence, not Fort Ticonderoga, was to be the chief point of defense, and for the reasons given above in Schuyler's letter to Washington, in which Schuyler's rival Gates concurred. "The possible loss of Fort Ticonderoga itself would not be a complete disaster," Schuyler wrote on July 12. Among other proofs that Schuyler and others considered Mount Independence more important than Ticonderoga is his letter of instruction to St. Clair,

June 5, 1777, when the latter was taking over the command of both forts.⁴²

Colonel Trumbull in describing this location, said:

At the northern point it runs low into the lake, offering a good landing place; from thence the land rose to an almost level plateau elevated from fifty to seventy-five feet above the lake, and surrounded on three sides, by a natural wall of rock, everywhere steep, and sometimes an absolute precipice sinking to the lake. On the fourth and eastern side of the position ran a morass and deep creek at the front of the rock, which strengthened that front, leaving room only by an easy descent, for a road to the east, and to the landing from the southern end of the lake. We found plentiful springs of good water, at the foot of the rock.⁴³

Crockett gives the following details:

General orders issued at Ticonderoga on July 13 directed Captain Stevens of the artillery to encamp with his company 'near the landing on the east side of the lake, where all the artillery, stores, etc. are to be landed.' The Pennsylvania regiments were directed to encamp 'upon the new ground' July 16, where Colonel St. Clair and Colonel Wayne were to lay out the works. Orders were issued, July 22, to the three brigades commanded by General Benedict Arnold, Colonel Reed and Colonel Stark to encamp as soon as possible upon the ground allotted them upon the heights. General orders of July 30, showed that three of the four brigades were stationed at Mount Independence. As a result of the clearing of the forest and the exposing of the soil to the hot summer sun, a fever became prevalent, said to resemble the yellow fever, which sometimes proved fatal in two or three days.

The naming of Mount Independence occurred on July 18, 1776, when a courier arrived at Fort Ticonderoga with news of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. A salute of thirteen guns was fired and the neighboring eminence was christened Mount Independence.

Schuyler was so well pleased with the strength of Mount Independence, that he wrote Washington July 24: 'Can they drive us out of the strong camp on the east side? I think not. I think it impossible for twenty thousand men to do it, ever so well provided, if the camp consists of less than even a quarter of that number, indifferently furnished, such is the natural strength of the ground.'

In accordance with a resolution of the Continental Congress, a general hospital was erected on Mount Independence. The summit of that mountain is a table-land and here at a later date, a strong, star-shaped fort was erected, surrounded by pickets. In the center was a square of barracks.

By direction of General Gates, a road was cut from the west side of Mount Independence to join the road at Castleton, and a good bridge was constructed across the Otter Creek at Rutland [where it joined the main Crown Point Road]. This work was performed under the direction of Lieut. Col. John Barrett of the Cumberland county militia. [Note. "Join the road at Castleton" is a phrase that has caused us much confusion, for we find no

evidence that the Hubbardton Military Road joined or followed any then existing road after it turned southeasterly from the East Hubbardton road at Ransomvale in East Hubbardton, thence through the Belgo Gap, meeting the 1772 Skenesborough Road west of Whipple Hollow in West Rutland.]

During the summer and fall of 1776, the greater part of the army at Ticonderoga was engaged in throwing up intrenchments, mounting guns, and securing provisions. [It is evident that 'Ticonderoga' in the foregoing sentence, as in so many other connections, actually referred to Mount Independence, which has suffered from the confusion in not distinguishing it clearly.] Early in September the barracks and parade ground were finished. The intrenching tools were so few that it was necessary to divide the men into shifts that the tools might not be idle at any time." [Messages in Oct. 1776 from Gen. Gates to Governor Trumbull and Gen. Schuyler were filled with pleas for more shovels.⁴⁴] "The works were completed in November, 1776, under the direction of Colonel, later General, Wayne. Among the garrison of 3,000 men there were several regiments from New York and one each from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, with a large number of men from the New Hampshire Grants. The Massachusetts troops came by way of Springfield, Vt., Rutland, Castleton, and Skenesborough" [a few weeks before the Mt. Independence road was completed.]

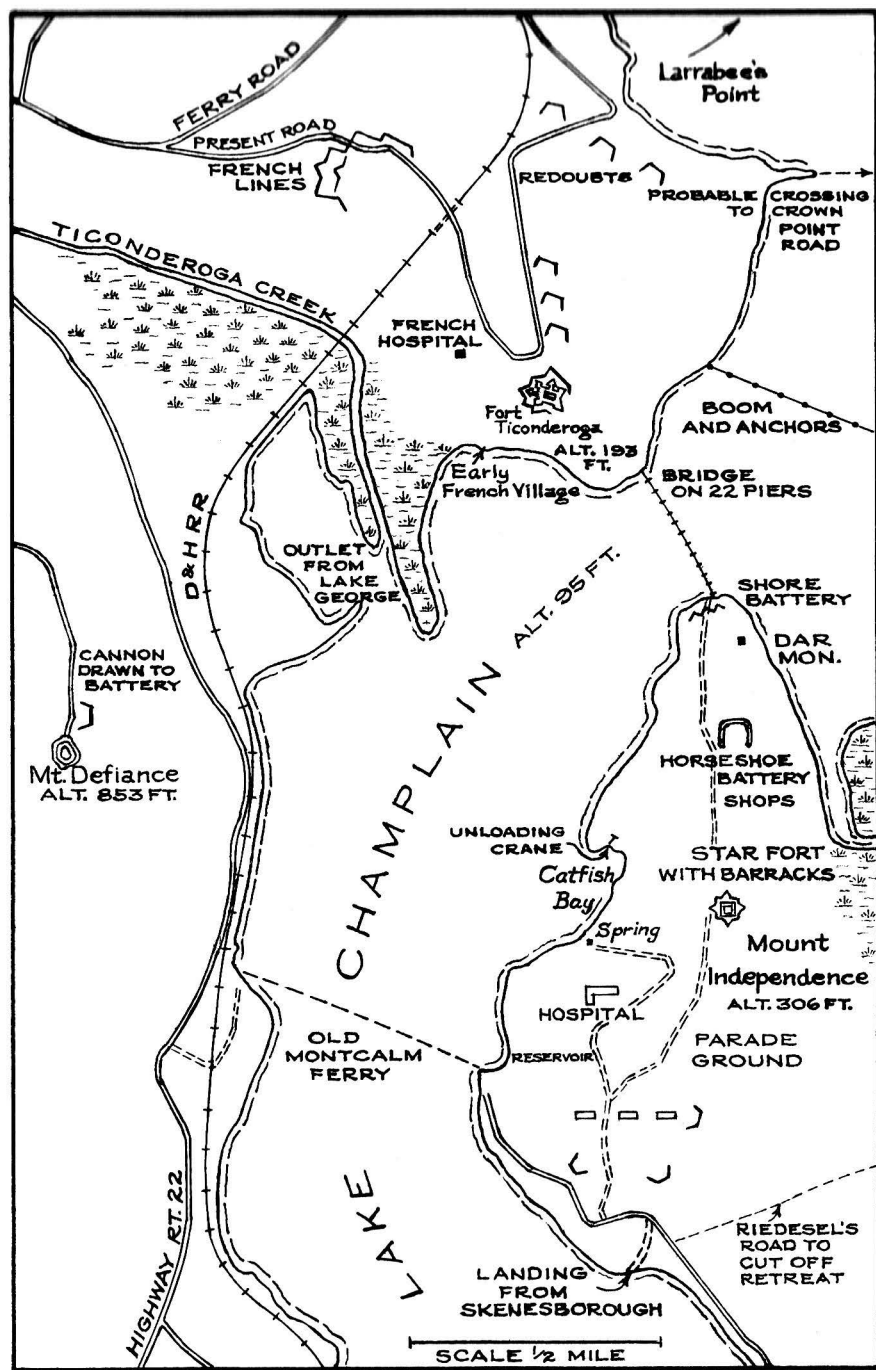
Conditions were still deplorable in September 1776, Col. Wigglesworth wrote in a letter: 'Gentlemen, I wish you could transport yourselves to this place to see the distressed situation of these troops. There are no medicines of any avail. It would make a heart of stone melt to hear the moans and see the distresses of the dying.'

In time, however, conditions improved. The smallpox gradually was conquered, and, although there was some fever and ague, the health and spirits of the men showed a great change for the better. Fresh beef and mutton added a pleasant variety to a salt pork diet and the distress caused by lack of tents was allievated, in a measure at least, by the arrival of one hundred thousand feet of boards for purposes of shelter.

The sufferings of the army in Canada, and for several months after their return to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, deserve to rank with the privations endured by Washington's troops at Valley Forge.

The foregoing paragraphs are, in the main, quoted or condensed from Crockett;⁴⁵ more detailed references and a host of footnotes are given in Furcron.

Space precludes describing the various fortifications and works. Each involved immense toil, often under pressure from fears of impending attack. Instead we have attempted a diagram based on the latest, 1950, U.S. Survey⁴⁶ because only Trumbull's map of the Mount was nearly accurate as to the shape and contours of the area. On this we have marked in approximately the more important items from two other maps, ^{47, 48} drawn by the Colonists and by the British respectively, showing the defenses in July 1777. Tom Daniels and Capt.



MOUNT INDEPENDENCE—FORT TICONDEROGA AND
MOUNT DEFIANCE, WITH MAJOR WORKS, 1777.

Edward G. Farmer, U.S.N. retired, of Orwell, are constructing an eight foot long model of the Mount.*

Among the numerous "works" on the Mount, four are best known and most frequently described. The Shore or Water Battery stood at the north point a short distance from the lake and directly across from "Ti." It was a heavy masonry structure and its foundations are still visible, though like the other masonry on the Mount most of the stones have been carted away by neighboring farmers and lake dwellers during nearly two centuries of neglect. Farther up the hill was the Horseshoe Battery, a more pretentious enclosure meant to protect both the landing and the Shore Battery. On the long plateau top of the Mount and about half way along its axis, a Stockade Star Fort was erected covering more than an acre and enclosing barracks for 600 men, with other brigades in barracks close by. There was also a new hospital. Protected by these considerable fortifications, on three levels, and with steep precipices on the west side along the lake, and on the east dropping steeply to the wide difficult morass of Vermont clay mud silt, and debris, threaded by East Creek, the colonists were justified in considering Mount Independence far less vulnerable than the old Fort on the opposite shore.

But in September and October 1776 they constructed a fourth major preventive, the famous chain boom and bridge, crossing the more than 1500 feet between the north point landing of the Mount to a point just north of the nearest point on the New York shore, where the landing ground was not so steep. These barriers, firmly anchored, were expected to stop the British ships. Unfortunately the currents and the ice broke these up early in the winter and they had to be rebuilt the next spring. The use of "cassoons" or caissons, or piers, was something new in this frontier area. The heavy timbers, three or four feet thick and twenty-five feet long, were hewed out in February and made up in squares of four, chained together and filled in between by heavy stones; there were 22 of these piers. To get these into place vertically and hold them was a heartbreaking task especially when in May a heavy gale turned over the partly finished work. It was completed in June and the floating bridge, about twelve feet wide, was built in sections chained between the piers. According to a colored picture map of the area recently published at the Fort⁴⁹ the heavy chain boom with links an inch and a half thick, to stop the British ships, was stretched across a few hundred feet north of the bridge, doubtless to protect the bridge.

Two engineers labored hard on the fortifications. Colonel Jeduthan

*Addenda, 107.

Baldwin was not a trained engineer; there were few in those days. But as a diligent practical and resourceful planner, layer-out and supervisor he erected works which won praise from the British when they took possession. His Diary,⁵⁰ from July 6, 1776 when he received orders from Crown Point, probably from General Schuyler, to proceed to Ticonderoga as Chief Engineer of the Northern Army, until July 5, 1777, when the Americans evacuated the forts, is full of interesting detail. "As my business calls, I am on Mount Independence some days two or three times in a day." Among his many jobs was the road built from north end to south end of the Mount, somewhat more than a mile and shown by dotted lines in the Trumbull 1776 map herewith, which also shows where the Hubbardton Military Road led southward from the Mount. We found no mention in Baldwin's diary of the road from the Mount to Rutland Falls; evidently Colonel Baldwin had one job to do, Colonel Barrett had another job to do, and neither minded the other man's business, though the two pieces of road tied together. In May 1777 Lieutenant-Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the Polish patriot and engineer, arrived and joined at once in all the activity, as assistant to Baldwin. The Horseshoe Battery, which the British praised, was built by Kosciuszko. The chapter on Kosciuszko at Ticonderoga, in his biography,⁵¹ shows that most of his work during a two month stay was on the Mount. Unfortunately his rank as Baldwin's assistant, or perhaps a lack of frankness with his chief, discouraged his criticisms of Baldwin's ideas, and he failed to insist and prevail over Baldwin in what he considered failure to fortify Mounts Independence and Defiance adequately.

The colonists had already experienced one threat of British attack. All through the spring and summer of 1776, preparations were made for an expedition to attack the British in Canada by water, and under Benedict Arnold the fleet which the American troops had hastily constructed at Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Whitehall (twelve of the fifteen "gondelos and galleys" were built at Whitehall) was assembled at Crown Point, the "First U.S. Fleet In Conflict,"⁵² and it left there on August 24. The details of this expedition and Arnold's resourcefulness in holding off the British when the Americans met defeat at Quebec and retreated up the lake, are highly creditable to Arnold. The failure of the Continental Congress to recognize his great ability and courage, shown also in his vital and heroic part at Saratoga, no doubt added to his frustration in having to give first place to Ethan Allen in taking the Fort the year before, and fanned

*Addenda, 108.

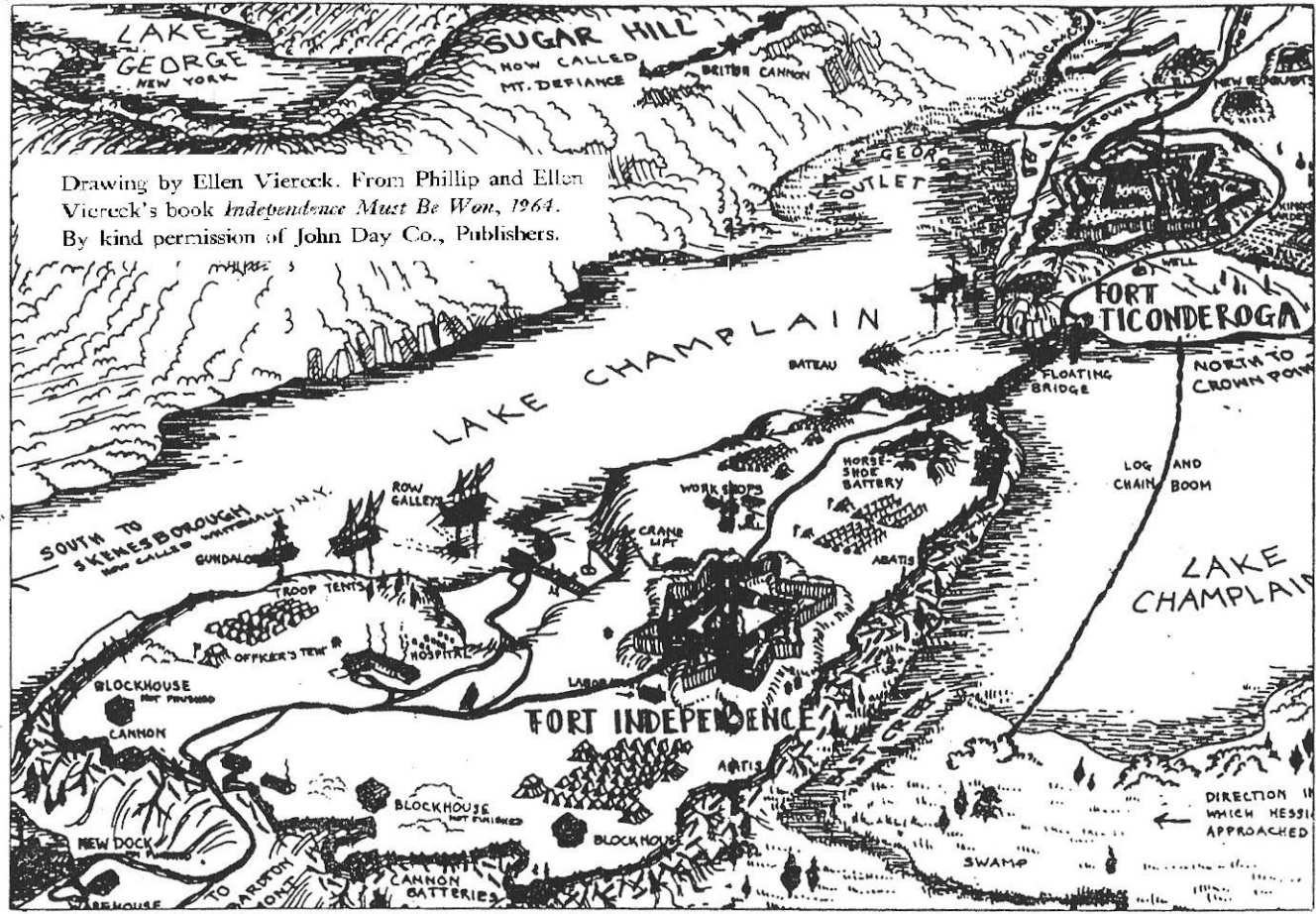
his bitter resentment and later disloyalty. The Americans were forced to retreat nevertheless and on October 14, 1776 the expedition was back at Crown Point, closely pursued by the British, who captured many of the American boats. The Battle of Valcour Island on October 11 was one of the incidents in this expedition. In a letter describing Arnold's conduct Gates, who had appointed Arnold as fleet commander, Aug. 7, 1776, wrote to Schuyler, "few men ever met with as many hairbreadth escapes in so short a space of time."

On the same day that Arnold reached Crown Point he destroyed the works there and removed the troops and stores to Ticonderoga. The British General Carleton close behind landed a force at Crown Point which occupied both east and west shores of the lake in a plan to proceed against Ticonderoga. But "a great wind" blew up on the next day and for eight days it was impossible for the British ships to start out. A lucky gale of wind for the Americans, for in those eight days they made such headway in surrounding themselves with cannon that when the British renewed their attack on October 27, Carleton was forced to withdraw from the attack on Ticonderoga and he returned to Crown Point. The Americans were so strong and Carleton's force so small that he then decided to withdraw to Canada, the rear guard of the British Army leaving there on November 3 and the American troops taking over. Military historians credit the Americans for delaying the British army for a whole year in its attempt to pierce the heart of the colonies by way of the Hudson Valley.

THE BIG MISTAKE: NOT FORTIFYING MOUNT DEFIANCE

This close call from one attack by the British failed to bring reconsideration of the continued warning by Colonel John Trumbull and Benedict Arnold. Most disastrously and for what reason, other than plain stubbornness, it is now impossible to understand or to excuse, Mount Defiance, which was higher than Mount Hope, a block house north of the Fort, or Mount Independence, and directly overlooked Fort Ticonderoga from a height 650 feet greater, and commanded the outlet of Lake George and the entire American encampments and works, was not fortified. The latest U. S. map of Ticonderoga quadrangle, 1950⁴⁶ shows Lake Champlain as 95 feet above sea level, Fort "Ti." as 193 feet, Mount Independence as 300 feet, and the top of Mount Defiance as 853 feet. Gates and Schuyler insisted that the British with their cannon could not possibly climb the steep slopes to occupy that height. It would have taken 10,000 men to man completely all the fortifications at Ticonderoga and the

Drawing by Ellen Viercek. From Phillip and Ellen Viercek's book *Independence Must Be Won*, 1964.
By kind permission of John Day Co., Publishers.



Mount, for they extended in a half circle two and a half miles long, and St. Clair, less than a month in command, when Burgoyne arrived, had only 2800 regulars and 900 new and undisciplined militia.

"Around Mt. Defiance might be written a chapter of error and incompetence which, in the perspective of time, would seem almost unbelievable."⁵³ General Horatio Gates, being chiefly in charge, may have been responsible for this failure, but Schuyler had been there to study the situation and by many is considered most at fault for his over-confidence, expressed in paragraphs quoted above, when he issued orders to occupy and develop the Mount, the year before. One of his nicknames was "the stubborn Dutchman." William L. Stone says⁵⁴ that Stone's father was told by Colonel John Trumbull, then Adjutant General of the Northern Army, that Trumbull had pointed out to the other officers in 1776 that it "was an error" to assume the British could not scale this mountain. But these protests, strongly seconded by Arnold, deserve to be read in Trumbull's autobiography: "Our entire position formed an extensive crescent [more than three miles long] of which the center was a lofty eminence called Mount Defiance . . . which rises precipitously from the water to a height of six hundred feet . . . This important position had hitherto been neglected by the engineers of all parties, French, English and American." He then recounts his arguing the matter with his fellow officers at General Gates' mess table where his plea to fortify Defiance was ridiculed, upon which he obtained permission to fire cannon shot at Mount Defiance from the north point of Mount Independence. Against the opinion of Major Stevens the artillery officer, a twelve pound and six pound cannon were discharged, and both hit close to the summit. But the other officers still claimed "the summit was inaccessible to an enemy," whereupon he and Benedict Arnold, Colonel Wayne and other officers rowed across the lake and climbed to the top; "it was obvious to all that there could be no difficulty in driving up a loaded carriage . . . Our present position required at least ten thousand men and an hundred pieces of artillery, for its doubtful security . . . A small but strong post [on Mount Defiance] commanded by an officer who would maintain it to the last extremity, would be a more effectual and essentially a less expensive defense of this pass, than all our present extended lines." He then drew up a report on the matter with a diagram and figures as to the troops required for his project, compared to the existing plans. The resulting expense of the two systems "was as twenty to one nearly in favor of" the Mount Defiance scheme. His whole effort got no results, but the events of July 1777 proved all his predictions correct.^{55*}

Another basic trouble was that Washington, Schuyler and the Continental Congress had assumed that the British at Quebec were preparing for attack on the Atlantic coast cities; they had not manned nor provisioned the Mount and Ticonderoga to take care of a large attacking force. Because of political pressure the Congress, which kept the appointment of officers in its own hands instead of giving this authority to Washington, appointed Gates to succeed Schuyler, much to Washington's disgust, so there was a series of commanders each jealous of the others, with St. Clair arriving to take charge only at the last minute. Just before Gates was superseded, he approved in April 1777, Kosciuszko's earnest plea to fortify Mount Defiance, but Schuyler did nothing about it.⁵⁶ The attitude of Congress and of Washington, to these contending generals, and the effect of these differences on the morale of the northern troops, was to weaken the preparations when word came of Burgoyne's invasion. Congress, in a panic when it awoke to the facts, authorized General Washington to call on the eastern states to raise additional regiments for defense of "Ticonderoga."⁵⁷

BURGOYNE'S INVASION

After General Guy Carleton's failure to take Crown Point, and his retreat up the lake November 3, 1776, the period until the summer of 1777 was one of "watchful waiting" at the Mount. A large number of troops were kept in camp at Mount Independence and Ticonderoga as a precaution against attack from the north. Of the thousands of Americans who travelled our road, and camped on the Mount, several hundred died there in two epidemics, of typhoid and small pox. They lie in unmarked graves. Their hardships should never be forgotten. General Gates had reported to General Schuyler, October 4, 1776, "Our communications are free and unmolested, and the eastern post and travellers are continually coming to Mount Independence by Otter Creek and the roads that lead from thence, no scouts of the enemy appearing to disturb them."⁵⁸ November 5, writing again he mentioned that "there is an excellent bridge built over Otter Creek at Rutland, and a good road cut from Mt. Independence."⁵⁹

It was the invasion by General Burgoyne which brought the next and most important event in the history of Mount Independence. In February 1777, a scouting party discovered that 500 British troops were at St. Johns, just north of the Canadian line, and other British and Indians were already at Grand Isle. Obviously, the British were preparing to come up the lake and attack Ticonderoga again.

General Burgoyne, popularly called "Gentleman Johnny," and "Handsome Jack," who had a way with the ladies and had eloped with the Earl of Derby's lively daughter, had been appointed in March 1777 and sent across the Atlantic to succeed the able Guy Carleton in command of the northern British army. He was a man of resourcefulness, with much experience, but his military and political judgement are by many considered inferior to Carleton's. Among his 4,200 German troops most were Hessians, secured by conscription from Hesse and Brunswick. They themselves got little pay, most of the money paid by the British for their help going to the Hessian government. Recent studies show that, including the officers, the army numbered 4,700 British soldiers, 4,200 Germans and a total of 9,400 men, including Tories, Canadians and Indians.⁶⁰ With forty-two brass cannon the British and Germans arrived in Quebec in May 1777, and the army shortly started from St. Johns and reached the foot of Lake Champlain in June. A good popular account of Burgoyne and his expedition, with illustrations, appears in *American Heritage*, for June 1956.⁶¹ His was part of a three pronged campaign, in which General Howe with another army was to strike north from New York, a third army under General St. Leger was to get up to Oswego on Lake Ontario by way of the St. Lawrence from Montreal thence east and the three armies were to concentrate on capturing Albany after conquering the Champlain Valley, the Hudson Valley and the Mohawk Valley. This is shown in the accompanying diagram, reprinted by courtesy of the Saratoga National Historical Park.⁶²

It was not until June 5 that General Arthur St. Clair was assigned to command the Americans at Ticonderoga, arriving there on the 12th. He was dismayed to find a small force, half trained, poorly equipped and half armed. Everything was in poor condition to receive an attack. Further breast works were quickly thrown up at the foot of Mount Independence, and a battery constructed at the mouth of East Creek. The old French lines just west of Fort Ticonderoga were strengthened and guarded by a block house. The earthworks with guns on Mount Hope overlooking the marsh just west of the river flowing out of Lake George into Lake Champlain were reconditioned,⁶³ with new batteries on the land just below, while another outpost was established at the saw mill on the river and one at the rapids at the outlet of Lake George.

On July 2, 1777, Colonel Seth Warner was sent by General St. Clair to get reinforcements. He wrote ahead from Rutland to the Vermont Convention in session at Windsor that "an army of 10,000

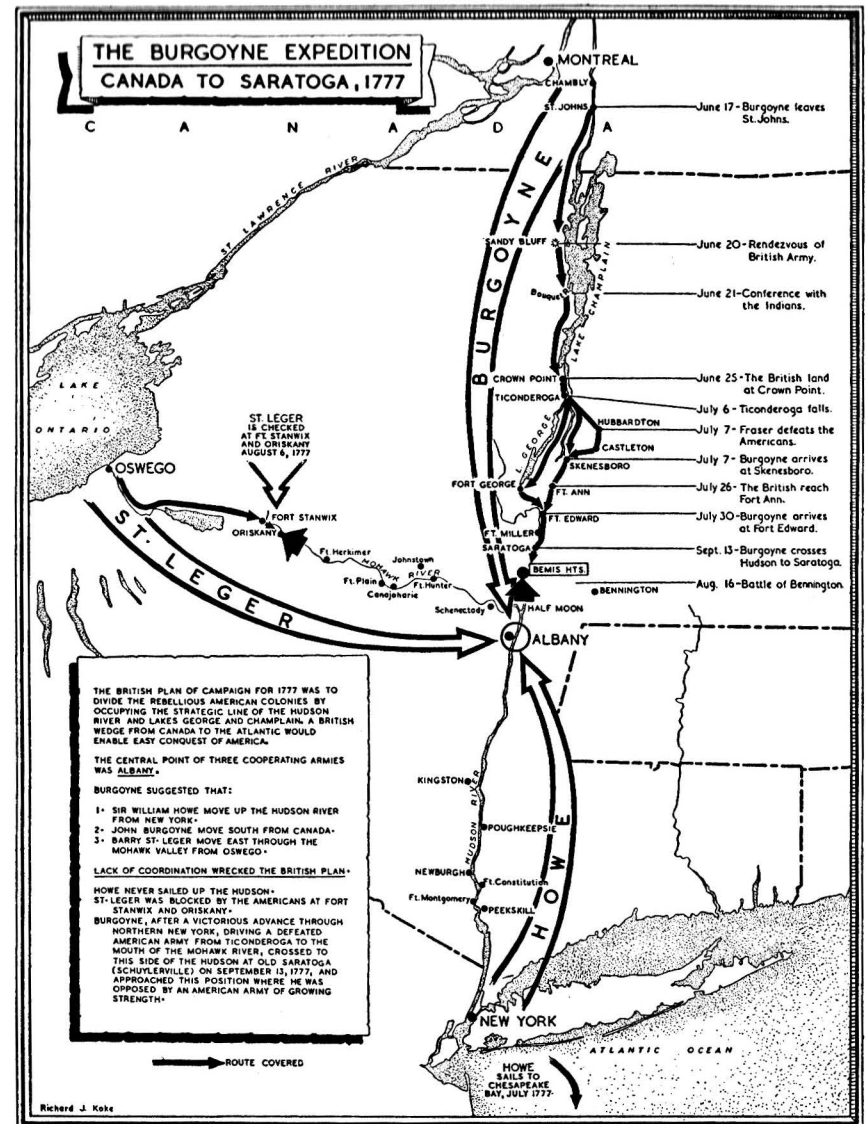


Diagram showing the three pronged attack planned by British to destroy and conquer the Hudson, Mohawk and Champlain Valleys, converging on Albany. Howe failed to start up the Hudson; St. Leger was stopped halfway from Lake Ontario to Albany; Burgoyne at Saratoga. Shows American retreat through Hubbardton. Drawing by Richard J. Koke, courtesy U. S. National Park Service.⁶²

veterans, one half of them German, had been collected in the province of Canada and attended by a formidable body of savages and a corps of Tories, was approaching the post at Ticonderoga." On July 5, he was back at Ticonderoga with the 900 militia just mentioned. General Riedesel, who commanded the Hessians, says 800 men had arrived on the third.⁶⁴ So either Seth Warner must have left before the second, or met the men who "were on their way from New Hampshire with ammunition and provisions." Hiland Hall says they reached "Ti." on July 5⁶⁵. But the position was already untenable. The British had already, July 2, captured the battery at Mount Hope, northwest of the Fort, and Riedesel and his troops had cut their way along the east shore, ready to surround the rear of the Mount. The Chief of Engineers, Lieutenant Twiss, had noted Mount Defiance, as a strategic point, unfortified. Within twenty-four hours, mostly under cover of darkness and without any cannonading from the Americans on Independence, his men cleared a narrow road up its steep flank, and on the morning of July 5 it was arrayed with heavy cannon on a shoulder about sixty feet below the summit, and it swarmed with red coats. According to publicity given out in 1950 at the opening of the new scenic toll road from Ticonderoga Village to the summit, "oxen dragged eight 24-pounders and 8-inch howitzers to a point near the top, where their positions are still visible."⁶⁶ But * the circular distributed in 1951-1952 to tourists visiting the summit states that six pieces of artillery were "dragged up by ropes," and this is borne out by testimony at St. Clair's trial. Despite the 900 new soldiers just arrived, that evening St. Clair's council of war unanimously decided that the British could wipe out the American army, and that Mount Independence must be abandoned before daylight the next morning. No other course could have saved his army.

EVACUATION OF THE FORT AND THE MOUNT

We have not space for the details of Burgoyne's attack, told so completely and interestingly in Lossing's hundred year old *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*,⁶⁷ in Chapter 5 of Hoffman Nickerson's *Turning Point of the Revolution*,⁶⁸ and in a chapter of Christopher Ward's two volume 1952 account of the battles of the Revolution.⁶⁹ The descriptions by the two generals, Riedesel⁷⁰ and Fraser,⁷¹ who pursued the Americans to Hubbardton are full of details. And as this retreat was over our road we next give an account of it.

The Americans started their retreat from the Fort at 2 a.m. and from the Mount at 4 a.m. July 6. Was any artillery drawn over our

*Addenda, 114.

"Military Road" on this retreat? "128 pieces of artillery, their shipping and batteaux, 1,748 barrels of flour, 70 tons of salt provisions, and a large drove of cattle," fell into Burgoyne's hands, and these would naturally and easily be transported by water to Skenesborough (Whitehall).^{72, 73} One German and one British regiment were left in garrison at Mount Independence and "Ti."

Evidently the British thought that this pursuit through the woods did not warrant delaying to take artillery. One of his officers⁷⁴ states that Fraser "at the head of a little more than half the vanguard and without any artillery (it had been impossible to take it along, although he had tried very hard) met 2,000 rebels, [i.e. at Hubbardton] which were in a very good position." He says also that Riedesel had the Yaeger Company and some grenadiers and chasseur battalions, indicating no artillery. Hadden says that Fraser was "without Artillery (which with the utmost endeavours it was impossible to get up)."⁷⁵

But the Americans drew some cannon over the road. At Hubbardton, when Riedesel's Brunswick troops came to the rescue of Fraser's corps, "The Americans seeing themselves surrounded . . . retreated, leaving behind them twelve pieces of artillery."⁷⁶ This is confirmed by other records cited in Ward.⁷⁷ Riedesel, early in the spring of 1777, had listed in his journal the American artillery at Ticonderoga and Independence, some of which, including "four four-pounders made at Cambridge, near Boston," had recently arrived and no doubt had been drawn to Lake Champlain over our road, i.e. via "Number 4" and Rutland to Mount Independence, because it was so much shorter than any other.

Part of the American garrison, "between four and six hundred effectives, with the worst of the sick also, went down the lake to Skenesborough, closely pursued by the English ships, commanded by Burgoyne himself. The rear of the American army, 2400 to 2600 men, retreating along the Military Road, was commanded by Col. Francis, pursued by General Fraser, with 800 or 900 of his men, followed later by Gen. Riedesel."⁷⁸

As Nickerson says, "The country was heavily wooded. The road was a mere wagon track, cut through the woods the year before and probably unsuitable for guns."⁷⁹ In spite of General Fraser's reference to it, as the "great road recently built by the Rebels," Ward calls it "but a pretense of a road . . . a mere wagon track, new, rough, rutted, and spotted with stumps of trees."⁸⁰ Anyone who traces its course, winding, inadequately graded, and narrow enough

to just clear the tree trunks, can realize that it was not much of a road. We have not found statements that vehicles were drawn over it, but doubtless the flow of supplies and provisions required both ox-teams and packhorses.

Several participants record that both July 6 and July 7 were "burning hot" days. The general disorder, confusion and hardship on this retreat across part of Rutland County are described in a letter from soldier Cogan to General John Stark, dated Moses Creek, July 17.

Such a retreat was never heard of since the Creation of the world. I was ordered about five of the Clock in the afternoon to draw forty-eight Rounds pr man: afterwards, nine days allowance of provision, which I completed about 2 of the clock in the morning, and about the time I got home the Tents were struck and all was ordered to retreat; but it was daylight before we got below your old house; such order surprised both officers and soldiers . . . they left all the Continental cloathing there; in short every article that belonged to the army; which if properly conducted might be easily saved. . . .

Our main body was within six miles of us, the Indians took & killed a vast number of our men on their Retreats; then was hurried at an unmerciful rate thro' the woods at the rate of thirty five miles a day, obliged to kill oxen belonging to the Inhabitants wherever we got them; before they were half-skinned every soldier was obliged to take a bit and half Roast it over the fire, then before half done was obliged to March,—it is thought we went 100 miles for fear of seeing a Regular. . . .⁸¹

Lieutenant Digby says of the pursuit by Fraser's corps, "From the fort we [the British] were obliged to cross over a boom of boats . . . had they placed one gun so as the grape shot could take the range of the bridge . . . they would, in all probability, have destroyed all or most of us . . . We continued the pursuit the whole day without any sort of provisions . . . excepting one cow we happened to kill in the woods, which without bread, was next to nothing among so many for two days after, a few hours rest at night in the woods was absolutely necessary."⁸²

Fraser's own account⁷¹ is the most complete single detailed narrative of the pursuit. "We marched till one o'clock, in a very sultry day, over a continuous succession of steep and woody hills . . . very expeditiously from four in the morning, in order to harass their rear."⁸³ According to Crockett, "the German dragoons were heavily loaded with equipment—high, heavy jack boots with large spurs, stout, stiff leather breeches, gauntlets reaching high up their arms and a hat with a tuft of feathers." We mention below the silver shoe buckle found in 1946 in West Hubbardton by Bradley St. John. "At his side each officer carried a tremendous broadsword and a carbine

was slung over his shoulder."⁸⁴ Riedesel, pronounced "Red Hazel" by the Americans, says all the German troops were provided for summer wear long light weight linen trousers, striped with blue and white.⁸⁵ Sketches at the New York Public Library, drawn by a German soldier, show the German Dragoons equipped with heavy sword and carbine but with these pantaloons rather than leather breeches, boots or gauntlets. No doubt the British and German officers wore boots with buckles.

A realistic account of the retreat, in fiction form, is given in Chapter 4 of Bruce Lancaster's *Guns of Burgoyne*.⁸⁶

To save space we also omit the well known story of the Hubbardton battle, early in the morning of July 7, 1777, where the Americans suffered defeat because their army had divided in two, with General St. Clair's main force at or on the way to Castleton, and General Riedesel with his Chasseurs and 80 Grenadiers arriving just when Fraser's men were losing to the American rear guard. Colonel Francis was killed; the Battle Monument marks the spot.

The Americans wisely disappeared to the south and east as soon as the battle ended, some over the hills into Florence and Whipple Hollow. Later and until recent years there was a passible road to Florence and another, noted below, ran east from Belgo Road. But most of the men including St. Clair and Warner reassembled and joined Generals Gates and Arnold in the defeat of Burgoyne at Saratoga three months later. St. Clair, tried by a court-martial the next year, was exonerated on the clear evidence that his retreat and defeat resulted from inadequate preparations by his superiors.⁴² Unfortunately for our project there is in this report no detail as to the road or the march over it, except the short piece at the Mount shown on Trumbull's map above. St. Clair was highly thought of by Washington, was a member of the Continental Congress of 1785-1787, its President in 1787, and became the first Governor of the Northwest Territory 1787-1802. The British General Simon Fraser, an able leader, was killed two months later at Saratoga, and in his dying hours was comforted by Baroness Riedesel, wife of his German fellow* officer, an attractive woman of notable fortitude and character who accompanied her husband through all the hardships of the campaign, and won the admiration of both sides. Pictures of all these officers appear in the U. S. Park Service Saratoga Battlefield booklet.⁶²

A marker was erected at the Battle Monument by the Historic Sites Commission in 1954, and it has scheduled for dedication in 1959 a beautiful Museum building, of stone. The location of the Museum

is strategic, for it overlooks the lowland and Sucker Brook just west of the plateau; some of the battle was fought on this lower ground. Many articles have been written on this battle but even yet the locations and sequence of some of it, are still uncertain. Mr. John P. Clement of Rutland is the chief living authority on the battle, and many hope for an elaboration of his recent *Herald* account.^{87*}

AMERICAN ATTEMPT TO RETAKE TICONDEROGA

It is not so well known that the Americans marched over the Mount Independence road again to make another attempt on Ticonderoga in September 1777. Its main objective was to cut off the rear of Burgoyne's army and to free the Americans who had been captured at Hubbardton. The German Lieutenant DuRoi says that eighteen American officers and 260 men had been made prisoners in the Hubbardton engagement and brought back to Ticonderoga.⁸⁸

As General Burgoyne says in his own history of the campaign: "An attempt was made against Ticonderoga by an army assembled under Maj. Gen. Lincoln [about 700 of them under Col. John Brown who rallied them at Pawlet; their route through Poultney, Castleton and East Hubbardton]⁸⁹ who found means to march with a considerable corps from Huberton undiscovered, while another column of his force passed the mountains between Skenesborough and Lake George,⁹⁰ and on the morning of the 18th of September a sudden and general attack was made upon the carrying-place at Lake George, Sugar Hill, Ticonderoga and Mt. Independence." The fort was defended by British Brigadier General Henry W. Powell. They tried four days, "and being repulsed retreated without having done any considerable damage."⁹¹ But Burgoyne should have admitted that Lincoln's men did succeed in freeing a hundred, most of the American prisoners still there, captured 225 British and German prisoners of their own, burned the boats at the dock, captured Mount Independence and the blockhouse on Mount Defiance, and destroyed cattle and the outer works. Their retreat was at daybreak, September 24. A bronze tablet at the Fort, erected by Massachusetts Society of the Colonial Dames in 1935, commemorates Brown's success. According to Nickerson they "retired eastward,"⁹² which means over the Hubbardton road, and evidently there must have been nearly 1000 men on this late September march. Though the British kept possession of the Fort, its inhabitants were removed and the fort was dismantled soon after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. In 1780-1781 another British force from Canada under General Haldimand

was stationed there but the military history of the Fort and the Mount ended in 1782.⁹³ Fear of new attacks by the British hovering along the Lake was the chief reason for the building of Fort Warren at its two locations in Castleton.

The next article will recount the building of the Hubbardton road, which connected Mount Independence with eastern New England, and its route from Mount Independence through the Battlefield.

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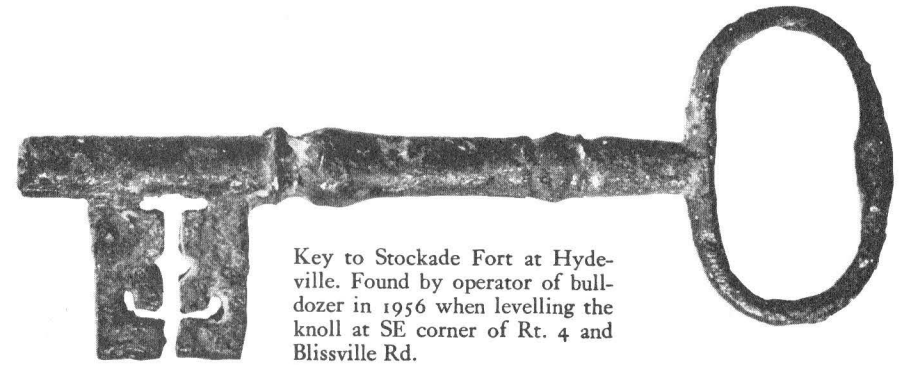
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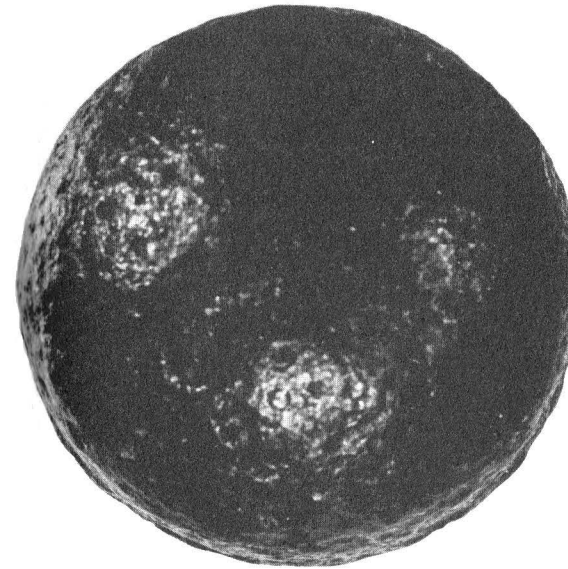
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Key to Stockade Fort at Hydeville. Found by operator of bulldozer in 1956 when levelling the knoll at SE corner of Rt. 4 and Blissville Rd.



Cannon Ball picked up on North End of Dickinson-Shaw farm, Benson, and given us by the late Miss Fannie Dickinson

Officer's Shoebuckle, probably German's, picked up by Bradley St. John in mown meadow NW of Bradley School, Hubbardton. Courtesy, Mr. & Mrs. St. John





THE MOUNT INDEPENDENCE-HUBBARDTON
1776 MILITARY ROAD

PART II. BUILDING THE ROAD.

ROUTE, ORWELL TO BATTLEFIELD

THE new encampment on the Vermont shore was a bee hive of activity in the summer of 1776. With more than three thousand men⁹⁴ there engaged in building fortifications, barracks and a host of facilities, a shorter new road to Rutland Falls was essential. Troops and supplies were streaming up from southern New England by the Crown Point Road and other roads to Rutland and Castleton.

General Gates ordered the new road built by Colonel Barrett. Besides eliminating any crossing of Lake Champlain, this cut off nearly five miles, compared with the older Crown Point Road, which went up through Pittsford and Sudbury and thence west via its south branch running near the Orwell-Shoreham line and across the lake above Fort Ticonderoga.

The New York Historical Society at New York has the Gates papers and has generously provided us copies of the following pertinent documents:

(1) "Copy of Orders given to Lt. Col. Barret [*sic*] for Bridging of Otter Creek & cutting [*sic*] a road from thence, date Tyonderoga [*sic*] 7th Sept. 1776."

The draft or retained copy, endorsed on the back, as above reads:

"Orders & Instructions for Lieutenant Colonel John Barrett of the Militia of Cumberland County in the State of New York.

"You are immediately to proceed to cut the road from Number 4, to the Foot of Mount Independence, taking care to construct a Good Bridge Over Otter Creek, at, or near, the Falls at Rutland. In doing this publick Service, you are to Exert your Utmmost Vigilense, with the Detachment of Col. Vandicke's Regiment of militia and All others under your Command, to obey all Orders, & directions; given you by your Superior officers in forwarding a Work so Essential to the Interest of the United States, & so Necessary for the safety & protection of the Interior Inhabitants of all the Middle States of this Union.

"Given at Tyonderoga this 7th day of Septem. 1776."

(2) Among Gates's General Orders when in command of the Northern

Army (1776-1777), on page 40, there is an order dated Headquarters, September 8, 1776: "One Captain, two Sub[altern]s, two Serjeants, one Drum and fifty Rank & File to parade at Sunrise tomorrow Morning to begin to Cut the Road from the East side of Mount Independence towards the Bridge now building cross Otter Creek. Mr. Benjamin Hecock and Mr. David Remington who have marked the Road will constantly attend to direct the Party. The Party to be taken from Col. Wyngates Newhampshire Regiment and to take their Arms, Ammunition and Packs with them . . ."

[Lemuel Ransom is said to have married Hicock's widow; their home is now Fritz Anderson's farm, at Ransomvale, Castleton.]

(3) Letter from John Barrett to Gates of Ticonderoga, dated Rutland, September 18, 1776. Reply from orders to Major Horsington that they were under the direction of the committee and were not raised to work "on the Rodes . . . the Party I have on the Rode and Bridge are as Expeditious as Possible. The Grate Bridge will be Raised next week . . ." [This was Major Hoisington's battalion of four companies, called "Hoisington's Rangers", all commanded by veterans of the Colonial Wars.]⁹⁵

(4) Letter from John Barrett to Gates at Ticonderoga, dated Rutland, September 26, 1776. ". . . as to the Great Bridge we have got it in a good way Part Raised and Raising the Remander and hope to finish it by the middle of next Week if wether Permits. One Party is Stidely at Work on the Rode and I Expect to git through with this Part of the New Rode the week after next . . ."

(5) Letter from John Barrett to Gates at Ticonderoga dated Rutland on Otter Creek, October 1st, 1776. ". . . the under Work of the Bridge is Raised and the String Pieces all on but two which fraimes the uper work in, which the People are at work on and making a Rode to & from the Bridge. . ."

(6) Letter from John Barrett to Gates at Ticonderoga, dated Hubbardton, November 6, 1776. "The Party at Work on the Rode have accomplished the Cuting a Rode through from the Mount to Otter Creek, and will in a Day or two Effect the Bridging . . . P. S. Col. Meads Informs me that the block house is almost fininished at the Bridge and begs you Honr.s Pleasure wether he must Continue the Gard there."

The first instruction, above, is to start the new road from the east side, whereas Crockett's history says from the west side; the explanation probably is found in Trumbull's map, above, showing the road from the southwest shore, about where the later ferry road ran up to the south end of the plateau, connecting with the north-south road along the Mount, while the new road started at this junction and continued southeasterly down to the flat as described later.

The Curator of the New York-Historical Society's map room checked the collection of original manuscript Erskine-DeWitt maps of the Revolutionary period, also its photostatic copies of the Clinton Maps now in the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan, but found no map representing the road.

The last document above, November 6, 1776, shows that in addition to the wooden bridge, about where the new 1959 highway bridge crosses Otter Creek, "the block house" of logs, Fort Ranger, was built at this time. It stood on the large flat ground embankment, just south of the highway underpass, between the Center Rutland Post Office and the river. Just across West Street on the east side of Route 4 a stone watering trough has the inscription: "Drinking Fountain to mark Old Military Road from Charlestown, N. H. to Crown Point, N. Y. 1759-1760. Fort Ranger stood on the Opposite Bluff, 1778, First Commander Gideon Brownson. Erected by Ann Story Chapter D.A.R. June 14, 1903."*

The "1778" on the stone watering trough may derive from the full interesting description of the Fort in Smith, *Rutland County*,⁹⁶ which says it was "built . . . soon after the organization of the government of Vermont, in March 1778, when it was decided to make Rutland the headquarters for the state troops" until 1781 "when headquarters were moved to Castleton." But it is difficult to brush off Colonel Barrett's direct report above, of Colonel Meade's statement that this block house was being finished in November 1776. Meade was the owner of the land, lived close by, ran a ferry, and his statements are taken as history. Nor does Smith say what connection this moving headquarters to Castleton had with the move of Fort Warren to the larger stockade built in the same year, 1781, at Castleton Falls (Hydeville) discussed in our third article under Hydeville branch.

An old bayonet was found in the 1930's by the oldest son of Mr. Rudolph Hollman of Center Rutland, in the garden of his place between the highway and railroad track. The fort enclosed about two acres of this levelled off ground, which extended on both sides of the tracks, including the former site of the Vermont Marble Company office. Mrs. May Stockwell Powers, now of North Clarendon, grew up in the Hollman house, formerly owned by her father Sidney P. Stockwell, and gave helpful clues to the foregoing details.

There was a rough but usable road from the Falls to Skenesborough, the Castleton portion having been built in 1772, according to Hemenway,⁹⁷ and as described later this road formed part of the Mt. Independence, Hubbardton Road past Whipple Hollow, and part of the Crown Point Road to the West Proctor Road a short distance west of the Falls.

The route of our Military Road is now known, from the Mount to Hubbardton and Center Rutland, except for a few minor stretches through cultivated farms, thanks to good help from many persons.

Diligent inquiry has failed to discover clues to any map or documentary record of its detailed location, either in the Vermont Historical Society or its publications, or the State Library, or the Rutland Public Library's collections of local history, or the New York State Historical Association. A portion of the beautiful Gerlach map engraved on steel which appears in Burgoyne's account of his campaign, 1780,⁹⁸ is here reproduced for the area in question. It shows the "New Road Cut by the Rebels," but the topography is so badly distorted that it helps little, except to show clearly the long half circle from Mount Independence through Castleton to reach Skenesborough and the fact that the road ran around the north side of Bald Mountain in Ira and did not join the Skenesboro road until a short distance west of Whipple Hollow. A Royal Artillery officer's rough manuscript map of the Ticonderoga-Mt. Independence area, Hadden's *Journal*,⁹⁹ shows the "Path leading to Huberton" for only about one half mile and evidently running south from the Mount, though the directions are decidedly twisted. It was many years, of course, before any accurate surveys of this area were made, the exception being Colonel John Trumbull's map of the Mount, discussed above, showing the road bisecting the Mount and coming down its south end. Numerous maps issued before 1800 are seriously misleading both in their topography and the relative location of towns (e.g. Orwell east of Sudbury), and in the direction and connections of the roads shown.

Scott's large wall map of Rutland County, 1854;¹⁰⁰ Hagar's map of Addison County, 1857,¹⁰¹ the famous Walling and Hagar map of Vermont, 1859-60;¹⁰² the 1869 *Atlas of Rutland County*, by Beers;¹⁰³ and the map in Child's *Rutland County Gazetteer*, 1882;¹⁰⁴ all fail to show any trace of the road, though the Walling and Hagar map indicates by dotted line the approximate route of the main Crown Point Road, and its southern or Ticonderoga branch. Scattered references to the road appear in the town histories in Child's *Gazetteer*, and in Hemenway's *Gazetteer*. Hemenway's¹⁰⁵ chapter on Benson, written by Loyall Kellogg, gives the first mention of the term "unfinished military road," which has been copied by subsequent writers. No explanation of the word "unfinished" has been discovered; Colonel Barrett's report in November 1776, cited above, would imply that to his mind at least, the road had been completed, though three months was a short time in which to build a satisfactory road forty miles long. "Unfinished" may refer to its "rough and ready" condition throughout, especially to the Hydeville Branch, probably built in 1781, described later. For Benson, this branch was an important part

OPPOSITE. Portion of the 1777 map from Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition* . . . showing the circuitous route of the Americans and British from Mount Independence via the "New Road Cut by the Rebels" to the point at east end of word Hubbardton, where it joined the 1772 East Hubbardton road. From here the heavy black line shows the retreat south to Castleton, thence west via the 1772 Skenesborough road. This map does not show the continuation of the E. Hubbardton road north to connect with the Crown Point Road in Sudbury, but Burgoyne's map of the Battle of Hubbardton does show it. The "new cut road" is shown by dotted lines; it diverged a bit south of the Battlefield and continued southeast along the northeast side of Bald Mountain to Rutland Falls, not marked, where Colonel Barrett's 1776 bridge carried it and the Crown Point Road over Otter Creek. The map shows the Crown Point Road running up the west side of the river (along portions of the present West Proctor Road), passing "Fort" (Mott) built on the east bank shortly after the Hubbardton Battle. Further north, "Wesel" is Stony Spring camp in SE Shoreham, with the south branch of Crown Point Road running west to cross above Fort Ticonderoga. Moore's Saw Mill (at Birchard's, the site of the first house in Shoreham) is an important landmark at the falls on Prickly Ash Brook in the north part of Shoreham. Just above it the Crown Point Road crossed Route 22A and the south line of Bridport. The map shows it continuing northwesterly close to the shore past Chimney Point, but it does not show the crossing to the Crown Point forts, and at this late date the crossing point is a debatable subject; Chimney Point seems logical *with evidence to support it. Some of the road and place locations are badly distorted, but for the times and circumstances this map is a rather remarkable piece of hurry-up scouting, observing, reporting and "intelligence." It shows two east-west roads through Castleton, hard to unravel now, and two north and south roads leading down through Poultney and East Poultney, evidently. But for some reason it omits the important main road, 1772, from Castleton to Rutland Falls, nor does it show Fort Ranger there, which Col. Barrett reported he had built in November 1776. Nor does it show any sign of Rutland or Rutland Falls.

*Addenda, 96.



of the Military Road; for several years it was the only road in Benson, according to Loyall Kellogg.

In the late 1840's, Benson J. Lossing, famous author of the two-volume *Pictorial Field Book of the American Revolution*,¹⁰⁶ came to Chipman's Point to gather information. Eagerly one reads:

Early the next morning we left Whitehall on the Steamer *Saranac*, and landed at Sholes's Landing, the port of Orwell, [Chipman's Point: the canal boats stopped there and the stone warehouse is still standing] and the most eligible point whence to reach the battle-ground of Hubbardton. . . . Our route was through the pleasant little village of Orwell, five miles southeast of the landing. There we turned southward, and followed the margin of the . . . valley through which the retreating Americans and pursuing British passed when St. Clair evacuated Ticonderoga. The road was made very tortuous to avoid the high ridges and deep valleys which intersect. . . . Within about six miles of the battle-ground we descended [east of Howard Hill] into a romantic valley imbosomed in a spur of the Green Mountains. We passed several small lakes, lying one below another, [Bresee, Roach and Austin Ponds, and the north end of Bomoseen.] . . . From the rough and narrow valley we ascended [from the present Hubbardton village eastward] to a high, rolling table-land, well cultivated; and upon the highest part of this tract, surrounded on the south and east by loftier hills, the battle of Hubbardton occurred.

All very tantalizing, but he gave no detailed landmarks as he went along and made no sketch map; with them our uncertainty generations later would have been resolved.

Clearly, from Sholes' Landing to Howard Hill he was not travelling the Military Road, already more than sixty years old and evidently already abandoned and no doubt badly obscured, but the present highway, i.e. from Chipman's Point Ferry southeasterly to the "Turnpike," Route 22A, from Orwell corner, south to the present black top road to Hortonville, which turns east to Howard Hill, and in Lossing's day climbed its steep west side and continued due eastward* past the one room school, the Leonard (Baylis) and Gleason farms, and over the "mail road" abandoned as recently as the 1930's, leading from the east highway in Benson past the Bradley school in Hubbardton. The more modern highway he travelled is shown clearly enough on Scott's 1854 wall map,¹⁰⁰ beginning at Howard Hill eastward and crossing the Hubbardton line it ran close to and sometimes over the same course as, the Military Road, as noted below.

The United States Geological Survey furnished in 1946 a preliminary black print of the new contour survey of the Benson area. In the fall of 1947 the new survey sheet for the Bomoseen area was pub-

*Addenda, 200.

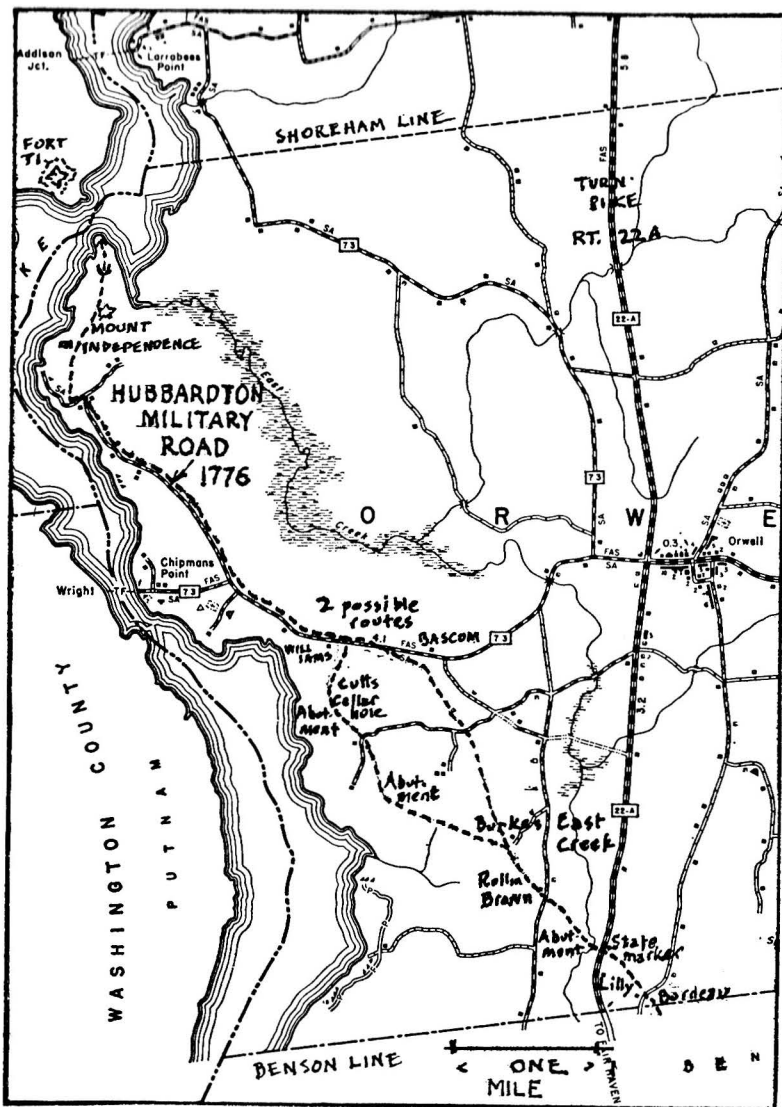
lished, in the spring of 1948 the new Benson sheet, both in colors, and on larger scales than the maps made in the 1890's, the Benson sheet two inches to the mile. A preliminary blueprint of the Orwell quadrangle was provided us in May 1948, and in early 1952 a black print of the preliminary new Ticonderoga sheet showing the revised topography of Mount Independence. All these helped clear up uncertainties because the contours were so much more accurate, and some of them showed property lines and fences.

In 1949 Mr. Frank E. Patten, engineer-foreman of the group of re-surveyors of the Orwell quadrangle, gave valuable suggestions on the old route through Orwell. Rules of the Geological Survey precluded our request to show the old road as a dotted line on the new United States map of Orwell published 1950. Subsequently we sent in sheets with the whole road marked and were assured the route would appear on later editions of the maps involved.

So far as known, no mention of the road occurs in the property or other records of the three towns, Orwell, Benson, or Hubbardton, with the exception of one Hubbardton deed which mentions the Lacey Camp lot at the head of Lake Bomoseen. There are deeds in Castleton and Fair Haven which refer to some Hydeville houselots on the Hydeville branch. It has been difficult to reconcile conflicting statements from family tradition and hearsay, especially those involved in the double route over and around Howard Hill in Benson, and again over the hills east of Hubbardton to the Battleground, from Ransomvale to Whipple Hollow, and again for the south or Hydeville branch, north and south of Glen Lake in the corners of Fair Haven and Castleton.

TRACING THE ROAD ON THE GROUND

Tracing an obscure roadway involves careful scrutiny of the land, in the light of statements available, the more the better, looking for old corduroy, abutments or other traces of bridges, filling or grading. The best time is in April before the trees leaf out, and last year's leaves are soaked and settled down, and will reveal the shape of the ground. Much of the land is now in open fields and meadows and has been plowed over so many times that all traces are gone. Other modern wood roads are easily confused with the Military Road. From 1840 to about 1885 this region was in its heyday; farming seemed to have a bright future; help was cheaper and easier to get, and many farmers did much filling and shouldering to improve cartways into their woods to haul cordwood and logs and reach hillside



Military Road in Orwell, from north to south end of Mount Independence, following present highway to a point near Bascom's, thence by two possible routes to Brown's. Marked on a recent State Highway Department map.

pastures. Some of this work is still very plain but seldom related to the Military Road.

The rapid obliteration of such hasty and temporary military earthworks as roads, trenches and embankments, is exemplified in Washington's visits to battle scenes on a Southern tour only five years after the Revolution ended. "Scarcely a trace remained" of Fort Moultrie, and "the change which has taken place in the appearance of the ground" at Savannah, impressed themselves on him.¹⁰⁷

Airplane photographs from the United States Soil Survey have helped less than was hoped because taken in the summer and from too great a height. In May 1949 the *Rutland Herald* kindly arranged for its photographer, Mr. Aldo Merusi, to take sixteen air-views, and in the summer of 1955 Adjutant General Francis W. Billado arranged for the Air Forces to take a series of air views showing Mount Independence, with Fort "Ti" and Mount Defiance. Each year that passes, some of those who know something of the route pass away and with them goes their knowledge. Each year the line of the road gets less distinct because of the growth of trees and brush and the cultivation of the land.

CAPTAIN ABELL'S LETTER

The chief basis for marking out the road as it appears on the accompanying map, is a close examination of the ground by many persons, 1946-1958, aided by an important 1897 letter¹⁰⁸ from Captain Charles E. Abell of Orwell and available at the Orwell Library. It is quoted section by section, in the following account. Captain Abell was familiar with the country himself, at least over to Lake Bomoseen, but his letter was largely based on statements carefully given him by Mr. Rodney Hall of Orwell who had been a surveyor for some forty years previously and had run out many farm boundaries along the route in Orwell, Benson and Hubbardton. Mr. Hall's own knowledge of the road therefore went back probably to about 1860. Mr. Hall had also gathered information from old people, including his grandfather a veteran of Mount Independence, many of whom had died before 1897. Unfortunately their information did not extend south or east of the Battlefield, and their descriptions are less specific than one would wish. A letter he wrote in August 1909 to A. E. Higley of Castleton, and a rough sketch map (in possession of Mrs. Hulda Cole of Castleton) add no information, except that the map indicates the two branches of Crown Point Road separated near the Bernard Ketchum or Vail place in Sudbury.

Abell and Hall say: "In starting from the Mount the route took a general course south 15° east, midway between the Lake and the south branch of East Creek until about half a mile from the Benson line, where it crossed the creek by a bridge and it now shows plainly where it was; and in many places north and south of the bridge can be easily traced for quite a distance. It crosses the old turnpike from Shoreham to Benson a short distance from the Orwell south line."

Several years ago Hand's Cove Chapter, D.A.R., erected three stone markers; the first on the present road from Mount Independence about one fourth mile west of the Oliver Bascom house, the second on the old Orwell-Benson stage road, a few rods south of the farm of Mr. Rollin Brown and the Misses Fannie and Bessie Brown, and the third on the Turnpike, Route 22A, about a half mile north of Orwell line, in Mr. Milo Lilly's yard where the Military Road was thought to run across his meadow after crossing the south branch of East Creek on the bridge just mentioned by Rodney Hall. A beautiful aluminum marker was erected by the State at this same point, in 1948, but in 1958 was moved about one third mile north to the flat where a culvert takes a wet weather rivulet under the highway.

We have not traced another and very short road across the low level directly east of the Mount, built by the German troops a few days before the American retreat and used by Colonel Breymann's troops as they marched south along the east bank of Lake Champlain.¹⁰⁹ Traces of this were shown by State Game Warden Tom Daniels to United States Surveyor Patten in 1949.

Trumbull's map of the Mount, in our previous article, shows the road from the north point of the peninsula running south past the Third Brigade quarters. It is there joined, near the present gate at the south end of the Mount, by another road coming up from about where the later Montcalm Ferry landing was, and the road then turned east near the south end of the Mount, and ran down onto the flat, but not exactly in the present road; traces of the original road are seen from the south gate down to the level ground, which in earlier years, according to the late Amos Blood, was a cedar swamp. Just at the foot, Trumbull's map shows a little road to "the Landing from Skenesborough." From here it ran on the present route to some point near the D.A.R. marker west of Oliver Bascom's (McMeekin's). A study of the ravine contours on the 1950 United States map of Orwell shows that it could hardly have run closer to East Creek.

The next certain point is based on tradition in the family of Misses Fannie and Bessie and Mr. Rollin Brown, that the Military Road came through their farmyard from the northwest, before crossing the present highway, i.e. "the old Stage Road." There are two possible routes, perhaps both were used, between the marker west of Bascom's and the Brown's. In his address dedicating the D.A.R. monument on Mt. Independence, in 1908, Judge Robert O. Bascom said: "A little way south of the present road up the hill that passes the residence of Oliver Bascom there was within my memory, plain traces of a road up the hill, and when some years since, the flat at the bottom of the hill was for the first time plowed, an old bayonet was uncovered which I have in my possession."¹¹⁰ We and several others have studied this area, finding what may have been the course up one pitch, thence past the McMeekin-Bascom farm pond, thence at an angle up the even steeper rocky ridge south from McMeekin house, to level ground. It may be that on these slopes the soil has washed away from the rocks, through the years. An old dug well, antedating 1850, may be significant. For more than half a mile cultivation of the fields has obliterated all traces. We hope that abler younger persons may be able to discover a route for this mile, which will seem convincing to all concerned.

However, Mr. Harry Holden, of Stevens Orchards, has traced an old road definitely from the present highway just east of Bertrand's house which was built about 1900 by Williams to replace an earlier house just east of it. It turned backward southwesterly to clear a ravine and then ran a little west of south down to the cellar hole of the former Cutts place, then to a former Williams cellar hole, thence running more easterly over traces of an old stone bridge, past Allen's old shop, down close to Stevens Orchard packing house where there is another old abutment. Here it turned east along some present fence lines and curved around a ravine to a point just east of the Burke place, the same point where the route from just south of the Bascom place came out; both courses are shown on our map. It may well be that this Stevens Orchard road was an early town road, abandoned years ago; the backward turn from the black top road seems out of character.

From here it ran to the rear of the Brown place, formerly the Eli Root place, crossing the Benson road close to their door yard somewhat farther north than the D.A.R. marker. It then passed near the foundation of an old barn on the Brown place, just east of the present

highway, thence bending south, passing near the site of an old cabin with a spring close by, and for part of the way following roughly the present farm road through open fields down to the old bridge abutments which Mr. Lilly has located, in East Creek opposite the State marker on the Turnpike. In 1948 Mr. Lilly's mother told the writers that about 1880 her father dug up an old boat or canoe in the mud at Mr. Lilly's farm bridge a little farther up the brook and later sold it to the owners of Fort Ticonderoga. At that time the Fort had not been restored and there was no museum. Mr. Pell informs us (1950) that this boat was taken to the Fort about 1910, and is now on display in the Boat Room.

This crossing, a quarter mile north of the dam, and the placement of the State marker, seems to agree with Bottum's *History of Orwell*.¹¹¹ "It crossed the creek near the south line of the town, and near the place occupied by the old Fair Haven turnpike. Appearances of an ancient crossway or log-way are yet to be seen upon the farm of the late Joseph Stacy, (now Milo Lilly's) which has ever been supposed to be the work of the soldiers of the Revolution." Bottum then refers to another road "in a directly eastern course towards Sudbury communicating with Brandon." He did not realize that the latter was an entirely different road—the south branch of the 1759 Crown Point Road, the one leading to Hand's Cove, and taken by Ethan Allen and his men in 1775.

TURNPIKE (ROUTE 22A) TO HOWARD HILL

Abell's next statement is that "the route crosses the old turnpike (Route 22A) a short distance north of the Orwell line and then takes a more easterly course. Here it is plainly seen for a long distance and its track is now used as a wood road along the cranberry marsh." Today it's not so clear. Captain Abell says this marsh "is west or northwest of Sunset Lake," but what has been known for years as Cranberry Swamp is southwest of Sunset. Its outlet is about two thousand feet east of the turnpike, easily reached by a wood or campers' road; but this does not start near Milo Lilly's but just south of Dave Barber's sawmill, coming out at the outlet of Cranberry Swamp. It is constantly used by campers to reach Perch Pond and the west shore of Sunset, and as Abell says, its course has remained plain and along the north of the swamp no doubt is the same as the Military Road.

Mr. Lilly has helped trace it southeast up hill from the culvert north of his house. It followed what seems a well graded incline along

the foot of the cliff past the barn on the former Stacy or Oscar Bordeau place, where it crossed the dirt road and the meadow south of it.* It then crossed Stacy brook near the foot of the hill, where at one time there was a sawmill, thence running almost south just above the east foot of the hill following a small brook to the Cranberry Swamp outlet. There is today some corduroy at this point (just north of the campers' road) which tradition in the Barber family says has been there since the Revolution, though possibly it was laid there subsequently for logging.

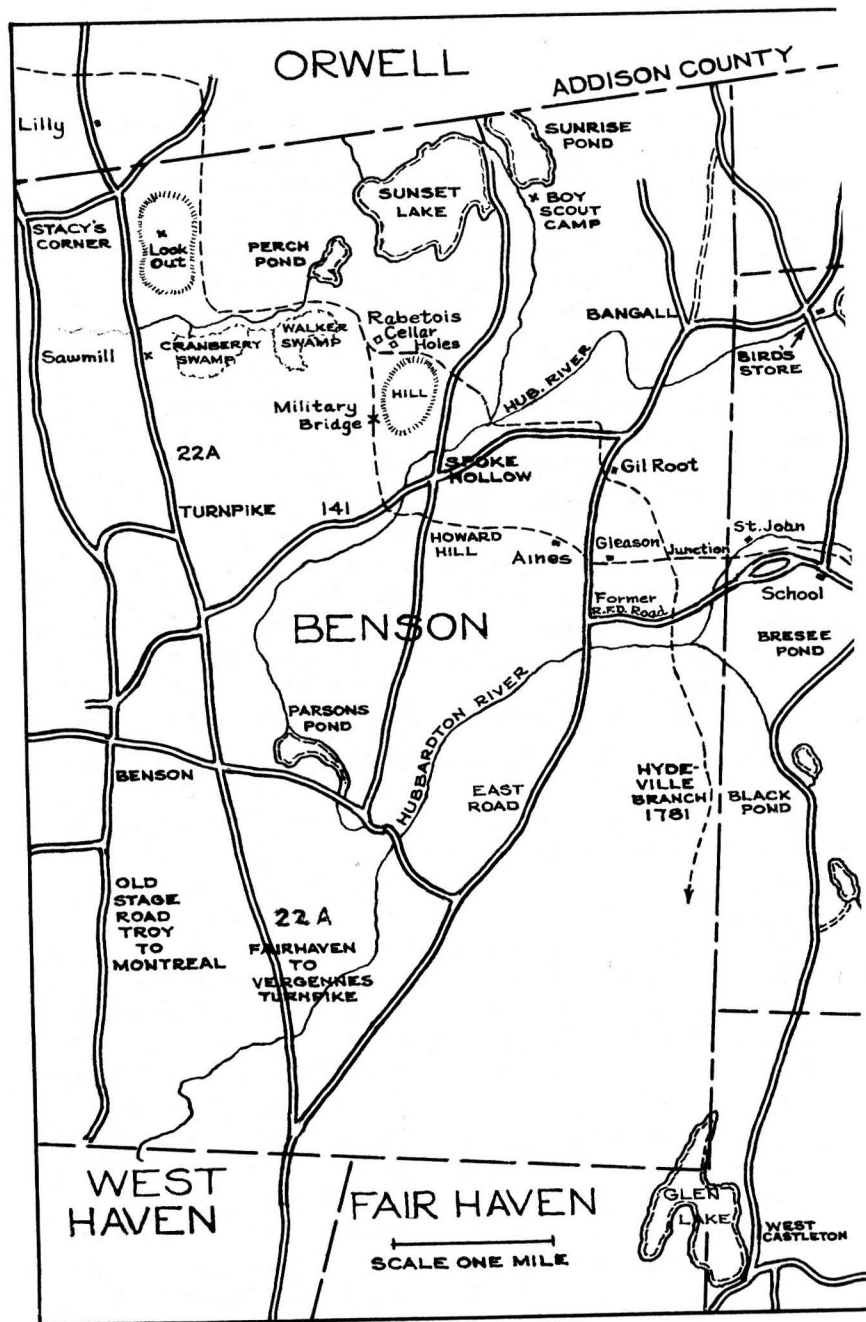
David Barber calls attention to a considerable pile of rocks, or cairn, set up with some care, on a ledge projecting from the steep west side of this big hill, labelled Big Rock in the 1854 and 1869 map and atlas, north of his mill and house and overlooking the Turnpike. He surmises this was a "lookout" for men using the road along here, as Mounts Independence and Defiance are clearly seen across the valley, and that signal fires were burned here as indicated by old wood ashes. In the summer of 1957 Blaine Cliver of Westfield, New Jersey, found a path leading from the east side around the north end and up to the signal ledge.

There is also a tradition first told us in 1948 by Milo Lilly's mother, and later by Dave Barber, that a powder house was located somewhere around the Stacy-Bordeau place, and that powder was made from the alder bushes that flourished along Stacy brook. Some buttons and pieces of metal were picked up by the Bordeau children north of their house about 1951, and Mrs. Lilly thought the powder house was located a little north of Bordeau's.

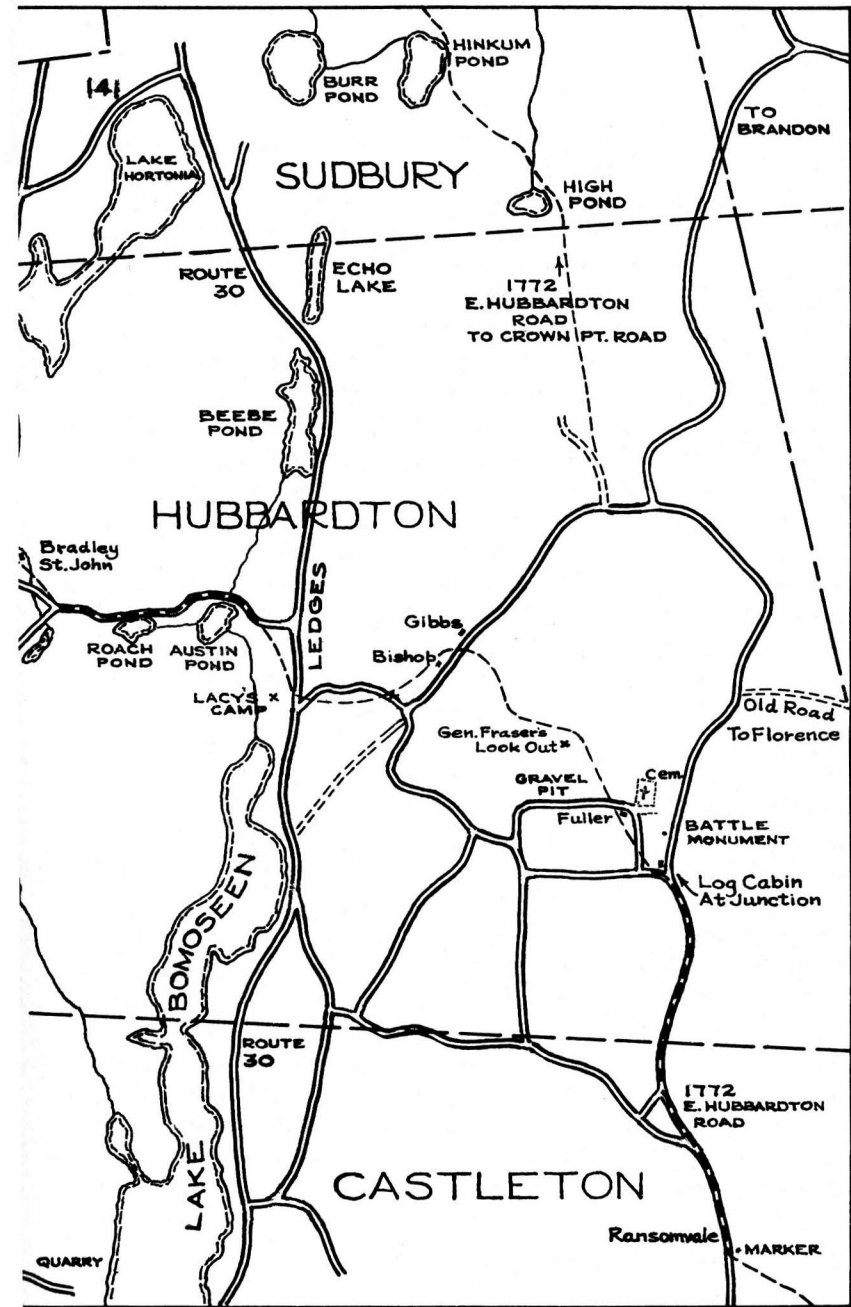
Captain Abell continues, "It is said that the rear of the British army halted at the east end of the marsh to eat their breakfast when in pursuit of St. Clair's army." This seems to have been the time and the point where the British General Fraser's army, which had left Mount Independence at 5 a.m. and marched thirteen miles, [Fraser's account says nine miles] "halted to permit the killing of two bullocks, we found on the road, this greatly refreshing the hungry men," says Fraser. If so, it must have been a very late breakfast, for the British troops included many Germans who are heavily uniformed and could not have travelled very fast.¹¹² This tradition is well established, about the British army breakfasting at the east end of the Cranberry swamp, according to David Barber, whose family has lived closeby for many years.

We have not been able to borrow a metal detector or magnetic device such as has been used at Fort Ticonderoga, which when held

*Addenda, 207.



The Military Road through Benson, with routes over and around Howard Hill, and junction of Hydeville Branch.



Dotted line shows route to and through Battlefield and down East Hubbardton road to Ransomvale.

close to the ground shows any metal below the surface. It was hoped thus to trace more exactly the route north and east of the Cranberry Swamp.

The road then went along the present camper's road at the north edge of Walker swamp and crossed the brook between the swamp and Perch Pond, continuing south, then east, to a point at the western foot of the big hill west of the Sunset Lake road. In 1948, Ashton Bosworth painted yellow markers on the trees along this route. At this point, i.e. the west foot of Rabatois* hill, the Military Road branches into two routes, one of them swinging around north of this high hill, and coming out to the Sunset Lake Road in the lane a little south of John O'Shea's recent house, thence east across the meadows. The other runs along the west base southward, coming down and crossing the "Military Bridge," an unquestioned landmark. Its long even grade is now easily seen from the highway west of the concrete bridge. Several persons including Dave Barber, who told us this several times as quoted from his father, feel sure that the road went south between the Cranberry Swamp and Walker Swamp, circled the south margin of Walker Swamp, and thence east to the west base of the high hill, where it divided. It is a short and easy crossing of the brook between the two swamps.

Let us go back to what Mr. Abell said, in 1897. Leaving the east end of Cranberry Swamp, "from here it ran about a southeast course, about a half mile south of Sunset Lake to the road leading from Cook's Spoke Factory and crossed the brook where the bridge now is on the above road." This general statement leaves the foregoing questions unanswered. The only highway bridge was then the iron bridge later replaced by the present large concrete highway bridge crossing Hubbardton River on the main blacktop road from Benson to Hortonville. However, there are no traces of any old Military Road or wood road, either just north or just south of this bridge, nor would the grades have made it possible. But it is easily seen a quarter mile west, on the north side of the highway, several hundred feet west of the gateway to Harry Howard's wood road, and a State marker was erected there in 1958.

The Howard family, acquainted with this territory for several generations, feel sure that the main Military Road, after coming south along the west foot of the big hill, and crossing the Military Bridge, a group of large slate slabs and abutments still to be seen, about 75 rods north of the highway and 50 feet west of Harry Howard's wood road, then came down hill over the present open pasture

parallel to another small brook which flows into Hubbardton River close to the old abutments of the abandoned road up the west side of Howard Hill. One can plainly see the smoothly graded roadway in a number of places, where Ashton Bosworth has painted on the trees. It swings down to cross the present highway and curves to run directly across the earth and stone-concrete abutments of the disused highway bridge which throughout the 1800's up to about 1890 was used to get over the Hubbardton River, thence up the steep road that formerly went with two or three bends up the west side of Howard Hill to the school house, now a dwelling, thence almost exactly straight eastward. This old roadway, with rows of trees on both sides, is plain enough all the way, though given up many years ago, except for a 200 foot stretch just north of the schoolhouse still used as part of the present north and south road, thence as a farm lane straight across Harry Howard's fields easterly past the house now abandoned, formerly occupied by the Naramore family, until it comes out in the Baylis-Leonard-Rogers place.

Returning to the area just northwest of Howard Hill, the late Miss Fanny Dickinson of Benson gave the writers a three-inch iron cannon ball, long in her possession, picked up years ago in the woods north of the Glen Shaw farm, formerly owned by her father, Mr. Albert Dickinson. Mr. Dickinson showed Warner Belden traces of what may be a minor course of the Military Road passing through the north end of the Dickinson farm.

At various times, arrow heads have been plowed up in the north end of the Dickinson place, more recently called the Simond's or Shaw place (with the big barn). The British had a considerable number of Indians fighting with them at Hubbardton and according to the histories some Indians went over this road to Hubbardton. Captain Abell says, "Back from this bridge about 100 rods, I was told by an old gentleman, a man had settled and lived at the time of the war and that he was killed by the Indians at the time of Burgoyne's invasion, and that he was buried there. The old gentleman showed me the grave, and said that someone dug the grave open and found the bones. This was told me forty years ago." [That would have been about 1860.]

NORTH BRANCH VIA BANGALL

The late Anthony Rabatois, with whom one of the writers worked, back in 1907-1908 at Parson's sawmill in eastern Benson, formerly lived in the house on the west side of the Sunset Lake road just above

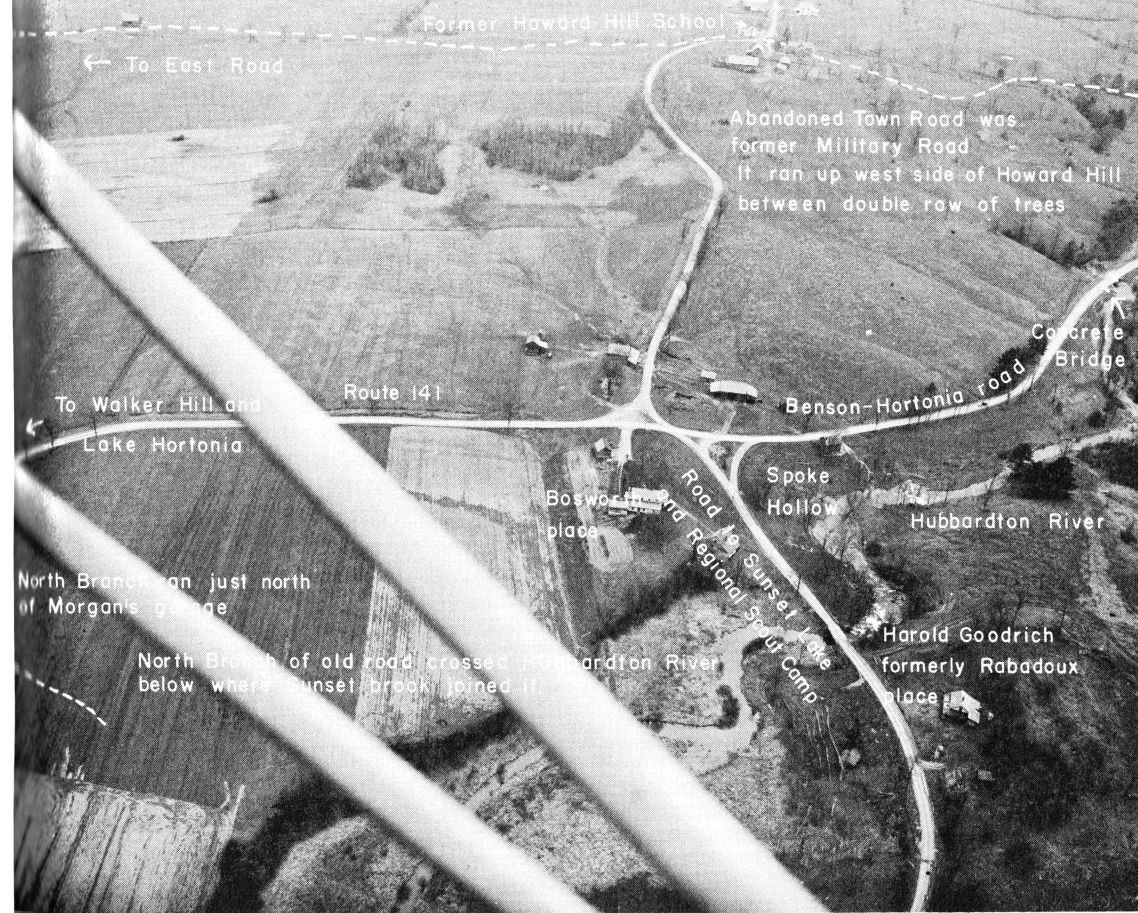
Spoke Hollow bridge, recently remodelled and painted red for a summer place. Living at Brandon in 1947, he told us his grandfather and another Frenchman came down from Canada about 1850 and built and lived in two log cabins, the foundations of which are now to be seen at the northwest foot of the large hill which we like to call Rabatois Hill, northwest of Howard Hill, about a quarter mile north of Military Bridge. These cellar holes are well known to persons in the neighborhood, and according to Tony Rabatois were directly on the north branch of the Military Road. The roadway north and south and then swinging to the east, is still plain enough, having been used up to recent years as a wood road.

The north branch circles the north end of the big hill, crossing the Sunset Lake road, the plowed meadows and Hubbardton River. Its exact course through Spoke Hollow meadows is not certain; this land has been plowed many times. It may have run approximately along the present highway from the bend in the road about one third mile east of Spoke Hollow, but more likely in a fairly direct line from Sunset road, crossing Hubbardton River just below its confluence with the brook from Sunset Lake, taking an easier grade along the north side of the slope where the Jim Perry–Morgan buildings stand.

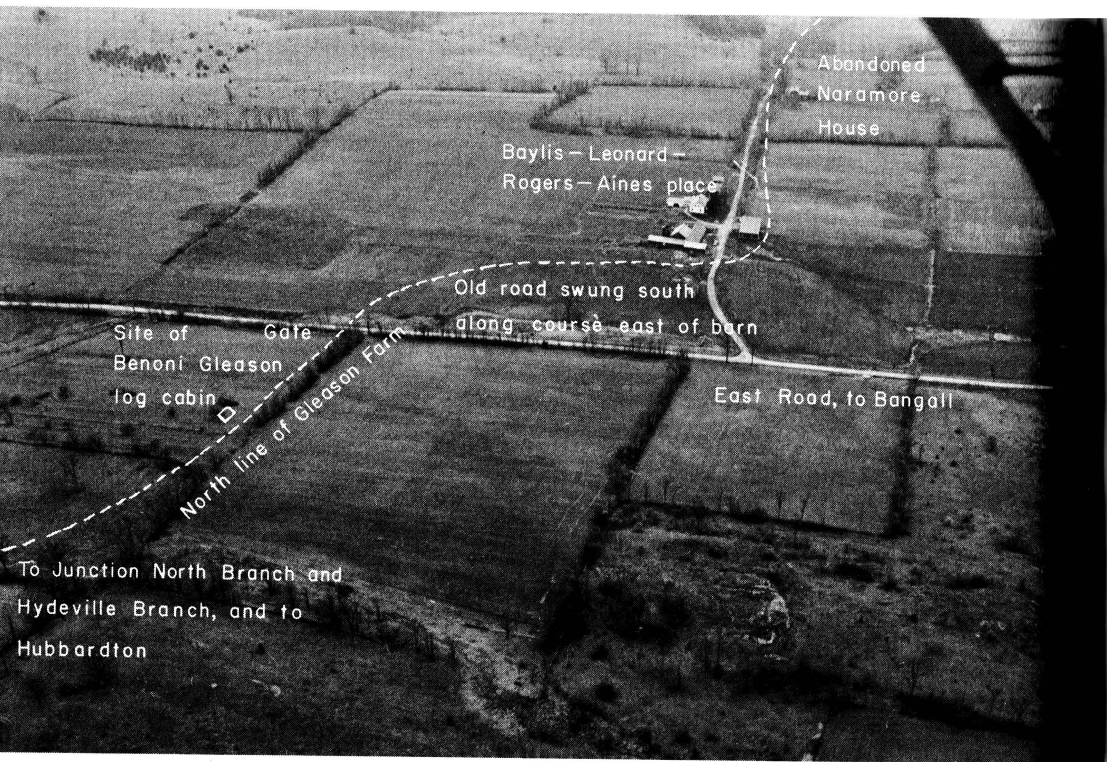
The next definite point picked up is at the northeast corner of the garage on the old Jim Perry place, now occupied by Mr. Morgan, where the grading of the road as it turned south to cross the highway is easily seen; this was called to our attention by Mr. George Walker, former owner of the next farmhouse west, at the top of “Walker Hill,” recently remodelled by Mr. Bangs and Mr. Ramsey. Tony Rabatois said he recalled as a boy reading in a school history of Vermont that the Revolutionary troops camped in Bangall, just south of Hubbardton River bridge. We have searched through several such books but failed to turn up this reference. The spelling Banghall is incorrect; there are several other villages and neighborhoods in the United States named Bangall (e.g. New York State), an old equivalent, used for example by Dickens, for Beat’s All—“Don’t that Bang All!”

Definitely there were two branches of the road, one going directly east over Howard Hill but very steep on its western slope; the other evidently tried to avoid this steep hill and took the course just described.

The next certain location of this north branch is just west of the sugar house on the Gilbert Root place, now occupied by Mr. Root’s daughter, Mildred, and her husband, Merrill Munger. Numerous mementos, including a Spanish coin, plowed or picked up on this



Spoke Hollow and Howard Hill, Benson, from North. Air photo by Aldo Merusi, 1949. Courtesy, *Rutland Herald*.



Looking west across East Road in Benson. North Branch of Military Road passed west side of Merrill Munger sugar house and joined main route about half mile east of Fredette house, thence to stone causeway where Hydeville Branch took off. Thence to Bradley School and Hubbardton.

Airview by Aldo Merusi, Courtesy *Rutland Herald*

road, are in Mrs. Munger's possession. The road at this point is well graded up and quite level for a stretch of several hundred feet, running just under the west eaves of the sugar house and directly south through a fence. A stretch of it along a filled in embankment shows up clearly in the next meadow, especially when the late afternoon sun shines across it. From the Jim Perry garage to the Munger sugar house the road ran diagonally uphill across the meadow southwest of the East Road intersection, probably approximately in a line between the two present gates, thence a short stretch along the present East Road to the south side of the hill north of the Munger's house, thence east to the sugar house. Abell makes no mention of this north route, which a short distance southeast rejoins the Howard Hill route as described below.

JUNCTION OF HOWARD HILL ROUTES AND HYDEVILLE BRANCH

Captain Abell, who brought us down to the bridge on Hubbardton River, here says: "After leaving the stream the road ran, in a more easterly direction over Howard Hill for a mile or more, passing a short distance north from the dwelling place of the late John Balis" (more recently known as the Leonard farm, later owned by Harold Rogers and Clifford Aines, on the discontinued road leading to the East Road from Howard Hill schoolhouse) "to where the east and west road intersects the north and south road, which passes the farm house of the late James Gleason . . . on the Balis farm I have been told was a camping ground for troops that were marching along the road." Miss Kathryn Leonard writes,¹¹³ "Pieces of equipment were plowed up in the first year my parents lived there (1876.)" The old road east from Howard Hill is now used only in part as a farm road. No one now or formerly living on or from Howard Hill to the east road has been able to give any information on the original route; it is assumed as about the same as the old highway past the abandoned Naramore house. But Hall says "a short distance north" of the Baylis place, now Aines'; this may have been in or above the farm lane.

Child says that Benoni Gleason of Pittsfield, a soldier at Cornwallis' surrender, "moved to Benson May 1, 1786, building a log house on the Ticonderoga road, leading from the fort to Hubbardton, and passing along the north side of the Gleason farm."¹¹⁴ On October 13, 1948, Miss Mary Gleason, now of Castleton visited the old farm and showed us the cabin site, the pile of stones just south of the fence and a few rods east of the Highway. This fence is one meadow south of where the Howard Hill road comes down from Aines'. The answer

to this "offset" is a smoothly graded stretch running south just east of the Aines' barn, down to the west side of the East Road, opposite the Gleason fence, where a State marker was erected, 1958. The cow-lane north of the Bishop house runs southeast into the Military Road. Captain Abell quotes Mr. Hall: "I was told by old Mr. Gleason that on the retreat one of Colonel Warner's men was carrying so large a supply of bullets as to make it burdensome, buried some here and after the war came back and recovered them." According to family tradition, Miss Gleason said, the "stocking full of balls" was hidden near the highway gate but she thinks it was never found.

Through this Gleason-Bishop farm east of the East Road and north of the abandoned mail road to Hubbardton, the route is badly obscured by trees, ledges and swamp. On June 9, 1947 Miss Katherine Howard with Miss Kathryn Leonard of Rutland, who formerly lived on the Leonard farm, crossed the meadows and woods; at the further end of a swamp, more than half a mile east of East Road, halfway to the Chauncey Adams' place, they found remains of a stone causeway, near an aged willow tree, now fallen over. A little brook runs south from the swamp, which is some distance north of the former mail road.

Mr. George Walker, now of Fair Haven, says that corduroy can also be seen here and that a road from about this point ran south through a gate on the old mail road, and through Allen Haven's flat lowlands to the south. For this reason, and it is verified by Jack Fitzgerald, recently living just south, it seems likely that this is approximately the point at which the Hydeville Branch took off, running south along the west side of the ridge in eastern Benson and around the southwest shore of Glen Lake as described later.

In short, at about this point, not yet exactly found, the Howard Hill and Bangall routes apparently joined, on the way to Hubbardton, while the later Hydeville Branch, turned off directly south. On April 18, 1948, Reuben St. John (who formerly lived on the old St. John-Adams place at Hubbardton line,) with Katherine Howard and Charles Wiggins spent several hours tracing the road. They picked up the route about fifty rods south of the Gil Root-Munger sugar house; it turned east, many parts of the road showing up clearly in the woods, and coming out across Chauncey Adams' door yard into the present highway, thence in stretches running north and south of the present highway all the way to Hubbardton.

EAST BENSON TO HUBBARDTON

Captain Abell says: "From here the road continued easterly and for quite a distance could be easily traced. It crossed the road running

south of Hortonville, a short distance north of the school house south of the Jennings place. It crossed a small stream near here and a few years ago the location of abutments of the bridge were still there." A State marker was placed at this crossing of the blacktop road north of the school, in 1958.

Mr. Bradley St. John, who lives in the house next east of Bradley school house, says the Military Road probably went within 200 or 300 feet north of the school, south of the bridge where the brook crosses the road to Hortonville. In the meadow opposite the school house Mr. St. John picked up in 1946 a highly ornamented silver shoe buckle, evidently belonging to a British or Hessian officer, and larger than some of those on exhibit at the Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

The old road crossed the brook as it turns south toward Mr. St. John's barn, and thence about where his house stands and through a plowed field east of his house. It then runs under the wire fence, crosses some wet ground and goes through a pasture into the present highway. Old corduroy is still lying in the mud. About 50 rods farther east, the road shows plainly for several hundred feet. There is a ledge on the north, and the cutting and filling is about 100 feet north of the present road. With swamps and Bresec, Roach and Austin ponds on the south, this condition continues a good deal of the way to Route 30 and Hubbardton village. The Military Road followed the present road closely as seen among the brush and trees, now on the south, next on the north side of the highway, some quite plain, such as the half circle that runs under the big sawdust pile at the sawmill between Bresee and Roach ponds. On the Ballard farm, the first west of Roach Pond, recently owned by Merritt Bresee, the course and some corduroy could be plainly seen a few years ago.

Mr. Lyman Chandler reports a tradition that a blockhouse stood just east of Bresee Pond. We have found no other reference to this blockhouse nor traces of it. It seems unlikely with Lacey's Camp a short distance farther.

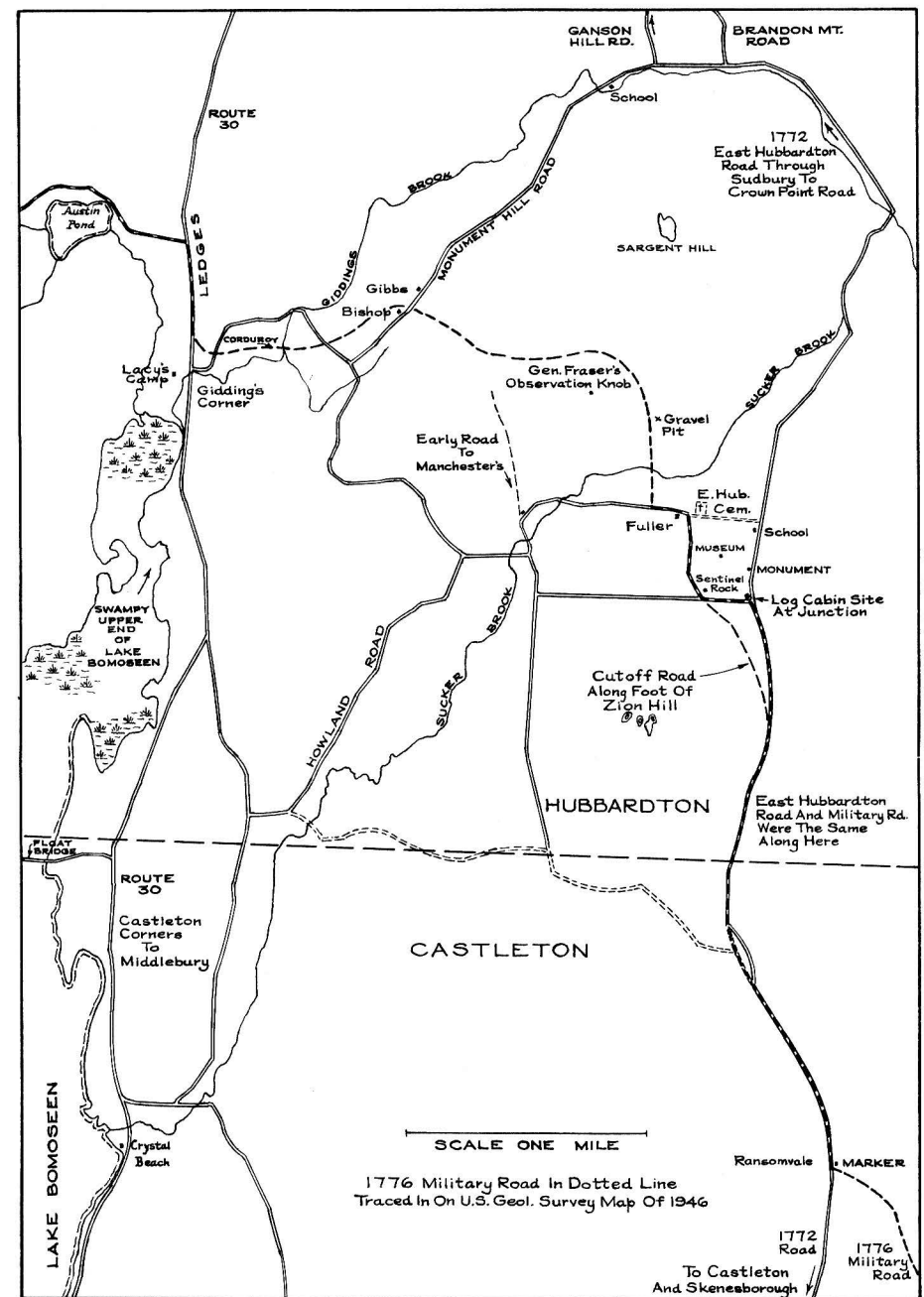
Captain Abell says: "From here the course was easterly about a mile to Beebe Pond, and then southerly, passing near the old Dewey Stand." This old stage road tavern burned about 1870. Mr. Lyman Chandler who has lived close by for nearly 80 years says the "Dewey Stand" burned in the fall of 1875 or spring of 1876. Mr. Samuel Parsons, Town Clerk, now lives on the location.

Mr. Hall or Captain Abell were evidently in error in mentioning Beebe Pond as part of our route; it is quite a distance north of where our Military Road led into present Hubbardton village. Mr. Clarence Hall has a deed to a part of his present land; dated March 1, 1817¹¹⁵

referring to the Ticonderoga Road as west of Beebe Pond. A letter, in 1952 from Mr. Frank Maranville of Los Angeles who started working in Hubbardton thirty-five years before that and later had a camp on Beebe Pond for twenty-two years, said this road was then still passable with horse and wagon along the west side of Beebe thirty-five years ago and "was referred to by Chauncey Dickerman, then an old man, as the Old Military Road. Just north of the Camp Awanee dining hall a branch turned west coming out in the Marshall Hart farm, while another branch continued north to present Route 30A at the Mott place." As noted in the previous article, this may have been the bridle path the Green Mountain Boys took to Ticonderoga in 1775, before the Mount Independence road was built, the trail which Ira and Ethan Allen had cut in 1772 from Pawlet and Poultney to Sudbury and Colchester for their Onion River Land Company, from Castleton village, and the north end of Bomoseen, along the west shore of Beebe Pond. The junction of what may have been Allen's trail running north and south, and the Hubbardton Military Road, running westward, would have been a little east of the outlet of Austin Pond close to Clarence Hall's house; possibly this is what Captain Abell meant.¹¹⁶

Before arriving at the "Dewey Stand," replaced by Mr. Parson's place on route 30, (the main road from Middlebury and Sudbury to Castleton Corners) the Military Road turned south along the shoulder to Dewey's, thence approximately along the present road as the shortest and driest course to Giddings corner where the present Monument Hill Road turns east. It could not turn east any sooner, because of the ledges. For many years in the early 1800's there was a toll-gate at the Giddings place.

In this large fairly level area at the northeast shore of Lake Bomoseen there is some question of the extent of "Lacey's Camp." The "Dewey Stand" property and the Giddings farm may both have been included in the camp area. Who was Lacey? The historical libraries at Montpelier and Burlington could find nothing about this camp. Local legend is that it was a stopping point for American soldiers on their way to and from Mount Independence. In his court martial testimony, General St. Clair says "the first halt that was proposed was at Lacey's Camp, which was the first cleared land we came to after we left Mt. Independence . . . Burnam's in Hubbardton was two miles further."¹¹⁷ Early deeds to Mr. Samuel Parsons' great great grandfather refer to this campplot as being on the present Parsons property, whereas a letter lent us, in 1949, by Mr. Hoffman Nicker-



Larger scale map of the Battleground area. Lacey's Camp on Giddings' Brook, just west of present Route 30. The British corduroy just east. The route up Gibb's cowlane thence east around Fraser's Observation Knob and down the gravel pit road, joining E. Hubbardton road at the corner below the Monument, as shown on Burgoyne's map. Museum and Sentinel Rock shown.

son, author of the history of Burgoyne's campaign,¹¹⁸ gives valuable proof that the camp extended a considerable distance south. This letter dated December 14, 1927, to Mr. Nickerson was from Miss Mary E. Giddings, then Town Clerk: "My father and mother settled on the farm where we now live, about forty-five years ago. A few years later my brother plowed up a piece of meadow land on the bank of a brook. The oldest inhabitants told him to their knowledge the piece had never been plowed before. Back about six or seven rods from the brook he began to find signs of a camp. Stones formed a circular fire place in the center of which were found charcoals. He also found a piece of a chain and a battle ax. We at once began to investigate as to what our find could be. One old gentleman told us it was the site of Camp Lacey and where Fraser camped the night before the battle of Hubbardton. Thompson in his earliest history speaks of Camp Lacey as one half mile south of the old Dewey Stand and a few rods west of the Congregational Church. This would locate the spot my brother found. An old friend of my family, Mr. Barnum and a great historical student from Boston, Mr. Faunce, both were satisfied that camp Lacey was the spot where Fraser camped." Mr. Dawley Lincoln remembered the spot where these objects were dug up, on the north bank of Giddings Brook, several hundred feet west of the barn on the west side of the highway. Miss Giddings' papers disappeared after her death, and we have failed to trace them through the Vermont and Bennington Historical Societies, or through relatives.

Her reference to Zadock Thompson's "earliest history" is, to his *Gazetteer of Vermont*, 1824,¹¹⁹ as his *History of Vermont*, 1842,¹²⁰ contains the *Gazetteer*, but omits many details that appear in the 1824 *Gazetteer*, which states that Riedesel and the Brunswick troops "encamped at Lacey's Camp, about half a mile from where Dewey's tavern now stands, and 3 miles from Warner's encampment. On the morning of July 7 Warner sent 200 men a distance of 2 miles to assist Mr. Churchill in getting his family away. During their absence the British, who had early renewed their pursuit, made their appearance, and by 7 o'clock the two detachments were drawn up in order for battle."

FROM HUBBARDTON TURNPIKE TO THE BATTLEFIELD

The most confusing section of the Military Road was from Giddings Corner and farm (recently owned by Edward Green and later by

Claude Gibbs) to the main highway that passes the Battle Monument. The confusion arose from the vagueness of the final sentence of only two lines, in the Hall-Abell statement: "From the old Dewey Stand it went to the east part of Hubbardton in the vicinity of the Battlefield, and then about south to Castleton." This was the portion with which Hall and Abell were least familiar; it gives no details, it was incorrect about continuing "to Castleton" or even to Fort Warren, as explained below, and it implied that it ended at Castleton. Everyone we asked seemed to think so too.

Thanks to more than a score of persons, especially Mr. John Clement of Rutland, and five men who have lived close by,—Dawley Lincoln of Fair Haven, Mr. Ballantine, Mr. Ernest Daniels, Mr. Carl Fuller, and Mr. Lyman Chandler,—it has now been traced, and in this section of our article we carry it through the Battlefield.

Leaving the corner of Route 30 near Lacey's Camp, it followed the present highway along the north side of the brook to avoid a crossing here, from the corner up hill through the Giddings "tenant house" lot and then down grade across the meadow eastward, and about 150 feet north of the brook where old stone run along in its line, and through wet ground where it crossed the brook in a shorter almost direct line from the tenant house up to the state marker east of the concrete bridge, where it crossed and its bed is seen just north of the highway. An identifying location is the corduroy found in the flat by Zenas Ellis about 1920. From the marker east of the concrete bridge on Monument Hill Road, the old road curved along the contour to the rear of the Bishop house and then swung southeast about half way between Bishop's and Leon Gibbs', crossed the highway through the gate and ran uphill along Mr. Gibbs cow lane.

On the morning of July 7, 1777, Fraser's British troops were obliged to build more corduroy through the meadow to get started up the hill. The late Mr. Ellis of Fair Haven, in the 1920's had one of these logs dug up, planted it on end in his back yard (he occupied the brick house on the road to Poultney, where tradition says Matthew Lyon lived, though the Lyon location is questioned by other persons) and had an explanatory sign put up on it. In 1948 we found this eight-inch, 175 year old log overturned, the sign gone and called the then owner's attention to it. The late Dawley Lincoln of Fair Haven lived for thirty of his earlier years at the Battleground farm on East Hubbardton Road, next the Monument corner, and later sold it to Mr. Graves. Having talked with Mr. Ellis at the time, Mr. Lincoln identified this marsh, and the corduroy, as about one-third mile east

of the Giddings place where there is low ground at the foot of a pitch, in line with Leon Gibbs' house. On the night before the battle, while Fraser's troops stopped at Lacey's Camp ground, some of the Americans camped where later the Baptist Church was built, at East Hubbardton. They were eating their breakfast when surprised by Fraser's men, who had risen very early.

In approaching the battlefield, it is essential to realize that: (a) the fighting was not confined to the upper level around the Monument, but included the flat west of the cemetery and along Sucker Brook. The new Museum building recently constructed by the Vermont Historic Sites Commission, stands on the brow of this slope, where one can see both levels, spread over a large area; (b) it would not necessarily have been fought on or even close to the road; the officers would have wished to hide and deploy their men; (c) the Gerlach map, whose chief purpose and accuracy centered on showing the troops and their moves, indicates much of the fighting some distance from the road. The confusion is increased because of the inadequacy of all the maps that one may consult; it is only the 1944 mapped United States Topographic Survey-Bomoseen sheet,¹²¹ that for the first time gives the brooks, swamps, contours and secondary roads as they actually are. The older United States Castleton sheet,¹²² reprinted as late as 1948, was actually surveyed back in 1895, and much of the detail, especially the contours and brooks, was only approximated, so that tracings on it cannot be exact.

The first map was the "official one," the "Plan of the Action at Huberton," appearing in Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition*.¹²³ It was drawn in part by P. Gerlach, who was at the battle as Captain of German Engineers and Quartermaster to General Riedesel. As Nickerson says, ". . . probably no English engineer ever saw the place,"¹²⁴ and the English and German soldiers were at Hubbardton so briefly that it is no wonder this map is inaccurate, first of all because its points of the compass are badly twisted. What is marked North is actually about 20 degrees west of north; e.g. compare the direction of the highway past the monument with that on the 1948 United States Survey map. By turning Gerlach's 4-bearing cross so that its North is 20° farther east, the whole map becomes more accurate and understandable, with the road from Ticonderoga (Mount Independence) coming in from North West instead of North. The "Road to Crown Point" on his map was the East Hubbardton road which continued north and met the Crown Point Road in the north part of Sudbury as explained in our first article. The writers

ran across the following in Freeman's *George Washington*.¹²⁵ "In using even Faden's beautiful maps, the student needs constantly to confirm mileage and compass bearing, where a mistake of a few miles in distance or of as many as 20 degrees in direction would invalidate his tactical or strategical argument." Gerlach's Hubbardton Battle map, like the other maps in Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition*, was engraved by the famous London map engraver, William Faden.

Mr. John P. Clement of Rutland, President of the Vermont Historical Society and member of the former Hubbardton Battle Commission, has no doubt spent more time on studying the battleground and the history of this battle and knows more about it, than any other person in recent years. In the summer of 1952 he went over the ground with Mr. E. A. Hoyt of Montpelier, former editor of *Vermont State Papers*, and a former Director of the Vermont Historical Society, taking with them a photostat copy of Gerlach's map. The following description starting at the Battle Monument corner, working northwest, is quoted from a five-page single space letter from Mr. Clement:¹²⁷

Gerlach's map has puzzled many people, because parts of it do not fit the terrain. I have investigated, and found that all the other maps in that book were done by British engineers, and the originals of all the others are known to exist. Most of the others were done by people who had plenty of time to use instruments.

It is reasonable to assume that Lt. Col. Gerlach had no extensive instruments. We know he had little time, since the German troops went on from the battlefield toward Skenesborough the morning of July 8. Hence what was done had to be done during the late forenoon or afternoon of July 7, in a place full of weary and wounded men.

Several years ago, an Army officer, West Point graduate, professor of military science and tactics, also went over the field with me, and examined the evidence. He suggested that the map would have been made at or near the house marked on the map as the house to which the wounded were taken. That house also seems to have served, naturally, as headquarters, first for Warner, and then for Frazer.

Gerlach, he thought, would have gone over the terrain on horseback, probably with British officers who had participated in the different phases of the action. He would have noted certain features of importance, from which measurements could be made. Then he would have sent out a few non-coms and men, indicating to each group what measurements he needed, from which points. Road junctions, the site of the American camp as shown by remains of squad fires, the places where roads crossed the brooks, rail fences, cleared land, forested land, and swamp land, if part of the actual field where the action took place, would be important. The remaining terrain was of less importance, and could be supplied later, if necessary.

Gerlach probably had a compass, and made some use of it. But from the house, which is almost certainly where there is now a cellar hole and a well,

just north of the Graves house, [This is at the intersection of the east-west road with the main highway just a little south of the Battle Monument.] many parts of the field are invisible. In fact, there is no place from which the whole field can be seen clearly, except from the air; and from the air, all sense of elevations is lost. Distances on the Gerlach map are given in paces, i.e. about 5 feet. And that is different from all the other maps in the book. But a German officer would use paces.

Now, if you take that map, with these assumptions, and the further assumption that someone else, in preparing a rough sketch for publication alongside a group of highly refined products of good engineers, felt bound to make a finished landscape to fill a rectangle, you can understand the peculiarities. The revision was probably done in London, by somebody who had never seen the region at all.

If you take the map in hand, and go to that cellar hole, and start pacing, you will find surprising accuracy. You will find various features well indicated. Sucker Brook, the little stream the British crossed before they deployed, does come out of a marshy area which resolves itself into a series of little brooklets, which do join above the point of crossing. The distance from the house marked as that to which the wounded were taken after the battle, known as the Selleck house, to the only other house shown, down the road, comes out now at an old building used as a hen house, probably once a dwelling. Other features check. Certain streams are correctly shown. Others, such as Sucker Brook, go off in crazy directions, presumably because the reviser was working from a sketch which showed only a portion of the brook.

This map, understood in this way, is, to my way of thinking, the most valuable and accurate story of the battle and its site. Where it indicates the Road to Crown Point, the Road from Skenesborough, and the Road from Fort Independence, it states facts known to the map-maker who was there and saw and made his record.

There is no other source material which can begin to compare with it. Hence, when it indicates the direction of the Road from Fort Independence, and shows it and the Road from Skenesborough, in relation to the location of the Selleck house and what is now called Monument Hill, I think it impossible to doubt it. [The Gerlach map shows the Independence road coming in from almost due north whereas it was really from the northwest.]

With Major Johnson, several years ago, and later with a group of army officers, and this year with Mr. Hoyt, a quondam Captain in War II, and author of an official publication on Puerto Rican old forts, I have gone to the field, taking this map along.

They have all thought it unmistakable that (going northwest) the road from Independence must be approximately along the line of a present wood or farm road which starts off the present highway close to the first house on the right side of the road, west of the cemetery, [opposite the old Peters place, occupied 1953 by Mr. Fuller] I am starting from the road junction near the present Graves house and the old cellar hole of the Selleck house, and turning west and at the next junction, north, skirting the Monument Hill.

To identify it further, there is a gravel pit to the right of this present farm road, after it crosses Sucker Brook. [A graded roadway runs north past the vacant house, opposite the barn on south side of road, and follows along the

east side of a stonewall from Sucker Brook to the gravel pit wire fence, where it continues along the west side of the stonewall.]

Hoyt and I walked up this road a way, to see how the field of action looked to the British and Germans as they approached it. We could find no other possible road or place where a road might ever have been, which would correspond in any way to the Gerlach map. We had both noticed in the British and German accounts, indication that the commanders had looked over the field as they approached it. So we looked for a point of vantage, and found a peculiar round knob of rock a bit west of the farm road, and much higher. This knob is completely bare rock, and there is little vegetation near it, because the soil is very thin. We figured that it would have been observed by Frazer and Riedesel as a natural observation point. Their scouts would have known of it, even if it had been partly concealed by trees.

Then we looked at the map, and to our surprise, since neither of us had thought of it as significant from previous map study, there it was, clearly marked, looking like a small volcano. It became obvious that this was the point from which the terrain had been examined, and from which the orders to deploy, after receipt of information from scouting parties, had been given.

It seemed to me and to Hoyt, after this discovery, that there could be no other location of the Road from Mt. Independence.

I know that it has been said that the Military road went through the Manchester farm. The map made by the Forest Service-W.P.A. project states that this Manchester farm road was the military road. I think they accepted the local statement. That statement may have been true at some time while there was such a road. Roads did have a habit of wandering from one location to another. Original road planning was not perfect, and changes must have been made from time to time, and perhaps from wet season to dry season. Roads were merely cleared paths through primeval forests having little undergrowth. The obstacles were steep hills, rocks, marshes, and fallen trees.

At the time of the Battle of Hubbardton, the Road from Fort Independence could not have been on the Manchester place. [This has now become clear.]

The course of the road northward and westward from the region shown on the map toward the present village of Hubbardton may again be checked if anyone can locate the place where Zenas Ellis found and excavated a timber from a corduroy road section. [We have as discussed above, identified this corduroy point as between the brook and the highway, a little northeast of the Giddings house.]

To the south of the battlefield, the road is shown as following Hubbardton Brook, on its course toward Castleton River. That was the road toward Skenesborough and Castleton, the road St. Clair took to meet the fleet and supplies.

Local people have often told me all about the battle of Hubbardton. Even Lossing seems to have accepted the local idea that the whole thing took place right around what is called Sentinel Rock. But unless the Gerlach map made at the time and on the spot, plus the military reports of those who were there during the battle are all wrong, the local theory must be all wrong. And that could be, because all the local people with one or two exceptions had left before the battle, and did not return for some years.

I think you will find in the Hubbardton section of Hemenway the state-

ment that the present road from Fort Warren to and past the monument was the earliest road. [We have noted it was built in 1772, four years before the Military Road.] The fact that the Gerlach map shows a Road to Crown Point indicates to me that this road hooked up with the Crown Point road of 1759. [This also seems clear. Dr. Berne Colby of Sudbury and Miss Anna Hanly of Hubbardton have helped trace most of this road from the battlefield up to the north part of Sudbury, connecting with the 1759 Crown Point Road, as discussed in our previous article. It left the Monument Hill road at the old Parsons place, thence up the Ganson Hill road a short distance, then crossed over to the old Benjamin Howland place and northward.]¹²⁸

I have again examined the Forest Service map of the Hubbardton area, and observe that the road which goes past the gravel pit, and which is, I think, the road indicated by Gerlach, turns west over or near the ridge, and heads in the direction of the road from the Manchester house. It is not shown as continuous, but it may easily have continued and joined this other road. [This is the important question, and as discussed below, Mr. Clement's surmise appears correct.] It is, in this section, a nearly level terrain which may have been cleared and farmed, obliterating traces of the road. The road from the Manchester house may have been made earlier than 1777, and discarded. More likely, it was made later, and hooked up with the military road, and then came to have the name of military road. [The latter assumption seems probable.]

If this supposition is correct, the Forest Service map shows the course, as determined on the ground, of all but a very small part of the military road from the site of the battle to the point where it joins the present road leading east from what is now called Hubbardton village,—a point not very far east of the village.

Because of its importance for students of Hubbardton Battle we have quoted Mr. Clement in full to replace what we had said in the second draft of this present article, dated November 15, 1949, for our own recent study of the maps with several trips over the ground confirm what Mr. Clement says. In 1953 he also marked for us on a new Bomoseen Quadrangle map some of the landmarks noted in his letter, and we show these in our illustrative map herewith.

The Forest Service map mentioned by Mr. Clement is an important but little known one in four sheets,¹²⁹ surveyed during the W.P.A. days, and drawn in 1940, doubtless at Mr. Clement's urging or suggestion to form a topographic basis for studies of the Battlefield area. On the sheet for "Areas 1A, 1, III, V", we find the cause of much confusion about the route, including the statement often heard that "the Military Road came down Paul Manchester's cowlane." This map shows such a road, in dotted lines, labelled "Military Road." Mr. Manchester has never believed this old road running north from his barnyard, was the Military Road; that would have been very roundabout. It does have several old cellar holes along it. So does the

road, (passing also an old sawmill site and sugar house), described by Mr. Clement, running north from Mr. Fuller's across Sucker Brook, along the east side of a stonewall past the gravel pit, swinging westward around the hill and Mr. Clement's little volcanolike knoll, crossing the remnants of two flat stone bridges, and joining the Manchester lane further northwest before the combined road runs down hill in Mr. Leon Gibbs cowlane as described above. The Forest Service sheet for "Area VIII" shows this stretch properly labelled "Military Road" running close to Mr. Gibb's pasture fence.

The Gerlach-Burgoyne map was redrawn in small scale for Zadock Thompson's *History of Vermont*, 1842.¹³⁰ Another redrawing appeared in Lossing's famous *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*.¹³¹ Another, influenced by Lossing's, appeared in H. B. Carrington's *Battles of the Revolution*,¹³² 1876, but the superficial alterations, with Crown Point road mislabelled, contribute nothing. When Mr. Hoffman Nickerson's highly important book on Burgoyne's campaign *The Turning Point of the Revolution*,¹³³ came out in 1928, he had tried to fit the Gerlach map into the United States Topographic Map surveyed back in 1895; his own painstaking description of the route, and the double dotted line he drew for it on his map, are based on the inaccurate contours of the old United States 1895 survey map. To read the small map in his book turn it so the North arrow will point upward. The letter "F," Fraser's bivouac at "Lacey's Camp," is down at Giddings Corner, quite correctly. The single dotted line is the present highway turning south from Monument Hill Road. His description, helpful as it was, is now superseded by Mr. Clement's account.*

The former Hubbardton Battle Commission seems to have developed no detailed report or notes as to the road, but we have two important points as guides. The first was the gravel pit road crossing Sucker Brook and coming out by the tumbled-down house at the highway next to Mr. Fuller's, where a state marker was erected in 1958; the second was the intersection of the road past the south end of "the Battlefield" with the East Hubbardton Road, where another marker was erected 1958. At this point, on the NW corner is the cellar hole and remains of what in the Revolution was a log cabin or "Selleck house," the site and the intersection clearly shown in Burgoyne's map and labelled "House where the wounded were carried." This map shows also a branch road taking off a little farther back, i.e. north, and joining the East Hubbardton road about "400 paces" closer to Castleton. We have tried in vain to find traces

or any other mention of this branch shown on the 1777 map. Probably the old road followed the present highway from Mr. Fuller's to the present intersection.

In the next and final section of this study, we will follow the old road, not to Fort Warren, where it did not go, but through the Belgo Valley to the outlet of Whipple Hollow, West Rutland and Rutland Falls, with an account of the Hydeville Branch.

We shall greatly appreciate any corrections or additions sent to us at Benson, Vermont.

NOTES

- ⁹⁴Charles J. Stillé, *Major General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line* (Philadelphia 1895), 38. "Fit for duty 3500 men, we expect from Connecticut 3500 shortly . . . the State of Massachusetts has established a post to this place" (July 29).
- ⁹⁵Stephen H. P. Pell, Letter to J. L. Wheeler, Jan. 16, 1950.
- ⁹⁶Smith, *Rutland County*, 305-306.
- ⁹⁷Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*. 5 vols. (Burlington 1868-1891), III, 407.
- ⁹⁸"Map of the Country in which the Army under Lt. General Burgoyne acted in the Campaign of 1777. . . . Drawn by Mr. Medcalfe & Engraved by Wm. Faden" (London, 1780); In, *Burgoyne State of the Expedition*; also reproduced in Newton's *Vermont Story*, 58.
- ⁹⁹Hadden, *Journal*, 83.
- ¹⁰⁰Scott, *Map of Rutland County*, 1854.
- ¹⁰¹Henry Francis Walling, *Map of Addison County, Vermont*. (W. E. Baker, Boston & New York, 1857).
- ¹⁰²Walling & Hagar, *Map of Vermont*.
- ¹⁰³Frederick W. Beers and others, *Atlas of Rutland County, Vermont*, (New York, 1869).
- ¹⁰⁴Child, *Rutland County Gazetteer*.
- ¹⁰⁵Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, Vol. III.
- ¹⁰⁶Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, I, 144. The bracketed words are inserted by the present writers for explanation.
- ¹⁰⁷James Southall Freeman, *George Washington, a Biography*, (N. Y. 1954), VI 315, 317.
- ¹⁰⁸Charles E. Abell of Orwell, Letter, Dec. 6, 1897, to Elmer Barnum of Shoreham; copies (2 p. typed) at Orwell Library and Orwell Town Clerk's.
- ¹⁰⁹Riedesel, *Memoirs* II, 112.
- ¹¹⁰Bascom, *Historic Mount Independence*, 23.
- ¹¹¹Bottum, *History of Orwell*, 14.
- ¹¹²Crockett, *Vermont* II, 66-69, gives a summary.
- ¹¹³Kathryn Leonard, Letter to J. L. Wheeler, May 21, 1947.
- ¹¹⁴Child, *op. cit.*, *Rutland County Gazetteer*, 78.
- ¹¹⁵Deed, Elisha Walker to Daniel Mecker, Hubbarton Deeds, Book 4, 220.
- ¹¹⁶Child, *op. cit.*, 103-104.
- ¹¹⁷*Court Martial of St. Clair*, 85.
- ¹¹⁸Mary E. Giddings, Letter to Hoffman Nickerson. Dec. 14, 1927.
- ¹¹⁹Zadock Thompson, *A Gazetteer of the State of Vermont* (Montpelier 1824), 157.
- ¹²⁰Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont* (Burlington, C. Goodrich, 1842); *Gazetteer*, part 2.

¹²¹U. S. Geological Survey, *Bomoseen Quadrangle*, mapped in 1944. (Washington 1946) Scale 1 mile = 2 inches.

¹²²U. S. Geological Survey, *Castleton Sheet*, mapped in 1895. (Washington, reprinted 1948). Scale 1 mile = 1 inch.

¹²³Burgoyne, *State of the Expedition from Canada*.

¹²⁴Nickerson, *Turning Point of the Revolution*, 453.

¹²⁵Freeman, *George Washington*, III, xxxv.

¹²⁶"Plan of the Action at Huberton under Brigadier Gen'l Fraser, supported by Major Gen'l Riedesel, on the 7th July 1777. Drawn by P. Gerlach Deputy Quarter Master General. Engraved by Wm. Faden." In Burgoyne's *State of the Expedition*.

¹²⁷John P. Clement, Letter to J. L. Wheeler, Nov. 14, 1952.

¹²⁸Anna Hanley, Letter to J. L. Wheeler; Jan 26, 1959, with sketch map.

¹²⁹Vermont . . . Forest Service., W.P.A. Cooperating, *Hubbardton Battlefield . . . Topographic Survey*. 1940, 4 sheets. Scale 300 ft. = 1 inch. Map for "Areas IA, I, III, V" shows the Sucker Brook, Cemetery, Monument tract, with contours, roads, fences, etc. Originals at Forest Service office; ozalid prints are made. Evidently no one has attempted to translate onto this or any detailed modern map the troop locations and movements and other battle points shown on Burgoyne's battle map. fn. 126. See addenda, 225, below.

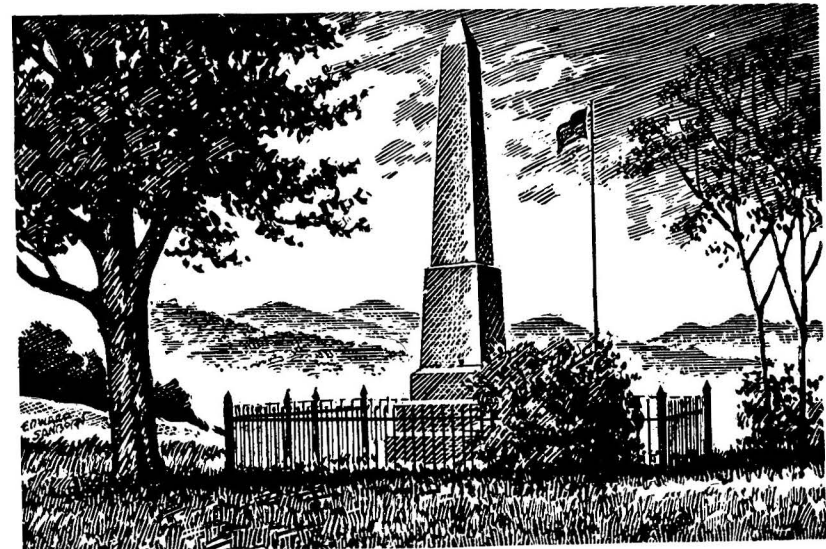
¹³⁰Thompson, *History of Vermont*, pt. 2, 42.

¹³¹Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, I, 146.

¹³²Henry Beebee Carrington, *Battles of the American Revolution, 1775-1781*. (New York, 1876), 321.

¹³³Nickerson, *op. cit.*, 453-454.

Note. Several recent or supplementary references are also given in the addenda, which follow.



HUBBARDTON BATTLE MONUMENT

Drawing by Edward Sanborn. Courtesy Vermont Historical Society



THE MOUNT INDEPENDENCE- HUBBARDTON 1776 MILITARY ROAD

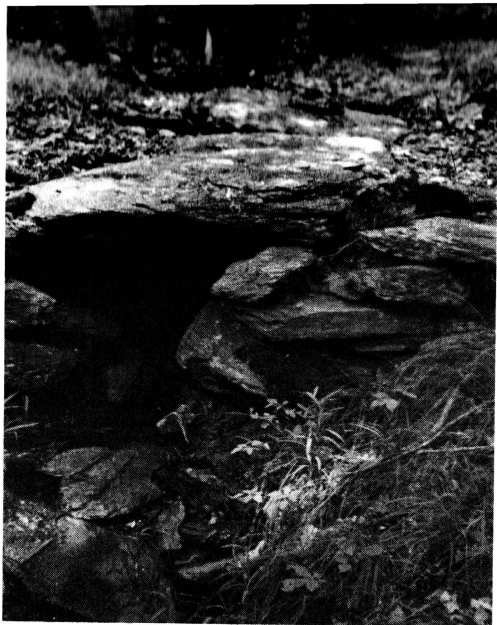
3. FROM THE BATTLEFIELD TO RUTLAND FALLS. THE HYDEVILLE BRANCH.

OUR tracing of this old road started with an error: that it ended at the Battlefield and there joined the previous East Hubbardton Road which we thought to be its continuation down to Fort Warren in Castleton. It seemed logical that this military road would lead to the fort, and were so told by many; the idea is prevalent.

A new aluminum marker was erected at the Fort Warren junction of Route 4 in 1948 by the State Historic Sites Commission. Perhaps to show Vermont economy or to avoid cluttering a small triangle of lawn, this marker combines two disrelated facts: the site of Fort Warren, built 1779, and the Battle of Hubbardton, nearly seven miles away, which had occurred two years earlier. Joining these two ideas continues the confusion of residents and visitors that the Fort and the Battle were parts of the same action and story.

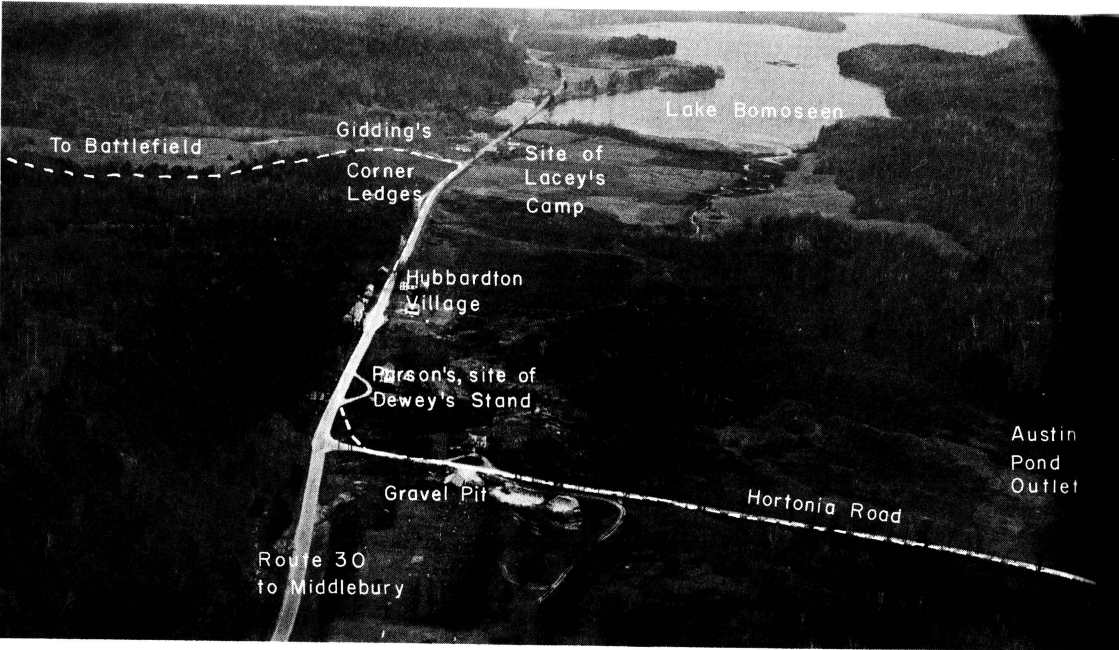
**FORT WARREN
BATTLE OF
HUBBARDTON
SEVEN MILES NORTH**

Directly east is the elevation of Fort Warren, built in 1779 for defense of the northern frontier. The road from the north was route of American retreat before Burgoyne, protected by Col. Seth Warner's rear guard action at the Battle of Hubbardton, July 7, 1777.



The "Military Bridge" in Benson, looking west, upstream in July 1961. About ¼ mile north of Rt. 141, close to Harry Howard's wood road. The big slate slabs are still in place after nearly two centuries, and the north-south road bed clearly seen on both sides of the brook, which is dry in summer. Photo by P. S. Vogt, courtesy of Blaine Cliver.

Looking south toward upper end of Lake Bomoseen, at junction of Route 30, at left. The Hortonville Road, running to the right, followed approximately along the Military Road. Lacey's Camp was west of Gidding's Corner just this side of the Lake. Owing to the swamp and brook outlet from Austin Pond, the road could not make a shortcut at this junction. Photo 1949 by Aldo Merusi. Courtesy *Rutland Herald*.



Fort Warren stood where the big white farm house is now, on a large square of elevated ground on Route 4, opposite the Fort Warren drive-in theatre, and across the street from the monument and marker. It was not built until April and May 1779, and had no connection in history with the Battle. However, many of the retreating Americans, followed by the British, continued from the Battlefield down the former east highway to the corner where the Fort stood later, and then went on into and through Castleton village. Fort Warren is nearly three miles from the line of the Military Road which the soldiers travelled, to and from Rutland Falls.

The earlier Hooker Hill or Frisbie Hill road which diverged from and rejoined the present road north from the Fort to East Hubbardton, then called Hubbardton, had been surveyed and built back in 1772,¹³⁴ following North Brittain Brook. Smith, under a carefully measured diagram of the original Fort Warren, states¹³⁵ that this road was surveyed in 1776; this may indicate that the 1772 road was widened or relocated either by Captain Barrett or someone else, when the Military Road was built, perhaps to make a better connection between Castleton village and the point considerably north of the present Belgo road corner, where the Military Road came in to the main East Hubbardton highway from the southeast.

We note also that after the Battle of Hubbardton, July 7, 1777, General Fraser and all the historians record that many of the American soldiers "retreated over the hills east" to Pittsford Falls, Whipple Hollow, Proctor, Rutland and other points, though the main body went on to Castleton. There are several gaps between the steep hills, one of the easiest grades leading over to Florence, and so shown in Miss Margaret Armitage's valuable map of historical Pittsford, issued in 1958. General St. Clair stopped at Colonel Mead's house in Center Rutland to write up his report on Hubbardton Battle, as discussed below.

We explain presently why the Military Road bypassed the Fort and Castleton, but we would not minimize the historic importance of either the Fort or the town. The reasons for building Fort Warren after the British had begun to threaten this area in 1779, the details of its construction, and its whole history are given in an excellent article written in the 1880's by Mr. Henry Hall,¹³⁶ though Mr. Hall makes no mention of its replacement and its move in 1781 to the larger stockade at Hydeville, noted below.

Castleton itself had become a strategic rallying place, "the most

important settlement, from a military viewpoint, north of Bennington", says Child. It was settled by Colonel Amos Bird and Colonel Noah Lee in 1767. A sawmill was built by Bird in 1772 at Castleton Falls, now Hydeville, and as he died of a fever doubtless contracted during the building, the first boards that were sawed were used for his coffin. A gristmill was built there the next year.¹³⁷ These mills, then the only ones in the region, naturally made Castleton an important town. Remington's Tavern, whose approximate site a half mile west of Castleton village was temporarily marked in 1953 with public ceremony by the Castleton Historical Society, was the rallying place for Ethan Allen's men, as discussed above.

Castleton's importance was well stated by Henry Hall in an 1881 address:

In Castleton, in May 1775, met that little band, at whose summons first went down the British flag, before the coming Republic. In Castleton was planned the captures of Skeensboro, Ticonderoga and Crown Point; in Castleton, met Ethan Allen, Seth Warner and Benedict Arnold; [this actual meeting is questioned, as some histories state that Allen had gone to Shoreham] in Castleton, it was, that Benedict Arnold, by virtue of a Massachusetts commission, claimed to command those Green Mountain Boys, who had enlisted for the capture of Ti., on the express condition that Ethan Allen was to be their leader; it was in Castleton, that St. Clair with his army and staff of distinguished young officers, camped over one night, July 1777; it was in Castleton, that a British army tarried briefly; it was in Castleton, that Burgoyne summoned Tory and Whig to meet Gov. Skeene and accept British protection and swear allegiance; it was in Castleton, that the Headquarters of the Vermont troops were located, the latter part of the Revolutionary War; it was in Castleton, that the next to the last of Vermont's National legislatures met.¹³⁸

As for the British army which "tarried," there were 2,000 of them. Smith says one regiment under General Fraser encamped in the west side of town and the other under Riedesel a little east of the village. Most were Germans, and they stayed about three weeks.¹³⁹ One of them wrote home that there were then about 30 persons living in Castleton. Another wrote on July 27, 1777, "Castleton consists of about seventeen miserable houses."¹⁴⁰ That was of course, in the days of log cabins, and long before the talented Dake and other craftsmen started to build the really beautiful houses there now.

To correct a common misconception about the 1776 road, to relate it to Castleton and Fort Warren, and to clarify the reasons why its route did not lie close to either of them, we note two facts, and cite four pieces of evidence:

First, this military road had one paramount object; to make the

most effective short cut from the south end of Mount Independence to a new Otter Creek bridge at Rutland Falls, there to connect with the Crown Point Road.

Second. If from the main Skenesborough-Rutland road, built in 1772, one turned north to what is now East Hubbardton, from the corner where no fort was to be built until two years later, such a route would have been two and three fourths miles farther from Rutland to Mount Independence than that actually followed. The rough road already built to Skenesborough took care of travellers between Rutland and Castleton.

Third. While the topography shown in the campaign map of Burgoyne's report of his expedition, part of it reproduced herewith, is naturally somewhat "scrambled" and meagre, it is rather remarkable in showing certain definite locations and relationships. It is more than striking that Bald Mountain, though unlabelled, shows up so prominently, east of Castleton, and the "Road Newly Cut by the Rebels" running *southeasterly* along the *north* side of Bald Mountain, to the point where Castleton River flows from Whipple Hollow, and then just east joining the Crown Point Road, whereas the heavy black line of retreating and pursuing soldiers branches off south of the Battlefield, and follows southwesterly on what would clearly appear to be the present highway to Castleton via Fort Warren corner.¹⁴¹

Fourth. All the families living in past or present days in this Ransomvale, Belgo, Bald Mountain, Ryan's Gap, area, have firmly held and passed on the tradition that the Military Road after turning east above Ransomvale, and skirting Belgo Mountain Gap, came down to Route 4 somewhere between the former Ira schoolhouse and Whipple Hollow. This is substantiated by interesting statements in two old books on local history:

Fifth. The 1885 annual meeting of the Rutland County Historical Society was held August 1, 1885, at Mr. Allen Palmer's home in Belgo (the Belden- Gus Johnson, now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Heitzmann) a spot evidently chosen for its historical interest:

Tradition says that through this Valley (Belgo) ran the old military road from Rutland to Lake Champlain. Mr. Palmer informs us that the road came up on the east side of Belgo Brook, crossed the brook about six rods south of his house, then followed up the west side of the brook, around the eastern spur of Bald Mountain and through the notch into Castleton River valley. His father, James, an early Castleton settler, was familiar with this road when he settled in Belgo, and said the old log bridge across the brook was swept away within his remembrance. The site of this bridge was pointed out by Mr. Palmer.¹⁴²

Sixth. Dr. John M. Currier, then Secretary of the Rutland County Historical Society, and considered the authority on the history of this area, mentions how clearly the Old Military Road could be seen across the valley from Bird Mountain, when the former Masonic Monument was dedicated there, 1886: "through the notch in the town of Ira, through Belgo northward, to the Battlefield."¹⁴³

ROUTE THROUGH BELGO, IRA, WEST RUTLAND

In 1949 when the Castleton Historical Society was organized, the writers outlined the story of the road and suggested a Committee be appointed to trace the Belgo¹⁴⁴ route. Some valuable work was done by the late Mrs. Phillip Leavenworth and her first committee. In 1952 Mr. John Reil followed up on this. He spent much time on the trail and contributed an important letter, 1953, to *Rutland Herald*.¹⁴⁵

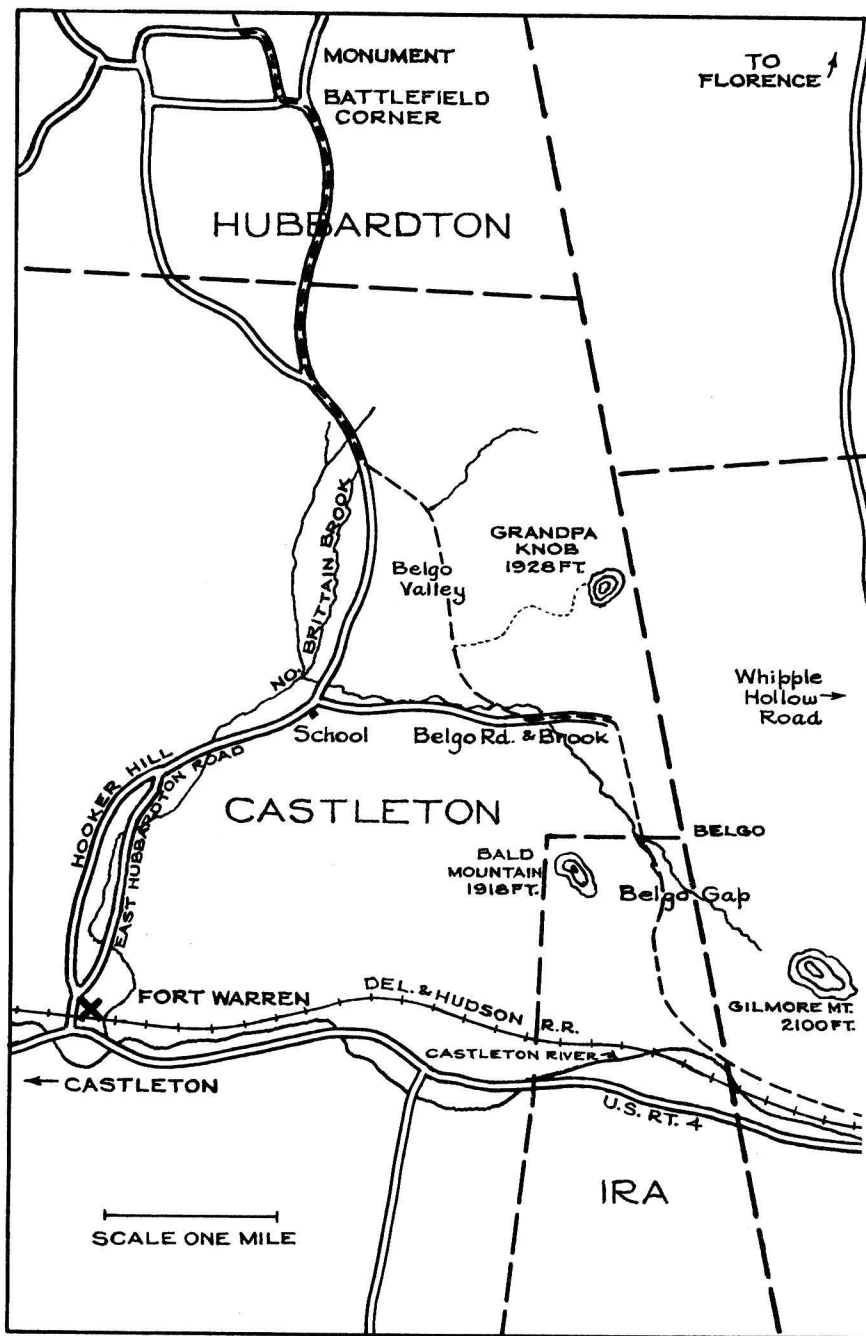
The Military Road joined the present East Hubbardton road near the battlefield and apparently followed this road to a point north of the Smith Scribner (now Balch) farm in Ransomvale, there turning eastward going back to the farm buildings thence along a small brook, passing near the ruins of an old sugar house, once a home, continuing to the barn on the old Griswold-Anderson or Grand Pa's Knob farm (now Lyman's).

It is possible that it may have gone on the North side of the brook on higher solid ground along a farm road. Beers' *Atlas of Rutland County*, 1869, does not show the Lyman farmhouse where it now is but shows two houses along this road and the cellarholes are there.

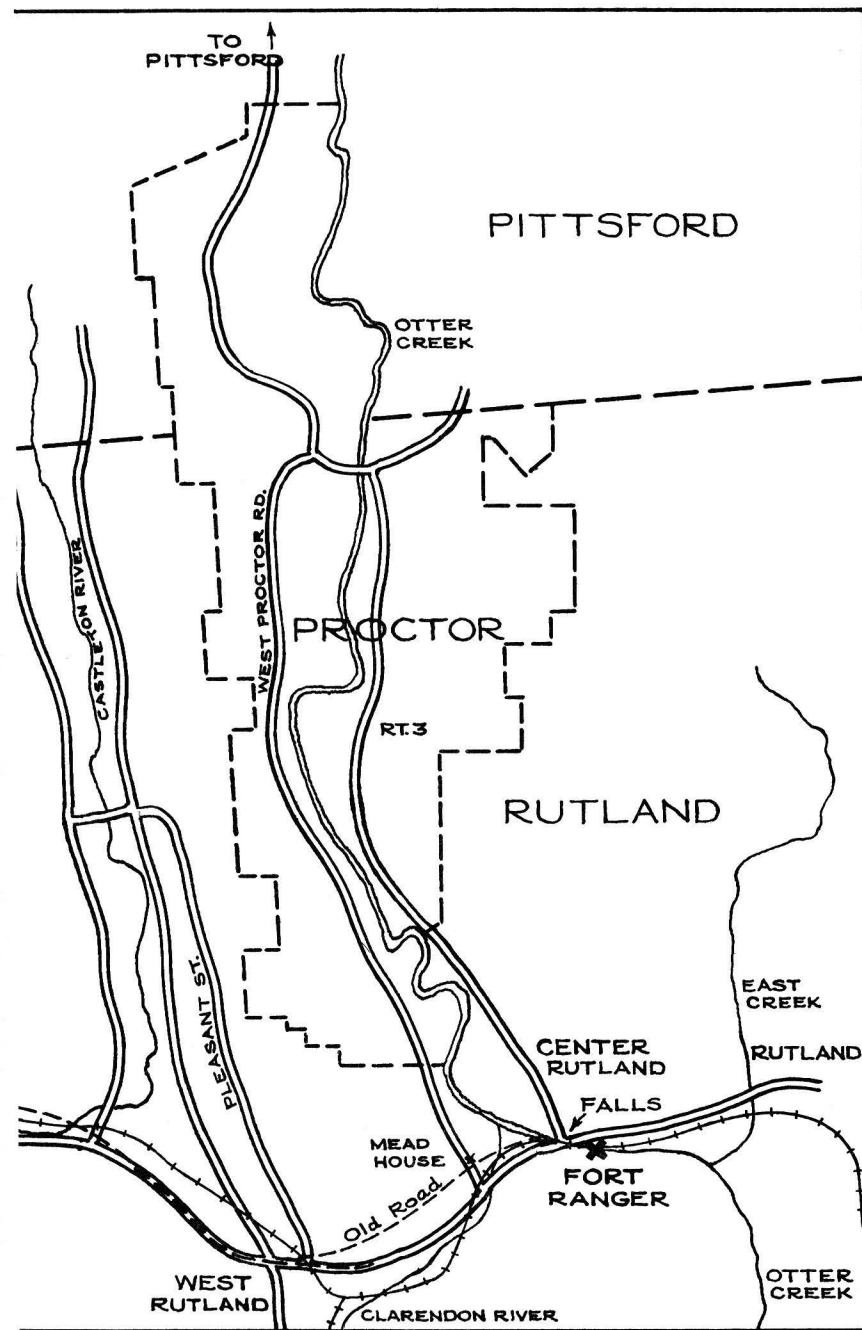
From this point the foregoing was modified by a letter to us, soon after:

It seems most probable that the road from the old Anderson farm house (Lymans) went between the swamp in front of the house and the gravel pit just above it and across a meadow to the small brook and McIntyre farm road, to a point in back of the barn and across Belgo Brook. Then along the edge of the brook to the Palmer (Belden-Heitzmann) place. This section shows definite evidence of grading. It then crosses the road just beyond (east) of the present highway bridge to the Belgo brook south of Palmer's, crossing the brook here and continuing up a dugway road on a diagonal up a steep hill, turning East across a ridge, thru a meadow, then crossing a small brook into the woods. From here on it is very difficult to follow exactly; two or three small brooks have cut deep channels and show no crossings except high on the streams where you can again pick up short sections of built roads. Near the pass there is again a definite built road which turns to the right into the pass. This is the only route that fulfills Palmer's statement, quoted above. This goes around the East spur of Bald Mtn. which appears to be a narrow steep ridge extending out from the mountain along the side of the pass.

Mr. George N. Ryan of Rutland lived as a boy, about 1900, on the



The Military Road came south on the 1772 East Hubbardton Road only to Ransomvale, not down to Fort Warren. A little south of the Balch place, where a 1958 marker stands, it turned southeasterly, skirting the Belgo Valley and uphill, crossing the upper end of Belgo Brook, thence through the gap at the east side of Bald Mountain.



From Belgo Gap it ran S.E. down hill along the south flank of Gilmore Mountain, following Fritz Pawlusiak's farm road down to and along the north side of the later railroad track to Whipple Hollow bridge and present Route 4, through West Rutland and the Causeway, thence over two hills just north of present Route 4, to Rutland Falls, and joined Crown Point Road.

General Flagg farm on the old Hooker Hill or Frisbie Hill road, somewhat south of the Hooker place. He says there was a soldier's canteen on the Flagg farm and traces of it remain. They had a swimming hole down the brook close to the later course of the East Hubbardton road. These points are a short half mile south of where the original and later courses of the East Hubbardton highway joined, a little south of where Eaton Hill road came in. The North Brittain school (we use the spelling on the United States map, though Breton is the spelling frequently used) is a long mile north of the canteen; the junction of the 1776 Military Road is another mile north; North Brittain Brook runs close to all these points. Many soldiers, of course came up from points south and west of Castleton and would have used the East Hubbardton road. It may well be that soldiers from both roads used the canteen, those from Belgo Gap coming down Belgo Brook.

In the meadow on the Johnson-Belden-Donovan place, now owned by Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Heitzmann, the second place up the brook, where Mr. Palmer lived in the 1870's and 1880's, there is still corduroy, according to Mrs. Leavenworth, chairman of the old road committee of the Castleton Historical Society. A marker was erected 1958 in the Heitzmann's yard, where the present Belgo Road ends. Mrs. Florence Ransom says that a fine large house, one of the two Ryan houses, burned down years ago, stood on this steep road up in the south slope of Belgo gap.

A woodroad or campers' road leaves Route 4 at the siding where the Blue Star Memorial Highway sign stands, and runs north across the field, river and railroad track, thence fairly straight up a steep hill to a camp. This is so clear that it misled us and others into thinking it the Military Road. The same is true of the road that comes down past Mr. Dydo's cultivated field up on the side hill farther east on Route 4, and thence past the abandoned school that unfortunately burned in 1954. This latter may have been a short connection between the Skenesborough Road and the Military Road; a later continuation of it runs south from Route 4 through the hills to East Poultney, on the south side of Bird Mountain passing a neglected graveyard sometimes called the Military Cemetery; this may be one of the roads shown on Burgoyne's map. A state marker was erected in 1958 at Ransomvale, just south of the Balch house at a slight bend in the East Hubbardton road; here the high banking has been cut back and the route of the old road is quite clear, running southeasterly as Mr. Reil describes.

It seems almost certain that the Military Road after passing the

Gap, followed a fairly easy grade, much better than anywhere else possible, along the shoulder and south face of the large hill, called Gilmore Mountain, next east of Bald Mountain. Mr. John Reil informs us it was probably named for John Gilmore, "who lived in the town of Ira high up on the side of the mountain",¹⁴⁶ and died in 1797.

August 9, 1952, within a few days of his ninety-first birthday, we talked with the late Dr. Carroll B. Ross, of West Rutland; a short time previous he had been honored as Middlebury College's then oldest graduate. In earlier years he drove the back roads of East Hubbardton and Ira, as well as West Rutland, and felt sure of the route of the Military Road from Belgo to West Rutland, as well as two roads from East Hubbardton to the upper part of Whipple Hollow. One of these was a continuation of Belgo Road eastward through Roy Walker's farm, the other from southeast of the Battlefield, coming out just south of Sargent Pond. He pointed out that while the original road after passing the gap on the east side of Bald Mountain, south of the Palmer-Heitzmann place, may have had a branch coming down to the present Route 4 near the recent white school house in Ira, as several persons have suggested, he felt sure the Military Road itself took an easterly course along the long steep south slope of Gilmore Mountain, from the gap above the knoll north of the present cultivated field north of the river, on the farm of Mr. Dydo, following a fairly even grade along the mountain side down across the pastures above the river and railroad, for the half mile west of Whipple Hollow.

This seems to be confirmed by Fritz Pawlusiak who lives on the farm next east of the Ira town line in West Rutland. His father, who bought the farm nearly 60 years ago, has always understood this was the Military Road. A marker was placed near Pawlusiak's, on Route 4, noting the old road route "beyond the river." Four or five years ago Mr. Pawlusiak regraded the lower part of it for farm use, filling in* and placing culverts in portions washed out through the years. Mr. Dydo and Mr. Orzell, owners of two adjoining farms in Ira have also seen the grading and shouldering up in the woods along the mountain side. Coming eastward from the Gap, it runs on a gradual grade between the large mountain and a knoll that juts out above Mr. Dydo's planted field, after passing through a birch grove easily seen from Mr. Pawlusiak's farmyard. The road trace can also be seen further east, down on the narrow strip just above the railroad; it originally continued to Whipple Hollow but is now obscured in plowed fields. It crossed about where the railroad bridge crosses, and a cellar hole north of the river and about 50 rods west of the bridge

*Addenda, 339.

could be seen until it was recently covered by debris from the sawmill. This road running west just north of the river past Pawlusiak's was doubtless also the original Skenesborough road.

Cyrus Crampton, whose farm is about a half mile east of Fort Warren, has lived there all his life, and thinks the old Whitehall Road ran through his backyard. There are old cellar holes just west of his barn, and about a half mile north of his backyard are other old cellar holes and traces of an early road coming from the East Hubbardton Road around the foot of his hill, and a little farther east this ran into the east-west road, continuing to Whipple Hollow, thus avoiding any crossing of the river except at Whipple Hollow outlet.

The route cannot be well traced on the Castleton topographic map published 1897 but reprinted as late as 1948, because the contours of this map are not very accurate. Much of northern Rutland County has recently been remapped more carefully, and the Proctor sheet¹⁴⁷ appeared in 1946, but this stops a short way above Route 4 and the Castleton River. Owing to the traffic, activities and population along Route 4 and in Rutland, it is highly desirable that the United States Geological Survey be persuaded to remap the strip just south of their last work, from Whitehall to Rutland.*

Information in previous drafts of this report, as to the course in West Rutland, and based on statements from several residents there proved incorrect. This developed when Professor Roberts of Farmington, Maine, State Teachers College called our attention to a letter in *Rutland Herald* back in 1861 which he had found in tracing the history of the Welsh people in the Poulney-Fair Haven area, for a Ph. D. thesis.¹⁴⁸ This letter said in part: The Old French road "from Rutland through West Rutland, after crossing the West Creek ran to the right of the present one past the house of Col. James Mead (one of the first frame houses in Rutland) thence by the old place of Mr. Daniel Reed, to nearly the brow of Munger Hill, thence over the hill and to the northward of Mount Austin, striking the present road near the old store of Mr. Francis Slason." This old letter from "E.C.P." also says the original road to Castleton "ran nearer the river near the big bend in the river [i.e. Whipple Hollow outlet] until a big crowd of Rutland men moved it in a July 4 celebration, probably in 1818." This may have been to approximately the present course farther up the slope to the south.

This letter, which we published in the *Herald* with requests for information, led to an intensive detective hunt by Mrs. Phyllis Humphreys of West Rutland, among many old deeds at Rutland Court

*Addenda, 340.

House and City Hall. It resulted in her four interesting and detailed *Herald* articles in the fall of 1958 cited in the beginning of the present report, and here footnoted again; a carefully documented contribution to early Rutland history.¹⁴⁹

As those articles are fairly available, we summarize her main points. From Whipple Hollow where the road crossed approximately at the railroad bridge, it then converged with the present Route 4 a little farther toward West Rutland village, keeping then as now between the hill and the swamp all the way through the village and across the Causeway. A spring near the Causeway's western end seems to have been a landmark mentioned in deeds, which show that this was also the Skenesborough road. Slason's store was near the crossing of Route 4 and the railroads, and thence the road ran over the north side of the hill that was cut back in 1958 for the straightening of Route 4. Munger Hill was the next small hill toward Center Rutland, and Mrs. Humphreys found cellar holes and deeds to show conclusively that the original road ran several hundred feet north of the present road, and came out close to James Mead's house, which stood on the West Proctor road, now marked by a granite D.A.R. marker. From here it picked up the Crown Point Road; so these three early roads, i.e. the 1759 Crown Point Road, the 1772 Skenesborough Road and the 1776 Mount Independence Military Road, ran as one across the flat north of Flory's restaurant to the bridge at the Falls. This road crossed West Creek, or Clarendon River, about five hundred feet downstream from Flory's and in high water the rounded grading can be seen on both sides of the river. Its course to the original bridge is now covered by the newly changed course of Route 4, and evidently Colonel Barrett's wooden bridge crossed Otter Creek close to or at the point where the new bridge was erected in 1958. Somewhere between here and the Falls was James Mead's ferry before the bridge was built, and perhaps later. The bridge continued the connection with the Crown Point Road along West Street to Fort Rutland, so detailed in our first article, where we also discussed Fort Ranger.

Mrs. Humphreys' important articles on the road from the Falls through West Rutland, were in part prompted by an article in *Rutland Herald*,¹⁵⁰ in which we reported information about other roads crossing the ridge between West Rutland and the West Proctor Road, especially what has been called the "Old Stage Road" which some thought the Military Road; this is said to have taken a fairly straight course east from the outlet of Whipple Hollow, across the flat at the south end

of the Vermont Marble Company's West Rutland yards, thence crossing Pleasant Street, up Durgy Hill, thence downhill south-easterly to Otter Creek, maybe joining the West Proctor Road just south of Joseph Gill's along the north line of the "Johnson Castle" land. As Mrs. Humphreys may solve some of the questions as to these other roads, in a hoped-for-later article, we leave them here.

BRANCH ROAD TO HYDEVILLE FORT, 1781

Our tracing of the Hubbardton Road brought out new information about an almost unknown fort built in 1780 or 1781 at Castleton Falls, now Hydeville, at the outlet of Lake Bomoseen, and revealed the ten mile branch road to it. We left this branch in the first article above, at the point in northeast Benson where it left the main Mount Independence-Hubbardton Road. Its definite route has been traced, thanks especially to Almon Charlton, Harold Root, George Walker, Jack Fitzgerald, Vernon Loveland of Rutland, and several others. After crossing the old East Benson-Hubbardton mail road through the gate noted above, and the wide flat, part of "The Ranch" and northeast of Allen Haven's house, it runs parallel to the east road and a third of a mile east of it, uphill close to the cellar holes of an old house and barn next east of the old Dan Waite place. The year "17—" cut into a large sunken boulder about three hundred feet south of the short road past Waite's to Fitzgerald's may mark a soldier's grave on this hill. The course continues south through the woods on the old Fay place (Gene Bartholomew's) and across the farm formerly owned by Edward Munger, now Almon Charlton's. Southward, the road runs just east of Almon Charlton's sugar house, the grading showing a bit north of it, quite clearly, thence through a gate in the Charlton-Wiskoski fence about 75 rods east of Bump School, along a wood road passing south through the woods on the Bump-Wiskoski farm. Here on the farm of our uncle, the late Oscar Bump, one of us in 1906 was first shown this road running smooth and straight, through a dense grove of immense pine trees, and we owned this farm from 1912 to 1943. Hence, our interest in the road is of long standing, the great question always being: How could this road, headed south for Hydeville, be going to Hubbardton Battlefield from Ticonderoga, as it was commonly said? Until we got this study underway no one seemed to know the answer.

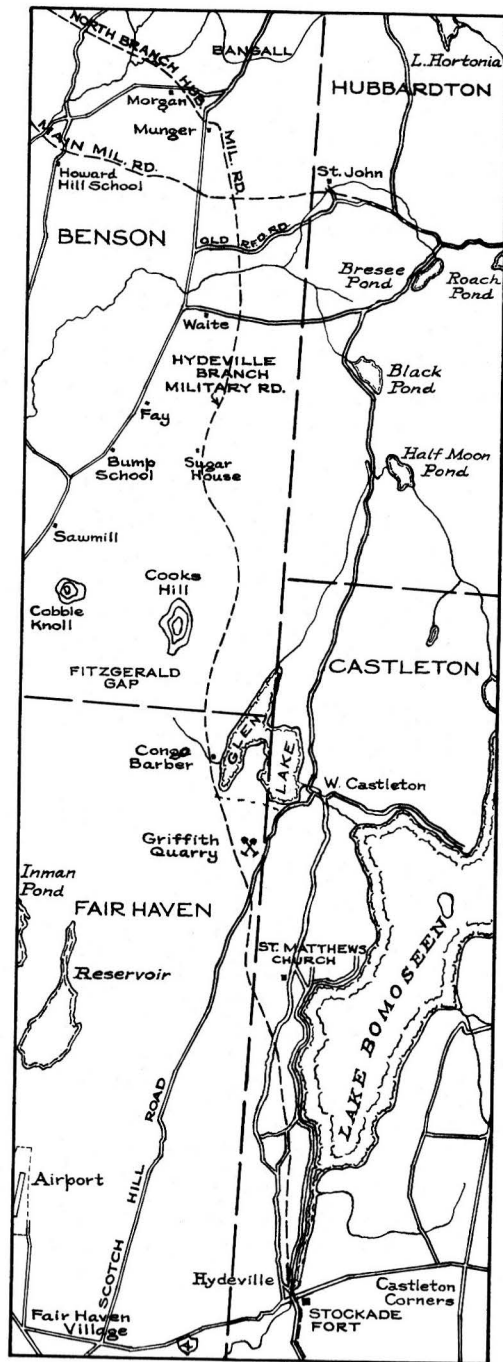
On the road through the Bump farm (Wheeler-Wiskoski-Charlton place) many war mementos have been picked up in years past—coins, buttons and bullets, parts of guns, and the like. The road continues

south and passes by two old cellar holes just north of the Wetmore hill lot, (i.e., the north end of Cook's Hill) then over through a gap between that hill and the higher hill just north, then bends south and skirts the east foot of Cook's hill, till it joins the wood road, formerly a well travelled road, that comes east through Fitzgerald Gap and after an S bend runs southeasterly down hill and along the southwest side of Glen Lake. This was called Screwdriver Pond in the old days, as late as fifty years ago and as early as a map of Vermont published in Germany, 1796.¹⁵¹

Harold Root and Almon Charlton, about 1950, blazed and marked the route from Gene Bartholomew's to Glen Lake. Mr. Wilkins Maynard of Fair Haven says that thirty years ago the Military Road was so clearcut on the west side of Glen Lake that nothing had grown up to hide its course. It is still clear below Fitzgerald Gap, for the Bartholomew Brothers' modern wood-road from their saw mill comes east through the Gap and winds around several ledges, thence down past the old "Congo" Barber or O'Brien cellar hole a few hundred feet north of the southwest edge of the lake. This portion is shown by a dotted line on the 1946 United States Survey Bomoseen map, and some of it was recently bulldozed for a better grade and widened. The Military Road joins this in the second valley east of Cook's Hill, and a little northeast of the Gap. It was pretty well graded and laid up with shoulders along Glen Lake to Scotch Hill Road.

It has been a tradition that the first house in Benson was built where these cellar holes are left, on this branch of what Loyall Kellogg called "the first road in Benson."¹⁵² There are two other claims to the honor of "first house," for Walter Durfee is called the first settler. He was here before the Revolution, was driven off in Burgoyne's invasion, returned in 1782, and lived here until 1835. Child says "traces of his first cabin are still extant."¹⁵³ Some persons think this is one of the two cellar holes near the Wetmore lot. According to Smith's *Rutland County* the Durfee log-house was on the farm that George Sears owned in 1886, and probably stood on the Perkins farm, formerly Jay Roberts', where a cellar hole and two grave stones still can be seen, about a third mile west of the Turnpike. Daniel Barber came with Durfee and settled where O'Donald's mill stands (later Parsons' or Bush's mill). He built the dam and both the grist mill and sawmill, the first in Benson, according to Child. The Root family also settled on the old road; the northerly of the two cellar holes together on the Wetmore lot is said to be theirs.

A later road was built starting from the east highway along the



The Hydeville Branch, built in 1780 or 1781, shown in dash-line, traced over Vt. Highway Commission map of Rutland County. It was about eight and one half miles, if it had been straight. It left the main Hubbardton Military Road in the N.E. part of Benson, at the junction shown near swampy ground on the Gleason farm half a mile east of the East Road.

It ran south about a half mile, crossed the former east-west Rural Free Delivery road and Allen Haven's meadows, up hill through the yard of a former house and barn next east of the Dan Waite place, through the Fay, Charlton and Bump farms. It swung southeast north of Cook's Hill and south along its east foot. It picked up the later Fitzgerald Gap lumber road, thence down hill along the S.W. shore of Glen Lake, crossing Scotch Hill Road south of Griffith Quarry, thence back of St. Matthews' Church and from there about halfway between the two present roads down to Hydeville (Castleton Falls) and Route 4.

There Colonel Herrick and 300 men had a camp in 1780. In June 1781 a stockade, Fort William, was built on the knoll where the Quinn-Pratico house stood at the corner of Route 4 and Blissville Road.

Since 1959 the house and the knoll have been levelled and no trace of this stockade or knoll now remains.

south line of what is now Leslie Corey's farm. It wound up the hill somewhat along the brook, curved around the south side of "Cobble Knoll" (the round hill lying just west of the Gap), and skirted the south end of Cook's Hill through "Fitzgerald Gap" to West Castleton, joining the Military Road just east of the hill. The frontispiece map in Child's *Gazetteer* shows this road numbered 51½, but no houses were then listed on it. This road does not appear on Scott's large 1854 wall map of Rutland County. There were three houses on it in early days. The first from the present east highway was the Miller place, where Hiram Norton, who died at 86 in 1947 in Benson village, told us he lived until 1874 or 1875. Next uphill was the Briggs place where Amasa Briggs lived before he built the house on the turnpike where Russell Strong lives. The gravestones of a Briggs and two others (said to be the first of the Root family) still stand in the woods two fences south of the Wetmore lot line fence, near what remains of the Bump 1910 sugar house. The late Mr. Hiram Norton told us in 1947 that his grandmother Miller, born Haskins, lived below Fitzgerald Gap over 50 years, dying in 1881, at 92 years of age. She told him that a former house between theirs and the Patch place was the oldest in town. In his early days there was constant travel over this road from Benson as a short cut to Hydeville, Castleton and Rutland; Mrs. Frank Kellogg of Benson village, recalled in 1950 that a minister visiting Benson years ago drove his horse and buggy over this rough shortcut road to Hydeville. Another road (shown in the frontispiece map in Child's *Gazetteer* as Road 49, and in Beer's *Atlas of Rutland County*,¹⁵⁴) ran east across the town from the mail road south of Loren Noble's, through Russell Strong's, the Briggs farm barnyard, then after using the present highway to cross Hubbardton River it is said to have run in the cowlane from the Turnpike to the east road. Neither of the foregoing maps show any houses on it. The east district No. 9 school house, later moved to the present Bump school location, (now Mr. Ramey's house) stood opposite the intersection of Corey's lane and the east road.

Hydeville and Fair Haven persons interested in this south branch, have worked out most of the road in the Scotch Hill area; Mr. Ryland Benford, Mr. Peter Manning, Mr. Tom Hayes, Mr. William Barsalow, Mr. Walter Dorion and others have identified most of its course. Instead of curving around the south end of Glen Lake to Scotch Hill Road, where a campers' road runs now, it ran southward from the Lake, skirting along the northeast edge of low ground, to a point in the north end of Griffith Quarry yard, and coming up to Scotch Hill

Road. Here opposite the quarry, it ran up quite a pitch from the highway in a north-easterly course to a more level area, and then southward. This inverted U shows a short distance on the United States Castleton sheet map of 1897. It continued southeast through the woods several hundred feet inland from the lake and passing four or five old houses and cellar holes, such as the old Roberts' place and Hayes' place, John Regan told us in June 1955, and crossing the north end of Bullhead Pond. It came out from a little uphill, west of St. Matthew's Church in Cookville down to the present "backroad."

Mrs. Michael Kelley of Hydeville, showed us where it came out in front of the George Hutchinson house between the two present highways that fork a little north of Route 4 above the Hydeville Inn. The route along here is shown for most but not all the way, by double dotted lines on the 1946 United States Bomoseen quadrangle map; its traces are fairly clear also in the United States Soil Survey air photomaps of this square. Several old deeds here, in the early 1800's, signed by Mr. Hyde, refer to the Military Road.

In the 1890's Cookville (now Avalon), Scotch Hill, West Castleton and Hydeville were thriving with the slate industry. An interesting account of the quarries and finishing shops from 1850 to 1882¹⁵⁵ supports what Mr. Frank Prunier told us, 1948, that 60 years before that more than 400 men were working here. The old road over the hill from Benson to Hydeville had been busy indeed in the early 1800's and was still used by several men now living in Hydeville, who hauled loads over it in the early 1900's. North of Glen Lake there was a busy sawmill at the outlet of Moscow Pond back before Civil War days, says Vernon Loveland, Rutland attorney, who has looked up many of the old property lines around Glen Lake. A lengthy 1954 article on Glen Lake, in *Rutland Herald*,¹⁵⁶ is full of local lore and facts about the slate quarries and other industries and enterprises in this now quiet area. Professor Gwilym R. Roberts, of Farmington, Maine, State Teachers College, was awarded a Fulbright fellowship in 1953 to study the Welsh and their part in the local slate industry, and has about completed his detailed narrative, covering much more than the Hydeville area and its quarries.

We have not attempted to relate our studies to other Revolutionary roads that ran through Fair Haven, which are also very interesting. We understand Mr. Horace King and Mr. Wilkins Maynard have worked on these.

Why was this branch of the Military Road built? We at first surmised it was because Castleton Falls, or Hydeville, was only a few miles away, with its 1772 sawmill and 1773 grist mill, mentioned

above. These mills would draw the scattered settlers from some distance, and we thought that probably there were several settlers nearby to the north. The Hydeville Branch road was a short cut from the west half of Castleton to Ticonderoga, more than two miles shorter from the fork on the Gleason place in N. E. Benson to Castleton village than through Hubbardton.

We were satisfied with this explanation of "a road to the mills" until in Smith's *Rutland County*, we read that "in June 1781 because this was the headquarters of the military of the northern frontier west of the Green Mountains, a picketed enclosure, blockhouse and other buildings were built at Hydeville, on an enlarged scale, sufficient to accommodate the increased forces at that time."¹⁵⁷ The men and supplies were moved there from Fort Warren, which was closed. This stockade and blockhouse stood on the raised ground at the southeast corner of Route 4 and the Blissville Road, where there is now an old 2-story gray house and where in 1953 Pratico's florist stand was built. In the spring of 1956 the Praticos had a bulldozer scrape and change the grading on this knoll, and we asked that attention be paid to what might be turned over near the surface. A very large key about five inches long, badly rusted was picked up, so large as to be unusual, and probably the key to the old stockade gate; at our suggestion this was generously given by the Praticos to the Rutland Public Library, for safe keeping.*

Mr. John Reil calls our attention to "Journal of a Loyalist Spy,"¹⁵⁸ which tells of the first direct General Haldimand negotiations between the American Tory Justus Sherwood and Ethan Allen, which took place at Castleton. The same journal extract appears in *Vermont History*.¹⁵⁹ "Oct. 28, 1780. Embarked at 4 o'clock. At one landed Chipman, his Servant and baggage at Skeensborough, then proceeded to the head of East Bay. Landed at 4 afternoon. Sett off immediately with the Drum, Fife and two men—leaving a flag and three men with the cutter. Arrivd at 7 o'clock at Co Herricks Camp, a frontier post of 300 men at the Mills about 4 miles west of the Block house in Castleton." In other words, these negotiations took place at Castleton Falls grist and saw mills, four miles west of Fort Warren. Mr. Reil adds: "It then goes on about his meetings at Castleton with Ethan, mostly at Major Clark's house which I believe was just south of Castleton Corners. I was interested in the number of men stationed at Hydeville at this time and it may have some bearing on the Hydeville branch road as they were undoubtedly sending out patrols to Champlain and Ti at this time, as that is where the British were."

Elmer Angevine of Hydeville informs us he has seen this referred

to as 'Fort Mills', but we find no other evidence for this appropriate name. Mr. Henry H. Eddy, of the Pennsylvania State Archives office at Harrisburg, formerly of Clarendon, says:¹⁶⁰ "I find I can help you as to the Fort at Hydeville. My direct ancestor James Eddy worked on it in 1781. His pension papers at the National Archives furnish proof that Col. Samuel Fletcher commanded, Isaac Tichenor was Major. It was called Fort William." Mr. Hall's article about Fort Warren mentions James Eddy and the naming of Fort William in January 1782, and he seems to have mistakenly thought the two forts were the same. The Hydeville fort has also been referred to as Fort Miller.

Naturally a shorter road had to be built for the men going back and forth between Lake Champlain and this blockhouse, evidently built in 1781, or to "Col. Herrick's Camp" which was in operation in 1780 at the same point.

Let us orient for ourselves the military situation in Vermont in 1780. Little forts had been built by Vermont soldiers at points such as Castleton, Rutland, Pittsford, Barnard and Bethel. If one extends that line to Newbury one has a general idea of what was then the northern limit of territory under Vermont or Continental military control. Ticonderoga and Lake Champlain were in the hands of the Canadian wing of the British army. All Vermont to the north of the line I have sketched was virtually deserted by the settlers. . . . Except for a few hundred Vermonters in Seth Warner's Continental Regiment, and, possibly, a handful in other regiments of the Continental forces, Vermont had under arms but two hundred and thirty men. At that time no Continental troops were assigned for Vermont's protection.¹⁶¹

We need to recall that after Burgoyne's Campaign, when the British had regarrisoned Ticonderoga, until long after Cornwallis' defeat in 1781, all the settlers north of the north line of Castleton were supposed to come in to the protection of the troops at Skenesborough, and to Fort Warren, and its successor Fort William, to Fort Ranger at Center Rutland, and to Fort Vengeance three miles north of Pittsford, built in 1780 and some distance west of the 1873 marble monument on Route 7. Fort Mott, a mile further south had been built in 1778, but it had been replaced by the new Fort Mott which soon after, when the Indian attack occurred, was renamed Vengeance. It was kept garrisoned until the war ended. Several Americans at Fort Vengeance out to forage, were killed by the Indians, and Betsy Cox, daughter of the commander was captured by them but released in a few days. In 1778, the British raided another frontier fort,¹⁶² the Moses Pierson blockhouse at Shelburne, and there was a fort at Vergennes, to which people in the vicinity were asked to come for safety. This seems to have been given up soon after.*

*Addenda, 348.

The Treaty of Peace with Great Britain was not signed until 1783, and Vermont's status and safety were not assured; depredations from Canada still threatened. As late as the spring of 1782 there were rumors of a new British invasion from Canada, and "Louise Higley of Castleton earned a barrel of flour by making bread for the garrison that summer and . . . some commandant at the fort stole away the heart of the fair Louise and then went away"¹⁶³ and left Louise desolate (for a while, for later she married another man!).

So it seems almost certain that the building of the Hydeville blockhouse, of which almost nothing is now heard or known, was the reason for the East Benson-Hydeville branch road that now interests hundreds of present and former residents of Hydeville, Fair Haven, Bomoseen, Hubbardton, Castleton, Orwell and Benson. Each week thousands of persons pass its unmarked site, on busy "U.S. 4."

We have now given the entire course of the road from Lake Champlain to the battlefield, about eighteen miles, then to Center Rutland, twelve miles more, and the Hydeville branch road, nearly ten miles, or a total of about forty miles. We have summarized all the information given us by many persons; their names if listed would fill several pages, including those mentioned in the foregoing text. To them all we are most grateful, especially to Miss Bessie and Miss Fannie Brown of Orwell, who back in 1946 when we started, lent us Captain Abell's letter, Robert Bascom's address on "Historic Mt. Independence," and a valuable newspaper article¹⁶⁴ by Miss Alice Jennings of Orwell, then a student at the University of Vermont, now Mrs. Ralph Post, Public Librarian at Waterbury, Vermont. Mr. John P. Clement of Rutland and the late Mr. Stephen H. P. Pell, for many years owner and Director of Fort Ticonderoga, have generously taken the time to write us invaluable letters. The present Director, Mr. John Pell, the Manager, Colonel Edward P. Hamilton, and Miss Eleanor Murray, Librarian and Editor, have been most helpful. Mr. I. J. Ellsworth and successive Directors of the Saratoga National Historical Park have spent much time on our questions. Mr. John Reil of Castleton and Mrs. Phyllis Humphreys of West Rutland, have devoted hours of personal time and study to the old road, the Belgo to Whipple Hollow and the Whipple Hollow to Rutland Falls sections, respectively.

We note with deep regret the passing of several persons who have given us such good help since 1945, including Miss Fannie Brown, Mr. Amos Blood, Mr. Dawley Lincoln, Mr. Ryland Benford, Dr. Carroll Ross, Mr. Truman Coates; they were keenly interested in this

project. We must mention also the good help from Miss Addie Raymond, Librarian at Orwell, and from the staffs of Rutland Public, Fort Ticonderoga, New York State, University of Vermont, Princeton University, Yale University, New Haven Public, libraries, the Reference, Manuscript and Map Divisions of Library of Congress, and the Vermont and New York State Historical Societies. Miss Ellen Watson of Chimney Point, Administrative Assistant in the General Reference Department of Enoch Pratt Library at Baltimore, Maryland, very generously put our footnote references into conventional shape, though blameless for any errors or omissions in them. Several of our former colleagues at Enoch Pratt Library have provided much material. Grateful thanks also to our next door secretary Mrs. Elinor King for copying our successive drafts and correspondence with rare skill and good will.

Note. In this enlarged and illustrated version of our three 1959 articles, we wish to thank Dr. Paul Kebaran, Director of U.V.M. Libraries, for permitting us to reproduce, on a larger scale, the John Trumbull 1776 map of Mt. Independence, from the Library's copy of Trumbull's Autobiography, 1841. Also we are glad to credit Mr. Norman Favor, Sr., of Rutland, for his skillful new maps of the route through the various towns, except Orwell.

Out of respect and appreciation for the hardships and sacrifices of the "old-timers" we have thought it worthwhile to trace this route carefully. We are gratified that it is now being marked adequately, so that present and future generations can better remember and understand the alarms, enterprises, labors that went on here nearly two *centuries ago, the thousands of Colonial soldiers who travelled this road, the hundreds who camped and died on Mount Independence or were killed in battle, and of whom no record remains. One may cite *Ecclesiasticus* 44: 8, 9, 13, 14:

There be of them, that have left a name behind them, that their praises might be reported. And some there be which have no memorial: who are perished as though they had never been. . . . Their seed shall remain forever, and their glory shall not be blotted out. Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth forevermore.

NOTES

- ¹³⁴ Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, III, 503.
¹³⁵ Smith, *History of Rutland County*, 527-528.
¹³⁶ Henry Hall, "Castleton Fort", *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, II (1931) 194-206, including important notes by John P. Clement, editor.
¹³⁷ Smith, *op. cit.*, 518.
¹³⁸ Henry Hall, "Historic Castleton", in *The Celebration at Neshobe Island, July 4, 1881*, Rutland County Historical Society. (Rutland, 1881), 16 p.

¹³⁹ "Centennial Celebration of Rutland." *Proceedings of the Rutland County Historical Society*, I (1882), 129.

¹⁴⁰ William Leete Stone, ed., *Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers during the American Revolution* (Albany, 1891), 85.

¹⁴¹ Burgoyne, *State of the Expedition from Canada*, frontispiece.

¹⁴² "Annual Meeting Held at Allen Palmer's in Belgo, Aug. 1, 1885." *Proceedings of Rutland County Historical Society*, II (1882-1891), 78-82.

¹⁴³ John McNabb Currier, *History of Bird's Mountain Masonic Monumen* (Albany 1887), 46. Valuable also for its long list of contributors to the monument fund, from a large surrounding area.

¹⁴⁴ The origin of the name Belgo, a beautiful valley, is given at length, with a poem about it, in *Proceedings of the Rutland County Historical Society* II, (1882-1891) 80-82.

¹⁴⁵ John Reil, "The Hubbardton Road through Belgo", *Rutland Herald*, July 24, 1953; also letter to J. L. Wheeler, Oct. 6, 1953.

¹⁴⁶ *Proceedings of the Rutland County Historical Society* II (1882-1891), 108.

¹⁴⁷ U. S. Geological Survey, *Proctor Quadrangle*, 1946. Mapped 1944. Scale 1 mile=2 inches.

¹⁴⁸ "E.C.P." Letter, "The Old French Road," *Rutland Herald*, Feb. 7, 1861.

¹⁴⁹ Phyllis Humphreys, "Tracing Old Roads." *Rutland Herald*, Sept. 25; Oct. 4; Nov. 11, 1958.

¹⁵⁰ Joseph L. Wheeler, "Old Road Location," *Rutland Herald*, Nov. 10, 1957.

¹⁵¹ Daniel Friedrich Sotzmann, *Vermont Entworfen* (Hamburg, 1786).

¹⁵² Hemenway, *op. cit.*, III, 503.

¹⁵³ Child, *Gazetteer of Rutland County*, 77.

¹⁵⁴ Frederick W. Beers, *Atlas of Rutland County, Vermont*. (Beers, Ellis & Soule. N. Y. 1869), 29.

¹⁵⁵ William Griffith, "New York and Vermont Slate Industries." *Proceedings of the Rutland County Historical Society*, II (1882-1891), 16-20.

¹⁵⁶ Betty McWhorter, "Glen Lake Area, Castleton, is Former Site of Revelry of Green Mountain Boys," *Rutland Herald*, Nov. 11, 1954.

¹⁵⁷ Smith, *History of Rutland County*, 527.

¹⁵⁸ Henry Steele Wardner, "Journal of a Loyalist Spy," *Vermont* XXVIII (1923), 60-64, 76-82.

¹⁵⁹ "Journal, *Vermont History* XXIV (April 1956), 101-109.

¹⁶⁰ Henry H. Eddy, Letter to J. L. Wheeler, Feb. 11, 1957.

¹⁶¹ Henry Steele Wardner, "The Haldimand Negotiations," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* (II, 1931), 5.

¹⁶² Vermont Historical Society, *News and Notes*, March 1955.

¹⁶³ "Epitaphs of Castleton (Vt.) Church Yard," *Proceedings of the Rutland County Historical Society* II (1882-1891) 116.

¹⁶⁴ Alice Jennings, "Mount Independence and the Military Road," *Addison County Newspaper List*, March 5, 1925.

ADDENDA

Addenda, 93. Both the 1772 East Hubbardton road and Allen's bridle path along Pine Pond ran north from the present Route 4, which was the original Rutland-Whitehall road, and intersected the Crown Point Road in Sudbury; the Pine Pond, Beebe Lake path came out near the Vail House D.A.R. marker. The East Hubbardton road followed, except for the early Frisbie Hill route, its present course to a point along its big half circle bend around Sargent Hill and to the west, hence it took a straighter north course along the eastern edges of High, Hinkum and Huff ponds, as drawn for the writers in 1955 by the late Dr. Berne D. Colby of Sudbury on a U. S. Topographic map. It met the Crown Point Road in Sudbury near the D.A.R. marker on the shortcut diagonal road which runs from Route 30 across to Ferry Route 73 to Brandon.

Addenda, 96. As a result of studies made for us by the late Dr. E. Eugene Barker of Ticonderoga, formerly New York State Architect, who had a valuable collection of early maps of Lake Champlain, he prepared a two column article with map (*Rutland Herald*, July 19, 1963) with detailed discussion of the evidence in numerous early documents and the maps. His colleague, Paul Huey, whom he interested in the search, shortly afterward found cellar holes and early artifacts which verified the point in Bridport just north of the Hartke place on Route 125, where the Crown Point Road started on the Lake shore, not at Chimney Point (where the correctness of the State marker has been questioned), but about two miles south, and below Willow Point. The Crown Point Road Association dedicated a marble marker there on August 9, 1964. (Story and picture in *Rutland Herald*, Aug. 13). At present, January 1968, the road has not been traced through Bridport, except for the considerable stretch through Mr. Herbert Palmer's farm and the marker on Mr. Anderson's farm near Emile LaRocque's, on the sideroad leading into Route 22A north of the Shoreham line. The Association published *Crown Point Road Day, 200th Anniversary Celebration, Saturday, October 10, 1959, 24 p.*,



In 1959 Fritz Pawlusiak (left) of West Rutland, near the Ira line, flies the flag from this steel flagpole which he erected a few feet from his farm road, originally the Military Road. View from lower end of Gilmore Mountain looking south downhill across Castleton River, D. & H. R.R. track, the roadbed of the former street car line, which followed some stretches of the original 1772 Rutland-Whitehall road, and across his fields to his buildings on old U. S. Route 4. All this sidehill was completely altered in 1967 by the building of new two-level 4-lane Route 4; the flagpole will be reset higher up in 1968. Photo, Sept. 8, 1959, by Aldo Merusi, courtesy *Rutland Herald*.

with illustrations and maps, and in 1965 issued *Historical Markers on the Crown Point Road*, 44 p., an annotated list of the then 64 markers, with pictures of several, and a 4 p. summary history by Miss Flora B. Weeks of Rutland, Vice President. Mr. Carl E. Hollender of Cuttingsville is Secretary. In 1967 Mr. J. Robert Maguire of Shoreham, who is tracing the Bridport route, found two D.A.R. markers in Bridport on the two roads next west of the marker on Anderson's place. They had been overturned and obscured, and are not listed in the Crown Point Road Association booklet. On July 16, 1967, the Association rededicated the markers, which had been reset in concrete bases. An extensive article on the route through Shoreham, with map, was published in *Rutland Herald*, March 11, 1959. For Shrewsbury, see *Rutland Herald*, July 16, 1964. For Cavendish, with map see *Rutland Herald*, September 20, 1967. For Weathersfield, with map, December 18, 1967.

Addenda, 97. An article giving some details of this branch appeared in *Rutland Herald*, May 11, 1965. It notes that Trumbull's map shows the terminus at what is clearly Larrabee's Point, and not at the terminus of the former branch railroad.

Addenda, 99. This may need correction; a short road appears on Burgoyne's map, though not accurately located; see below, p. 199. It probably ran across into Sudbury and to Brown's Camp there, a point on the main Crown Point Road, where there was a "canteen." This may have been at or near the junction of the Ticonderoga branch of C.P.R., also.

Addenda, 100. Mr. Robert Ketchum, Sr., of Sudbury reports that his great grandfather drove an ox-team and cannon from Ti through Sudbury and Shrewsbury to Number Four.

Addenda, 101. The two most recent and interesting books on Burgoyne's Expedition give no attention to Mount Independence as a major military post: Louise H. Tharp. *The Baroness and the General* [Riedesel]. 458 p. Boston, 1962; Harrison Bird. *March to Saratoga: General Burgoyne and the American Campaign, 1777*. 300 p. N. Y. 1963. But there have been recent developments. The writer twice unsuccessfully urged a former Chairman of the Historic Sites Commission to have the state acquire and develop the Mount. (See the latter's statement, *Rutland Herald*, Oct. 2, 1958). At our request a bill was introduced in the Legislature by Mr. Irving Eastman of Whiting in 1959, (supported by the Vermont Sons of the Revolution) and passed by the

House, (see *Burlington Free Press*, May 13, 1959) to set up a five member Committee, headed by the late Adjutant General Billado, to take action. This was defeated in the Senate (See *Burlington Free Press*, June 9, 1959) on the ground that the Historic Sites Commission should handle the matter. However, there was a change in the Sites Commission chairmanship and in July 1961 the State purchased the south portion of the Mount. The north portion had for some years been owned by the Fort Ticonderoga Association. The three papers about the Mount read at the annual meeting of Vermont Historical Society, 1966, appear in *Vermont History* April, 1967; the 20 page article by Col. John A. Williams is the fullest account and appreciation of the importance of the Mount available. In December 1966 the nonprofit Mount Independence Associates was incorporated, with nine Trustees, to develop the Mount.

Addenda, 107. This model is displayed at the Daniels Museum at Orwell. A similar model is shown at Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

Addenda, 108. Captain Farmer made a model of the shipyard, shown at Whitehall Museum.

Addenda, 110. We have not been able to locate this report. Col. John Trumbull, letter to his brother Joseph, July 15, 1776 includes a map of the Mount, but the report was written some weeks later. Connecticut State Library. Trumbull Papers. IV: 359.

Addenda, 114. As he would presumably be best informed, the probably correct statement appears on Engineer Wintersmith's map (see footnote 48) that "a battery of four 12 pounders would have been able to open on the 6th at noon."

Addenda, 117. In Addenda 101 we noted Mrs. Tharp's absorbing book about Baroness Riedesel, so well worth reading. In 1965 University of North Carolina Press published *Baroness von Riedesel and the American Revolution; Journal and Correspondence of a Tour of Duty, 1776-1783*, ed. by Marvin L. Brown. 270 p. This contains much material not in the other Riedesel books, including a letter to her from the General, dated from Castleton.

Addenda, 118. See Addenda, 225.

Addenda, 196. In 1959 this was moved across the highway, and a line was added to explain that it was no longer "opposite" the fort.

Addenda, 200. Some years ago the Howard Hill School was auctioned by the town and remodelled as the Smith's residence. The Military Road ran east and west, past it.

Addenda, 207. This needs correction; several searches failed to trace a feasible route as described. Oscar Bordeau's son Raymond told us in 1963 that the road crossed the meadow north of Cranberry Swamp outlet but did not pass close to the barn or house. Instead, it joined the present highway where it bends north several hundred feet east of Bordeau's, and ran north and then west around the hill, then downgrade to the flat east of the brook crossing on Route 22A. He and his father drew logs over it in winter.

Addenda, 210. Spelling: a gravestone in the old cemetery, Benson, reads "Anthony Rabadaux. Died April 17, 1879. Aged 74 years."

Addenda, 225. In Dec. 1960 the Vermont Board of Historic Sites published the first adequate researched account, by Col. R. Ernest Dupuy (U.S.A. ret.): *The Battle of Hubbardton: a Critical Analysis*. 39 p. plus 52 references; mimeo'd. This was summarized in his welcome six page article in *Vermont Life*. Summer 1963, accompanied by a reproduction of Burgoyne's battle map and a color plate of the electronic model which is displayed at the Battlefield Museum. The model, with soundtrack, was prepared under Col. Dupuy's supervision. By permission of the Vermont Board of Historic Sites, which lent the color plates, we had this bird's eye view reprinted and it is inserted in the first 600 copies of the present book.

Addenda, 339. A State Marker on Route 4 near Mr. Pawlusiak's, points out the old road "Beyond the River." In 1960 he erected a flagpole there where a flag flies to show the location. This was moved a bit in 1967 for the new 4-lane course of Route 4 on the north side of Castleton River.

Addenda, 340. In the mid-1960's the strip from Fair Haven to Rutland, north and south of U. S. 4, was adequately remapped, four sheets, on twice as large a scale as the old topographic maps.

Addenda, 346. William Barsalow in 1967, told us that this inverted route up the steep incline, was probably built later for a shortcut from the quarry and is not the original route. He thinks the Military Road crossed Scotch Hill road about a quarter mile further south, where the grade is easier. This also was used later for hauling slate, as wheel

marks have worn into the ledge in several places. It skirted the SW edge of the swamp west of St. Matthew's Church.

Addenda, 347. About 1960, after the empty house had burned down, this knoll was bulldozed completely down to the surrounding level, so that nothing remains to remind one of its interesting history.

Addenda, 348. Professor Gwilym Roberts, mentioned above, has found records of Fort Warren indicating that on Oct. 28, 1781, Ira Allen had 327 men at "Camp Blanchard's Mills," i.e., Hydeville, but that Fort Warren was also still operating, with 478 men, and on Dec. 31 Fort Warren was still provisioned. This seems to conflict with our quote above, from Smith's History, but possibly the Hydeville stockade had not been finished; the camp may have still been unenclosed. That vigilance against British forays was not relaxed at several northern points until late in 1783 is shown by extracts from the Haldimand papers cited by the late Dr. John C. Huden in *Vermont History*, 27: 352-353. Oct. 1959.

Addenda, 350. "Whoever visits the scenes of the Revolution feels the sentiment of love of country kindling anew, as if the spirit . . . still hovered around, with power to move and excite all who in future time may approach them." Daniel Webster. Address on "The Character of Washington," for Washington's Hundredth Birthday. 1832.

