



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 Colonell 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 Utmost 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 allmost 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 Huberton, 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.

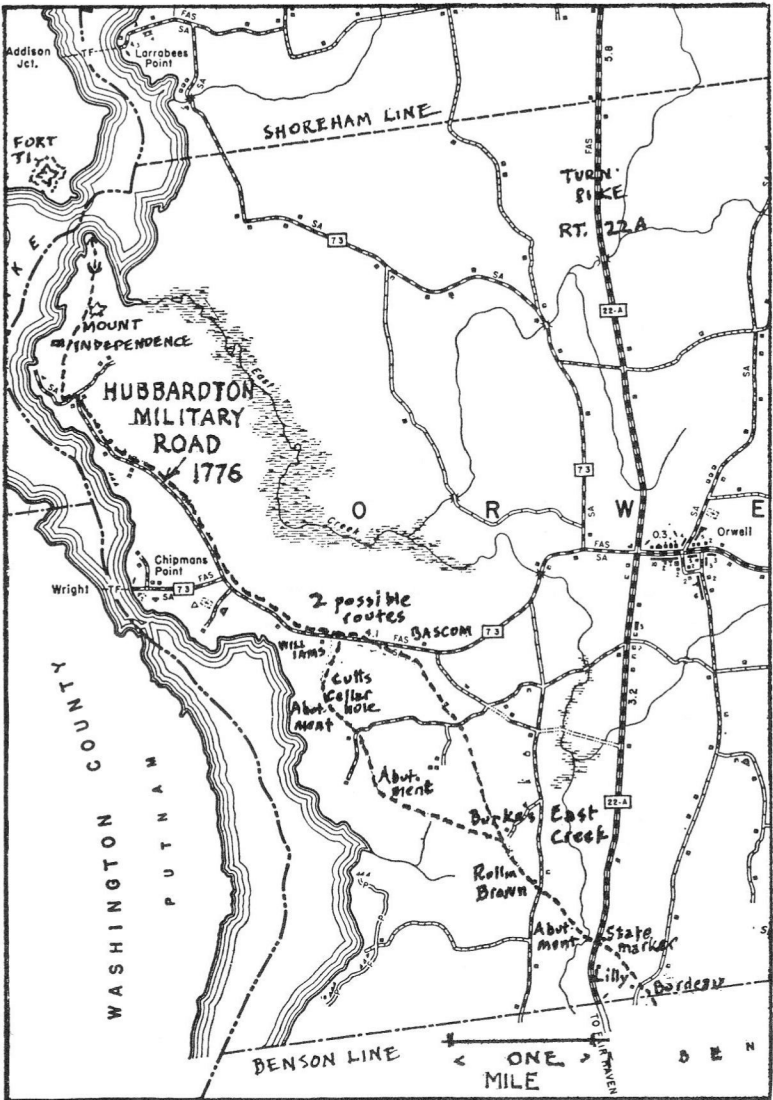
lished, in the spring of 1948 the new Benson sheet, both in colors, and on larger scales than the maps made in the 1890's, the Benson sheet two inches to the mile. A preliminary blueprint of the Orwell quadrangle was provided us in May 1948, and in early 1952 a black print of the preliminary new Ticonderoga 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 earth-works 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.

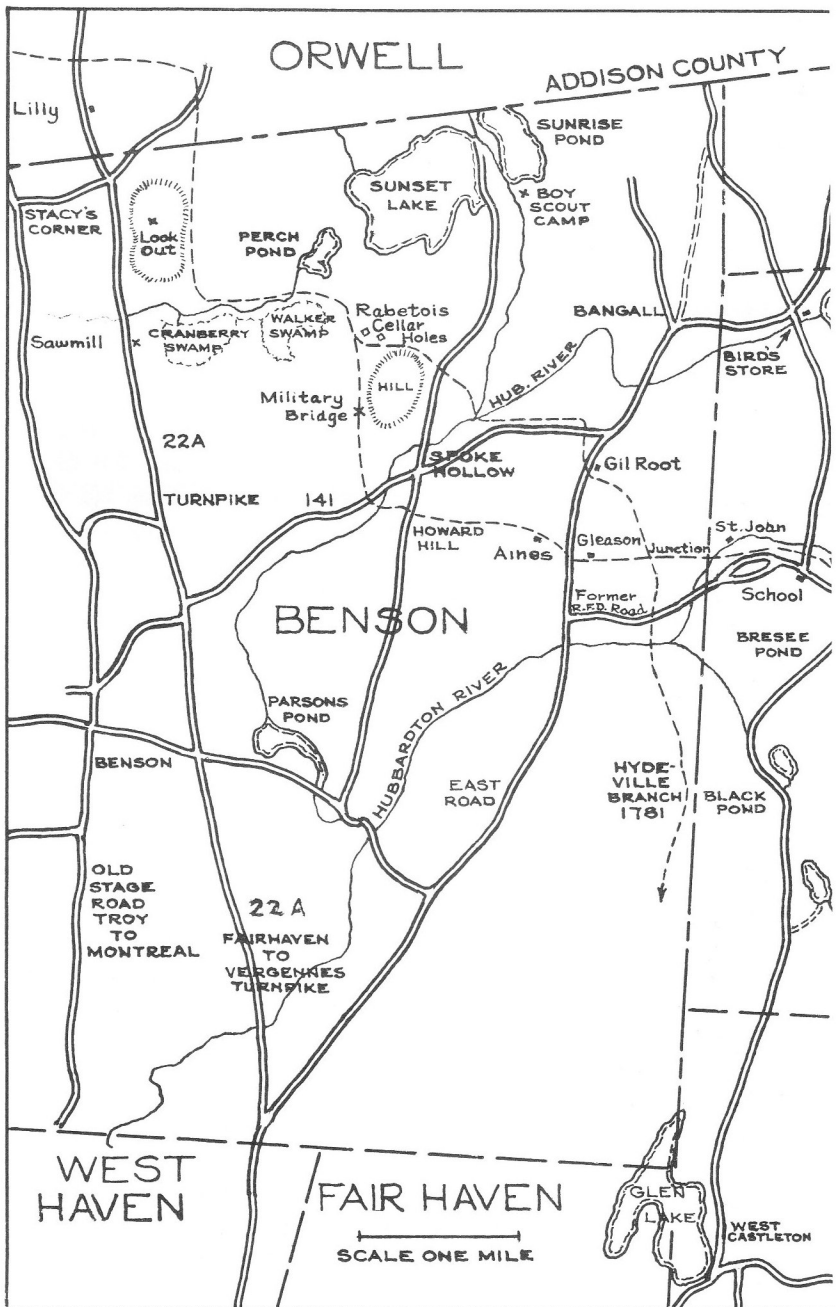
David Barber calls attention to a considerable pile of rocks, or cairn, set up with some care, on a ledge projecting from the steep west side of this big hill, labelled Big Rock in the 1854 and 1869 map and atlas, north of his mill and house and overlooking the Turnpike. He surmises this was a "lookout" 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.

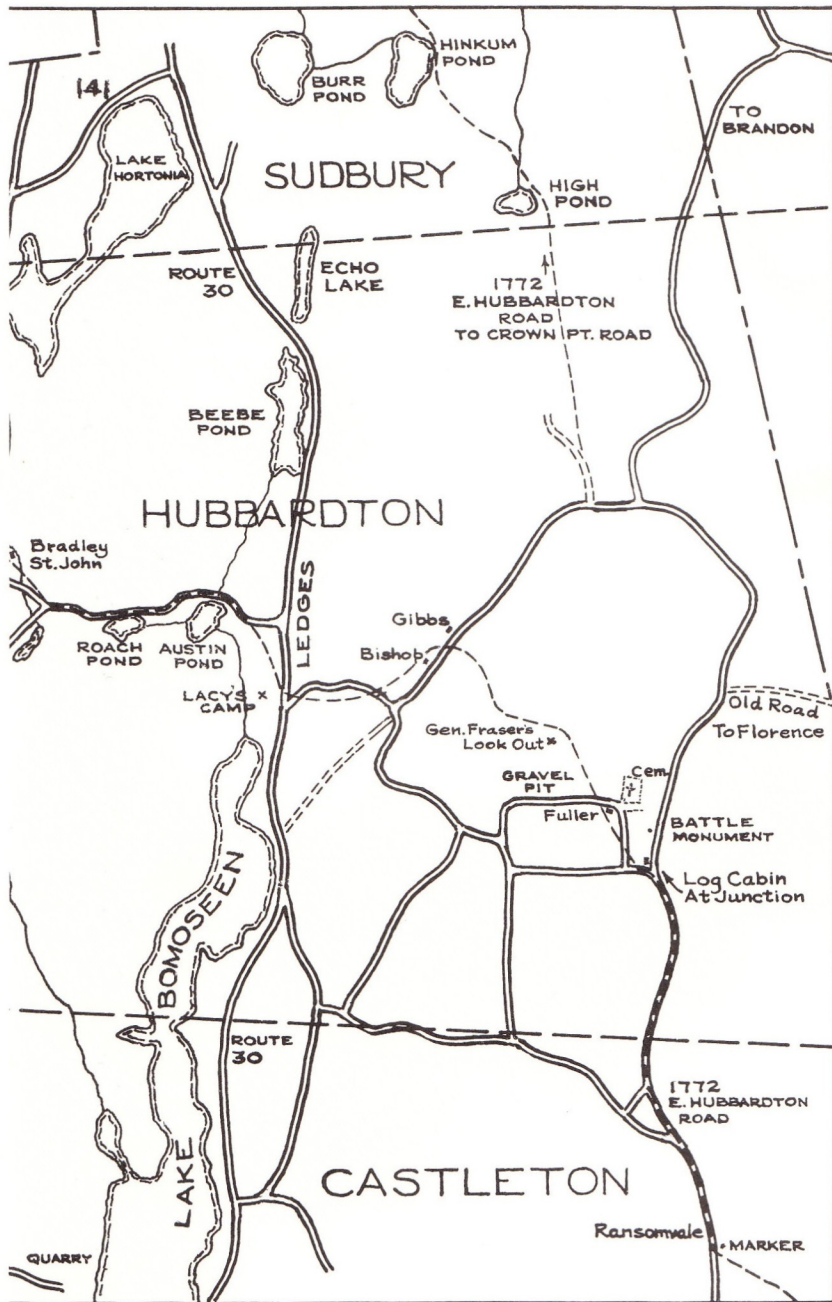
Captain Abell continues, "It is said that the rear of the British army halted at the east end of the marsh to eat their breakfast when in pursuit of St. Clair's army." This seems to have been the time and the point where the British General Fraser's army, which had left Mount Independence at 5 a.m. and 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.

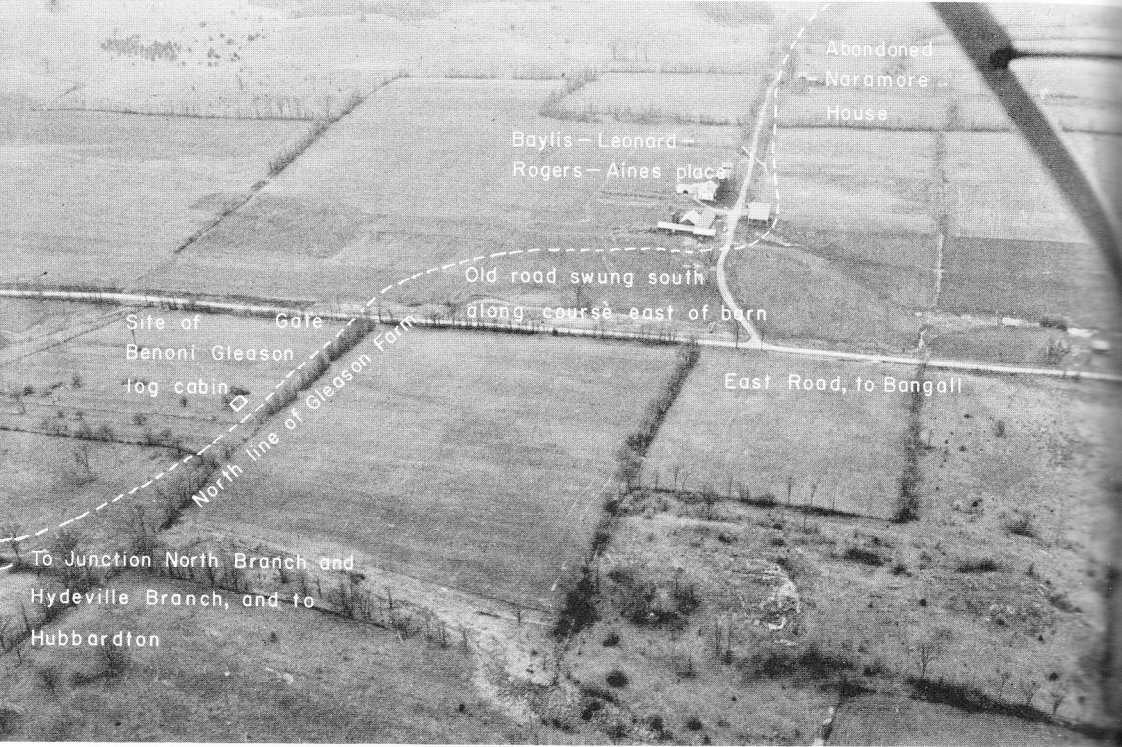
The next definite point picked up is at the northeast corner of the garage on the old Jim Perry place, now occupied by Mr. Morgan, where the grading of the road as it turned south to cross the highway is easily seen; this was called to our attention by Mr. George Walker, former owner of the next farmhouse 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.

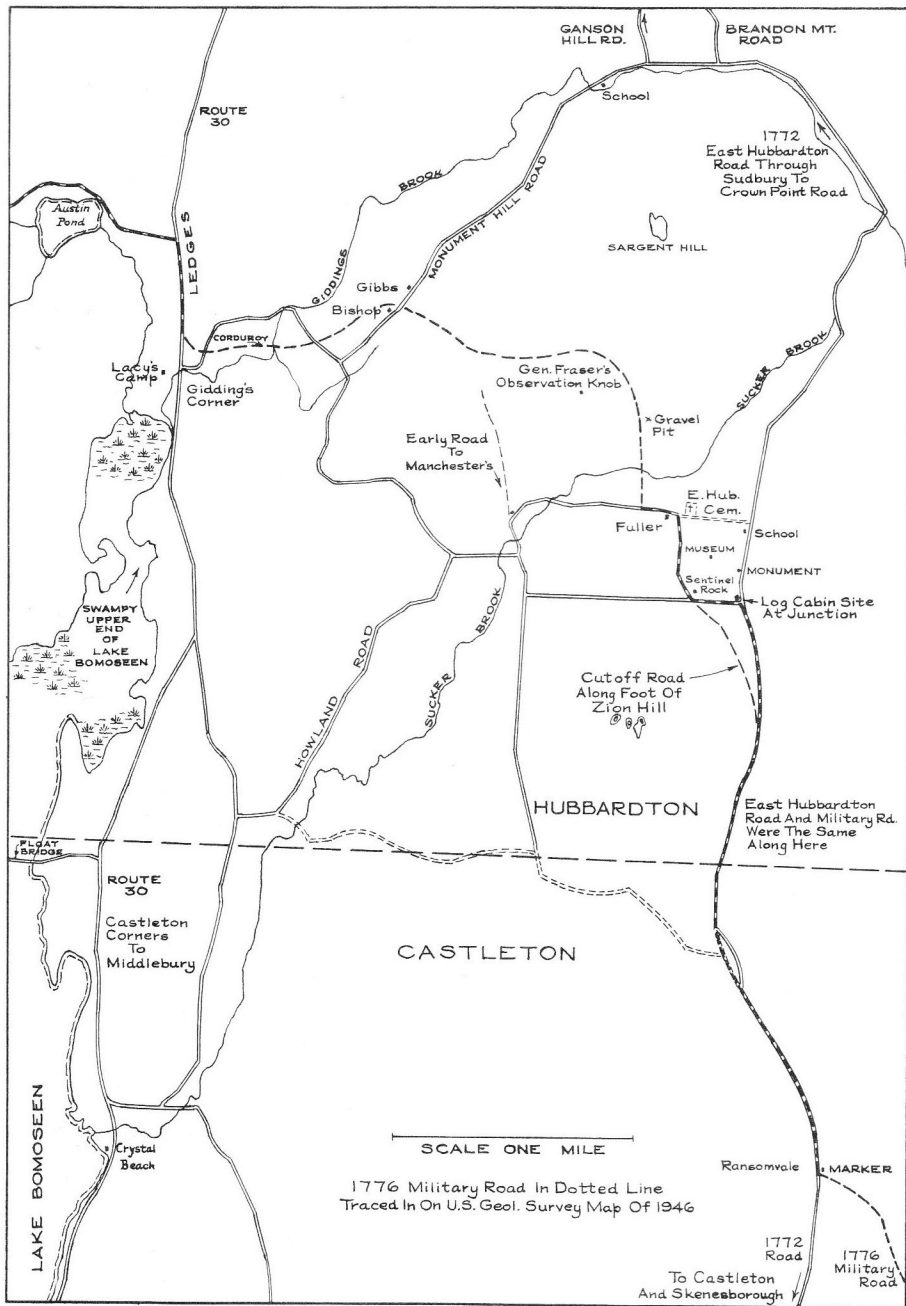
Captain Abell says: "From here the course was easterly about a mile to Beebe Pond, and then southerly, passing near the old Dewey Stand." This old stage road tavern burned about 1870. Mr. Lyman Chandler who has lived close by for nearly 80 years says the "Dewey Stand" burned in the fall of 1875 or spring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

HUBBARTON BATTLEFIELD. Relief model at the Historic Sites building. When activated it shows by electric lights the troop actions and explains them by sound-track. Reprinted by permission of the editor, from Vermont Life, Summer 1963, which carries also an extended carefully researched, detailed account of the battle by Col. R. Ernest Dupuy, U.S.A. Retired. Sucker Brook is the irregular white line crossing the upper part of this map. The 1772 East Hubbardton Road comes down along the right side. The 1776 Military Road curves down from upper left corner to join it, and a short cut branch comes out at the log cabin. Color plates lent by Vermont Board of Historic Sites.



ran across the following in Fieenan'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

*Addenda, 225.

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. Medcalf & 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 Meeker, Hubbardton 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.

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

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

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

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

125 Freeman, *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*.

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

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

129 Vermont . . . 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. ftn. 126. See addenda, 225, below.

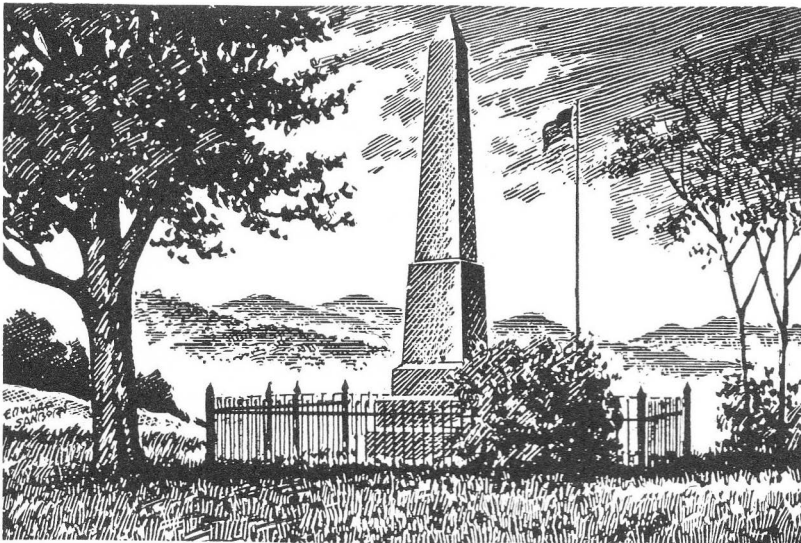
130 Thompson, *History of Vermont*, pt. 2, 42.

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

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

133 Nickerson, *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