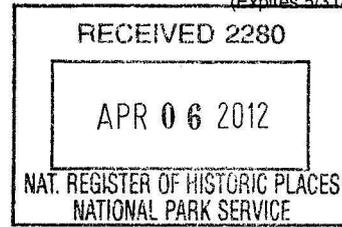


United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service



286

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).

1. Name of Property

historic name Saratoga National Historical Park

other names/site number _____

2. Location

street & number multiple not for publication

city or town Stillwater, Schuylerville, and Victory vicinity

state New York code NY county Saratoga code 091 zip code 12170

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,
I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

national statewide local

Ruth A Purpont DSHPO 2/3/12
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official Date

Title State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

entered in the National Register determined eligible for the National Register

determined not eligible for the National Register removed from the National Register

other (explain): _____

Dr. Alex Oberdorfer 5/23/2012
Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Saratoga National Historical Park

Name of Property

Saratoga, NY

County and State

N/A

Name of multiple listing (if applicable)

Section number ____ Page ____

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this nomination _ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property _meets _does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

national statewide local

Adrian R. Motta, DE PO. April 11, 2012

Signature of certifying official/Title

Date

National Park Service

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official

Date

Title State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

_entered in the National Register determined eligible for the National Register

_determined not eligible for the National Register removed from the National Register

_other (explain:)

Signature of the Keeper Date of Action

Saratoga National Historical Park
Name of Property

Saratoga, New York
County and State

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(Check as many boxes as apply.)

- private
- public - Local
- public - State
- public - Federal

Category of Property
(Check only one box.)

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

| Contributing | Noncontributing | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 4 | 19 | buildings |
| 0 | 0 | district |
| 16 | 0 | site |
| 8 | 2 | structure |
| 19 | 4 | object |
| 47 | 25 | Total |

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

N/A

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

1 - Champlain Canal

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)

- DEFENSE/battle site
- RECREATION AND CULTURE/monument/marker
- AGRICULTURE/agricultural field
- DOMESTIC/single dwelling= house
- TRANSPORTATION/water-related= canal

Current Functions
(Enter categories from instructions.)

- RECREATION AND CULTURE/monument/marker
- RECREATION AND CULTURE/museum
- LANDSCAPE/park

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions.)

- Georgian
- Federal
- Gothic
- Modern Movement

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions.)

- foundation: Granite, Concrete
- walls: Granite, Weatherboard
- roof: Shingle
- other: Bronze, Glass

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance of the property. Explain contributing and noncontributing resources if necessary. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, setting, size, and significant features.)

Portions of this section printed in ***bold italics***, describing the pre-contact sites at the Schuyler Estate and Victory Woods Units, contain location information for sensitive archeological sites, and under the authority of Section 304 of the National Historic Preservation Act, should be redacted before the document is released to the public.

Summary Paragraph

Saratoga National Historical Park (NHP) was established by an act of the United States Congress on June 1, 1938, for the purpose of protecting land and resources associated with the pivotal Revolutionary War Battles of Saratoga fought on September 19 and October 7, 1777. Located in the upper Hudson River Valley in Saratoga County, New York, Saratoga NHP consists of four discontinuous areas known as the Battlefield, Saratoga Monument, Schuyler Estate, and Victory Woods units. The Battlefield Unit is located in the northeastern section of the Town of Stillwater on the western bank of the Hudson River, immediately south of the Saratoga town line. The National Register boundary for the Battlefield Unit encompasses most of the land where the major actions of the Battles of Saratoga occurred. The three other park units are located approximately seven miles north in the Town of Saratoga. The Schuyler Estate Unit is located at the mouth of Fish Creek in the village of Schuylerville and contains the core of Major General Philip Schuyler's country estate, including the house constructed in 1777 to replace one burned during the British retreat from Saratoga. The Saratoga Monument, a monumental granite obelisk completed in 1887 to commemorate the Battles of Saratoga and the surrender of Burgoyne, is located on the south side of Burgoyne Street and adjacent to the Prospect Hill Cemetery in the village of Victory. Victory Woods, a wooded parcel that contains remnant defensive fortifications built by the British during their encampment on the heights above Saratoga before their surrender, is located west of Gates Avenue in Victory. The district contains a total of 73 countable resources, of which 48 contribute and 25 do not contribute to the significance of Saratoga NHP. Contributing resources consist of 4 buildings, 16 sites, 9 structures, and 19 objects. Non-contributing resources consist of 19 buildings, 2 structures, and 4 objects that were constructed outside the periods of significance for the district.

As a historic area within the National Park System, Saratoga NHP was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966, after the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). No National Register documentation has ever been formally approved for Saratoga NHP. The National Park Service (NPS) has attempted to identify contributing and non-contributing resources within the park through other means, including consultation with the New York State Historic Preservation Officer on the park's List of Classified Structures (LCS), Cultural Landscape Inventory reports, and Section 106 compliance projects, but no comprehensive accounting of historic resources has thus far been compiled. This National Register Nomination Form, therefore, constitutes the original documentation for Saratoga NHP and supersedes all previous evaluations and determinations of eligibility for resources within the district.

Narrative Description

Setting

The dominant characteristic of the district's setting is its location in the upper Hudson River Valley, between the Adirondack Mountains of New York and the Green Mountains of Vermont. Historically, the river served as a primary transportation and communication link between New York City, Albany, and Canada. It provided a route for trade and invasion for centuries, and its control was the focal point of the British strategy to divide the colonies during the American Revolution. Saratoga became a battlefield because of its strategic location on the waterway system, and the heights above the Hudson River at the battlefield shaped the outcome of the battles. The Battlefield Unit is located just west of the river, which is easily viewed from the surrounding area and from important locations within the park. The Schuyler Estate unit is located in Schuylerville, and the Saratoga Monument and Victory Woods units are in Victory.

Both villages developed around a small tributary of the river known as Fish Creek and are less than 35 miles south of Lake Champlain, which functioned as the core of the traditional transportation route. In the nineteenth century, the Champlain Canal was constructed along the river and formed an integral part of the general land use and settlement trends within the battlefield and Schuyler Estate units of the park.

The district is set within a varied and pastoral landscape of rolling ridges, ravines, meadows, and forest surrounded by distant mountains. Numerous small streams run through the area. Points of higher elevation include Willard, Beadle, and Schuyler Mountains located on the east bank of the Hudson River. The mature forests of the region consist primarily of deciduous trees. Interstate 87, eastern New York's main north-south highway, is the primary thoroughfare in the region. Twentieth-century residential development of the area has resulted in a noticeable decline in agricultural land use, although historic buildings and cultivated land remain in small numbers. Development is primarily concentrated along Route 32/Gates Avenue. Other major roadways include U.S. Highway 4.

The views and viewsheds to and from the park are essential components of the setting and contribute significantly to the visitor appreciation and understanding of the Battles of Saratoga. The low-density development surrounding the Battlefield Unit is characterized by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century farmsteads and twentieth-century residences on smaller lots, set in a landscape of large open fields separated by forest growth. The relatively sparse landscape and the open fields enable expansive views of the Hudson River and the points of higher elevation. Most of the current viewshed is privately owned land of rural or agricultural character.

The setting of the other three park units is generally characterized by rural and suburban development. Both Schuylerville and Victory developed historically as agricultural and industrial villages that relied on milling and farming. Schuylerville encompasses approximately one square mile with a population of about 1400 residents, and Victory is about half that size in both area and population. The Schuyler Estate Unit is situated in Schuylerville on a flat plateau below the Saratoga Heights and approximately 20 feet above Fish Creek. The land surrounding it is urban or suburban in character, and much of it is covered with successional forest that blocks both historic views of the water as well as nearby modern intrusions. The Saratoga Monument Unit occupies an elevated site in Victory where General Burgoyne located his fortified camps during the October 1777 siege just before his surrender. Although no features remain on the site from the encampment, the site was chosen in the late nineteenth century for the construction of the Saratoga Monument largely because of its unobstructed and dramatic views of the important features of the surrounding area—namely, the Hudson River, the road network, and the gently rolling topography—and their relationship to the location of the battles and surrender. The surrounding buildings are mostly late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century wooden vernacular frame houses and outbuildings. Open agricultural fields lie to the north and west. The Victory Woods Unit to the south is a sample of the typical bluff landscape found in the Hudson River Valley. The properties to the north, south, and east of the unit are more urban and mill-related, while those to the west are more rural and historically agricultural.

BATTLEFIELD UNIT

The Battlefield Unit of the Saratoga NHP is the largest of the four units, containing 2,868 acres and comprising 97 percent of the area within the Park's boundaries. It occupies approximately 4 square miles in the northeastern corner of the Town of Stillwater and is bounded on the north by Lohnes Road, on the east by the Hudson River, on the south by a boundary line due southwesterly of Route 32/423, and on the west by Route 32 and Durham Road.

Contributing Resources

Saratoga Battlefield

The **Saratoga Battlefield (LCS ID. none, contributing site)** is located on the west bank of the Hudson River and is covered with a series of ridges running parallel to the river. The river and its bluffs are the defining topographic features of the battlefield landscape. Ravines and four small tributaries within the park—Kroma Kill, Mill Creek, American Creek, and Great Falls Creek—empty into the Hudson River. Numerous topographical landforms that were important to the fighting and eventual outcome of the battles, such as Bemis Heights and the Great Redoubt, remain. Land cover in the battlefield is currently a mix of vegetation with old field, shrub land, and forest. A majority (68 percent) of the battlefield,

mostly the bluffs and ravines, is covered in second-growth forest. Large expanses of cleared grassland account for 27 percent, or 746 acres, of the battlefield. Several fields are kept in hay or pasture under agricultural lease to local farmers.

Current views to and from the remaining elevated areas on the battlefield are an important part of the experience of the Park, and they remain relatively as they were at the time of the battles. The highest points are located at Fraser Hill, the Freeman Farm Overlook, the American River fortifications, and the Great Redoubt. The Neilson Farm/Bemis Heights location offers a panoramic view of the battlefield and the surrounding area. Despite recent modernization, the area has retained its rural character, and the unobstructed views allow visitors to understand the areas of key terrain on the battlefield and how these landscape features contributed to the location and outcome of the battles. These views are essential to understanding the events of 1777 and the physical space of the battlefield.

The battlefield has a total of 14.5 miles of paved roads, 15 parking lots, more than 1 mile of gravel roads, almost 4 miles of paved trails, and 11 miles of unpaved trails. The Battlefield Tour Road, a paved automobile road that loops throughout the battlefield and has 10 tour stops at key locations, is the most visible manmade feature. Other interpretive features include commemorative monuments and field exhibits consisting of wayside panels, reproduction cannon, and posts that delineate the British and American lines. These are located throughout the battlefield and are reached via the Tour Road and foot trails.

Battlefield at the Time of the Battles of Saratoga

In 1777, the area where the Battles of Saratoga were fought was characterized by a patchwork of cleared agricultural fields, forest, ravines, and streams. The alluvial floodplains adjacent to the Hudson River offered the best farmland and were thus the first settled and improved. Inland settlement of the highlands above the river began after the 1750s. At the time of the battles, about 35 percent of the area within the district was cleared agricultural land and the remainder was wooded. Some of the larger tracts were subdivided into smaller properties for individual families who cultivated corn, flax, and wheat. Early families who settled in the battlefield lands included the Neilsons, Barbers, Taylers, McBrides, and Freemans. Typical farmhouses in the area were modest in size and design, one or one-and-one-half stories in height, resembling the buildings found in western New England and the areas of New York settled by the Dutch. The majority of the farmhouses and related outbuildings were of frame or log construction. A small road network connected the different farms and led to the Hudson River. The Road to Albany, now incorporating portions of River Road and U.S. Highway 4, paralleled the Hudson River and provided access south to Albany and to points north. Other local roads included Quaker Springs Road and a road to Saratoga Lake.

The particular features of the Saratoga battlefield landscape, most of which remain evident, played a decisive role in the outcome of the battles that occurred there in 1777. Heavily laden with baggage and materiel necessary to conduct a long campaign in hostile country, the British Army under Lieutenant General John Burgoyne had to rely on water routes to accomplish its ultimate goal of capturing Albany. The chosen avenue of approach from the starting point of the campaign in Canada was along Lakes Champlain and George, then down Wood Creek to the Hudson River. After reaching the Hudson at Fort Edward, Burgoyne's army marched along the Road to Albany and floated its train on boats in the Hudson. The American forces under Major General Horatio Gates also utilized the Hudson and Road to Albany in approaching the battlefield from the south.

Knowing that British options were limited by the necessity of maintaining contact with the river, the American forces had the advantage of selecting the key ground through which the British must pass to reach Albany. Gates chose the area occupied by a small settlement around the Bemis Tavern in Stillwater to construct his defensive lines. In that area, the Road to Albany passed on a flat, alluvial plain between the Hudson and a steep bluff known as Bemis Heights. In placing artillery batteries and fortifications along the eastern side of the road and on the bluffs above, Gates' engineer Thaddeus Kosciuszko created a defile, or narrow passage, with clear fields of fire and observation. The Americans also destroyed bridges over several streams along the Road to Albany that served to slow the British advance and provided time to further establish their defensive position. In the uplands, the American lines stretched west from Bemis Heights to John Neilson's farm and then veered southwesterly. Fortifications in the form of earthworks and breastworks were erected along the line, and troops were positioned behind them to guard against attack in the American center and left flank. The British constructed similar defenses along their lines. They were anchored by three substantial fortifications known as the

Great, Balcarres, and Breymann Redoubts and stretched in an arc from the river to the upland farms of the Barber, Freeman, and McBride families.

The topography and patterns of fields and forest of the battlefield figured prominently in the prosecution of the battles. Both armies used the existing network of farm roads for troop movements. The First Battle of Saratoga took place on the clearing of John Freeman's farm. A deep branch of the Middle Ravine surrounded the farm on the south and north. The western side of the clearing consisted of higher ground with two hills. Fences crisscrossed the property, and the entire clearing was surrounded by a thick wood. The dense forest between the farm clearings provided cover and concealment and created obstacles for each army. As British Brigadier General James Hamilton's forces advanced up the hill toward the farm, gunfire began and they were forced to take cover in this thick wood. The American forces used the wooded area on the western side of the farm for their own cover and took defensive positions behind the ravine on the southern end of the farm. As fighting raged across Freeman's farm, both armies used the existing woods for cover and the roads to approach and retreat from the battle scene.

Both sides constructed additional fortifications during the defensive interval between the two battles. Although the British did not clear-cut the forest, they did thin out the trees to provide cover for themselves and a small obstacle for the American soldiers. After the first Battle, Burgoyne's army was divided into five camps separated by a series of natural features including three hills, the Middle and Great Ravines, and areas of cleared plateaus and wooded bluffs. To maneuver his troops, Burgoyne had a series of bridges constructed over the smaller branches of the Middle and Great Ravines that cut through the area. The British also constructed a short road on the plateau between two farms that ran parallel to the river, a bridge of bateaux across the river, and a *tête-de-pont* (a bridgehead fortification) on the other side of the river. The Americans also built a bridge of boats across the river behind their lines at Bemis Heights.

Alterations to the Battlefield since the Battles

After the Battles of Saratoga, most of the land comprising the battlefield reverted to its pre-war agricultural use. Many of the earthwork fortifications and other features associated with the battles were destroyed by agricultural activities. These activities also altered the hydrology of the lands for drainage and dam construction on the Kroma Kill, where a small industrial center emerged during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Further changes to the hydrology occurred with the construction of the Champlain Canal, which was completed through the battlefield in 1821 and required the re-routing of several streams. Sand mining activities on a portion of the battlefield lands began in 1917 and lasted until the late 1920s. The extractive process included the removal of the top five to six inches of soil and may have compromised some portions of the remaining man-made features associated with the battles.

Commemorative monumentation of the battlefield began in the late nineteenth century. The transition from agricultural use to parkland and memorial use continued in earnest when the Saratoga Battlefield Association was formed in 1923 and began acquiring land that later became the basis for the park. During the State Management Period, the State of New York planted grass to create a more open and park-like setting and demolished numerous post-Revolutionary War-period features in the area including barns, stone walls, houses, and hedgerows. To increase public use of the parkland, the State constructed roads and provided visitor facilities such as restrooms and picnic tables. After the battlefield was declared a National Historical Park in 1938, the NPS acquired additional lands, took steps to recreate the general pattern of fields and woods that were present at the time of the battles, and undertook planning to improve visitor amenities and interpretation. Using funding supplied under the Mission 66 program in the early 1960s, the NPS constructed the Saratoga NHP Visitor Center and the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road. Currently, the Saratoga Battlefield serves primarily as memorial, educational, and recreational space. While many of the fortifications and other man-made features of the battles are no longer extant above ground, many of the important landscape characteristics that played a critical role in determining the location and the outcome of the battles— mostly key terrain and observation points—remain intact and provide a visual understanding of the events and the eventual outcome of the battles. Additionally, the views from important locations remain and further convey the significance of these landscape features.

Buildings

The **Saratoga NHP Visitor Center (LCS ID. none, contributing building)** is sited atop Fraser Hill in the northwestern corner of the Saratoga Battlefield site. The building offers panoramic views of portions of the battlefield, including the

location of the October 7 battle, the Breymann Redoubt, and the encampments. A steep stone stairway and a paved ramp provide access to the building from a paved parking lot at the base of the hill, and a short paved road leads to a second parking lot at the top of the hill adjacent to the north end of the building. The Visitor Center was built in 1962 under the NPS's Mission 66 Program. It is composed of three interconnected hexagonal masses designed to allow maximum viewing opportunities. Two hexagonal sections on the eastern side of the building share a common wall. The southern section is bisected, and half of it is an exterior terrace area. A short connector extends westward and attaches to the third hexagonal section. A small addition, constructed in 1972 in preparation for the Bicentennial, is connected to the south elevation of the western section. The building is one-and-one-half stories in height. Each section is topped with a conical roof. The building is clad in wide wood boards and sits on a high, rough-cut, rubble stone foundation. Fenestration patterns vary. The south elevation is entirely composed of large, fixed, single panes of glass with reflective coatings, set into metal frames. Smaller windows of the same style are located on the north and east elevations. Two terraces, one roofed and one open, are located on the south elevation. The terrace floors are poured concrete designed to mimic stonework. The main entrance is located on the north elevation, and a second entrance on the south elevation leads to the terraces. Both entrances mirror the windows and are composed of large panes of glass set in metal frames. The one-story wing on the southwest section has a flat roof; its cladding and foundation match those of the main building.

The interior of the Visitor Center is divided into four spaces. An entryway area connects the theater and museum spaces to the lobby and gift shop. Administrative offices are located behind the information desk in the lobby. The separate spaces are irregular in shape, reflecting the building's hexagonal-shaped massing. A drop ceiling covers most of the space, and the floors are carpeted. A stone course similar to the exterior foundation lines the southern walls.

The **John Neilson House (LCS ID. 001289, contributing building)** is a prominently visible resource at Stop 2 of the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road. It is the only building on the battlefield that was present at the time of the Battles of Saratoga. John Neilson constructed the building in 1775 as a two-room farmhouse. It was subsequently enlarged by a two-story addition, which was demolished after the State of New York acquired the property in 1926. By that time the building had been moved a short distance from its original location, and the state relocated and reoriented it to what was at that time presumed to be the original site. After an archaeological investigation conducted in the 1950s, the NPS moved the Neilson House back to its original location and orientation. The NPS subsequently conducted an extensive restoration of the house to bring it back to its 1777 appearance. The one-and-one-half-story building is rectangular in plan with a full-width porch and a rear lean-to. It sits on a poured concrete foundation with rubble stone facing. The building has a steeply pitched side-gable roof with a large overhang supported by five simple wood columns. The area underneath the overhang forms a small porch. The structural system is wood frame with nogged brick. The house is accessed by a simple, single-plank, recessed wood door on the facade (south) elevation. Fenestration on the first story consists of a six-over-six double-hung window next to the doorway, two eight-over-eight double-hung windows in the west side elevation, a six-over-six double-hung window in the north (rear) elevation, and a six-pane fixed window in the east side elevation of the lean-to. A twelve-pane fixed window is centered in the west gable end. The roof is topped with a large brick chimney.

Objects

The **Slingerland Tablet (LCS ID. 022298, contributing object)** is a rectangular bronze tablet originally installed in 1938 on the exterior of the blockhouse to commemorate George O. Slingerland, the first superintendent of the battlefield during the initial years of the state management period. It was moved in 1962 to its present location within a dressed-granite retaining wall in the Visitor Center parking lot. The tablet's inscription reads: "IN MEMORIAM/GEORGE O. SLINGERLAND/1872-1932/HIS VISION, PATRIOTISM AND UNTIRING EFFORTS/WERE LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE/ACQUISITION, DEVELOPMENT AND PRESERVATION/OF THE SARATOGA BATTLEFIELD/BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK/ERECTED BY/THE ROTARY CLUBS/OF THIS VICINITY/1938."

The **Morgan Monument (LCS ID. 022300, contributing object)**, located approximately 135 feet east of the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road and halfway between Stop 1 and Stop 2, was erected in 1887 as part of the Saratoga Monument Association's (SMA) project to erect monuments on the battlefield. The monument is a square granite obelisk, 5.8 feet in height, placed on a rough granite base. The inscription on the monument reads: "SARATOGA 1777/ HERE MORGAN, /RELUCTANT TO DESTROY/ SO NOBLE A FOE, WAS/ FORCED BY PATRIOTIC/ NECESSITY TO DEFEAT

AND /SLAY THE GENTLE AND/ GALLANT FRASER/ TO COMMEMORATE/ THE MAGNANIMITY/ OF MORGAN'S HEROIC/ NATURE AND HIS STERN SENSE OF DUTY TO HIS/ COUNTRY, THIS TABLET/ IS HERE INSCRIBED/BY/VIRGINIA NEVILLE TAYLOR/GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER/OF/ GEN. DANIEL MORGAN."

The **Kosciuszko Monument (LCS ID. 022301, contributing object)** on the east side of the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road was erected in 1936 to honor Brigadier General Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a Polish engineer who planned the American fortifications. It was originally located on top of Bemis Heights and was moved to its current location in 1976. The four-sided granite monument, 8 feet, 3 inches in height, sits on a granite base with a smooth hipped top. Three sides of the shaft and base have rough-cut faces. The smooth north side of the base is inscribed with: "KOSCIUSZKO." A plaque on the smooth north side of the shaft is inscribed with: "1746 1817/ IN MEMORY OF/ THE NOBLE SON OF POLAND/ BRIG. GENERAL/ THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO/ MILITARY ENGINEER/ SOLDIER OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE/ WHO UNDER COMMAND OF GENERAL GATES/ SELECTED AND FORTIFIED THESE FIELDS/ FOR THE GREAT BATTLE OF SARATOGA/ IN WHICH THE INVADER WAS VANQUISHED/ AND AMERICAN FREEDOM WAS ASSURED/ ERECTED BY HIS COMPATRIOTS/ A.D. 1936." The south face of the shaft has the following inscription: "POMNIK TEN/ WYSTAWILI POLACY/ Z/ ALBANY/ AMSTERDAM/ COHOES/ SCHENECTADY/ TROY/ WATERVLIET/ i OKOLICY/ 1936."

The **Monument to the Unknown American Dead (LCS ID. 022302, contributing object)** is the largest monument in the Battlefield Unit. The New York State Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) erected it in 1931 to honor the unknown American soldiers who died during the battles. The monument is set back approximately 220 feet from the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road and is accessed via two sets of low stairs that lead to a circular paved **walkway (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)**¹ surrounding the monument. A landscaped area and three **granite benches (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)**, simple in design and with small bronze plaques, are placed around the monument. The plaques are inscribed with: "PLACED BY/ NEW YORK STATE OFFICERS CLUB/ DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION." Tall mature trees line the walkway, and low shrubs surround the benches. The octagonal granite obelisk designed by Brython Jones is 17 feet high and sits on a smooth granite plinth. The smooth granite base of the obelisk has an incised leaf border and a bronze plaque that reads: "THE UNKNOWN AMERICAN SOLDIERS/ WHO PERISHED IN THE BATTLES OF/ SARATOGA/ SEPTEMBER 19 AND OCTOBER 7 1777/ AND WERE HERE BURIED IN UNMARKED/ GRAVES/ HELPED TO ASSURE THE TRIUMPH OF THE/ WAR OF INDEPENDENCE/ TO CREATE THE REPUBLIC OF THE/ UNITED STATES OF AMERICA/ AND TO ESTABLISH LIBERTY THROUGHOUT/ THE WORLD/ IN HONOR OF THESE PATRIOTS/ AND IN RECOGNITION OF THE/ BICENTENNIAL OF THE BIRTH OF/ GEORGE WASHINGTON/ THIS MEMORIAL IS ERECTED/ BY THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION/ OF NEW YORK STATE/ 1931." The monument's shaft has a sunrise motif symbolizing the Dawn of Liberty and 13 stars in relief representing the 13 colonies. A long bronze sword symbolizing death, with a laurel wreath symbolizing victory at its hilt, points downward on the east face of the shaft.

The **New Hampshire Men Monument (LCS ID. 022303, contributing object)**, approximately 180 feet south of Stop 2 on the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road, was erected in 1927 to honor New Hampshire soldiers who fought in the battles. The monument is a large granite boulder approximately 5 feet in height with a large rectangular bronze plaque. The plaque is inscribed with the following in raised letters: "1777 1927/ "I DEDICATE THIS GUN TO THE AMERICAN CAUSE"/ COLONEL JOSEPH CILLEY/ IN HONOR OF/ ENOCH POOR/ BRIGADIER GENERAL OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE TROOPS/ JOSEPH CILLEY/ COLONEL OF THE FIRST REGIMENT/ HENRY DEARBORN/ COLONEL OF THE SECOND REGIMENT/ ALEXANDER SCAMMELL/ COLONEL OF THE THIRD REGIMENT/ AND THE/ NEW HAMPSHIRE MEN/ WHO FOUGHT IN THESE DECISIVE BATTLES/ ERECTED BY THE STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE."

¹ The term Historic Associated Feature is a National Park Service-specific convention used to identify small-scale features not individually countable according to National Register guidelines. The convention was developed to reconcile the requirements of the NPS List of Classified Structures (LCS) with National Register documentation guidelines. The LCS is an evaluated inventory of all historic and prehistoric buildings, structures, and objects that have historical, architectural, and/or engineering significance within the National Park System. In accordance with NPS procedures, all entries in the LCS must be included in National Register documentation as a countable resource or historic associated feature.

The **Great Ravine Monument (LCS ID. 022290, contributing object)** is located just north of the Middle Ravine on the east side of the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road. Placed by the SMA in 1887, the monument was the gift from Mrs. Estelle Willoughby and commemorates the place where British Major Acland was wounded in fighting at the Great Ravine. The monument is a square granite obelisk, 5 feet, 8 inches in height, resting on a rough-cut granite base. The face has the following inscription written in block letters: "SARATOGA/ 1777/ THE GREAT RAVINE/ HERE THE BATTLE RAGED/ BACK AND FORTH ON/ SEPT. 19 AND OCT. 7/ HERE MAJOR ACLAND/ WAS WOUNDED/ THE GIFT OF/ MRS. ESTELLE WILLOUGHBY."

The **Murphy Monument (LCS ID. 022305, contributing object)** on the east side of the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road was erected in 1913 by the Ancient Order of Hibernians to honor Timothy Murphy, who is credited with the fatal wounding of General Fraser. The monument, designed by D.E. Harrington, was originally located near Stop 2 and was moved to its current location in 1948. It is a four-sided rough-cut granite slab, 7 feet, 5 inches in height, with two plaques. The top plaque reads: "THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED BY THE/ ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS/ OF SARATOGA COUNTY/ TO THE MEMORY OF/ TIMOTHY MURPHY/ CELEBRATED MARKSMAN OF COLONEL/ MORGAN'S RIFLE CORPS WHOSE UNERRING/ AIM TURNED THE TIDE OF BATTLE BY/ THE DEATH OF THE BRITISH GENERAL/ FRAZER [sic] ON OCT. 7, 1777, THEREBY/ ADDING TO THE WORLD'S HISTORY ONE/ OF ITS DECISIVE BATTLES./ IN THIS MONUMENT IS COMMEMORATED/ HEROIC DEEDS OF HUNDREDS OF OTHER/ SOLDIERS OF IRISH BLOOD WHO LAID/ DOWN THEIR LIVES ON THIS BLOODY/ FIELD THAT THE UNION OF STATES MIGHT/ BE TRIUMPHANT./ PLOT 200 FEET SQUARE PURCHASED BY/ THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS SEPTEMBER 20, 1913./ COMMITTEE/ REV. P.J. DONNELLY, PRES./ D.J. FALVEY, VICE PRES. W.J. BURKE, TREAS." In 1976, the monument was rededicated and a second plaque was placed on the monument below the original plaque. This plaque also has raised letters and reads: "REDEDICATED/ JULY 4, 1976/ ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS/ AND/ LADIES AUXILIARY."

The **Rockefeller Monument (LCS ID. 022304, contributing object)** was erected in 1932 to honor members of the Rockefeller family who served in the Revolutionary War. The monument is a four-sided carved granite boulder with an arched top. It stands 4 feet, 4 inches in height on a small base. A smooth recessed inscription panel on the face has an incised border and is engraved with the following: "IN HONOR OF/ ADJUTANT PHILIP ROCKEFELLER/ LIEUTENANT PETER ROCKEFELLER/ LIEUTENANT WILLIAM ROCKEFELLER/ CAPTAIN DIEL ROCKEFELLER/ PRIVATES/ SIMON ROCKEFELLER/ DIEHL ROCKEFELLER/ CHRISTIAN ROCKEFELLER/ JOHN ROCKEFELLER/ HENRY ROCKEFELLER/ ERECTED BY/ ROCKEFELLER FAMILY ASSOCIATION, INC."

The **Second Battle of Saratoga Monument (LCS ID. 022306, contributing object)** is located in a clearing and was erected by the SMA in 1883 to mark the location of the first assault made by the Americans on the British line on October 7. It is a tapered, four-sided, granite obelisk approximately 5 feet, 2 inches in height. It sits on an approximately 1-foot-high split-face granite base. Engraved into the face of the monument is: "SARATOGA/ 1777/ HERE THE FIRST ASSAULT WAS/ MADE BY THE AMERICANS ON/ THE BRITISH LINE OF BATTLE/ OCTOBER 7, 1777/ IN MEMORY OF/ JOHN V.L. PRUYN."

The **Ten Broeck Monument (LCS ID. 022307, contributing object)**, located at the north end of the parking lot for Stop 5, is a tapered, rose-brown, four-sided obelisk with a pedimented top. It was installed in 1917, stands 5 feet, 4 inches high, and is placed on a low square granite base. The face is engraved in block letters with the following: "TO COMMEMORATE/ THE SERVICES OF/ BRIG-GEN. ABRAHAM TEN BROECK/ AND HIS ALBANY COUNTY MILITIA/ IN THE/ BATTLE OF OCTOBER 7, 1777/ THIS MONUMENT/ IS ERECTED BY/ PHILIP LIVINGSTON CHAPTER/ SONS OF THE REVOLUTION/ IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK/ 1917."

The **Fraser Monument (LCS ID. 022308, contributing object)** to the west was erected by the SMA in 1883 to mark the location of the mortal wounding of General Fraser. The monument is a four-sided granite slab with an arched top and a rough-cut base. It stands 3 feet, 6 inches in height. The face is incised in block lettering: "HERE FRAZER [sic] FELL/ OCT 7TH 1777/ HIS FORCES SCATTERED/ BY MORGAN'S RIFLEMAN/ GIFT OF J.W. DREXEL."

The **Bidwell Monument (LCS ID. 023309, contributing object)** is accessed by a hiking trail that loops around Stop 6 on the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road. Erected in 1924, this arch-topped, four-sided, granite tablet stands 5 feet, 7 inches in height on a granite base that has sunken into the ground. The front, back, and top are rough-hewn; the sides are hammered. A large bronze plaque on the south face of the monument has a spread-winged eagle clutching an olive branch and figs above raised lettering that reads: "ZEBULON BIDWELL/ CAPTAIN 4TH COMPANY/ COLONEL THADDEUS COOK'S REGIMENT/ CONNECTICUT MILITIA/ KILLED HERE IN THE BATTLE/ OF SARATOGA/ SEPTEMBER 19, 1777/ ERECTED BY THE BIDWELL FAMILY ASSOCIATION/ SEPTEMBER 19, 1924." The plaque has a five-pointed star rosette cover at each corner.

The **Freeman's Farm Monument (LCS ID. 023310, contributing object)** is located approximately 200 feet from the parking area for Stop 6 and on the Wilkinson National Recreation Trail. It was erected by the SMA in 1883 to commemorate the significant events of the battles that occurred on Freeman's Farm. It is a four-sided polished granite obelisk with a pedimented top and an incised joint indicating the base. It stands 4 feet, 6 inches in height. The south face is engraved with an inverted shield that frames the following incised block lettering: "SARATOGA/ 1777./ THE BATTLE OF/ SEP. 19TH/ FREEMAN'S FARM/ THE GIFT OF HON. GEO. WEST."

The **Hardin Monument (LCS ID. 023311, contributing object)**, erected by the SMA in 1887 and is located approximately 200 feet from the turnout and is a four-sided smooth granite obelisk with a pedimented top and a rough-cut base. It stands 5 feet, 8 inches in height. Incised on the face in block lettering is: "SARATOGA/ 1777/ BRITISH REDOUBT/ TO COMMEMORATE THE/ SERVICES OF LIEUTENANT/ JOHN HARDIN OF/ MORGAN'S RIFLE CORPS/ WHO LED A SUCCESSFUL/ RECONNAISSANCE/ SEPT. 18 1777, WHO ALSO DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF/ IN THE BATTLES FOUGHT/ ON THIS GROUND SEPT. 19/ AND OCT. 7 AND OF WHOM/ HIS COMMANDING OFFICER/ WROTE "A BRAVER SOLDIER/ NEVER LIVED - A BETTER/ MAN HAS RARELY DIED"/ ERECTED BY HIS GREAT-GRANDSON/ MARTIN D. HARDIN/ U.S. ARMY."

The **Arnold Monument (LCS ID. 022312, contributing object)** is located along the paved pathway of Tour Stop 7. It consists of a four-sided pedimented marble slab on a granite base that is surrounded by a square of granite pavers and a high iron fence. Designed by George Bissell, the monument was placed by the SMA in 1887 and commemorates the role of Benedict Arnold in the Battles of Saratoga. Its original location was the crest of the hill at the Breyman Redoubt Site. It was moved to its current site in 1975. The monument stands 3 feet, 8 inches in height. The north side of the monument faces the road and has a bas relief of a boot and cannon that represent the severe wound Arnold suffered to his left leg during the October 7 battle at the Breyman Redoubt. The monument is engraved in block lettering with the words: "ERECTED 1887 BY/ JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER/ BREV: MAJ: GEN S.N.Y./ 2ND V. PRES'T SARATOGA MON'T ASSN/ IN MEMORY OF/ THE MOST BRILLIANT SOLDIER OF THE/ CONTINENTAL ARMY/ WHO WAS DESPERATELY WOUNDED/ ON THIS SPOT, THE SALLY PORT OF/ BURGOYNE'S GREAT (WESTERN) REDOUBT/ 7TH OCTOBER 1777,/ WINNING FOR HIS COUNTRYMEN/ THE DECISIVE BATTLE OF THE/ AMERICAN REVOLUTION/ AND FOR HIMSELF THE RANK OF/ MAJOR GENERAL." The square of granite pavers and iron fence were added in 1931. The fence has square posts on the corners and at the midpoint that are topped with ball newels. The Arnold Monument, often called "The Boot Monument," is the only monument in the Saratoga Battlefield site that does not contain the name of the person being commemorated.

The **DAR Directional Marker-Leggett Place Marker (LCS ID. none, contributing object)**, one of a series erected between 1904 and 1909, is a four-sided rough-hewn granite slab incised in block lettering with: "TO THE/ BATTLEFIELD/ 1777 [arrow]." It was removed from its original location during construction of the Tour Road and installed in its present location north of Park Entrance Road during the 1990s by the NPS.

The **Gates Headquarters Monument (LCS ID. 040015, contributing object)** is located on the south side of Route 32, south of the John Neilson House. It was erected by the SMA in 1890 and inscribed in 1892-1893. The monument is a four-sided pedimented granite obelisk on a low rough-hewn base. It stands 5 feet, 6 inches in height. The polished face is inscribed with block lettering that reads: "SARATOGA/ OCT.7, 1777/ HEADQUARTERS/ OF/ GENERAL HORATIO GATES/ THE GIFT OF/ GEORGE PULLMAN."

The **Bemis Tavern Monument (LCS ID. 022314, contributing object)**, located approximately 100 feet west of U.S. Highway 4 on the southernmost boundary of the Saratoga Battlefield site, was erected by the SMA in 1883 to mark the site of Jotham Bemis' Tavern. It is an arch-topped four-sided granite obelisk that stands 3 feet, 3 inches in height. An inscription reads: "SARATOGA 1777/ THE SITE OF BEMUS'S [sic] TAVERN."

The **Water Battery Monument (LCS ID. 022313, contributing object)** on the west side of U.S. Highway 4, approximately 400 feet north of the southeast corner of the Saratoga Battlefield site, was erected by the SMA in 1892 to commemorate the work of General Kosciuszko and the bridge of boats. The monument is a four-sided granite obelisk on a high split-face base. It stands 6 feet, 1 inch in height and is incised in block letters with the following: "SARATOGA/ 1777/ WATER BATTERY/ DEFENDING/ BRIDGE OF BOATS/ IN MEMORY OF/ KOSCIUSKO [sic]/ WHO SELECTED THE/ WHOLE LINE OF DEFENSE."

Structures

The **Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road (LCS ID. none, contributing structure)**, constructed between 1958 and 1966, serves as the primary means of experiencing the battlefield and provides visitors the opportunity for a self-guided tour of the locations of important sites. It is a paved one-way road, 9 miles in length that loops through the park beginning at the Saratoga NHP Visitor Center and contains 10 interpretive stops at important sites within the battlefield. Two T-intersections, one near Stop 3 and near Stop 9, allow the visitor to skip these stops. The road has two lanes between the intersections and the stops.

Numerous **Battlefield Tour Road Waysides (LCS ID. none, non-contributing structure)** along the Tour Road relate the events that occurred in each location or the function of the area during the battles. The waysides were developed circa 1976 to correspond with the Bicentennial and include interpretive monuments, markers, and signs. Beginning in the early 1960s, the NPS began marking the limits of sections of British and American lines with wood posts. Posts with blue tops indicate the locations of the American lines, and those with red tops indicate the British locations. Forty reproduction cannon on carriages were also located at various fortification and battle sites in the mid-1970s, and approximately twenty-nine of these remain on the battlefield. Several contributing nineteenth- and twentieth-century monuments, described above, are interspersed along the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road. These monuments are dedicated to individuals who made important contributions to the battles or mark the location of significant events that occurred during the fighting.

Stop 1 on the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road, known as the Freeman Farm Overlook, is an elevated area less than one-half mile south of the Saratoga NHP Visitor Center intended to provide views of the John Freeman Farm where fighting occurred during both battles. Approximately three-quarters of a mile south along the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road, Stop 2 marks the location of the Neilson Farm and the American headquarters on Bemis Heights, a cleared area approximately 200 feet in elevation. Stop 3 is the location of the American fortifications and overlooks the location of the fortifications on the floodplain and the Hudson River Valley. After Stop 3, the Tour Road loops around and runs in a northwesterly direction. Stop 4, approximately 1 mile after Stop 3, is an overlook of the Asa Chatfield Farm where the Americans first spotted the British and where fire was exchanged across the Middle Ravine on October 7th to the north and east. Stop 5 marks the location of the Barber wheat field where the American forces intercepted 1,500 British and German soldiers on October 7. From here the Tour Road continues north for approximately one-third of a mile and then curves to the south and east. Stop 6 is the location of the Balcarres Redoubt and Freeman Farm. Stop 7 is the site of the Breymann Redoubt. After Stop 7, the Tour Road loops southeast and travels west to Stop 8, the location of General Burgoyne's Headquarters. Stop 8 also provides access to a portion of the British encampment. The Road curves to the northwest and crosses over Park Entrance Road and the Great Ravine on a high concrete bridge. It then continues to loop to the southeast until it reaches Stop 9, which is the site of the Great Redoubt where the British system of fortifications was built near the top of three adjacent hills overlooking the Hudson River. The Tour Road continues a short distance to the Stop 10 parking and picnic area. Stop 10 provides trailhead access to the second fortified hilltop. From there the trail descends to the floodplain below and provides access to the Tayler Farm Site (where General Fraser died) and the Crown Forces Artillery Park, Field Hospital, and Baggage Park locations. Non-battle-related offerings include access to the surviving portion of the Old Champlain Canal (which has an interpretive wayside) and a bridge across the canal that links to hiking opportunities on a short section of the towpath. The Road then curves to the south and terminates at Park Entrance Road, which runs west and leads back to the Saratoga NHP Visitor Center.

Fragments of **Eighteenth-Century Road Traces (LCS ID. none, contributing structure)** survive throughout the battlefield. Some are part of the park trail system and others exist as barely discernible dirt paths. Although faint on the landscape, they serve as fixed and known points that are useful in identifying the location of historic events and military positions.

Sites

The **Neilson Farm Site (ASMIS# SARA00008, contributing site)** is located to the east of the John Neilson House and includes foundation elements consistent in size and shape with the house and an associated outbuilding. A visible depression and concentration of building debris, designated Structure A, is also incorporated within the site boundaries and is likely the remains of the second Neilson House built in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The **American Lines Site (ASMIS# SARA00011, contributing site)** includes a 50- to 60-foot-long zig-zag segment of the eastern flank of the American fortifications and a 40-foot-long crescent-shaped ditch that was interpreted as a lunette outwork, one of several that were reported to have been constructed in advance of the east flank. The lunette feature contained pieces of an iron chain and associated fittings believed to be contemporaneous with the outwork.

The **American Fortifications, River Overlook Site (ASMIS# SARA00012, contributing site)**, located in proximity to Stop 3 along the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road, includes stratigraphic evidence of the American fortifications in the form of ditch and bank features that were identified in three of six trenches excavated in the area. While this site is arguably linked functionally and temporally to the American Lines Site, its location along the crest of the slope facing the Hudson River and the lack of demonstrable physical continuity with the American Lines Site resulted in a separate site designation.

The **Balcarres Redoubt Site (ASMIS# SARA00016, contributing site)**, located just southeast of Stop 6 on the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road and roughly between the Freeman's Farm Monument and the Bidwell Monument, consists of two north-south trending ditches interpreted as the eastern and western walls of the southern portion of the British redoubt. Postholes observed in the western ditch indicate that the west wall of the redoubt had consisted of a timber cribwork barricade likely banked with dirt. Within the redoubt, several hearths were identified and the possible remains of an artillery emplacement. Two double burials also were identified in each of the surviving ditch features, and many battle-related artifacts were recovered.

The **Breymann Redoubt Site (ASMIS# SARA00015, contributing site)** includes a Battle-period living surface cut through by a hearth and refuse pit, several postholes, and an artillery emplacement. The remains of a possible fortification ditch were also recorded, and many battle-related artifacts were recovered. A soldier burial was encountered within the limits of the redoubt along with a possible sally port.

The **American Headquarters and Field Hospital Site (ASMIS# SARA00004, SARA00081, contributing site)**, also known as the Woodworth Farm Site, consists of the buried remains of a stone farmhouse foundation immediately below the plow zone and a filled well southwest of the cellar hole. Four stone piles were also found and interpreted as the corners of the former barn/field hospital. Both structures were partially encircled by a French drain, presumably constructed before the abandonment of the farmhouse and its later demolition in 1829.

The **Tayler Farm Site (ASMIS# SARA00021, contributing site)**, located just west of the Old Champlain Canal at the northeast corner of the Saratoga Battlefield site, includes a relict house foundation consisting of the largely intact remains of a dry-laid stone foundation and building and domestic debris. On the basis of the recovered artifact assemblage, the structure is believed to have been occupied from ca. 1760–1820 and was commandeered by the British during the Battles of Saratoga.

The **British Fortifications Site (ASMIS# SARA00014, contributing site)** comprises a 65-foot long east-west trending ditch feature and a cluster of irregularly spaced postholes determined to be the remains of a detached fortification that marked the eastern terminus of the British east flank fortifications. A concentration of charcoal and reddened soil, a deer

femur, and melted lead shot interpreted as an “activity area,” possibly a campsite associated with Hessian troops that were reported to have occupied the area, also was included as part of this site, as was a segment of a log wall. Another ditch, designated the “Potato Field” Fortification, was found in the field west of the purported location of Burgoyne’s headquarters and was incorporated as part of the larger fortifications site, as were the Wilbur Farm Mounds, two sets of low earthen mounds believed to have been used as either British defensive earthworks or American artillery emplacements.

Non-Contributing Resources

The 11 non-contributing buildings within the Battlefield Unit are associated with the administrative and maintenance functions of the Park. All are located on the periphery of the battlefield and do not detract from the historic setting as it is experienced from the Battlefield Tour Road and walking trails on the battlefield.

The park’s administrative and maintenance areas are located north and south of the park’s secondary entrance off State Highway 32, respectively. The administrative area was developed in the early 1960s as part of the Mission 66-funded investment in the park. It is accessed via a loop drive that extends north of the secondary entrance road. Three buildings—the **Ranger Station (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, the **Park Administrative Office (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, and the **Collection Storage Facility (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**—are located around the loop. The Ranger Station and Park Administrative Office buildings were constructed in 1962 and are simple Ranch-style buildings with low-pitched, side-gable roofs and concrete foundations. Significant alterations to both buildings have compromised their integrity. The Park Administrative Office building has been renovated and no longer possesses any of its original exterior materials. The walls are clad in vinyl siding, and the fenestration consists of modern vinyl sash and fixed bay windows with multiple lights. The Ranger Station has vinyl siding and replacement vinyl windows installed in 2010-2011. The Collection Storage Facility was added to the east side of the loop drive in 2000. It is similar in design to the other buildings and has a side-gable roof, vinyl exterior siding, and a concrete foundation.

The maintenance area to the south of the secondary entrance road was developed in the mid-1980s and contains sheds, garages, and offices that provide for maintenance operations and equipment and material storage. Buildings include the **Maintenance Shop Building (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, the **Garage/Maintenance Building (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, the **Sand Shed (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, the **Equipment/Tool Storage Building (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, the **Pole Barn Building (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, the **Carpenters Shop (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, and the **Lumber Storage Building (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**. The Maintenance Shop Building and the Garage/Maintenance Building are both one story in height and topped by flat roofs with metal overhangs, and both have multiple, large vehicle door openings. The Equipment/Tool Storage Building and the Pole Barn Building are both three open bays wide with slightly pitched asphalt-shingle roofs. The Equipment/Tool Storage Building is a low one story in height and is constructed of wood. The Pole Barn Building is a tall, one-story corrugated metal building. The Sand Shed is wood construction, one bay wide, with an asphalt-shingle shed roof. The Carpenters Shop and Lumber Storage Building are located south of the main cluster of maintenance facilities. Both are one story, wood frame buildings, with metal roofs and corrugated metal siding.

The **House at 1032 State Highway 32 (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)** is the only residential property that remains within the legislated boundaries of Saratoga NHP. It is located along the north side of State Highway 32, north of the Gates Headquarters site, and consists of a two-story house constructed in 1979. It has a front-gable roof, a one-story wing, a covered front porch, and an attached two-car garage.

The Battlefield Unit contains three small-scale monuments that were placed in the lawn area south of the Saratoga NHP Visitor Center in the late twentieth century. All post-date the period of significance and do not contribute to the district. The **Fraser Memorial (LCS ID. 040762, non-contributing object)** is a small rectangular cast bronze plaque set into the top of a granite boulder erected in 1986 to commemorate the death and burial of Brigadier General Simon Fraser. The **Sons of the American Revolution Monument (LCS ID. 022299, non-contributing object)** is a low rectangular granite tablet erected in 1977 with an attached bronze plaque commemorating the 200th anniversary of the Battles of Saratoga and

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Name of Property

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County and State

the American Victory. The **Unknown Soldiers Monument (LCS ID. 040763, non-contributing object)** is a small bronze tablet mounted on a granite marker placed in 1987 to identify the location of the reinterred remains of two unidentified soldiers excavated on the battlefield.

SCHUYLER ESTATE UNIT

The Schuyler Estate Unit of the Saratoga NHP is located on the east side of U.S. Highway 4 near the confluence of the Hudson River and Fish Creek in the Village of Schuylerville, Town of Saratoga, New York. The Schuyler Estate Unit is 62.15 acres in size and is bounded on the north by Fish Creek, on the east by the Hudson River, on the south by privately owned land, and on the west by U.S. Highway 4.

Contributing Resources

The **Philip Schuyler House (LCS ID. 001290, contributing building)** is the most architecturally significant resource on the Schuyler Estate Grounds. It is set back approximately 280 feet from U.S. Highway 4, in the northwest corner of the Unit. A large gravel driveway extends from Highway 4 and circles the Philip Schuyler House Wellhouse. A trail leads from this loop along an eighteenth-century road trace to the remaining segments of the Old Champlain Canal. A smaller gravel path extends from a parking lot to the front of the house and then curves away to the driveway, likely following the path of a U-shaped carriage drive that appears on early nineteenth-century maps of the estate. The front lawn is planted, and the south and east portions of the landscape are primarily open lawns with a few trees. A wood split-rail fence surrounds most of the property. The fencing and vegetation do not date from the period of significance.

The house is a late Georgian/early Federal-period house constructed in 1777 after two earlier residences on the site were destroyed during King George's War and the Revolutionary War, respectively. The building comprises a two-story main house with a one-story addition on the east (rear) wall and a one-and-one-half-story kitchen ell on the northeast corner of the main house. The main house faces west, is five bays wide and two bays deep, and measures approximately 60 feet by 21 feet. The rear addition faces west and is rectangular in form, measuring approximately 15 feet by 12 feet. The kitchen ell is almost square and measures 25 feet by 26 feet. The main house, kitchen ell, and rear addition all sit on a fieldstone foundation; there is a full cellar below the main house. The entire building is clad in clapboard except the north and east walls of the kitchen ell, which are covered in wide weatherboards. The main house has a side-gable roof with slightly overhanging eaves and an ogee cornice line. The kitchen has a front-gable roof, and the rear addition has a steeply pitched shed roof that extends the entire length of the east elevation. The roofs are all covered in cedar shingles. Brick chimneys are located on the ridgeline of the north and south ends of the main house roof and on the east end of the kitchen ell.

The primary entrance to the Philip Schuyler House is a central doorway on the west facade. This doorway is topped by a simple pediment supported by flat pilasters. Other doorways are located in the east wall of the main house; the south, north, and west walls of the kitchen wing; and the south wall of the rear addition. These doors are wood plank doors set in simple surrounds. Fenestration on the west facade of the main house is fairly consistent with narrow four-over-six double-hung wood sash windows flanking the main entrance and large twelve-over-twelve double-hung wood sash windows on the first story and across the second story. The same window form is repeated on the other elevations including two on the first story of the main house south wall, two on the first story and one on the second story of the main house north wall, and one on the rear addition east wall. All the large double-hung windows have exterior shutters. Fenestration on the kitchen ell is limited to small casement windows on the second story of the east and west walls. Smaller openings include two small casement windows, covered with louvered blinds, below the north and south gables of the main house and cellar windows with stone-lined areaways and wooden hatch covers on the west facade and on the north and south walls of the main house. A cellar bulkhead opening is located on the east elevation of the main house, and a small opening to the cellar kitchen is located in the west foundation wall of the main house.

Three porches are attached to the house, one that extends the entire length of the north elevation of the side addition and two that flank the rear addition on the east elevation of the main house. The porches are covered with shed roofs supported by simple, square, wood columns. A simple shed roof covers four reproduction brick ovens on the exterior of the kitchen ell's east elevation.

The interior of the Philip Schuyler House has two stories, an attic, and a cellar in the main house and two stories in the kitchen wing. The first floor of the main house contains a central hall, a parlor room to the south, a dining room to the north, and "Father's Office" to the east. The first floor of the kitchen ell is divided into two rooms, the main kitchen and a small storage room. Another storage room is located between the dining hall and the main hall. There are two staircases

in the interior: an open stair that connects the main hall with the second floor and one connecting the two floors of the kitchen ell. The second floor of the main house is divided into the north and south chambers, the hall chamber, and a storage room. The kitchen ell staircase leads to a long hall connecting to the north and south servants' rooms. Attached to these two rooms is the east servants' room. The cellar below the main house is divided into a kitchen, a food storage room, and a general storage room. The attic of the main house comprises two rooms, the south attic room that occupies approximately two-thirds of the space and the north attic room in the remaining space.

Interior finishes in the house vary with the location and use of the space. The first- and second-floor rooms of the main house feature wood plank floors; painted and wallpapered walls; cornices, baseboards, and chair rails (except in the first-floor parlor); and simple door surrounds. The mantelpieces in the first-floor parlor and dining room are more decorative and ornate than those found in the second-floor bedrooms. The kitchen spaces, including the first floor of the kitchen ell and the cellar of the main house, have, for the most part, unfinished walls, exposed joists and subfloor ceilings, and wood floors. There is a fireplace in the cellar and the first floor of the kitchen; the first-floor kitchen fireplace also has a beehive oven. The food storage room in the cellar has built-in wood shelves. The servants' rooms in the second floor of the kitchen ell are undecorated with exposed and plastered walls and ceilings and wood floors.

The **Philip Schuyler House Privy (LCS ID. 023054, contributing building)** dates to 1777 and is located to the east of the kitchen ell on the Philip Schuyler House. The one-story, 64-square-foot structure is rectangular in plan with a front-gable roof, wide clapboards, and a stone foundation. Single wood-paneled doors are located on the west and south elevations, and the east elevation has two small window openings.

The **Philip Schuyler House Wellhouse (LCS ID. 040761, contributing structure)** dates to 1780 and is located approximately 65 feet north of the Philip Schuyler House. It is a simple square wood structure with a pyramidal roof and lattice-covered openings on all four elevations. The structure sits on a flat stone foundation. An iron crank mechanism is located on the east elevation.

The **Philip Schuyler House Stone Wellhead (LCS ID. 040757, contributing structure)** also dates to 1780 and is located on the east end of the kitchen ell porch. It is roughly 5 feet square and approximately 6 inches above grade. The structure is currently covered by a round iron plate, circumscribed with drain channels. Fieldstone lines the edges.

The **Schuyler Estate Grounds (LCS ID. none, contributing site)** comprise 26 acres of land that make up the Phillip Schuyler House lot. The parcel is located in the northwestern quarter of the Schuyler Estate Unit and is bordered by Fish Creek on the north, property owned by the State of New York on the east and south, and U.S. Highway 4 on the West. The grounds consist of grass lawn planted with black locust, sugar maple, hackberry, and white pine trees and a variety of shrubs. A short drive leads visitors from U.S. Highway 4 to the unit's parking lot. Stairs carry pedestrians from the parking lot to a gravel path, which curves to the front door of the house and then to a driveway that exits onto Highway 4. The origins of the path and driveway may date to the late eighteenth century, but no documentation has been identified to substantiate that claim. A trail leading from the driveway in the opposite direction to Schuyler's Canal Park, a town-owned park located north of Fish Creek. The trail roughly follows an old roadway that connected to the Schuylers' former bridge (bridge no. 59) over the canal.

The **Schuyler Estate Site (ASMIS# SARA00003, contributing site)** includes all the post-contact features and cultural materials recovered from within the original boundaries of the Schuyler Estate Grounds. A range of features associated with the second and third Schuyler occupations of the property and subsequent owners were identified and included the remains of chimney footings, the foundation of the former Schuyler privy, a brick-lined cistern, vestiges of two overlapping brick structures, and a filled vegetable/root cellar. Excavations east and outside of the extant kitchen ell revealed a possible well; an untyped "stone structure" lying between the extant kitchen hearth and privy pit; an untyped brick box underlain by a dry-laid stone foundation; a jumbled stone "wall" segment likely associated with the untyped brick box; and two posts.

Several landscape features were identified north of the kitchen ell including large cut and dressed stones that probably served as steps to a porch that formerly ran along that side of the house; the surviving cistern; a stone wall segment projecting north from the northwest corner of the kitchen that may have been part of a demolished milkroom; a small stone platform, likely part of an old porch; and the existing well. Finally, work inside the kitchen ell around the existing

hearth identified the remains of an earlier hearth. The visible remains of two foundations east and northeast of the house reputed to be a slave quarter and barn, an ash pit, a fieldstone wall, two ditches, and evidence of the former estate gardens also were included as part of the larger domestic site.

A number of foundations also are part of the site, including a "burned structure," located south of the house and measuring 22 feet wide by 39-43 feet long and tentatively interpreted as an early-nineteenth-century framed building of indeterminate function. Another foundation was identified buried under 1 meter of fill, with the recovered artifact assemblage suggesting that it was a nineteenth-century auxiliary structure razed during the twentieth century. The southern foundation wall of a burned building was uncovered immediately northeast of the main house. The wall was paralleled by a French drain and yielded many burned/heat-altered artifacts dating to the eighteenth century, suggesting that it was one of the structures burned by the retreating British troops in 1777, or perhaps the earlier French raid of 1745 that destroyed the original ca. 1720 Schuyler mansion. The building's exact date of construction, function, or dimensions, however, could not be determined.

The Schuyler Estate Pre-contact Site (ASMIS# none, contributing site), [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] yielded primarily chert debitage and a range of projectile point types dating from the Late Archaic through Late Woodland (and possibly) Contact periods (6000-400 B.P.). The materials were recovered from 0-80 centimeters below ground surface and were thoroughly mixed with post-contact materials in all but the lowest stratigraphic levels. A hearth was uncovered in association with a Greene projectile point, a scraper, and numerous ceramic sherds dating from the Middle Woodland. Based on these data, the site was interpreted as having been occupied primarily from the Middle to Late Woodland periods and reflective of the increasingly intensive use of *Fish Creek and its surrounding terraces* during those periods.

Non-Contributing Resources

Two **Granite Hitching Posts (LCS ID. 040756, non-contributing objects)** are located on either side of the gravel path leading to the Philip Schuyler House. They are simple square shafts with pyramidal tops that were placed by a subsequent owner of the estate in the early 1880s, outside the period of significance for the property.

The **NPS Park Residence (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, the **Schuyler Estate Maintenance Shed (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)**, and the **Schuyler Estate Restroom (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)** are located to the south of the Philip Schuyler House, in approximately the middle of the Schuyler Estate Unit. The NPS Park Residence was constructed in 1960 as a one-story, six-bay, vernacular building. It has an asphalt-shingled side-gable roof, is clad in vinyl siding, and sits on a concrete foundation. Outbuildings include a one-story attached garage and a garden shed. The Schuyler Estate Maintenance Shed was constructed in 1995. It is one story in height, one bay wide, and has a slight gambrel roof covered in asphalt shingles. The Schuyler Estate Restroom was constructed in 1977 to house two restroom facilities. It is one story in height, is topped with an asphalt-shingled hipped-pyramidal roof, and has wood exterior siding.

Four non-contributing resources, all built ca. 1965, are located on a cleared lot southeast of the Philip Schuyler House, within the bounds of the Schuyler Estate Unit but used by the New York State Department of Transportation. The lot is enclosed by a high chain-link fence. The **State Highway Maintenance Garage (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)** is a long rectangular one-story building with a sheet-metal gabled roof, sheet-metal walls, and a concrete foundation. The **State Highway Maintenance Office (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)** is a small one-story wood-frame building composed of two gable-roofed sections. Both buildings have minimal fenestration. The latter may contain portions of an earlier building associated with the Old Champlain Canal, but no documentary evidence was found to substantiate this claim. The **State Highway Maintenance Sand Shed (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)** is a large wood-frame structure built for sand and salt storage with a geodesic-domed roof that rises directly from the ground. The **State Highway Maintenance Shed (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)** is a one-story rectangular wood structure, enclosed on three sides, with a shed roof.

SARATOGA MONUMENT UNIT

The Saratoga Monument Unit of the Saratoga NHP is a 2.82-acre rectangular parcel in the Village of Victory, Town of Saratoga, New York. Victory is located along Fish Creek, less than 1 mile west of the Hudson River. The Saratoga Monument Unit is located approximately 40 miles north of Albany and 8 miles north of the Battlefield Unit. It is bounded by Burgoyne Street to the north, a private parcel to the east, and Prospect Hill Cemetery (1865) to the south and west. The NPS leases a tract of land north of the cemetery and west of the monument parcel that contains a parking lot and restroom facility.

Contributing Resources

The **Saratoga Monument Landscape (LCS ID. none, contributing site)** slopes dramatically from west to east, where the difference in grade is approximately 15 feet. The north to south slope is much less pronounced. The entire site consists of an **open lawn (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** covered with low grasses. The landscape dates to 1897, when the site was graded, the grounds were planted with timothy, clover, and rye, and a series of footpaths and a carriage road lined with 51 elm trees were laid out. By 1920, the gravel walks and drives were paved with concrete. The **geometric foot paths (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** that lead from Burgoyne Street to the Saratoga Monument and from the Saratoga Monument east to a dirt path are intact. All the original elm trees were killed in the early 1960s by Dutch elm disease. In 1981, trees were planted along the southern border of the property. A **cannon emplacement (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** is located on a grassy island on the north path. Remaining vegetation includes a large **cottonwood tree (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** on a slight mound and a **row of sugar maple trees (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** along the western border with the cemetery.

The **Saratoga Monument (LCS ID. 023055, contributing structure)**, located in the northwest corner of the Saratoga Monument Unit atop a high bluff, is the most prominent element of the Unit. The monument was constructed between 1877 and 1882 on the point of highest elevation, approximately 250 feet above the Hudson River. It is a square stone obelisk that rises 154 feet 6 inches tall to a pyramidal peak covered with lead-coated copper. The granite block and limestone structure is faced in coursed granite ashlar. It sits on a 38-foot-square granite block plinth, 3 feet in height. The shaft is 138 feet in height from the top of the plinth to the base of the roof. As it rises, the shaft tapers from 20 square feet at the base to 10 square feet at the top. The pyramidal peak is approximately 14 feet in height. The shaft has an outer wall of ashlar-cut rock-face granite block and an inner wall of black limestone rubble, both set in a cement mortar. The space between the two walls is filled with cement mortar and small pieces of black limestone. The walls are 3 feet 3 inches thick at the base and 1 foot 6 inches thick just below the peak.

The plinth is constructed of coursed rock-faced ashlar with simple projecting moldings at the top and bottom. Five shallow steps at the center of each side of the plinth are flanked by slightly projecting piers. Piers also project from the four corners of the plinth. The top of the plinth is paved with large granite blocks.

The four identical elevations of the monument's shaft are each divided into three sections. The lowest section extends from the plinth to a projecting string course at the fourth-floor level and is defined by two-level projecting buttresses on each corner and a large pointed gable. The middle section extends from the fourth-floor string course to a smooth stone string course at the fifth-floor level supported by seven modillions. The upper section extends from the fifth-floor string course to the base of the roof.

A mix of Gothic and patriotic elements adorn the lower section of each elevation. Heavy two-step buttresses of smooth and rough stone at the corners support a course of rough granite topped by projecting modillions and carved eagles. A steeply pitched, smooth stone, pointed gable springs from the eagles. Three stone modillions support both sides of the gable. A central doorway beneath the gable contains paired three-paneled wood doors that have a solid panel at the bottom, a rectangular panel in the middle with three long and three short lights, and a square panel with a glass mosaic at the top. The doorway is surmounted by a square stone entablature supported by two polished granite colonnettes sitting on square smooth stone pedestals with carved bases. A pointed-arch niche directly above the doorway is flanked by smooth granite colonnettes with highly stylized capitals supporting a projecting stone arch with acanthus leaves at the springs. The archivolt features a band of alternating smooth and rusticated stone voussoirs. The niches on the

monument's west, north, and east elevations contain bronze statues of General Morgan, General Gates, and General Schuyler, respectively. The south niche, reserved for General Benedict Arnold, is empty to symbolize his subsequent treason. On the east elevation, a smooth stone band between the entablature and the niche is inscribed with "1777 SARATOGA 1877" in gold lettering. A small, deep-set, oculus window directly above each niche is surrounded by alternating bands of smooth and rusticated stone.

The middle section of the shaft continues the Gothic decoration with a central pointed-arch window niche, smooth bands of stone, and a rusticated stone face. The window niche is placed immediately above the fourth-floor string course. It consists of two pointed-arch openings flanked by polished stone colonnettes resting on smooth granite pedestals. The three colonnettes are set back from the plane of the wall and topped with ornate carved capitals supporting an architrave of alternating smooth and rusticated stone blocks. A small oculus window pierces the spandrel between the two arched openings. A smooth stone pointed arch springing from a string course at the level of the colonnette capitals frames the entire window niche. The fifth-floor string course is located five courses above the apex of the springing arch.

The paired pointed-arch window openings flanked by smooth granite colonnettes on smooth square pedestals are repeated on the upper portion of the shaft, directly above the fifth-floor string course, with a small rectangular window opening centered above them. A steeply pitched pointed gable frames the entire arrangement of three openings. The gable rises 18 courses from the level of the colonnette capitals. A sawtooth molding is located beneath the gable and the string course, and a three-course granite band with a carved diamond pattern divides the pointed-arch windows from the rectangular window. Above the gable, the rusticated stone face of the shaft tapers to the peak, interrupted only by a small rectangular window placed 13 courses below the bottom of the peak, emphasized by two smooth stone bands above and below the opening.

Rectangular bronze commemorative plaques are placed on the inside door jambs of the east and north entrances to the monument. The two feet six inch by four feet six inch plaque affixed to the east jamb of the north entrance is inscribed: "1777-1883/THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SARATOGA MONUMENT/ASSOCIATION TO COMMEMORATE THE SURRENDER OF GENERAL BURGOYNE TO GENERAL/ GATES ON THE 17TH OF OCTOBER 1777. THE FIRST PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSOCIATION/ WERE HAMILTON FISH AND HORATIO SEYMOUR. THE CORNER-STONE OF THE/MONUMENT WAS LAID OCTOBER 17TH 1877. IT WAS COMPLETED IN 1883 AND GIVEN/INTO THE CARE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK IN 1895 BY THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS WHO/AMONG OTHERS LABORED LOYALLY FOR ITS COMPLETION. JOHN H. STARIN, PRESIDENT./JAMES M. MARVIN, WARNER MILLER, VICE-PRESIDENTS. WILLIAM L. STONE,/SECRETARY. D.S. POTTER, TREASURER. J.C. MARKHAM ARCHT". The 15 inch by 25 inch plaque on the west jamb of the north entrance is inscribed: "IN GRATEFUL APPRECIATION/OF THE PATRIOTIC SERVICES RENDERED BY/ELLEN HARDIN WALWORTH/TO HER COUNTRY AND TO THE/SARATOGA MONUMENT ASSOCIATION/AS CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES ON TABLETS/AND IN CHARGE OF THE MONUMENT./1880-1895" (Quinn and Bitterman 1992:96). The 27 inch by 57 inch plaque on the south jamb of the east entrance lists the members of the first board of trustees of the Saratoga Monument Association of 1859, the trustees created by an amended act of the legislature in 1873, and the trustees elected after the passage of the amended act. The 17 inch by 27 inch plaque on the north jamb of the east entrance is inscribed with a dedication to William L. Stone that reads: "IN MEMORY OF/WILLIAM LEETE STONE/SECRETARY OF/THE SARATOGA MONUMENT ASSOCIATION/1873-1895/WHOSE PATRIOTIC UNTIRING SERVICES/CONTRIBUTED SO GREATLY/TOWARD THE ERECTION OF THE SHAFT/THIS TABLET IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED/BY HIS FAMILY, OCTOBER 18, 1912".

The floor inside the Saratoga Monument is covered in terrazzo (Quinn and Bitterman 1992:99-105). Eight cast-bronze plaques are bolted to the granite walls on either side of the four doorways on the first-floor level. The plaques measure 4 feet, 7-and-one-half inches wide and 4 feet, 11 inches high. They were designed by the monument's architect, Jared Markham, sculpted by Jonathan Scott Hartley and James Edward Kelly, and cast by Maurice J. Power of the National Fine Art Foundry in New York City. The plaques depict narrative scenes from the time of the Battles of Saratoga and have polished granite slabs inscribed with brief descriptions. The plaques on the north wall contrast the behavior of the British and American women during the time of the battles. The plaque on the west side of the north door is inscribed: "THE LADIES OF THE BRITISH COURT. IDLE, EFFEMINATE, SENSUOUS, EXTRAVAGANT AND WASTEFUL; DEMANDING FOR THEIR SUPPORT THE TAXING OF COLONISTS.", while the one on the east side

is inscribed: "WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTION, 1776. INDUSTRIOUS, SELF DENYING, FRUGAL, CLOTHING AND FEEDING THEMSELVES AND THEIR FAMILIES AND GIVING AID AND COMFORT TO AN ARMY OF DEFENSE." The plaques flanking the east door describe the political behavior at the time of the American Revolution. The north plaque states: "THE TOWN MEETING. THE PEOPLE INSTITUTING THE MEANS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR THE PROTECTION OF THEIR NATURAL RIGHTS." The south plaque states: "THE RALLY OF THE PEOPLE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THEIR JUST RIGHTS, WHICH RESULTED IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT." The plaques on the south wall depict the contributions of the Schuyler family. The one east of the doorway is inscribed: "GENERAL SCHUYLER FELLING TREES, TO OBSTRUCT THE MARCH OF THE BRITISH ARMY", and the one west of the doorway is inscribed: "MRS. GENERAL SCHUYLER SETTING FIRE TO HER WHEAT FIELDS TO PREVENT ITS USE BY THE ENEMY." The plaques on the west side of the monument describe the behavior of the British during the battles. The south plaque has the inscription: "WIVES OF THE BRITISH OFFICERS ACCOMPANYING THE ARMY IN ITS MARCH THROUGH THE WILDERNESS", and the north plaque has the inscription: "GEORGE III AND HIS MINISTERS DEVISING METHODS FOR ENFORCING THE UNJUST TAXATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONISTS".

Horizontal viewing platforms are placed at each level of the window openings on the interior of the monument. The five platforms in the lower and middle sections are connected by cast and wrought-iron open-riser stairways that generally span from landings in the northwest and southwest corners with 90 degree turns at the platform approaches. The platforms are each supported by two wrought-iron I-beams with steel angle brackets along the north and south walls. A steel stairway that follows the battered masonry walls of the shaft in a spiral configuration leads from the fifth-floor platform to the uppermost platform, located beneath the pyramidal peak. The platforms on the first four levels are finished with ceramic tile; the fifth-floor and upper platforms are finished with concrete. Visitors to the uppermost platform are approximately 400 feet above the Hudson River. Views include Lake George to the north, the Green Mountains and the Hudson River to the east, and the Battlefield Unit and the Catskill Mountains to the south.

Alterations to the Saratoga Monument consist primarily of maintenance and repair. In 1912, a comprehensive repointing of the stonework was undertaken. In 1937, the platforms were reinforced by the addition of steel angle brackets and the pyramidal peak was covered in lead-coated copper to prevent water infiltration. In 1955, the interior walls and metal stairway were repaired. In 1964, the original ceramic tiles on the first floor were replaced with the terrazzo that currently covers the floor and the stairway to the uppermost platform was replaced. The masonry, windows, stairs, and lightning protection system were rehabilitated. New York State closed the structure for safety reasons in 1970, and the NPS reopened it for visitation in 1981 after repairing the masonry, flashing, and lightning protection system. The Monument was again closed for safety reasons in 1987. An extensive restoration of the interior and exterior of the Monument undertaken between 1997 and 2001 included additional repointing, the installation of an underground lift in a vault excavated on the north side of the base to provide handicap access to the lobby, the replacement of rusted I-beams on some of the viewing platforms, the fabrication of new metal stairs, and the thorough cleaning of all the statues and plaques. The NPS reopened the monument in 2002 and constructed a new entrance and parking facility in 2005.

Non-contributing Resources

The **Saratoga Monument Restroom (LCS ID. none, non-contributing building)** is located approximately 250 feet south of the Saratoga Monument. The one-story rectangular building was constructed in 1931 with a front-gable asphalt roof and a vertical board exterior. Openings include two wood doors set in simple wood frames on the north wall, paired doors on the south wall, and small windows. A tall, steeply pitched, side-gable roof supported by simple square wood posts extends from the north wall to create a breezeway along the front of the building.

VICTORY WOODS UNIT

The Victory Woods Unit of Saratoga NHP is a 22.78-acre polygonal parcel located in the Village of Victory, Town of Saratoga, New York, in the highlands above the Hudson River that mark the location of a portion of the final British fortifications and encampments prior to General Burgoyne's surrender on October 17, 1777. The Unit is bounded by State Route 32 to the east and private residential properties to the north, south, and west. Dense forest vegetation covers most of the site. Several aboveground remnant military fortification structures were discovered during archaeological

investigations of the site and have been recorded as Burgoyne's Retreat Site (ASMIS# SARA0002) in the NPS ASMIS system. The importance of these structures to the understanding of events surrounding Burgoyne's defensive position during the days leading up to his surrender warrants their categorization as contributing structures within the Victory Woods Unit.

Contributing Resources

The Victory Woods British Encampment Site (LCS ID. none, contributing site) encompasses the entire Victory Woods Unit. The site represents about one-fifth of the entire British encampment established during Burgoyne's retreat following the Battles of Saratoga and is the only area of the encampment that retains sufficient integrity to convey its association with that event. Its intact topographical features made the area a critical location from which to observe American troop movements and establish defensive works. The eastern half of the site is a steep slope, while the western half is more level with some gradual changes in topography. The only cleared area on the site is a large spring-fed pond in the northwest portion that fluctuates seasonally in water level. The NPS completed construction of a Boardwalk (LCS ID. none, non-contributing structure) in 2010 to provide better access and interpretive opportunities for the site.

A mounded angled earthwork (LCS ID. none, contributing structure) is located south of the cleared area on the Victory Woods British Encampment Site. A depressed trench runs behind the earthwork.

A cannon battery (LCS ID. none, contributing structure) is located east of the cleared area on the Victory Woods British Encampment Site. The battery consists of mounded earth in a semicircular shape about 30 feet in diameter with a 15-foot radius. It rises approximately three feet high at its peak and is about ten feet wide at its base.

A subterranean gunpowder magazine (LCS ID. none, contributing structure) has been identified between the cleared area on the Victory Woods British Encampment Site and the cannon battery. The structure is a roughly 8-foot-square depression that is about 2 feet deep at its center.

The Victory Woods Pre-contact Site (ASMIS# none, contributing site) consists of a substantial multi-component Native American occupation

The site yielded more than 1,300 artifacts including chert debitage and a diagnostic Stanley-like projectile point dating to the Middle Archaic (8000-5000 B.P.), as well as a possible roasting platform. Survey work resulted in the recovery of 25 pieces of chert debitage. A non-diagnostic chert projectile point tip was grouped with the larger Precontact Site and designated the Victory Woods New Path Locus.

OLD CHAMPLAIN CANAL (SEGMENT)

The Champlain Canal was constructed during the period between 1817 and 1823 to create a direct transportation link between Lake Champlain and Albany. Several segments of the canal are located within the Schuyler Estate and Battlefield Units and are counted as a single resource called the Old Champlain Canal (Segment) (LCS ID. none, contributing structure). The potential that these segments may yield through archaeological investigations potentially significant information about the canal and its construction is recognized by the additional classification of the canal segments as a site named the Old Champlain Canal Site (ASMIS# SARA00006.007, contributing site). The Old Champlain Canal (Segment) and Old Champlain Canal Site run north to south through the center of the Schuyler Estate Unit. Visible elements of the canal include sections of the Canal Prism (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature), Towpath (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature), and Canal Bridge No. 59 Abutments (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature). Much of the canal prism and towpath behind the Schuyler House remain intact, but the area has been engulfed by successional forest. Stone abutments remain of the former Canal Bridge No. 59 (also known as the Stover [sic] Bridge), which provided access over the canal from the house lot to the fields to the east along the Hudson River. A path leads from the Schuyler house to the towpath and across a bridge to Schuyler's Canal Park, a public park along the canal on the north side of Fish Creek. The Old Champlain Canal (Segment) located in the northeast corner of the Saratoga Battlefield site is accessed by a hiking trail leading from Stop 10 on the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road. Within the Battlefield Unit, the canal enters the park at the two locations where the park land crosses U.S. Highway 4 and

extends to Hudson River. The canal features that are visible include the prism, some of which still holds water, and a pair of granite **Stone Bridge Abutments – Battlefield Unit (LCS ID. 040759, historic associated feature)**.

STATEMENT OF INTEGRITY

The Saratoga NHP Historic District retains integrity to the areas and periods of significance defined in Section 8 of this nomination form. Overall, the district conveys its historical significance through its location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

The Saratoga Battlefield site is the actual location where the decisive fighting of 1777 occurred, and the landscape continues to provide the viewer with a clear picture of how the battles were waged. The site remains in a quiet undeveloped setting. The intact topography, historic eighteenth-century road traces, and field and forest configuration communicate how and why the landscape served as an advantage and/or obstacle during the battles. The visual relationship to the Hudson River remains unimpeded. The historic views to and from important strategic locations, such as Bemis Heights and the Great Redoubt, allow visitors to the park to visualize the spatial relationship that existed between the American and British armies, as well as the key role that the Hudson River played as a transportation corridor and avenue of approach. Archaeological investigations represented by the numerous archaeological sites that contribute to the district have identified positions at key points during the engagement. NPS efforts in the mid-twentieth century to re-establish critical landscapes have mitigated alterations to the pattern of agricultural fields and woods that existed at the time of the battles resulting from subsequent agricultural use of the land over time. Designed features are not a critical aspect of the Saratoga Battlefield's significance. Therefore, despite a lack of extant Revolutionary-era fortifications, the site retains sufficient integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association to convey its significance. The John Neilson House remains in an open setting within the park boundaries as the only extant Revolutionary-era building on the battlefield. Through the restoration efforts of the NPS, the house continues to convey its historical significance as an eighteenth-century vernacular farmhouse. All non-contributing resources within the Battlefield Unit are located on the periphery of the site and do not detract from (or in the case of the waysides, help to interpret) the historic setting as it is experienced by visitors.

The resources in the Victory Woods Unit also maintain integrity associated with the events of 1777. Intact important topographic and physical features as well as key views and vistas clearly communicate the spatial organization of the southeastern corner of the British encampment site. The surrounding landscape is unaltered, and remnant earthworks remain on the important strategic location on a hill overlooking Fish Creek and its opposite (southern) bank. The site's general topography as well as the form, plan, space, and structure of the encampment can still be understood. Intact structures include a cannon battery, a related subterranean gunpowder magazine, an angled earthwork, and an eighteenth-century road trace. Views from the southwest portion across the open agricultural fields convey the space of the entire original encampment. The lack of modern development and the remaining key historic characteristics and features enable visitors to visualize how the landscape shaped both the strategy and outcome of the battles and to understand how the events of 1777 unfolded.

The contributing resources in the Schuyler Estate Unit maintain their direct association with Philip Schuyler and his holding in the Saratoga (now Schuylerville) area. The Philip Schuyler House and Schuyler Estate Grounds retain integrity to the NPS's restoration to the ca. 1804 period, the last year Schuyler occupied the estate. The residence and associated buildings remain in their original location; and the overall elements of design, materials, and workmanship are clearly evident. The extant privy, wellhouse, and stone wellhead contribute to the feeling of the property as an early example of a gentleman's country estate. A grouping of six non-contributing buildings associated with the current NPS management of the property and the adjacent DOT property detract slightly from the integrity of the landscape but do not diminish its ability to convey the historical significance in an appreciable way. The intact Old Champlain Canal segments located within the district as well as the archaeological site associated with the Canal convey their significance relative to the 1821-1917 time period during which the Canal was in operation.

The commemorative objects located in the Battlefield Unit retain integrity associated with the 1873–1936 period of significance. All the extant monuments are in good condition and communicate the important commemorative efforts that occurred on the site in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Saratoga Monument and its landscape also maintain

Saratoga National Historical Park
Name of Property

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County and State

their integrity as a prime example of national trends in the commemoration and preservation of American battlefields during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The site remains in its original location and retains its associations with early activities commemorating the Battles of Saratoga. The surrounding landscapes and viewsheds are significant characteristic features of the site that contribute to its overall feeling. The monument is an excellent example of the architectural style of military monuments from the late nineteenth century. The eclectic Gothic-style obelisk retains its integrity of design, materials, and workmanship, with minor alterations and repairs to its fabric since its construction.

The Battlefield Unit also contains resources associated with significant events in the twentieth-century conservation of the battlefield by the state and federal governments. The Saratoga NHP Visitor Center remains in its original location on Fraser Hill with commanding views of the battlefield and surrounding area and maintains integrity. Its setting is intact, with views from the building to important topographical features including the Hudson River. Alterations consist only of a small, compatible addition on the west elevation. Likewise, the Battlefield Tour Road remains intact as the primary means of experiencing the battlefield.

**SARATOGA NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
HISTORIC DISTRICT DATA SHEET**

Contributing Resources

| RESOURCE NAME | LCS ID | ASMIS No. | PARK UNIT | DATE | PHOTO # |
|---|--------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------|---------|
| BUILDINGS - 4 | | | | | |
| John Neilson House | 001289 | none | Battlefield | 1775 | 6, 7 |
| Saratoga NHP Visitor Center | none | none | Battlefield | 1962 | 16, 17 |
| Philip Schuyler House | 001290 | none | Schuyler Estate | 1777 | 25-28 |
| Philip Schuyler House Privy | 023054 | none | Schuyler Estate | 1777 | 26, 30 |
| SITES - 16 | | | | | |
| American Fortifications, River Overlook Site | none | SARA00012 | Battlefield | 1777 | n/a |
| American Headquarters and Field Hospital Site | none | SARA00004, SARA00081 | Battlefield | 1777 | n/a |
| American Lines Site | none | SARA00011 | Battlefield | 1777 | n/a |
| Balcarres Redoubt Site | none | SARA00016 | Battlefield | 1777 | n/a |
| Breymann Redoubt Site | none | SARA00015 | Battlefield | 1777 | n/a |
| British Fortifications Site | none | SARA00014 | Battlefield | 1777 | n/a |
| Neilson Farm Site | none | SARA00008 | Battlefield | 1777 | n/a |
| Old Champlain Canal Site | none | SARA00006-00006.007 | Battlefield | c. 1820 | n/a |
| Saratoga Battlefield | none | SARA00001 | Battlefield | 1777 | 1-6 |
| Taylor Farm Site | none | SARA00021 | Battlefield | 1760 | n/a |
| Saratoga Monument Landscape | none | none | Saratoga Monument | 1897 | 19-21 |
| <i>Historic Associated Features</i> | | | | | |
| Geometric Foot Paths | none | none | Saratoga Monument | 1897-1920 | 21 |
| Open Lawn | none | none | Saratoga Monument | 1897 | 19 |
| Cannon Emplacement | none | none | Saratoga Monument | ca. 1900 | 21 |

| RESOURCE NAME | LCS ID | ASMIS No. | PARK UNIT | DATE | PHOTO # |
|---------------------------------------|--------|-----------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------|
| Cottonwood Tree/Mound | none | none | Saratoga Monument | 1897 | none |
| Row of Sugar Maple Trees | none | none | Saratoga Monument | 1897 | none |
| Schuyler Estate Grounds | none | none | Schuyler Estate | 1777 | 25-27 |
| Schuyler Estate Site | none | SARA00003 | Schuyler Estate | 1777 | n/a |
| Schuyler Estate Pre-contact Site | none | none | Schuyler Estate | 6000-400 B.P. | n/a |
| Victory Woods British Encampment Site | none | none | Victory Woods | 1777 | n/a |
| Victory Woods Pre-contact Site | none | none | Victory Woods | 8000-5000 B.P | n/a |
| STRUCTURES - 9 | | | | | |
| Saratoga Monument | 023055 | SARA00005 | Saratoga Monument | 1887 | 19-24 |
| Philip Schuyler House Wellhouse | 040761 | none | Schuyler Estate | 1780 | 26, 29 |
| Philip Schuyler House Stone Wellhead | 040757 | None | Schuyler Estate | 1780 | none |
| Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road | none | none | Battlefield | 1958-1966 | 18 |
| Eighteenth-Century Road Traces | none | none | Battlefield | 1777 | none |
| Angled Earthwork | none | none | Victory Woods | 1777 | 33 |
| Gunpowder Magazine | none | none | Victory Woods | 1777 | none |
| Cannon Battery | none | none | Victory Woods | 1777 | none |
| Old Champlain Canal Segments | none | none | Battlefield/ Schuyler Estate | 1820-1821 | 34-36 |
| <i>Historic Associated Features</i> | | | | | |
| Canal Prism | 023056 | none | Battlefield | 1821 | 35 |
| Stone Bridge Abutments | 040759 | none | Battlefield | 1821 | 36 |
| Canal Prism | none | none | Schuyler Estate | 1820 | 34-35 |
| Canal Bridge No. 59 Abutments | none | none | Schuyler Estate | 1820 | none |
| Towpath | none | none | Schuyler Estate | 1820 | 34 |
| OBJECTS - 19 | | | | | |
| Arnold Monument | 022312 | SARA00030 | Battlefield | 1887 | 11 |
| Bemis Tavern Monument | 022314 | none | Battlefield | 1883 | none |

| RESOURCE NAME | LCS ID | ASMIS No. | PARK UNIT | DATE | PHOTO # |
|---|--------|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| Bidwell Monument | 023309 | SARA00042 | Battlefield | 1924 | none |
| DAR Directional Marker – Leggett Place Marker | none | none | Battlefield | 1904-1909 | 15 |
| Fraser Monument | 022308 | SARA00039 | Battlefield | 1883 | 10 |
| Freeman's Farm Monument | 023310 | SARA00040 | Battlefield | 1883 | none |
| Gates Headquarters Monument | 040015 | none | Battlefield | 1890 | none |
| Great Ravine Monument | 022290 | none | Battlefield | 1887 | none |
| Hardin Monument | 023311 | SARA00041 | Battlefield | 1887 | none |
| Kosciuszko Monument | 022301 | SARA00033 | Battlefield | 1936 | 14 |
| Monument to the Unknown American Dead | 022302 | SARA00032 | Battlefield | 1931 | 12-13 |
| <i>Historic Associated Features</i> | | | | | |
| Walkway | none | none | Battlefield | 1931 | 12 |
| Granite Benches (3) | 040755 | none | Battlefield | 1934 | 12 |
| Morgan Monument | 022300 | SARA00088 | Battlefield | 1887 | 8 |
| Murphy Monument | 022305 | SARA00035 | Battlefield | 1913 | none |
| New Hampshire Men Monument | 022303 | SARA00034 | Battlefield | 1927 | none |
| Rockefeller Monument | 022304 | SARA00037 | Battlefield | 1932 | none |
| Second Battle of Saratoga Monument | 022306 | none | Battlefield | 1883 | 9 |
| Slingerland Tablet | 022298 | none | Battlefield | 1938 | none |
| Ten Broeck Monument | 022307 | SARA00038 | Battlefield | 1917 | none |
| Water Battery Monument | 022313 | none | Battlefield | 1892 | none |
| TOTAL CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES = 48 | | | | | |

Non-Contributing Resources

| RESOURCE NAME | LCS ID | ASMIS # | PARK UNIT | DATE | PHOTO # |
|-------------------------------------|--------|---------|-------------------|----------|---------|
| BUILDINGS - 19 | | | | | |
| Collection Storage Facility | none | none | Battlefield | 2000 | none |
| Carpenters Shop | none | none | Battlefield | 1980 | none |
| Equipment/Tool Storage Building | none | none | Battlefield | c. 1985 | none |
| Garage/Maintenance Building | none | none | Battlefield | c. 1985 | 38 |
| Lumber Storage Building | none | none | Battlefield | 1992 | none |
| Maintenance Shop Building | none | none | Battlefield | c. 1985 | none |
| Park Administrative Office | none | none | Battlefield | ca. 1962 | 37 |
| Pole Barn Building | none | none | Battlefield | c. 1985 | none |
| Ranger Station | none | none | Battlefield | ca. 1962 | 37 |
| Sand Shed | none | none | Battlefield | c. 1985 | none |
| House, 1032 State Highway 32 | none | none | Battlefield | 1979 | none |
| Saratoga Monument Restroom | none | none | Saratoga Monument | 1931 | 39 |
| NPS Park Residence | none | none | Schuyler Estate | 1960 | 40 |
| Schuyler Estate Maintenance Shed | none | none | Schuyler Estate | 1995 | none |
| Schuyler Estate Restroom | none | none | Schuyler Estate | 1977 | none |
| State Highway Maintenance Garage | none | none | Schuyler Estate | c. 1965 | 41 |
| State Highway Maintenance Office | none | none | Schuyler Estate | c. 1965 | 41 |
| State Highway Maintenance Sand Shed | none | none | Schuyler Estate | c. 1965 | 41 |
| State Highway Maintenance Shed | none | none | Schuyler Estate | c. 1965 | none |
| STRUCTURES - 2 | | | | | |
| Battlefield Tour Road Waysides | none | none | Battlefield | c. 1976 | 3, 6 |
| Boardwalk | none | none | Victory Woods | 2010 | 32 |
| OBJECTS - 4 | | | | | |
| Fraser Memorial | 040762 | none | Battlefield | 1986 | none |

Saratoga National Historical Park
Name of Property

Saratoga, New York
County and State

| RESOURCE NAME | LCS ID | ASMIS # | PARK UNIT | DATE | PHOTO # |
|--|--------|---------|-----------------|------|---------|
| Sons of the American Revolution Monument | 022299 | none | Battlefield | 1977 | none |
| Unknown Soldiers Monument | 040763 | none | Battlefield | 1987 | none |
| Granite Hitching Posts (2) | 040756 | none | Schuyler Estate | 1883 | |
| TOTAL NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES = 25 | | | | | |

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B removed from its original location.
- C a birthplace or grave.
- D a cemetery.
- E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F a commemorative property.
- G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

- Military
- Conservation
- Politics/Government
- Architecture
- Art
- Archeology/Prehistoric, Historic-Non-Aboriginal
- Transportation
- Other: Commemoration

Period of Significance

- 8000-400 B.P.
- 1777-1804
- 1821-1966

Significant Dates

- 1777 – Battles of Saratoga
- 1821 – Construction of Champlain Canal
- 1887 – Completion of Saratoga Monument
- 1938 – Authorization of Saratoga NHP
- 1948 – Establishment of Saratoga NHP

Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

Schuyler, Philip John (1733-1804)

Cultural Affiliation

- Middle to Late Archaic
- Woodlands

Architect/Builder

- Markham, Jared C., architect Saratoga Monument
- Benson, Donald F., architect Visitor Center
- Bissell, George E., sculptor Gates Statue
- Doyle, Alexander, sculptor Schuyler Statue
- O'Donovan, William R., sculptor Morgan Statue
- Kelly, James E., sculptor Relief Panels
- Hartley, Jonathan S., sculptor Relief Panels
- Jones, Brython, designer, Mon. to Unknown Dead

Period of Significance (justification)

The periods of significance for the Saratoga National Historical Park (NHP) Historic District consist of the years between 8000-400BP, for significant archeological sites of the Middle to Late Archaic and Middle to Late Woodland Periods; the year 1777 during which the Battles of Saratoga were fought; 1777-1804 for the association of the extant buildings on the Schuyler Estate with General Philip Schuyler; 1821-1917, the years in which the Champlain Canal were in operation; 1873-1936, which encompasses the period of commemoration, including the construction of the Saratoga Monument and the placement of additional monuments on the battlefield; and 1923-1966, which encompasses the significant historical events associated with the conservation of the battlefield by the state and federal governments.

Criteria Considerations (explanation, if necessary)

The Saratoga NHP Historic District meets Criteria Consideration F for commemorative properties that have been invested with their own historical significance and G for properties of exceptional importance that have achieved significance within the past 50 years. The efforts to commemorate the people and events that figured in the outcome of the critical Battles of Saratoga through the erection of the Saratoga Monument and the smaller monuments placed throughout the battlefield in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were undertaken within the context of a national movement to mark and preserve Revolutionary War battlefields. The Saratoga Monument was one of a small number of monumental projects that received federal funding in the early 1880s, marking one of the first federal steps toward establishment of a national program of historic preservation. The monumentation of the battlefield created the impetus for subsequent efforts to preserve the battlefield and establish and program for its interpretation to the public. Criterion Consideration G applies to the completion of the Battlefield Tour Road in 1966. The road was a vital element of the National Park Service's interpretative program and planning for its construction began before World War II. Underfunding of the Park Service during and immediately after the war delayed construction until the implementation of the National Park Service's Mission 66 program. Construction began in late 1950s, more than 50 years ago, but the massive project took nearly eight years to complete.

Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance and applicable criteria.)

The Saratoga NHP Historic District possesses significance under National Register Criteria A, B, C, and D. The district has national significance under Criterion A in the area of Military History as the site of the Battles of Saratoga, which together comprise a definitive turning point in the American Revolutionary War and are generally acknowledged by historians to be among the most decisive battles in military history. The district is also nationally significant under Criterion A in the areas of Other: Commemoration and Conservation for its association with national trends in the commemoration and preservation of American battlefields during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The district possesses significance at the state level under Criterion A in the area of Transportation for its association with the Champlain Canal, constructed in the early nineteenth century as part of New York's extensive system of artificial waterways and listed in the National Register in 1976. Under Criterion B, the Schuyler Estate Unit possesses national significance for its association with Major General Philip Schuyler (1733-1804), a nationally prominent military and political figure whose public career spanned the crucial formative years of the United States. The Saratoga Monument possesses national significance under Criterion C in the areas of Architecture and Art as one of the nation's most significant nineteenth-century monumental architectural monuments. The Schuyler House, the John Neilson House, and the Saratoga Visitor Center are locally significant under Criterion C in the area of Architecture. Saratoga NHP is eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D at the national level as a property that has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history. Surveys and excavations conducted at the Battlefield, Schuyler Estate, and Victory Woods units have revealed archeological deposits with the demonstrated and potential ability to address substantive research issues within the identified areas of significance for the park as well as ancillary research issues important to regional pre- and post contact period contexts.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least one paragraph for each area of significance.)

CRITERION A – MILITARY HISTORY

The Battles of Saratoga²

The Battles of Saratoga were a pivotal turning point in the American struggle to gain its independence from Great Britain during the Revolutionary War. They represented the culmination of British General John Burgoyne's nearly successful Northern Campaign, which was devised to cut direct communication between New England, considered the hotbed of revolutionary sentiment, and the states to the south. The American victory at Saratoga proved that the Continental Army had developed into a formidable fighting force capable of defeating a British Army in general battle. It revived the flagging hopes of the supporters of the Revolution and provided the convincing proof France needed to decide early the following year to enter the war on the side of the United States. French military and provisioning assistance helped to tip the balance in favor of the Americans, leading to their final victory at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781 and the establishment of the United States as a free and independent nation.

Summary of the Military Situation to 1777

The prospects for American independence were grim as the military campaign season of 1777 approached. A string of recent defeats that exposed the weaknesses of the inexperienced and undermanned Continental Army in the face of the well-trained British forces and made distant the memories of American victories in 1775 at Lexington and Concord, Fort Ticonderoga, and Bunker Hill. In the Northern Department, under the command of Major General Philip Schuyler, an ill-conceived operation against Canada aimed at driving the British out and drawing French Canadians to the cause resulted in defeat at Quebec City in December 1775. As the tattered remnants of the American forces led by Benedict Arnold attempted to lay siege to the city, some 4,000 troops under the command of General John Burgoyne reinforced Sir Guy Carleton, governor and commanding general of the British forces in Canada. Carleton mounted a counteroffensive in June 1776 that drove the Americans out of Canada and into the southern end of the Champlain Valley. He then began preparations for a naval assault on the American strongholds at Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga. Once the forts were captured, he intended to cross over to the Hudson River, capture Albany, and establish communications with General William Howe's army in New York City. On July 7, during a council of war attended by generals Benedict Arnold, Horatio Gates, and John Sullivan, Schuyler made the decision to assemble a flotilla at Skenesborough (now Whitehall), New York, to meet the threat and placed Arnold in command. On October 11, Arnold's makeshift navy met the advancing British off Valcour Island, just south of Plattsburgh, New York. While the battle, which constituted the first naval engagement of the war, resulted in the loss of all the American ships and forced Arnold's retreat overland to Fort Ticonderoga, it served to stall Carleton's advance. Within a week, an early snowfall induced Carleton to abandon the operation and return to Canada for the winter. For Burgoyne, who had accompanied Carleton, the expedition produced disappointment in the abilities of Carleton but reinforced his opinion of the strategic value in gaining control of the upper Hudson. He left for London in December to attend to his duties as a Member of Parliament and to lobby for a renewal of the campaign to be launched under his command the following year.

While Schuyler's Northern Department was struggling to turn back Carleton's advance, the main body of the Continental Army under George Washington was unable to prevent Howe from taking New York City. After landing at Staten Island on July 3, 1776, with more than 20,000 troops transported by a powerful flotilla commanded by his brother, Richard,

² Except where noted, information used to develop the historical contexts, background, and historical development of individual resources contained in this document was compiled from existing cultural resource management reports prepared for Saratoga NHP. The main sources include the *Cultural Landscape Report: Saratoga Battlefield, Saratoga National Historical Park*, Lisa Oudemool, Christopher Stevens, H. Eliot Foulds, Eric Schnitzer, Linda White, and Chris Martin (2002); *General Philip Schuyler House Historic Structure Report*, Maureen K. Phillips (2003); *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Schuyler Estate, Saratoga National Historical Park*, National Park Service (2002); *Cultural Landscape Report and Archaeological Assessment for Victory Woods*, Christopher Stevens, Linda White, William Griswold, and Margie Coffin Brown (2007); *Saratoga Monument Historic Structure Report*, Judith A. Quinn and David Bitterman (1992 Draft); and *Cultural Landscapes Inventory: Saratoga Monument, Saratoga National Historical Park*, Christopher M. Stevens (2002).

Lord Howe, William Howe defeated Washington in a series of battles that forced the Americans to retreat west into Pennsylvania. Washington's subsequent victories at Trenton (December 26, 1776) and Princeton (January 3, 1777) did much to revive the hopes of the American cause, but the British clearly held the initiative in all theaters of the war when the opposing forces went into winter quarters.

Planning for the Hudson River Campaign

The British high command spent the winter months of 1777 developing plans for upcoming operations that it hoped would result in final defeat of the rebellion. Having driven the American forces out of Canada and holding strong positions in the major American seaports of New York City and Newport, Rhode Island, the British had options to launch attacks almost anywhere along the eastern seaboard. Two dominant strategies emerged: one designed to draw Washington's army into general battle by threatening the capital city of Philadelphia and the other to renew the operation to seize control of the Hudson River corridor. Burgoyne became the main proponent of the latter strategy. His experience with Carleton the previous year reaffirmed what he had believed from the earliest stages of the war. While serving in Boston in 1775, he wrote in a memo to his commanding officer General Thomas Gage:

I have always thought Hudson's River the most proper part of the whole continent for opening vigorous operations. Because of the course of the river, so beneficial for conveying all the bulky necessities of an army, it is precisely the route that an army ought to take for great purposes of cutting communications between Southern and Northern Provinces, giving confidence to the Indians, and securing a junction with Canadian forces. These purposes effected, and a fleet upon the coast, it is to me morally certain that the forces of New England must be reduced so early in the campaign to give you battle upon your terms, or perish before the end of it for want of necessary supplies (quoted in Luzader 2002:7, 9).

Burgoyne was a well-connected member of England's social elite who, in addition to serving 30 years in the military, was a Member of Parliament and a playwright of some renown. Upon his return to England at the end of 1776, he had much to say about Carleton's uninspiring leadership and failure to vigorously prosecute the campaign for control of the Hudson River. He presented his ideas about the strategic value and how a successful operation might be conducted in an essay entitled "Thoughts for Conducting the War from the Side of Canada," which he presented to American Colonial Secretary Lord George Germaine in February 1777. His proposal called for a two-pronged offensive from Canada supported by a corresponding move up the Hudson River by Howe's army in New York City. He proposed to lead the main column of troops advancing from Canada with the initial objective of securing Lake Champlain by taking Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga. A smaller force would move down from Canada to the Mohawk River Valley to divert the enemy's attention from the main advance and recruit troops from that area's loyalist-leaning populace. Burgoyne laid out several alternatives for proceeding after the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, including moving on to the Hudson River to make a junction with Howe at Albany or coordinating with troops in Newport to gain control of the Connecticut River Valley. His broad outlines lacked specifics about the ultimate goals of the campaign, which he left for his superiors to define during the development of the overall plans for 1777 (Luzader 2002:12-13).

Germaine supported Burgoyne's proposal and presented it to King George III and his war ministers for their consideration. Howe concurrently devised and proposed his own plans for the upcoming year. On November 30, 1776, he sent two letters to London. The first contained a report on the successful operations in New York, while the second outlined a multi-pronged offensive that included among its various movements the use of Rhode Island as a base for launching an attack on Boston and the dispatch of a force from New York City to Albany to support an anticipated renewal of Carleton's campaign from Canada. Shortly thereafter, however, Howe became convinced that his army should focus on the destruction of Washington's army, which he believed might be lured into general battle by threatening the capital city of Philadelphia. On December 20, before his earlier plans reached London, he sent another letter outlining his plans to delay the Rhode Island operation in favor of an overland assault through New Jersey to Philadelphia. However, Washington's victories at Trenton (December 25-26, 1776) and Princeton (January 3, 1777) soon altered the situation and caused Howe to change his plans again. After the Continental Army established winter quarter at Morristown, Washington was in position to harass Howe's flank and supply lines if the British chose to move overland toward Philadelphia. Howe subsequently concluded that the best way to proceed was to sail the bulk of his army to Chesapeake Bay and attack the city from the south. His second in command, Sir Henry Clinton, would be left to hold New York with

a small force and vague orders that authorized him to support any operation from Canada if he were able to do so. Based on the slow progress of the previous year, Howe thought that Carleton would not near Albany until late fall, at which time he hoped to have accomplished his objectives and be able to supply troops from his army (Luzader 2002:14–17).

When the King and his ministers devised the final orders for Burgoyne, they were aware of Howe's intentions to take Philadelphia but did not yet know about the proposed amphibious operation. They ordered Burgoyne to make control of the upper Hudson River Valley his primary objective. Lieutenant-Colonel Barry St. Leger was placed in command of the force tasked with creating the diversion Burgoyne had proposed in the Mohawk Valley. When both forces met at Albany and established communications with the command in New York City, Burgoyne was to place himself under Howe's command and support operations in the south. The orders suggested that some form of support from forces on the lower Hudson would be forthcoming, but Howe was already at sea by the time orders reached New York. Clinton had neither the men nor clear orders that would allow him to cooperate with Burgoyne. Burgoyne's ignorance of Howe's plans and his persisting hope of support from the south weighed heavily in his decision-making throughout his campaign and had serious consequences on its prospects for success (Luzader 2002:18).

Burgoyne Moves South, May 6 through September 18, 1777

Burgoyne arrived in Quebec on May 6, 1777, and found that Carleton had done much to assemble troops and material at St. Johns on the Richelieu River. Over the course of the following month, the men completed the final preparations. On June 13, the offensive sailed out toward its first destination of Crown Point, New York, near the southern end of Lake Champlain. The right wing of the army under the command of Major General William Phillips consisted of about 3,725 British regulars and 250 Loyalist scouts. About 3,000 German auxiliaries from Braunschweig and Hessen Hanau and 400 Native American warriors from various Iroquois and Algonquin tribes comprised the left wing, led by Major General Friedrich Adolph, Baron von Riedesel. The army reserve consisted of about 250 unmounted Braunschweig dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel Frederich Baum. Up to 1,000 non-combatants and camp followers, including about 250 women, attended the force. The artillery train consisted of about 138 pieces. The bulk of the army was to travel by water for much of the trip. Commodore Skeffington Lutwidge assembled dozens of canoes, hundreds of bateaux, nine Royal Navy vessels, and 28 gunboats under his command. Overland portions of the campaign required the use of hundreds of carts and draft animals to transport the enormous amount of provisions, baggage, ammunition, equipment, and other supplies necessary to support the army. Burgoyne intended to travel by water as far as practicable since it was the easiest means for transporting the army and its baggage (Luzader 2002:19, 75–76; Wood 1990:137).

After securing an undefended Crown Point, burned by Arnold during his retreat after the Battle of Valcour Island, Burgoyne moved south toward Fort Ticonderoga where he expected to encounter his first serious opposition. The French initially constructed the fortress, known as the "Gibraltar of America," in 1755–1758 to control the strategically important location at the connection between Lake George and Lake Champlain. Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen took the site in one of the few early American successes on May 10, 1775. The sprawling fortress and its outer defensive works required a force of 10,000 to properly man them, but a skeleton force of about 2,500 under the command of Major General Arthur St. Clair confronted Burgoyne. On July 5, Burgoyne ordered artillery to the commanding summit of Mt. Defiance, left unguarded due to St. Clair's limited forces. Under cover of darkness, St. Clair marched the bulk of the forces overland toward Castle Town (now Castleton), Vermont. Colonel Pierce Long was given about 600 men and was charged with evacuating the wounded and sick by boat, along with as much artillery and stores as could be accommodated. Long's objective was Skenesborough, where St. Clair hoped to join him later (Luzader 2002:20–22; Wood 1990:138).

Burgoyne dispatched the army's right-wing Advanced Corps under Brigadier-General Simon Fraser and a brigade from von Riedesel's division to pursue St. Clair's force, which reached Hubbardton, Vermont, on July 6. St. Clair left a small detachment of men under Colonel Seth Warner to cover the army's march and to collect the rear guard, consisting of the 11th Massachusetts Regiment under Colonel Ebenezer Francis and stragglers who had become disengaged from their units. Instead of obeying St. Clair's order to move immediately to Castle Town after the forces were joined, Warner and Francis decided to camp for the night at Hubbardton. On the morning of July 7, Fraser surprised them. After the initial shock, the Americans rallied and made a spirited fight, but the two-hour battle ended when a flanking maneuver by von Riedesel's men forced Warner to order a general retreat. More than half of the approximately 600 American troops

engaged were killed, wounded, or captured. British losses came to 35 killed and 148 wounded (Luzader 2002:24–25; Wood 1990:139–140).

While the Battle of Hubbardton was being waged, Burgoyne's advance guard caught up with Colonel Long at Skenesborough. After a brief skirmish, the Americans retreated south to Fort Anne. Burgoyne detached Lieutenant-Colonel John Hill with a force of about 190 men from the 9th Regiment of Foot to pursue Long, but a nearly impassable road caused delays. He took up a position about 1 mile from the Americans on the evening of July 7. Soon after reaching Fort Anne, about 400 New York militia troops, which Schuyler sent forward under the command of Henry Van Rensselaer, reinforced Long. Long decided to attack after gaining intelligence about the relatively small size of Hill's force and nearly succeeded in surrounding the British. Before the attack could be pressed home, however, an Indian war whoop deceived the Americans into believing that reinforcements had arrived. British Captain John Money, who had been sent with a detachment of Indian forces to assist Hill, actually delivered the war cry. When the Indians lagged behind, Money moved forward without them and issued the war whoop as an encouragement to Hill's beleaguered troops that reinforcements were arriving. The Americans heard the cries as well, and the ruse convinced Long to withdraw. He then ordered his troops to move toward Fort Edward. With the loss of Skenesborough and Fort Anne, St. Clair had little choice but to move south to Fort Edward. When he reached the fort on July 12, Schuyler met St. Clair and assumed personal command of the joined American forces (Luzader 2002:25-26; Wood 1990:140).

At Skenesborough, Burgoyne decided on the route he would take to reach the Hudson River. He could either make a retrograde movement to Fort Ticonderoga and continue the operation on water by way of Lake George or march overland to Fort Edward using Wood Creek and an adjacent road. He chose the latter because it eliminated two difficult portages and allowed him to stay in contact with the American main force, which intelligence reports told him was falling back toward Albany. He also considered the effect that the seeming retreat to Fort Ticonderoga would have on the minds of his soldiers and in bolstering the confidence of the Americans, who up to that point had presented little opposition to his advance. The decision meant, however, that Burgoyne had to cut loose a significant number of his boats to transport baggage and supplies over the lake route because the narrow Wood Creek would not allow passage. In the process, his supply line was overextended and he was forced to depend to a greater degree on foraging in the surrounding countryside to feed his army (Luzader 2002:26).

When advised of the British movement on the overland route, Schuyler ordered his engineers to obstruct Burgoyne's advance in hopes of gaining time to assemble reinforcements for his army. Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a French-trained engineer who later played a critical role in laying out the defensive works at Saratoga, directed hundreds of troops to destroy bridges, fell trees, obstruct Wood Creek, and divert its waters to flood the road. Schuyler also ordered local farmers to drive away their cattle to prevent their confiscation by Burgoyne's foraging parties and force the foragers to go farther afield to gather supplies. Schuyler's tactics had the desired effect, as it took Burgoyne 21 days to cover the 23 miles from Skenesborough to Fort Edward and provided Schuyler with valuable time to gather his forces (Wood 1990:141–142).

By the time Burgoyne finally reached Fort Edward on August 1, his serious supply problems required him to halt the advance down the Hudson River to address shortages. Two days later Burgoyne received a letter from Howe regarding his operation against Philadelphia. With little hope of support or resupply from the south, Burgoyne decided to act on a report from von Riedesel that the Connecticut River Valley held a rich supply of agricultural foodstuffs and livestock, including horses that would allow him to mount his dragoons. Burgoyne detached a force of about 800 mostly German troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Friedrich Baum to cross the Green Mountains to the valley to gather supplies and potentially recruit additional troops. The expedition set out on August 9, and along the way a detachment of British sharpshooters, Loyalists, and Native Americans augmented the group, bringing Baum's total strength to about 1,250. Two days later, Burgoyne received intelligence about a lightly guarded supply depot for the Continental Army at Bennington, Vermont. He immediately ordered the detachment to march toward that objective because it was much closer to his army (Ketchum 1997:282—283; Luzader 2002:27—28; Wood 1990:145).

A force of about 1,500 New Hampshire militia commanded by Brigadier General John Stark met Baum at a crossing of the Walloomsac River 4 miles northwest of Bennington on August 14. After finding that he was outnumbered, Baum requested reinforcements from Burgoyne and set about constructing defensive works on both sides of the river at the

crossing. Burgoyne dispatched Breyman with 660 troops, but heavy rains the following day delayed the advance. Stark launched a full-scale attack on Baum's position on August 16, succeeding in enveloping the force in a three-pronged attack on his center and rear right and left flanks. After a heavy fight and the mortal wounding of Baum, the battle wound down by about 4:00 p.m. with the remnants of Baum's forces fleeing back toward Fort Edward. Breyman's relief force met them and pressed on to be met by Stark, who had been reinforced at about the same time by Seth Warner's command. Again, the Americans prevailed and forced a full retreat. The Battle of Bennington, as it became known, was a resounding victory for the Americans. British losses amounted to some 200 killed and wounded and 700 captured, while Stark's and Warner's casualties were estimated at about 50. The battle also prevented the resupply of Burgoyne's army and, together with the events unfolding almost simultaneously in the Mohawk River Valley, proved a crucial turning point in the fortunes of Burgoyne's campaign (Ketchum 1997:297-305, 309-328; Luzader 2002:30-32; Wood 1990:146-149).

St. Leger's force, consisting of about 280 British and German soldiers, 800 Iroquois Indians, and 470 Loyalists, began its campaign down the Mohawk River Valley from Oswego on Lake Ontario on July 26. Meeting no opposition, St. Leger's column reached Fort Stanwix at Rome, New York, on August 2. It immediately began preparations to lay siege to the fort and its garrison of about 650 New York and Massachusetts troops under the overall command of Colonel Peter Gansevoort. Schuyler had alerted the Tryon County militia under Brigadier General Nicholas Herkimer to expect such a move, and Herkimer was able to assemble quickly a force of about 800 militia and 60 Oneida warriors to come to Gansevoort's aid. St. Leger sent a detachment of about 700 men, mostly Loyalists and Iroquois, under Loyalist Sir John Johnson to meet Herkimer. Johnson ambushed Herkimer's force at Oriskany on August 6. The Battle of Oriskany was a bloody affair that pitted neighbors fighting on both sides against one another. The Tryon County militia was defeated with about 500 killed, wounded, or captured. Herkimer was mortally wounded. While the battle took place, however, the Fort Stanwix garrison raided part of St. Leger's camp, capturing or destroying many of their supplies and thereby weakening St. Leger's prospects. On August 12, Schuyler sent forces from the main army to lift the siege at Fort Stanwix. The following day, Schuyler sent Benedict Arnold, who had recently been sent by Congress to take command of the relief force. At German Flats, approximately 30 miles south of the Oriskany Battlefield, Arnold's men captured a number of Loyalists and convinced one to spread rumors among St. Leger's troops that he was advancing in large numbers. The ruse worked on the Iroquois, who deserted the expedition. At that point St. Leger decided to abandon his operation and retreat to Canada, foiling another major element of Burgoyne's plans (Luzader 2002:32-34; Sawyer 2007a and 2007b).

The successes against Baum and St. Leger came too late to save Schuyler from Congress's decision to remove him from command of the Northern Department. Congress had become increasingly dissatisfied with Schuyler's performance since the poorly executed operation against Canada, which Schuyler was supposed to lead until he was forced to withdraw due to poor health. Schuyler's personality and aristocratic Dutch patrician background, combined with a long-standing divide between New York and New England troops, factored into his inability to get along with many of the New Englanders under his command and caused problems in recruiting and commanding troops from those states. On August 10, while in the process of moving the army from Stillwater south to Van Schaick's and Haver (now Peebles) islands at the confluence of the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, Schuyler received a letter from John Hancock, president of Congress, notifying him that he was to be relieved and directing him to report to Washington's headquarters, along with St. Clair, presumably to face court martial over the loss of Fort Ticonderoga. He remained with the army until August 19, when his long-time rival and former second-in-command Major General Horatio Gates appeared in camp with orders to relieve him (Ketchum 1997:335-337; Luzader 2002:35-36).

Upon assuming command, Gates immediately began the process of improving army morale and building up the force to meet Burgoyne. Washington detached Colonel Daniel Morgan's newly formed provisional Rifle Corps composed of about 500 specially selected marksmen from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland and ordered 750 men from Israel Putnam's army in the New York highlands to the Northern Department. Arnold, after leaving a garrison of 700 at Fort Stanwix, arrived with an additional 1,200 men (Wood 1990:150).

Preparation of the American Defenses on the Saratoga Battlefield, September 12-18, 1777

The delay in the British advance provided critical time for the Americans to re-organize and establish a strong defensive position south of Saratoga. By early September, Gates had some 7,500 troops under his command on the west side of the

Hudson and another 2,000 to threaten Burgoyne's left flank under Major General Benjamin Lincoln in Vermont. Gates returned north to Stillwater, where he scouted for favorable terrain to establish a fortified defensive position to block Burgoyne's advance. He found such a place 3 miles north at Bemis Heights and began deploying his army there on September 12 (Wood 1990:150).

The American forces who controlled Bemis Heights held the key ground on the **Saratoga Battlefield (LCS No. none, contributing site)** that was a significant factor in determining the prosecution and outcome of the ensuing battles. The heavily wooded bluff named after Jotham Bemis (or Bemus), a farmer who also kept a tavern below the heights on the Road to Albany, perched above a steep escarpment rising from a narrow defile of cleared flat land between its base and the river. Immediately to the north, a wider area of swampy ground occupied the area within an eastern bend of the river. The Road to Albany, the route that Burgoyne had to travel to maintain contact with the river, ran through the lowlands, fully visible to observation and fire from the heights above it. The combination of the alluvial flats to the immediate north, known as the "Vly" (Dutch for swamp or marsh), and the natural defile created by the near-intersection of the bluffs, road, and river, severely limited an enemy army's maneuverability and tactical options. **Traces of the roads present in 1777 (LCS No. none, contributing structure)** remain on the landscape as part of the Saratoga NHP trail system, revealing the circulation options available to the troops.

Gates placed Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a French-trained Polish engineer, in charge of erecting field fortifications to strengthen the American position. Kosciuszko constructed a series of mutually supporting redoubts on the bluff and placed artillery there. More guns were placed in the lowlands between the road and the river where the Americans dug a trench and built breastworks that provided a protected open field of fire on the Road to Albany. If Burgoyne attempted to pass through the gauntlet at the base of the heights, American artillery on the road and the bluff above it could subject the British army to withering enfilade (Ketchum 1997:347-348).

Burgoyne's other alternative was to ascend the heights and either bring the Americans to battle or circumvent their position. The area north of the American position consisted of heavy woods interspersed with small farm fields, ravines, and streams, while traditional British military tactics favored open ground where they could mass strength in formation and maneuver freely. Gates and Kosciuszko recognized, however, that Bemis Heights was vulnerable to attack from higher ground about three quarters of a mile to the west on the farm belonging to John Neilson. Accordingly, Kosciuszko constructed fortifications and placed artillery along the summit of the hill and along the crest of the ravine draining down toward American Creek. His men cut thousands of trees to build fortifications and create clear fields of observation and fire that would make the position immune to surprise attack. In addition, Kosciuszko destroyed bridges over streams and felled trees across the roads leading to the American position to make enemy movements, particularly artillery, more difficult. These batteries and fortifications dictated the tactics of both armies and the course of the ensuing battles (Ketchum 1997:354).

Gates organized the army into two wings, the left consisting of Morgan's Corps and the brigades of Brigadier Generals Enoch Poor and Ebenezer Learned and the right of the brigades of Brigadier Generals John Patterson, John Nixon, and John Glover under his own command. The bulk of the army defended the heights around John Neilson's Farm. Its position resembled an inverted "V," with the western leg beginning south of a road leading west from the Road to Albany to Saratoga Lake and the eastern leg extending southeast along a deeply cut ravine toward Bemis Heights. The apex of the V was just north of the **John Neilson House (LCS No. 001289, contributing building)**, the only surviving building that was present at the time of the battles. John Neilson built the house about two years earlier when he moved to the area from his native New Jersey. He enlisted in the Continental Army, and his house was vacant when the opposing armies took up their positions. Located on a hill overlooking much of the American lines to the east and west, the house was an obvious choice as quarters for the left wing's general staff. Both Enoch Poor and Benedict Arnold are said to have occupied it during the course of the battles. Smaller bodies of men supported the Bemis Heights redoubts, the entrenchments along the Road to Albany, and an outpost west of the Neilson Farm. A skirmishing detachment headed north on the Road to Albany to provide advance warning should Burgoyne choose that route. Gates established his headquarters in Ephraim Woodworth's house on the south side of the road to Saratoga Lake where he could readily communicate with both wings (Luzader 2002:70; Wood 1990:150).

The First Battle of Saratoga (Freeman's Farm), September 19, 1777

On September 18, Burgoyne finalized his plans to attack the Americans. He knew of the commanding position that Gates held at Bemis Heights. Tied to the river to float his supplies, Burgoyne had to decide whether to force his way through the strong position or attempt a flanking movement. He decided against a direct assault along the Road to Albany and chose instead to explore the possibilities in the uplands and coordinate an attack on the American army's left wing. Burgoyne devised a three-pronged attack using the available roads leading south and west from Swords' farm toward the American position. He gave Fraser the responsibility for executing the flanking movement by taking about 2,400 men, including his Advanced Corps and most of the Loyalist and Native American troops, 3 miles on a road leading westward and then south toward the Great Ravine. Breymann's Reserve corps (about 530 troops) followed as a reserve force. Burgoyne chose to move with the center column comprised of about 1,700 troops from the British right wing under Brigadier General James Hamilton. This column moved west behind Fraser for a short distance before turning south on a road leading down to the Great Ravine. From there it planned to cross the ravine and take up a position north of John Freeman's Farm. Von Riedesel led the left column consisting of about 1,600 mostly German troops on the Road to Albany, bringing the main artillery and guarding supplies and the boats on the river. Upon reaching their designated positions, a prearranged signal of guns would mark the commencement of simultaneous movements against the American camp. With the order of battle set, the operation began in the morning of September 19 (Luzader 2002: 41-42).

After receiving information from his advance pickets that Burgoyne was on the move, Gates initially thought to await attack from behind his strong entrenchments. Arnold, however, felt that his left flank was vulnerable to the type of move Burgoyne was attempting and requested that he be allowed to send a reconnaissance force to determine Burgoyne's intentions. If, as he feared, they were found to be advancing on his left, Arnold believed it better to check them north of the army's position where the heavy woods and uneven topography would allow his light infantry to operate more effectively than the British. After gaining Gates' assent, Arnold ordered Morgan's Corps, which consisted of Morgan's rifle battalion and Major Henry Dearborn's light infantry battalion, to move out on the road leading north from Neilson's Farm toward Freeman's Farm. Morgan positioned his men around Freeman's house and barn located on a hill near the western edge of the farm's clearing (Luzader 2002:42).

At about noon, the advance pickets of Hamilton's center column emerged from the woods at the northern end of the Freeman Farm clearing. Morgan's men met them with fire that struck down all of the officers present and most of the troops. Those who survived retreated in disorder into the woods, where Hamilton's main force opened fire believing them to be Americans. As Morgan's men pursued, advance units of Fraser's corps attacked on their flanks, forcing the Americans to scatter into the woods at the southern end of the farm. Arnold sent three New Hampshire regiments from Poor's Brigade to reinforce Morgan at his position. Hamilton assembled his four regiments at the clearing's northern end (Luzader 2002:42).

Hamilton's 62nd Regiment moved out across the field to resume the fight at about 3:00 p.m. The Americans attacked on the regiment's front and left flank. Coming on despite the heavy fire, the British attempted a bayonet charge, but the Americans repulsed it and captured two cannons pushed forward in support of the attack. As Poor's men pursued the retreating British, the British rallied and again advanced on the hill, recapturing the cannon and forcing the Americans to pull back. During the battle, Arnold sent forward additional regiments from Poor's Brigade to support Learned's Brigade, which advanced to the left of Poor's and skirmished with Fraser's column positioned on the McBride and Marshall farms (west and north of Freeman's Farm). Hamilton's 9th Regiment moved to the right to establish contact with Fraser's left, thwarting any potential for Learned to exploit the gap between the two columns, and posted at two cabins (later known as the Canadian Cabins) flanking the road at the eastern end of McBride's farm clearing. In the meantime, Hamilton's 20th Regiment entered the woods on the left of the 62nd in an attempt to turn Morgan's right flank (Luzader 2002:43-45).

The fighting at Freeman's Farm raged back and forth for about three hours as the forces attacked and counter attacked across the open field. In the meantime, von Riedesel's left column on the Road to Albany made little progress, spending much of the day establishing defensive positions to guard the army supplies under his care and constructing new bridges along the Road to Albany to replace those destroyed by the Americans. With the sounds of battle heard to the west, von Riedesel dispatched two companies of the Regiment and von Rhetz to a wooded bluff on the south side of the Great

Ravine to cover a road that ran west toward Freeman's Farm and to be in position to join the battle if necessary (Luzader 2002:45).

When Burgoyne recognized that Hamilton's outnumbered forces were on the verge of breaking, he sent orders to von Riedesel to send reinforcements to fall on the enemy's right flank. At about 5:00 p.m., von Riedesel led a force consisting of his own regiment, the two detached von Rhetz companies, and two 6-pound artillery pieces under Captain Georg Pausch out onto the wooded road leading toward Freeman's Farm. Upon reaching the side branch of the ravine bordering the eastern side of the farm, he sent his troops into the ravine on the American's right flank. Pausch's artillery entered the ravine as well, over an intact bridge, and dragged their guns across the flat clearing along the road to the hills on the other side of the field where the Americans were pushing the British line back. With great difficulty, they brought the guns up onto one of the hills. The 21st Regiment joined von Riedesel in his attempt to force through the ravine on the southern side of the farm. With the arrival of the reinforcements, the British rallied and pushed forward on the American right as night fell, forcing them back for the final time. The engagement ended with nightfall and the American withdrawal from the field (Luzader 2002:45).

With the American withdrawal, the British could rightfully claim a tactical victory in the First Battle of Saratoga. The victory, however, did nothing to improve Burgoyne's chances of reaching Albany and came at a significant cost to his dwindling army, which suffered about 600 men killed, wounded, or captured. Gates, who lost about half that number, remained firmly in position to block his path to Albany (Luzader 2002:45).

Defensive Interval between the Battles, September 20 through October 6, 1777

While men on both sides expected the fight to resume the morning of September 20, Burgoyne decided to forestall action to rest his troops. The break also allowed his medical staff to attend to the wounded at his overtaxed field hospital and some regiments to reorganize. Early the following day he received a letter from Clinton in New York City stating that if Burgoyne thought it would be of help, he was willing to make a push up the lower Hudson. Clinton wrote the letter shortly after learning on September 11 of the defeat at Bennington and the slow progress of Burgoyne's march. He wanted to relieve the pressure on Burgoyne if possible by launching an attack up river to take Fort Montgomery and other American forts in the area that would draw off troops from Gates' army. With Washington off in Pennsylvania in pursuit of Howe, and expecting his own reinforcement any day, Clinton believed he could spare 2,000 troops to begin the movement "in about 10 days." While hardly a concrete promise of support, the news buoyed Burgoyne, who immediately sent word requesting that Clinton begin his operation as soon as possible. Despite being dangerously low on supplies, Burgoyne determined to dig in and await Clinton's advance (Luzader 2002:45, 50).

Later the same day, after hearing a cannonade of celebration from the Americans, Burgoyne learned Fort Ticonderoga had fallen to the enemy, and the news reinforced his decision to stay. A force of about 500 men under Colonel John Brown of Major General Benjamin Lincoln's command surprised the British manning the works on September 18 and succeeded in freeing more than 100 American prisoners and capturing more than 250 British and Canadian troops. They also took a large amount of Army stores, including arms and provisions. The action proved to Burgoyne that he had little choice but to go forward and that he had to do it soon, as the Americans demonstrated that they were in position to cut both his supply line and his avenue of retreat (Ketchum 1992:376-378).

Burgoyne spent the following two weeks strengthening his lines, which stretched in a convex arcing line from the river west to McBride's Farm in the northern portion of the Saratoga Battlefield. Natural landscape features separated the army's five distinct units. An encampment of Loyalist and Indian troops—along with the baggage, bateaux and scows, park of artillery, general hospital, and supplies—occupied the low plain along the river north of the Great Ravine. Von Riedesel's German troops manned a chain of small posts on the south side of the ravine and also in the lowlands. The bulk of von Riedesel's left wing of the army and Hamilton's right wing of the army established fortified lines on the plateau above the river on the farm lots leased by John McCarthy and Jeremiah Taylor. The Great Ravine bordered the position on the north, the wood bluff overlooking the river bordered it on the east, the Middle Ravine on the south, and a deep branch of the Middle Ravine separating the McCarthy and Freeman farms on the west. Fraser's Advanced Corps occupied Freeman's Farm, while Breymann's Reserve Corps occupied the eastern portion of McBride's farm to the north and west.

The men threw up a series of field fortifications along the lines to provide protection in case of attack. The massive construction effort employed more than a thousand men and required the felling of thousands of trees and a significant amount of earth moving. Artillery emplacements on the three hills that rose above the plain to the west guarded the lowland positions. The Great Redoubt located on the southernmost hill just north of the Great Ravine was the most imposing of these. A V-shaped line of abatis protected Hamilton's and von Riedesel's wings on the plateau. Fraser's Advanced Corps constructed the strongest position of the entire line around the Freeman Farm buildings, named the Balcarres Redoubt for Major Alexander Lindsay, 6th Earl of Balcarres, who commanded the Light Infantry Battalion. The oblong fortification with log and earthen walls that ranged from 4 to 14 feet in height stretched some 500 yards on a roughly north/south axis. Eight pieces of artillery supported it. The soldiers constructed a smaller redoubt to the northwest composed of a single line of breastworks about 200 yards long and 7 to 8 feet high. It provided cover for Breymann's Corps and guarded the British extreme right and the road to Quaker Springs. Log and earthen walls fortified the Canadian Cabins, located in the gap between the Balcarres and Breymann redoubts, along the road leading down to the Great Ravine. In addition to these major structures, the men constructed a number of smaller open-back fortifications throughout the line. Burgoyne also constructed a bridge of bateaux across the river to a *tête-de-pont* (a bridgehead fortification that could be used to protect a bridge from attack or cover a crossing force during retreat) to facilitate foraging and reconnaissance missions and to provide a route for communicating with Clinton.

Gates also made efforts during the lull in fighting to further strengthen his defensive positions on Bemis Heights and continued to receive reinforcements. A growing rift with Arnold became his most significant problem during the interval. Gates had been on good terms with Arnold until recently, when he became increasingly doubtful of his loyalty, suspecting that Arnold was among a group of officers in camp who were openly loyal to his predecessor, Major General Philip Schuyler. The group spread rumors about Gates' attempts to defame Schuyler, whom he detested, in favor of his assuming command of the Northern Department. For his part, Arnold felt that Gates did not properly support his attack at Freeman's Farm. When Gates reassigned Morgan's Corps to his own command, Arnold became increasingly dissatisfied with his treatment. The rift became serious after Gates failed to mention Arnold in his official report on the First Battle of Saratoga. Arnold, extremely ambitious and jealous of his reputation, took the slight personally and angrily confronted Gates. After being granted a pass to Philadelphia, Arnold refused to leave camp and continued to agitate against Gates among his clique of Schuyler partisans (Luzader 2002:48; Wood 162-163).

By the end of September, Burgoyne's fatigued army was low on provisions. Gates was keenly aware of Burgoyne's situation and determined to do all he could to exacerbate it. On an almost nightly basis, Gates sent skirmishers forward to probe Burgoyne's river defenses and threaten his supply base there. Skirmishing designed to harass and discourage the effort met all discovered foraging expeditions. These actions further fatigued and demoralized the British army, and an increasing rate of desertion became a serious concern for Burgoyne. On October 3, he announced that rations needed to be cut by one-third but tempered the news by informing the army that help in the form of Clinton's army was on its way (Ketchum 1997:382-383).

However, Burgoyne did not have any formal intelligence regarding Clinton's progress. Clinton actually delayed his operation more than a week beyond his proposed start, not getting under way until October 3. He initially headed toward a series of forts on the lower Hudson under the command of Major General Israel Putnam. Putnam had recently sent a good portion of his army to reinforce Washington and was left with a skeleton force of about 1,500 Continental Army troops and a number of unreliable militia units. Clinton's force consisted of about 3,000 British Regulars transported on navy vessels. On October 5, Clinton landed at Verplanck's Point and scattered a force of Americans there. Putnam reacted by moving inland about 4 miles and ordering reinforcements from Forts Montgomery and Clinton to join him there for an expected attack. Clinton left a force of about 1,000 men at Verplanck's to deceive Putnam of his intentions and succeeded in easily taking the undermanned forts. As Putnam retreated northward, Clinton cut the log boom the Americans had erected in the river and easily took Fort Constitution across from West Point on October 7. The next day he sent word to Burgoyne of the encouraging news that nothing now stood in his way to Albany. By that time, however, the British army had already fought and lost the Second Battle of Saratoga (Luzader 2002:51).

On October 4, the day after he cut his men's rations, Burgoyne decided that he could wait no longer for word from Clinton. He called a council of war attended by generals Phillips, Fraser, and von Riedesel and informed them of his

plans to attack the Americans. He proposed to leave 800 men to guard the supplies near the river and use the rest of his army to attack Gates' left and rear. The boldness of his plan shocked his subordinates, who advised against it. They argued that a flanking movement would take too much time to execute and be discovered too easily, leaving the force guarding the supplies vulnerable to attack. If the Americans succeeded, the army would lose both its sustenance and escape route. The conference adjourned without reaching a decision (Luzader 2002:51-52).

The next day, von Riedesel urged Burgoyne to withdraw north of Saratoga to the mouth of the Batten Kill, where he could reestablish his supply line with Canada and await Clinton's advance. If Clinton did not arrive, the army could retreat the way it had come. Burgoyne rejected the proposal, believing the retreat would bring disgrace on the army, and determined to make a last attempt to force his way through the Americans. He revised his plan to make a more conservative attack on Gates through a reconnaissance-in-force that would test Gates' left and forage for supplies along the way. If the reconnaissance found conditions favorable, he would commit the army to a general attack the following day. If the American positions were determined to be too strong, he would acquiesce to von Riedesel's plan to retreat to Batten Kill on the 11th (Luzader 2002:51-52).

The Second Battle of Saratoga (Bemis Heights), October 7, 1777

Burgoyne assembled about 1,700 elite troops from various units of the army to conduct the reconnaissance-in-force, leaving the rest (about 5,400 men) behind to man the defenses. Burgoyne decided to accompany the expedition personally and arranged the troops into three columns under command of his most able officers. Fraser led the right column, which consisted of Balcarres' Light Infantry Battalion, the 24th Regiment, and his nephew Captain Alexander Fraser's British Rangers supplemented with a collection of Canadian, Indian, and Loyalist troops and would serve as an advance scout unit. The center column under von Riedesel contained men picked from all the Braunschweig and Hanau units; a detachment of jägers, chasseurs, and grenadiers from Breymann's Corps; and some British troops under Phillips' command. Major John Dyke Acland's British Grenadier Battalion comprised the left column. Ten pieces of artillery under the overall command of Major Griffith Williams supported the force (Luzader 2002:51-53; Wood 1990:165-166).

The operation got underway sometime in the late morning of October 7 with the main force marching south on the Quaker Springs Road, through the abandoned Marshall farm, and out into the open wheat fields of the farms leased by brothers Simeon and Joshua Barber. It quickly drove a small picket of American troops stationed at Simeon Barber's house from the field. At this point, the march halted while foragers cut wheat. Some men attempted to reconnoiter the American lines from the roof of Simeon Barber's house, but tall intervening trees obscured the views. The columns were deployed into a line that stretched about 1,000 yards north from the main branch of Mill Creek. Fraser positioned the British light infantry in Joshua Barber's clearing at the base of the wooded hill with the 24th Regiment on its left along a road that led into the woods between the fields. Von Riedesel's men took up a position in Simeon Barber's clearing with Acland's grenadiers on its left (Luzader 2002:53).

Warned that the British were again on the move by the pickets who fled their post on the Barber farm, Gates sent his aide Lieutenant-Colonel James Wilkinson to determine the nature of the force. Wilkinson reported that the British were spread out with their flanks resting on wooded areas that would offer concealment for an attack. With this information, Gates ordered Morgan to prepare to move forward. After consulting further with Wilkinson, Morgan determined that the most vulnerable point was the British right positioned at the base of the wooded hill on Joshua Barber's farm. He proposed to make a circuit to the left, taking the hill from the west and thereby gaining commanding ground from which his riflemen could enfilade the British ranks. Gates approved the plan and allotted time for the movement in his plans to assail the British left wing simultaneously. He gave that mission to Poor's Brigade, which could take advantage of the concealment offered by the forest cover on Acland's left flank. Poor planned to take his men from the Neilson Farm north along the Quaker Springs Road that led directly to Simeon Barber's farm. Learned followed Poor with the assignment to attack the center to occupy von Riedesel and prevent him from supporting the columns on the flanks.

Poor's Brigade reached Jesse Chatfield's farm across Mill Creek from Acland's lines at about 3:00 p.m. After learning that his probe had been discovered, Burgoyne decided to abandon plans for further advance on the American left but, believing that he held the high ground and could hold the Americans off, determined to at least allow his foragers to complete their work. He ordered Williams to direct artillery fire on the Americans as a deterrent to their advance. The

cannonade had no effect, however, and at about 3:30, Poor's men emerged from the woods and swept up an open hill undaunted by a round of small arms and grape fire that mostly sailed over their heads. Continuing on until they reached close range, the Americans unleashed a heavy volley that felled many of the grenadiers, including Acland who was shot through both legs and captured. The British retreated in confusion, followed by the Americans who captured Williams' guns (Ketchum 1997:395–397).

Morgan commenced his attack on Fraser on the right side of Burgoyne's lines about the same time that Poor engaged the left. He brought his rifle corps to the hill commanding the British light infantry's position and opened fire. As Simon Fraser attempted to meet the threat by consolidating his flank, Dearborn came up and delivered a devastating close-range volley followed by a bayonet charge that shattered the formation. The British light infantry fell back toward the woods bordering the Barber farm and formed a new line across the Quaker Springs Road. With the columns on the right and left dissolving, Learned's Brigade, supported by Brigadier General Abraham Ten Broeck's brigade of New York militia and a regiment from Brigadier General Jonathan Warner's Massachusetts militia, attacked von Riedesel in the middle. Von Riedesel successfully met the initial attack, forcing the Americans back. While the Americans reformed, Arnold, without orders to do so, appeared on the field to assist in rallying the men and led a fresh assault that forced the Germans to give way. Fraser determined to defend his positions to provide time for von Riedesel and what was left of Acland's men to organize an orderly retreat but was mortally wounded. The British forces made a general retreat to the Balcarres Redoubt (Luzader 2002:54–55; Wood 1990:166–167).

By about 5:00 p.m., the remnants of Burgoyne's probing force took up positions within the fortified British camp. The probe cost Burgoyne about 400 casualties and the loss of eight cannons, but his defensive position was strong and the battle was not yet decided. The ensuing fight centered on the main stronghold at the Balcarres Redoubt, attacked first by Poor's men who advanced through the Marshall and Freeman farms in pursuit of the retreating British. A withering volley met them as they came into the open ground in front of the redoubt and in the face of a superior and entrenched force. Poor decided to pull back to wooded cover. Meanwhile, Gates sent additional troops to join the action, bringing the total number of the force moving against Burgoyne to about 7,000 men. Following up on their attacks, Morgan and Learned moved on to assault Breyman's Redoubt on the British camp's extreme right. Learned easily swept past the Canadian Cabins defending the gap between the Breyman and Balcarres redoubts and invested the now-vulnerable southern left of the German position. Morgan hit the Breyman Redoubt from the south and west. During the attack, Arnold, who participated with Poor in his initial assault on the Balcarres Redoubt, rejoined Learned in the attack on the German rear and was wounded in the leg during the fighting. Breyman was killed during the action, which soon turned into a full rout that left the Americans in possession of the German camp and redoubt and fully exposed the British right flank. At that point, the onset of darkness ended the day's fighting. With the superior American force on his flank, Burgoyne ordered a withdrawal during the night to the heights of the Great Redoubt (Luzader 2002:56–57).

Burgoyne's Retreat and Surrender, October 8 to October 17, 1777

Burgoyne repositioned his weary and badly torn army the following day near the strongly fortified Great Redoubt. While the Americans advanced into the former British camp and kept up a steady barrage of artillery fire, the British command held a solemn evening burial service for Fraser, who died from his wounds earlier in the day. Burgoyne's options were now limited to either retreat or surrender. He chose to retreat, still retaining the faint hope that Clinton might yet provide relief from the south. The British began to move northward on the Road to Albany during the afternoon of October 8. Burgoyne had to leave some 400 wounded at the hospital behind the lines with a letter requesting that Gates provide for their protection. A cold, drenching rain delayed the march as the beaten army struggled to haul its artillery and baggage over the narrow road and along the river by boat. The progress was so slow that the rear guard under Balcarres did not complete its removal until the following day (Luzader 2002:58–59).

Having achieved his initial goal of preventing Burgoyne from reaching Albany, Gates began making plans to capture the entire invading force. He had already done much to position forces in Burgoyne's rear to cut his supply lines and now had the opportunity to use those troops to block his path of retreat. During the week before the second battle, Stark reappeared with his New Hampshire militia to take the small garrison left behind by Burgoyne to guard Fort Edward and began moving down the west side of the river toward Saratoga. A brigade of Vermont militia under Brigadier General Jacob Bailey took up an entrenched position along the road leading north of Fort Edward, and Brigadier General John

Fellows took his brigade on the east side of the Hudson to the west end encamped at Saratoga. Some 5,000 American troops held positions north and east to prevent Burgoyne's escape as Gates' main force began its pursuit from the south (Luzader 2002:58-59).

Burgoyne arrived at Saratoga on October 9 and found his way north and east blocked. He moved his army to the heights on the west side of the village and spent that evening at Philip Schuyler's country manor, while his engineers began throwing up a hasty but well-placed system of field fortifications in the hills above. The high plateau, later referred to as the "Heights of Saratoga," overlooked the floodplains and confluence of Fish Creek and the Hudson River. Burgoyne passed the site on his way south and knew of its advantages as a defensive position. His men constructed an earthen redoubt along the brow of the hill, encompassing an area of approximately one hundred acres. Vestiges of the fortifications, including the **angled earthwork (LCS No. none, contributing structure)**, **gunpowder magazine (LCS No. none, contributing structure)**, and **cannon battery (LCS No. none, contributing structure)**, can still be discerned on the landscape of the **Victory Woods British Encampment Site (LCS No. none, contributing site)**. Burgoyne posted most of his British troops and remaining Loyalists on the southern part of the heights north of Fish Creek within the area covered by the Victory Woods and Saratoga Monument units of the Saratoga NHP. He positioned von Riedesel's troops to the northeast with the Reserve Corps and the Canadians in the gap between the two wings of the army. The artillery park occupied a rise on the flats east and a little south of the German main body. The position provided Burgoyne with the high ground and had the advantage of commanding an opening that offered a clear field of fire and favorable terrain for the close-order tactics of regular troops.

Gates' advance forces reached the outskirts of Saratoga Village on the morning of October 10. After receiving word of the American approach, Burgoyne ordered Schuyler's house and all outbuildings burned to prevent their use as cover for American operations and moved to the heights. When the Americans reached Schuyler's estate, Colonel Ebenezer Stevens, commander of the artillery, placed his cannons on the flats of the Fish Kill and effectively destroyed Burgoyne's flotilla and the provisions they contained. The following day, thinking that Burgoyne would continue his retreat, Gates ordered an attack on what he thought would be the British rear guard. Instead, the American force faced one of the strongest points on the British entrenched line. A British deserter saved them from a potentially serious reverse by providing information about Burgoyne's entrenched position. Gates averted disaster by calling the troops back before they engaged. Burgoyne later described the lost opportunity to exploit an American mistake as "one of the most adverse strokes of fortune in the whole campaign" (Luzader 2002:60).

After the aborted attack, Gates determined not to test the strong British lines with a full frontal assault, preferring to complete the envelopment of the position and lay siege. Without resupply the British could not hold out for long. He completed his movements on October 12 with his army to the south, Morgan on the west, Stark on the north, and Fellows to the east. That same day Burgoyne called a council of war to discuss options with his general staff. They faced a critical situation with the army dangerously low on rations and the men exposed without shelter to continuous American artillery bombardment. Burgoyne outlined five alternatives for his generals to consider, including staying in place and awaiting attack, conducting an attack of their own, retreating with the artillery and baggage, retreating at night without the artillery and baggage, or marching rapidly to Albany should the enemy leave its rear open in its shift to the left. He did not yet place surrender on the table. Von Riedesel argued successfully for a rapid retreat at night without the baggage and artillery, but a reconnaissance conducted that day revealed that the American forces to the north and east would discern the movement quickly and prevent its success (Luzader 2002:63).

On October 13, Burgoyne again called his staff together for the purpose of gaining consensus on his decision to seek honorable terms for capitulation. Before the meeting, he drafted the articles of a treaty, and he received unanimous support for its terms among the officers. The following day, Burgoyne sent a commission led by his adjutant general, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Kingston, to Gates' headquarters under a flag of truce to begin the negotiations. During the discussion, Gates presented Kingston with his terms, which called for the unconditional surrender of the British army. Despite his desperate situation, Burgoyne was unwilling to surrender under such terms. To the surprise of the British, Gates soon largely accepted Burgoyne's terms on the condition that the surrender be accomplished by 2:00 on the afternoon of October 15. Burgoyne became suspicious over the imposed deadline, taking it to mean that Gates might be anxious about the impending arrival of Clinton and decided to prolong the negotiations to buy time. He instructed his commissioners to stall, and they conducted protracted negotiations throughout the following day. Finally, at about 11:00

that evening, the commissioners agreed to the terms of the articles of convention that would surrender Burgoyne's army (Luzader 2002:63–64).

During the evening of October 15, Burgoyne received his first knowledge of Clinton's whereabouts when a Loyalist brought word that the advance of the force making its way up the Hudson had reached Esopus, about 45 miles south of Albany, the week before. Burgoyne called yet another council of war and asked his generals' opinion about whether they thought it honorable to break the articles of convention and, if so, whether they thought the proximity of Clinton's forces improved their situation. A majority of the officers answered no to both questions. Burgoyne, however, continued to hold out hope and sought to delay the negotiations by claiming they were obtained under false pretense. In an effort to buy time to see what might come of Clinton's advance, he wrote Gates to request an inspection of his lines to see if a rumored detachment of part of his force to meet Clinton had weakened his position. Gates rejected the request and wrote back that he expected an immediate and decisive decision. With all options exhausted, the British commander signed what was then titled the "Convention of Saratoga" on October 16 (Luzader 2002:64).

On October 17, Burgoyne and his general staff proceeded to Gates' camp where the British commander surrendered his sword to the victorious general. In a generous act, Gates returned the sword and invited Burgoyne and his officers to a dinner. The British army marched to the Field of Grounded Arms at the site of the former Fort Hardy on the north side of Fish Creek where it empties into the Hudson River and piled their weapons. That evening, the defeated British army began a long march to Cambridge, Massachusetts, to be held there until arrangements for exchange could be made. Burgoyne was paroled and returned to England in 1778, and many of the officers were exchanged. The rank and file troops, however, remained in captivity for the remainder of the war in various prison camps throughout the United States. Following their release, many of the men chose to remain in America (Luzader 2002:65–66).

Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga ended British plans to conquer the Americans, although subsequent operations conducted by General Haldimand from Canada continued to be a concern throughout the war. While Howe succeeded in his mission to take Philadelphia, the British abandoned the strategy of bringing the rebellion to an early end through concerted land operations that had shown so much promise at the beginning of the 1777 campaign season. In 1778, British aims shifted to naval operations and more limited targets. Later, the primary theater of war shifted to the southern states. The American's success in defeating a major arm of the world's most powerful army brought international recognition to their cause for liberty. France entered the war that winter on the American side. In 1779, Spain entered the war, and the following year the Netherlands allied against the British. The credit, money, supplies, ships, and men that the new allies provided tipped the balance to the American side and ultimately led to final victory at Yorktown in 1781 (Luzader 2002:67–69).

CRITERION A – OTHER: COMMEMORATION

Commemoration of the Battles of Saratoga began as early as 1780 but did not take physical form on the landscape until the construction of the **Saratoga Monument (LCS ID. 023055, contributing structure)** from 1877 to 1887. As befitting the pivotal significance of the American victory at Saratoga, the monument was one of a select class of monumental Revolutionary War commemorative structures built in the nineteenth century. The magnitude of these projects required the formation of dedicated organizations to oversee the design and construction of the monuments. The Bunker Hill Monument Association and the Groton Monument Association, chartered by their state legislatures in the 1820s, established the organizational model for such associations. The success of those two efforts led to the founding of other monument associations with similar designs in the 1840s and 1850s, including the Saratoga Monument Association (SMA). Following the disruption of the Civil War, the SMA faced difficulties in raising the necessary funds for the monument. Its eventual construction resulted from a shift in the U.S. Congress' attitude toward expending public money on commemorative works that occurred after the centennial anniversary of the Revolutionary War. Congressional appropriations for the Saratoga Monument and others in the early 1880s constituted what historian Ronald F. Lee called the government's first serious involvement in historic preservation. Between 1883 and 1891, Ellen Hardin Walworth led the SMA's effort to mark significant places on the battlefield with small commemorative markers. Most are still present and represent the first effort undertaken to enhance visitor understanding and appreciation of the key events and persons that affected the outcome of the Battles of Saratoga. Additional commemorative monument efforts were undertaken by

other groups in the early twentieth century. The most significant of those projects was the Monument to the Unknown American Dead, which was erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1931.

Early Monuments to the American Revolution

Commemoration of the Revolutionary War took many forms during the immediate aftermath of the struggle for independence. Local celebrations to mark the anniversaries of important battles and events in the nation's founding became commonplace after the war. These activities often consisted of gatherings of remembrance at the sites of important battles, accompanied by speeches, parades, lectures, and battlefield reenactments. Such expressions of gratitude for the accomplishments of the men-in-arms helped to bind together a disparate society around images of the shared sacrifice and bloodshed that were the costs of freedom. The earliest commemorative activities at Saratoga took the form of battlefield tours given by knowledgeable locals, including General Philip Schuyler who personally guided the Marquis de Chastellux and George Washington on trips to the site. Ezra Buel, a local farmer and a veteran of the battles, became one of the first acknowledged "experts" on the battlefield and the location of important events. These and other types of commemorative activities contributed to the formation of American nationalism (Linenthal 1993:4, 13; Purcell 2002:1; Stone 1895:63).

Although no efforts were made to create a formal monument at the Saratoga battlefield until the mid-nineteenth century, efforts to commemorate Revolutionary War military heroes and events began in other places while the war was still in progress. On October 4, 1777, three days before the decisive Second Battle of Saratoga, the Continental Congress authorized \$500.00 dollars for the erection of a monument in honor of Brigadier General Herkimer, who fell at the Battle of Oriskany. Within 10 days of the surrender of the British at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, Congress passed a resolution to erect "a marble column . . . inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to his Excellency General Washington . . ." Plans for a national monument to honor George Washington for his military accomplishments began as early as 1783 when Congress authorized the erection of an equestrian statue of the General. Major Peter Charles L'Enfant anticipated the placement of the monument in his 1791 plan for Washington, D.C. The destitution of the treasury—along with a general antipathy of the anti-authoritarian generation of Revolutionary-era politicians toward anything that seemed to celebrate the military and, by association, centralized state power—combined to prevent federal funding of these and other proposed monuments during the early years of the Republic. Washington himself was unwilling to have his accomplishments elevated above those of the many others who contributed to the fight for independence. He resisted all efforts during his lifetime to erect such a monument. John Quincy Adams later summed up his opinion of why the movement to erect a national monument to Washington failed to gain traction when he wrote in the 1830s that "Democracy has no forefathers, it looks to no posterity; it is swallowed up in the present, and thinks of nothing but itself. This is the vice of democracy; and it is incurable. Democracy has no monuments; it strikes no medals; it bears the head of no man upon a coin; its very essence is iconoclastic" (Adams 1876:433; GSA 1883:3; Savage n.d.:1; Seymour 1884:11).

A few local efforts resulted in the erection of small-scale monuments constructed to memorialize the ultimate sacrifice of individuals on the battlefield. The most notable was the Revolutionary Monument on Lexington Green, which was erected in 1799 by the Town of Lexington with funds provided by the Massachusetts General Court. The monument is the nation's oldest surviving war memorial and commemorates the eight Americans killed during the initial volleys of the war. In 1835, the remains of the soldiers were transferred from the town cemetery to a plot at the base of the monument. The Paoli Massacre Monument was another early battle monument. The Republican Artillerists of Chester County constructed it in 1817 to commemorate the grave site of 52 American soldiers killed during a ruthless British attack on forces under General Anthony Wayne at Paoli Tavern in Malvern, Pennsylvania (NPS 2005).

The most impressive monument erected during the first quarter of the nineteenth century was Baltimore's Washington Monument. The growing veneration of Washington during that period led to repeated efforts to construct an appropriate national memorial, but all failed due to lack of Congressional support. In 1809, however, a group of prominent Baltimore citizens petitioned the General Assembly of Maryland for permission to hold a lottery for the purpose of raising funds to erect a monument within the city. The lotteries were authorized two years later, and in 1815 Robert Mills, then a relatively unknown architect from South Carolina, won a design competition for the monument. Completed in 1829, the 178-foot-tall Baltimore Washington Monument consisted of a Doric column mounted on a large rectangular base and

topped by a dome and a statue of Washington. Visitors could walk up a set of interior stairs to a viewing platform under the dome that provided expansive views of the city and beyond. The major obelisk monuments constructed later in the nineteenth century incorporated the viewing platform feature (Lehnert 1998).

Revolutionary War Battle Monument Movement, 1823–1890

The first national expression of the public's desire to commemorate the Revolutionary War occurred as the semi-centennial approached in the mid-1820s. The period, as author John Bodnar wrote in his 1993 book *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, was characterized by a decline in Republican and Federalist factionalism and a rise in patriotic fervor. During this so-called "Era of Good Feelings" (1817–1825), historical interest in the Revolutionary War and George Washington as the ultimate American hero increased. The solemn celebrations surrounding the jubilee (50th anniversary) of the signing of the Declaration of Independence manifested this sentiment and firmly established the Fourth of July as the anniversary of the nation's founding. The Marquis de Lafayette's triumphant and well-publicized tour of the nation in 1824–1825 and a growing appreciation for the veterans of the war, whose numbers by that time were rapidly declining due to age, also contributed to the placing of the Revolution at the forefront of public memory (Bodnar 1993:22–23).

The stirring of patriotic zeal during the period leading up to the semi-centennial fueled the formation of the first organizations established to erect major monuments commemorating Revolutionary War battle events. Private individuals established these organizations, often incorporated as "monument associations," and received state charters authorizing them to raise funds for the projects on a non-profit basis. The first such organization was the Bunker Hill Monument Association (BHMA), established in 1823 by a group of prominent Bostonians that included the Revolutionary War veterans John Brooks, then-Governor of Massachusetts, and General Henry A.S. Dearborn. The BHMA was founded to raise funds and oversee construction of the Bunker Hill Monument in Charlestown. Solomon Willard designed the granite obelisk monument in 1825, and at 222 ft tall it was of a scale unlike any commemorative structure before in the United States. Lafayette laid the cornerstone during a semi-centennial celebration of the Battle of Bunker Hill on June 17 of that year. Lack of funds delayed the completion of the monument, and it was not dedicated until 1843. While the construction of the Bunker Hill Monument was underway, the BHMA provided the majority of funds for the erection of the 1836 Battle Monument, a small-scale obelisk atop a square plinth placed at the east approach to the North Bridge in Concord, Massachusetts. Also designed by Solomon Willard, the monument commemorates the area where several British soldiers fell during the initial attack of American forces on the British during the Battle of Concord on April 19, 1775 (PAL 2001).

Following the example set by the BHMA, the Connecticut State Legislature chartered the Groton Monument Association (GMA) in 1824 for the purpose of erecting a monument on the site of the Battle of Groton Heights (September 6, 1781). During the battle, a superior British force under the overall command of Benedict Arnold overwhelmed a small band of Connecticut militia led by Colonel William Ledyard. The state legislature assisted the GMA when it authorized a series of statewide lotteries with the proceeds going to the project. Noted American architects Ithiel Town and Andrew Jackson Davis designed the Groton Battle Monument (also referred to as the Fort Griswold Monument). The cornerstone was laid on the anniversary of the battle on September 6, 1826, and the monument was dedicated on the same day four years later. While the Groton Battle Monument was designed a year after the Bunker Hill Monument, its completion date of 1830 gives it the distinction of being the oldest massive granite obelisk monument in the United States. It was originally topped by a wrought iron cupola that covered a viewing platform. In 1881, the cupola was replaced with a more traditional pyramidal pinnacle, and the monument achieved its current height of 134 feet (*NY Times*, 9/30/1896; Zukowsky 1976:574).

The movement that resulted in the construction of the Washington Monument in the nation's capitol began in 1833 when Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall, former President James Madison, and other influential leaders organized the Washington National Monument Society. Mills was selected as the architect after winning an 1836 design competition. His original design called for a tall, nearly flat obelisk surrounded at its base by a circular neoclassical-style colonnade on which would stand a statue of Washington in a chariot. Inside the colonnade, statues of 30 prominent Revolutionary War heroes would be displayed. The cornerstone was laid in 1848, but further funding issues, political intrigues, and finally the Civil War forestalled its completion. When the project resumed in 1876, Mills' successor Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas

L. Casey revised the design to the simple massive obelisk that stands today. The monument was officially dedicated on February 21, 1885 (Harvey 1902:7-9).

The completion of the Groton and Bunker Hill Monuments, along with the start of the Washington Monument in the 1840s, encouraged the formation of other monument associations during the 1840s and 1850s. Among them were the Mecklenburg Monument Association, chartered in 1842 by the North Carolina legislature to build a monument to the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence; the Trenton Monument Association, established in 1844 to erect a monument to Washington's victory at the Battle of Trenton on December 25, 1776; the Pulaski Monument Commission, established in the early 1850s in Savannah, Georgia, to erect a monument to General Casimir Pulaski who fell during the siege to retake Savannah from the British in 1779; the Bennington Monument Association, established in 1854 to erect a monument at the site of the Battle of Bennington, Vermont; the Martyr Monument Association, established in 1855 to build a monument to the American prisoners who died in the notorious British prison ships anchored in Wallabout Bay off Brooklyn, New York; the Saratoga Monument Association, initially formed in 1856 and chartered in 1859; the Greene Monument Association, established in 1857 to build a monument to the memory of Nathanael Greene on the Guilford Courthouse Battlefield in North Carolina; and the Mohawk Valley Monument Association, established in 1860 for the purposes of erecting a monument to Revolutionary War events in that region (Mecklenburg Monument Association 1898:34-35; Trenton Battle Monument Association 1893:25; Bennington Battle Monument Association 1887:3; Taylor 1855:60; Baker 1995).

The monuments envisioned by the associations constituted major construction efforts that required large sums of money to execute, and the difficulty of raising the necessary funds proved to be major hurdles. For the most part, the fundraising methods used to complete successfully the few major monuments constructed to that time were not applicable to their projects. As a result of the anti-lottery movement that swept through the nation beginning in the 1820s, most states by the 1840s had outlawed lotteries, which had been the primary source of funding for Baltimore's Washington Monument and the Groton Battle Monument. The Bunker Hill Monument's location in Charlestown, immediately north of downtown Boston, gave it the advantage of being a highly visible display of civic and patriotic pride for the wealthy benefactors who made its construction possible, in contrast to those planned elsewhere at rural battlefield sites. Any prospect that federal funding assistance might become available following Congress's appropriations for the Washington Monument evaporated as the politics of the antebellum period became more fractious. As a result, the monument associations were forced to rely solely on private donations, and few were able to raise sufficient sums to even break ground on their works before the outbreak of the Civil War interrupted their efforts entirely.

The approaching centennial anniversary of the Revolution served as a catalyst for the revival of the monument movement in the early 1870s. Intense interest at the national, state, and local level in commemorating the people and events of the Revolutionary era accompanied the event. Coinciding with the end of the Era of Reconstruction, the sentiment gained added meaning as a way to assist in the national healing process following the Civil War. During this period of renewed patriotic and nationalistic fervor (1875-1881), a large number of well-attended Centennial celebrations were held throughout the country. The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 was the keynote national event, drawing nearly 10 million people over the course of its year of operation. Celebrations at the site of significant battles and other events usually involved elaborate programs that included parades, pageants, speeches, and reenactments and were commonly attended by crowds that numbered in the tens of thousands. A measure of the significance attached to these ceremonies was the New York State Legislature's appropriation in 1879 of \$6,000 to compile and publish accounts of the ceremonies held in the state as a historical record of the event (Beach 1879:1-2).

Many of the dormant monument associations reorganized and other new ones formed in the early 1870s with the goal of completing, or at least beginning, construction of their projects so that they could hold dedication ceremonies on the centennial anniversary of the event they were meant to commemorate. The associations took on more sophisticated organizational structures than most of their antebellum predecessors. A variety of committees formed to oversee the specific tasks involved in such complex construction projects, such as fundraising, design, construction, publicity, and maintenance. Associations also enlisted prominent politicians, businessmen, newspaper editors, authors, historians, and other professionals as trustees and officers in efforts to expand membership.

Raising funds for the monuments continued to be the most problematic task facing the associations. While the concept of the projects found widespread public support, monetary contributions were slow, especially during the protracted economic depression that followed the Panic of 1873. It became evident to the monument associations that their projects were too large and expensive to be constructed solely from private sources and the limited support offered by their respective state legislatures. With no other recourse, the associations flooded Congress with petitions and memorials requesting federal aid. The argument at the heart of the petitions averred that the monuments had national meaning as concrete expressions of public pride and gratitude for the contributions and sacrifices of the Revolutionary generation in creating the nation. By framing the argument in this way, the monument associations altered the public perception of the projects from ones of purely local import to ones of national interest. This, along with the general popularity of Revolutionary War commemoration as evidenced by the broad public participation in the Centennial celebrations, prompted Congress to study anew its policy toward funding commemorative monuments and, in the process, to take its first halting steps toward developing a national preservation policy (Lee 1973).

Between 1876 and 1886, Congress took several significant actions, including appropriating funds to erect or to assist in the erection of monuments on eight Revolutionary battlefields in seven states; seriously considering a general program of matching grant projects; and arranging for a study and evaluation of all the battlefields of the Revolution. In the first half of the 1880s, eight bills that incorporated one or more of these ideas were introduced. The first member of Congress to sponsor legislation to help local initiatives to erect monuments on Revolutionary battlefields was Senator Justin Smith Morrill of Vermont, who is best known for his role in creating the state land-grant college system. On May 31, 1880, Morrill introduced "A Bill Relative to Revolutionary Battlefields," which proposed a system of dollar-for-dollar matching grants to help chartered monument associations and historical societies erect monuments on Revolutionary battlefields. At that time, however, Congress was still unwilling to commit to such open-ended legislation that might have a significant impact on the Treasury. The merits of lauding military accomplishments over events and individuals that contributed to the establishment of the civil government also became major topics of discussion. Opposition to the bill resulted in its amendment by the Committee on Military Affairs to limit it to one project only – the Bennington Battlefield Monument in Morrill's state. In addition to providing \$40,000 for the monument, the bill notably required that no funds would be released until the President of the United States or a president-appointed commission approved its design and a board of three Army officers certified that the total funds would be sufficient to complete construction. Congress passed the amended bill, and President Rutherford B. Hayes approved it on February 11, 1881 (Lee 1973).

While the bill took care of only the Bennington Battle Monument, it served as encouragement for other monument associations backed by powerful political support in their own states. In 1881 and 1882, additional appropriations were made to fund the construction of the Yorktown, Saratoga, Cowpens, Monmouth, and Oriskany battle monuments and the repair/redesign of the cap of the Groton Battle Monument. Another appropriation provided funds for what would become known as the Tower of Victory at Newburgh, New York. In all, Congress directed a total of \$244,000 to monument projects by 1884 (Baker 1995; Lee 1973).

While these bills met with almost unanimous Congressional approval and enjoyed the overwhelming support of citizens throughout the nation, inequities still left out a number of significant battlefields. After the initial burst of funding, Congress pulled back and did not act on subsequent bills for monuments to commemorate the battles of Guilford Court House, King's Mountain, Bemis Heights (the first of the two Saratoga battles), and Brandywine. Further analysis of Revolutionary battlefields was warranted, and the House Committee on the Library requested that well-known author and Revolutionary War historian Benson J. Lossing conduct the study. Lossing's report, dated February 26, 1884, identified about 15 battlefields, including Trenton, Princeton, Eutaw Springs, Guilford Courthouse, Germantown, and Brandywine, that were of considerable note and should be considered for federal matching funds to erect substantial monuments. The committee estimated that an average of \$20,000 of matching funds would be sufficient for each of these 15 battlefields, making a total federal cost of \$300,000 for this portion of the program. A second tier of significance included 31 places where minor collisions took place between American and British forces. Lossing recommended that qualified local historical societies be made eligible to secure matching funds, not to exceed \$500 each, to place inexpensive stones to mark those places. Forty other lesser places still unmarked on the larger battlefields could also be commemorated by similar inexpensive stones. With these costs all added together, the entire federal financial burden would be about \$350,000. The resulting bill, H.R. 2435, contained all the matching provisions of earlier bills, as well as their requirements for the approval of monument designs, but went further to set up a board that would guide the program. It

was the first time that Congress considered the establishment of a national board to guide or advise on general matters of historic preservation or commemoration. Congress did not act on the bill in 1884, however, and although similar bills were introduced during subsequent sessions in 1885 and 1886, they were never reported out of committee. Subsequent federal commemorative and preservation efforts focused on the Civil War, which replaced the Revolutionary War as the focus of federal preservation efforts in the 1890s (Lee 1973).

The Saratoga Monument Association and the Saratoga Monument, 1856–1895

The first directed effort toward the commemoration of the Battles of Saratoga began during a meeting and banquet held at the former country home of General Philip Schuyler on October 17, 1856, to celebrate the anniversary of Burgoyne's surrender. The group of local patriotic gentlemen who attended the meeting included George Strover, then owner of the Schuyler House; Philip Schuyler II, the grandson of the General; and John A. Corey, the President of Saratoga Springs Village. Actuated by the sentiment that the "battles of Bemis Heights and Saratoga (Stillwater), and the surrender of Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne, on the 17th of October, 1777, formed a niche in the Temple of Liberty, which patriotism will one day fill with an appropriate monument," the group resolved to take steps to form an organization dedicated to that purpose. Three years later, the New York State Legislature granted a perpetual charter to the Saratoga Monument Association (SMA) for the "purpose of taking and holding sufficient real and personal property to erect on such spot in the town of Saratoga, and as near the place where Burgoyne surrendered the British army as a majority of the trustees deem practicable, a Monument commemorative of the battle which ended in Burgoyne's surrender . . ." (Stone 1879:5).

The SMA was composed of political and business leaders of considerable national, state, and local influence. Among those who served as trustees and officers of the organization were New York governors (Hamilton Fish and Horatio Seymour), U.S. Congressmen (James Madison Marvin, John Starin, and Samuel S. Cox), state legislators (Henry Holmes, Asa C. Tefft, Delcour S. Potter, Edward Wemple, Webster Wagner, and Edward W. Canning), and local mayors (John A. Corey and William Wilcox). There were also successful local businessmen (George Strover, Edward C. Delavan, Leroy Mowry), prominent historians of the Revolutionary War (John Romeyn Brodhead, Benson J. Lossing, William Leete Stone), military men (General John Watts de Peyster and Colonel David F. Ritchie), newspaper editors (Ritchie and P.C. Ford), and people with connections to the battles through their ancestor's participation (Peter Gansevoort and Philip Schuyler II). The SMA also had the rare, if not unprecedented, distinction of having a woman trustee, Ellen Hardin Walworth, who became one of its most active members after her appointment in 1880. The membership provided an array of political, financial, and social connections that were critical to the tasks of raising funds, awareness, and support for the monument (Stone 1879:5–7).

The SMA's first goal was the selection of an appropriate location for the monument. Some members believed it should be located at the actual site of Burgoyne's surrender. Others preferred the Saratoga Heights in the British Encampment area where the monument would be highly visible and afford sweeping views of the battlefield, the Hudson River, the Green Mountains to the east, and the Catskill Mountains to the south. Proponents of the latter won, and a site along Burgoyne Street above the town of Schuylerville was selected.

The monument parcel was originally part of a large tract of land owned by the Saratoga Victory Manufacturing Company, cotton manufacturers. In 1860, Peter Bannon purchased a 10-acre plot at a cost of \$1,000. A lack of funds hampered efforts to acquire the site, however, and before the SMA could act on its purchase, the Civil War broke out and forced the organization to suspend its efforts. In 1864, SMA trustee George Strover took it upon himself to purchase the Bannon property in expectation that the price of \$775 would be reimbursed by the SMA. The uncertainty of the SMA's future during the years following the Civil War caused Strover to sell the land. He divided the parcel into two 4- and 6-acre lots. In 1873, Thomas Mulvehill and Mary Toohey purchased the 6-acre lot that included the property where the monument would later be constructed. Mulvehill sold his half-interest in the parcel to Mary's husband, Thomas Toohey, during the same year.

The SMA resumed its efforts in 1872 with the added goal of completing the Saratoga Monument during the centennial celebration of the nation's birth. The following year, it received an amended charter from the New York Legislature. The SMA took this opportunity to increase organizational efficiency by expanding the number of officers and assigning its

members to committees with specific responsibilities. Horatio Seymour, a former Governor of New York and 1868 Democratic Party nominee for President of the United States, served as president. Other offices included two vice-presidents, a secretary, corresponding secretary, and treasurer. The initial standing committees consisted of the executive, building, design, location, and advisory committees. The make-up of the 26-person Board of Trustees, which included members from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Michigan, and South Carolina, indicated that the SMA was broadening its scope to garner national support for the monument (Stone 1879:3–4).

The reformed SMA hired Jared C. Markham to serve as the architect for the monument. Markham's initial plans, prepared without compensation, called for the erection of a massive 230-ft-tall obelisk, 80 ft square at the bottom and 10 ft at the top, with a viewing platform at its summit to provide sweeping views of the Hudson River Valley. The design incorporated decorative Gothic-style ornament and niches for statues of Schuyler, Gates, and Morgan. A fourth niche would be left blank of statuary and bear only the name of Arnold to acknowledge his heroism at Saratoga and the glory he lost through his subsequent treason. The installation in the interior rooms of a series of bronze bas relief panels depicting allegorical and historical scenes of Burgoyne's campaign, battle events, and America's struggle for independence would supplement the educational value of the monument. With the plans in hand, the SMA began its initial effort to gain funding assistance from the federal government. In October, the design committee, headed by author and New York antiquarian William Leete Stone, sent a memorial to Congress requesting a \$200,000 appropriation to cover two-thirds of the estimated \$300,000 necessary to "make the structure worthy of the pride of the nation." To justify the request and the need to act quickly to meet the Centennial deadline, the petition stated:

Lexington and Bunker Hill have their imposing memorials to tell of the earliest bloodshed in the cause of Cisatlantic freedom, and, in our own day, the self consecration of Antietam and Gettysburg are made enduring in granite records for the admiration of generations yet to be. The purpose is novel, the tribute deserved; for every such memorial stands as an educator to gratitude and patriotism. And here your petitioners base a claim for a like memento upon the field of Burgoyne's surrender...In view of the near approach of the centennial of our national independence, it is exceedingly desirable that what is done in reference to this structure should be done speedily that its dedication may be added to the anticipated renown of that commemorative year (Stone 1879:8–9).

Congress had already considered and decided against a number of other such petitions by monument associations, and it remained cool to the idea of funding what it still considered to be local commemorative projects. Sensing that the timing was not right, the local congressman entrusted with the SMA's memorial decided to pocket it and wait for a more propitious opportunity to introduce legislation (Stone 1879:9).

The SMA had more success at the state level, where its politically connected board of trustees was influential in gaining the promise of aid. In 1874, the New York State Legislature voted an appropriation of \$50,000, providing that the SMA could raise twice that sum from other sources within two years. With no prospects for aid from the federal government, the SMA issued a broad appeal to prospective donors and attempted to secure pledges of \$5,000 each from the other 12 original states. Only Rhode Island, which placed conditions on its donation, responded favorably to the SMA's petition. Private donations were also hard to come by during the period as the nation was in the midst of recovering from the economic depression following the Panic of 1873. As a result, the two-year time limit on the state's appropriation lapsed on the anniversary of the act in April 1876. Unwilling to allow the centennial of the battles to pass without at least starting the monument, the SMA petitioned the legislature for enough funds to allow it to hold a cornerstone-laying ceremony. The legislature passed the act, but Governor Lucius Robinson vetoed it in early 1877 (Stone 1879:7–8).

Sometime between 1874 and 1877, as the difficulties of securing funding for the project became apparent, the SMA decided to scale back its plans for the structure. Markham revised the design to lessen its scale but preserved the decorative and sculptural elements of the original. He decreased the height from 230 feet to about 150 feet and cut the base dimensions in half from 80 to 40 feet square (Lossing 1874:89; Stone 1879:16).

As 1877 wore on and the centennial anniversary of the Battles of Saratoga approached, the SMA secured about \$5,000 in gifts and donations to provide for the laying of the cornerstone. Booth Brothers, a granite supply and construction firm based in New York City, greatly assisted the effort by donating the cornerstone and later became the contractor for the

monument. On October 17, 1877, during what Stone called “the most splendid civic, Masonic, and military pageant ever witnessed in northern New York,” J.J. Couch, Grand Master of New York’s Masonic Lodge, dedicated the cornerstone. An estimated 30,000 people attended the event, punctuated by a number of speeches, musical interludes, and a grand banquet accompanied by a military spectacle representing the surrender of Burgoyne’s Army. A variety of artifacts were placed in the cornerstone, including copies of the speeches delivered at the event, histories of the battles and the SMA, local newspapers published on the date of the celebration, a bible, an American flag, a British silver half-dollar coin bearing the likeness of King George III and the date 1777, and a statement on the design intent of the monument prepared by the architect (Stone 1879:13; Stone 1878:20, 31–32).

SMA president Horatio Seymour delivered the keynote address. Seymour stressed the unifying symbolism of the monument in healing the sectional divide of the Civil War and the appropriateness of constructing monuments to recall significant martial events in the nation’s history:

A monument upon this spot will not merely minister to local pride; it will not foster sectional prejudices; every citizen of every state of this union will feel as he looks upon it that he has the right to stand upon this ground. It will tell of the common sacrifices and common trials of the fathers of the republic. Men from all parts of our union will here be reminded that our independence as a people was wrought out by the sufferings of those who came from every quarter of our country to share in this valley in the perils of battle and in the triumphs of victory. Here sectional passions will fade away; and the glorious memories and the fraternal feelings of the past will be revived. We are told that during more than 20 centuries of war and bloodshed only 15 battles have been decisive of note³ . . . Shall not some suitable structure recall this fact to the public mind? Monuments make as well as mark the civilization of a people . . . Such silent teachers of all that ennoble men have taught their lessons through the darkest ages, and have done much to save society from sinking into utter decay and degradation (*NYT*, 10/18/1877).

The SMA raised only the funds to complete the foundation and about one-quarter of the monument’s plinth by the end of 1878. Over the ensuing two years, the SMA found itself with “Not one dollar in the treasury, and with some embarrassment in regard to the land on which the Monument had been started.” The SMA realized that its only recourse was to renew the pursuit of federal and state aid. In early 1880, U.S. Congressman from New York and SMA Trustee John H. Starin introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to secure a \$30,000 appropriation for the monument. At the same time, Congress considered similar requests for funding from a number of other monument associations. While the Committee on Military Affairs reported favorably on Starin’s bill, only the Bennington Battle Monument received an appropriation that year. Starin believed, however, that the bill would pass the following year and promised in a letter to the SMA that “No effort on my part will be spared when Congress again meets, to push it through to a favourable conclusion” (Walworth 1891:53; *NYT*, May 3, 1880).

The SMA received Starin’s encouraging news at its annual meeting held on August 17, 1880, at the United States Hotel in Saratoga Springs. The meeting proved to be a turning point in reenergizing the SMA. In addition to Starin’s letter, C.M. Bliss, secretary of the Bennington Monument Association, provided information on his organization’s successful efforts in obtaining federal funding. Bliss reinforced Starin’s opinion that congressional sentiment was swinging toward devising an appropriate matching fund mechanism to assist in Revolutionary War battlefield monument projects. Key resolutions approved at the SMA’s meeting included the adoption of Markham’s final design for the monument; the authorization of the Building Committee to obtain proposals for the materials and labor to erect the monument and to pursue the purchase of the land; the appointment of several new trustees, including Bliss and Ellen Hardin Walworth, who played key roles in the organization going forward; and the establishment of a new Committee on Tablets headed by Walworth to mark the battlefield with appropriate small-scale monuments (Walworth 1891:53–56).

The SMA met two weeks later at a special meeting where Secretary William L. Stone announced that “through the efforts of Mr. D. S. Potter and Hon. Webster Wagner an appropriation of \$10,000 had been obtained from the Legislature of

³ Seymour was referring to the popular mid-nineteenth-century work of the English historian Edward Creasy, who named the victory of the Americans over Burgoyne at Saratoga one of the 15 most decisive military events in world history to that point (Creasy 1851:452).

New York." Seymour, the long-time guiding light of the organization presiding over his last meeting as president, delivered a stirring speech that reminded members of their mission:

Since the last meeting of this board, I have given much thought to the subject of the Saratoga Monument. For the purpose of getting a more clear understanding, a few days since I went to see the field upon which Burgoyne surrendered his army and gave to the American cause its success in the Revolutionary struggle. I wished to note more particularly the spot upon which the Monument is to be placed . . . This grand scene brings to the mind not alone the surrender of the great army, but the battle of Oriskany in the deep forest with the savage allies of Britain; the struggle at Bennington, between the hardy mountaineers and the chasseurs of Baum and Breymann, and the grand conclusive battle at Bemis Heights.

If the members of Congress could stand for one half hour upon the spot where I stood, there would be no question in their minds about the sacred duty of putting up a monument which should tell of one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world, and of a victory which established the independence of our country. As this grows great and glorious, the full value and interest of the surrender of the British army becomes more clear and impressive to all who look upon this scene.

For these reasons more than ever I feel that this Association should be animated by the dignity of the work in which they are engaged, and should be sustained by the public sympathy and aid (Walworth 1891:57)

At the next meeting held in Albany in March 30, 1881, Stone formally announced the passage of Starin's bill by Congress on March 3. The Act appropriated \$30,000 in Treasury funds to erect the granite obelisk shaft of the monument provided that the SMA could demonstrate to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury that those and other funds raised would be sufficient to complete the construction of the shaft in accordance with the approved design. Stone read several letters from Starin, SMA trustee and prominent New York lawyer Algernon Sullivan, and Markham urging that the SMA begin work immediately even though the appropriations would likely not be sufficient to complete the planned artwork. Starin feared that any delay to raise additional funds or further alter the design would doom the project entirely. Sullivan summed up the significance of the event in making the monument a national priority, writing that "Congress has, in a patriotic spirit, made an appropriation for the Saratoga Monument, which is valuable even more than the amount. The Nation has thereby made the monument its own, and the business must not languish." Markham offered the opinion that the monument, exclusive of the statuary, bronzes, and interior furnishings that he had always considered as separate projects, could be accomplished for the amount on hand from the state and federal appropriations. He recommended against any design changes by stating that the people, in the "condensed wisdom of their legislative function, [have] determined that \$40,000 is enough to build your Monument . . . will you go on and build it, or will you abandon all that you have done—remove the foundation and cornerstone already laid, and begin again where you and others begun [sic] more than twenty years ago." After the reading of the letters, the SMA voted to make no further changes in the design and resolved to advertise in a number of papers in New York City and elsewhere in the state for proposals to build the monument. The momentous meeting ended with the organization's reluctant acceptance of the long-serving Horatio Seymour's resignation as SMA president due to failing health and unanimous vote to elect Starin as Seymour's replacement (Walworth 1891:59-62).

The Building Committee reported in August 1881 that they had awarded the contract for the monument to the Booth Brothers, who came in with the lowest bid. Questions surrounding the legality of the title to the original 1.865-acre tract of land for the monument delayed its final acquisition until fall. Having barely enough funds to lay the cornerstone in 1877, the SMA apparently had taken the risk of beginning the project with only a verbal agreement with the property's owners, Thomas and Mary Toohey, to purchase it at a later date. The National Bank of Schuylerville seized the Toohey's property in 1878 because of debt and sold it at auction in 1879 to George Bennett. The following year Bennett sold the parcel to Ada L. and Cornelius Allen. The New York Legislature assisted the SMA's cause by passing a law on May 9, 1881, enabling the Association to "settle all difficulties concerning the land on which the Monument was to be built." The law, Chapter 226, authorized "the board of trustees of any incorporated village, the trustees of any monument association and the town board of any town to acquire lands for monument purposes." On August 31, 1881, Cornelius

Allen conveyed 1.865 acres to the association for \$724. Between 1881 and 1895, the SMA acquired additional acreage increasing the total to 2.865 acres (Quinn and Bittermann 1992:35–36; Walworth 1891:66).

Although the SMA managed the construction as “carefully . . . and economically . . . as if it were a private enterprise,” it soon became apparent that more funds would be needed to complete the exterior stonework of the monument, including the carved eagles forming the returns of the gable pediments over the statuary niches and other decorative stonework. In January 1882, SMA representatives appeared before the State Legislature’s Committee of Ways and Means with a request for an appropriation of \$15,000 that was awarded during the legislative session. The SMA also petitioned Congress to allow the transfer of four cannon captured during the Battles of Saratoga, then located at the Watervliet Arsenal. Markham’s design called for their placement at the corners of the monument. The Committee on Military Affairs, which was opposed to allowing the trophies to go out of federal control, initially reported adversely on the bill introduced by Congressman S.S. Cox in March 1882. However, the Committee reversed its stance in April with the provision that the four 12-pounder guns be placed on appropriate carriages. Despite this approval, the bill languished for nearly a decade before it was finally passed in 1891 (Committee on Military Affairs 1882; Walworth 1891: 68, 70–71).

The construction of the monument progressed rapidly throughout 1882, and the SMA formed a new committee to make preliminary plans for its dedication, initially scheduled for some time in the summer or fall of 1883. On November 3, 1882, the capstone was set in place. In her history of the SMA, Ellen Hardin Walworth noted that superintendent Henry Langtry “seated himself upon it and unfurled the Stars and Stripes” and “Thus the patriotic work, conceived 26 years before by a few persons, brought together at the old Schuyler Mansion, near the foot of this grand structure, then but an ideal, had reached its culmination” (Walworth 1891:72).

The SMA still had to raise the funds for and commission the design and fabrication of the remaining artistic elements of the design. Questions surrounding the dedication of the monument became a point of considerable debate among the usually harmonious SMA membership during the spring of 1883. Some wished to see it dedicated immediately, while others thought it was important to wait until the statues, particularly the one depicting Schuyler, were in place. Schuyler held a special place in the hearts of the local supporters of the monument, and the SMA received many testimonials to the importance of completing his statue before the dedication. P.C. Ford, a member of the dedication committee who also headed the effort to raise funds for Schuyler’s statue, stated, “it would hardly seem appropriate to celebrate the completion of an incomplete work.” Benson Lossing wrote “if only one statue was to form a part of the Saratoga Monument, I think that of Major General Schuyler pre-eminently entitled to that distinction.” On the other hand, General J. Watts de Peyster wanted all the supporters of the Schuyler statue to know that “their hearts were not the place to feel; they must feel in their pockets.” At a special meeting of the SMA held on December 20, 1883 to discuss the matter, Starin advised delaying the dedication until the statuary was in place. He also thought the upcoming presidential election in the fall of 1884 would distract attention away from the dedication ceremony. Trustee George W. Curtis noted that “nearly twenty years elapsed between the laying of the corner stone of the Bunker Hill Monument and its formal dedication, and that a delay in the present case would work no ill, as the public had, so to speak, a satiety of centennial celebrations.” As a result, the SMA passed a resolution to put the dedication off indefinitely (*NYT* May 19, 1883; Walworth 1891:74).

The meeting also charged the Committee on Design with the responsibilities of completing the monument. The SMA asked Markham for an estimate of the work remaining. He stated that it would take an additional \$100,000 to complete the monument in accordance with the design plans, but that as much as \$40,000 could be saved by using less costly materials for the sculptures and interior furnishings. The Committee on Design had to decide the amounts to solicit from the state legislature and Congress as well as the appropriate strategy to take in acquiring those appropriations. It decided to request \$40,000 from Congress and enlisted the aid of New York Senator Warner Miller and Congressmen S.S. Cox and Edward Wemple in support of the legislation. Part of the strategy depended on the framing of the monument as a national, rather than local, work. The petitions and memorials accompanying the legislation pointed out that the citizens of New York had taken it upon themselves to mark locally significant Revolutionary events, including the erection of monuments to Washington on the places where he took his first oath of office and where he left New York after his farewell to his troops. The Battles of Saratoga, however, were a national event that deserved the further appropriation of federal funds. In summing up this viewpoint, George William Curtiss stated: “As Patrick Henry said, when he made the cause of the Revolution his own, ‘I am not a Virginian, I am an American,’ so I hope that the committee will feel that the completion of a great Revolutionary memorial is not the cause of a State but of the country.” These, and other arguments

on behalf of the SMA petition, won the approval of Congress, and the appropriation bill passed in the winter of 1884 (Walworth 1891:77,80,86-87).

The federal funds were used to commission and fabricate the artwork for the monument. The SMA gave the commissions for the statues to three prominent sculptors: William R. O'Donovan (Morgan statue), Alexander Doyle (Schuyler statue), and George Bissell (Gates statue). Markham designed the interior bronze panels, and James E. Kelley and Jonathan Scott Hartley split the contracts for their sculptural execution, each receiving commissions for eight panels. The statues and 16 of the proposed 36 panels were installed by the end of 1887. In his report at the annual meeting of the SMA that year, Markham stated that the work had been completed far below initial estimates through compromising on the materials used for the interior stairs, doors, and floors. The fact that that the cost came in at least \$20,000 less than the original estimate, Markham wrote, would "doubtless inspire such a continuation of public confidence in the Monument as to insure all requisite aid in the final completion of this important national work, of which there still remains to be done the bronze top or roof, the granite base and bronze or brass window frames and tile floors and the twenty tablets of historic sculpture of the three upper stories, the ceilings of all five stories and the four guns with their bronze carriages for the platform." In the architect's opinion, these items were not "absolutely necessary to the grand dedication of the work," and he thought that the additional funds for their execution would flow in after an appropriate dedication ceremony. With this advice, the SMA resolved to have the Committee on the Dedication of the Monument make plans to hold the ceremony in September 1888 and approach Congress for an appropriation of \$25,000 for the event. They authorized the Committee to invite a long list of dignitaries, including the President of the United States, his cabinet, foreign representatives (especially of France), several governors, and descendants of those who had participated in battles. Over the next few years, Starin made several attempts to secure funding for the dedication ceremony, but the House voted them down (Walworth 1891:94, 96-98, 100).

In the meantime, the SMA continued to incur expenses on the monument that threw it into debt. The money that Markham predicted would flow in once visitors had a chance to see the monument never materialized. Visitation was generally steady, but the numbers were not great. In 1891, for example, about 3,000 people visited the monument, and the nominal fee that the SMA charged for admission brought in \$500. The admission fee went to the general maintenance of the monument, and no funds were on hand to handle contingencies like the \$450 needed in 1888 to repair the monument after a lightning strike toppled its capstone. Miffed that his company was not brought in to do the repair, J. Donaldson appeared before the SMA and demanded \$2,000 in back payments for stonework. Markham went unpaid for most of the work he did. The SMA included its debt sum in the bills it tried to get enacted for the monument's dedication, but all those efforts failed (*NYT* 6/7/1888, 8/15/1888, 8/12/1891; Walworth 1891:103-110).

With little hope for further appropriations and having completed the work as far as it could be taken without incurring further debt, the SMA took steps to transfer the monument to the State of New York. At its annual meeting held on September 13, 1895, C.S. Lester, chairman of the Committee on Transfer, announced that the monument had been "duly sold and transferred to the state." The legislation for the transfer included an appropriation of \$4,500 for the purchase of the land and the assumption of the SMA's debt. An additional \$500 was appropriated for the monument's maintenance. After the completion of the transfer, the SMA quietly disbanded, having never properly dedicated the monument that it had worked nearly 40 years to complete. The monument was not officially dedicated until 1912, on the occasion of the 135th anniversary of Burgoyne's surrender. By that time, the emphasis on the commemoration of the Battles of Saratoga had shifted to the preservation of the battlefield itself (*American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society* 1908:52; *NY Times*, 9/14/1895, 10/19/1912).

The State of New York maintained and operated the monument until 1970. The following year, New York Representative Carleton J. King, with NPS support, introduced a bill that called for its establishment as a national monument and its inclusion in Saratoga NHP. No action was taken on the bill at that time, however, and the monument was left to deteriorate over the following decade due to nominal maintenance provided by the state. The goal of including the monument in Saratoga NHP was finally realized on July 23, 1980, when the State of New York deeded the monument and its 2.82 acres to the federal government. By that time, the monument's structural condition had created safety concerns that eventually forced its closure in 1987. U.S. Congressman Gerald Solomon sponsored legislation that eventually provided the necessary funding to rehabilitate the monument and its grounds. The large undertaking that included repointing of the masonry, the construction of a handicap ramp, the replacement of rusted I-beams on some of

the viewing platforms, and the thorough cleaning of all the statues and plaques took five years to complete (1997-2001). The monument was reopened to the public in 2002 (Phillips 1997:8).

Saratoga Battlefield Monuments, 1880–1894

Beginning in 1880 and running concurrent with its work to construct the Saratoga Monument, the SMA embarked on the first effort to mark places on the Saratoga Battlefield with small-scale commemorative monuments. The Committee on Tablets, established at the August 17, 1880, meeting, headed the effort. The idea was the brainchild of Ellen Hardin Walworth, who was named an SMA trustee at the meeting and at the “urgent request of Gov. Seymour, made a statement in relation to marking the points of interest on the battle-field of Bemis Heights, and asked that something of this kind should be done.” The SMA passed a resolution to establish the committee for the purpose of procuring “memorial stones or other marks to designate the points of interest on the Saratoga battle-grounds at Bemis Heights, Freeman’s Farm, Wilbur’s Basin and other places connected with the Burgoyne campaign.” Thereafter, the work of the Committee on Tablets, which in addition to Walworth counted among its members George W. Neilson, James M. Marvin, Nathaniel B. Sylvester, D.F. Ritchie, William L. Stone and George Ensign, became a significant offshoot of the SMA’s primary effort to complete the Saratoga Monument (Walworth 1891:55–56).

After her appointment as trustee, Walworth became one of the most active members of the SMA. In addition to chairing the SMA Committee on Tablets, she headed the Committee on Custody, charged with the care of the Saratoga Monument during the period of the SMA’s ownership. Walworth’s interest in the Saratoga Battlefield was fueled at a young age. Her father, John J. Hardin, was killed at the Battle of Buena Vista during the Mexican War. Her mother then married Reuben Hyde Walworth, the last chancellor of New York State, and the family moved to Saratoga Springs. Reuben Walworth took Ellen on her first tour of the Saratoga Battlefield, a visit that she later referred to as “a marked event in my young life” and that led to her lifelong interest in the preservation of the place. She and William Leete Stone were the chief chroniclers of the Saratoga Battlefield and the SMA. In the mid-1870s, Walworth undertook a study of the battles and published a guide to the battlefield in 1877. She also published tour guides to Saratoga Springs and added to Stone’s history of the SMA, which ended in 1878, bringing it up to date to 1891. She became involved with a number of other organizations, many of which had never had a woman member. She was the first woman to join the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1876 and was among the first to hold a position on the New York Board of Education. Her interest in history led her to become active in the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association, and she often delivered speeches and published historical papers. She was one of the three founders of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) and served as its first secretary general when the organization was formally established in 1891. She was also an author and the first editor of the *American Monthly Magazine* in 1892 (Online Encyclopedia 2010; Stone 1895:308).

By the mid-nineteenth century, the nearby resort of Saratoga Springs had developed into one of the nation’s leading tourist destinations with casinos, spas, grand hotels, and the famed Saratoga Race Course. Walworth and other Saratoga Springs tour guide writers promoted the Saratoga Battlefield as a “delightful day’s expedition” and promoted it as an important part of the resort’s visitor itinerary. In Europe tours of famous battlefields had already become a common form of tourism, and Walworth wished to bring this tradition to the visitors of Saratoga Springs. She initiated the program to mark the battlefield with monuments in an effort to educate visitors about significant events of the battles and to provide at least some sense of how the battles were fought on the ground, which the lack of surviving military features made difficult to discern (Stone 1895:36, 97).

As with the Saratoga Monument, funding for the battlefield tablets was a chief concern. The members of the SMA likely would not have supported the initiative if it was going to compete with the fundraising efforts for the Saratoga Monument. At the meeting following the introduction of the idea, Seymour stated that he was “greatly pleased with the plan of marking the different places of the battle-field with memorial tablets” and that he thought that individuals would be found who “would esteem it a privilege to mark separate spots.” The plan, Seymour continued, “would give additional interest to the numerous drives around Saratoga—thus enhancing the already numerous attractions of the place.” In a subsequent letter read at the Committee’s first meeting held in Walworth’s home on October 9, 1880, Seymour elaborated further, stating that “Many now drive with indifference past spots which they would look upon with great interest if they knew their value. I think you can bring about your plan, if, in the place of trying to raise a sum to pay for the cost of

marking stone in a general way, you ask different persons to give a tablet of some kind for a particular spot. In most cases \$50 or \$100 will be enough. Some may be desirous of spending more." He, for example, would "put up something to mark the place where a line of defenses were thrown up in front of the tavern at the village of Bemis Heights." The committee resolved to adopt that method for fundraising and planned to meet on the battlefield two weeks later (Walworth 1891:58, 62–63).

Inclement weather caused the cancellation of the planned battlefield meeting, and the committee could not meet during the remainder of the year. Instead, Walworth conducted several tours of the grounds on her own and in the company of others, including Joseph W. Drexel, Captain A.de. R. McNair of the United States Navy, and George Ensign. Armed with military maps, she attempted to identify the places where the most significant events of the battles occurred and succeeded in securing the consent of several property owners to allow the monuments to be placed on their lands. By late June of 1881, the Committee on Tablets developed a list of 17 sites that it considered most important and therefore worthy of marking. Jared C. Markham, the architect of the Saratoga Monument, provided several alternative designs for the monuments. One consisted of a small tapered block, about 20 inches square at its base and topped with a pyramidal cap. Another was a rectangular marker with an arched top. The stones were to be "principally of granite, corresponding in size to the amount subscribed by the individual donors." Subscribers, however, were able to commission their own designs and materials if they so desired (Walworth 1891:63, 68).

At the SMA's annual meeting held on August 8, 1882, the Committee on Tablets reported that the number of places of "especial interest" had grown to 20 and that the exact spots where the monuments were to be erected had been identified with stakes. The stakes were numbered and named with the event and included the following:

- No. 1 Freeman's Farm
- No. 2 Balcarres Redoubt
- No. 3 Fraser's Camp
- No. 4 Arnold Wounded – Breymann's Redoubt
- No. 5 Fraser Fell
- No. 6 British Line of Battle, Oct. 7th
- No. 7 Morgan's Hill
- No. 8 Fort Neilson, northwest angle of American breastworks at Bemis Heights
- No. 9 General Gates Headquarters
- No. 10 Site of Bemis Tavern
- No. 11 Dirck Swart's House
- No. 12 American Entrenchments near Mill Creek
- No. 13 Place of Lady Acland's Embarkation
- No. 14 Site of Sword's House
- No. 15 Tayler's House
- No. 16 Fraser Buried
- No. 17 Position of American Artillery, October 8th
- No. 18 Burgoyne's Headquarters
- No. 19 British Redoubt
- No. 20 Old Battle Well, Freeman's Farm (Walworth 1891:68–69)

The SMA received subscriptions for the first seven monuments during 1882 and early 1883, all from existing or former trustees of the SMA or family members of deceased SMA members. Booth Brothers, the contractors for the stonework of the Saratoga Monument, supplied the monuments. George Ensign of the Committee on Tablets supervised their placement during the summer of 1883. The group included the following contributing objects within the Saratoga NHP Historic District:

- **Bemis Tavern Monument (LCS No. 022314, contributing object)** – placed south of Bemis Heights at the foundation of the former tavern that was a local landmark at the time of the battles and stood near the American fortified lines. Donated by Giles B. Slocum.

- **Second Battle of Saratoga Monument (LCS No. 022306, contributing object)** – also known as the British Line of Battle, Oct. 7th monument. Placed near Mill Creek on the former Joseph Walker farm then owned by Perry Condon. Donated by Mrs. J.V.L. Pruyn of Albany in memory of her husband, a former vice president of the SMA.
- **Fraser Monument (LCS No. 022308, contributing object)** – placed on the former Walker farm on a spot indicated by battle veteran and early battlefield tour guide Ezra Buel a half-century before as the location where British General Fraser was mortally wounded. Donated by J.W. Drexel.
- **Freeman's Farm Monument (LCS No. 023310, contributing object)** – placed in the dooryard of William Esmond, on the site of John Freeman's log house, to commemorate the site of the initial engagement of Daniel Morgan's riflemen and the British advance column during the First Battle of Saratoga. Donated by George West.

Two of the three other 1883 monuments are located outside the boundaries of the district. Former New York governor and original SMA President Hamilton Fish donated the Nicholas Fish Monument as a memorial to his father Nicholas, who was wounded during the Second Battle of Saratoga on October 7, 1777. The family of Webster Wagner, a deceased SMA trustee, gave the British Line of Retreat Monument. James M. Marvin donated the last of the 1883 monuments, the Fort Neilson Monument, which the NPS removed from its location near the site of the existing Neilson House. It remains in the park's museum collections (Walworth 1891:77–78).

Walworth announced the placement of the first group of monuments at the August 1883 annual meeting of the SMA. She stated that “these tablets, and the interest they have inspired both here and elsewhere, in the historical record of the events they commemorate, encourage the committee to proceed with increased enthusiasm in this work.” By that time, the committee had received two additional unspecified subscriptions for tablets, but over the course of the next three years no other progress was made. At the 1886 annual meeting, Walworth reported that the SMA had received the two tablets referred to in the 1883 report; and the **Great Ravine Monument (LCS No. 022290, contributing object)**, donated by Estelle Willoughby, and the **Hardin Monument (LCS No. 023311, contributing object)** were subsequently installed on the battlefield. Like the Fish Monument, the latter was not associated with any of the spots Walworth had identified. Ellen Hardin Walworth's brother, General Martin D. Hardin, donated it to commemorate the distinguished service of their great-grandfather, Colonel John Hardin, in conducting a reconnaissance mission before the battles. It was initially going to be placed along the River Road but ultimately ended up near the Freeman's Farm Monument (Robinson 2005:3; Walworth 1891:96).

With few subscriptions for the remaining monuments coming in, the Committee on Tablets decided to narrow the focus to ensure that the most significant places on the battlefield received first attention for whatever subsequent funds were raised. In 1886, Walworth provided a list of four as yet unmarked places that she regarded as especially critical. These included Breymann's Hill, Gates' Headquarters, the Great Redoubt where Fraser was buried, and the site of Morgan's attack on the British right flank. Walworth went on to note that the monuments already in place

“are appreciated by the people in the vicinity of the battle-ground, who feel an interest in their preservation; that these tablets have given interest and emphasis to the memories connected with this field, is indicated by the enthusiasm of visitors who have been on the field since they were erected . . . Your Committee feel especially encouraged to continue their work, since the plan adopted by them has met with such favor that historical places in other parts of the country are now indicated by similar tablets ” (Walworth 1891:96, 99).

Walworth's appeal resulted in the subscription of two additional monuments in 1887. SMA trustee General John Watts de Peyster gave the **Arnold Monument (LCS No. 022312, contributing object)**, the most unique of all the SMA monuments and the only one made of marble. This notable departure from the other monuments placed on the battlefield incorporated a sculpture in relief of Arnold's left boot, where he was wounded during the storming of Breymann's redoubt during the second battle, draped over a cannon. Sculptor George Bissell, who executed the statue of Horatio Gates for the Saratoga Monument, designed and carved the Arnold Monument. In 1931, during the battlefield's state management period, a **wrought iron fence (historical associated feature)** was erected around the monument to protect it from potential damage by visitors. The NPS later added the stone plaza inside the fence and the pathway around it.

Mrs. Virginia Neville Taylor, a granddaughter of Daniel Morgan, donated the other 1887 monument, the **Morgan Monument (LCS No. 022300, contributing object)**. Although Walworth stated that the four monuments on hand would be placed by the anniversary of the battles in September and October 1887, only the Arnold Monument was installed by that time. Further consideration of the locations and possibly trouble in obtaining landowner permission apparently caused a delay in the installation of the others. Walworth and Captain A. de R. McNair made repeated visits to the battlefield between August 1888 and August 1889 to “select and secure the proper positions for these tablets.” They all were placed by the Committee’s annual meeting in August 1889. The cluster of monuments formed the basis of a battlefield carriage tour that Walworth wrote and included in her revised and reissued guidebook to the battlefield in 1891. The same year, the Committee on Tablets had each of the monuments professionally photographed both to illustrate Walworth’s guidebook and to send to their subscribers, some of whom had not visited the site since their monuments were erected (Walworth 1891:98–99).

In Walworth’s 1887 committee report, she reiterated the need for monuments at Gates’ headquarters and Fraser’s burial spot. For the latter, she stated that J.W. Drexel had received a promise of a subscription from “a gentleman in Scotland” and deemed it appropriate that Fraser’s memory should be perpetuated by one of his own countrymen. The hoped-for donation never materialized, however, and the spot remained unmarked until 1986 when the Fraser Memorial (LCS No. 040762, uncounted object) was erected near the Saratoga Visitor Center “on Behalf of all his Fellow Fraser Clansmen.” Walworth considered the Gates Headquarters site to be “so prominent in interest and locality that we could have easily have placed upon it a tablet like a majority of those already located, but it has seemed appropriate to have erected on this spot a more imposing stone, similar to the one given by James M. Marvin or to the one erected by Gen. J. Watts de Peyster” (Walworth 1891:99).

The final two monuments erected by the SMA Committee on Tablets were placed in the early 1890s and may have been put up before subscriptions were received for them. In 1891, Walworth noted that two “important points of interest on the field are still open to subscribers.” These included Gates’ headquarters and the location of the American batteries located on the plains east of Bemis Heights and the River Road. An 1890 committee report referred to the **Gates Headquarters Monument (LCS No. 040015, contributing object)** as in place but “not lettered at all.” The Committee likely decided to erect the monument in advance of finding a donor because of its importance. In any event, George Pullman, the prominent inventor and railroad car mogul from Chicago, Illinois, subscribed \$150 for it, and the monument was inscribed and completed in 1892 or 1893. Horatio Seymour originally conceived the second monument and promised to fund it at the time the Committee on Tablets was first established in 1880. However, Seymour’s rapidly failing health following the selection of the spot precluded his involvement in erecting the monument. The subscriber for what became known as the **Water Battery Monument (LCS No. 022313, contributing object)** is unknown. Miscellaneous funds that came to the committee in small denominations may have been used for it. It is the only one of the monuments erected by the SMA Committee on Tablets that does not bear the name of a donor, and it commemorates Thaddeus Kosciuszko’s work on the American defensive positions near its location. The completion of the Gates Headquarters Monument constituted the last significant action of the SMA Committee on Tablets. The Committee made its last report in August 1893. It disbanded along with the SMA in 1895, having completed 13 monuments, 10 of which are contributing resources within the Saratoga NHP Historic District (Robinson 2005:4–5; Walworth 1891:112).

Early Twentieth-Century Battlefield Monuments, 1904–1936

After the SMA disbanded, the erection of monuments on the battlefield continued but more sporadically and without the interpretive intent of the previous monument campaign. For the most part, between 1904 and 1936, historical and fraternal organizations or family members descended from the participants erected memorials to groups and individuals who fought in the battles. With a few exceptions, these efforts were independent of the concurrent movement to preserve the battlefield through public acquisition of the land by the State of New York.

This period began with an effort to promote more visitation to the battlefield from Saratoga Springs, which continued to attract large numbers of tourists during the summer season. Walworth’s earlier efforts to commemorate the battlefield through the battlefield monuments and her republished guidebook of 1891 directly related to this effort. In addition to her role in founding the National Society of the DAR, Walworth helped to organize the Saratoga Chapter of that organization. She was probably influential in the Saratoga Chapter’s decision in 1897 to post a series of wood signs that

“caused the road leading from Saratoga [Springs] to the battlefield of Bemis Heights to be more perfectly marked.” After the turn of the century, the Saratoga Chapter proposed a more permanent solution to erect nine granite markers at crossroads along the route, extending from the terminus of Union Avenue at Moon’s Lake House, around Saratoga Lake over the present-day County Route 71 (Cedar Bluff Road), and on to the battlefield over State Route 32 (Robinson 2005:9–10).

Mrs. George Comstock, elected Regent of the Saratoga Chapter on October 1, 1903, directed the work. On September 19, 1904, the anniversary of the First Battle of Saratoga, Comstock reported that the first three granite markers would be placed that fall. The markers consisted of four-sided, rough-hewn granite slabs, measuring approximately 3 ft tall, 18 inches wide, and 8 inches deep. Each was inscribed with the words “TO THE/ BATTLEFIELD/1777” and had an arrow to indicate which direction to take. A second set of three markers was erected in 1909, and a seventh to mark the corner leading to Freeman’s Farm on the battlefield was added shortly thereafter. The other two followed at unknown times. All but one of the markers remain, although some have been moved. The **DAR Leggett Place Marker (LCS No. none, contributing object)** is the only one located within the Saratoga NHP Historic District. The NPS reinstalled it in the late twentieth century at the base of the Roosevelt Road access to the Saratoga Visitor Center handicap parking area (Robinson 2005:10–11).

The renewal of commemorative monument activity at the battlefield began in 1913 with the erection of the **Murphy Monument (LCS No. 022305, contributing object)**. The Ancient Order of Hibernians placed the monument to memorialize Timothy Murphy, a member of Morgan’s Rifle Corps whose “unerring aim turned the tide of battle by the death of British General Frazer [sic] on Oct. 7, 1777.” The monument consists of a bronze plaque attached to a rough-hewn granite slab that stands about 7½ ft tall, including its rectangular granite base. The Order purchased about an acre of land from the Neilson family and placed the monument at what is now Stop 2 on the Battlefield Tour Road. The NPS moved it to its present, presumably more historically accurate, location in 1948. The Order and its ladies auxiliary rededicated the monument during the Bicentennial in 1976 and added a smaller bronze plaque below the original (Robinson 2005:12).

In 1917, the Philip Livingston Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) erected a memorial to Colonel Abraham Ten Broeck, commander of the Albany County Militia during the battles. Located at what is now the north end of the parking lot at Tour Stop 5, the smooth granite **Ten Broeck Monument (LCS No. 022307, contributing object)** stands about 5 ft, 4 inches tall, including its granite plinth, and has an incised block letter inscription (Robinson 2005:12–13).

The Bidwell Family Association erected the last monument added before the State of New York’s period of battlefield management (1927–1937), the **Bidwell Monument (LCS No. 023309, contributing object)**, to commemorate the memory of their ancestor Captain Zebulon Bidwell, 4th Company, Cook’s Regiment of the Connecticut Militia, who was killed at or near the spot of the monument’s location during the First Battle of Saratoga. It was placed on the anniversary of the battle on September 19, 1924 (Robinson 2005:13).

The sesquicentennial celebrations of the battles created a renewed interest in the Battles of Saratoga and sparked the last significant period of monument building on the battlefield. As with those placed earlier in the twentieth century, the six monuments erected during the decade between 1927 and 1936 were independent enterprises. The projects, however, received the encouragement and support of George O. Slingerland, superintendent of the state-owned portions of the battlefield. Early on during his period of management, Slingerland hoped that all the states that contributed men who fought in the battles would contribute a monument in their honor, much like what was then occurring on major Civil War battlefields like Gettysburg. Slingerland’s dream never came close to being realized, however, and only one state participated. The State of New Hampshire erected the **New Hampshire Men Monument (LCS No. 022303, contributing object)** in 1927, and its dedication was a significant part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the battles. It was located just south of the John Neilson House in the area that became the focus of the state’s interpretive efforts. The small monument consists of a bronze plaque placed on a boulder and is dedicated to the memory of Brigadier General Enoch Poor; Colonels Joseph Cilley, Henry Dearborn, and Alexander Scammell; and the New Hampshire troops that fought in the battles (Robinson 2005:13–14).

In 1931, the New York State Chapter of the DAR erected the largest and most artistically elaborate monument on the battlefield, the **Monument to the Unknown American Dead (LCS No. 022302, contributing object)**. Also built in the state's memorial area around the Neilson farmhouse, the monument commemorates the unidentified remains of the American soldiers who died during the battles. The challenges of the Great Depression facing the country at the time added meaning to the monument's intention of promoting American unity through the remembrance of the unknown soldiers who paid the ultimate price in pursuit of liberty. The New York Chapter planned for the monument to open in 1932, to coincide with the bicentennial of George Washington's birth. To fund the monument, the organization solicited 30-cent donations from the entire DAR membership and succeeded in raising a total of \$11,000 over a period of two years. In May 1931, the New York Chapter submitted a drawing and model to the New York State Conservation Department. Brython Jones designed the monument. He also designed the Chapter's Margaret Corbin Memorial at the United States Military Academy at West Point. Jones designed the memorial as an obelisk with four crosses surrounded by thirteen stars and relief lines to symbolize the sacrifices made by the unknown soldiers, freedom, liberty, and justice. The landscaping around the monument included a concrete **walkway (LCS No. none, historic associated feature)** that connected the monument to what was then State Route 32, as well as a symbolic cemetery marked by a large Neoclassical Memorial Pavilion (erected 1928, removed 1960) and a circular Memorial Grove of trees (planted 1931, not extant). In 1934, three **benches (LCS No. 040755, historic associated features)** were added to the site.

Also in 1932, the Rockefeller Family Association, Inc. (RFA) sponsored the erection of the **Rockefeller Monument (LCS No. 022304, contributing object)**, located between the current Tour Stops 4 and 5. The RFA formed in 1905 for the purpose of contributing to the welfare and education of Rockefeller members throughout the United States. John Davison Rockefeller was a member but did not take active part in the establishment or management of the organization. The monument was dedicated to nine Rockefellers who served during the Revolutionary War. Several years later, at an annual meeting of the RFA in Troy, New York, Grace F. Rockefeller delivered a speech about the monument titled "Rockefellers in the Battle of Saratoga" (*People Magazine*, July 27, 1931).

The **Kosciuszko Monument (LCS No. 022301, contributing object)**, erected in 1936, was the last of the historic monuments added to the battlefield. The Polish-American citizens of six Capital District communities erected it on the knoll south of the Neilson House to honor Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the Polish engineer who laid out the American fortifications. The four-sided, squat, tapered obelisk on a raised plinth was the largest monument erected on the field after the DAR monument. Three sides are rough hewn granite. The fourth, where the inscription and the name "Kosciuszko" are incised, has a smooth polished surface.

CRITERION A – CONSERVATION

The Saratoga Battlefield is significant as one of several national military parks created in the early twentieth century during a period of increased nationalism and prosperity between the two World Wars. Prompted by the concern that visible traces of the battles were rapidly disappearing, a local movement to preserve portions of the Saratoga Battlefield through land acquisition began to gain traction during the late nineteenth century. On a national level, the earliest battlefield preservation movement focused on Civil War sites and resulted in the 1890s in the creation of the first four national military parks under the management of the War Department. These designations prompted a flood of petitions in the early 1900s requesting that Congress act to establish additional parks for other deserving American battlefields. In 1926, Congress authorized a study of all the nation's battlefields to assist in prioritizing the many petitions before it for creating national military parks and erecting memorials. The Army War College conducted the study and devised a classification system for providing Congress with a list of the battlefields ranked according to their relative importance. Saratoga Battlefield was one of only five to be deemed of exceptional political and military significance and receive the War College's recommendation that it be established as a national military park.

The battlefield opened as a state-managed public park on the sesquicentennial anniversary of the battles in 1927. The transfer of the country's national military parks from the War Department to the NPS in 1933 brought about significant changes in the direction of battlefield preservation and interpretation efforts. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had a long-held interest in the Saratoga Battlefield, played a significant role in the process leading to the authorization of Saratoga National Historical Park in 1938. The park was formally incorporated into the national park system in 1948.

Under NPS ownership, the focus of the park shifted from commemorative activities to an increased emphasis on education and interpretation. Studies conducted by park historians established the park's interpretive context, and planning efforts focused on the restoration of the battlefield landscape to more accurately reflect its 1777 appearance. The NPS's Mission 66 Program, a nationwide effort to upgrade facilities at national parks, invested in the construction of the current Modern-style Visitor Center at Saratoga NHP in 1962 and the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road, begun in 1958 and completed in 1966. These improvements marked the culmination of more than two decades of planning and remain the primary facilities through which visitors experience the battlefield to the present day.

American Battlefield Preservation Movement, 1890–1933

The events that eventually led to the public acquisition and lasting preservation of the Saratoga Battlefield were rooted in the Civil War battlefield preservation movement of the late nineteenth century. The creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, followed by Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant national parks in 1890, set the precedent for the establishment of scenic and natural national parks. By the latter date, the generation of political leaders that had served during the Civil War and exerted their political might during the last quarter of the nineteenth century generally supported the notion of extending similar status to the historically significant battlefields of the Civil War. Broad participation in activities such as reunions, encampments, and battle reenactments attended by veterans of both sides of the conflicts engendered public support for commemoration of the Civil War. These moving events went a long way toward reunifying the nation and created a groundswell for the preservation of battlefields at the local and state levels. An example of the strength of the movement was the acquisition of lands associated with the Battle of Gettysburg. The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, formed in 1864 before the war ended, headed the movement. The organization raised more than a million dollars from the states of the North for purchasing land and placing monuments (Lee 1973).

By 1890, however, it became apparent that federal government involvement would be necessary to assemble and manage the vast acreage over which the major Civil War battles were fought. During the ensuing decade, prominent Civil War veterans in Congress, including Representative Dan Sickles, a former Union general, and Senator Wade Hampton, a former Confederate general, sponsored a series of bills that resulted in the creation of the first four national military parks at the battlefield sites of Chickamauga and Chattanooga (1890), Shiloh (1894), Gettysburg (1895), and Vicksburg (1899). The creation of those parks established the precedents for setting aside land and the use of federal funds to acquire nationally significant historic sites for permanent preservation. A critical 1896 Supreme Court decision in the case of the *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Railway Co.* confirmed the constitutional legality of the use of the power of eminent domain in cases where the preservation of historical sites was deemed to be in the public interest (Lee 1973).

The military parks were placed under the administration of the War Department. In addition to their preservation as historical sites, they were used by the Army and National Guard as training areas to study the tactics used during the engagements and conduct military maneuvers. Other notable policy and management decisions resulted from this initial burst of battlefield preservation, including the ideas that battlefield lands should be preserved as nearly as possible in their condition at the time of the battle; that specialized knowledge was required to ascertain, mark, and preserve the main lines of battle and the cultural features of the terrain; and that states were expected to share the costs of preservation, marking, and monumentation (Lee 1973).

After the turn of the twentieth century, Congress was deluged with petitions to create additional national military parks. Between 1901 and 1904, a total of 34 bills seeking authorization of 23 historic battlefield reservations were introduced. The scope expanded from Civil War sites to cover battlefields from other wars. Bills associated with the Revolutionary War included those to provide for the purchase and preservation of the fortifications at Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga and the establishment of national military parks at Valley Forge and Brandywine. Concerned about the potential costs of implementation, the House Committee on Military Affairs, to which all such bills were referred, requested an accounting from the War Department of the amount expended in the creation of the four existing parks. Secretary of War Elihu Root responded that the amount came to more than \$2 million, which was considered exorbitant at the time. Root also estimated that, if enacted, the proposals before Congress would amount to at least that much again. The committee also struggled with the question of how to evaluate the merit of requests for battlefields and monuments from other wars. As a result, the committee decided to hold a series of hearings to gather information about the matter.

Based on the findings of the hearings, Committee Chairman Richard Wayne Parker introduced legislation that would provide for the establishment of a central national military park commission to replace the model of individual battlefield commissions established at the existing parks. The five-member commission would be appointed by the President of the United States and vested "with the general power to restore, preserve, mark and maintain, in commemoration of the valor of American arms and for historical, professional, and military study, such battlefields, forts, cemeteries, or parts thereof, of the colonial, Revolutionary, Indian or civil wars, or of any wars of the United States, as may hereafter be acquired by the United States, and to establish military parks thereon." The bill included an appropriation of \$200,000 for the work of the commission. Other sections provided for the protection of historic property; cooperation with states, municipalities, and military societies; the lease-back of lands to former owners on historic preservation conditions; and permission for the commission to survey and investigate other worthy battlefields and make recommendations to Congress about the costs associated with preserving them. This far-reaching historic preservation legislation failed to pass in the House despite strong recommendation by its Committee on Military Affairs. The legislation experienced the same fate each of the five additional times that Parker introduced the bill over the next decade before discussion of it finally ceased after Parker left Congress in 1911 (Lee 1973).

The unlikely prospects for the bill, along with the events surrounding U.S. involvement in World War I, stalled further significant action in creating the national military park system. In the first quarter of the century, only five special acts related to battlefield commemoration and preservation were passed. However, these notably included engagements from wars other than the Civil War and included monuments at the Revolutionary War King's Mountain Battlefield in South Carolina and the War of 1812 New Orleans Battlefield. The only additional national military park established during the period was the small 125-acre Guilford Court House National Military Park, created in 1917 to commemorate the largest and most hotly contested battle of the Revolutionary War's Southern Campaign (Lee 1973).

The victorious conclusion of World War I sparked a new era of nationalism and patriotism in the United States. During the prosperous decade of the 1920s, better pay, more vacation time, and increased mobility offered by the automobile combined to increase visitation to, and appreciation for, national parks and historical sites. Concern also increased for the preservation of important natural and historic resources threatened by industrial, commercial, and residential expansion. These factors helped to revive the battlefield preservation movement. In May 1926, Noble J. Johnson, Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, reported that Congress was then considering 28 bills relating to military battlefields and monuments. Fourteen of the bills called for the establishment of national military parks with appropriations amounting to nearly \$6 million. In the face of these numbers, the committee strongly recommended that a provision be made to conduct a national study of all battlefields to assist Congress in making informed decisions on how to act on these bills. H.R. 11613, enacted on June 11, 1926, authorized the study and placed the responsibility for completing the investigation under the Secretary of War (Lee 1973).

An extensive memorandum on the subject of battlefield preservation submitted by Lieutenant Colonel C.A. Bach of the Army War College in 1925 laid out the basic framework for the study conducted over a six-year period between 1926 and 1932. The memorandum reviewed past actions of Congress relative to battlefields, established a system for classifying battles according to their importance, and proposed appropriate preservation actions corresponding to the relative importance of each class. Bach devised a four-tiered classification system based on past Congressional actions. Class I battlefields were those of exceptional political and military importance that had far-reaching effect on the outcome of the war during which they were fought. These battlefields were recommended as being worthy of preservation for detailed military and historical study and therefore established as national military parks. Class II battlefields were of sufficient importance to warrant the designation of their sites as national monuments. This class was further subdivided into Class IIa battles—those of great military and historical interest that were worthy of locating and indicating the battle lines of the forces engaged by a series of markers or tablets, but not necessarily by memorial monuments—and Class IIb battles—those of sufficient historical interest to be worthy of some form of commemorative monument, tablet, or other marker to indicate their location. Bach also included a preliminary ranking of battles fought on American soil during the various wars. By his conservative evaluation, he found only five that merited Class I distinction. These included the existing national military parks of Gettysburg, Chickamauga and Chattanooga, and Vicksburg, as well as two Revolutionary War battlefields—Saratoga and Yorktown. He also acknowledged that Congress had placed Shiloh in this category. Class IIa battlefields included the New Orleans Battlefield and 15 Civil War battlefields, among them Manassas, Fort Donelson,

Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Spotsylvania Courthouse, and the Wilderness. An additional 64 battlefields representing all wars were placed in Class IIb (Lee 1973).

The responsibilities for aspects of the War Department study were spread out over several groups. The Historical Section of the Army War College conducted the historic research, the districts of the Army Corps of Engineers in which the battlefields were located carried out field investigations, and the Army's Quartermaster General directed any work performed through appropriations made by Congress to commemorate the battlefields. The two annual reports of the Secretary of War on the progress of the survey delivered in 1928 and 1929 dealt with most significant battlefields that had yet to be addressed by Congress. These included the Class I battlefields of Saratoga and Yorktown, as well as nine Class IIa battlefields, including Manassas, Chalmette (Battle of New Orleans), and Richmond. They also included recommendations for monuments at 50 of the Class IIb battlefields that were further subdivided relative to the cost of the proposed monuments, which ranged from a low of \$2,500 for Civil War Balls Bluff Battlefield to a high of \$100,000 for Appomattox (Lee 1973).

While the study was underway, Congress passed legislation creating several new military parks and battlefield memorials. In 1926, Moores Creek National Military Park (Revolutionary War) in North Carolina and Petersburg National Military Park (Civil War) in Virginia were established. Over the next four years, the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial (1927, Civil War) in Virginia, Stones River National Military Park (1927, Civil War) and Fort Donelson National Park (1928, Civil War) in Tennessee, and King's Mountain National Military Park (1931, Revolutionary War) in South Carolina were created. Following an entirely different path, Yorktown Battlefield was designated a national historical reservation as part of the establishment of Colonial National Monument in 1930 (Lee 1973).

Congress also took steps in 1930 to address the wide range of monuments proposed by the study for Class IIb battlefields by drafting a huge omnibus bill that listed each project and its anticipated appropriation. The total came to \$624,400. During the discussion of the bill, the Historical Section of the Army War College provided estimates that placed the cost of implementing the entire program envisioned by the 1926 act at \$20 million. This daunting figure, combined with the growing economic calamity that followed the crash of the stock market in October 1929, caused the tabling of the omnibus bill after it was introduced April 8, 1930. Congress continued, however, to make small appropriations for individual battlefield preservation efforts, authorizing monuments for six sites, including the Civil War battlefields of Brices Cross Roads (1929), Tupelo (1929), Monocacy (1929), and Appomattox (1930); the Revolutionary War Battle of Cowpens (1929); and the French and Indian War Fort Necessity (1931). The Fort Necessity Monument constituted the last appropriation for battlefield commemoration or preservation during the period when the War Department administered the nation's historic battlefield system (Lee 1973).

Saratoga Battlefield Association and the State Management Period, 1923–1937

Following the trajectory of many historic properties that were eventually incorporated into the National Park System, the preservation of the Saratoga Battlefield began as a local effort and was spurred by threats to its integrity. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, various individuals advocated for the battlefield's preservation, but no organized effort emerged. In the interim between that point and the time of the battles, evidence of the once extensive systems of military earthworks erected within the British and American lines slowly disappeared. The upland portion of the battlefield reverted to its pre-war use as agricultural land, and the expansion of the farms led to deforestation that dramatically altered the battlefield landscape. In the southern portion of the battlefield, the hamlet of Bemis Heights developed as an important waypoint on the Whitehall Turnpike, constructed in the early nineteenth century to connect Waterford and Whitehall. It developed into a small community comprised of residences, a schoolhouse, church, and hotel for travelers. The hamlet of Wilbur's Basin began developing in the northeast section of the battlefield after the damming of the Kroma Kill in the late eighteenth century. Both Bemis Heights and Wilbur's Basin benefitted from their proximity to the Champlain Canal, which was constructed through the battlefield's lowlands along the Hudson River in the early 1820s. Wilbur's Basin, in particular, thrived as an important regional center for the processing of lumber and agricultural products.

Changes in the region's transportation infrastructure had an impact on the local economy during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, producing greater uncertainty about the future of the battlefield. Traffic on the Champlain Canal declined significantly due to competition from railroads. A new canal system capable of handling larger vessels was constructed in the early twentieth century and resulted in the abandonment of the old Champlain Canal. By that time, the mills of Wilbur's Basin had been abandoned along with the section of the old canal that ran through the battlefield. A trolley line was constructed along the Road to Albany through the battlefield in the early twentieth century facilitating transportation from Saratoga to Albany and increasing the likelihood that the area would be further developed as a residential suburb of the capital city. Destructive sand mining along the bluffs of the battlefield commenced in 1917. The sand was valuable in creating molds used in the metal casting process and was found beneath the top soil to a depth of 3–6 feet. While the disturbance to the topography was not as damaging as traditional mining, surface drainage was altered and significant archeological remains were almost certainly disturbed.

Concern about potential development that might further degrade the integrity of the battlefield fueled the first concerted preservation efforts in the 1910s. The leaders of this movement were the Saratoga Chapter of the DAR, the Rochester Chapter of the Empire State Society of the Sons of the American Revolution (ESSAR), and the New York State Historical Association (NYSHA). The latter organization formed in 1899 at a time when the conservation movement in New York was gaining significant momentum. During the 1890s and early 1900s, the state legislature appropriated significant sums to establish a state park system consisting primarily of natural areas. In the early 1910s, the system expanded to include lands associated with historical events, such as the Crown Point Reservation, Bennington Battlefield Park, and Lake George Battleground Park. Initially placed under the control of the New York State Department of Conservation, the care of the historical parks was subsequently transferred to the NYSHA. In 1914, State Senator George H. Whitney of Mechanicville introduced a bill to appropriate \$25,000 for the purchase of land to establish a state park at Saratoga Battlefield. The park was to be placed under the joint custody of the NYSHA and the Saratoga Chapter of the DAR, but owing to a worsening financial climate the bill died in committee. Despite attempts to revive it in subsequent years, no further action was taken until after World War I (New York State Historical Association 1915:27, 1916:26).

Coinciding with the revival of the national battlefield preservation movement and the approaching sesquicentennial anniversary of the Battles of Saratoga, the quest to preserve the battlefield gained new life in the early 1920s. Shortly after World War I, the Rochester Chapter of the ESSAR lobbied for the creation of a national military park, but Congress, which was deluged with similar requests for other battlefields, refused to act. Having failed to secure legislative support at the state and national level, the Rochester Chapter chose a different tack. At the organization's quarterly meeting in May 1923, Compatriot Charles Ogden, a former publicity director of the New York State Department of Public Works, reported that the SAR National Congress had approved a resolution to preserve the battlefield and appointed a committee to take steps toward forming an organization to carry out that work. With this backing from the National Society, the Rochester Chapter, together with members of local Rotary clubs and other interested persons, succeeded in getting the New York State Legislature to charter the Saratoga Battlefield Association, Inc. (SBA), vested with the power of purchasing and holding land for the purpose of preserving the battlefield in public trust. In September 1923, a permanent committee of the SBA was established to plan for the sesquicentennial celebration of the Battles of Saratoga. The first of 10 resolutions adopted by the committee stated that lands of historical importance within the battlefield would be acquired "and converted into a national park." Ogden, who served variously as the Secretary and President of the organization, began negotiations to purchase the Wright (former Freeman) and Sarle farms, which together comprised about 400 acres of battlefield land, and ultimately secured the titles at a total cost of \$19,500. The SBA subsequently acquired an additional 255 acres through the purchase of the Neilson and Gannon farms, bringing the total area of protected battlefield land to 655 acres (Arter 2010:1; Lentz and Williams 1991:50; Phillips 1997:2; Sprague 1930:46).

The movement to establish the battlefield as a state park gained widespread support from patriotic organizations, historical societies, and the business community in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys following the SBA's initial purchase of land. Among the leaders of the movement were Ogden; George O. Slingerland, the mayor of nearby Mechanicville and president of the Mechanicville Rotary Club; Adolph Ochs, editor of the *New York Times* who used his newspaper to publicize the effort; State Historian Alexander Flick; and Burton D. Esmond, an Assemblyman from Saratoga County and first chairman of the SBA's permanent committee. Esmond introduced two unsuccessful bills in the New York State Legislative sessions of 1925 to make appropriations to acquire land and restore the battlefield. That year, on the

anniversary of the First Battle of Saratoga, a large group of more than 500 assembled on the battlefield to hear speeches from prominent political and business leaders in support of a new and broader movement to acquire land and restore battlefields associated with Burgoyne's campaign, including Saratoga, Oriskany, Fort Stanwix, and Bennington. The event provided an opportunity to inspect the condition of the battlefield, described by Och's *New York Times* as being the "weed-grown and deserted acres where one of the fifteen decisive battles of history was fought." At a Rotary luncheon that followed, Ogden urged the membership to marshal support behind the preservation effort, stating that "The idea of the restoration of the Saratoga battlefield is so apparently a necessary thing, is such a good thing, that there is no sentiment against it . . . and it is therefore the business of you Rotarians to establish a sentiment for it" (Sprague 1930:46; *NYT*, September 20, 1925).

The pressure exerted by battlefield supporters had the desired effect. Esmond introduced a new bill to appropriate \$285,000 for battlefield preservation in the first legislative session of 1926. Although the amount was ultimately reduced to \$140,000, the Legislature passed the bill, and Governor Al Smith signed it on January 25, 1926. The bill provided \$65,000 for the purchase of land at the Saratoga and Oriskany battlefields and \$75,000 for restoration activities at the Saratoga, Oriskany, Fort Stanwix, and Bennington battlefields. The law also established a State Advisory Board on Battlefields and Historic Sites to oversee the restoration and development of the battlefields for public enjoyment. Mechanicville Mayor George Slingerland was appointed to the board. By 1925, Slingerland was a leading advocate for the preservation of the Saratoga Battlefield. He was inspired to take up the cause after hearing a speech given by Reverend Delos E. Sprague before the Mechanicville Rotary Club. He subsequently devoted the rest of his life to the effort, serving first as President of the Advisory Board on Battlefields and Historic Sites and then as superintendent of the battlefield during the initial years of the state management period (*NYT*, August 14, 1926; Phillips 1997:2).

Slingerland's first objective was to prepare the battlefield for its formal dedication to be held on the sesquicentennial on October 8, 1927. In anticipation of a large crowd, temporary staging, bleachers, communication stations, and a parking area to accommodate automobiles were constructed. The state also undertook a large-scale renovation of the Neilson farm, which became the focal point of the visitor experience during the state management period. It removed nineteenth-century farm structures that post-dated the battles and relocated the original Neilson farmhouse. It also added three new conjectural buildings, although no documentation existed to suggest that any such buildings were present at the time of the battles. These consisted of a stone powder magazine (not extant); a dwelling designated as the "Period House" and referred to by the state as "Arnold's Headquarters" (not extant); and a two-story blockhouse known as "Fort Neilson" that served as the battlefield visitor center and museum. The blockhouse remained on the battlefield until 1975, when the NPS donated it to the Town of Stillwater. After being relocated several times, the building was placed at its current location in a small park on the Hudson River, outside the NHP boundaries, where it serves as a local history museum. Slingerland also began work on what would later be referred to as the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial Landscape. That area was located on the western side of Route 32, across from the blockhouse that was purportedly the site of burials of American troops killed during the battles. Slingerland began the memorial landscape by creating a symbolic American Cemetery. After the State of New York acquired title to the land on September 8, 1926, he had a 300-foot-square area cleared and enclosed with a white cedar hedge (*NYT*, July 14, 1926).

The sesquicentennial celebration was a resounding success. The day-long festivities attracted as many as 160,000 visitors from all over the northeast to participate in the numerous activities and historical pageants. Highlights included battlefield tours, the dedication of the New Hampshire Monument, numerous speeches, and a historical pageant boasting 6,000 participants. The day also marked the official acceptance of the battlefield by the State of New York, which incorporated it into the system of properties managed by the Conservation Department's Division of Lands and Forests.

For Slingerland, the well-attended event indicated that the preservation of the battlefield had broad public support and reaffirmed his conviction to mold the battlefield according to his personal vision. His chief activities over the next few years centered on improving the visitor experience through the creation of new commemorative and interpretive elements and expanding the boundaries of the battlefield through further land acquisition. Slingerland's plans for the memorial landscape continued to evolve. In 1927, he worked with New York State Associate Architect Stanton P. Lee to develop plans for a Classical Revival-style "Memorial Pavilion" (not extant) to mark the entryway to the American Cemetery and provide a place for contemplation and outdoor events. The structure, completed in 1928, was later inscribed with the inspirational phrase "They died in War that we may live in Peace." In 1931, the DAR's Monument to the Unknown

American Dead with its associated pathways and benches was added to the memorial area. The following year, Slingerland had a "Memorial Grove" planted as part of a nationwide program of tree planting to commemorate the bicentennial of Washington's birth. The grove (not extant) consisted of 27 American elm trees planted in a circular pattern next to the Monument to the Unknown American Dead. Slingerland planted one elm in the center, dedicated to George Washington, and two concentric rings of trees around it. The first ring of 13 trees represented the original colonies, and the outside ring denoted the eight American generals.

In January of 1927, Robert Fisher of the Conservation Department conducted a study to determine future land acquisition priorities. The resulting report determined that lands where fighting or encampments occurred should be acquired first but also stressed the importance of surrounding areas where views and landscape features were important to preserving the setting. Based on the recommendations contained in the report, Slingerland personally set about securing options from property owners and fixing prices for future purchase. In 1928, Burton Esmond and Senator Thomas C. Brown of Schenectady introduced a bill calling for an appropriation of \$192,000 for the purchase of an additional 2,084 acres of land for the Saratoga Battlefield. The bill sparked rancorous debate between proponents of the legislation and the Republican-controlled State Legislature and was ultimately slashed by \$100,000. The following year, the Conservation Department opened negotiations for the acquisition of six farms totaling about 564 acres of land using \$90,000. The transactions completed in 1930 brought the total acreage of state-owned battlefield land to 1,429.69 acres. This constituted the last land acquisition during the state management period (*NYT* February 19, 1928, August 16, 1928, Sprague 1930:47; Blasdel et al. 1963:3).

Interpretation of the battlefield under the state management period continued to include efforts by private citizens who were interested in promoting the battlefield as a destination for tourists at Saratoga Springs. In 1930, the Reverend Delos E. Sprague, a Baptist minister from nearby Ballston Spa who had long been an advocate for the battlefield's preservation, wrote a guide book to the battlefield. The guide offered visitors many benefits including a battle history, a map of the battlefield, and a description of two battlefield tours. He outlined 24 tour stops on the map and described them in his narrative of "Tour Route One." Sprague gave a brief description of all the sites and discussed their role in the sequence of the battles. Graphically, Sprague included photos of the battlefield, portraits of important figures, and paintings of battlefield and related scenes. "Tour Route Two" included part of the battlefield and continued north to the Philip Schuyler House in Schuylerville and the Saratoga Monument in Victory. In addition to Sprague's guide, the New York State Education Department placed a series of 34 painted cast iron historical markers throughout the battlefield that provided information about battle events. As no officially trained guides existed to interpret the landscape or story of the battles, Sprague's guide and the interpretive signage helped visitors to navigate and understand the history and importance of the battlefield (Sprague 1930:7).

From the start, Slingerland's ultimate goal was the federal acquisition of the battlefield and its establishment as a national military park. He envisioned that one day "the whole area will be acquired, the entrenchments restored, proper monuments and landscaping will glorify the field, and it will be a mecca of . . . the whole Nation, who will come here to do honor to our forefathers, and to walk reverently over this sacred spot where our own United States was born" (quoted in Oudemool et. al. 2002:113). The prospects for federal designation of the battlefield as a national military park appeared brighter after the national study of battlefields conducted by the Army War College recommended Saratoga as one of only two undesignated Class I battlefields worthy of incorporating into the national military park system. Based on the findings of the study, Secretary of War Dwight Davis reported to President Calvin Coolidge in 1928 that it would cost approximately \$4,400 to make a survey of the lands of the battlefield for the purposes of commemorating it as a Class I battlefield. He also stated that if Congress determined that it "should be so commemorated, the proper method would be by the establishment of a national military park" (Phillips 1997:4).

Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt took a personal interest in the preservation of the battlefield and supported federal acquisition. During his first term, Roosevelt publicly proclaimed his desire to see the battlefield become a "national shrine" during a speech given there as part of the anniversary celebration on October 17, 1929. Slingerland and Roosevelt differed, however, on how best to proceed in seeking the transfer. Slingerland believed that the government would not accept the battlefield until the state had completed the land acquisition process and feared that the additional property would never be purchased if the federal government took control too soon. Roosevelt was for immediate transfer and believed that the government, in time, would acquire the additional land (*NYT*, October 18, 1929).

Roosevelt's visit to the battlefield occurred only 12 days before the stock market crash on October 29, 1929, and the ensuing Great Depression seriously retarded further battlefield planning efforts. Slingerland, who had devoted himself to the management of the battlefield and had gone so far as to donate his own money to the cause, found himself deeply in debt as the Depression wore on. His superintendent salary was cut, and on several occasions he received no paychecks at all. Despite having to supplement his income by other means, he continued to perform his duties. Progress stalled on expanding the battlefield lands in hopes of making it more attractive for federal takeover. Esmond and Brown sponsored a bill in 1930 for an appropriation of \$225,000 to complete the Saratoga and Oriskany battlefields, but the preservation of historic sites had fallen well down the list of the state's priorities in its attempt to cope with the economic disaster and the bill did not pass (*NYT*, March 19, 1930).

Efforts to have Saratoga Battlefield declared a national military park gained new momentum in 1930 when several members of the New York Congressional delegation took up the cause. In January, Representative Samuel Dickstein introduced a bill that called for the establishment of a committee to study and devise a process by which the battlefield might be taken over by the government as a "national shrine." The following month, Representative James S. Parker and Senators Robert Wagner and Royal S. Copeland sponsored legislation to act on the War Department's recommendation for an appropriation of \$4,400 to conduct a survey of the battlefield for the ultimate purpose of creating a national military park. The House and Senate passed this second bill, and President Herbert Hoover signed it into law on June 4, 1930. The War Department's Army War College was assigned to conduct the study. Dickstein introduced a third bill in June that called for the outright purchase of the battlefield by the government, but it died in committee (*NYT* January 9, 1930, June 4, 1930; Blasdel et al. 1963:4-5).

On October 8, 1932, Slingerland died suddenly of a heart attack. His death created a void in leadership that, combined with the lack of will for further appropriations at the state level, left the battlefield to languish without further significant improvement during the remainder of the state management period. In honor of his major contributions to the initial acquisition and preservation of the battlefield, his fellow Rotarians placed the **Slingerland Tablet (LCS No. 022298, contributing object)** on the wall of the blockhouse in 1938. The NPS moved it in 1962 to its current location on the stone retaining wall near the Saratoga Visitor Center (*NYT*, June 4, 1930).

Following Slingerland's death, the Conservation Department's Division of Lands and Forests continued to manage the battlefield and fully supported its immediate federal acquisition, making it known that the state was ready at any time to deliver its holdings to the government free of charge. The government did not act, however, until 1938. In the interim, the state continued to maintain the battlefield, but no new major facilities were constructed. The placement of the privately funded Kosciuszko Monument within the Fort Neilson complex in 1936 constituted the only significant addition to the battlefield resources during the latter years of the state management period (*NYT*, November 18, 1932).

Creation of Saratoga National Historical Park, 1933-1938

Saratoga Battlefield figured prominently in the events that led to the transfer of the national military parks from the War Department to the NPS in 1933. The chief proponent of transfer was NPS Director Horace M. Albright, who believed that the NPS was the only agency within the government capable of properly administering and interpreting historical sites for the enjoyment of the public. The legislation that created the National Park Service in 1916 established historic preservation as an important responsibility of the bureau, but its initial purview extended primarily to the administration of national wilderness parks and monuments, most of which were located in the American West. During the 1920s then Assistant Director Albright took the lead in advocating for a more rational approach to managing the growing number of historic parks and monuments that were administered by various agencies within the federal government. Albright's primary target was the national military parks and monuments under the jurisdiction of the War Department. Negotiations between the Department of the Interior and the War Department began in the mid-1920s. The matter initially came up during hearings held to consider a proposed reorganization of the federal government's executive branch in 1924. Secretary of War John W. Weeks expressed general approval of transferring the War Department's historic reservations to the National Park Service, but the reorganization did not occur. A subsequent attempt to enact legislation to execute the transfer was made in 1928 when Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work and Secretary of War Dwight Davis drafted a bill and forwarded it Senate Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. The House Committee on Military Affairs,

however, strenuously objected to the bill. At that time the Committee was awaiting the results of national study of American battlefields then being conducted by the Army War College, and without full knowledge of the ramifications on War Department assets it was unwilling to concur with the transfer (Unrau and Williss 1993: n.p.; Lee 2001: n.p.).

After Albright was named Director of the National Park Service in 1929, he took steps to expand the professional capabilities of the bureau's ability to manage historic sites by creating a historical division within the Branch of Research and Education. He also oversaw the creation of a new park classification with the establishment of the first national historical parks in the early 1930s. In April 1933, during an automobile trip to visit Herbert Hoover's rural retreat in Virginia, Albright had the opportunity to bring up the matter of the transfer of the War Department's military parks and monuments to the NPS with newly elected President Franklin Roosevelt. By that time, Roosevelt had been granted broad powers to combat the Great Depression and was in the process of undertaking a reorganization of the executive branch to implement his New Deal programs. Albright later recounted Roosevelt's response to the idea of the transfer:

“[Roosevelt] did not wait to ask questions, but simply said that it should be done, and told me to take up the plan with his office and find out where to submit our papers at the proper time. Then he said, ‘How about Saratoga Battlefield in New York?’ I told him what we knew about that historic site, and that a bill had been introduced in the second session of the 71st Congress (H.R. 9498) to create the Saratoga National Monument, but did not emerge from Committee. I also told him that a report of the War Department to Congress, transmitted by President Hoover in December 1931, contained a recommendation that the Saratoga Battlefield be studied for possible military park status. The President said that as Governor of New York he had recommended that Saratoga be acquired as a State park, but nothing had been done. Then he told me--really ordered me--to ‘get busy’ and have Saratoga Battlefield made a national park or monument. Just a moment or two later, with a grin, he said, ‘Suppose you do something tomorrow about this’” (Albright 1971).

The study mentioned by Albright was the one authorized under the 1930 bill directing the Army War College to complete a survey of the battlefield. Major Stuart R. Carswell of the Historical Section of the War College conducted the study and completed it by the end of 1932. The study included recommendations that Saratoga be given top priority among those being considered for national military park status and that the federal government acquire 2,000 acres of land in addition to the state's holdings to round out the battlefield. When he returned to his office after the trip, Albright began drafting a proclamation for Roosevelt's signature and forwarded it to his reorganization staff.

When he was summoned to the White House to review the draft proclamation regarding the reorganization of historic sites, Albright was stunned at its scope. It transferred to the National Park Service⁴ all the War Department's historic sites, including battlefields, parks, monuments, and cemeteries, as well as the public parks and buildings in Washington, D.C. It also gave the Secretary of the Interior authority over the National Capital Park and Planning Commission and the National Commission of Fine Arts, which until that time had operated independently. President Roosevelt signed the proclamation, Executive Order No. 6166, on June 10, 1933. After objections from both the Park Service and the War Department over the advisability of transferring active military cemeteries, Roosevelt issued a second clarifying order (Executive Order 6288) on August 10, 1933 that named the 48 War Department properties to be transferred to the Park Service (Albright 1971; Unrau and Williss 1993: n.p.).

The reorganization created a single system of federal park lands that included historic as well as natural places. The addition of the military parks and monuments, which were primarily located in the eastern part of the country, made the system national in scope and clearly established the National Park Service as the chief federal agency responsible for historic preservation. The addition of the Capital Parks in Washington, D.C., provided the National Park Service high visibility to members of Congress and encouraged inclusion of a broad base of properties that were significant in areas other than military history. For the properties included in the transfer, it ensured that a higher level of attention would be paid to their preservation and interpretation as nationally significant historic properties (Mackintosh:28-29).

⁴ The order also renamed the National Park Service the “Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations,” but the following year the old name was restored.

Despite the mandate from President to establish Saratoga Battlefield as a national park and a willingness by the State of New York to deed the battlefield to the federal government, the transfer did not take place right away. During the mid-1930s the battlefield continued to be under state management and suffered from a lack of directed preservation efforts. The legislative movement to create Saratoga NHP resumed when New York Representative E. Harold Cluett introduced a bill in the House toward that end in February 1937. The bill passed the House, and the following year similar legislation sponsored by Senator Royal Copeland passed in the Senate. On June 1, 1938, President Roosevelt signed Public Law 576 entitled "An Act to provide for the creation of Saratoga National Historical Park in the State of New York, and for other purposes." The Act was intended to begin the planning and land acquisition processes that would eventually lead to the formal dedication of the battlefield as a national park, which would occur "when title to all the lands, structures, and other property in the area at Saratoga, New York, whereon was fought the Battle of Saratoga during the War of the Revolution, shall have been vested in the United States..." Those lands were to include the property owned by the State of New York and other key parcels identified by the Secretary of the Interior within six months of the passage of the Act. The Act authorized the Secretary to accept land donations, purchase parcels that he deemed reasonably priced, or acquire property through condemnation proceedings. The State of New York continued to be responsible for planning and development of the park, however, with the NPS acting in an advisory capacity, until February 7, 1941. On that date, the federal government accepted the formal transfer of the state's lands (NYT February 18, 1937, April 21, 1938, May 15, 1938; U.S. Secretary of State 1938:608-609; Phillips 1997:5, 7).

Early National Park Service Planning and Administration of Saratoga NHP, 1938-1954

The Saratoga National Historical Park "Project," as it was called before it was fully established as a national historical park, was positioned to reap the benefits of federal relief program funding and the professional expertise offered by the NPS through its master planning process. The NPS developed the master planning process in the 1920s to guide the general development of its wilderness parks in the West. The magnitude of the problems stemming from the need to balance the development of visitor facilities with the protection of the natural landscape required a systematic approach to planning that rivaled the complexity of municipal planning and necessitated contributions from a number of disciplines. Since these developments were primarily concerned with the treatment of park landscapes, NPS landscape architects took the leading role in the planning, coordinating the design process among professionals in engineering, architecture, botany, forestry, geology, and other areas (McClelland 1993:n.p.).

The New Deal relief and funding programs provided an influx of money and personnel that presented great opportunities for carrying out programs of preservation, restoration, planning, and interpretation of historical areas. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), created by the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) Act of 1933, played a particularly important role in the early work carried on at most parks. The NPS employed the CCC, largely comprised of unskilled laborers, to perform clearing, grading, and other activities at many of the historical parks where planning was underway. Most of the funding for CCC construction projects came through the Public Works Administration (PWA) (Unrau and Williss 1983: n.p.).

At Saratoga, the NPS employed the CCC to make improvements to the park's infrastructure and interpretive services. It constructed a camp to house CCC workers in the spring of 1939 in nearby Stillwater, and the men and their supervisors immediately began clearing some areas and reforesting others. They also conducted maintenance activities and grading operations. For the first time, the NPS conducted scholarly research in a comprehensive and methodical manner to link park developments with verified historical events. The CCC assisted some of these efforts, including the digging of five miles of trenches for archeological study and the removal of agricultural buildings and structures determined through research to post-date the battles.

Following the passage of the 1938 Act that authorized the park, the NPS primarily focused on identifying and acquiring additional lands that comprised the battlefield. Possibly using the previous War College study as a base, the NPS prepared a report in August 1938 that prioritized the acquisition of an additional 2,450 acres for future inclusion within the park's legal boundaries. The properties recommended for acquisition included the Newland farm, which contained the key high ground of Fraser's Hill; the Cotton Estate, which contained the site of the Tayler House, portions of the Great Redoubt, and portions of earthworks near the rear of the British encampment; and the Charles Holmes property, which contained portions of the American fortifications. The limited staff available to manage the existing property, however,

made the addition of new land problematic, and the NPS decided to go slowly on the acquisitions. It ultimately took decades to complete all the purchases that make up the battlefield today (NYT, May 20, 1939).

The master planning process got underway in 1939 when Roy Appleman, Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites, prepared a report that laid out the general principles for development. Appleman summed up his approach by stating, "The basic principle to keep always in mind . . . in planning the development of an historical area, is to do only that which will aid in presenting a simple clear picture of events . . . and in evaluating their significance." In an effort to create an authentic experience of how the battlefield looked in 1777, he recommended removing the historically inaccurate buildings constructed under Slingerland's tenure, including the Period House, Powder Magazine, and Blockhouse. On the other hand, Appleman did not support the restoration of the 1777 landscape through reforestation, believing that the existing open lands offered the visitor a better opportunity to view the battlefield. Appleman also developed a concept for a new tour road that would extend throughout the battlefield. The road, he wrote, "should be 'direct and simple' with no 'spur roads'" but instead a "pull-out" at each monument or marker and a parking area at each "observation point" (Appleman 1939:4, 8).

The preparation of the historical base map that would provide an accurate picture of the landscape at the time of the battles and guide future development also began in 1939. Junior Historical Technician Francis F. Wilshin and archeologist Robert Ehrich undertook this work. Wilshin conducted exhaustive research to identify maps, first-hand battle accounts, and other sources that could help identify the areas where significant battle events occurred and provide insight into the 1777 appearance of the landscape. Ehrich, with the aid of CCC workmen, conducted extensive archeological investigations over a two-year period that resulted in the identifications of segments of the British and American lines. They continually updated the base map as new findings came in. When completed in 1941, the map showed the buildings, structures, roads, farm fields, and forests that existed at the time of the battles and noted with symbols the positions of the American and British encampment, along with the lines of fortifications.

Park planners later used Wilshin's information about troop movement, encampment locations, farmsteads, and historic roads to draft an interpretive tour plan and a roads and trails plan. These efforts culminated in the creation of the *General Development Plan for Saratoga* in 1941. The master plan identified Fraser's Hill as the location for a future administration/museum building. The Blockhouse that had served as the visitor center up to that point was inadequate to serve the purpose going forward, and its location did not fit into the proposed plans for a new tour road. The NPS had initially considered several options for the site of a new building, including Fraser's Hill. On October 7, 1940, President Roosevelt announced a surprise visit to the battlefield. With little time to prepare, the NPS and CCC crews hastily cleared an area on Fraser's Hill and constructed a gravel road to it for the President's car. When he viewed the panorama available from the site, Roosevelt settled the question by proclaiming "This is the place" for the new building.

After establishing the site for the administration building, park personnel began to develop plans for the tour road. The tour route that emerged was anchored at the administration/museum building site on Fraser's Hill and included eleven stops: Morgan Hill, Fort Neilson, American Powder Magazine, Bemis Tavern Overlook, American River Redoubt, Middle Ravine Overlook, Balcarres Redoubt, Burgoyne's Headquarters, the Great Redoubt, Breyman's Redoubt, and Fraser's Hill. Connecting the tour stops with the park tour road became the next challenge. During this time, park planners favored creating four distinct loops of varying lengths to attract the largest amount of visitors. The roads and trails plan illustrated how the individual tour loops created discrete tour units that presented visitors with options to spend as little or as much time as one wanted on the battlefield. In so doing, the planners incorporated prevailing NPS thought that considered it necessary to offer tourists options for tours of varying lengths, since most visitors had limited time to spend. If given no alternative for shorter tours, the park felt that some visitors would make no tour at all.

With the United States' declaration of war on Japan and Germany in December 1941, national priorities shifted to the war effort. The NPS budget was cut drastically. As was the case at all other parks within the system, funding for development at Saratoga envisioned by the master plan dried up as the relief programs ended. At that time, few, if any, of the master plans for the historical parks had been fully implemented, and projects underway were abandoned in whatever state they existed at the time. Even with limited resources, however, park personnel at Saratoga continued their planning efforts, modifying the tour road plans several times during the war.

Public Law 734 signed by President Harry S. Truman on June 22, 1948, finally accomplished the formal establishment of Saratoga NHP. The legislation set a limit of 5,500 acres on the maximum allowable size for the park and also authorized the Secretary of the Interior to accept "all or any portion" of the Philip Schuyler Estate property for inclusion in the park. The NPS acquired the Schuyler House and about 25 acres of the surrounding estate lands through donation on March 30, 1950. The Old Saratoga Historical Association of Schuylerville, New York, Inc., subsequently managed the property for interpretive purposes under the terms of a cooperative agreement (Phillips 1997:7).

NPS funding continued to remain low during the decade following the end of World War II. With limited resources, Saratoga NHP planners focused on planning and efforts to recreate the battlefield landscape. The question of reforestation of the battlefield was a major topic. By the conclusion of the war, large sections of the park were overgrown and covered with new-growth forest. Planners renewed the debate about how much of the park should be returned to the heavily forested condition of 1777 and how much should be left open to allow visitors to observe the entire layout of the battlefield and the locations of the different battles and events. In 1949, park historian Charles Snell prepared a report on the ground cover at the park in which he recommended locations that historical research indicated should be reforested. Believing that the open fields created a false impression for visitors, and wanting to present a more authentic view of the battlefield, Snell revised the historical base map to include large areas of forest that would provide a clearer understanding of how the battlefield looked in 1777. The NPS prepared a revised master plan including Snell's historical base map in 1951. It mostly repeated the plan set forth in 1941, including the proposed new administration/museum building and construction of the tour road. Financial conditions, however, still would not permit their construction. Money became available to implement these planning concepts only after the initiation of the NPS's Mission 66 Program in the mid-1950s.

Mission 66, 1956–1966

The initiation of the NPS's Mission 66 program in 1956 provided the funding mechanism for the implementation of the plans that had long been in the works for Saratoga NHP. Mission 66 represented the largest investment ever begun for the national park system. The NPS designed it as a 10-year program to restore park infrastructure and services that had deteriorated during the previous 15 years. During the prosperous 1950s, visitation to national parks grew significantly as more Americans could afford and had the time to take vacations. Most traveled by automobile, which offered the freedom to go where and when a person chose and brought remote parks within the reach of family vacations. The increased visitor traffic put considerable strain on the outdated facilities at most parks. To get Mission 66 passed through Congress, NPS officials presented a concise and well thought-out program that articulated the clear goal of providing modern amenities to ameliorate these conditions by the 50th anniversary of the NPS in 1966. The billion-dollar program touched every park in the system and dramatically improved facilities at most. Construction efforts included new roads, trails, campgrounds, amphitheaters, visitor centers, administration buildings, and employee housing. Major projects that had languished due to lack of funding, such as the St. Louis Gateway Arch and the 469-mile Blue Ridge Parkway, were completed and 78 new parks were added to the system during the period (French 2010).

The system-wide construction of visitor centers was one of the most visible and important efforts undertaken during Mission 66. The NPS erected more than 100 such buildings between 1956 and 1966. The term "visitor center" emerged to identify a new type of NPS building designed to provide the primary introduction point for park visitors. Exhibiting modern architectural designs, the buildings provided a variety of amenities, including interpretative exhibits, museum space, theaters, public restrooms, and administrative offices for park staff and replaced those building usually referred to as administration and museum buildings. A key function of the visitor center was to introduce the story of the park and orient visitors to the landscape and sites they were invited to explore. Because of their importance to the visitor experience, considerable thought was given to their placement. The NPS usually chose prominent locations that allowed for extensive views of the park or site and allowed the visitors to understand the interpretive exhibits in the context of the entire site. Since most visitors arrived in automobiles, consideration was also given to placing them as close as possible to the primary roadways leading to the parks and connecting them to the overall park circulation as a means to efficiently manage visitor traffic (Allaback 2000:25–26; Carr 2007:195).

Mission 66 provided the funding for the visitor center at Saratoga NHP, but its site had long been established. The concepts for the placement of visitor centers developed during Mission 66 were largely the same as those that guided the

selection of the location of the building referred to as the administration/museum building in the original Saratoga NHP master plan of 1941. The planning for the site at that time had included several options that met the criteria for proximity to the proposed tour road as well as affording expansive views of the battlefield. President Franklin Roosevelt determined the ultimate selection of the Fraser's Hill site during his visit to the park in 1940.

The NPS prepared the design for the **Saratoga NHP Visitor Center (LCS No. none, contributing building)** in 1960 and completed the building in 1962. Its Modern style, which incorporated locally available building materials and a low unobtrusive profile, are hallmarks of Mission 66-era visitor center design. The building provided a modern welcoming station and orientation point that offered visitors extensive views over much of the battlefield and an opportunity to learn about its history. The museum space in the visitor center was a major element of the park's interpretive program. A prospectus for the Visitor Center prepared during the late 1950s described the role the museum played in enhancing visitor appreciation of the park:

"The visitor will receive his basic orientation and initial interpretation in the museum. It will be there that he will be welcomed to the park, advised concerning what there is to see, and provided with an introduction to the park story. Because the visitors will include persons who, for one reason or another, will not visit the rest of the park, the museum must do something more than introduce the park story—it should tell enough of the story to give a general account of the battles, at the same time attempting to stimulate enough interest to persuade the visitor to see the rest of the park, and to take advantage of the balance of the interpretive services. In the case of the visitor who covers the entire area, the museum will serve as the medium for obtaining perspective that will make his visit more meaningful. From it both guided and self-guided tours will begin; and the museum talks and artifacts will aid him in gaining a lucid and inspiring account of the events that transpired here. In this manner the museum and the various components of the park will complement one another, presenting an integrated story (sic) that will be illustrated by artifacts, maps, pictures, and interpretive signs and terrain" (NPS n.d.:12).

Mission 66 also funded the other major component of the interpretive program, the construction of the **Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road (LCS No. none, contributing structure)** that established the circulation system by which visitors experience the battlefield landscape to the present day. The 1941 master plan introduced the original layout of the tour road. However, the concept for the road continually evolved as new information about the battlefield came to light and planners revised their thoughts on how best to present the battlefield in the most logical and convenient manner to visitors. Construction began in 1958 and was completed in stages. By the time it was finished nine years later, the tour road bore little resemblance to the one first proposed in the 1940s. The planners abandoned the idea of providing tours of differing lengths in favor of a single one-way loop with several spurs that connected 10 interpretive tour stops. While the single-loop concept produced convenience for visitors, it made it impossible to present the events of the two battles, portions of which were fought on the same ground, in chronological order. A casual visitor with no previous knowledge of the battles would have to spend a considerable amount of time to gain a reasonably complete understanding of the sequence of events. As part of the development of the tour road, the NPS relocated State Highway 32, which ran through the park, outside of the park boundary and constructed the long primary entrance drive off U.S. Highway 4. The NPS also removed the buildings constructed around Fort Neilson during the state management period and restored the Neilson House, repositioning it to its original location. It also moved some of the commemorative monuments placed by the Saratoga Monument Association and private groups.

The construction of the Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road marks the end of the period of significance for the Saratoga NHP Historic District, but efforts to expand the park continued into the late twentieth century. By the early 1970s, federally owned lands in the park amounted to 2,432 acres. In 1974, the A.L. Garber Company donated the Victory Woods parcel, a 22.7-acre tract of land that formed a portion of the entrenched encampment occupied by the British when Burgoyne surrendered. In the 1980 the State of New York deeded the Saratoga Monument and its 2.78-acre parcel to the federal government. That same year, Congress appropriated \$74,000 to purchase 174 acres of land owned by the Nature Conservancy in the eastern section of the battlefield. That area was incorporated into the park in 1982. The following year Congress authorized additional funding that enabled the purchase of the former Price and Burdyl farms in the southwestern portion of the battlefield. The legislation passed at the time established the permanent authorized park

boundary at 3,406.02 acres and provided the mechanisms for creating use and occupancy agreements of up to 25 years in order to encourage private land owners to sell their lands for eventual incorporation into the park (Phillips 1997:8-9).

CRITERION A - TRANSPORTATION

The Saratoga NHP Historic District contains two segments of the **Old Champlain Canal (LCS No. none, contributing structure)**. The Champlain Canal was listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a historic district in 1976. It is significant under National Register Criteria A and C at the state level in the areas of Transportation, Industry, Commerce, and Engineering. The original nomination form for the canal is the controlling documentation regarding its significance. A summary of important events in the history of the canal is presented here as context for the small segments that traverse Saratoga NHP and contribute to the Saratoga NHP Historic District.

The construction of the Champlain Canal (1817-1823) was part of a larger effort to connect the port of New York City with the vast agricultural, lumber, and mineral regions of Upstate New York, New England, Canada, and the Great Lakes through a system of natural and manmade waterways. The idea of constructing a canal between Lake Champlain and the Hudson River was conceived in the mid-eighteenth century. Philip Schuyler urged the construction of such a canal as early as 1776. The Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company, chartered as a private stock company by the State of New York in 1792, made the first serious effort. The state also established a charter for the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, which had the similar goals of opening a navigable waterway from Albany to Lakes Seneca and Ontario. The two companies counted among their directors many of the most prominent businessmen of the Hudson River Valley, including Schuyler, Abraham Ten Broeck, Jacobus Van Schenhoven, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and others. Schuyler led the operation of the two companies in the 1790s and was heavily involved in the planning, surveying, engineering, and construction of the canals. Most of the work centered on improving natural waterways by widening and deepening stream channels, removing obstructions, and diverting flows. The undercapitalized companies did construct some manmade channels and locks before dissolving in the early 1800s, but the canals never opened to significant traffic (Okey 1995; Whitford 1906:408-409).

The early Republic debated often the question of whether the federal government should fund internal improvements such as road and canal construction. While some claimed that improvements such as the New York canal system would contribute to the growth of the American economy as a whole, others doubted the constitutionality of federal involvement in works seen as local projects that primarily benefited the state or region where they were located. Albert Gallatin, one of the staunchest early proponents of internal improvements, served as the Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. On April 4, 1808, Gallatin presented a report to Congress in which he laid out his rationale that the construction of a national system of roads and canals was the patriotic duty of the government and would lead to a great expansion of trade and communication throughout the country. Gallatin believed that: "no other single operation within the power of government can more effectually tend to strengthen and perpetuate that union which secures external independence, domestic peace, and internal liberty." He and other internal supporters were unable to move Congress to support a national program of internal improvements, leaving the states to decide for themselves how to fund and erect such projects within their own borders (Hill 1908:68).

The State of New York began studying the feasibility of constructing a canal system in 1811 when the Legislature appointed a commission to explore the possibility of opening waterways from Lakes Erie and Ontario to the Hudson River. Although outside the purview of the commission's purpose, the commissioners included a recommendation in their report that "communication, by means of a canal, between Lake Champlain and Hudson's river, is one of those things which are deemed of national importance." The War of 1812 interrupted further study of the canal system. During the progress of the war, however, the need to improve internal transportation and communication routes became glaringly apparent as American military commanders found it difficult to move their troops overland and could not match the speed of the quick-hitting waterborne attacks by the British (Whitford 1906:409).

Planning for New York's canal system resumed after the war ended in 1815, with the primary focus on the building of the Erie Canal to provide a connection between Lake Erie and the Hudson River. This connection would link the eastern and western coasts of the state and open up land in western New York. However, the Champlain Canal, referred to as the

“northern canal” during the period, remained important to opening up a trade route with western Massachusetts and Vermont. On April 17, 1816, the New York State Legislature passed a bill entitled “An Act to Provide for the Improvement of the Internal Navigation of this State.” The act established a canal commission and appointed Stephen Van Rensselaer, DeWitt Clinton, Samuel Young, Joseph Ellicott, and Myron Holley as commissioners. The commission had to determine whether the state could raise sufficient funds and to explore the possibility of obtaining donations of land and money that could aid in the construction of a canal system. The act authorized the commission to survey the area and create a map for the proposed route for both the Erie and Champlain canals (Authority of the State of New York 1825:184; Whitford 1906:410).

Under the direction of the commissioners, Colonel Lewis Garin performed the preliminary survey for the Champlain Canal. Garin recommended two possible locations for the canal. Based on his report, the commissioners chose a location near Moses Kill “to improve the channel of the Hudson River for the purposes of navigation as far south as the village of Stillwater.” To accomplish this, they proposed a series of dams. In their report, which was issued in March 1816, the commissioners stressed the economic value of the Champlain Canal and its potential to “augment the substantial wealth and prosperity of the state.” They highlighted the economic benefits associated with an improved means for transporting lumber from the area around Lake George. The report also mentioned the vast quantities of iron, marble, salt, and gypsum available in the surrounding region and the benefits that the canal would have on increasing settlement (Whitford 1906:411–413).

In response, on April 15, 1817, the New York State Legislature passed an “Act Respecting Navigable Communications between the Great Western and Northern Lakes, and the Atlantic Ocean” that authorized the canal commissioners to begin work on the construction of both the Erie and Champlain Canals. The act established a fund to receive all money collected in support of the canal from sources including appropriations from the New York Legislature and the federal government, as well as private donations. After the act passed, James Geddes, the engineer responsible for choosing the Erie Canal route, resurveyed a portion of the route surveyed by Garin. The final route ran in and along the Hudson River from Waterford north to Fort Edward and then northeast to Whitehall at the base of Lake Champlain. Landowners along the canal route enthusiastically supported construction of the canal and donated more than half of the land required between Whitehall and Fort Edward. The state acquired other lands through purchase of condemnation. The original dimensions of the Champlain Canal were established to be 30 feet wide at the top with sloping walls to a 20-foot-wide bottom and 3 feet in depth. The 19 locks required to navigate the change of elevation over the 66-mile route were to be 75 feet long and 10 feet wide. These dimensions were smaller than the concurrently planned Erie Canal. The commissioners soon recognized the inefficiency of having to change to smaller barges to navigate the Champlain Canal and altered the planned dimensions to match those of the Erie Canal. The final plans called for the canal to be 40 feet wide at the top with sloping sides to a 28-foot bottom width. The depth of the canal was increased to 4 feet, and the lock dimensions were set at 90 feet in length and 15 feet in width. The width of the towpath was specified as between 10 and 12 feet at an elevation of 2 to 5 feet (Whitford 1906:415).

Construction of the overland section between Whitehall and Fort Edward began in 1817 and was finished on November 25, 1819. Attention then shifted to the section of the canal that would parallel the Hudson River south from Fort Edward to Waterford, where it would link with the Erie Canal. James Geddes and Samuel Young decided to dig a canal between Saratoga Falls and Stillwater Falls and use the slack water of the Hudson River to float traffic above Saratoga Falls. Dams constructed at Stillwater, Saratoga Falls, and Fort Miller provided the necessary depth for the canal. The Champlain Canal formally opened to traffic on its entire length on September 23, 1823, anticipating the completion of the Erie Canal by two years. The final cost of the Champlain Canal was \$921,011, an amount only \$50,000 over the original estimate. The canal was an immediate success, with more than 19,000 boats making use of it during its first year of operation. Although the more prominent Erie Canal subsequently overshadowed it, the Champlain Canal provided a vital transportation link for products from Vermont and western Massachusetts to New York City. The heavy traffic on the canal spawned new towns and industrial centers along its route (Larkin 1998:48; Shimoda 1963:2; Whitford 1906:415).

By coincidence, a portion of the canal’s Saratoga Falls-to-Stillwater Falls segment ran through the estate of Philip Schuyler. Schuyler, one of the strongest proponents of the early canal movement, died in 1804 and therefore did not live to see his vision become a reality. His grandson, Philip Schuyler II, who inherited the property after Schuyler’s death, donated land to the state for the portion of the canal that ran through his property. Canal construction reached the

Schuyler property in 1820, and the entire length of the Saratoga Falls-to-Stillwater Falls segment was completed in 1821. Several features of the canal survive within the legislative boundaries of the Schuyler Estate Unit. The **Canal Prism (LCS ID. none, associated historic feature)**, which is roughly 60 feet wide and extends about 0.3 miles north to south through the Schuyler Estate Unit, is filled in with refuse for part of its length. The most intact section is located immediately south of Fish Kill near the state-owned Fish Kill Aqueduct. The prism in this area is covered with small trees and shrubs, but its depression is clearly discernible, as is a small section of the **Towpath (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** that runs along a berm above the canal and serves as a walking path leading from the Schuyler Estate Unit to Schuyler's Canal Park in Schuylerville Village. The remains of an **Canal Bridge No. 59 (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)**, also known as the Stover [sic] Bridge after George Strover, the subsequent owner of the Schuyler Estate, are located northeast of the Schuyler House in an area modified in the early twentieth century by the construction of a landfilled culvert dam. Bridges like these were common along the canal route, which often bisected farm properties, requiring the construction of bridges to allow farmers access to their fields on both sides of the canal. Contemporary canal reports referred to the bridge as the "Stover Bridge," which was likely a misspelling of "Strover," the name of the family that owned the Schuyler House after 1838. The bridge spanned about 100 feet across the canal and was engineered in the Whipple-style of bridge construction (Finan et al. 1995).

The Saratoga Falls-to-Stillwater Falls canal segment also ran through the Saratoga Battlefield, roughly paralleling the route of present-day U.S. Highway 4. Features that survive within the Battlefield Unit include the **Canal Prism (LCS No. 023056, historic associated feature)** and **Stone Bridge Abutments (LCS No. 040759, historic associated feature)**. The two hamlets of Bemis Heights and Wilbur's Basin located within the boundaries of the Battlefield Unit were typical of the communities that experienced growth as a result of the canal. The Whitehall Turnpike initially spurred the development of Bemis Heights, but the addition of the Champlain Canal, which bisected the community, stimulated new growth of the area as an important local transportation crossroads. The Bemis Heights Hotel served as an important waypoint for travelers along the turnpike and the canal, and a small number of homes were constructed along the canal route by the mid-1800s.

Wilbur's Basin received more substantial benefits from the canal. The small hamlet began developing shortly after the Battles of Saratoga when Fones and Humphrey Wilbur constructed a dam and mill on the Kroma Kill. Canal development in the area included the construction of a turning basin, from which the name of the community was derived, where canals could dock and change direction. The canal proved to be an advantageous resource for the transportation of crops and for mill activity, providing mill owners a more convenient way to transport their raw and finished materials. The Valentine family, who lived on the former battlefield, took advantage of the new transportation system in 1824 to build and operate a saw mill and gristmill up the creek from Wilbur's Basin. Daniel Smith later purchased the mills and added a plaster mill and salt mill. A series of bridges connected the homes and structures of Wilbur's Basin clustered on the east side of the canal with the farms above the floodplain. A general store and several other businesses, including Ambrose Wirthington's blacksmith shop, were established by the mid-1800s to provide canal travelers with food, lodging, mule and horse shoes, and supplies. A line of buildings along the east side of the canal that faced the main north-south regional road, bridges crossing the tree-lined canal, and dirt or gravel roads extending from the floodplain west into the battlefield characterized the community.

The success of the canal created a willingness among New York legislators to vote additional appropriations for its improvement and maintenance. To eliminate the slackwater section of the canal, the state constructed a new manmade canal segment between Fort Edward and Saratoga Falls in the late 1820s. In 1835, a program was initiated to increase the size of the canal to a depth of 7 feet and a surface width of 70 feet. The Panic of 1837, however, delayed this proposal. In the 1840s and 1850s, traffic continued to increase on the Champlain Canal due in part to the opening of the Chambly Canal in Canada and the signing of the Canadian-American Reciprocity Treaty (Elgin-Marcy Treaty). The Chambly Canal opened in 1843 and carried Canadian products, mostly lumber, from Quebec to New York City via the Richelieu River to Lake Champlain and from there to the Champlain Canal. The Canadian-American Reciprocity Treaty, signed in 1854, removed the tariff on Canadian exports, especially wheat and timber, in exchange for allowing Americans certain fishing rights. The growth in canal traffic revived the 1835 expansion plans. In 1864, the State Legislature authorized \$295,000 to expand the canal to a width of 35 feet and a depth of 5 feet. In 1870, the state engineer and the canal commission recommended that the depth be increased to 7 feet to match that of the Erie Canal and the width be increased to the standard 58 feet. While appropriations were made toward these improvements, the work was conducted in a

piecemeal fashion and the canal never attained the proposed dimensions throughout its entire length (Lowenthal 2000:8–9).

Competition from railroads steadily eroded support for major improvements to a canal system incapable of handling the larger barges that could increase its capacity to profitable levels. Instead, the State of New York decided to create a new barge canal system that would take advantage of motorized boats and maximize use of natural waterways. Popularly known as the Barge Canal, a statewide referendum authorized the project in 1903. The Barge Canal represented the largest construction project and bond issue ever undertaken by the state. Construction began in 1905 and lasted until 1917. When the Barge Canal opened, the bypassed sections of the older canal routes, including the segments of the Champlain Canal that are located within the Saratoga NHP Historic District, were abandoned and left to decay (Lowenthal 2000:9; Whitford 1906:438).

Many of the communities dependent on the Champlain Canal went into decline as the canal traffic slackened in the late nineteenth century. Wilbur's Basin suffered a significant setback in 1869 as a result of flooding that seriously damaged its mills. It never fully recovered, and by 1900 the village was entirely abandoned. The dams that provided waterpower to the mills survived into the early twentieth century.

CRITERION B – MILITARY HISTORY AND POLITICS/GOVERNMENT

Philip John Schuyler (1733-1804)

The **Philip Schuyler House (LCS No. 001290, contributing building)** is significant under Criterion B for its association with General Philip John Schuyler, a nationally prominent military and political figure of the late eighteenth century. The period of Schuyler's association with the extant buildings on the Schuylerville property extends from 1777, when the house was built, until Schuyler's death in 1804. In the early 1760s, Schuyler constructed his primary house in Albany, an opulent Georgian mansion known as The Pastures. That house, a National Historic Landmark, remains the property most closely associated with Schuyler's life. In many ways, however, Schuyler favored his country estate at Saratoga, which he built after the British burned his ca. 1766 manor house during their retreat after the Battles of Saratoga. He often visited it with his family during the period between 1777 and 1787 to escape from the increasingly urbanized capitol city. The house also served as his headquarters for managing his vast industrial, timber, and agricultural holdings in and around Saratoga. In 1787, Schuyler remodeled the house to make it more comfortable as a residence for his son, John Bradstreet Schuyler, and his family. When John Bradstreet died in 1795, Schuyler reassumed the care and maintenance of the house and continued to use it as his Saratoga headquarters until his death in 1804.

Philip John Schuyler was born in Albany, New York, on November 21, 1733, to John (1697–1741) and Cornelia (Van Cortlandt) Schuyler. His great-grandfather, Philip Pietersen Schuyler (1628–1683), came from his native Amsterdam to settle in the Hudson River valley about 1650. In the ensuing 80 years, the Schuylers became successful traders, merchants, and civic leaders. They amassed significant landholdings through purchase and marriage connections with other prominent Dutch families in the region, including the Van Cortlandts, De Lanceys, Livingstons, and Van Rensselaers. In 1685, two Schuylers were among the group of seven prosperous English and Dutch men from Albany who were issued development rights to a large tract of land purchased from the Mohawks known as the Saratoga Patent. The family first acquired the Saratoga holdings that Philip Schuyler ultimately inherited in 1702 when Philip Pietersen's son Johannes Philip Schuyler bought a 1/7 share (about 20,000 acres) of the Saratoga Patent from Abraham Wendell. The land passed to Johannes' son Philip Johannes Schuyler, who constructed a fortified house later in the 1720s and lived with his family on the land until his death in 1745 at the hands of a French and Indian raiding party. Having no children of his own, Philip Johannes willed the property to his namesake nephew, Philip John Schuyler.

Philip Schuyler first attended school in Albany, but after his father's death on the eve of his seventh birthday he went to New Rochelle to be instructed under the tutelage of Huguenot minister Reverend Peter Stoupe. Through his inheritances, Schuyler was already wealthy when he came of age. He increased his fortunes in 1755 when he married Catherine Van Rensselaer (1734–1803), daughter of Johannes Van Rensselaer and Angelica Livingston, thus

strengthening his relationship with two of the most prominent landholding families in New York. The couple ultimately had 15 children, of which only eight survived to adulthood.

Schuyler's military career began in 1755 during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) when his cousin, Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey, commissioned him a captain and authorized him to raise a company of men to join Colonel William Cockcroft's regiment. Though he did not see any combat with the regiment, Schuyler served under William Johnson, who won a baronetcy for his service and, as imperial Indian superintendent and the largest landholder in the Mohawk Valley after the war, helped Schuyler begin his political career in the New York Assembly. Schuyler also cultivated a strong friendship and business relationship with Colonel John Bradstreet. He served as Bradstreet's aide in the commissary department and was promoted to major in 1758. From his central station in and around Albany, Schuyler helped to provide logistical support for the failed attempt to take Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) from the French in 1758, as well as the successful capture of Fort Frontenac that same year. Schuyler also profited from the war by supplying lumber from his timber holdings to the British Government for the construction of forts and garrisons. In 1761, before the war ended, Bradstreet sent Schuyler to England to settle accounts with the British War Office. While he was in England, Schuyler purchased hardware and furnishings for the mansion he built in Albany and named The Pastures (Gerlach 2003; Tuckerman 1903:67).

After returning from England at the end of the war, Schuyler focused his attention on business pursuits and expanding his landholdings. In 1763, he began developing industrial and agricultural operations at his Saratoga property, which served as the center for his business enterprises. He constructed a number of mills to process products from his lands, including several saw and gristmills on Fish Kill and Batten Kill. He experimented with flax production and constructed an innovative flax mill that was among the first of its kind in America. Schuyler wished to create a community of artisans, laborers, and slaves at Saratoga and constructed a series of barracks in which he provided free lodging, as well as a church and general store, to attract skilled workers. He rented farms on his outlying lands on a tenancy basis. He also owned several boats, including the schooner *Saratoga*, which he used to conduct trade between the upper Hudson River and New York City. To provide a base of operations for his Saratoga businesses, Schuyler built an elegant house near the former site of his uncle's fortified house in 1766 (Gerlach 2003).

Schuyler wielded great influence in the economic and political fortunes of the Upstate New York region. He became an influential political leader on both the state and national levels during the period leading up to and immediately following the establishment of the United States. Schuyler's political career began in 1764 when the New York Assembly appointed him to serve as commissioner on the issue of boundary disputes that arose as a result of the issuance of the Hampshire Grants. In 1768, he was chosen to represent Albany in the assembly. Growing tensions caused by British tax and land policies and increasingly bitter partisanship among those legislators who supported or opposed those actions characterized his term. Schuyler aligned himself with the minority Livingston faction, which supported active resistance against the British government's impingement on local liberties, and became one of its leading members. He initially supported respectful protest and refused nomination to the First Continental Congress in 1774. The following year, however, he supported the formation of a New York Provincial Congress to supersede the assembly and elect delegates to the Second Continental Congress. Schuyler was among those elected to the New York delegation, which the Provincial Congress instructed to seek ways of preserving and reestablishing American rights and privileges through negotiation with the British government. News of the Battles of Lexington and Concord, which occurred the day before the Second Continental Congress was seated on April 20, 1777, changed Schuyler's focus. He soon became involved in committees dedicated to organizing the war effort (Gerlach 2003).

Schuyler's previous military service, knowledge of the geography of the Hudson and Mohawk Valley regions, and extensive business and political connections made him a logical choice as a military leader. The Continental Congress commissioned him as a Major General and placed him in charge of the Continental Army's Northern Department. They originally ordered him "to dispose of and employ all the troops in the New York Department in such manner as he may think best for the protection and defense of these colonies . . . subject to future orders of the commander in chief." Problems plagued his command from the beginning. In attempting to organize a viable fighting force, he implemented strict disciplinary measures that alienated the loosely formed and independent-minded militia commands from which he drew his troops. His aristocratic Dutch patrician background put off New Englanders in particular, who were historically predisposed to antagonistic relations with New York troops and were slow to answer his calls for service. Congress,

which had yet to establish an adequate military command structure, did not respond to many of his requests for troops, supplies, and arms. By the summer of 1777, Schuyler had raised only about 2,900 of the 8,000 troops he thought would be required for his initial mission of preparing for an attack on Canada.

Schuyler launched the campaign in August but had to retire from field command due to an attack of gout, a condition that plagued him throughout his adult life. Richard Montgomery took over and was killed during a poorly executed attack on Quebec City. Benedict Arnold assumed command and attempted to lay siege to the city, resulting in the near starvation of his own troops. Schuyler and Arnold quickly assembled a makeshift navy to meet the British and ended Sir Guy Carleton's subsequent advance down Lake Champlain at the Battle of Valcour Island on October 11, 1776. The Continental Congress became increasingly dissatisfied with Schuyler's performance over the course of the following year. The loss of Fort Ticonderoga to Burgoyne's army on July 5, 1777, turned many of the members against him. As the summer wore on and Burgoyne continued to make progress toward Albany, Schuyler came under increasing scrutiny by the Congress. Finally, on August 10, General Horatio Gates appeared in the army's camp at Stillwater with a letter from John Hancock relieving Schuyler of command (Gerlach 2003; Luzader 2002:36–37).

During the ensuing battles, Schuyler's Saratoga estate suffered major damages. After the battles, Burgoyne used the estate as his encampment, taking advantage of the comforts of the 1766 house, and the British took up positions on the heights of Saratoga. As the Americans advanced, the British abandoned the Schuyler estate, and Burgoyne ordered Schuyler's house, mills, and outbuildings to be burned to prevent their use as cover for the Americans. The British soldiers burned 24 buildings in all, including seven barracks north of Fish Kill and 17 on the Schuyler estate. In 1778, Burgoyne faced charges in the British Parliament for destroying Schuyler's property unnecessarily, but was acquitted based on the military propriety of his actions.

Schuyler's quick decision to rebuild his Saratoga estate indicated the importance that he attached to it. Within two days of Burgoyne's surrender, he wrote to his friend Lt. Col. Richard Varick that he intended "immediately to have my mills and some house Erected" on the grounds. He asked Varick to send some men to help servants dispatched from Schuyler's Albany estate to salvage ironwork and nails from the burned buildings. While the primary motivation may have been to get his industrial operations up and running, he clearly wished to reestablish his country home as a place for relaxation and enjoyment. Weary of the intrigues that resulted in his dismissal from command, he summed up his desires for the Saratoga estate in a letter to John Jay:

"As I shall shortly be altogether out of public life, I am earnestly engaged in building me a house at this place, that I may be as far out of the noise and bustle of the great world as possible. I am confident (provided we repel the enemy), that I shall enjoy more true felicity in my retreat, than ever was experienced by any man engaged in public life. My hobby-horse has long been a country life; I dismounted with reluctance, and now saddle him again with a very considerable share of satisfaction (for the injurious world has not been able to deprive me of the best source of happiness, the approbation of my own heart), and hope to canter him gently on to the end of the journey of life" (Snell 1951).

Schuyler built the current Philip Schuyler House northwest of the location of the 1766 house and oriented it in the same direction. He rebuilt some of the mills, the barracks, a large barn, and other outbuildings and resumed his farming and milling activities. The house was completed by late winter of 1778, although it remained vacant for some time due to continuing threats in the area from Loyalist-led raids. In 1786, Schuyler's eldest surviving son, John Bradstreet Schuyler, married Elizabeth Van Rensselaer. Philip Schuyler undertook an expansion of the house, which he intended to will to John Bradstreet along with the Saratoga property upon his death. John Bradstreet and Elizabeth moved into the house in 1787. Schuyler, however, kept a room to serve as his office and remained a regular visitor there. When John Bradstreet died in 1795, Schuyler resumed the management of the property until his death in 1804.

Schuyler also attempted to clear his name immediately after the Battles of Saratoga. He demanded an immediate court martial to present his case but did not receive that satisfaction until the following year. The trial began on October 1, 1778, and he was acquitted very shortly thereafter "with the highest honour." Despite being eligible to return to military service, Schuyler refused, and Congress accepted his final resignation from the army on April 19, 1779.

In the meantime, Schuyler remained an ardent and active supporter of the Revolution, working through other channels to assist the war effort. He served as a Commissioner of the Northern Department Board of Indian Affairs. From 1775 until the end of the war, he worked on tribal relations, holding councils and making treaties with the different tribes of the Six Nations. This work resulted in the neutrality of several tribes that might otherwise have enlisted with the British against the Americans. He also provided planning, financial, and logistical support for several military expeditions against Loyalist and Native American forces operating in Canada and northern New York. His effectiveness in quelling Native American uprisings prompted the British to make several failed attempts to capture him (Gerlach 2003; Snell 1951).

After his vindication at his court martial, Schuyler resumed his political career, holding almost continual office on the state or federal level for the next two decades. In November 1779, Schuyler filled the vacant Congressional seat of John Jay, who had been appointed minister to Spain. He worked to resolve pressing fiscal problems and became chairman of a committee assigned to work directly with George Washington and Quartermaster General Nathaniel Greene. Dividing his time between Congress and Washington's southern headquarters, he became a trusted counselor of the General in Chief. Washington stayed at the Philip Schuyler House in Saratoga while on a tour of the upper Hudson region in 1783.

In 1780, Schuyler was elected state senator from the western district of New York. He served three terms in the state legislature: 1781–1784, 1786–1789, and 1792–1797. He contributed substantially to the code of laws adopted by the State of New York, and in 1782 he was appointed surveyor-general of the state. In that position, he helped to establish New York's boundaries with Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and continued to work on the vexing problem of the ownership of the Hampshire Grants, which ultimately resulted in the establishment of the State of Vermont in 1791. Schuyler also helped to reform the state's penal system, leading the charge to construct more humane prisons and reducing the number of capital offenses from 16 to 2 (murder and treason). In 1787, he was appointed to the state university Board of Regents and later provided assistance to the Reverend Dirck Romeyn in establishing Union College at Schenectady in 1795. In 1788, he joined his son-in-law Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in leading the effort to convince the New York Assembly to ratify U.S. Constitution. That December, the Assembly chose Schuyler and Rufus King to serve as the first United States Senators from New York. A pro-administration federalist, Schuyler supported President George Washington's efforts to create a strong central government. Political rival Aaron Burr defeated him in his reelection bid in 1791. Schuyler defeated Burr in 1797, however, but another severe attack of gout forced him to resign from the Senate on January 3, 1798 (Gerlach 2003).

While serving in his various political roles, Schuyler strongly supported internal improvements, particularly the establishment of a viable water route between the Great Lakes and the Hudson River. In England in the early 1760s, he had inspected the British system of canals and realized their potential for improving inland navigation in New York. His business pursuits in northern New York and the difficulties he experienced in supplying the Army during the war reinforced his belief that the state, and his own interests at Saratoga, would derive great benefits from the construction of an inland transportation system. In 1791, Governor George Clinton, formerly a political foe, joined with Schuyler in supporting internal improvements in the state. The two men worked to pass a law authorizing the survey of potential canal routes. The following year, the Assembly chartered the Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company for the purpose of establishing a navigable route between the northern Hudson River and Lake Champlain and the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company to improve the lakes and rivers west of Albany. It elected Schuyler president of both private companies, and he performed a variety of tasks for them, including surveying and selecting routes and acting in the capacity of engineer. While some significant improvements were made on both routes, neither proved profitable enough to sustain the companies. Nonetheless, the work Schuyler envisioned set the precedent for the New York State Canal system undertaken in the immediate post-war period (Gerlach 2003).

Schuyler died at his Albany mansion on November 18, 1804. The Saratoga estate passed to his grandson, Philip Schuyler II, the son of the deceased John Bradstreet Schuyler. After taking up occupancy of the house in 1811, Schuyler II continued to run the family operations and gave some land to the State of New York for the construction of the Champlain Canal, which reached his property in 1820. In 1831, Saratoga citizens voted to rename the village Schuylerville in General Philip Schuyler's honor. Schuyler II fell into deep debt during the Panic of 1837 and ultimately sold the remainder of the family estate to creditors. In 1839, George Stover purchased the much-reduced estate, which remained in the Stover-Lowber family until they donated it to the NPS in 1950 for inclusion in the Saratoga NHP.

The NPS conducted an extensive study of the house and restored it to its conjectured appearance in the period between 1787 and 1804. After the completion of the work, the NPS opened the house and grounds to the public for tours. In 1953, the Old Saratoga Historical Association, a local group, entered into a memorandum of agreement with the Saratoga NHP to furnish the house and provide interpretive tours. In 1993, that agreement was terminated in favor of a standard agreement of the loan of the furnishings from the Old Saratoga Historical Association to the Saratoga NHP. The NPS now manages the interpretive services provided to the public.

CRITERION C – ARCHITECTURE AND ART

The district derives its primary significance under Criterion C from the Saratoga Monument, which is a nationally significant example of a nineteenth-century monumental architectural obelisk that combines elements of the Gothic Revival style and artwork in the form of bronze statues and bas relief bronze sculptures. The monument is the defining work of its architect Jared Clark Markham and is representative of the work of prominent American sculptors, including George E. Bissell, Alexander Doyle, William R. O'Donovan, James E. Kelly, and Jonathan S. Hartley. The Philip Schuyler House and John Neilson House are locally significant examples of Colonial architecture. The Saratoga Visitor Center possesses significance as a representative example of NPS Mission 66 visitor center architecture.

Saratoga Monument

Monumental Obelisks of the Nineteenth Century

The term “architectural monument” is applied to those monuments where architectural structure rather than artistic statuary or other ornament is the dominant feature. These types of monuments were built in a variety of forms, including obelisks, columns, arches, colonnades, and pavilions. Their shared characteristics consist of their impressive vertical size, relative simplicity of design, and the incorporation of interior stairs and viewing platforms that allow visitors to experience views of the surrounding area. The monuments are primarily intended to convey the significance of the persons or events they were built to commemorate through their prominent presence. They were among the tallest man-made structures of their time and presented engineering challenges that required the talents of professional architects and stone masons. Besides their size, the key feature of monumental architectural monuments is the incorporated viewing platform, which provides expansive views of the surrounding area. Battle monuments are usually sited at or near the location of the battlefield, and the views contribute to the visitor’s understanding of the military actions. As such, the monuments are meant to be both looked at and looked from, and the viewshed surrounding them is an essential characteristic of their design.

The Saratoga Monument is one of a small class of major monumental obelisks constructed during the nineteenth century to commemorate the Revolutionary War. These types of monuments are primarily distinguished by their soaring vertical heights that placed them among the tallest manmade structures in the United States at the time of their construction. This class of monuments includes, in order of their completion date, the Groton Battle Monument (1830, 134 ft tall), Bunker Hill Monument (1843, 221 ft tall), Washington Monument (1885, 555 ft tall), Saratoga Monument (1887, 155 ft tall), and Bennington Battle Monument (1889, 306 ft tall). The monuments are further distinguished by the incorporation of viewing platforms that provide views of the surrounding area and make those views an essential part of their intent and meaning. The Saratoga Monument incorporates several additional features that make it unique among its class. While the others are simple shafts devoid of architectural ornament, the Saratoga Monument has Gothic Revival-style stonework and artwork in the form of free-standing statues in its exterior niches and bas relief sculptures on its interior walls. Statues often crowned other contemporary column-type monuments, such as the Battle of Monmouth Monument (1884) and Yorktown Victory Monument (1884), but none were incorporated into other major obelisks of the period.

The obelisk form developed in ancient Egypt as early as 1200 B.C. as a symbol of Ra the Sun God, connoting glory, wisdom, democracy, and eternal life. The word “obelisk” is a Greek appellation attributed to Herodotus, a Greek historian who visited Egypt and was among the first to describe the form. After Roman Emperor Caesar Augustus conquered Egypt in 30 B.C., he brought back a number of obelisks taken from the tombs of former Egyptian rulers and placed them in the City of Rome as a symbol of the conquest. During the Age of Enlightenment, a rebirth of interest in

ancient Egyptian forms and their association with the mortuary arts led to the adoption of the obelisk for commemorative monuments in Western Europe, particularly France and Great Britain. These precedents established the obelisk as an enduring symbol of commemoration. It found its way to the United States, where it was applied to the earliest American monuments to the Revolutionary War, including the Revolutionary Monument on Lexington Green (1799) in Lexington, Massachusetts, and the Paoli Massacre Monument (1817) in Malvern, Pennsylvania. A number of other small-scale monuments to Revolutionary War battles and heroes during the antebellum period incorporated the obelisk in one form or another. Examples include the Nathanael Greene Monument (1830, designed by William Strickland) in Savannah, Georgia; Concord Battle Monument (1836) in Concord, Massachusetts; Signer's Monument (1848) in Augusta, Georgia; Casimir Pulaski Monument (1854) in Savannah, Georgia; and Hubbardton Battle Monument (1859) in Hubbardton, Vermont (Curran et al. 2009:35, 85; HMdb.org 2010).

The first large-scale monument erected in the United States was the Baltimore Washington Monument. South Carolina architect Robert Mills won a nationally advertised design competition for the monument in 1814. Completed in 1829, the 178-ft-tall, Doric column shaft-type monument features a viewing platform at its top surmounted by a dome and statue of Washington (Bryan 2001:107–109).

The other three major monuments designed and begun during antebellum period took the obelisk form. Both the Groton Battle Monument and the Bunker Hill Monument were started during the period of nationalistic fervor surrounding the sesquicentennial celebration of the Declaration of Independence in the 1820s. They share the defining characteristics of a location on the site of the battles they were meant to commemorate, the use of the obelisk form, and the incorporation of viewing platforms at their pinnacles. Prominent American architects Ithiel Town and Alexander Jackson Davis designed the Groton Battle Monument in 1826. Its completion date of 1830 makes it the nation's oldest massive obelisk monument. The design of the Bunker Hill Monument predated that of the Groton Battle Monument by two years. The Bunker Hill Monument Association (BHMA) initially considered a column for the monument but ultimately decided on an obelisk, perhaps, as Mills later suggested, to distinguish it from the Baltimore Washington Monument. Mills was among the 50 or so architects and artists who responded to the BHMA's nationally advertised offer of a \$100 design prize and, like some of the others, proposed an obelisk. He also included a horizontal colonnaded base, which the BHMA decided against immediately. Although Mills later objected that his plan was remarkably similar to the Bunker Hill Monument that was erected, the BHMA decided not to award him or any of the other entrants the prize because it considered the obelisk to be an ancient form for which no architect could take credit. Solomon Willard, a Massachusetts builder and stone carver who provided the BHMA with the earliest models of the monument and superintended its construction, was later given the credit for the design (Wheildon 1865:75, 88).

Mills was more successful in his bid to win the national design competition sponsored by the Washington National Monument Society in 1836. His winning design featured a 600-foot-tall obelisk surrounded at its base by a circular version of the colonnade that he had originally proposed for the Bunker Hill Monument. The colonnade was to be topped with a statue of Washington in a chariot. Statues of 30 prominent Revolutionary War heroes were to be placed inside the colonnade. Construction of the monument commenced in 1848, but funding limitations forced the delay of its completion until after the Civil War. Work on the monument resumed after Mills' successor Lt. Col. Thomas L. Casey revised the plans in 1876 to eliminate the expensive colonnade and statuary and reduced the height of the obelisk to 555 feet. Even so, when the monument was completed in 1884, it was the tallest manmade stone structure in the world and continues to hold the distinction of being the world's tallest stone obelisk (Dubois 2002:5, 11–13).

The Bennington Monument was the only major obelisk besides the Saratoga Monument constructed after the revival of the Revolutionary War monument movement in the 1870s. Like the SMA, the Bennington Monument Association considered incorporating artwork in the form of statues and bas relief sculptures but decided that the effort to raise sufficient funds would be difficult, if not impossible. After considering its options, it selected the design of prominent Boston architect John Phillip Rinn, who proposed a 300-ft-tall obelisk constructed of local granite. The monument, which was the first of the Revolutionary War battle monuments to receive federal funding, was completed in 1889 and dedicated in 1891. Its final height was 306 feet, making it the tallest of the Revolutionary War battle monuments and the tallest structure ever built in Vermont (Bennington Historical Society 1877:4; Historic Vermont.org 2010).

Design of the Saratoga Monument

Soon after its reincorporation in 1873, the SMA asked architect Jared Clark Markham to prepare a plan for the Saratoga Monument. The organization gave Markham the general specifications that the monument was to be 230 ft high and cost somewhere between \$300,000 and \$500,000. SMA trustees Hamilton Fish and Horatio Seymour presumably made the decision that the Saratoga Monument should incorporate an obelisk. There is some question, however, about the source for the idea of applying Gothic-style architectural elements. In 1891, Ellen Hardin Walworth wrote that Fish and Seymour "originally suggested . . . to combine the character of an Egyptian obelisk with the gothic style of architecture." Markham, however, denied this, claiming the "Obelisk was suggested, but the Gothic character was due entirely to the architect" (quoted in Quinn and Bitterman 1992:21).

Markham completed his initial plan by the fall of 1873. The design met the SMA's height specifications and featured an obelisk with chamfered corners that made it an eight-sided structure 80 ft square at its base. The Gothic ornament included lancet windows of varying sizes in the shaft and a base comprised of steeply pitched, gable-roof projections extending from the four sides and flanked by stepped buttresses. Deep pointed-arch niches, meant to eventually hold statues of "some of the actors of the great event," were located above rectangular door openings that provided access to the interior stairway leading to the viewing platform at the top of the monument. Other notable architectural features included decorative horizontal banding at several levels of the shaft, Ionic columns flanking the entrances, and a chevron frieze band between the entrance and niche levels (*NYT* 12/6/1873).

Some architectural critics objected to the combination of the Gothic Revival style with the eight-sided obelisk form, which produced the appearance of a Gothic spire. An 1877 article in the one of the first published issues of the *American Architect and Building News* remarked that the design gave the appearance of a "Gothic spire resting on a dwarfed belfry stage, and set upon the ground with no tower under it." The absence of the tower looked to the author "as unreasonable and . . . as unsatisfactory as the habit of fifty years ago . . . of clapping the portico of a Grecian temple indifferently on a church, a bank, a dwelling, or an outhouse" (quoted in Quinn and Bitterman 1992:26).

The discouraging results of the efforts to raise money for the monument throughout the 1870s forced the SMA to make adjustments in the size and materials of the monument to reduce costs. Markham amended the design in 1877 to decrease the height of the monument to 150 ft and make the base 40 ft square. Over the next three years, he made additional tweaks at the suggestion of the SMA Committee on Design. One of the most significant changes was the elimination of the chamfered obelisk for a more conventional four-sided structure, which both addressed the earlier criticism that the structure resembled a gothic spire and made the monument cheaper to build. Once the final design was adopted in 1880, the SMA took care to protect against further significant alteration. When economy was necessary, it opted first to use cheaper materials to fabricate parts of the structure, such as doors, windows, and the interior stairs, before cutting corners on the decorative program.

The location of the monument's site, high above the Hudson River with views of the surrounding countryside, offset somewhat the reduction in the height of the monument. Visitors to its viewing platform stood about 400 ft above the river and could see for miles in all directions. Horatio Seymour stressed the essential nature of the views in an address to the SMA in 1881:

"I have studied with care its maps and plans; but it was not until I stood upon the site of the Monument that all was made clear to my mind; for there was not only displayed the field of the surrender, the spots where events had taken place of which we read with so much interest, and which seemed to be recalled to the looker-on as of present rather than of remote occurrence, but beyond all this, the lines of the Green Mountains in view, which told of the progress of the British army from the north through Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson; the Catskill Mountains which mark the course of the lower Hudson which Burgoyne sought to reach at Albany; the Highlands at the west of the Mohawk all was made clear, the whole plan in its broad scope by which the Crown sought to break up the united efforts of the Colonies, and to master the strongholds which would give it control of military operations" (Walworth 1891:57).

The lookout platforms incorporated into the monumental obelisks of the period appear to be a distinctively American feature. In his work entitled "Monumental American Obelisks: Centennial Vistas," John Zukowsky posited that the major obelisks of the nineteenth century that had such platforms were "tangible expressions of the sense of Manifest Destiny and of the drive to centennial, continental expansion" and that the seemingly endless views from the outlooks allowed the observer to "participate imaginatively in expansionism." Furthermore, the "military connotations of the monuments reminded all that expansion would be protected, and the policies of Manifest Destiny would be upheld through force if necessary." Whether or not the concept of Manifest Destiny was central to the meaning of the Saratoga Monument, the views afforded from its lookout platform would have been awe-inspiring to early visitors—many of whom had probably never ascended to such heights—and made the visit more memorable than it might otherwise have been (Zukowsky 1996:574).

The construction of the monument commenced with the laying of its foundation and the first few stone courses of the base by the summer of 1878 but stalled thereafter due to lack of funds. Construction resumed in earnest in 1881 when the SMA secured its first appropriation of \$30,000 from the federal government. The SMA gave the contract for the erection of the obelisk to Booth Brothers, a prominent granite supplier and construction firm based in New York City. Under the superintendence of Henry Langtry, the work progressed rapidly over the next two years. The capstone was placed on November 3, 1882, and by the next fall most of the decorative stonework was completed. William L. Stone provided a description of the monument at that time:

"The Monument, which is of rock-faced New London granite and is 154 feet high, stands on a high bluff 250 feet above and overlooking the Hudson, thus giving it an actual height above the river of 400 feet. In its base there is a room 14 feet square, with entrances on each of the four sides. From this room a temporary staircase, soon to be replaced by one of bronze, leads to the top, from which is seen the whole region of the country between Lake George on the northwest, the Green Mountains on the east, and the Catskills on the south, the varieties of upland and lowland being lost in the almost perpendicular line of vision in which they are presented to the view.

The entrances at the base are about fourteen feet in height . . . At the second floor there is a niche on each side of the Monument for a statue...Over the entrances gables rise to a height of forty-two feet, and at each corner of the Monument at the height of about twenty feet, a granite eagle with half-folded wings, measuring about seven feet across the back, has been placed. The cornices of each of the doors and windows are supported by pillars of polished black granite from Maine, with carved capitals. There are forty pillars in all. The drip-stones on the buttresses at the base, the capitals and other trimmings are of granite from Long Cove, Maine" (Walworth 1891:72–73).

While the architectural work of the monument was complete to the point where, as Ellen Hardin Walworth put it, "[the Trustees] might with propriety now hand the Monument over to the National Government as a finished structure," the SMA did not wish to consider doing so until the statues and interior bas relief sculptures were in place. The inclusion of that artwork was an essential part of Markham's design, and the SMA believed that those elements held overriding importance in enhancing the monument's educational, commemorative, and artistic value. As a result, the SMA resumed its efforts to raise the funds necessary to commission and install the planned statues for the exterior niches and the interior relief panels to complete the "grand and artistic conception of the architect." In presenting the case to Congress for additional funding to complete the artwork, the SMA described the dual intent of the monument as follows:

". . . the first was that of a lofty and independent shaft, a tower overlooking the classic plains of Saratoga and the battle-fields of Bemis Heights, and being expressive of victory only. The second and more important element of this design was the statuary to be placed in the niches and [sic] the tower, and historic sculpture which was to line the interior of its walls...This gives scope for the partial realization of the design of 1873, and it is this element of the monument which Horatio Seymour refers to when, in one of his most telling speeches, . . . says: 'National monuments not only mark but make the civilization of the people'" (Walworth 1891:84–85).

Markham wrote of the intent behind what he considered a new form of monumental art intended to both educate and inspire national pride and patriotism:

“As the battle of Saratoga is regarded as marking the grand crisis in the transition from despotic to popular government among men, so the Saratoga monument ought to mark a crisis in monumental art. And as art is justly regarded as one of the most efficient agents in the development of civilized nations, the work now so quietly progressing on this monument is possessed of deep and lasting interest. It is not only an imperishable history of the event commemorated, a history written in granite and bronze, but it is also an enduring exponent and record of our past and present civilization as indicated by our national art” (Markham 1884).

The Committee on Design, headed by William L. Stone, succeeded in getting Congress to appropriate \$40,000 for the artwork in 1884. The bulk of the money was spent on the sculptures for the exterior niches, and the SMA Committee on Design selected the sculptors and approved their designs. Markham retained control over the interior bas reliefs. By the early 1880s, the SMA had determined that three of the four niches would contain statues of the Saratoga heroes Philip Schuyler, Horatio Gates, and Daniel Morgan. The fourth would be left blank with only the name “Arnold” inscribed beneath it. Though Arnold was perhaps more responsible than any other leader on the field for the American victory at Saratoga, his subsequent treason was deplored deeply, and the SMA struggled with the question of whether or not to erect a statue to his memory. SMA Trustee General John Watts de Peyster summed up the quandary and its final solution after a visit to the monument site in 1880:

“In the pediment, or whatever the architects style it, before the shaft or main body of the obelisk starts, are four niches for statues, one on each side. Three of these effigies are decided on. Schuyler, justly and undoubtedly, first; Gates, necessarily but undeservedly, second; and Morgan, third. The fourth is still undetermined. The architect desires that the void shall be filled with Arnold. He is honestly and mainly correct. When Arnold won the battles of Saratoga, the first, 19th of September, and the second, 7th of October, in favor of the revolted Colonies, he was as faithful a servant of Congress as it had. His treason was all along subsequent to these events ... None other than he is deserving to be associated with the three already selected. No lesser man has a right to appear in their company or occupy the fourth niche. Let it then remain vacant. The vacancy will speak more eloquently than words. Every one will ask why the void is there? The answer covers the whole ground and explains everything” (quoted in Stone 1895:265–266).

The Arnold Monument on the Saratoga Battlefield repeated this treatment of Arnold’s legacy. That monument, sponsored by de Peyster, depicts only Arnold’s left boot where he was wounded during the second battle while storming Breyman’s Redoubt. Author Gary Alan Fine in his book *Difficult Reputations* described Arnold as being “simultaneously present and absent” in the two monuments. In the Arnold Monument, he is a “heroic nonperson, whose virtuous deeds do not fit with his constructed reputation and his publicly accepted character.” In the Saratoga Monument, “his likeness (and thus his humanity) is conspicuously absent, while the inscription of his name serves not to revere him, but to instruct visitors of the significance of the empty niche” (Fine 2001:51).

The SMA Committee on Design intended to employ the “best known artists” for the statues of Schuyler, Gates, and Morgan. As Trustee William Curtiss stated, “if it becomes generally known that this Committee employ unknown men, and the results should be unsatisfactory, it will be held up to the ridicule of posterity.” Fortunately, the design committee had a wide array of locally available talent from which to choose.

In February 1885, the Committee asked Markham to begin the process of selecting the sculptors by notifying artist members of the Century and Union League Clubs in New York City of the availability of the commissions and requesting the potential bidders to submit their design proposals without “promise of reward or emolument.” The Committee opened the bids at a subsequent meeting, selected William R. O’Donovan, Alexander Doyle, and George E. Bissell, and asked each artist to make models of all three monuments. They instructed the financial committee to “select one, two, or three of such statues from any one artist,” as it deemed best. O’Donovan and Doyle agreed to the process. Bissell was in Europe at the time but provided his consent later. The sculptors prepared the models by November 1885 and displayed

them in SMA President John Starin's office. Members of the committee discussed their relative merits and ultimately decided that, to ensure the individuality of treatment and allow the artists to focus fully on one subject, each of the sculptors would receive a commission. They awarded Doyle the commission for the Schuyler statue, Bissell the Gates statue, and O'Donovan the Morgan statue (Walworth 1891:91-94).

In the late nineteenth century, New York City was the epicenter of a sculptural boom, serving as home to both a high percentage of nationally renowned artists and some of the country's busiest fine art foundries. The demand for sculpture reached unprecedented levels in the wake of the Civil War, as private organizations and public entities, including state and municipal governments throughout the country, invested in sculpture to memorialize Civil War heroes and events, as well as statesmen, philanthropists, businessmen, and other prominent individuals. At the same time, a new school of artists led by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel Chester French, John Quincy Adams Ward, and others emerged. The movement focused on infusing sculpture with naturalistic realism. It replaced what American sculpture historian Lorado Taft termed the "cold, impersonal classicism" of the first half of the century for "an expressive and often picturesque truth, destined to attain in its highest manifestations to a new idealism." European trends heavily influenced the style, and many of the American sculptors of the period, Doyle and Bissell among them, spent time studying at art academies in France and Italy. They infused the concepts learned there with the American themes of nationalism, patriotism, and freedom to produce some of the nation's most significant works of commemorative sculpture (Taft 1903:256).

The sculptures were placed in the Saratoga monument in 1887. A year later, noted poet and art critic Charles Henry Crandall provided a critique lauding the relative success of the works of the sculptors:

"Mr. George E. Bissell's Gates is a well-posed figure, admirable in its effect and in the details of its Continental trappings. Mr. O'Donovan gives in General Morgan an athletic, backwoods rifleman in deerskin dress, typical of the Kentucky marksmen who worried Burgoyne's flank. Perhaps the sense of General Schuyler's wrong at the hands of Congress and the halo of noble qualities which surround the name of this gentleman soldier make a harder task for his sculptor. Mr. Doyle's dignified figure draped in a military cloak, may well represent Schuyler as he was" (Crandall 1888:428).

The statues evoked praise from other quarters as well. Andrew D. White, prominent American diplomat and co-founder of Cornell University, wrote of the monument:

"Having traveled over the world and seen many monuments erected in honor of distinguished men and in commemoration of noted events, I have difficulty in recalling one more interesting than the Saratoga monument. It presents in its intended sculpture decoration one of the happiest ideas ever embodied in a similar structure, namely, statues of the three Generals who served the country at a most critical period of its history, and the niche left vacant where would have been the statue of the fourth had he not become a traitor to his country" (quoted in Crandall 1888:429).

Markham designed the interior bas relief panels meant to educate and instruct visitors about the significance of the Battles of Saratoga within the framework of the larger story of the causes of the rebellion, which in his eyes was a class conflict, and its final outcome. To do this, Markham proposed a total of 36 bronze bas reliefs, each depicting either an allegorical scene or a particular historical event. In 1884, he produced a pamphlet with photographs of his drawings for the panels. In the introduction, he wrote of the project's scope and intent:

"Assuming that revolts and revolutions have their origin in the injustice and wrongs of established institutions, and that in the instance here commemorated, the inequality in the condition of the people resulting from the unjust taxation of the producing, by the governing class, was the primary cause of the revolution, the artist has endeavored to illustrate this inequality of condition, the temper and action of the people concerned and the logical result" (Markham 1884).

The initial panel designs depicted allegorical scenes grouped in pairs to contrast the social and economic inequalities between the British royalty and the Americans. The pairs included "The Women of the Revolution" versus the "Ladies of the British Court," "the first," in Markham's words, "industrious, frugal, self-denying; feeding and clothing themselves

and families and affording aid and comfort to their husbands, sons and brothers, who were engaged in the defense of their country and homes. The second, effeminate, sensuous, wasteful and extravagant, demanding the unjust taxation of the colonists, for their support." Another pair along the same theme showed the king and his ministers devising ways to tax the colonies contrasted with the democracy of a colonial town meeting. Others depicted the impressment of a soldier, the voluntary rally of the people, the invading British forces, and other allegorical scenes that provided the background for the panels showing the events of Burgoyne's campaign and the Battles of Saratoga (Markham 1884).

Unfortunately, the money that Congress provided in 1884 was far below what Markham estimated it would take to complete the artwork as planned. The exterior statues took the bulk of the funds, and Markham had to reduce the number of panels to 16, leaving the remaining 20 panels for some future date when funds became available. Thus, the order of the scenes became "slightly deranged," which had a serious impact on the overall vision for the artwork. Most of the contextual allegorical panels were omitted in favor of the historical scenes more germane to the purpose of the Saratoga Monument (Markham 1884).

While Markham conceived of the panel designs, skilled sculptors who used the architect's drawings as their blueprints produced the actual bronze reliefs. Initially, the SMA envisioned employing a number of prominent sculptors to execute the work, but the organization ultimately gave it to two New York sculptors, James Edward Kelly (1855-1933) and Jonathan Scott Hartley (1845-1912) (Walworth 1891:94).

The installation of the panels in 1887 marked the nominal completion of the monument. The following year, Charles Crandall provided a critique of the finished work, calling it "a work of elegant proportions, rich in sculptural effects and architectural ornament, and with an interior as attractive as the outside." In his opinion, many of the nation's monuments made "one wish that granite and bronze were less enduring," but in the case of the Saratoga Monument there was "cause for congratulation" because as a memorial it "elevates as well as satisfies the artistic instinct, and commemorates events so dear to every American that one could not imagine a vandal so base as to mar the structure" (Crandall 1888:416, 428).

Saratoga Monument Landscape

After the State of New York accepted ownership of the monument in 1895, it formalized the **Saratoga Monument Landscape (LCS ID. none, contributing site)**. According to Walworth, the SMA had taken steps to improve the grounds around the monument, consulting with a landscape gardener in 1885 for "beautifying the grounds" and "grading and fitting up the Monument grounds." In 1886, Markham wrote that the "grounds . . . are already tastefully laid out with carriage-roads and footpaths through them, and running around a monument which stands in a circle there." Views of the monument from the period between 1884 and 1887, however, reveal that little progress had been made, probably owing to the on-going construction activities and the need to devote all available funds to the completion of the monument. The views show only a rutted wagon track leading from Burgoyne Street to the monument along the eastern side of the property. No formal grading had been done, and the lawn consisted of sparse patchy grass, probably crab grass with chicory, Queen Anne's lace, and thistles.

The formal elements of the historic landscape that exist today were begun between August and September of 1897, while the New York Fisheries, Game and Forest Commission managed the monument. C.H. McNaughton directed the work, and R.W. Rice served as the engineer. The Commission graded the grounds and planted the **open lawn (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** with timothy, clover, and rye. They also laid out the site's **geometric footpaths (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** and carriage road (not extant) at this time and paved them with gravel. An 1897 photo shows a curved gravel path (not extant) extending from the south elevation and a straight path extending from the east elevation of the monument. On October 25, 1897, the Commission purchased 51 elm trees and planted them in an allée (not extant) along the carriage road. A row of evenly spaced **sugar maple trees (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** formed the west side of the allée along the western portion of the carriage road.

No landscape plans or sketches have been found, but the adjacent Prospect Hill Cemetery, designed by Burton A. Thomas and constructed in the 1860s, likely influenced the circulation design at the monument. The cemetery had a more complicated series of connected tree-lined carriage roads and walks, but it is also essentially a rectangular property encircled by a carriage drive. Norway spruce, blue spruce, red spruce, white pine, eastern larch, northern white cedar, and

red and sugar maples constituted the main trees in the cemetery. Its Elm Wood Avenue and Vernal Avenue paralleled and complimented the west portion of the monument drive. Monument and cemetery visitors could glimpse one another through the trees paying tribute, strolling, or going for a carriage ride. The entrance to Prospect Hill Cemetery immediately west of the monument consisted of a large gate, Entrance Avenue, a fence with marble fence posts, a formal lawn, and flower gardens.

Monument photographs from 1900–1920 show a well-kept lawn with a pattern of gravel walks and drives. A rectangular walk surrounded the base of the monument with additional paths extending from the north, south, and east elevations. The eastern path was straight. The southern path curved around a mound with a **cottonwood tree (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)** in the middle of the south lawn. The tree was probably growing there already in 1897, when the Commission's grading around it likely created the mound. The northern path led straight to Burgoyne Street but circled around a **cannon emplacement (LCS ID. none, historic associated feature)**. The De Peyster Cannon, a 24-pounder iron naval gun captured from the British during the War of 1812, originally filled this site. Trustee General John Watts de Peyster donated the piece to the SMA in 1877, and the association placed it at the base of the monument that year. The monument's design included cannon from its initial conception in 1873. The SMA tried for years to secure loans of cannon captured from the British during the Battles of Saratoga. Despite the passage of legislation to the effect in the early 1890s, the War Department exhibited a reluctance to entrust these important military trophies to the care of a private organization. As a result, the SMA had access to only the De Peyster Cannon during its period of ownership. In 1912, the House of Representatives passed new legislation that authorized the loan of cannon to New York State. After more than a decade of delay, the War Department delivered a number of pieces of various type and provenance, including one captured from Burgoyne's Army. The state placed these cannon at the corners of the monument and on the surrounding grounds. It subsequently removed all the pieces, including the De Peyster Cannon, and dispersed them to other parks in the state park system before the NPS acquired the Saratoga Monument in 1980. The NPS placed the current cannon on the emplacement after the restoration of the monument in 2001 (Stone 1879:18).

The landscape continued to evolve under the state's management during the half-century between 1930 and 1980. The state built a wood-frame restroom (non-contributing) in 1931 south of the monument and replaced the original carriage path with lawn during the 1940s. All 44 elm trees on the property in 1945 later succumbed to disease, and the state removed most of them by the mid-1960s. By 1978, it had also covered the curved path on the south lawn with sod.

The NPS acquired the Saratoga Monument from New York State in 1980. The following year, the NPS constructed a 252.5-ft-long driveway and parking area on the site of the old carriage road, east of the monument, and planted trees along the property's southern boundary. It installed an asphalt path from the southwest corner of the monument to the 1931 restroom. The NPS also repaired the masonry, flashing, and lightning protection system on the monument. By 1987, the interior iron staircase had deteriorated to the point where it was unsafe, and the NPS had to close the monument to the public. Because both Markham's interior artwork and the views from the lookout platform were essential to the meaning and intent of the monument, the NPS subsequently undertook an extensive restoration of the interior and exterior, including masonry repointing, the construction of a handicap ramp, the installation of an underground lift in a vault excavated on the north side of the base to provide handicap access to the lobby, the replacement of rusted I-beams on some of the viewing platforms, the fabrication of new metal stairs, and the thorough cleaning of all the statues and plaques. The park reopened the monument to the public in 2002. In 2004, the NPS negotiated a lease with the Prospect Hill Cemetery Association for a tract of land north of the cemetery and west of the monument parcel, where it constructed a new parking lot and restroom facility. The NPS subsequently replaced the pavement of the former parking area and drive on the old carriage road site with grass lawn.

Architect and Artists of the Saratoga Monument

Jared Clark Markham

Available documentation does not reveal the reason behind Markham's selection as the architect for the monument. At the time of his selection in 1873, Markham did not possess the professional pedigree of the architects who had designed the other major monuments then in existence. The SMA did not sponsor a design competition, so he did not win the commission on a competitive basis. The earliest known descriptions of the monument—an 1873 *New York Times* article

and the SMA's 1874 memorial to the U.S. Congress for funding—do not mention him by name, merely referring to the plans as the work of a “competent architect.” Within the context of the hyperbole that the SMA often employed in presenting the case for the monument, this was hardly a ringing endorsement of Markham's ability. The relatively obscure Markham may have been chosen because he was an acquaintance of William L. Stone, Chairman of the Committee on Design, who later wrote that he had induced Markham to undertake the project. Markham was willing to accept the commission without the prospect of immediate compensation, which likely also contributed to his selection by the financially strapped organization.

Markham (1816–1904?) was born in the small farming town of Tyringham, Massachusetts, approximately 50 miles southeast of Albany. He was a direct descendant of Sir Robert Markham, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. His great-grandfather, Jeremiah Markham of Middletown, Connecticut, commanded a company in Cook's Connecticut Regiment and was wounded on September 19, 1777, during the First Battle of Saratoga. Markham was educated at local schools and went on to study law. By 1850, he was married and employed as a justice of the peace in Providence, New York, about 30 miles west of Schuylerville. Within five years, he had given up law for architecture and was working as an architect and draftsman in Troy, New York. He designed that city's Bethel Temple Church, his only other known architectural commission. An advertisement in the 1858 Troy city directory indicates that by that time he had a particular focus on “edifices, monuments, and ornamental structures.” Markham subsequently moved from Troy to Jersey City, New Jersey, and established an architectural practice in New York City with his son, William. Markham's interest in monuments led him to publish several short monographs on the subject. The first, entitled *Appeal to the American People in Behalf of National Monuments*, was published in New York in 1872. Subsequent works included *Monumental Art* (1884) and *Historic Sculpture* (1886). The Saratoga Monument was obviously the greatest work of Markham's career, and he was intimately involved in its planning and construction from the plan's inception in 1873 to its completion in 1887 (Wilson and Fiske 1888:210; Walworth 1891:4).

George Edward Bissell

Bissell (1839–1920) was born in New Preston, Connecticut. His father was a prosperous marble quarryman and introduced Bissell to the trade. During the Civil War, he served as an infantryman until his regiment was mustered out in August 1863. Afterward, he received an appointment to the United States Navy and served as an assistant paymaster in the South Atlantic Squadron until the end of the war. After the war, he joined his father and brother in the marble business and settled in Poughkeepsie, New York. His first attempt at sculpting occurred when he received an order for a life-sized statue and decided to attempt the project himself. This experience sparked an interest in the art, and in 1875–1876 he left to study in Europe, attending schools in Paris, Florence, and Rome. When he returned to the United States, he established a studio specializing in portrait sculpture. His business thrived as the demand for monuments, busts, and other forms of sculpture soared during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Bissell began splitting his time between New York and Paris. In addition to his statue of Gates for the Saratoga Monument, his works included the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument and a statue of Colonel John L. Chatfield for the City of Waterbury, Connecticut; a statue of Abraham Lincoln and a slave designed and placed in Edinburgh, Scotland; “Standard Bearer” at Winsted, Connecticut; the statue of “Union” in Salisbury, Connecticut; a statue of Chancellor John Watts at Trinity Church in New York City; a statue of Chancellor James Kent located in the Library of Congress; and “Lycurgus” placed on the Appellate Court Building in New York City. A committee of New York sculptors selected Bissell's seated figure of Colonel Abraham de Peyster located on Bowling Green in New York City as one of the six best examples of public sculpture in the state. Sculpture historian Lorado Taft stated that Bissell possessed “a peculiar attitude of mind which makes this true artist keenly interested in the personality of his subjects. Be they living or dead, he imagines a vast amount of character into them. He is not satisfied to put heads of merely correct proportions or even accurate features; he makes his men intensely alive, and reveals them to others as interesting as he finds or imagines them himself” (*NYT* 8/31/1920; Taft 1903:245–247).

Alexander Doyle

Doyle (1858–1922) was born in Steubenville, Ohio, where his father, like Bissell's, was employed in the marble monument business. His interest in sculpture was sparked at an early age when his father took the family to Italy while he attended his firm's operations there. In the 1870s, Doyle returned to Italy to manage his father's interests and continued

his studies at the National Academies in Carrara and Florence. Upon returning to the United States in 1878, he settled in New York City and won a number of commissions for busts and smaller works for private individuals. His initial public commissions included the statue of "Liberty" in bronze for a monument at Peabody, Massachusetts, and a granite statue of "Education" for the Pilgrim Monument at Washington, D.C. He began to develop a specialty for historical figure sculpture in the early 1880s when he teamed with architect John Roy to win the commission for the Robert E. Lee Monument in New Orleans. The 60-ft-tall Doric column shaft is crowned by Doyle's 16½-ft-tall bronze statue of Lee with his arms folded. That work led to numerous other commissions for cities throughout the country, including New York, Cleveland, New Orleans, Atlanta, Montgomery, Indianapolis, and Des Moines. His most notable works include the Tomb of John Howard Payne in Washington, D.C.; a statue of the Bishop William Pinkney in Washington, D.C.; a monument to Francis Scott Key in Frederick, Maryland; the Soldiers' Monument in New Haven, Connecticut; eight allegorical statues for the rotunda of Indiana's Capitol Building; and the Horace Greeley Statue in New York City. He also executed three statues of senators Thomas Hart Benton, Francis Preston Blair, and John E. Kenna installed in the National Statuary Hall in the U.S. Capitol (Doyle 1910:338; Johnson and Brown 1904:Vol III, np).

William Rudolph O'Donovan

O'Donovan (1844–1920) was a self-taught sculptor who never had any formal schooling in the art. He was born in Preston County, Virginia, and served in the Confederate Army. Immediately after the war, he moved to New York City and established a studio there where he specialized in portrait busts and bas reliefs. His monumental works included three different statues of George Washington for the Trenton Battle Monument in Trenton, New Jersey, the Washington Monument in Newburgh, New York, and the Washington Monument in Caracas, Venezuela. He also designed the sculpture of John Paulding that tops the Captors of André Monument in Tarrytown, New York, and the equestrian statues of Lincoln and Grant for the Soldiers' and Sailors' arch in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York. O'Donovan wrote extensively on the subject of art in America and was a member of numerous national art associations, including the National Academy of Design, Society of American Artists, Architectural League, and National Sculpture Society. He was also a founding member of New York City's Tile Club, a notable social club of painters, sculptors, and architects that met together between 1877 and 1887 and became an influential champion of American fine arts. In addition to O'Donovan, the club counted among its 31 members Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Stanford White, Winslow Homer, William Merritt Chase, and J. Alden Weir (Johnson and Brown 1904: Vol. VII, n.p.; NYT 4/21/1920).

James Edward Kelly and Jonathan Scott Hartley

Kelly and Hartley sculpted most of the interior bas relief panels, but the existing documentation does not provide specifics about which work was theirs. Both, however, were sculptors of significance within the ranks of the thriving late-nineteenth-century art community in New York City. Kelly (1855–1933) studied art at New York City's Academy of Design and developed a specialty in military statues. He began his career as a portrait sculptor in 1878 when he produced a highly praised wax model of Civil War General Philip Sheridan called "Sheridan's Ride." In the next few years, he carved a bust of Thomas Edison with the first phonograph and a statue of Paul Revere. From 1883 to 1885, he made five bas relief panels for the Monmouth Battle Monument. His other public memorial sculptures included the General John Buford Memorial at Gettysburg Battlefield; the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Troy, New York; the Civil War Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Bronx, New York; and General Fitz John Porter in New Haven, Connecticut. The Saratoga Monument panels that can be attributed definitively to Kelly include "Arnold Wounded in the Trenches" and "Schuyler Transferring his Command to Gates."

Hartley (1845–1912), a native of Albany, became interested in marble cutting at a young age and studied art under Erastus Dow Palmer. In the late 1860s, he went to Europe and attended London's Royal Academy and studied in Germany, France, and Italy. After returning to the United States, he established a studio in Greenwich Village. In 1871, he invited a number of his artist friends and contemporaries to his studio for the purpose of organizing a social club. The event marked the founding of the Salmagundi Club, an influential New York art club that continues to the present day. In 1888, Hartley married Helen Inness, daughter of noted American artist George Inness. He became a member of the National Academy of Design in 1891. His first major public work was the statue of Miles Morgan, the Puritan, erected in 1882 in Springfield, Massachusetts. He subsequently sculpted the Daguerre Monument in Washington, DC; the Thomas K. Beecher Monument in Elmira, New York; Alfred the Great for the Appellate Courthouse in New York City; and the

John Ericsson statue in New York City's Battery Park. He also sculpted numerous busts of prominent Americans, including those of Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Washington Irving that are among the likenesses of nine famous authors placed around the front of the Thomas Jefferson Building of the Library of Congress (Encyclopedia Britannica 1911; NYT 12/7/1912).

Philip Schuyler House

The Philip Schuyler House is a locally significant example of a late-eighteenth-century transitional Colonial/Federal-style country manor house. The character-defining features of the building are its two-story, side-gable main block with flanking interior chimneys; symmetrical facade with a central pedimented entry; clapboard siding; and attached kitchen wing. Constructed in 1777, the building and its surrounding grounds comprise a relatively early example of a Hudson River valley country estate, a property type that became increasingly fashionable in the early nineteenth century among wealthy urbanites. For Schuyler, the place served a dual function as a country retreat for his family and the headquarters from which he managed his vast agricultural and lumber holdings at Saratoga.

The house as it was originally constructed was a relatively crude post-and-beam building, erected less than two months after Schuyler's earlier house was destroyed. It was one room deep in plan, with a reception hall and two rooms on the first floor and a central stair hall and four chambers on the second floor. The kitchen was located in the cellar. The exterior walls were filled with nogging (unburned bricks) and covered with thick unpainted weatherboard, and the gable roof had wood shingles. The house had two exterior doorways, narrow casement windows, and five fireplaces (Phillips 2003:61–80). Ca. 1780, Schuyler added the kitchen wing at the northeast corner of the house, similar to additions he had built on The Pastures, his elegant mansion in Albany. The wing contained a kitchen, pantry, and stair hall on the first floor and a stair hall and three rooms separated by partitions on the upper garret floor. Exterior bake ovens were located on the east wall of the kitchen. Original weatherboards remain on the north and east elevations of the kitchen wing (Phillips 2003:81, 353).

During the first 10 years after the construction of the house, Schuyler visited it regularly for both business and pleasure purposes. Although The Pastures in Albany was his primary residence, his "country house," as he referred to it, in Saratoga (now Schuylerville) offered a welcome respite from his increasingly hectic life in Albany. He surrounded the house with formal gardens, vegetable plots, and fruit orchards and constructed a number of outbuildings, including stables for his horses, barns for his dairy cows, and a henhouse. These activities made the Saratoga estate a forerunner to the gentleman's farm that became popular among the wealthy elite in the early and mid-nineteenth century.

Schuyler modified his Saratoga house extensively in the late 1780s to make it more comfortable for the family of his son, John Bradstreet Schuyler, who was the intended heir to the property. He added an office, porch, and kitchen passage along the east wall. He covered the rustic weatherboard exterior with more refined clapboards, which survive on the facade and north and south elevations of the main house, and replaced the west facade entry with a solid batten door and pedimented architrave that remain intact. Larger double-hung sash replaced the narrow casement windows, and new windows were added in the north and south walls and above the entrance on the west wall. The interior finishes were upgraded with the installation of new door and window casings, chair rails in the hall and dining room, wallpaper and cornices in all three major first-floor rooms, mantelpieces on the fireplaces, and new plaster ceilings. The original wide-board flooring was left in place and survives today. The majority of the window sash and trim elements installed in the main house in 1787 remains intact (Phillips 2003:89, 353).

Over the next 150 years, subsequent owners made many other alterations to the building. Between 1811 and 1815, Schuyler's grandson Philip II replaced the office, southeast porch, and kitchen passage along the east wall with a two-story addition referred to as the "east tier." The addition contained a hallway, library, office, and school room on the first floor and several rooms on the second floor. He also added a piazza along the west wall, reconfigured the reception and second-story halls in the main house, and remodeled the kitchen wing (Phillips 2003:100). The NPS removed most of these changes during the 1950s restoration of the house, although some features survive in the attic and on the second floor of the kitchen wing (Phillips 2003:354). Soon after George Strover purchased the house in 1839, he raised the piazza to two stories. During his occupancy, the north kitchen porch was rebuilt and enclosed, the main staircase was enclosed, and the kitchen was remodeled again (Phillips 2003:109).

In the mid-1950s, the NPS undertook a restoration of the house to bring it back to its conjectured appearance in 1804, the year of Schuyler's death. Painstaking documentary and architectural investigations informed the decisions made in conducting the restoration. The project was an excellent example of the mid-twentieth-century architectural preservation philosophy employed by the NPS at a number of historically significant properties within the National Park System. Much of the restoration work was based on detailed physical or documentary evidence, such as existing trim, doors, and window sash, early floor plans, and outlines of door and window openings. The distinctive materials and features used to restore or reconstruct features extant in 1804 are secondary character-defining features of the Schuyler House as it appears today (Phillips 2003:352).

George Stover added the granite hitching posts (LCS ID. 040756, non-contributing objects) in the 1880s. When Stover died in 1886, the estate passed to his daughter, Priscilla, and her husband John Lowber, who removed many of the buildings associated with the earlier Schuyler ownership of the property. Remaining associated resources located on the **Schuyler Estate Grounds (LCS ID. none, contributing site)** include the **Philip Schuyler House Privy (LCS ID. 023054, contributing building)**, the **Philip Schuyler House Wellhouse (LCS ID. 040761, contributing structure)**, and the **Philip Schuyler House Stone Wellhead (LCS. 040757, contributing structure)**.

Neilson House

The Neilson House is the only building remaining in Saratoga NHP from the time of the Battles of Saratoga. The house was originally built ca. 1775 and is a rare surviving local example of the type of simple one-story vernacular farmhouses that were common during the period before the Revolutionary War. In 1777, John Neilson's cottage was part of a larger rural settlement in the Hudson River valley frontier area, where eighteenth-century farmers erected modest but solidly built dwellings overlooking their fields. The house's current appearance is the result of two major restoration efforts, the first undertaken by the State of New York in the late 1920s and the second completed by the NPS in 1960. These restorations removed most of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century alterations and returned the building to its likely original eighteenth-century appearance, based on internal physical evidence and information gathered from archeological excavations of the site.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, Neilson added a larger two-story structure on the west side of his original one-story saltbox house, which he converted to a kitchen and pantry. Sometime between 1893 and 1904, the original structure was moved several feet north of the addition (demolished in 1927). When the State of New York acquired the property in 1926, it was covered in modern siding, the porch that had extended across the full width of the front of the house had been removed, and the original stone fireplace had been replaced by an iron stove. The state moved the house to a higher foundation on what was at that time presumed to be the original site and reoriented it to face west. The state also replaced the exterior finishes and added a fieldstone fireplace with a brick chimney (Gjessing 1958:2-3, 16-17).

Archeological investigations performed in 1957 and corroborated by historical research provided more accurate information about the original location and appearance of the Neilson House (Gjessing 1958:6). Based on this information, the NPS relocated the house once again to its current site, facing south, and reused stones recovered from the original fieldstone foundation for the new foundation. Most of the original wood frame has been preserved, including early burned and sundried brick nogging set in clay mortar and the lean-to across the rear. The porch is a reconstruction. The interior and exterior finishes, including the barn-red exterior paint, and the fenestration pattern have been restored to those of the historic battle period. Many original doors, window frames, and trim were preserved and reused. The beaded board sheathing on the lean-to interior walls is also mostly original (Gjessing 1958:16-17). As an early example of a NPS restoration project, the Neilson House retains its most significant character-defining features, including its two-room frame structure, side-gable roof with flared eaves, incorporated full-width front porch, and minimal fenestration. It stands as a rare architectural representation of the built landscape as it appeared when the Battles of Saratoga occurred.

Saratoga NHP Visitor Center

Franklin D. Roosevelt selected the Saratoga Visitor Center's prominent site on Fraser's Hill during a visit to the park in 1940 because it provided sweeping views of the battlefield landscape. The design and construction of the Visitor Center was delayed, however, until funding was secured through the Mission 66 program in the late 1950s. The Visitor Center is a representative example of post-World War II Modern architecture as adopted by the Park Service for the approximately 100 visitor centers constructed under Mission 66. The building's character-defining features include its hexagonal units and covered terraces, inspired by the architecture of Fort Snelling in Minnesota; the use of both locally available natural construction materials and modern elements such as large glass-and-steel curtain walls; and its low, horizontal profile. The combination of those elements produced a building that sits lightly on the landscape, blending with its environment and unobtrusive to the historic battlefield it serves.

Mission 66 Visitor Centers

The NPS designed the Saratoga NHP Visitor Center in 1960 and completed it in 1962. It is an example of what author Sarah Allaback has identified as "Park Service Modern" to identify and describe visitor centers designed and built during the NPS Mission 66 Program. These visitor centers were a response to the social, demographic, and economic conditions of the post-World War II era in which the NPS needed to provide larger, more efficient amenities for American families with the time and money for vacations. The designs combined the functional requirements necessitated by increased visitation with the ideas of European Modern architecture. They made use of the functional aspects of Modern architecture and construction techniques, including "free plans" that overlap or partially divide function spaces, flat or gently sloping roofs, and large curtain walls that provide openness and a connection to the surrounding landscape. Standardized and efficient means of construction, such as inexpensive building materials and prefabricated components, were also utilized. Another important aspect of Modern architecture employed in these designs is the large and atypical fenestration patterns that provide sweeping and dramatic views of scenic and historic areas (Allaback 2000:270–271; Carr 2007:155-174).

The Mission 66 visitor center served as a centralized facility within individual parks and typically housed multiple functions within a single building, including interpretive exhibits, theaters, information desks, administrative offices, and restrooms. The sites chosen for visitor centers were often at the park entrances or on roads near major destinations in the park. A parking lot usually accompanied the building and allowed visitors to leave their car in one location, gather information and maps, and explore the park. Long, winding ramps and paths were utilized instead of stairs to maintain the continuous movement of visitors around the building. On account of their location and the variety of services offered, the visitor centers became recognizable points of reference for visitors to begin their park experiences (Allaback 2000:272–273; Carr 2007:155-174).

In keeping with the tenets of Modern architecture, the visitor centers were designed as low-scale, linear buildings in colors and tones harmonious with the surrounding landscape. The exterior was often devoid of decorative or associative design elements and was clad in textured concrete with panels of stone veneer or locally available materials. Roofs were mostly flat or slightly pitched with projecting overhangs. Covered terraces and walkways, sometimes near large window walls, added to the permeability of the building and the visitor experience. Simple narrow columns, often of painted steel, supported projecting overhangs and defined terrace spaces (Allaback 2000:272–273; Carr 2007:155-174).

The interiors of the visitor centers reflected a shift in NPS priority from "education" to interpretation" that occurred in the late 1940s. The arrangement of interior spaces was intended to allow for a rapid and efficient dissemination of practical information for the park visitor. The movement of a visitor through the space was a crucial aspect of their design; and wide entrances and exits, ramps and inclined planes, a large open lobby, and easy passage through the exhibit areas were provided. Interior spaces included theaters for slide shows and 16mm film and areas for the interpretive displays that either replaced or complemented the exhibit cases found in older park museums. Other essential features were a central "information desk" and significant views of natural features and/or historic sites to allow for interpretive talks (Allaback 2000:269; Carr 2007:155-174).

The use of Park Service Modern architecture presented a standardized appearance of visitor facilities indicative of the strongly centralized Mission 66 planning program and reinforced the strong sense of a national park system. Despite initial criticism, it became as influential as Park Service Rustic once was and continues today as a significant expression of NPS architecture (Allaback 2000:273; Carr 2007:155-174).

Design of the Saratoga NHP Visitor Center

The final construction of Saratoga's Visitor Center in 1962 incorporated many aspects of Mission 66-era architecture. Donald F. Benson (1921-), a NPS architect at the Eastern Office of Design and Construction (EODC), is credited with designing the building. Benson also designed the visitor centers for the Everglades and Hopewell Furnace national parks. The Center is located near the entrance to the park and serves as the welcoming station and orientation point for park visitors as well as the beginning of the park tour road. A long, winding path leads from a paved parking lot to the main entrance of the building. From its location high on Fraser's Hill, removed from sites of significant battle activity, the Visitor Center commands extensive views over a portion of the battlefield and provides the best location for understanding the important topographic features in the battlefield. The structure's profile is not highly visible from most locations in the battlefield, and it blends in with the surrounding landscape. Large windows provide extensive views of the park, and a covered terrace with views of the battlefield creates a scenic and centrally located outdoor gathering spot for visitors and park staff (Allaback 2000:32).

The plan of the Visitor Center is an example of the effort by the NPS to clarify services in their facilities and circulation between them. Unlike earlier examples built under the Mission 66 program, the later visitor centers were constructed with an entry lobby and distinct wings to house the different functions contained in the building. The Saratoga Visitor Center has offices located in a small, hut-like space next to a similar massing with the lobby and an outdoor terrace. These hexagonal masses are connected via a long corridor to the information area and the theatre and museum space (Allaback 2000:32).

The exterior of the building features a low roof line, walls covered in beveled wood siding, and a high stone foundation. The colors are neutral earth tones, and natural materials are incorporated into the facade. A large window wall on the south elevation allows for striking views of the battlefield and the surrounding landscape. The NPS added a small addition, housing a museum and library, to the Visitor Center in 1974 as part of its preparation for the Bicentennial. The addition, located on the west elevation, is in keeping with the overall design and materials of the original building.

CRITERION D – ARCHEOLOGY

Archeological research at the Saratoga NHP has identified a range of major battlefield features (e.g., fortification lines, cannon emplacements) that corroborate the accuracy of military maps drafted during the Battle of Saratoga (e.g., Wilkinson, Putnam), as well as provide clues to the specific locations of less substantial features (e.g., troop encampments along the British lines) otherwise unavailable through documentary sources. The archeological survey work also has been important in identifying subsurface disturbances throughout the park that preclude the survival of Revolutionary War-era features and highlighting those areas where such deposits may still survive.

In addition to archeological resources directly associated with the Battle of Saratoga, research at the Schuyler Estate has been able to clarify the placement and architectural evolution of the various estate structures from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. Most importantly, the archeological data collected to date from the property has been used to persuasively argue that the extant Schuyler House is not the location of the 1766 mansion burned in 1777. Finally, research at all three units has contributed substantive data about the form and function of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century agrarian occupations of the Upper Hudson Valley, dating from the Middle Archaic (8000–5000 B.P.) to the Late Woodland periods (1000–340 B.P.).

Archeology at Saratoga National Historical Park

Archeological research at Saratoga NHP has been extensive, comprising more than 30 projects ranging from baseline survey and mapping efforts to full-scale excavations. The work, conducted between 1940 and 2008, was undertaken both for planning and research purposes, and to meet compliance obligations under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). The goal of the majority of the projects, particularly those dating from the 1940s to the 1970s, was to identify, delineate, and manage resources dating to the park's primary area of significance, the Battles of Saratoga. By the 1980s, other research contexts began to take on increasing importance, including the development of the nineteenth-century agrarian landscape.

In the interests of conciseness and relevance, only those archeological projects conducted at SARA that resulted in the identification of contributing archeological sites will be addressed. The following four criteria were used to define a "contributing" archeological site: 1) the site must have been subject to some level of subsurface archeological investigation and reporting or, in the absence of archeological survey, the site must be physically identifiable through a patterning of artifacts, features, or structural remains on the ground surface 2) the recovered/observed archeological data must be defensibly linked to the site in question; 3) the site must have a demonstrated and/or potential ability to address substantive research issues within the identified areas of significance for the park and/or ancillary research issues important to regional pre- and post-contact period interpretive contexts; and 4) the site must lie within the park boundaries as delineated in this document.

Battlefield Unit

As the scene of nearly every major structural, tactical, and landscape element of the 1777 Saratoga military engagement, the area that now comprises the Battlefield Unit was subject to the earliest archeological survey efforts at the park. The differential preservation of the various archeological resources identified to date can be attributed to the post Revolutionary War-period landscape history of the battlefield, and specifically the level of late-eighteenth- through early-twentieth-century agricultural and commercial development of the parcel.

The archeological work completed to date within the battlefield suggests that there has been a high level of preservation of the British fortifications in the northern portion of the battlefield, especially the "Old Woods" section, as that area has experienced comparatively little disturbance. Sand mining operations in the mid-nineteenth century, however, may have compromised some resources, including Burgoyne's Headquarters at the northwest corner of the unit. Similarly, the lower course of the Kroma Kill was altered to a slackwater turning basin for the Champlain Canal in 1821, and the process may have compromised or destroyed some British encampments in that location. The development of the Champlain Canal and related structures along the Kroma Kill (e.g., mills, dams) also may have compromised the integrity of potential subsurface British military resources. The American fortifications/lines at the southern end of the park appear to be less well-preserved than their British counterparts as that portion of the battlefield was extensively cleared and plowed, although survey work has demonstrated that many fortification resources do survive below the plow zone (see below).

A total of nine contributing archeological sites have been identified within the Battlefield Unit to date. Robert W. Ehrich conducted the first survey of the battlefield site, and in fact the first professional archeological survey of the park, from 1940–1941. Ehrich, using funding and staff provided through the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), investigated five specific areas within the battlefield. His goals for the survey were threefold: to determine the quantity and quality of the extant Revolutionary War-period archeological remains within the then-authorized boundaries of the park; to assess the feasibility of a more comprehensive archeological program for the battlefield; and to provide data to assist in the restoration/reconstruction of historic battlefield features (Johnson 1997). Ehrich's work and the base map that he created using the results of his survey substantially pre-dated federal compliance regulations and established a progressive approach to archeological resource management at the park.

Ehrich primarily focused on the identification of large-scale archeological features associated with the Battles of Saratoga, namely the remains of the British and American fortifications and redoubts. Toward that end, he excavated a series of massive trenches across the battlefield, some measuring more than 200 feet (ft) long and 6 ft wide. In his

Progress Report on the Archeological Program of Saratoga National Historical Park (1941), Ehrich identified the remains of the west flank of the American Lines, a 200-ft-long backfilled fortification ditch containing partially decomposed and charred wood, animal bones, hand-wrought iron nails, a brass buckle and button, and fragments of an iron kettle. The trench remains terminated abruptly, but a series of postholes and shallow, filled depressions extended beyond the feature for another 19 ft.

A 50–60-ft-long segment of what Ehrich supposed to be a zig-zag stretch of the eastern flank of the American fortifications also was identified, a supposition confirmed by additional excavations in that location three decades later (Snow 1974). Another test trench revealed a 40-ft-long crescent-shaped ditch interpreted as a lunette outwork, one of several reported to have been constructed in advance of the east flank. The feature contained pieces of an iron chain and associated fittings believed to be contemporaneous with the outwork. The fortification line and lunette outwork, designated collectively as the **American Lines Site (ASMIS #SARA00011.000, contributing site)**, provided critical information concerning the location and condition of the surviving American defenses, and served as a guide for future excavations in the area. Additional geophysical investigations conducted in the summer of 2010 indicated that remnants of several of the fortifications exist, although this data remains to be ground-truthed.

Moving northeast of the American fortifications, Ehrich excavated a series of trenches paralleling the river bluff in hopes of locating the British fortifications. Previous historical research suggested that the majority of the defensive works in that area had been destroyed by nineteenth-century sand quarrying activities. Ehrich, however, intercepted a 65-ft-long east-west trending ditch feature and a cluster of irregularly spaced postholes, a discovery that suggested that the landscape was far more intact than previously believed. Based on their locations, Ehrich determined that the features were the remains of a detached fortification marking the eastern terminus of the British east flank fortifications. The **British Fortifications Site (ASMIS #SARA00014.000, contributing site)** was further documented during the 1970s (Reeve and Snow 1975 – see below), but Ehrich’s work remains the most comprehensive.

Four trenches were excavated in the presumed location of the **Balcarres Redoubt Site (ASMIS #SARA00016.000, contributing site)**, revealing two north-south trending ditches interpreted as the eastern and western walls of the southern portion of the redoubt. From the postholes observed in the western ditch, Ehrich concluded that the west wall of the redoubt had consisted of a timber cribwork barricade likely banked with dirt. Within the redoubt, several hearths were identified and the possible remains of an artillery emplacement. Two double burials also were identified in each of the surviving ditch feature. Ehrich sketched the skeletons, leaving them intact in the ground, but removed the associated metal artifacts including buttons, grapeshot, and musketballs.

Ehrich’s search for the **Breymann Redoubt Site (ASMIS # SARA00015.000, contributing site)** was restricted to the former site of the Arnold Monument, located on a knoll west of the actual redoubt. Within one of the three trenches excavated in that location, a battle-period living surface cut through by a hearth and refuse pit, several postholes, and an artillery emplacement was identified. The remains of a possible fortification ditch also were observed in two of the trenches, although their identification was based more on their presumed association with the redoubt rather than on any conclusive archeological data.

Following Ehrich’s baseline survey work at the park, John Cotter conducted the next archeological project in 1957. Cotter focused on two locations: the original site of the Neilson House, which served as the mid-level American headquarters during the battle, and segments of the American fortifications overlooking the Hudson River. In his report, *Results of Archeological Tests, the Neilson House Location and American River Lines, Saratoga National Historical Park* (Cotter 1957), Cotter described excavations at a visible depression in what was presumed to be the former location of the original Neilson House. A deposit of building debris was recovered and designated Structure A, but subsequently was identified as the remains of the second Neilson House built in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Additional investigations west of Structure A and north of the reconstructed Neilson House identified foundation elements consistent in size and shape with the 1777 Neilson House. Cotter designated these foundation elements, along with Structure A as an associated outbuilding, as the **Neilson Farm Site (ASMIS # SARA0008.000, contributing site)**. Cotter’s interpretation of this site as the location of the original eighteenth-century Neilson House, however, is equivocal at best as he presents no artifact data to corroborate his conclusions.

Cotter next turned his attention to what would prove to be the location of the **American Fortifications, River Overlook Site (ASMIS #SARA00012.000, contributing site)**. Stratigraphic evidence of the American fortifications in the form of ditch and bank features was identified in three of six trenches excavated in what is now the location of Tour Stop 3 on the Battlefield Tour Road. While Cotter's fortification features arguably are linked functionally and temporally to the American fortification remains identified to the west by Ehrich, their location along the crest of the slope facing the Hudson River and the lack of demonstrable physical continuity between the two presumably resulted in a separate site designation.

The 1960s marked a lull in archeological research at the park, interrupted only by a few unsuccessful attempts to locate the Freeman Farm (Campbell 1963; Cotter 1960) and the Neilson Barn (Moore 1961). By the early 1970s, however, the park's archeological program was re-activated and initially focused on two of the major park sites, the Balcarres and Breyman redoubts. While Ehrich reported the identification of these sites in 1941, his associated field map was lost, requiring that the sites be relocated archeologically. John Cotter unsuccessfully attempted to relocate Ehrich's test trenches at the Balcarres Redoubt in 1960. Dean Snow later met with some success as reported in his *Report on Archeological Identification of the Balcarres and Breyman Redoubts, 1972 Investigations, Saratoga National Historical Park* (Snow 1972). Using a combination of methods including archival research (with a particular emphasis on Wilkinson's 1777 map of the battlefield), aerial reconnaissance, magnetometry, and soil coring, Snow was able to develop a targeted subsurface testing strategy to locate the redoubt sites.

Snow identified during his investigations surface and subsurface evidence of the western wall of the Balcarres Redoubt Site and four of the five test trenches previously excavated in that location by Ehrich. Within the presumed limits of the redoubt, Snow also identified two hearths and the body of an American soldier interred in a shallow grave. Southwest of the reconstructed Freeman Cabin, a foundation corner was identified and provisionally associated with the original Freeman barn. The archeological remains of the redoubt, including the configuration of points and segments and evidence of double-wall construction techniques, were consistent with Wilkinson's map depictions and suggested that the map could provide excellent guidance for future excavations.

The re-identification of the Breyman Redoubt Site proved more challenging. No superficial evidence of the structure was observed in the field, but using Wilkinson's map as a guide Snow identified a series of postholes and a feature identified as an artillery platform in the projected location of the redoubt. Like the Balcarres Redoubt, a soldier burial was encountered within the limits of the redoubt along with a possible sally port.

In addition to the redoubt features, Snow found a number of hearths and scattered camp refuse between the projected locations of the main fortification and the north outwork. He concluded that the materials were the remains of the German and Tory encampments. Snow also attempted to locate the remains of the Canadian cabins based on images in aerial photographs. A series of post molds, charred wood fragments, and patches of discolored soil were unearthed in the projected location, but Snow concluded they were more likely part of a pentagonal fortification surrounding the cabins rather than the cabin structures themselves.

In 1973, Snow returned to the park to conduct a second survey to re-investigate the locations of significant features previously identified by Ehrich and Cotter in the 1940s and 1950s. Using the same research methods employed during his 1972 project, Snow identified two artillery platforms and the lunette outwork previously found by Ehrich as part of the American Fortifications Site. As detailed in the *Report on the Archaeological Investigations of the American Line, the Great Redoubt and the Taylor (sic) House, Saratoga National Historical Park* (1974), Snow also attempted to identify the former location of the Great Redoubt with the specific intention of identifying the grave site of Brigadier General Simon Fraser. While he was unable to locate any superficial or archeological evidence of the redoubt structure, he nonetheless concluded that the area maintained considerable archeological potential insofar as it appeared fairly undisturbed. Snow did uncover a shallow pit that he interpreted as General Fraser's grave, but this attribution is highly problematic as no associated skeletal remains were recovered from the feature.

The one notable success of the project was the identification of the original location of the eighteenth-century **Taylor Farm Site (ASMIS # SARA00021.000, contributing site)**. The relict house foundation, comprising the largely intact

remains of a dry-laid stone foundation and building and domestic debris, was believed to have been occupied from ca. 1760–1820 based on the recovered artifact assemblage, and was commandeered by the British during the Battles of Saratoga. General Fraser is reported, somewhat apocryphally, to have been brought to the house mortally wounded and was then buried on a steep hill overlooking the river (Stone 1895:92–93).

Dean Snow and Stuart Reeve undertook another major survey of the battlefield in 1974, described in the *Report on Archeological Investigations and Excavations of Revolutionary Sites, Saratoga National Historical Park, New York 1974-1975* (Reeve and Snow 1975). The work included testing in five locations surveyed during earlier projects (i.e., the Neilson Farm, American Fortifications, British Fortifications, Balcarres Redoubt, and Breymann Redoubt sites), as well as at previously untested locations. The goals of the project included (re) identifying and delineating battle-related features, increasing the understanding of archeological preservation conditions across the battlefield, and providing data with which to guide future research and reconstruction priorities for the park. While this work was later criticized (Browne 1987), the criticisms were based largely on a more conservative interpretive stance and do not detract from the significance of the Reeve and Snow survey.

Testing at the Neilson Farm Site was unsuccessful in its goal to find the remains of the American fortifications, known as “Fort Neilson,” and a Revolutionary War-era road. A midden dating from the early nineteenth to twentieth centuries, however, was identified in one of the excavated trenches. While the feature exhibited some stratification that would provide data concerning the occupation sequence of the Neilson Site subsequent to the war, it had little relevance to the period immediately pre- or post-dating that time.

The project met with greater success at the American Fortifications, River Overlook Site. In that area, Reeve and Snow documented long portions of the American line that corroborated Rufus Putnam’s map illustrating a sinuous fortification crossing the river bluff on Bemis Heights.

Similarly, excavations at the British Fortifications Site between the locations of the Balcarres and Great Redoubts identified a concentration of charcoal and reddened soil, a deer femur, and melted lead shot interpreted as an “activity area,” possibly a campsite, associated with Hessian troops reported to have occupied the area. Three additional features were identified along the relict western segment of the British line, including a segment of a log wall in the “Old Woods” section of the battlefield. The archeological documentation of the wall as a mound of sand, mottled fill, ash, and decayed wood agrees with contemporary descriptions of the fortifications. Based on Wilkinson’s map, the location likely was occupied by the 62nd, 9th, and 21st British regiments.

Another ditch, designated the “Potato Field” Fortification, was found in the field west of the purported location of Burgoyne’s headquarters, as were the Wilbur Farm Mounds, two sets of low earthen mounds believed to have been used either as British defensive earthworks or American artillery emplacements. No evidence of Burgoyne’s Headquarters was identified in any of the test trenches, nor was any additional evidence of the Balcarres Redoubt or the Tory Camp at the Breymann Redoubt uncovered.

Snow once again returned to the park in 1975 to conduct a survey to reconstruct the Revolutionary War-era road network across the battlefield. In his *Report on Archeological Investigations of Revolutionary Roads, Saratoga National Historical Park, New York (1976)*, Snow discussed the results of aerial photography that suggested the survival of eighteenth-century roadbeds. These roadbeds were mapped and ultimately formed the basis of the *Archeological Atlas of the Saratoga Battlefield* (Snow 1977), but it is unclear based on a reading of the original report which of the illustrated roads were “field-verified” through the aerial survey and which were merely projected from Wilkinson’s map.

As part of Snow’s road survey, a metal detector survey also was conducted at the Tour Stop 7 (Breymann Redoubt) visitor facilities. The survey was undertaken in advance of a proposed redesign of the facilities that threatened to impact the near-surface remains of the Hessian encampment and Old Woods fortifications. The survey resulted in the collection of eighteenth-century military artifacts from both locations (e.g., ammunition [musket balls], uniform accoutrements [21st regiment buttons] and currency [English pennies]) that helped corroborate the use of those areas as military encampments as hypothesized by earlier researchers (Ehrich 1941; Reeve and Snow 1975).

David Starbuck conducted the next substantive excavation at the park in 1987 and produced two reports, the *Saratoga National Historical Park, Archeology Progress Report – 1985* (Starbuck 1986) and *The American Headquarters for the Battle of Saratoga: 1985-1986 Excavations, Saratoga National Historical Park* (Starbuck 1987). The principal objective of the project as summarized in both reports was the identification of the Woodworth farmhouse that served as the American headquarters during the battle, and the nearby barn that served as the general hospital. One of the primary concerns was whether the military-related events could be separated from the subsequent agrarian/domestic occupation of the **American Headquarters and Field Hospital (aka Woodworth Farm) Site (ASMIS # SARA0004.000, SARA00081.000, contributing site)**.

A walkover survey of the parcel found no surface remains of either the Woodworth House or barn, but subsurface excavations identified the top of the farmhouse's stone foundation immediately below the plow zone and a filled well southwest of the cellar hole. Four stone piles also were found during trenching and interpreted as the corners of the former barn/field hospital. Both structures were partially encircled by a French drain, presumably constructed before the abandonment of the farmhouse and its later demolition in 1829.

Based on a comparative analysis of the artifact assemblage with the known construction and abandonment sequences of the Woodworth farmhouse and barn, Starbuck concluded that the structures were not demolished in a single event, but gradually deteriorated and were filled through erosion and agricultural activities. No military artifacts were found during the excavation, a condition that Starbuck suggested was a consequence of the site having been scavenged over the years but especially immediately after the battle. Rather than relying on archeological materials, Starbuck convincingly argued that the house and barn foundations are the locations of the American Headquarters and Field Hospital based on reliable map data provided by Lossing (1851). While the lack of military materials makes the delineation of battle-related deposits from residential deposits somewhat of a moot point, the site provides a well-preserved example of a late-eighteenth- through early-nineteenth-century rural complex.

Additional work was conducted at the Tayler Farm Site in 1987 as part of a project designed to expand upon Snow's 1973 findings. The goal of the excavations was to locate the farm outbuildings as identified on historical maps and to gather a larger assemblage of materials with which to interpret the activities at the site, especially that period when it was occupied by Major General von Riedesel and his family. *Archeological Investigation of the Taylor (sic) House Site, Saratoga National Historical Park, Stillwater, New York, June - July 1987* (Demers and Starbuck 1989) reported that no evidence of either outbuilding was found during backhoe trenching, but that the Tayler House foundation was re-identified and mapped with precision. No discrete stratigraphic or artifact data relating to the von Riedesel occupation was identified, but the supplemental assemblage of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century domestic and architectural debris corroborated historical accounts indicating that the house was moved sometime before 1820.

Remnants of the **Old Champlain Canal Site (ASMIS # SARA00006.000–00006.007, contributing site)**, also survive along the eastern edge of the Battlefield Unit. While the canal and its associated bridges have not been subject to archeological survey, remains of the structure are clearly visible across the landscape. The Champlain Canal transformed the sleepy hamlet of Stillwater into a bustling commercial center and served as a locus of nineteenth-century residential development along the Hudson River.

Schuyler Estate Unit

Two contributing archeological sites have been identified within the Schuyler Estate encompassing archeological deposits dating from the Middle Woodland Period (1600–1000 years before present [B.P.]) through the mid-nineteenth century. Unlike the Battlefield Unit, the Schuyler Estate derives its significance less from the Revolutionary War period, for which there is very little surviving data, and more from the pre- and post-Revolutionary domestic occupations of the parcel. A succession of three Schuyler houses built in 1720, 1766, and 1777 were located on the property, with the first two destroyed during King George's War (1744–1748) and the Battles of Saratoga, respectively. All three homes were built very close to one another, and that has resulted in a complex site stratigraphy that archeologists have been struggling to interpret for many years. That complex stratigraphy has been further complicated by the construction of the Champlain Canal; the widening of the canal with the excavation of gravel banks to the east, south, and west of the current Schuyler House; and the development of the parcel south of the house that likely contains the site of the 1766 Schuyler House.

John Cotter conducted the first archeological survey on the Schuyler Estate grounds in 1958, not long after the acquisition of the property by the NPS, which marks the first substantive contribution to the **Schuyler Estate Site (ASMIS #SARA0003.000, contributing site)**. The work was carried out in conjunction with the Schuyler House restoration program and focused on a complex of structures partially exposed by workmen at the site.

As documented in a series of three reports (Cotter 1958a; 1958b; Cotter and Moore 1958), the excavations occurred at the northeast corner of the main house, at a presumed root cellar located 50 ft southeast of the main house, and in the location of the former front porch of the main house. Additional excavations were conducted immediately east, west, and north of the main house in an attempt to test the hypothesis, forwarded by park historian John Luzader, that the third (1777) Schuyler House was built directly on the foundation of the second house not long after its destruction by Burgoyne's troops. Cotter identified a range of features associated with the Schuyler occupancy including the remains of chimney footings, the foundation of the former Schuyler privy, a brick-lined cistern, vestiges of two overlapping brick structures, and a filled vegetable/root cellar. Cotter also noted that the existing 1840 tenant house was built over a considerably smaller foundation, suggesting that an earlier structure had once stood in that location, an observation that was later shown to be erroneous (Cotter 1964; Johnson 1997:146–148).

Based on the lack of foundation footings projecting from the north and south elevations of the house, Cotter concluded that the hypothesis that the third Schuyler House was built upon the foundations of the second Schuyler house was incorrect. His conclusion, however, was based on the assumption that the former wings had been built on substantial, below-grade foundations and/or that his test trenches were of sufficient length and depth to find them, neither of which was necessarily supportable based on the information provided in the reports. Archeological excavations at the site by Starbuck (1989) later corroborated Cotter's conclusions as did a more recent historic structures report (HSR) (Phillips 2003). The HSR provided solid architectural data supporting Cotter's view based not on exterior foundation elements but on the remarkably short amount of time required to build the house (30 days) and the placement of the windows in the existing basement (Phillips 2003:65–66).

Edward Larrabee revisited Cotter's work just two years later with the same general research principles in mind. In his *Report of Archeological Excavations Conducted at Saratoga National Historical Park, Schuylerville, New York, from June 8 through June 29, 1959* (1960), Larrabee discussed the results of additional testing conducted north and south of the main house kitchen and inside the kitchen and basement of the existing house. These excavations resulted in the identification of a number of features, some of which had been recorded by Cotter in 1958 and others supplemental to that work. The new features immediately east and outside of the extant kitchen wing included a possible well uncovered during machine stripping to the east of the house; an untyped "stone structure" lying between the extant kitchen hearth and the privy pit identified by Cotter; an untyped brick box underlain by a dry-laid stone foundation; a jumbled stone "wall" segment likely associated with the untyped brick box; and two posts.

Several larger-scale architectural and landscape features also were identified north of the kitchen wing. These resources included large cut and dressed stones that probably served as steps to a porch that formerly ran along that side of the house; the surviving cistern; a stone wall segment projecting north from the northwest corner of the kitchen that may have been part of a demolished milkroom; a small stone platform, likely part of an old porch; and the existing well. Finally, work inside the kitchen ell around the existing hearth identified the remains of an earlier hearth.

Work in the basement of the main house resulted in the identification of burned material in some south portions of the cellar, but also a lack of visible fire damage to the existing foundation walls. This combination of factors led Larrabee to suggest that while the second Schuyler house certainly was burned by retreating British forces, it may not have been completely destroyed, and that the existing house was built over some part of the surviving foundations.

Following his work in and immediately around the main house, Larrabee moved out across the yard and documented a number of features including yet another stone-lined well and what he referred to as a "burned structure," both of which were located south of the house. The burned structure, measuring 22 ft wide and 39–43 ft long, was tentatively interpreted as an early-nineteenth-century framed building of indeterminate function. Larrabee also recorded the visible

remains of two foundations east and northeast of the house reputed to be a woodhouse/slave quarter and barn, an ash pit, a fieldstone wall, two ditches, evidence of the former estate gardens, and several pre-contact period artifacts.

Larrabee's excavations were more expansive and far better documented than Cotter's previous efforts. Despite all of the work, however, Larrabee was unable to address conclusively the primary research objective for the property overall, namely the clarification of the succession and spatial relationships of the second and third Schuyler houses.

After a hiatus of more than 20 years, the Schuyler Estate again became the focus of concerted archeological research efforts. Two investigations conducted in the mid-1980s, including a magnetometer survey (Howe 1986) followed by a targeted subsurface testing program (Starbuck 1986, 1989), were designed to locate the foundations of those structures that had been burned by the British in 1777 so that the site could be better understood and interpreted as it existed in the late eighteenth century.

The results of the magnetometer survey, which was confined to a 100-x-400-m area immediately surrounding the main house, were somewhat ambiguous, but did reveal several interesting anomalies east and southeast of the house including possible trench and foundation features. Subsurface excavations were concentrated north of the house to avoid the previously tested areas to the south (Larrabee 1960), and to provide new information about the structural and landscape evolution of the property. These excavations, conducted in 1987 using machine-assisted trenching, resulted in the identification of several historic period features associated with the Schuyler Estate Site and a substantial pre-contact period site.

Like the Battlefield Unit, remnants of the Old Champlain Canal Site survive along the eastern edge of the redrawn Schuyler Estate Unit. The canal remains are similarly untested, but are still visible on the landscape and have the potential to provide important information about the industrial and commercial transformation of the region. Schuyler's boosterism for the canal construction also lends another dimension to the significance to the feature, although the archeological implications of that element are not immediately obvious.

The **Schuyler Estate Pre-contact Site (ASMIS #Unassigned, contributing site)** yielded primarily chert debitage and a range of projectile point types dating from the Late Archaic through Late Woodland (and possibly) contact periods (6000–400 B.P.). The materials were recovered from 0–80 centimeters below ground surface, and were thoroughly mixed with post-contact materials in all but the lowest stratigraphic levels. A hearth was uncovered in association with a Greene projectile point, a scraper, and numerous ceramic sherds dating from the Middle Woodland. Based on this data, the site was interpreted as having been occupied primarily from the Middle to Late Woodland periods and reflective of the increasingly intensive use of the area during those periods.

In addition to the pre-contact site, Starbuck identified several foundations associated with the post-contact period occupation of the property. The first foundation was identified north of the Schuyler House, and had been previously documented by Larrabee (1960) as the remains of a razed wood house and slave quarter. Starbuck commented that it was impossible to identify the size, shape, or date of the foundation as a means to corroborate Larrabee's hypothesis, and that the only intact element of the feature was what appeared to be a fireplace base. The second foundation was buried under 1 meter of fill north of the first foundation. The artifacts recovered from the cellar hole ranged from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries, with the structure interpreted as a nineteenth-century structure razed during the twentieth century. A southern foundation wall of a burned building was uncovered immediately northeast of the main house. The wall was paralleled by a French drain and yielded many burned/heat-altered artifacts dating to the eighteenth century, suggesting that it was one of the structures burned by the retreating British troops in 1777. The building's exact date of construction, function, or dimensions, however, could not be determined.

By employing an expansive machine-trenching testing methodology and carefully recording the content and stratigraphy of the excavated trenches, Starbuck was able to convincingly argue, using primarily negative evidence, that the present (third) Schuyler House does not sit in the location of the earlier (second) mansion burned in 1777. This conclusion was derived from the facts that the site exhibited no evidence of a significant, property-wide burn event, and that there was a notable paucity of eighteenth-century structural features and cultural material. Given that the 1987 archeological results mirrored those of both Cotter (1958) and Larrabee (1960), Starbuck further argued that it was likely that the burned

mansion site lies south or southeast of the current mansion site on property not owned by the NPS and, subsequently, not readily available for additional archeological testing.

Saratoga Monument Unit

Much like the Battlefield Unit, the parcel that makes up the Saratoga Monument Unit was used for agricultural purposes following the Revolutionary War with subsequent construction efforts on the site completed as part of its development as a commemorative landscape. Two archeological surveys have been conducted at the monument site to date (Hartgen Archeological Associates, Inc. [HAA] 2005; Mahlstedt 1980), neither of which identified any significant archeological resources.

Victory Woods Unit

Two contributing archeological sites have been identified within the Victory Woods Unit to date. The 22-acre unit encompasses a portion of the location that Burgoyne chose for his retreat after the Second Battle of Saratoga. From October 9–17, 1777, Burgoyne and his troops, numbering 4,000–6,000 soldiers, barricaded themselves within an earthen redoubt likely erected along the brow of and around the top of the hill, encompassing an area of approximately 100 acres (Stevens et al. 2007:63). The exact configuration of the earthworks at Victory Woods is unclear, but it is likely that they conformed to standard British military construction techniques for such structures.

The wooded parcel, formerly part of the larger Schuyler Estate, remained undeveloped in recognition of its importance to the fight for American independence and became somewhat of a tourist attraction for visiting dignitaries to the region despite its increasingly overgrown and untended state. In 1846, the Saratoga Water Power Company bought land along the creek from the estate of Philip Schuyler II, grandson of General Philip Schuyler. The mill donated several parcels of land to the Village of Victory for civic use, including several areas that had formerly been part of the 1777 British encampment, but the mill preserved and protected from development the 22.78-acre Victory Woods parcel (Stevens et al. 2007:83). A first-hand account of the woods from 1906 mentions hundreds of feet of British earthworks in an excellent state of preservation (Brandow 1919). The mill did erect a waterworks including a water tower with connecting penstock running down the hill toward Gates Avenue in the woods sometime before 1920. An icehouse also was built in the woods sometime before 1931, the remains of which are still visible at the south end of the current project area.

The United Board and Carton Corporation bought the site in 1937 and apparently worked out a deal with the village to use the Victory Woods water works. In 1972, Wheelabrator-Frye Incorporated bought the property to operate a folding carton plant under the name of the A.L. Garber Company. This acquisition resulted in the parcel being referred to colloquially as the “Garber Tract.” In 1974, the NPS acquired the Garber Tract via donation. Remains of the Revolutionary-era earthworks were visible on the property. Although the woods had been protected from extensive formal development, it had been subjected to unauthorized excavation by amateur archeologists and looters digging for war relics. Numerous recommendations for the protection and stabilization of the surviving earthworks were proposed over the intervening years.

A total of four surveys have been conducted on the property since its acquisition by the NPS, including an archeological sensitivity assessment developed as part of the Cultural Landscape Report for the unit (Stevens et al. 2007:83). The first archeological investigations of the property were conducted in 2005 and 2006 and comprised a geophysical survey (including ground-penetrating radar [GPR], resistivity, and magnetometry) and subsurface excavations (HAA 2006; Radar Solutions International, 2006). The surveys were conducted in concert to identify potential anomalies that might be Revolutionary War-era military features followed by targeted archeological survey to ground-truth the results of the geophysical work.

The combined survey work resulted in the identification of one Revolutionary-era site and one pre-contact period site. **Burgoyne’s Retreat Site (ASMIS #SARA0002.000, contributing site)** was identified along the eastern edge of the property and comprises a portion of the Victory Woods British Encampment Site, which consists of the entire 22-acre Victory Woods Unit. The archeological investigation of the site identified the partially eroded remains of two defensive earthworks and a shallow depression interpreted as a possible magazine. The three structures are associated features of

the Victory Woods British Encampment Site. No contemporaneous cultural material, however, was recovered in association with those features, and no evidence of soldier's campsites or housing was encountered. The explanation for this lack of data is reasonably explained by several different, possibly inter-related factors including: the concentration of troops in a different portion of the woods; the brief occupation of the site; and/or the characteristically ephemeral archeological footprint left by military encampments in general (HAA 2006:41).

The **Victory Woods Pre-contact Site (ASMIS #Unassigned, contributing site)** consists of a substantial multi-component Native American occupation. The site yielded more than 1,300 artifacts including chert debitage and a diagnostic Stanley-like projectile point dating to the Middle Archaic (8000–5000 B.P), as well as a possible roasting platform.

A third archeological survey was conducted in 2007 in advance of several proposed improvements to the area (Heitert and Banister 2007). The survey resulted in the recovery of 25 pieces of chert debitage and a non-diagnostic chert projectile point. Given its material and temporal complementarity with the Victory Woods Pre-contact Site, the artifact concentration was designated the Victory Woods New Path Locus.

Battlefield Unit

Under Criterion D, the Battlefield Unit of the Saratoga National Historical Park possesses national significance for its ability to contribute substantive information about the Battles of Saratoga. The nine (9) archeological sites identified to date within the battlefield possess a demonstrated and potential ability to provide corroborative and, in some instances, new or supplemental information regarding the location of strategic military landscape features associated with the engagement.

Despite the significance of the Battles of Saratoga, their relatively short durations combined with the immediate reuse of the landscape for residential, farming, or more illicitly, relic-collecting activities led to some ambiguity regarding the locations of significant military features even among near-contemporary observers and commentators. As time went on, this was further complicated by the prevailing notion that nineteenth- through twentieth-century use and development of the battlefield effectively precluded the survival of many, if not most, of those resources.

The body of archeological data collected to date, however, has provided critical data concerning the landscape integrity of the battlefield. The results of subsurface investigations, including the identification of American and British fortification lines, redoubts, and hearths, have demonstrated that the battlefield possesses good to excellent landscape integrity in many areas formerly believed to have been deeply disturbed by post-war agricultural and commercial (e.g., sand mining) activities. The success of these surveys suggests that landscape alterations formerly viewed as intrinsically destructive to battle-related resources must be clearly demonstrated as such through archeological investigations.

The use of modern geo-prospecting techniques such as ground-penetrating radar and resistivity testing has enormous potential in this regard. These techniques can provide a cost effective and minimally invasive means of identifying ephemeral military features that can later be ground-truthed in a more targeted fashion. One possible use of geophysical survey techniques would be to locate the Canadian Cabins, resources that have proved elusive to standard archeological survey methods.

Much of the previous archeological research on the battlefield has been concerned with documenting the locations of various military fortifications and matching that data with contemporaneous maps of the battles, particularly the 1777 Wilkinson map. This "corroborative" approach was (and in many instances still is) a common research methodology in dealing with historical archeological resources. While valuable and necessary for establishing the location and content of the archeological resources within the battlefield, these earlier efforts generally did not deal with more historically or theoretically sophisticated research questions.

The contributing archeological sites within the battlefield, however, have the potential to address a broad range of military, social, and economic issues of both local and national importance. For example, a comparison of construction techniques among the fortifications identified to date may shed light on how closely formal military protocols concerning

construction were being observed versus how often expedient approaches were being employed based on local conditions. This comparison can be made on an intra-site level between the British and American fortifications on the Saratoga battlefield as well as on an inter-site level with Revolutionary War sites such as Bunker Hill and Valley Forge. Another open question includes whether the River Overlook Site is physically linked to the larger American Fortifications site to the west, or if it is a discrete building episode. If it is a discrete building episode, does it reflect a tactical advantage to a discontinuous line, or does it speak to a provisioning or supplies problem?

Another research avenue could include further analysis of the military interments at the Balcarres Redoubt Site. The close examination of the surviving skeletal remains has the potential to provide information about the general and/or comparative health of the British and American troops during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. In a related vein, the battle-period living surface, hearth, and refuse pit identified at the Breymann Redoubt could provide important information about the general provisioning and diet of the British troops, as well as contribute more specifically to an understanding of the organization of discrete military encampments on the battlefield.

Several of the sites within the battlefield, including the American Headquarters Site and the Tayler and Neilson Farm sites, also possess significance on the local and regional levels for their realized and potential ability to provide information about the form, function, and evolution of late-eighteenth- to early-nineteenth-century farmsteads in the upper Hudson River valley. Additional excavations at the Neilson Farm Site, for example, could help pinpoint its age and association with more accuracy and potentially provide architectural and landscape data with which to reconstruct life on an eighteenth-century farm site on the upper Hudson.

Similarly, the Woodworth Farm Site is less important to the interpretation of the battlefield and more valuable for the information it might provide concerning the organization of a late-eighteenth- through early-nineteenth-century farmstead on the upper Hudson. This period is particularly important as it marks a time of economic and social transition in the newly formed United States. The country suffered an economic depression immediately following independence, followed by an embargo on British imports during the War of 1812. Examining the cultural material profile of a rural farm complex during this time and comparing it with contemporaneous assemblages (Tayler Farm Site) and assemblages pre- and post-dating that period might provide insight as to how the volatile early national economy did (or did not) impact the day-to-day life of average farmers.

The remains of the Old Champlain Canal along the western boundary of the Battlefield Unit have the potential to provide important information about techniques used during its construction and subsequent undocumented repair episodes that may shed light on the relative successes or failures of the original building methods. For example, the archeological documentation and analysis of the stratigraphy of a portion of the Middlesex Canal (ca. 1794) and towpath in Wilmington, Massachusetts, suggested that time- and labor-intensive building techniques specified in the construction contract for the project eventually were abandoned in favor of more expedient building methods as a means to stretch a dwindling budget (Heitert and Kierstead 2004). This cost-cutting measure was never formally documented, but provided a great deal of insight as to how the canal was completed, and helped to explain, in part, the differential preservation of the canal over its entire expanse. Subsurface archeological investigations at surviving segments of the Champlain Canal and its subsidiary structures (e.g., bridges) may provide similar construction evidence not available through standard documentary sources.

The transformative nature of the canal construction to commerce and industry in the region also has direct implications for the creation and survival of other archeological resources within the Battlefield Unit. Wilbur's Basin and Bemis Heights, for example, were small communities that thrived with the construction of the Champlain Canal beginning in 1817 (Oudemool et al. 2002:78–81). Archival photographs and maps document homes, large and small mills and dams, stores, schools, hotels, and churches, none of which have yet been subject to archeological investigation. Systematic survey of those areas has the potential to identify and map the layouts of the villages and provide concrete data about the organization of residential, commercial, and transportation networks relative to the canal. The comparative analyses of these communities with the neighboring farmsteads also has the potential to provide data concerning how the tightly connected village landscapes differed from more loosely bound networks of farmsteads in terms of socioeconomic organization and access to consumer goods. This information, in turn, could illustrate how the Champlain Canal

transformed the local economy from one based on primarily local, agrarian pursuits to one based on regional industry and trade.

It is important to emphasize that the construction of the Champlain Canal and the development of associated structural features (e.g., bridges, a slackwater basin on the Kroma Kill), industries (e.g., sand mining for the casting industries), and communities (e.g., Bemis Heights, Wilbur's Basin) formerly were viewed as intrinsically destructive to battle-related resources. The archeological research conducted to date within the battlefield, however, has demonstrated that this often is not the case, and that the destruction of earlier resources must be clearly demonstrated through archeological investigations. It should also be noted that the development of nineteenth-century industries and communities within the battlefield also created a whole suite of archeological resources with the potential ability to contribute substantive information about different, non-military research topics germane to both national and regional interest.

Schuyler Estate Unit

The Schuyler Estate Unit possesses local and regional significance under Criteria D for its realized and potential ability to contribute substantive information about the form and function of an elite eighteenth- and nineteenth-century estate in the upper Hudson River Valley. The archeological work on the property has documented a range of structures and landscape features (e.g., privies, middens, gardens, paths) that illustrate the evolution of the property from its earliest incarnation as the home of the prominent Schuyler family to its later purchase and occupation by the Strover family. Closer examination of these features and associated artifacts may provide information about these families not otherwise accessible through documentary sources such as how changes in landscaping, consumer patterns, and diet reflect how closely the Schuyler and Strover families were engaged with local, regional, or national trends.

In addition, the property has the potential to contain resources dating to the earliest Schuyler family interest in and settlement of the area, ca. 1683, as well as information on frontier settlement and evidence of fortifications related to the various battles that occurred up and down the Hudson River throughout the colonial period. Saratoga was an embattled settlement on the borderland between New France and New York and was a crossroads of culture, trade, and warfare activities for an extended period.

The archeological work completed to date at the Schuyler Estate Unit has occurred only within the original district boundaries. The expansion of these boundaries to the south and east, however, provides a much larger historical landscape and a greater opportunity for identifying Schuyler-related resources dating to the early eighteenth century.

The locations of both the first (ca. 1720) and second (ca. 1766) Schuyler houses remain open questions, although it is believed that both lie fairly close to the extant structure. Future archeological testing within the expanded district boundaries has a strong potential for identifying structural remains associated with one or both earlier houses. Throughout its history, the Schuyler Estate also contained a variety of other buildings including a guard house, blacksmith shop, tenant housing, barns, a sawmill, and the first water-powered flax mill in the region, as well as huge formal gardens. Again, the expanded district property, particularly that portion bordering the Hudson River, is highly likely to contain archeological evidence of many of these resources. Systematic testing would help to better establish the temporal sequence and owner association of identified landscape features and provide a clearer picture of the structural evolution of the property over time.

The property also possesses local and regional significance for its known and potential ability to expand the archeological database for the Middle and Late Woodland periods in the upper Hudson River valley, and to develop a more comprehensive understanding of this area throughout the pre-contact period. The majority of the pre-contact materials collected from the Schuyler Estate Pre-contact Site were heavily mixed with post-contact period artifacts. The sheer density of those materials, however, combined with the identification of a hearth and deeply buried, intact landscape surfaces suggests that the area was used repeatedly throughout the later pre-contact period, and that it likely contains additional classes of data that would provide substantive information about the nature and extent of those occupations.

As with the identified post-contact period resources, the archeology conducted to date within the Schuyler Estate Unit was conducted within the original district boundaries. The expansion of the district property to the banks of the Hudson

River expands the pre-contact archeological sensitivity of the property to contain resources similar to those previously identified, but possibly within less disturbed contexts. Intact soils containing features (hearths, roasting platforms, middens, storage pits) and diagnostic lithic tool types in stratified contexts could provide important data about the use of the area that could be compared to other known sites in the area, including the Victory Woods Pre-contact Site identified in the Victory Woods Unit (see below).

Victory Woods Unit

The Victory Woods Unit possesses national significance under Criteria D for its realized and potential ability to contribute substantive information about the Battles of Saratoga. As the location of Burgoyne's retreat, the parcel has yielded corroborative, albeit ephemeral, data about the location of the British military on the eve of their defeat. The fact that the encampment was occupied exclusively by British troops suggests that the surviving earthworks and cultural material profile of the site are solid, albeit limited, representations of British military life. This controlled, "retreat-oriented" landscape could provide an excellent point of comparison to the "assault-oriented" landscape of the Battlefield Unit, as well as the contemporaneous American fortifications and encampments. The remote-sensing techniques used at Victory Woods to locate the earthen fortifications proved successful and demonstrated that geophysical survey has the potential to identify large-scale landscape features. The results of the Victory Woods survey could be used as a model for locating similar fortification features at the Battlefield Unit.

Perhaps more importantly, Victory Woods also possesses local and regional significance for its known and potential ability to yield information about the pre-contact period occupation of this area. It has long been recognized as a locus of pre-contact period settlement and use, in large part because of what were likely the "truly fabulous" shad and herring runs in the spring (Funk 1976:27). The available archeological data has provided substantial evidence for the continuous use of the area for short-term seasonal campsites, lithic workshops, and possible food-processing stations, and has expanded the archeological database for the Middle and Late Archaic periods. The Victory Woods Unit is especially important for its ability to add new information about settlement and subsistence practices during the Middle Archaic, a period that is poorly understood in the Northeast in general, and New York State in particular.

Additional analysis of a feature tentatively identified as a roasting platform may provide confirmation of that identification, while microscopic analysis of its contents may provide clues as to diet and the seasonality of use of the parcel by pre-contact populations. More expansive excavations across the property also have the potential to yield a greater number of diagnostic projectile points and intact features. One or both data classes could help to clarify the temporal range of occupation for the terrace as well as how it was used over time. This information could then be marshaled to provide a better understanding of inter-site use dynamics as well as intra-site comparisons with other known pre-contact sites in this region.

Developmental history/additional historic context information (if appropriate)

Saratoga Before the Battles

The well-worn path of the campaign route constituted one of the most important internal transportation routes in the Americas and held well-understood strategic importance for military operations. It served the native Iroquois and Mohawk tribes in their attempts to gain hegemony over the region well before Europeans arrived in the Americas. As recently as the 1750s the Hudson River transportation corridor figured prominently in the French and Indian War and was the site of several major battles that proved decisive in the English victory over the French and their Indian allies. The Road to Albany, much of which is incorporated in the current U.S. Highway 4 that runs through the eastern portion of the Saratoga Battlefield Unit, evolved from a Native American path to a military road constructed and used in numerous wars and battle engagements in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prior to Revolutionary War. The stretch between Albany and Saratoga was the site of numerous forts and encampments and was familiar to many of the participants in the Battles of Saratoga who had been on previous campaigns that utilized the route.

Before the arrival of European settlers, the Mahicans, an Algonquian tribe, occupied the area where the British and American armies assembled to confront one another and used it for agricultural purposes. After the Dutch established a trading post on Albany's Castle Island in 1614, the Mahicans established a monopoly on the area's fur trade. The neighboring Mohawks of the Iroquois Confederation resented the arrangement and in 1624 provoked a war that resulted in the removal of the Mahicans from lands west of the Hudson River. European settlers, including French traders and missionaries, began making their way to the upper Hudson River valley in the late 1600s, and in 1683 a group of eight individuals purchased a large tract of land north of Albany from the Mohawks. Known as the Saratoga Patent, the approximately 170,000 acres of land stretched some 22 miles along the river and 12 miles deep. Due to almost constant conflict in the area among the French, British, and Native American groups during the late 1600s and early 1700s, the land, outside a series of forts and a small settlement built in association with attempts to control the fur trade, was not heavily settled until the middle of the eighteenth century. In the early 1740s, Philip Johannes Schuyler, General Schuyler's uncle and a descendant of one of the original Patentees, constructed a fortified block house at Saratoga (now Schuylerville), and a small agricultural village developed around it. In 1745, during King George's War (1744–1745), a French and Indian raiding party killed Schuyler and destroyed the settlement.

Fighting in the area continued sporadically for decades until the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763 resulted in peace with the British gaining control of North America. The peace, combined with a reversal of a Royal policy forbidding the burning of wood lots to clear land for farming, created a more inviting environment for settlement of the region. In the mid-eighteenth century, the Saratoga Patent was subdivided into smaller lots and sub-leased to tenant farmers. Newcomers first settled in the fertile lowlands immediately along the river and then pushed farther inland on the wooded heights where they carved out small clearings and raised livestock; planted fields of wheat, flax, corn, and hay; and established apple orchards.

In 1762, Philip Schuyler inherited land known as "the farm at Saratoga" that formerly comprised his dead uncle's estate and constructed a house near the location of the former blockhouse. He also built saw and gristmills and worked toward establishing a diverse community of artisans and laborers in his mills and settlement. He operated two sawmills on the Fish Creek capable of processing 30 acres of timber each year, and his logging operations produced cleared land that attracted agricultural settlement.

Groups of various religious sects seeking the freedoms of the frontier to practice their beliefs settled around Saratoga. A group of Rhode Island Baptists who had served as soldiers in the region during the French and Indian War were impressed with the abundant land, timber, and potential waterpower. After the conflict, they brought their families to the area, traveling along the Hoosic Trail, a former Native and military road through Vermont and Massachusetts. The first Baptist community in Stillwater was officially recorded in 1768. Since the lowlands along the river were occupied, these farmers tended to settle on the elevated lands along the road from Bemis Heights to Saratoga Lake. Groups of Congregationalists from Connecticut and Quakers from the Hudson River Valley, especially Dutchess County, joined them. By 1777, the lands that comprise the Saratoga Battlefield were part of a thriving rural settlement of modest-sized farmsteads. Families carrying names such as Bemis, Neilson, Barber, Chatfield, and Freeman would forever be associated with the battlefield events that unfolded there in the fall.

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- 1912 "Noted Sculptor Dead. Jonathan Scott Hartley Succumbs After Long Illness—His Works." December 7.
- 1920 "W.R. O'Donovan Dies." April 21.
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- 1925 "Move to Restore Field at Saratoga." September 20.
- 1926 "The Saratoga Battlefields Saved." April 16.
- 1926 "Battlefield Work Begun." July 14.
- 1928 "To Make Last Fight for Saratoga Fund." February 19.
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- 1929 "Proposes Saratoga as a National Shrine." October 18.
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Saratoga National Historical Park
Name of Property

Saratoga, New York
County and State

Wood, W.J.

1990 *Battles of the Revolutionary War, 1775-1781*. Major Battles and Campaigns Series, John S.D. Eisenhower, General Editor. Da Capo Press, Cambridge, MA.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #NY-6122, 3317
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____
- recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
 - Other State agency
 - Federal agency
 - Local government
 - University
 - Other
- Name of repository: Saratoga National Historical Park

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): _____

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 2,976
(Do not include previously listed resource acreage.)

UTM References

(SEE CONTINUATION SHEET)

| | | | | | | | |
|---|-------|---------|----------|---|-------|---------|----------|
| 1 | _____ | _____ | _____ | 3 | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | Zone | Easting | Northing | | Zone | Easting | Northing |
| 2 | _____ | _____ | _____ | 4 | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | Zone | Easting | Northing | | Zone | Easting | Northing |

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The National Register boundary encompasses 2,976 acres of publicly owned land within the four discontinuous units of Saratoga NHP. Lands included within the boundary are those that are owned in fee simple by the Federal Government and the State of New York as shown on the attached NPS, North Atlantic Regional Office, Lands Office Map. Private lands within the larger authorized park boundary are excluded from the National Register boundary.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

In accordance with NPS-28: *Cultural Resource Management Guideline*, Appendix Q, the NPS is responsible for evaluating the entire area contained within the authorized boundaries of historical units within the National Park System. Lands that are evaluated as non-historic buffer zones or which no longer possess integrity may be excluded. The current authorized boundary of Saratoga NHP contains 3,392.42 acres. The National Register boundary encompasses 2,976 acres of land that is publicly owned by the NPS or the State of New York and contains all known historic resources that are managed and interpreted by the NPS. The remaining 416 acres within the authorized park boundary is privately owned land over which the NPS holds scenic or other types of easements, but are not otherwise controlled or interpreted by the NPS. Those areas are primarily located along the Hudson River and U.S. Highway Route 4 within the Battlefield Unit and agricultural and residential properties that do not contribute to the district.

Saratoga National Historical Park
Name of Property

Saratoga, New York
County and State

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Stephen Olausen, Kristen Heitert, Laura Kline, Carey Jones
organization The Public Archaeology Laboratory, Inc. date August 2011
street & number 210 Lonsdale Avenue telephone 401-728-8780
city or town Pawtucket state RI zip code 02860
e-mail solausen@palinc.com

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Continuation Sheets**
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)

Photographs:

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map.

Name of Property: Saratoga National Historical Park

City or Vicinity: Stillwater, Schuylerville, and Victory

County: Saratoga

State: New York

Photographer: Stephen Olausen (except where otherwise noted)

Date Photographed: December 4-5, 2008 (except where otherwise noted)

Description of Photograph(s) and number:

- 1 of 41. Saratoga Battlefield, view facing southeast from Saratoga NHP Visitor Center.
- 2 of 41. Saratoga Battlefield, view facing southeast from Freeman's Farm Overlook.
- 3 of 41. Saratoga Battlefield, view facing northeast from American fortifications on Bemis Heights.
- 4 of 41. Saratoga Battlefield, view of Barber Wheat Field facing west.
- 5 of 41. Saratoga Battlefield, view facing east from British Great Redoubt.
- 6 of 41. Saratoga Battlefield, view facing east from Neilson Farm Tour Stop.
- 7 of 41. John Neilson House, Battlefield Unit, view of south elevation and west side, facing northeast.
- 8 of 41. Morgan Monument, Battlefield Unit, view of east side, facing west.

- 9 of 41. Second Battle of Saratoga Monument, Battlefield Unit, view of east side, facing west.
- 10 of 41. Fraser Monument, Battlefield Unit, view of east side, facing west.
- 11 of 41. Arnold Monument, Battlefield Unit, view of north side, facing southeast. Photographer: Christine Valosin. Date Photographed: June 21, 2011.
- 12 of 41. Monument to the Unknown American Dead, Battlefield Unit, view showing monument, walkway, benches, and trees, facing west.
- 13 of 41. Monument to the Unknown American Dead, Battlefield Unit, view of east side, facing west.
- 14 of 41. Kosciuszko Monument, Battlefield Unit, view of north and east sides, facing southwest.
- 15 of 41. DAR Directional Marker – Leggett Place Marker, Battlefield Unit, view of east side, facing west.
- 16 of 41. Saratoga NHP Visitor Center, Battlefield Unit, context view showing stairs and building, facing southwest.
- 17 of 41. Saratoga NHP Visitor Center, Battlefield Unit, view of south elevation and east side, facing southwest.
- 18 of 41. Saratoga Battlefield Tour Road, Battlefield Unit, view from Neilson Farm loop, facing northwest.
- 19 of 41. Saratoga Monument, context view of monument, front lawn, and walkway, facing west.
- 20 of 41. Saratoga Monument, view of east and north sides, facing southwest.
- 21 of 41. Saratoga Monument, view of geometric walkway and cannon emplacement, facing south.
- 22 of 41. Saratoga Monument, detail view of Gothic Revival-style stonework, east elevation, facing west.
- 23 of 41. Saratoga Monument, detail view of Philip Schuyler statue, east elevation, facing west.
- 24 of 41. Saratoga Monument, detail view of Morgan statue, west elevation, facing east.
- 25 of 41. Philip Schuyler House, context view showing Schuyler Estate Grounds and house, facing northeast.
- 26 of 41. Philip Schuyler House, context view showing Schuyler Estate Grounds and house, facing southwest.
- 27 of 41. Philip Schuyler House, view of west elevation and south side, facing northeast. Photographer: Christine Valosin. Date Photographed: June 21, 2011.
- 28 of 41. Philip Schuyler House, view of kitchen wing north elevation and east side, facing southwest.
- 29 of 41. Philip Schuyler House Wellhouse, view of south elevation and west side, facing northeast.
- 30 of 41. Philip Schuyler House Privy, view of south elevation and west side, facing northeast.
- 31 of 41. Victory Woods British Encampment Site, Victory Woods Unit, view facing east toward Fish Creek.
- 32 of 41. Victory Woods British Encampment Site, Victory Woods Unit, view facing south.
- 33 of 41. Angled Earthwork, Victory Woods Unit, view facing northeast.

Saratoga National Historical Park
Name of Property

Saratoga, New York
County and State

- 34 of 41. Champlain Canal, Schuyler Estate Unit, view of towpath and canal prism, facing north.
- 35 of 41. Champlain Canal, Battlefield Unit, view of canal prism, facing northwest.
- 36 of 41. Champlain Canal, Battlefield Unit, view of bridge abutments, facing west.
- 37 of 41. Non-contributing Administrative Offices, Battlefield Unit, context view of Ranger Station and Park Administrative Office, facing north.
- 38 of 41. Non-contributing Garage/Maintenance Building, Battlefield Unit, view of west elevation and south side, facing northeast.
- 39 of 41. Non-contributing Saratoga Monument Restroom, Saratoga Monument Unit, view of south side and east elevation, facing northwest.
- 40 of 41. Non-contributing NPS Park Residence, Schuyler Estate Unit, view of south elevation and west side, facing east.
- 41 of 41. Non-contributing State Highway Maintenance Complex, Schuyler Estate Unit, view of office (right), garage (left), and sand shed (center), facing north.

Property Owner:

(Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name National Park Service, Saratoga National Historical Park

street & number 648 Route 32 telephone 518-664-9821

city or town Stillwater state NY zip code 12170

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Saratoga National Historical Park

Saratoga, New York

UTM REFERENCES

Saratoga Monument

1. 18 0614512E, 4772504N
2. 18 0614494E, 4772326N
3. 18 0614429E, 4772335N
4. 18 0614437E, 4772518N

Schuyler Estate

5. 18 0615546E, 4772383N
6. 18 0615504E, 4772135N
7. 18 0615445E, 4772153N
8. 18 0615436E, 4772120N
9. 18 0615384E, 4772127N
10. 18 0615318E, 4771974N
11. 18 0615270E, 4771988N
12. 18 0615308E, 4772231N

Victory Woods

13. 18 0614779E, 4772114N
14. 18 0614699E, 4771867N
15. 18 0614741E, 4771853N
16. 18 0614596E, 4771597N
17. 18 0614569E, 4771610N
18. 18 0614558E, 4771591N
19. 18 0614418E, 4771653N
20. 18 0614384E, 4771609N
21. 18 0614359E, 4771624N
22. 18 0614650E, 4772167N

Battlefield

23. 18 0613342E, 4761034N
24. 18 0612648E, 4761087N
25. 18 0612686E, 4761341N
26. 18 0612422E, 4761386N
27. 18 0612373E, 4761098N
28. 18 0611436E, 4761259N
29. 18 0611345E, 4760806N
30. 18 0611876E, 4760703N
31. 18 0611590E, 4759765N
32. 18 0612237E, 4759638N
33. 18 0611961E, 4759270N
34. 18 0612691E, 4759140N

**United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service**

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Saratoga National Historical Park

Saratoga, New York

- 36. 18 0610825E, 4758746N
- 37. 18 0610978E, 4759472N
- 38. 18 0610346E, 4759603N
- 39. 18 0610446E, 4760030N
- 40. 18 0609742E, 4760176N
- 41. 18 0609850E, 4760537N
- 42. 18 0609992E, 4760509N
- 43. 18 0609863E, 4761430N
- 44. 18 0609519E, 4761466N
- 45. 18 0609832E, 4763129N
- 46. 18 0610324E, 4763118N
- 47. 18 0612524E, 4762419N

MAPS

Map 1. Saratoga Battlefield Unit, Saratoga National Historical Park.

Map 2. Saratoga Monument Unit, Saratoga National Historical Park.

Map 3. Schuyler Estate Unit, Saratoga National Historical Park.

Map 4. Victory Woods Unit, Saratoga National Historical Park.

Map 8. Tax parcels, Saratoga National Historical Park.

The maps below show the locations of archeological sites within the park and should be redacted before public distribution.

Map 5. Saratoga Battlefield Unit, showing locations of contributing archeological sites.

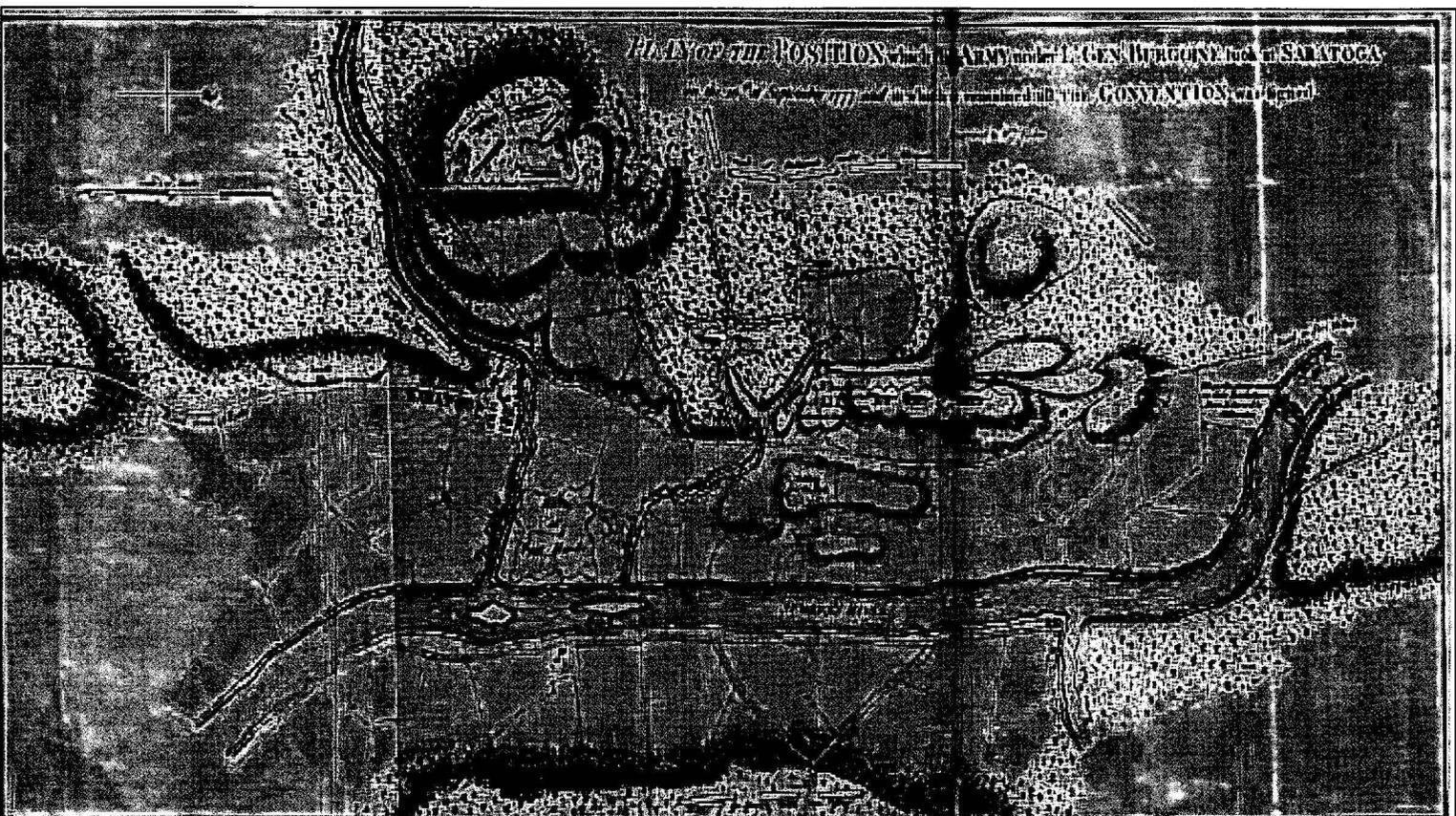
Map 6. Schuyler Estate Unit, showing locations of contributing archeological sites.

Map 7. Victory Woods Unit, showing locations of contributing archeological sites.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service
National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Saratoga National Historical Park

Saratoga, New York



Map Prepared by William Faden, engraver and publisher, 1780. Included in A State of the Expedition from Canada. This printed map was the result of various manuscript maps. (SARA 4228). Victory Woods is at the top. British Forces are depicted in red, German in blue and yellow, and American in yellow. Source" Stevens et. al. 2007:57.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Saratoga National Historical Park

Saratoga, New York



- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. "Fraser Hill" | 5. McBride's farm | 9. McCarthy's farm | 13. Hudson River | 17. Bemis Heights | 21. Bridge # 3 |
| 2. Swords' farm | 6. John Taylor's farm | 10. Great Ravine (Kroma Kill) | 14. Road to Albany | 18. the summit | 22. Bridge # 4 |
| 3. Freeman's farm | 7. George Taylor's farm | 11. Middle Ravine (Mill Creek) | 15. Quaker Springs road | 19. Bridge # 1 | |
| 4. Marshall's farm | 8. Jeremiah Taylor's farm | 12. "large gutter," bridge crossing | 16. Bluffs of Bemis Heights | 20. Bridge # 2 | |

Troop Movements, September 19, 1777. Base Map drawn by Lieutenant and Assistant Engineer William Cumberland Wilkinson. Source: Oudemool et. al. 2002:59.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Saratoga National Historical Park

Saratoga, New York



- Not to Scale
- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Freeman's farm | 4. Freeman's outbuilding | 7. Marshall's farm |
| 2. Freeman's house | 5. "large gutter" bridge crossing | 8. McBride's farm |
| 3. Freeman's barn | 6. two "cabins" | 9. branch of Middle Ravine |

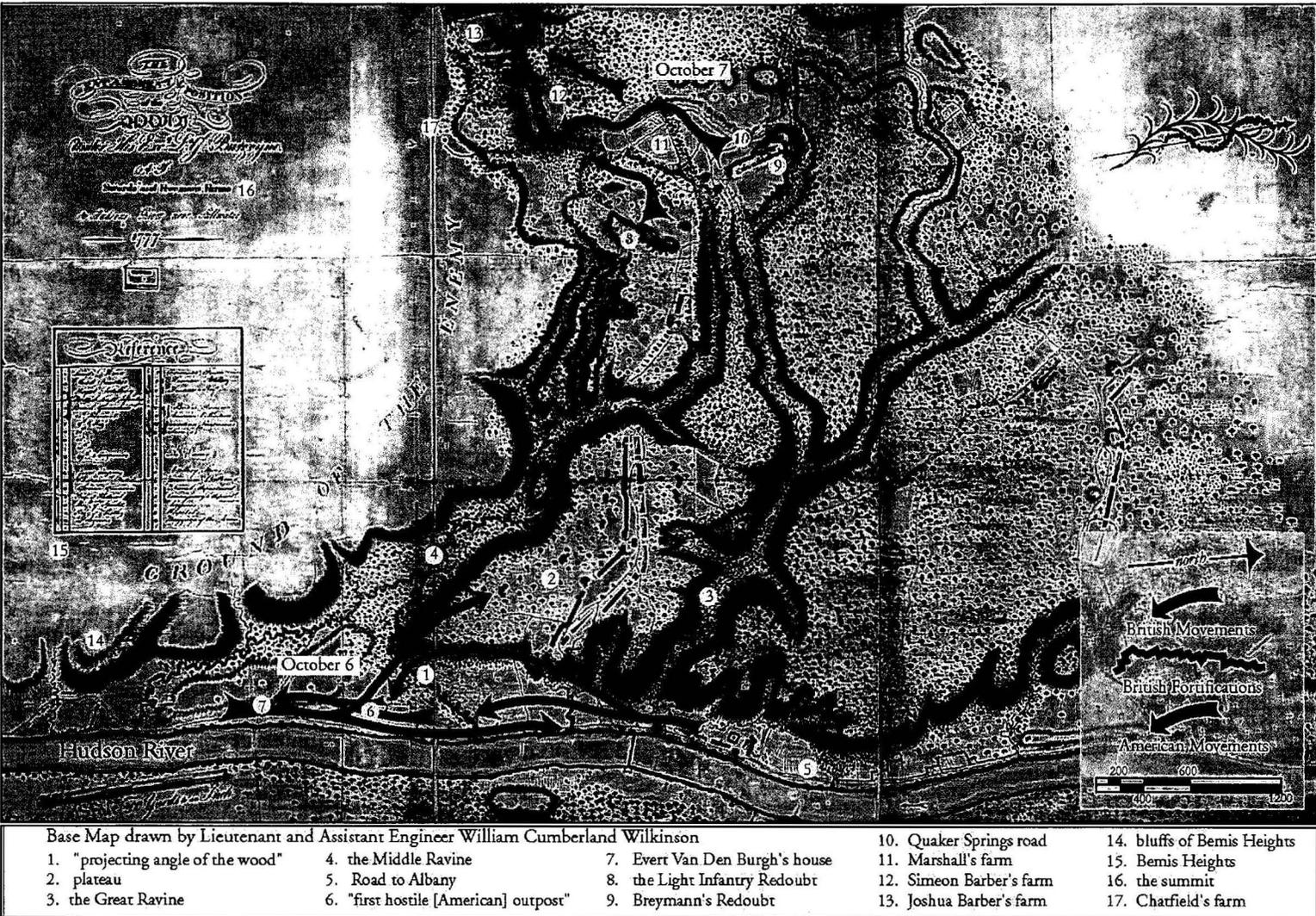
Freeman, Marshall, and McBride Farms, September 19, 1777. Base Map drawn by Lieutenant and Assistant Engineer William Cumberland Wilkinson. Source: Oudemool et. al. 2002:61.

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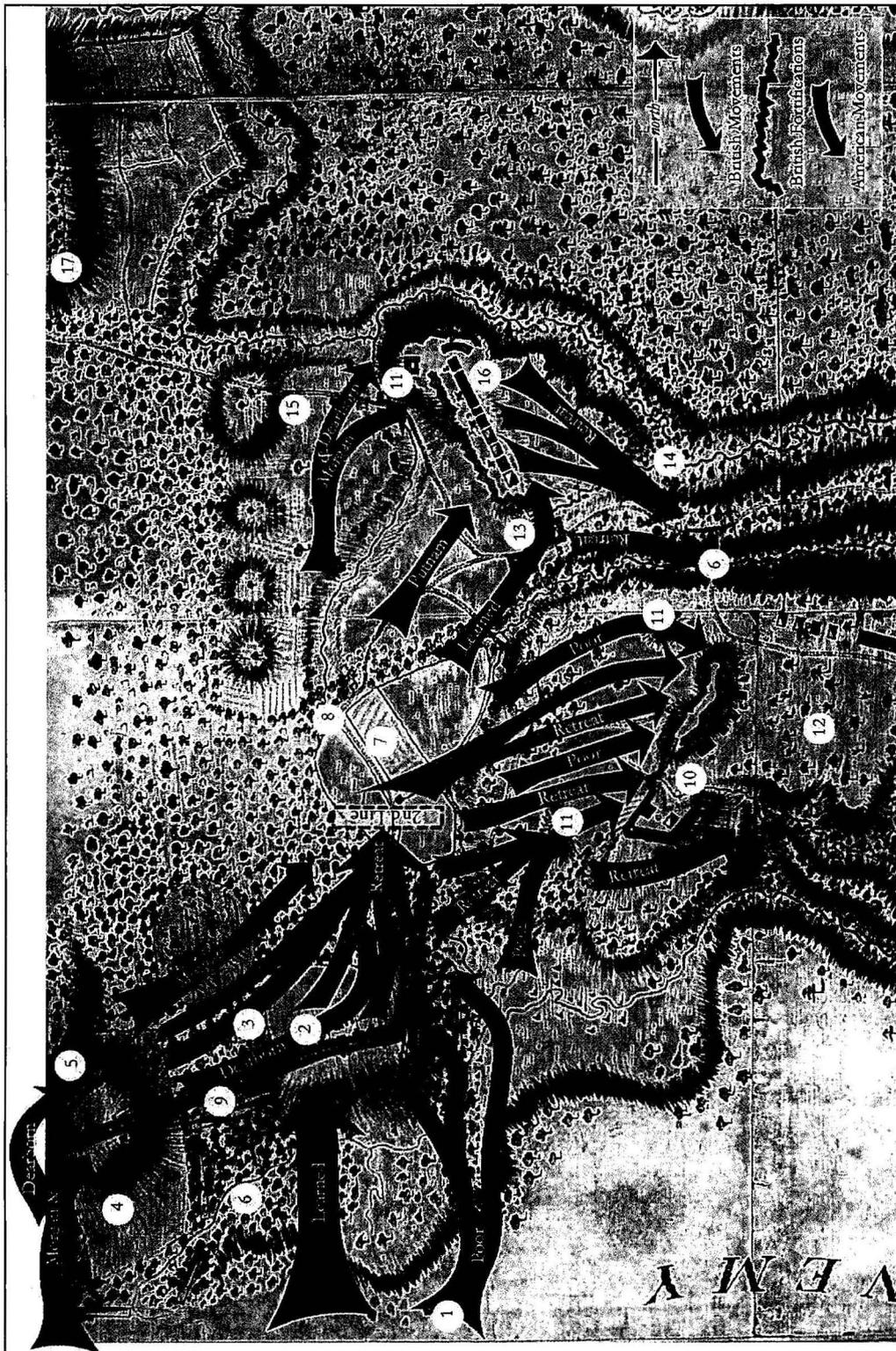
American and British Failed Reconnoitering Forces of October 6 and 7, 1777. Source: Oudemool et. al. 2002:63.

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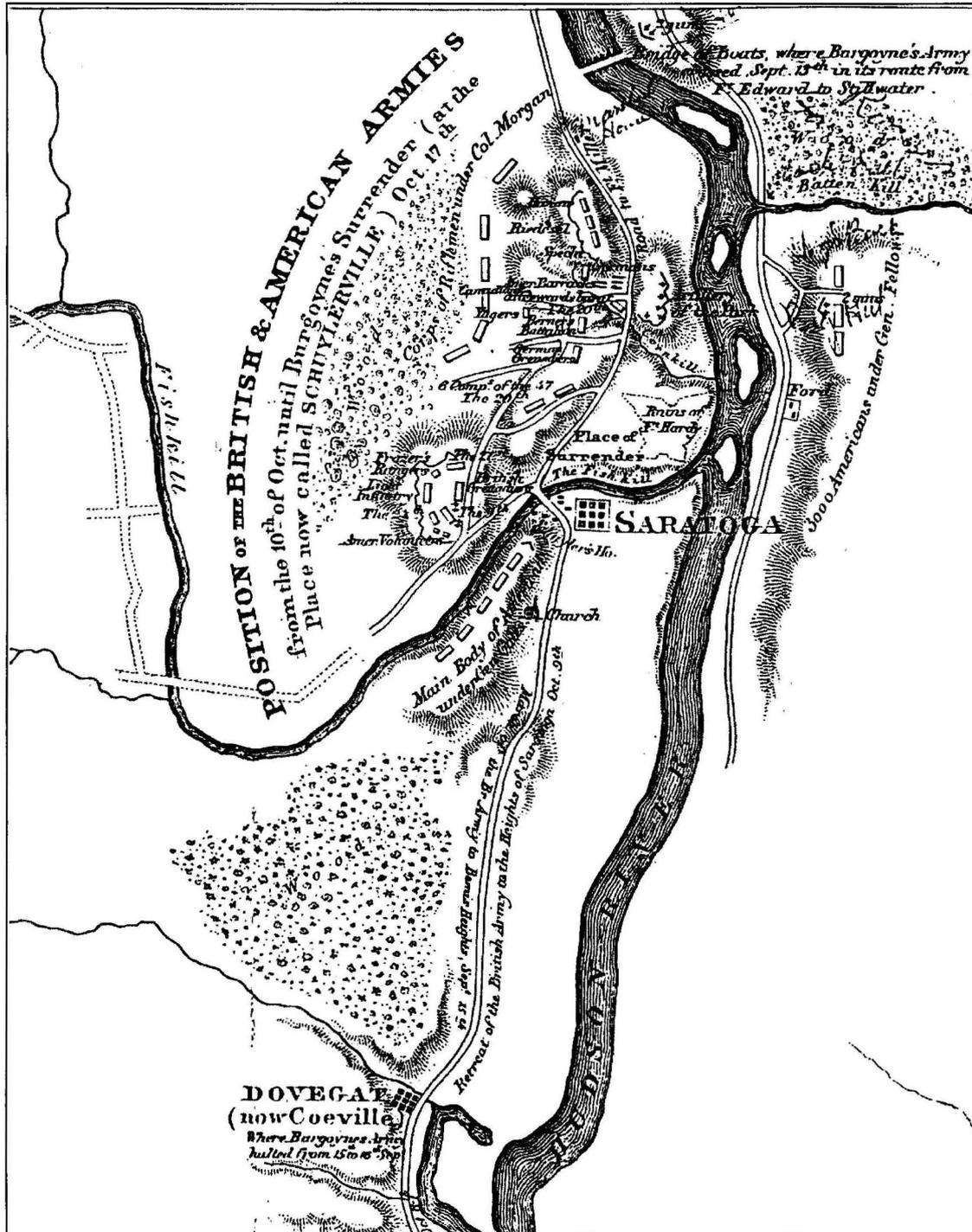
Barber Farm October 7, 1777. Source: Oudemool et. al. 2002:65.

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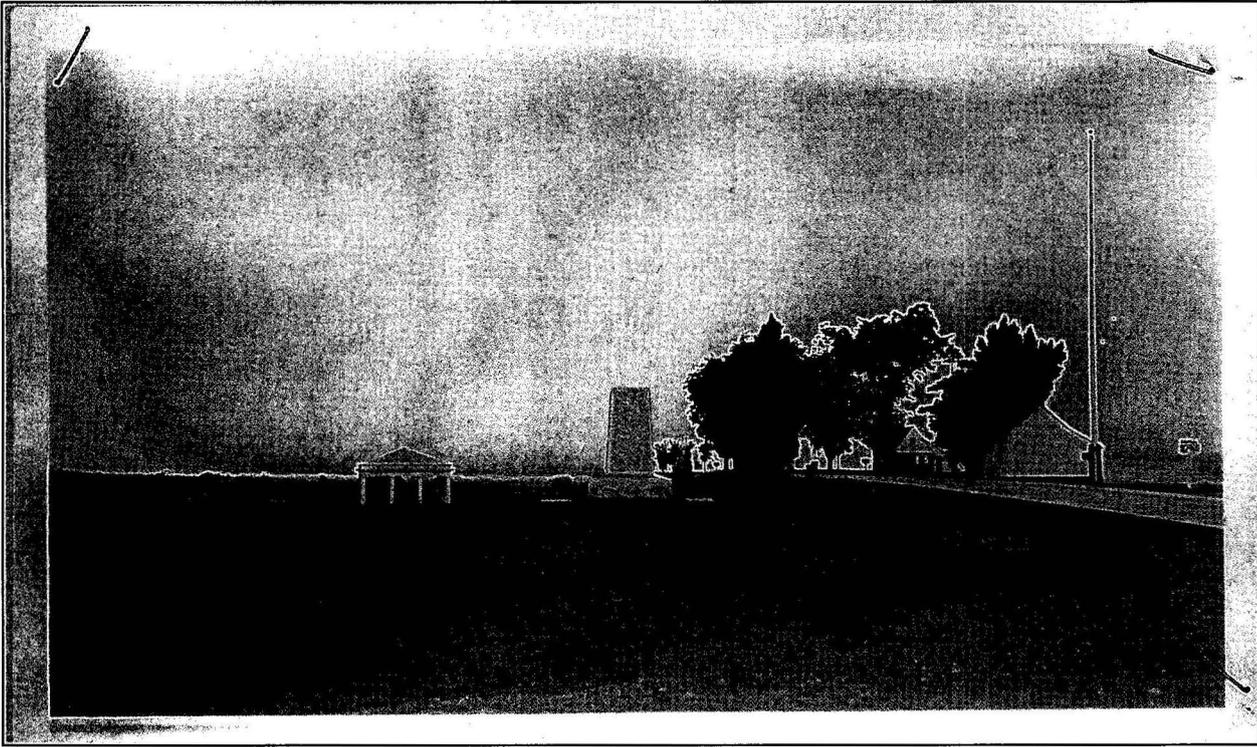
Walworth map showing the position of the British and American armies from October 10-17, 1777. Victory Woods is near the center. Source: Stevens et. al. 2007:76.

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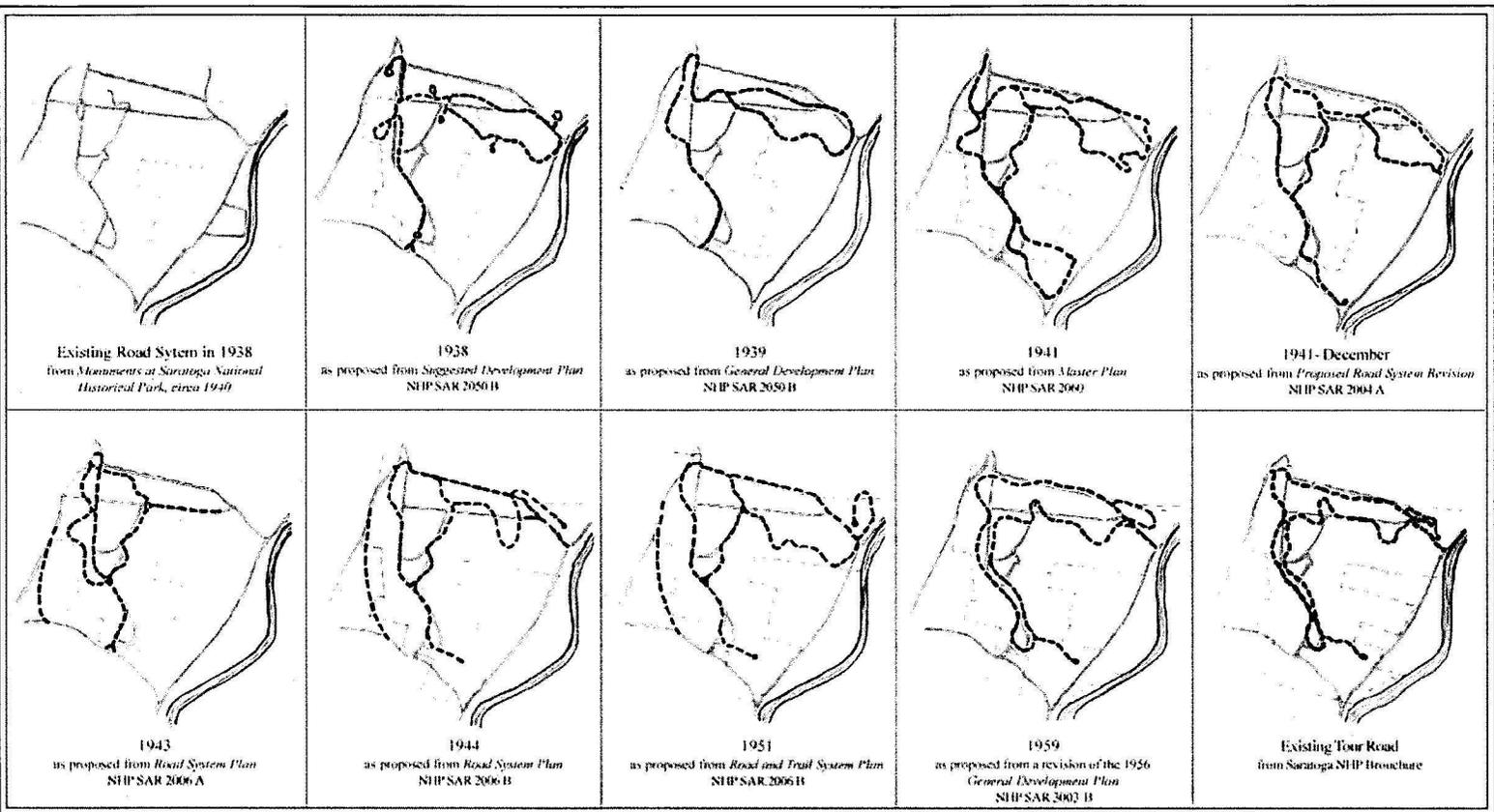
Photograph, view looking north at Bemis Heights of DAR Memorial Pavilion (demolished), Kosciuszko Monument, Arnold's Headquarters/Period House (demolished), and the Neilson House (restored). Source: Saratoga National Historical Park Archives.

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Evolution of the Tour Road Design, 1938-1959. Source: Oudemool et. al. 2002:201.

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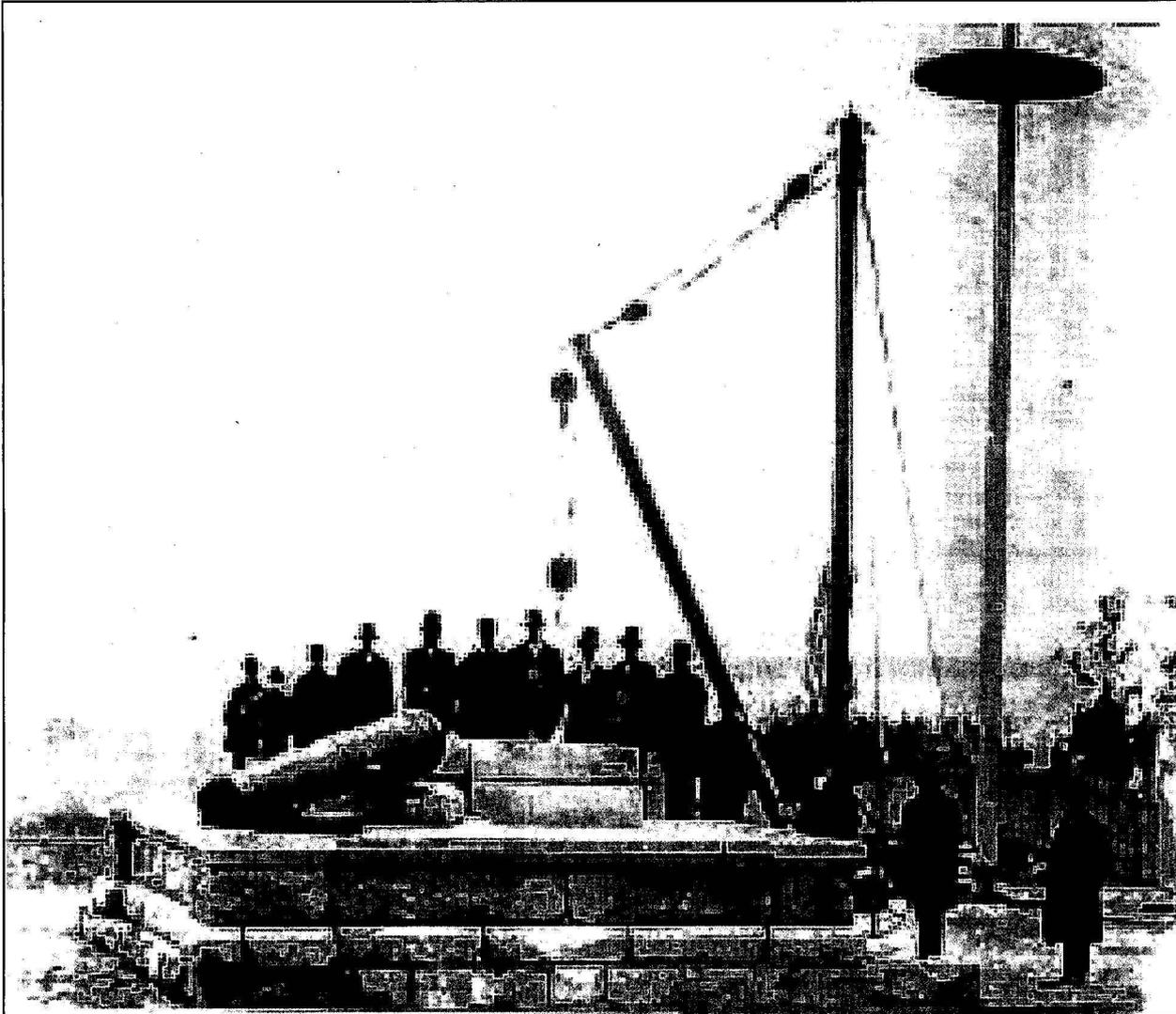
Mission 66 Park Tour Road Sign. Source: Saratoga National Historical Park Archives.

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Laying of the Saratoga Monument Cornerstone at the celebration of 100th anniversary of the battles, September 19, 1877.
Source: Oudemool et. al. 2002:106

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Saratoga Monument, c. 1900. Source: Library of Congress, American Memory Digital Collection.













JOHN NEILSON HOUSE AND FARM

John Neilson, who founded the land that is now the National Park, first settled here in 1780. He was one of the first settlers to come to the area and his house and farm, which still remain, are a testament to his vision and the early days of the nation.



HISTORY NOW







SARATOGA

1777

HERE FRAZER FELL

OCT 7 1877

HIS HORSE STRUCK

BY MURDERER

DEATH OF A HERO









1746 1817
IN MEMORY OF
THE NOBLE SON OF POLAND
BRIG. GENERAL
THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO
MILITARY ENGINEER
SOLDIER OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
WHO UNDER COMMAND OF GENERAL GATES
SELECTED AND FORTIFIED THESE FIELDS
FOR THE GREAT BATTLE OF SARATOGA
IN WHICH THE INVADER WAS VANQUISHED
AND AMERICAN FREEDOM ASSURED
ERECTED BY HIS COMPATRIOTS
A. D. 1936

KOSCIUSZKO



TO THE
BATTLE FIELD
1777 →

