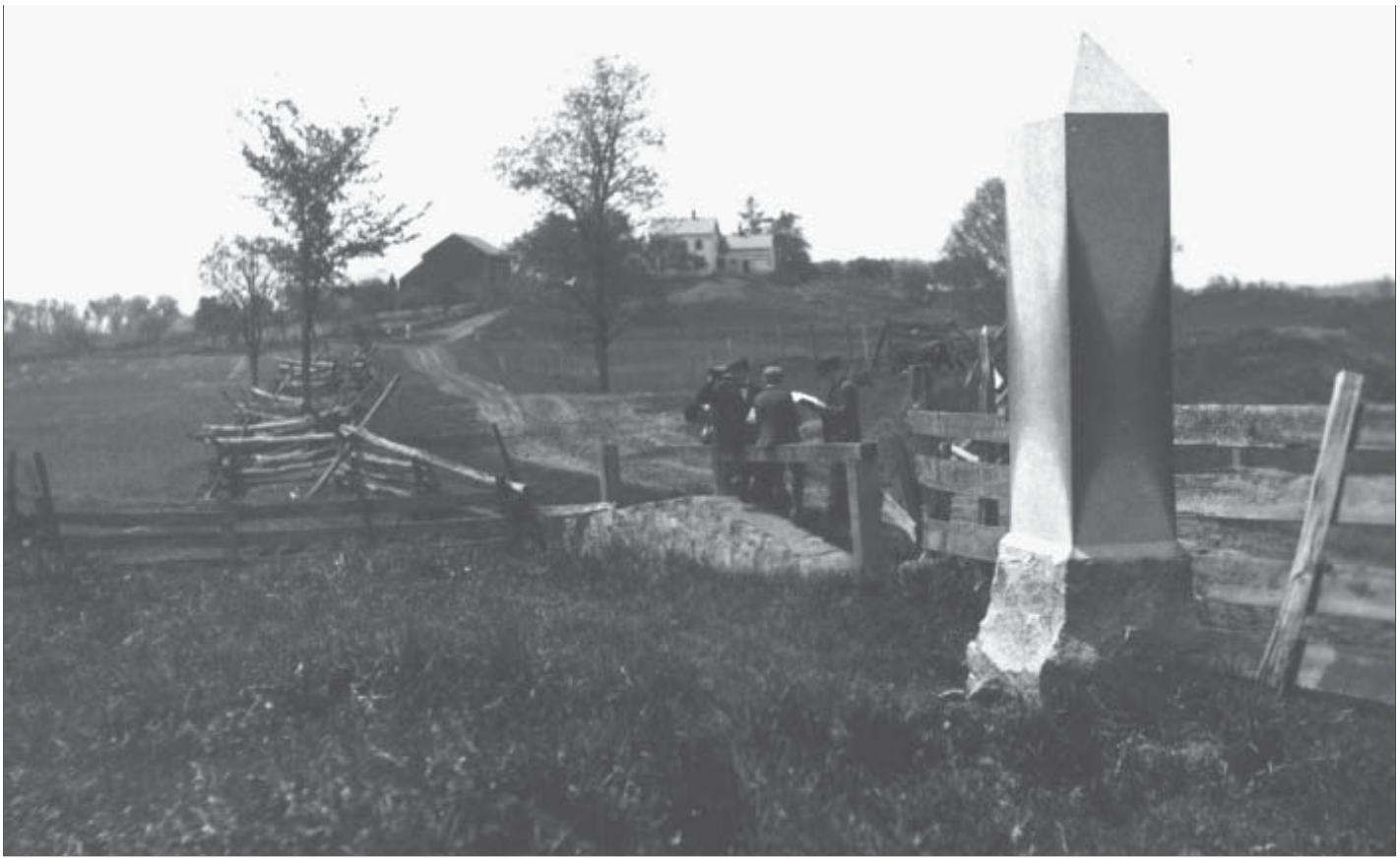
Saratoga National Historical Park

Olmsted Center for
Landscape Preservation

Cultural Landscape Report:
Saratoga Battlefield
Saratoga National Historical Park

Volume I:
Site History, Existing Conditions, and Analysis



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Foreword

Many visitors who make their typically brief visit to the battlefield at Saratoga National Historical Park do not have the time to learn how fundamentally the battlefield landscape has changed since the dramatic events of 1777. At the time of the battles, the land between Stillwater and Schuylerville hosted a young settlement, yet the area's virgin timber was gone before the mid-1800s, and frontier settlement cabins and the howl of wolves quickly became a distant memory. The Hudson River itself was tamed to serve commerce. Yet the Hudson still flows south, and the topographic ravines and escarpments so strategic to the planning and outcome of the battle still define the landscape. Saratoga has escaped the fate of so many other American battlefields; here it is still possible to imagine the setting and events of the past. This good fortune will allow us to represent the battles of Saratoga and the 1777 landscape for generations to come, with help from the appropriate tools; one of which is the cultural landscape report.

The "Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga Battlefield, Saratoga National Historical Park" has captured into one convenient and accessible volume, much of the evolution and transformation of the battlefield landscape into what visitors see today. It will also serve future managers as one of many repositories of institutional knowledge, a valuable resource dealing with the subject matter of the National Park Service's stewardship of this unique place.

Yet, there is more to be done. The report that follows is only the first volume of a comprehensive cultural landscape report for the battlefield. An anticipated and much needed second volume will apply the knowledge from this preliminary work to address the difficult issues surrounding its treatment; taking the next steps and setting priorities in the National Park Service's ongoing stewardship of this significant American landscape.

The Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, working closely with Saratoga National Historical Park staff, has prepared a useful tool for all the stewards of Saratoga's significant resources. This cultural landscape report and the treatment plan to follow will work in conjunction with other research and planning documents, most notably the General Management Plan that is currently being prepared, to thoughtfully and sensitively protect and manage the park's resources in the years to come.

Douglas Lindsay
Superintendent
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Acknowledgments

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We also appreciate the contribution of historian Larry Lowenthal who shared the findings of his recent study of the Champlain Canal, and Nigel Shaw, the GIS Program Manager of the Boston Support Office, for her advice and coordination toward integrating the GIS data base into the CLR's period plans. Thanks are also due to landscape architect Tom Thompson, who on a visit from Point Reyes National Seashore, assisted in copying voluminous manuscript materials found in the SARA archives. Melissa Underhill, Collections Manager, and Cary Donahue and Mark Kelly, Lead Catalogers, all of the Northeast Museum Services Center, provided access to the park's large collection of plans and drawings, even in the midst of their ongoing cataloging project.

Introduction

The Purpose of This Report

The preparation of the following cultural landscape report (CLR) has been timed to participate in a planning effort to guide decision-making at Saratoga National Historical Park over the next twenty years. The planning process underway during 2000-2001, known within the National Park Service (NPS) as general management planning (GMP), will effectively replace the park's current planning document which has not been updated since 1969. This cultural landscape report for the park's battlefield unit, available in draft prior to the selection of the GMP preferred alternative, presents a component of the information on which the conclusions of the GMP will be drawn. This information is important to ensure decisions made through the planning process do not negatively effect the character of the landscape.[1]

Besides informing the ongoing GMP process, a cultural landscape report typically serves important roles both as a synthesis and storehouse of information related to a landscape's evolution over time, and as the agency's principle landscape treatment document. It will serve as a primary tool for long-term landscape management.

Because of issues related to funding and scheduling, cultural landscape reports are often accomplished in phases. These are generally broken down into three manageable segments.

- ❑ Part 1 - Site History, Existing Conditions, and Analysis and Evaluation
- ❑ Part 2 - Landscape Treatment Recommendations/Treatment Plan
- ❑ Part 3 - Record of Landscape Treatment

The following report may be understood as Part 1 of the CLR, presenting a chronological site history of the property and its present condition in both narrative text and illustrations. The Analysis and Evaluation chapter, in addition to evaluating the significance and integrity using the terms and definitions of the National Register of Historic Places program, also offers some preliminary recommendations regarding the park's choice of a historic preservation treatment approach. These recommendations are consistent with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. These brief recommendations are broadly conceptual, and will form the basis for subsequent landscape treatment. However, they should not be misunderstood to serve the full purpose of Part 2 of a CLR, which deals with landscape treatment in much greater detail. It would also be appropriate to complete a Cultural Landscapes Inventory for the battlefield prior to discussing treatment options in a CLR part 2.

Historical Overview

Saratoga National Historical Park's battlefield preserves the site of the Revolutionary War battles of Saratoga that occurred along the western bank of the Hudson River during the autumn of 1777. Yet well before these decisive battles, the current park landscape occupied part of a disputed boundary between spheres of Iroquois and Algonquian influence. While the park landscape was likely never home to long-term Native American settlement, the area served as hunting grounds for both the Mahican tribe within the Algonquian alliance and the Mohawk tribe of the Iroquois Nation.

The first European settlers knew the river for its affiliation with the Mohawks. Prior to the application of Henry Hudson's name, the river was known as the Mohegaittuck, or otherwise as, the Mohegan River. The placename "Saratoga" itself being aboriginal, has been supplied with various definitions over time, all drawing on the existence of the river as the fundamental theme. This river valley, that later served a strategic role in the battles of 1777, first functioned as a corridor for the exploration of the region as early as 1609. Seventeenth-century accounts of explorations in the region describe a landscape managed with fire by Native Americans, which was an early example of wildlife management by clearing brush to facilitate hunting.

Settlement of the region progressed northward up the Hudson River from New York City to Albany. In 1683, a group of wealthy speculators purchased nearly 170,000 acres of Mohawk land on both sides of the Hudson and later registered their purchase with the English crown. This vast area, known as the Saratoga Patent, was twenty-two miles long and twelve miles wide and was initially divided into large linear lots among the original patentees. Yet, over sixty years would pass until the property was further subdivided to support a system of tenant agriculture.

By this time, the region and its river had become a corridor of conflict between the English and the French. Consequently, settlers of the area were hesitant tenants. As they could not predict when various combatants might set their homes and crops afire, they were in no great hurry to make expensive improvements in the form of homes and barns. Peter Kalm, the noted Swedish botanist, observed the following regarding the nature of settlement of the region during mid-century - thirty years before the war for American independence.

> The farms are commonly built close to the river-side, sometimes on the hills. Each house has a little kitchen garden and a still lesser orchard. Some farms, however had large gardens. The kitchen gardens afford several kinds of gourds, watermelons and kidney beans. The orchards are full of apple trees…[2]

With the commencement of the American Revolution in 1775, the upper Hudson lay outside of the primary theaters of war until the British realized the strategic value of the river. The British understood how it could serve as a boundary to divide and subdue the rebellious colonies. During their 1777 advance southward out of Canada, along Lake Champlain, and down the Hudson toward Albany, the British troops under the command of Lieutenant General John Burgoyne crossed to the west bank of the Hudson River at Saratoga (currently known as Schuylerville). This southward advance of September 13, 1777 soon led them four miles north of the village of Stillwater, and the

British troops encountered 8,500 Continental troops under the command of Major General Horatio Gates.

The physical geography of the upper Hudson was a major factor in the area's selection as a defensive position by the Americans. Here the Hudson River is bordered by a steep escarpment that served the Colonial forces as key terrain for artillery emplacements, naturally acting as both an observation point and as an obstacle to the enemy. American fortified positions on the heights above the escarpment and in redoubts along the Hudson River floodplain commanded the river and the road. Gates, on the advice of several locals, chose the strategic site. Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a Polish military engineer serving with the Americans, shrewdly designed the layout of the American fortifications. He took advantage of existing landscape characteristics, especially the gap or "defile" between the escarpment and the river, through which the British were required to pass if they were to ever reach Albany. Also critical to the Colonial strategy was the fact that the battlefield was forested with virgin timber. The most extensive clearing was along the river's floodplain, with only small clearings above the escarpment to the west. The deep ravines dissecting the steep escarpment were forested and presented a difficult obstacle to enemy advance while at the same time providing cover for those in defensive positions. Burgoyne's burdened army had to either run a gauntlet between the hills and the river, risking destruction in a frontal assault, or flank the American's left on high ground, driving them out of their fortifications by attacking them at their weakest point. The British general made his analysis and chose to redirect the bulk of his force toward the heights west of the escarpment above the Hudson.

On September 19, 1777, forces of the Royal Army advanced toward the American position. The resulting battle pitched back and forth over the Freeman farm. As the British lines began to waiver, German reinforcements arrived from the River Road on the floodplain. The Americans were forced to retreat, but Burgoyne was severely shaken by his costly victory. Burgoyne subsequently ordered his troops to entrench in the vicinity of the Freeman farm to await support. The American troops received reinforcements over the next few weeks, while Burgoyne never received the outside support he was promised. On October 7, 1777, Burgoyne made a reconnaissance-in-force, which took place near the Barber farm. American forces repeatedly broke Burgoyne's lines, eventually driving the British and German troops back to their fortifications at the Freeman farm, where the Americans led a series of attacks. The following night the British began their retreat northward and left the landscape comprising the current park's battlefield unit.

In retreat, Burgoyne's troops took refuge in a fortified camp on the heights of Saratoga. There an American force, which had grown to nearly 16,000 men, surrounded the exhausted British army. Faced with such overwhelming numbers, Burgoyne surrendered on October 17, 1777. By the terms of the Convention of Saratoga, Burgoyne's depleted army, some 6,000 men, marched out of its camp "with the Honors of War" and grounded weapons along the west bank of the Hudson River.[3] This surrender has been hailed as one of the most decisive victories in American and world history. The two battles are considered an important turning point in the War for Independence as the colonists managed to defeat what was thought to be a superior British army consisting of over 8,000 British, German, and Native American troops. Although the victory at Saratoga rallied the beleaguered colonial army, its greatest effects occurred in the capital cities of Europe. In London, the

earnestness of the rebels was finally realized, while in Paris, the French were encouraged to sign an alliance with the Americans, ensuring French military and financial support for the American colonies.

Following the end of the fighting, the tangible process of settling the landscape resumed, absent the drama, as before. Philip Schuyler, one of the patentees of the area comprising the present park, cut a great quantity of virgin timber from the region, both for the value of the wood, as well as for the open land that timbering made available for new tenants. This process continued into the early nineteenth century when agricultural and economic development along the Hudson led to infrastructure improvements such as road construction and the development of the Champlain Canal. The canal was a dream of Schuyler's that was not realized during his lifetime. Despite his advocacy, it did not begin operation until 1822 when it became part of New York State's larger system of canals that fueled economic growth during the 1800s. The availability of local canal transportation at the foot of the battlefield's escarpment became a great convenience to commerce, contributing to the growth of small hamlets such as Bemis Heights and Wilbur's Basin that already had a fledgling economies based on mills and other small businesses.

As the American Centennial approached, the historic battlefield increasingly became the site of patriotic pilgrimage. Such visits began shortly after the battle, with local veterans leading the curious to the various attractions. By the 1850s however, many visitors were lamenting the loss of earthworks and other physical reminders of the battles. This evolution of the local landscape coincided with the patriotic and memorial efforts of local citizens who formed the Saratoga Monument Association in 1859. Their commemorative initiative was soon eclipsed by the sectional politics of the American Civil War, but gained renewed vigor in time to lay the cornerstone for the Saratoga Monument on the one-hundredth anniversary of the battle in 1877.

The Centennial celebrations of 1877 acknowledged the role of many local places for their role in the historic battle, including the battles of September 19 and October 7 at the Freeman farm and Bemis Heights. The occasion of the anniversary celebration was marked on the battlefield site with pageantry attracting over 30,000 people, but following the anniversary there was greater interest in permanently recognizing the importance of this place through placement of markers and tablets.

What began as an initiative to place commemorative markers and tablets, eventually became an ambition to protect the whole battlefield and make it available for the inspiration of future generations. Local individuals, notably Ellen Walworth and George Slingerland, who advocated tirelessly for the preservation of the battlefield, carried this ambition forward. In 1926, the state of New York amended their conservation laws to provide for the acquisition of battlefields and historic sites, making possible the dedication of a state battlefield park during the sesquicentennial year.

At the time of the battlefield's dedication as a state-managed property in 1927, the landscape was almost indistinguishable from any other farmland in the area. Less than ten percent of the original forest cover present at the time of the battles remained. The state's holding of 644 acres was dotted with farmhouses, barns and outbuildings and further bisected by State Route 32, otherwise known as Quaker Springs Road. Other than the occasional historical markers placed in the 1880s there was

very little to attract visitors. In what he saw as a remedy to this, the battlefield's superintendent George Slingerland installed conjectural period elements to attract the public and garner their continued support. The placement of these elements was driven as much by the limits of the state's property holdings at the time, and was centered upon the former Neilson and Freeman farms.

After Slingerland's death in 1932, and in combination with the onset of the Great Depression, it became clear that New York State would not allocate the financial resources to re-assemble anything more than a small fragment of the historic battlefield. The following year, President Franklin Roosevelt told Horace Albright to "get busy" in bringing the Saratoga battlefield into the system of national parks.[4] This was easier said than done, as Congress did not pass enabling legislation until 1938 authorizing the establishment of the Saratoga National Historical Park Project. Not until well after WWII would the new park be officially established, and before the war, NPS activities were centered on routine maintenance and development planning. President Roosevelt remained interested in the progress of the park and weighed in on important decisions such as the selection of the site for the park's administration/museum building. This structure, completed in 1962, is currently known as the visitor center.

At the time of its enabling legislation, the park was primarily agricultural fields, a condition that was viewed as desirable for park interpretation because the topography and features of the battlefield could be seen and understood at a glance. After coming under NPS stewardship, and the subsequent removal of these lands from agricultural production, maintaining the open character of the property required extensive maintenance. With the advent of the Second World War and the austere national park budgets that followed, it was a responsibility deferred for a period of over fifteen years. As a result, a young forest of saplings grew up over the formerly open spaces. Rather than remove the new growth, it instead was seen as an opportunity to revisit the park's approach toward interpretation. After considerable study of vegetation during the battle period, the park revised its Historical Base Map in 1950, under the direction of historian Charles W. Snell. This map has since served the park in providing the overall direction towards vegetation management.

Snell's map directed the park to encourage the growth of woodland to more literally represent the supposed pattern of field and forest during the time of the battle. From that time, the park has since experienced slower than expected forest regeneration. The NPS funded studies in 1987 and 1989 to revisit Snell's sources and assumptions and to reconcile these with new field studies. In May 1994, these studies resulted in the submittal of a "Cultural Landscape History: Saratoga National Historical Park" prepared by Emily Russell. The park and at the former New England Regional offices expressed interest in adapting Russell's report to serve as the foundation of a CLR, and a preliminary draft of such an adaptation was accomplished in November of the same year. Unfortunately, this effort remained far too focused on the vegetation, to the exclusion of other landscape history and features, to well serve the purposes of a CLR. In 2000, anticipating the completion of a new GMP, the CLR project described below was funded to compile and synthesize current landscape research and to present it in a format that would inform and support GMP decision-making.

Scope of Work and Methodology

This report has combined original research and the synthesis of previous research and management documents. Long-term park staff who possess considerable knowledge of the site have guided the project. Much of the report's value lies in its narrative summary of the landscape knowledge that has required years of study by park staff.

Period Plans are a typical element of a CLR. These graphic plans are used to record a landscape during a designated period or specific date. Period plans are generally developed from an analysis and evaluation of all research findings, including maps, photographs, and narrative sources. For this project, period plans have been developed for 1777, 1877, and 1927. A fourth plan has been also shown to depict existing conditions in 2001. The plans are all in a consistent graphic format for ease of comparison.

The period plan for 1777, which has the greatest potential value to park interpretation and subsequently for landscape treatment, has also been the most difficult to accomplish. In fact, the drawing has been in development since 1941, when the NPS first attempted to depict graphically what was known of the 1777 battlefield in its first Historic Base Map. The historic base map was subsequently revised in 1950 and has since provided the park with the general direction regarding woody vegetation management to depict 1777 conditions.

A re-examination of the park's 1941 and 1950 historic base maps mapping as well as other historic maps has resulted in the preparation of a composite map, the 1777 Period Plan. What is known about the 1777 configuration of the historic battlefield will be ever subject to revision and refinements. Yet the project team feels that the October 1777 Period Plan prepared for this report meets the broader needs of park planning, including the identification of essential interpretive areas. Nevertheless, it has become obvious during the course of this project that additional scholarly work and field review of 1777 period mapping is required if professional standards related to a restoration treatment are required for discrete areas within the park. This would be found necessary if the planning process identifies a restoration sub-zone of the park where the treatment of well-defined landscape areas might support critical interpretive objectives.

The design of this continued research should from its inception be organized and scoped to take advantage of recent developments in Geographic Information Systems (GIS). It is very important that this research remain extremely focused on those essential interpretive areas, and that the mapping project be carefully planned with the input of park historians, GIS specialists, and historical landscape architects.

Study Boundaries

Saratoga National Historical Park is composed of four separate and discontinuous units. The park's battlefield unit, the subject of this report and the largest of the four, is located eight miles south of the village of Schuylerville and is currently composed of 3,305 NPS owned acres (Figure 1.1 and 1.2). The other three park units are all located in Schuylerville and Victory and include the

remains of the country estate of Philip Schuyler, the Saratoga Monument, and Victory Woods (Figure 1.3).

Summary of Findings

Those preparing this report carry with them the earnest wish that this work will be found useful as a convenient synthesis and storehouse of information related to the Saratoga NHP landscape; that it has captured something of the institutional memory. The extensive knowledge of the long-term park staff has led the project team to many valuable materials and sources. Yet apart from this utility, in the process of preparing this report the project team has identified the following issues that merit attention, offering preliminary recommendations to help guide discussion during the ongoing planning of the park's future.

Historic Preservation Terminology and Selecting Manageable Landscape Goals

Snell's 1950 Historic Base Map provoked a fundamental change in park management philosophy, away from maintaining the status quo inherited from New York State management and towards ground cover restoration to evoke the 1777 period. To be very clear, the only element of the landscape ever proposed to be restored through this change in park policy was the supposed 1777 pattern of field and forest; the treatment *restoration*, was not intended to be applied to the entire property. The system of original roads, the ensemble of 1777 buildings, gardens and orchards were not included in the discussion of restoration. Visitors were to be served by a thoroughly modern tour road and visitor center. The devastation that the battles wrought on the landscape was not proposed for duplication in the present.

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties were not fully developed until after the 1960s change in park policy, laying out the nuances of the terms Preservation, Rehabilitation, Restoration and Reconstruction. What's more, definitions and standards for the restoration treatment were originally developed drawing on the professional experience of historical architects dealing with buildings. Only rarely did a restoration treatment extend to a building's grounds. Even the experience of Colonial Williamsburg, which has cast such a long and influential shadow over the historic preservation field, is full of examples where total restoration, according to the standard definition, becomes impossible outside of very discreet and well-defined areas - especially outside the convenient volume provided by the walls of a building.

While on its face, restoring the 1777 battlefield landscape seems like an appropriate and desirable goal, this report will suggest that it is not. To faithfully restore the battlefield within the accepted definitions of the term would mean the reconstruction of missing buildings, the details for which there is little documentation, the reconstruction of fortifications which have not been fully documented by archeology, the elimination of memorial and commemorative features, and the erasure of landscape evidence related to canal transport and sand mining. To pursue such a course would not be restoration, but in actuality the equivalent to a reconstruction of an obliterated cultural landscape.

Crossing the line from restoration into reconstruction is expressly discouraged by NPS policy, because no matter how well conceived or executed, as such projects are inescapably contemporary interpretations of the past, rather than authentic survivals from it. Reconstructions are typically dismissed from consideration unless:

- there is no demonstrable alternative that would accomplish the park's interpretive mission
- sufficient data exist to enable its accurate reconstruction, based on the duplication of historic features substantiated by documentary or physical evidence, rather than on conjectural designs or features from other landscapes
- reconstruction of missing elements will occur in the original location
- the disturbance or loss of significant archeological resources is minimized and mitigated by data recovery. Indicative of the cautious eye the agency casts toward such proposals, all reconstruction projects require written approval by the Director of the National Park Service.[5]

This concern is based on the agency's experience with both the restoration and the reconstruction historic preservation treatments. Through this experience, the NPS has collectively learned that these treatments represent the highest level of intervention and disturbance toward natural and cultural resources, hence the requirement for a compelling and essential interpretive need.

Yet at Saratoga, for the past fifty years, the restoration label has been widely applied, with the park's official planning documents focused on the restoration of the 1777 pattern of field and forest. In applying the term restoration in such a limited and inconsistent way to focus solely on a single landscape characteristic, the establishment of this idealized pattern has been pursued since 1950 across the battlefield's 2,800 acres, even in those areas where there is little or no public visitation or interpretive objectives. Only relatively recently has the park begun to reevaluate the language of former planning documents, with park staff's reassessment following some difficulty in implementing the restoration goals found in the park's 1992 Statement for Management.

After the preparation of the 1992 Statement for Management, for Saratoga NHP, the park informally departed from its stated goals, pursuing only limited landscape restoration, focussing on and prioritizing key interpretive areas. Limited resources for replanting, clearing, and maintenance led park superintendents and staff to devote attention to battlefield zones that are highly visible to visitors and essential to interpretive goals. This more constrained approach is reasonable considering current funding levels and park priorities. The rationale behind the shift also made its way into subsequent goals established for the park under the Government Performance and Results Act of 1993 (GPRA). The GPRA Mission Goal Ia: for the Saratoga National Historical Park outlines the following:

> Park historic structures, landscapes and scenic vistas are protected and maintained in good condition and <u>where appropriate</u>, restored to their appearance at the time of the 1777 battles [author's emphasis].

Further clarification as to what is appropriate for restoration is supplied in the long-term GPRA sub-goals for the park, with "Long Term Goal 1," stated as, "…the Battlefield's configuration of fields and forests reflects its original, tactically-significant condition."

The current GMP process has made a preliminary effort to identify the interpretive priority of the multiple layers of park resources, an assessment of the tactical significance to the historic battle of discrete areas and landscape features serving as the intellectual foundation for making future resource management decisions. This effort is certain to be revisited, with a sound second step being the identification of logical and manageable zones where a restoration approach that supports essential Revolutionary War themes and adheres to the *Secretary Standards*, is appropriate. While the identification of such a sub-zone for landscape treatment is not typical, it is also not without precedent in the treatment of large and complex cultural landscapes.

In the absence of such a restoration sub-zone, this report will suggest that the term rehabilitation be substituted for the term restoration in proposals dealing with the treatment of the park's cultural landscape. Rehabilitation, as a well-defined treatment for historic properties, has been described as, "the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alteration, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural or architectural values." While rehabilitation is the historic preservation treatment offering property managers the greatest flexibility, it is not without standards.

In the absence of a restoration sub-zone that may be identified in the future through the park's GMP process, rehabilitation is most appropriate for the purpose of continued and improved interpretation of the park's 1777 primary period of significance. Of all treatments addressed by the *Secretary Standards* - rehabilitation [for interpretation to 1777] appears to come closest to the spirit of past administration and the direction of current park landscape management. Under the rehabilitation treatment, the following landscape actions would be permitted:

- ❑ replacement of 1777 features, such as tree cover, in the most essential interpretive areas, with the purpose of conveying well-defined interpretive goals. Rehabilitation would not require clearing trees where this would open a view to a modern subdivision for the sake of historical accuracy.
- ❑ upgrading and alteration of facilities and features, such as the park visitor center, the tour road and pathways to meet contemporary park needs as well as code-related safety, legal, and accessibility requirements.
- ❑ removal of intrusive and non-historic features, though non-contributing features which continue to perform necessary functions may be retained.

In addition, a rehabilitation treatment would suggest the following:

- ❑ preservation and maintenance of historic features from later periods of the battlefield's history, so that changes to the battlefield that have acquired significance in their own right are retained.
- ❑ no reconstruction or restoration of missing or deteriorated features, which date to periods of significance other than 1777.
- ❑ protection and preservation of archeological resources.

"Battlefields cannot be frozen in time," wrote Patrick Andrus in National Register Bulletin #40, *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*. Recognizing that change is inevitable, standards for preservation treatment are developed with the ultimate goal of reducing subjectivity in preservation treatment decisions, discouraging the physical implementation of conjecture that might shape or constrain the imaginations of subsequent generations.

By way of good fortune, and seventy years of management and manipulation, the surviving landscape features of Saratoga NHP's battlefield unit disclose many layers of landscape history. Rather than detract from the primary significance of the historic battles, the presence of later commemorative features serve as a helpful mental bridge from the present to the past - a way for present-day visitors to make a connection between the events of the past and the events of today. Despite a tendency for sophisticated preoccupation with missing historic features, and worry over the presence of post-1777 features, the Saratoga battlefield is in a remarkable state of preservation. It is still possible, there on the heights between Stillwater and Schuylerville, to momentarily suspend disbelief, and imagine oneself among the people and events that helped establish our nation. Retaining the capacity of the landscape as fertile ground for the imagination should be the prime goal of landscape treatment recommendations. Following completion of the park's General Management Plan, cultural landscape treatment recommendations follow as a subsequent volume of this cultural landscape report.

Endnotes - Introduction

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[1] US Department of the Interior, National Park Service, A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques. (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1998).

[2] Peter Kalm. *Travels in North America*. Trans. 1770. Adolph. B. Benson, ed. (New York: Dover Publication, 1937), 355.

[3] Articles of Convention between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-General Gates. Article 1. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[4] Horace M. Albright as told to Robert Cahn. *The Birth of the National Park Service- The Founding Years, 1913-1933*. (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985), 296.

[5] Discussion is adapted from NPS Management Policies. Chapter 5: Cultural Resource Management, 2001.

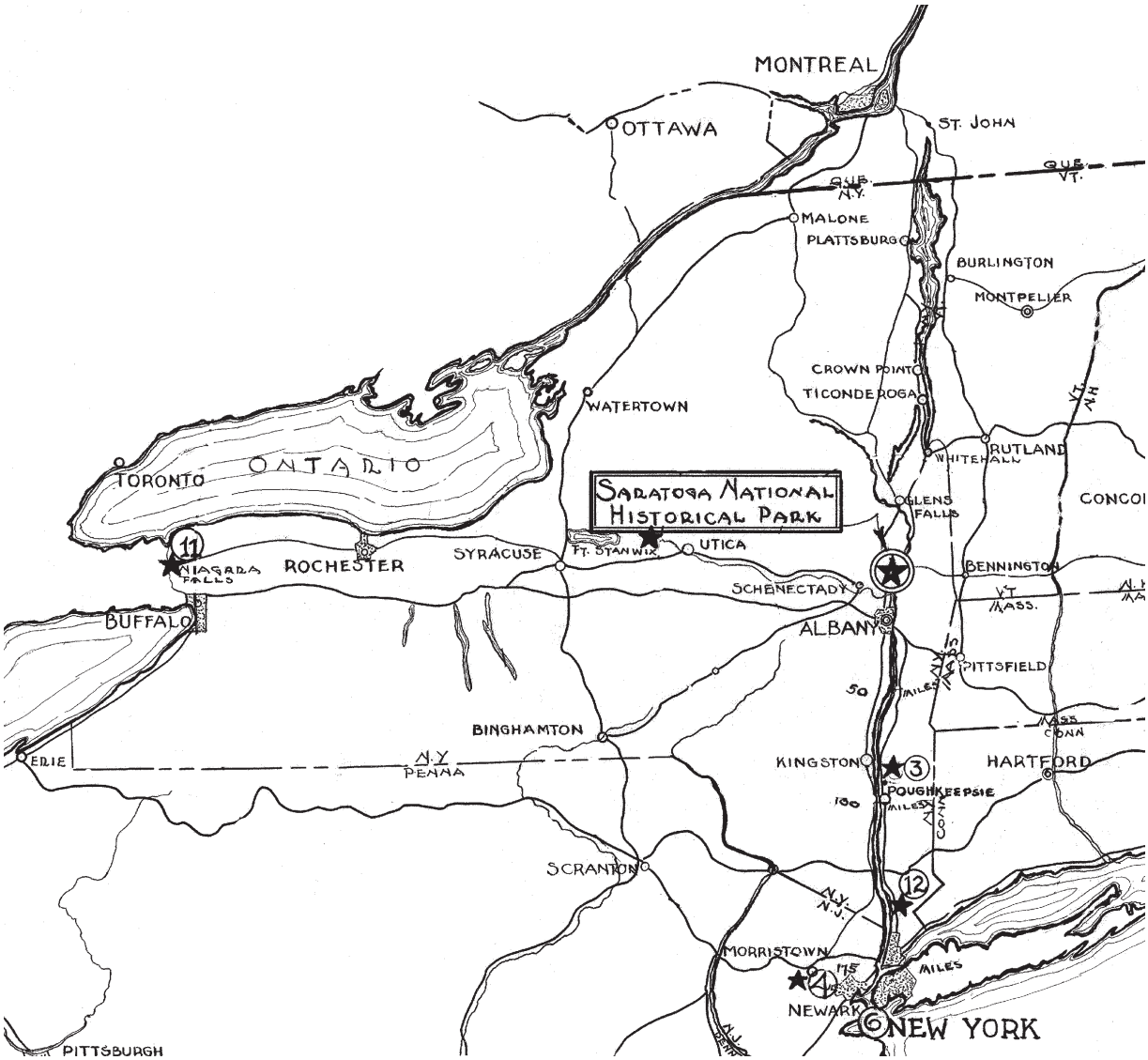

Figure 1.1. Diagram of New York State and Saratoga National Historical Park. 1*941 Master Plan, Index Sheet.* January 1941. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

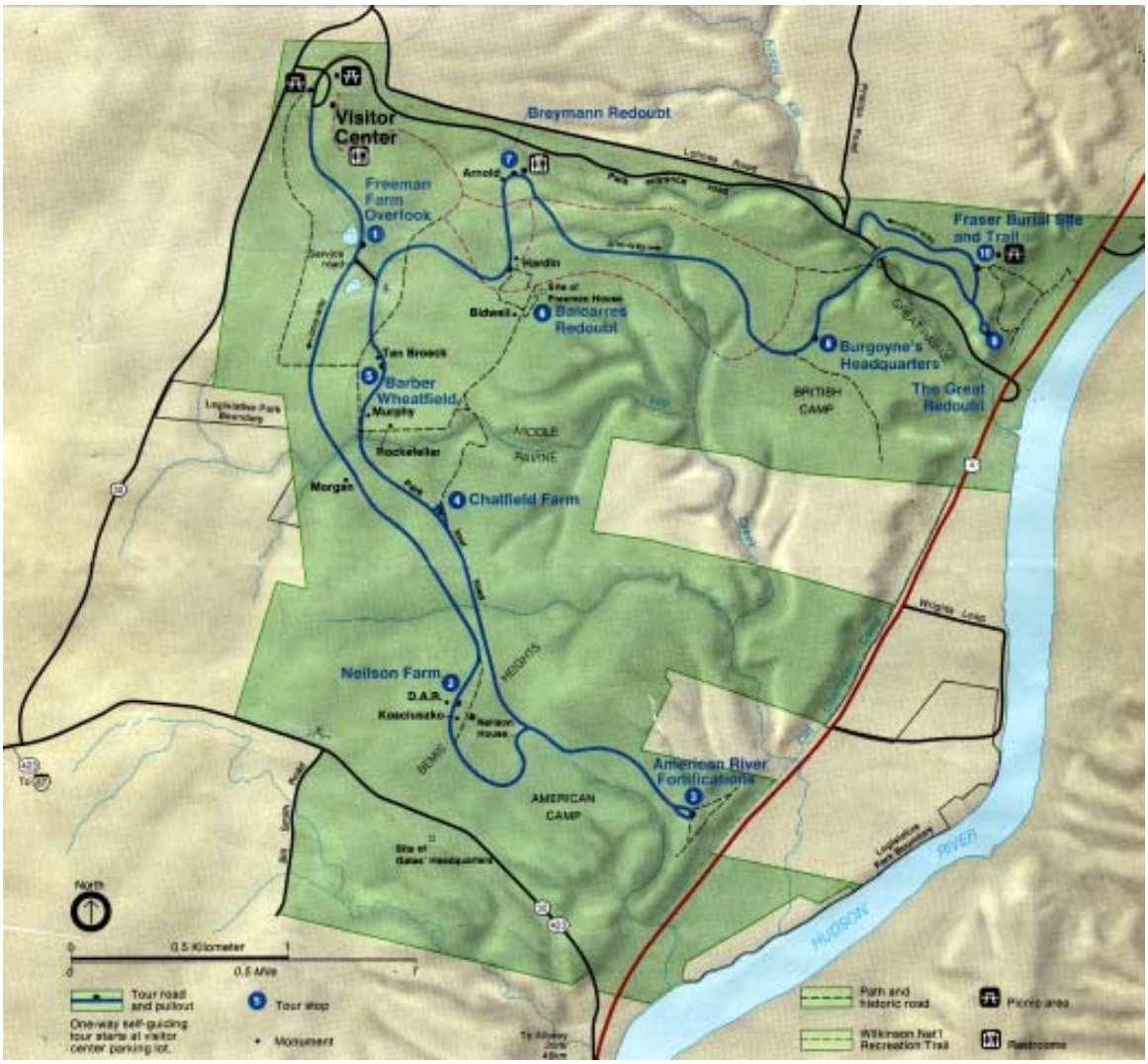

Figure 1.2. Saratoga battlefield, Saratoga National Historical Park. 1989. Park brochure.

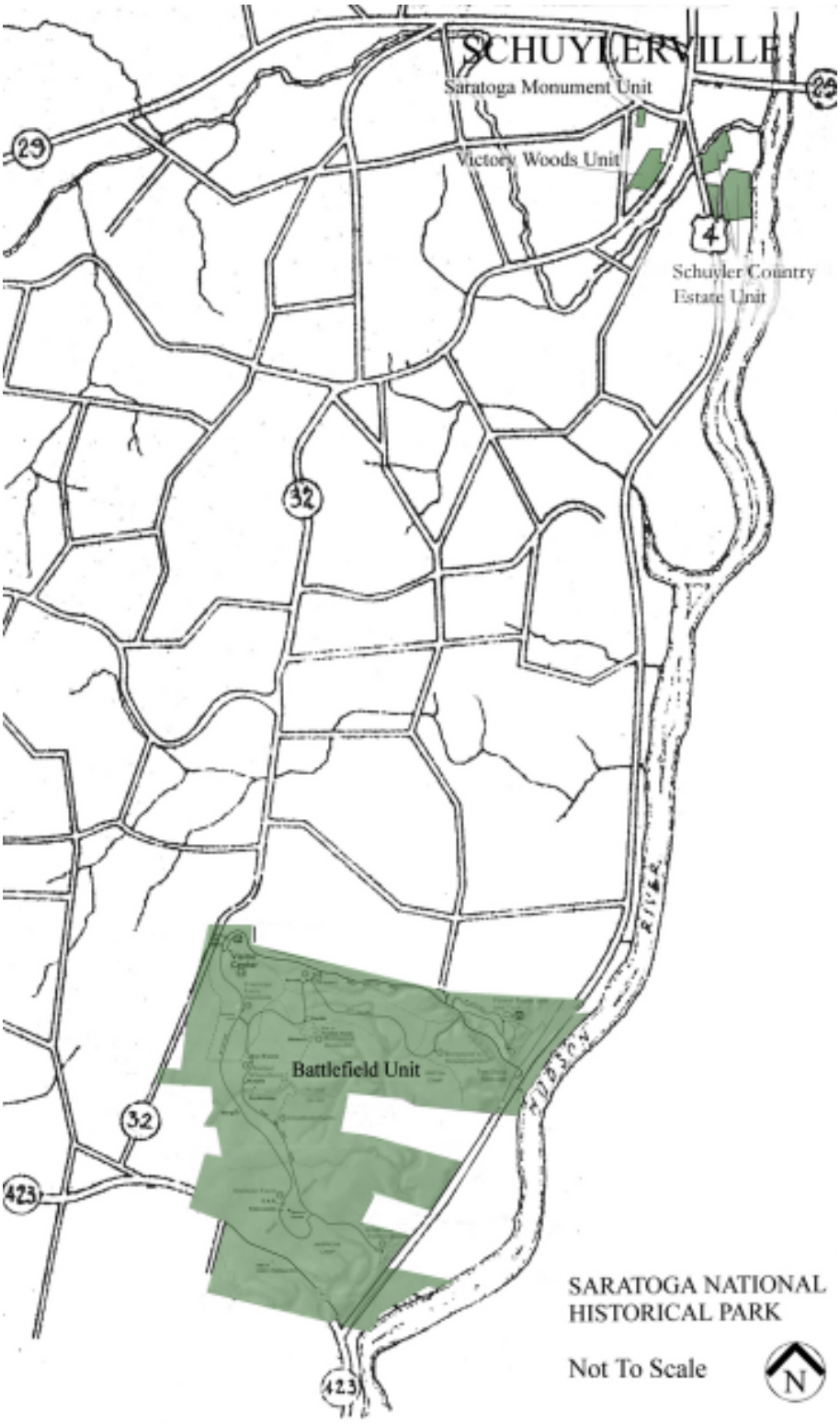

Figure 1.3. Saratoga National Historical Park's four units. "Cultural Landscapes Inventory, Schuyler House, Saratoga National Historical Park (draft)." 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Pre-History to 1777

Native American Habitation

Prior to the recorded history of the region, New York State was inhabited largely by Native American tribes of Iroquois and Algonquian ancestry (Figure 2.1). Most of present day New York State was included in the tribal lands of the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondoga, Oneida, and Mohawk tribes, within the Iroquois sphere. These groups formed a loose alliance known as the Five Nations during the 1500s that achieved peace between the member nations.[1] This association ended raids and feuds, resulting in enormous strength and unity for the Iroquois Nation, and secured their authority over much of the region. Meanwhile, Algonquian tribes controlled much of southern Canada, New England, and the coastal Mid-Atlantic States. These Algonquian tribes were independent groups allied for trading in peace and assistance in war, sharing loose linguistic ties and cultural traditions. The area known as Saratoga occupied the tribal boundary between the Iroquois and Algonquians. These people shared a common way of life and social organization but had barriers in language and intertribal politics that set them apart.

The present spelling of "Saratoga" is derived from a Native American word of disputed meaning, appearing in various forms on historical maps and in written accounts. John Henry Brandow in his book, *The Story of Old Saratoga*, offers several possibilities for the origins such as: "the hillside county of the great river," "place of the swift water," and "place of herrings." While varying greatly in meaning, each shares the common theme of water, displaying the emphasis Native Americans placed on the water resources of the region.[2]

The Algonquin tribe called Mahicans, or "People of the Waters that Are Never Still," inhabited lands along much of the eastern corridor of New York State.[3] Their tribal lands extended from Lake Champlain to southern Dutchess County, eastern Vermont and to the Schoharie River in the west. The Mahicans traditionally built walled villages of approximately 200 people on riverbeds or hilltops. They practiced slash and burn agriculture and consequently moved their villages every ten years when the local firewood and cropland became depleted. They relied heavily on the Hudson River, (or Mohegan-ittuck in their language) for fishing, transportation, and a water supply.[4]

Though the Mahicans undeniably lived in the area around Saratoga, they most likely never held settlements on the battlefield landscape.[5] However, it has been speculated that they hunted in the area of the current battlefield park and may have altered the vegetation to expedite the practice. Adriaen van der Donck, an early Dutch settler who spent time in the area in the mid 1600s, described how the Native Americans manipulated the natural environment.

> The Indians have a yearly custom (which some of our Christians have also adopted) of burning the woods, plains and meadows in the fall of the year when the leaves have fallen. . . This practice is named by us and the Indians, 'bush-burning', which is done for several reasons. First, to render hunting easier. . . Secondly, to thin out and clear the woods of all dead substances and grass. . . Thirdly, to circumscribe and enclose the game within the lines of the fire.[6]

The Mohawk, or "People of the Longhouse," were a neighboring Iroquois tribe, much at odds with the relatively peaceful Mahicans.[7] The Mohawk tribe controlled the eastern-most portion of Iroquois territory in the Mohawk Valley and Adirondack Mountains. Mohawk family life was organized in larger villages of 500-1000 people who lived in multi-family longhouses. Settlements moved approximately twice a generation to seek new farm lands and hunting grounds.[8] Mohawks were hunters, trappers, fishermen, and farmers like the neighboring Mahicans, but were known to be a more aggressive society.

Native American and European Contact

Henry Hudson, during his exploratory journey of the Hudson River for the Dutch East India Company in 1609, made contact with both the Mahicans and Mohawks. The establishment of a permanent Dutch trading post in 1614 soon followed this early contact on Castle Island, adjacent to a Mahican village.[9] The location of this trading post gave the Mahicans a monopoly over the fur trade. This development angered their Mohawk neighbors who resented paying tribute to the Mahicans and sparked hostility between the tribes, provoking a war between the Iroquois and Algonquians. The weaker Mahicans sought assistance from other Algonquin tribes including Hurons from the north, who were anxious to be involved with the lucrative fur trade.[10] In spite of the Huron's aid, the Mohawks defeated the Mahicans in 1624, capturing their lands west of the Hudson River. The Mahicans retreated to the east side of the river and rebuilt their settlements in the wake of their defeat. Yet, they continued to travel to the western side of the Hudson to hunt, but returned to their own territory to avoid arousing Mohawk animosity.[11] The victorious Mohawks did not establish settlements on their new land, though they did impose authority over the territory.

The popular view of Native Americans living in harmony with the natural environment, while largely true, is also romanticized. Local tribes recognized the opportunity created by trading with Europeans and they manipulated their environment to maximize yields. However, the brush burning practice that increased their hunting bounty ceased after the Mohawks victory, when the land around the future American Revolutionary War battlefield stopped being intensively used by the Mahicans.[12] From this time until European settlement roughly one hundred years later, the vegetation reverted to a more natural state.

Van der Donck wrote that the land around Saratoga "produced different kinds of wood, large and small, suitable for building houses and ships, consisting of oaks of various kinds, as post-oak, white smooth bark, white rough bark, gray bark, black bark…."[13] He also reported seeing butternut, walnut, and chestnut trees "growing in the woods…without order."[14] Along with the large amounts of forested land, meadows were found along the banks of the Hudson. Van der Donck described them as "very fine flats and mowing lands, together with large meadows…that have few or no trees."[15] These meadows may have been created through a combination of Mahican burning and flooding of the river.

European Settlement

The Saratoga Patent

Europeans, who had already established substantial settlements in New York City, within the Hudson Valley, and Albany, continued to expand their territory in the late 1600s. European influence extended north of Albany when several wealthy individuals purchased nearly 170,000 acres of Mohawk land in 1683. This tract of land extended "Northwards up along both sides of the river to the extreme land of Saractagoe bounding on a kill on the east side of the river named Dionoendogeha [Battenkill] holding same length all the west side of the river…."[16] In an account of the ceremony where the land changed hands:

> Mahikans were present and saw Maquas [Mohawks] receive payment, renounced all rights and ownership, leaving it to purchaser's discretion to give them something in acknowledgement – inasmuch as in old times it was their land before the Maquas won it from them. As a "remembrance" the purchasers gave them 7 pieces of duffel, 2 half casks of beer and 2 small casks of wine.[17]

Reportedly, both the Mohawks and the Mahicans received something from the transaction, with the Mohawks receiving formal payment and Mahicans receiving token gifts of alcohol to acknowledge their former ownership of the land. With Native American claims to the lands extinguished in the bargain, Cornelius Van Dyke, Jan Jansen Bleeker, Peter Philipsun Schuyler, and Johannes Wendel petitioned the Crown for a royal patent.[18] To make this transfer legitimate in the eyes of the British Government, New York Governor Thomas Dongan acknowledged the patent and redistributed the land to the first four owners and four others in 1685.[19] These patent lands were typically granted to wealthy citizens for being loyal subjects to the Crown, yet were subject to annual rent.

The original Saratoga Patent, which was twenty-two miles long and twelve miles wide, was divided among the eight patentees. It was not until 1750 however, that the land was further subdivided into smaller lots that were sub-leased to small farmers. The subdivision, engineered by John Bleeker, son of original patentee Jan Bleeker, created long narrow parcels traveling roughly east-west, perpendicular to the Hudson River (Figure 2.2).[20] These narrow parcels were then subdivided once again by the individual patentees. Leases were often granted for periods of time determined by lifetimes of the farmer and his family. Often, three lifetimes were specified in a lease, spanning the life of the farmer, his wife, and one of his children.[21]

A Frontier Landscape

Though the Saratoga Patent was created in the late 1600s, the land was not heavily settled until the middle of the next century. Conditions were hostile for prospective settlers because of the almost constant conflict between the French, British, and Native American groups in the early 1700s. An early fort was built on the west side of the Hudson, south of the Fish Creek in 1709, but even the comfort of its presence did not entice many settlers to brave the wild landscape.[22]

Settlement was further deterred because of an order from the British government in 1727 prohibiting settlers from burning woodland as the Mahicans once had.[23] The Crown, concerned for its empire, wanted to protect the supply of timber that was desperately needed for the building of British ships. Without fire as an expedient tool to clear the vast forests, discouraged settlers made little attempt to farm in the region.

The struggle for control of North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries proved dangerous for early settlers of the region. Fighting continued sporadically for decades until the British and their Native American allies defeated the French and their allies. Indian raids were common on the sparsely settled frontier, often resulting in loss of property and life. One of the numerous French and Indian Wars, King George's War (1744-1745) had widespread repercussions on the region. An Indian raid in 1745 destroyed the village of Saratoga. Houses, barns, and storerooms were burned, and many settlers were taken prisoner or killed.[24] Philip Johannes Schuyler, uncle of Philip Schuyler the later patentee, influential eighteenth century citizen, businessman, and Major General, was killed when raiders attacked and burned his home. Writing just after this attack, Peter Kalm, a Swedish Botanist traveling north to Canada, noticed the devastation brought by the frontier wars.

> During the war which just ended, the inhabitants had all retreated from thence to Albany, because the French Indians had taken or killed all the people they met with, set the houses on fire, and cut down the trees. Therefore, when the inhabitants returned, things looked wretched; they found no houses, and were forced to lie under a few boards which they propped up against each other . . . .We found people returning everywhere to their habitations, which they had been forced to leave during the war.[25]

Conflict continued after Kalm's visit, drawing the younger Philip Schuyler, now head of the family and the extensive Schuyler estate, into military service. He served as colonel in the New York State Militia during the last of the French and Indian Wars (1754-1763). Only at the conclusion of this war did Saratoga recover from the hardships brought by the conflict.

Colonial Population Growth

After the British gained control of North America in 1763, the lands north of Albany became attractive for settlement. The relative peace caused by the end of the French and Indian War, coupled with a reversal of the former policy banning the burning of woodlots, created a more inviting environment for the colonists. Kalm further described the local landscape as well as the agricultural developments during this time of fledgling European occupation. During his journey north from Albany, Kalm said the river ran very rapidly at first, but then slowed and became deeper just before Saratoga. From this calmer portion of the river, Kalm found the shores very steep, though not high.[26] In the areas where the banks were not as steep, farmers began to settle on the flat, fertile floodplain. Not many, however, ventured far beyond the hills to settle the wilderness beyond the river banks. The early farms were "either built close to the riverside or on the high grounds, and around them are large fields of corn."[27] He observed that the area was heavily wooded with sparse clearings where meadow grass and wheat, the probable European translation of corn, was grown. From his view on the river, Kalm observed:

> both sides the land was sometimes cultivated, and sometimes covered with woods. . . .The farms are commonly built close to the river-side, sometimes on the hills. Each house has a little kitchen garden, and a still lesser orchard. Some farms, however, had large gardens. The kitchen gardens afford several kinds of gourds, watermelons and kidney beans. The orchards are full of apple trees. This year the trees had few or no apples, on account of the frosts in May, and the drought which had continued throughout the summer.[28]

Kalm wrote of the fine black soil in the fields and the crops of flax and white and yellow wheat growing on the local farms.[29] These scattered farms of the Hudson River floodplain used worm fences to enclose their fields and livestock.

> I here saw a kind of fence which we had not seen before, but which was used all along the Hudson where there was a quantity of woods. It can be called a timber fence, for it consisted of long, thick logs, and was about four feet high. It was made by placing the long logs at right angles to and upon short ones and fitting them together by having suitable crescent shaped hollows in the short logs (in the manner of building log cabins). Such a fence is possible only where there is plenty of trees.[30]

Kalm was impressed with the abundance of vegetation around him that included elm, linden, basswood, alder, dogwood, chestnut, and willow trees.[31] The trees were often draped with wild grapevines along the sunlit banks of the river. Black elderberry and pine trees grew profusely on the hills and floodplain.[32] The landscape contained "large tracts . . . covered with woods of fir [pine] trees. Now and then we found some parts turned into cornfields and meadows; however the greater part was covered with woods."[33]

Early Communities of the Saratoga Region

One of the area's principle landlords and early patentees, Philip Schuyler, capitalized on the region's plentiful timber (Figure 2.3). He established a community in the 1760s at present day Schuylerville, or Saratoga, as it was known at the time, as an early center for milling and manufacturing. He dreamed of creating a community with a diverse work force of artisans and laborers to work in his mills. Schuyler advertised his village and provided jobs and housing for all those who wanted to become participating members of his community.[34] He operated two sawmills on the Fish Creek that processed pine and oak timber. These mills were capable of processing thirty-three acres of timber each year.[35] While being a profitable industry, logging also had another beneficial side effect. New farmers were attracted to the land cleared by Schuyler's loggers, which stimulated local population growth. As the population of Saratoga and the surrounding countryside grew, Schuyler's mills reportedly processed logs for both Schuyler's personal business and for his tenant farmers who were slowly clearing their leased land.[36]

A Scottish woman, Mrs. Grant, in her *Memoirs of an American Lady,* described Saratoga during this era of prosperity and creativity.

> This new settlement was an asylum for everyone who wanted bread and a home. From the variety of employment regularly distributed, every artisan and every laborer found here lodging and occupation; some hundreds of people, indeed, were employed at once . . . . The artisans got lodging and firing for two or three years, at first, besides being well paid for everything they did.[37]

By the 1770s, Schuyler's operations had grown to include three sawmills, a gristmill, flax mill, and fishery that harvested herring, shad, and sturgeon.[38] While Old Saratoga was a haven for laborers, it was also a company town. Schuyler owned all of the land, the company store, and industries, and created barracks for workers to rent. This company system did not extend well beyond his own lifetime, but his ideals about the viability of the community led the town through almost two hundred years of prosperity.

Other groups of individuals came to settle the Saratoga region in the mid to late 1700s. Religious groups often traveled together to establish new communities and congregations. Among the first of such groups were the Rhode Island Baptists. As soldiers in the French and Indian War, the Baptists who fought in the Saratoga region were impressed with the abundant land, timber, and potential waterpower. After the conflict, they brought their families to the area, travelling along the Hoosic Trail, a former military road in Vermont.[39] The first Baptist community was officially recorded in Stillwater in 1768. Since the lowlands along the river were occupied, these farmers established their farms along the road from Bemis Heights to Saratoga Lake. They were joined by a community of Congregationalists from Connecticut who settled in the Stillwater area by the 1760s.[40]

The Quakers were another early and influential religious group to settle in the area. Quakers, who had established communities around New York City before the 1730s, began to migrate north into the Hudson Valley, especially Dutchess County, in the 1740s.[41] As hostilities between the British and the rebelling colonists increased in the late 1760s, many Quakers migrated north to the Saratoga region. At times, members of the group faced discrimination based on their pacifist ideology and were wrongfully accused of being loyalist sympathizers. These new Saratoga settlers from Dutchess County, Nantucket, New Bedford, and Rhode Island, were attracted by the plentiful lands that had no church taxes and looked forward to freedom from the conflict concentrated along the eastern coast.[42] They established the Quaker Meeting House, or Society of Friends, south of Quaker Springs between 1765-1770.[43] Many local residents belonged to the congregation, including the Wilburs and Wrights, both settlers of the future battlefield.[44]

Nature of Settlement in 1777

By 1777, the landscape of Saratoga had changed dramatically due to the efforts of the English, Dutch, Congregationalist, and Quaker settlers. They succeeded in changing the landscape from a wilderness to a rural settlement.[45] Old Saratoga was a burgeoning community of artisans and millers. Religious groups had established churches in the area, and farmers had not only settled the Hudson River floodplain but also expanded into the interior tracts of the Saratoga patent.

As seen in a map of "Land Owners and Patentees in 1777," all of the land in the future battlefield was occupied (Figure 2.4). The continuous east-west boundary lines show the original patent lines. Further subdivision had divided the original tracts roughly into square properties of workable size for individual families. Although all of the land of future battlefield was leased and inhabited, large tracts of thick forest stood between neighbors. The small family farmers painstakingly cleared fields to grow crops and used the timber for fences or took it to Schuyler's mills for market. Names such

as Neilson, Chatfield, and Freeman appear on the 1777 map and would shortly become forever associated with this place.

Endnotes – Pre-History to 1777

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[6] Adriaen van der Donck in Nancy Gordon's "Saratoga Battlefield." 8.

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[9] Trigger. 202.

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[11] Gordon. 10.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Adriaen van der Donck in Nancy Gordon's "Saratoga Battlefield." 5.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] State Library Report. Historical Bulletin 9. "Early Records of City & County of Albany. Vol II 1916." From notes of Mrs. Earl G. Hayner. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[17] Carm:Viell, Aernont. Saratoga Patent Interpreted by Aernont Carm:Viell. From Albany courthouse, July 26, 1783. Notes of Mrs. Earl G. Hayner, Town of Stillwater Historian. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

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[19] Emily Russell. "Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga National Historical Park (draft)." 1995, 10. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid. 11.

[22] Brandow. 233.

[23] Gordon. 16.

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[25] Peter Kalm. *Travels in North America*. The English Version of 1770. Ed. Adolph B. Benson (New York: Dover Publications, 1937), 355.

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[27] Ibid. 356.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid. 352.

[31] Peter Kalm. *Travels in North America* in Nancy Gordon's. "Saratoga Battlefield." 5.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Brandow. 240.

[35] Gordon. 20.

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[37] Brandow. 240.

[38] Christopher Stevens. "Cultural Landscapes Inventory, Schuyler House, Saratoga National Historical Park (draft)." 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

[39] Mrs. Earl Hayner. "A Brief History of the First Baptist Church of Stillwater New York." Saratoga National Historical Park Files.

[40] Linda White. Notes from the Stillwater Historian's Office. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[41] *Quaker Crosscurrents.* Ed. Hugh Barbour, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 28. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[42] Ibid., and Saratoga Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends invitation to open house, July and August 1995. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[43] Violet Dunn. "History of Saratoga County, New York." Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[44] Notes of Barbara P. Aldrich. Saratoga Town Historian. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[45] "The Proposed Niagara Mohawk Corporations Easton Nuclear Generating Power Station. Part III." (Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. National Park Service, 1984), 2.

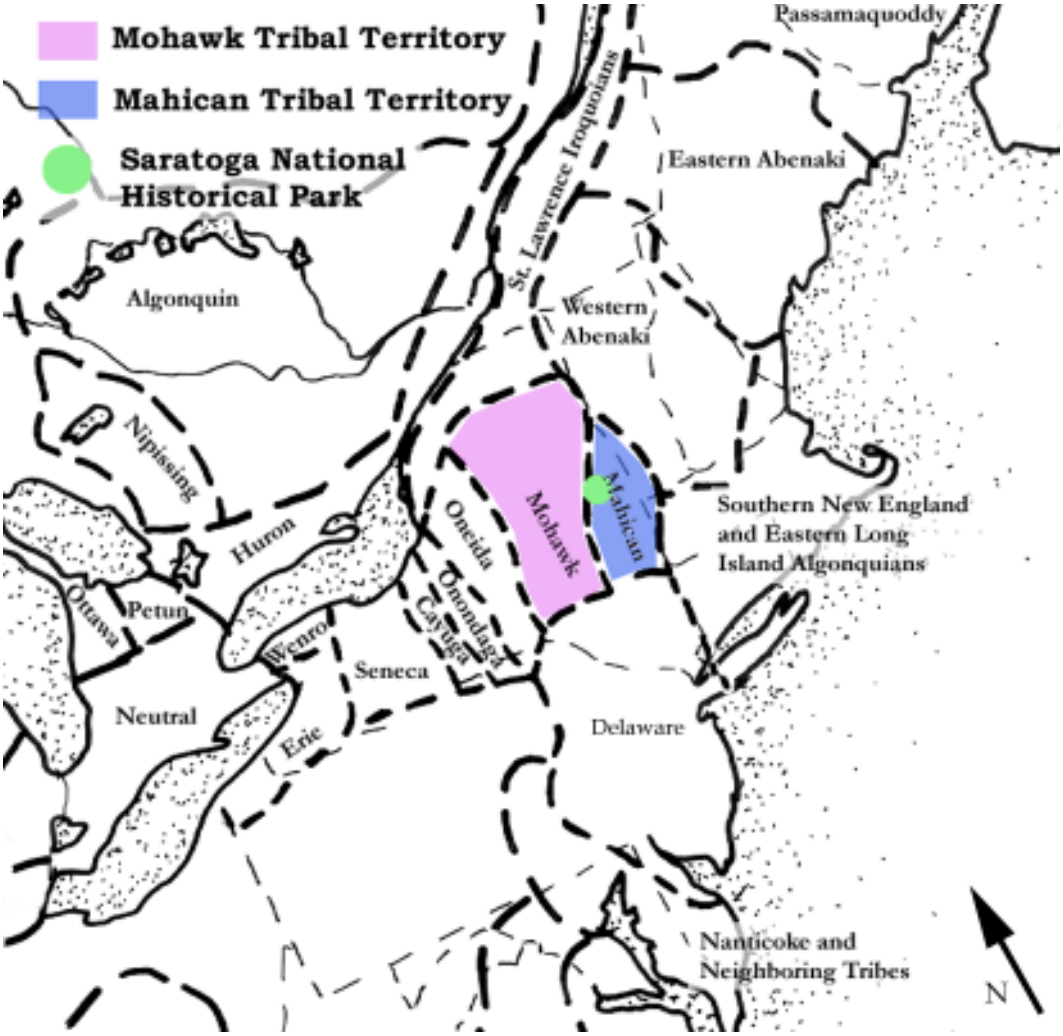

Figure 2.1. Map of tribal territories in the northeast. Iroquois controlled much of central and western New York while Algonquin tribes controlled much of New England and Canada. 1978. Re-drawn from *Handbook of North American Indians*. (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978).

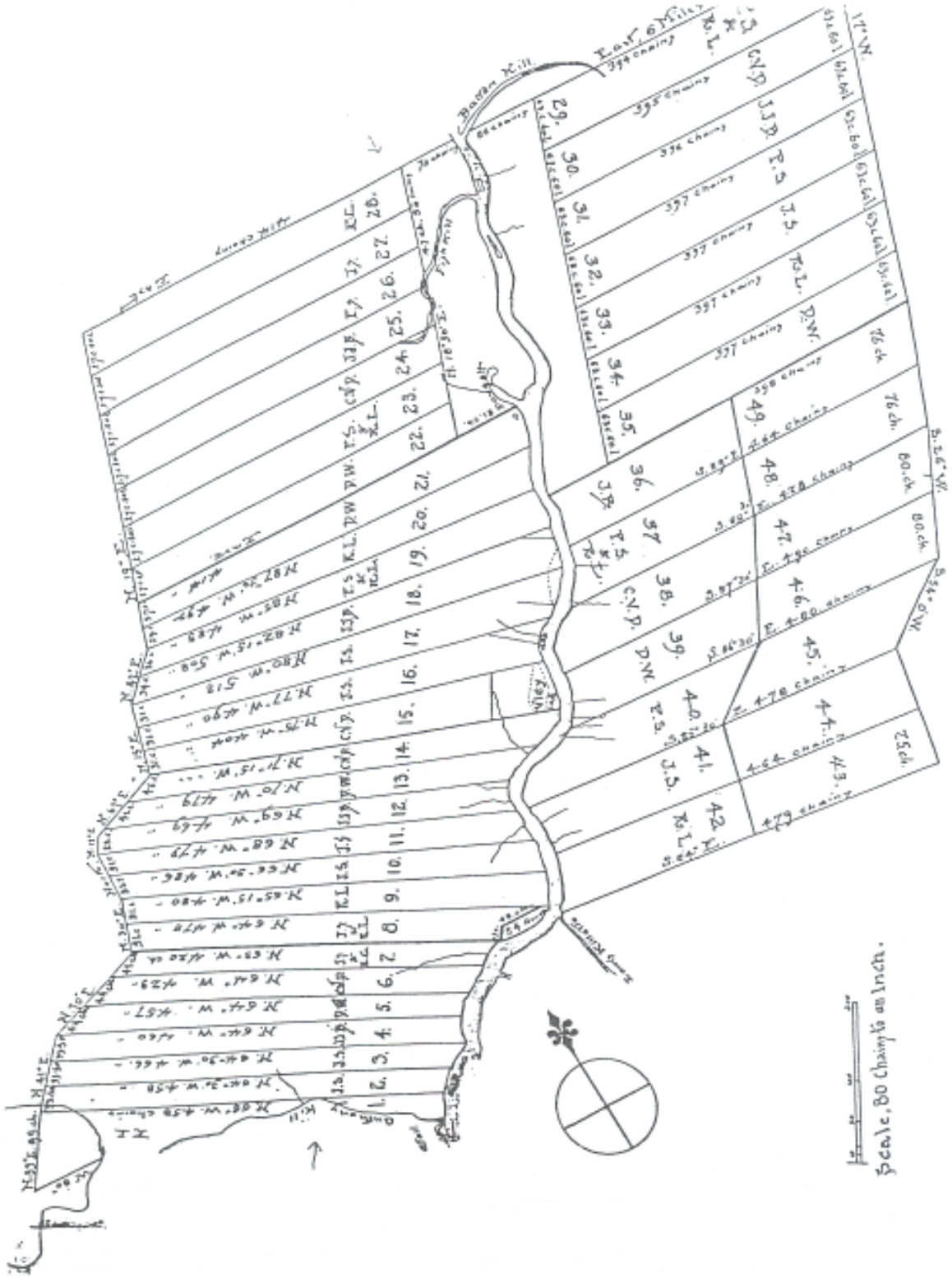

Figure 2.2. Drawing of the re-subdivision of a portion of the Saratoga Patent. 1767. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

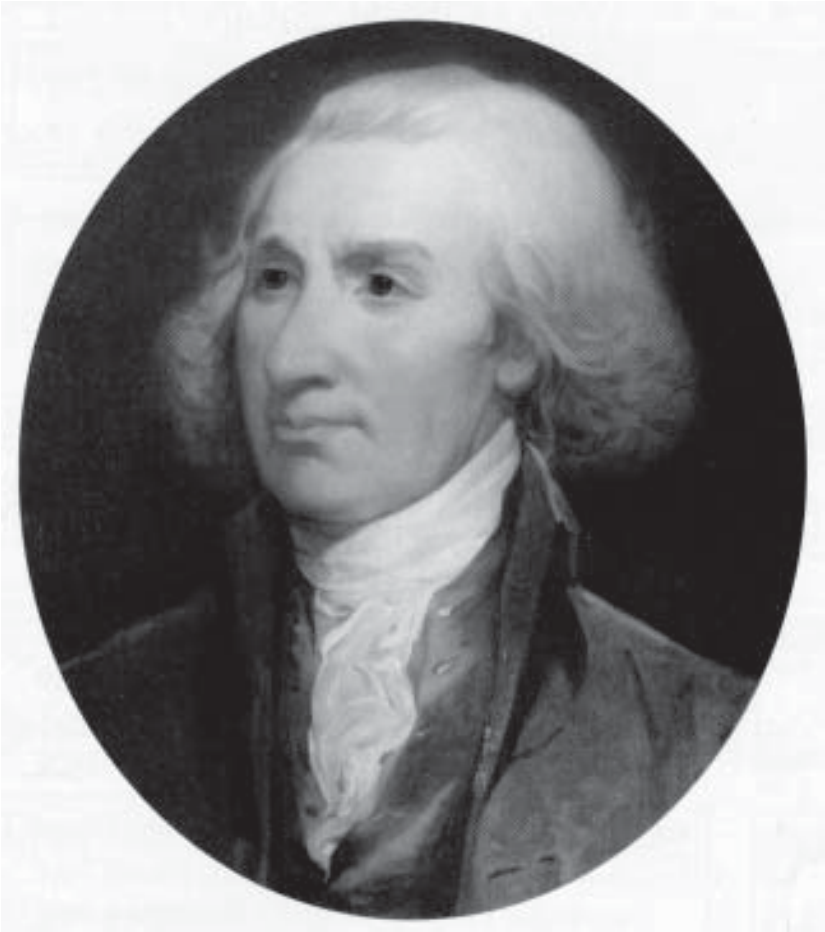

Figure 2.3. Portrait of Philip Schuyler, landlord of much of the Saratoga battlefield property, by John Trumbull. 1881. Copied by Jacob Lazarus. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

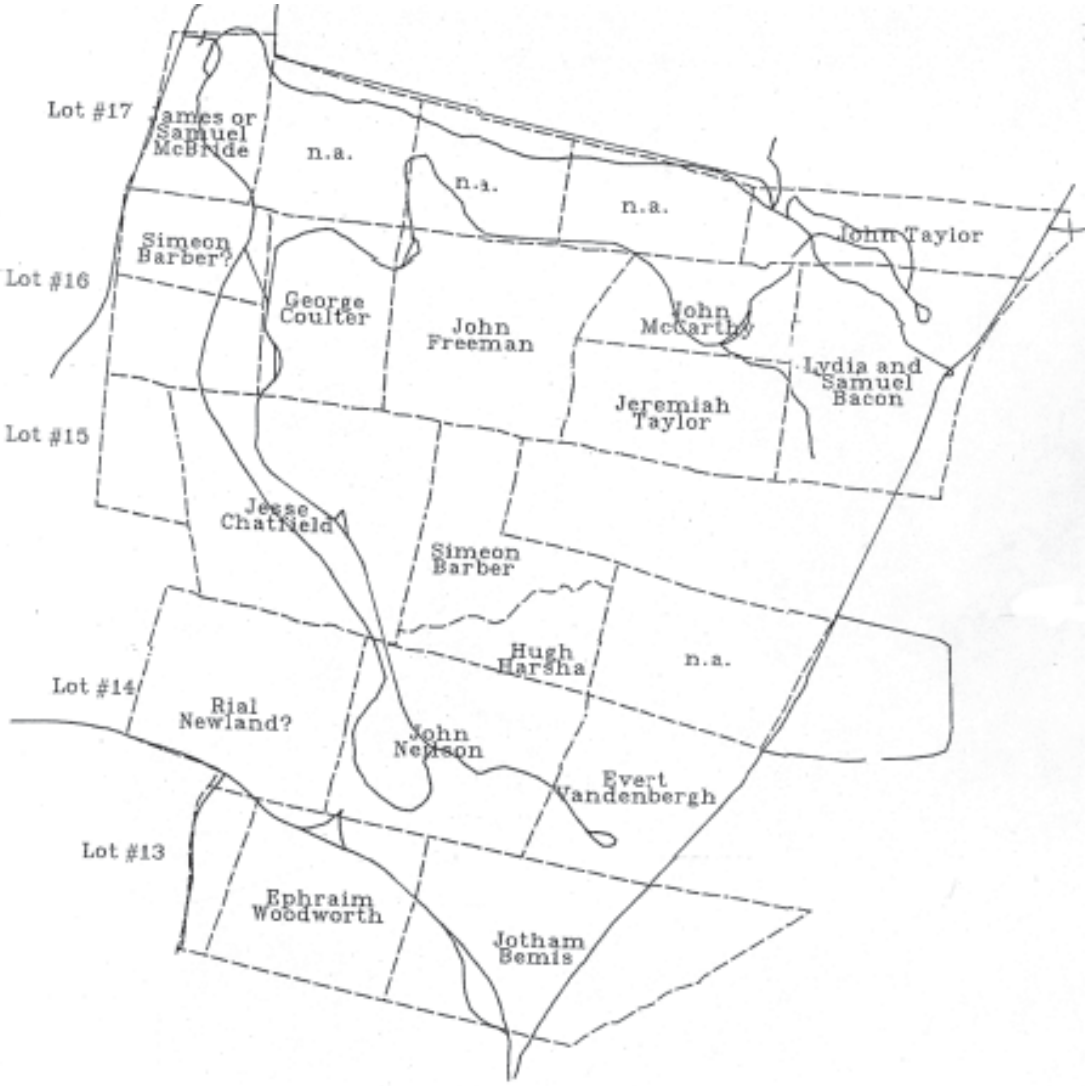

Figure 2.4. Lessees of 1777- Draft. "Draft Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga National Historical Park." 1995. Saratoga National Historical Park.

Battling for the Saratoga Landscape, 1777

> I have always thought Hudson's River the most proper part of the whole continent for opening vigorous operations. Because the course of the river, so beneficial for conveying all the bulky necessaries of an army, is precisely the route that an army ought to take for the great purposes of cutting the communications between the Southern and Northern Provinces, giving confidence to the Indians, and securing a junction with the Canadian forces.
>
> —Letter written from Burgoyne to Gage, 1775.[1]

> In my Last Letter I had the Honour to acquaint Your Excellency of the March of The Army from Van Schaacks Island to Stillwater; Thursday last I reconoitred the Ground in advance from thence, and found This Incampment the properest Station the Army could take in the present circumstances—from hence to Saratoga. . .
>
> —Letter written from Gates to Hancock, 15 September 1777.[2]

Prelude

Burgoyne and Gates's meeting-place was preordained by their aims and the landscape. British Lieutenant General John Burgoyne intended to move his army south from Canada to Albany, taking advantage of the natural corridor made by the combined valleys of Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. His action was part of a larger scale offensive, which intended to isolate the colonies by controlling the forts along the waterways from Canada to the City of New York. The route described by these glacial valleys was well worn by the advance and retreat of armies earlier in their century. Lake Champlain, Lake George, Wood Creek, and the Hudson River together made up the traditional and rational routes serving purposes and forces such as Burgoyne's.

American Major General Horatio Gates aimed to halt Burgoyne's advance and force the British back into Canada; this had been accomplished the year before. Gates believed that he had chosen the best ground available between his army (which had previously been in Stillwater) and the British force, then encamped about a dozen miles to the north. Burgoyne chose the north-south avenue of approach along the Hudson River based on the strategic location of and the logistical support provided by the river and the paralleling Road to Albany (the River Road). Gates consciously placed his east-west line of defense at Bemis Heights, in the valley between the Bemis Heights' bluffs and the river, and at the summit west of the bluffs, primarily in consideration of the terrain. The bluffs were fortified and strengthened with artillery, and as such would present a great obstacle to the advancing British force. Given the resolve of the combatants, a battle was predictable at either the bottleneck that both nature and Gates had placed in Burgoyne's way, or in the surrounding countryside.

Landscape terrain is decisive in battle. The rational analysis of landscape character in the strategy of warfare has been of grave concern to armed forces well before recorded history. The author of a sixth-century B.C.E. text entitled "The Art of War" wrote: "Do not attack an enemy who occupies

key ground; in accessible ground, do not allow your formations to become separated." Modern armies have incorporated terrain analysis in the study of battle since the nineteenth century. Prior to World War I, the German Army introduced an exercise known as the Staff Ride, to extract lessons from the sites of historical battles. This teaching tool was later adopted and used by the U.S. Army between 1906 and 1911, who visited battlefield parks under the stewardship of the War Department as outdoor classrooms. Future officers were required to perform an analysis prior to a group horseback ride over the historic battlefield. They placed themselves in the intellectual shoes of the historic battle's field commander, giving account of decisions based on available intelligence and what might have been done differently with the benefit of hindsight and better information.[3]

Terrain analysis made its way into the U.S. Army Field Manual in 1938 as war raged in Europe. At that time, this particularly military approach to deconstructing the landscape was reduced to the mnemonic acronym, KOCOA:

- **K**ey terrain—features, such as high ground, which must be controlled in order to achieve military success;
- **O**bstacles—features, such as swamps and ravines, which protect the defender and/or impede the attacker;
- **C**over and concealment—areas where elements of an army may be placed without detection or fear of direct or indirect fire, such as woods, buildings and man-made fortifications, even tall grass or crop land;
- **O**bservation—viewshed areas, such as high ground or buildings providing vantage points for observation of enemy movements;
- **A**venues of approach and retreat—landscape features such as roads, lanes and areas that allow effective movement of troops during assaults or retreat.

The following brief account of the events leading to the battles of Saratoga, the battles themselves, and their dénouement, has been written to highlight the role of landscape features, used traditionally and as part of the more contemporary analysis discussed above. The following account is developed primarily for the purposes of highlighting and summarizing the role of the landscape in the battles and building of fortifications. Thus, the narrative that follows draws on original sources and the author's knowledge of events, yet does not even come close to exhausting the collection of sources or conclusions made from analyses relating to the theme of this report. This is done out of a desire to synthesize a simplified and accessible narrative of events.

The American Positions at Bemis Heights

In the uplands, the Hudson gently meanders within its narrow valley. The outside curves of the river bends are areas of hydraulic scouring and riverbank erosion. The inside curves of the river are areas of alluvial deposition, places of flat, wet ground. Bemis Heights, named for the tenant who lived at the base of the bluffs of Great Lot #13, was more than a proper place for Gates to make his defense. Here, the outside curve of the river bends westward to scour the base of the bluffs, after having deposited mud and silt inside its arc just to the north. To an army moving south, this swampy ground would impede movement, just before the road funneled into the constrained and

dangerous space below the heights. The combination of the alluvial flats to the immediate north, known as the "Vley," 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.[4] Due to Burgoyne's dependence on the Hudson and the parallel Road to Albany to move his unwieldy army southward, Gates understood that Bemis Heights was key terrain. The heights possessed a commanding view of the river valley below and its entangling swampy ground to the north.

Amongst Gate's able staff officers was Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, an engineer trained in France in the art and science of military fortification. Kosciuszko quickly perceived the natural advantages of the area surrounding Bemis Heights, and with his colleagues began developing plans to fortify and arm the defensive landscape characteristics that geology had so conveniently provided.

While fortifications on the bluffs would be most difficult to attack from below, they were vulnerable from the rising ground of the plateau to the west. Recognizing this, the 8,100-man American army encamped on and fortified not only the valley and the bluffs, but also all of the terrain from the bluffs to the high ground of the Neilson farm. This high point, called the summit, was about three-quarters of a mile west of the bluffs. Most of the American army was encamped on and around the Neilson farm itself to ensure protection in that vulnerable quarter, and to protect the command headquarters of generals Gates and Arnold. Trees were felled to obstruct the three roads leading into the American camp (Road to Albany, the Quaker Springs road, and the road to Saratoga Lake), hindering the possibility of enemy movement, especially their artillery. Troops and fortifications were placed on a commanding high ground west of the summit (as well as the low ground between), where the Neilson house stands, as well as in the narrowing river valley itself to defend against any enemy movement along the Road to Albany. Bemis' farm and buildings were heavily fortified. Lieutenant Colonel Richard Varick, Deputy Commissary General of Musters, briefed former commander of the army Major General Philip Schuyler as to the arrangement of forces prior to battle.

> As You are no Doubt very well acquainted with the Situation of the Ground I shall forbear saying any thing further on that Head, than that we occupy It from the Heights near near [sic] Bemus's to the Summit at & North of the Read [red] House where Head Quarters now is: —Genl. Arnold is on the highest part of the Hill at the house on the Road about North from Head Qurs as also Genl. Poor's.[5]

The American force had the span of one week to prepare their defenses. They constructed fortifications in the narrow valley below the heights, on the key terrain of the bluffs, and on the heights themselves for three-quarters of a mile along the crest of the ravine draining into Mill Creek all the way to the summit and the Quaker Springs road. There, the line turned southwest and crossed the road to Saratoga Lake. Thousands of trees were cut and piled to make fortifications. The cutting of trees not only created clear fields of fire but also an open space that would be immune to surprise attack. Where the ground was suitable for digging, soil was thrown over the logs for extra protection and the army's twenty-two cannons were placed within the fortified lines at strategic locations. In follow-up communication to Schuyler on September 16th, Varick relayed, ". . . I am informed we have small works on all the Hills worth contending for in our Front. . ."[6] With the deeply cut ravine extending from just east of the Neilson farm in front of the fortification lines to behind the bluffs, and multiple ravines in front of the bluffs themselves, the main American lines

on the heights were well protected. According to Major Robert Troup, aide-de-camp to Gates, "In one word—if the action becomes general, they will be obliged to contend with Hills, [r]ocks, Gullies and trees on *all sides*."[7] Lieutenant Colonel James Wilkinson, Deputy Adjutant General to the army, summed-up the strength of the defenses by saying that, "The right was almost impracticable; the left difficult to approach."[8] While their fortifications were by no means complete by September nineteenth, the American army was strong, assured, and confident that they could defeat Burgoyne's rather "rash Project."[9]

Burgoyne's Advance toward Bemis Heights on 19 September 1777

In taking the initiative, General Burgoyne had a distinct disadvantage. An enemy force nearly equal in number to his own and entrenched behind well-placed fortifications opposed him. Burgoyne led a mixed-force of about 8,200 soldiers, sailors, Native Americans, camp followers, sutlers, civilian drivers, and batteaux pilots.[10] Advancing into unfriendly territory, supplies had to be carefully considered. Everything needed to sustain Burgoyne's mobile army, including the hospital, food, supplies, baggage, and ammunition, had to be transported. Since it was impossible for large ships to portage between Lakes Champlain or George and the headwaters of the Hudson, dozens of smaller batteaux were used to transport most of his army's vital supplies, while carts on the Road to Albany carried the remainder. Because the logistics of the British campaign relied on the river and its paralleling road, Burgoyne's force was bound to them both, making certain that a large portion of his forces were in constant contact with their lifeline. If the infantry did not support his batteaux, then the vital supplies that they carried could be easily captured or destroyed. Burgoyne could not afford to abandon the Hudson River or the Road to Albany during his advance south and risk that outcome. This would turn out to be decisively problematic.

By the morning of September nineteenth, Burgoyne was well aware of the obstacles that lay in his way. His army was encamped at Thomas Swords's house, three miles north of the entrenched American forces. The situation presented him with two fundamental choices. He could keep his army in a column on the road, funnel his way past the swampy ground of the vley, and attempt a frontal attack on the American batteries on the river flats and the supporting positions on the bluffs, or, he could leave the road and attack the Americans in their fortified camp on the high ground west of the bluffs.

The first alternative offered little hope for success. Burgoyne may have been able to drive the Americans out of the river batteries, assuming that he could bring enough troops past the vley unmolested, but the fortifications on the bluffs were insurmountable, and attacking them directly was not a viable option. Since offensive action was necessary in order to reach Albany, that left the only other alternative—to attack the Americans on the high ground, remove them from the heights above the road, and open the way to Albany. Burgoyne chose to make a three-pronged attack and move south against the American positions, whose extent and strength were not entirely known (Figure 3.1).

Brigadier General Simon Fraser's advanced corps, accompanied by most of the loyalist and Native Americans, comprised the right column of 2,400 men. Lieutenant Colonel Heinrich

Breymann's corps of 530 men formed the reserve behind them. The center column, which Burgoyne himself would accompany, consisted of the 1,700 British troops of the army's right wing under Brigadier General James Hamilton. The left column was drawn from slightly more than 1,600 Germans under Major General Baron von Riedesel. Major General William Phillips, who brought up the artificers (skilled workmen), the park of artillery (uncommitted reserve artillery), hospital, army baggage, and the balance of the camp followers followed behind von Riedesel with nearly 1,000 more people. The batteaux and the detachment of the Royal Navy also floated down the river beside the 290-man 47th Regiment. The 590-man Hesse-Hanau Regiment Erbprinz was left behind at Swords's house to serve as a rear guard.

Fraser's and Breymann's corps marched west along a road leading into the wooded hills west of Swords' house. The right column under Fraser marched to a point nearly three miles west of the river, before turning southward. Hamilton's center column followed Fraser for a short distance, turning south on the first road leading into the Great Ravine. Crossing the ravine over an intact bridge, the center column moved southwest to a point north of John Freeman's farm. The left column made up of von Riedesel's and Phillips' forces, was the largest of the three columns and marched slowly south along the Road to Albany. When the three columns reached their pre-assigned positions, signal guns coordinated a simultaneous movement against the American camp.

The plan of battle was for Fraser's corps, with support from Hamilton's center column and Breymann's reserves, to advance on and gain the left and rear of what was hoped to be shallow defenses on the summit at Neilson's farm. These two columns would make use of the existing, yet rustic network of roads to advance over a hilly and wooded landscape. These roads were especially useful since the columns brought numerous pieces of cumbersome artillery. While the larger left column moved carefully down the Road to Albany, it was not meant to act as a primary attacking force unless an opportunity presented itself to take advantage of a confused enemy.

The Battle of Freeman's Farm

> You may remember I told You the Enemy would push for the High Grounds which Command our Camp, here we have it Verified they had the Advantage of the Ground All this Afternoon & Evening.— [11]

Learning of the British movements, Colonel Daniel Morgan's rifle battalion and Major Henry Dearborn's light infantry battalion (together forming Morgan's corps), were ordered to scout the enemy on the roads north of Bemis Heights. Morgan's quick moving troops were well suited to make initial contact with the enemy in this widespread area. The ground was a maze of farm clearings and roads, dwellings and outbuildings, wooden rail and stone fences, virgin and cut-over forests. The topography was incised with numerous creeks and ravines. Morgan's corps, with riflemen in front, rushed north toward Freeman's farm, where a British advance was detected.

Freeman's farm was an oblong, boot-shaped clearing with its longer dimension running east to west (Figure 3.2). To the south, a very deep branch of the Middle Ravine bordered the clearing. To the north, the farm clearing was bordered by the northern branch of the same ravine, described as a "large gutter."[12] This "large gutter" contains a branch of the creek flowing east, before wrapping

around the eastern side of the clearing and eventually joining the deeper ravine on the southern side of the clearing. The main, cultivated farm field on the eastern side of the clearing was very flat, about 800 yards by 400 yards. Over one-half of the farm's cultivated area grew wheat and rye. The western side of Freeman's clearing consisted of higher ground, basically comprised of the two large hills that would play decisively in the ensuing battle. Freeman's house and barn were situated on the top of the northernmost hill (the house situated north of the barn), and his log outbuildings was on the high ground of the southernmost hill. Fences crisscrossed the interior of the clearing, and bound the entire perimeter. Beyond the fencing, a thick wood surrounded the property. Girdled trees, as well as healthy ones, dotted the entire property, most heavily on the southernmost hillside. A dirt road extended from the east through the flat, partially cultivated field and in-between the two large hills, where it wrapped around the northern hill on its western flank, and went into the woods on the northern end of the farm over the "large gutter" by way of a small bridge.

On the western edge of Freeman's farm was a dense wood that ran west for a few hundred yards. Within this wood was a commanding hill, resting only about twenty-five yards to the west of Freeman's southernmost hill. Continuing west, these same woods opened upon Micajah Marshall's farm, a roughly triangular clearing measuring 400 yards across at its greatest width.[13] Like the Freeman place, it was also flat, only partially cultivated, and fenced. Two structures rested on the Marshall farm, each flanking opposite sides of the Quaker Springs road that ran in a north-south direction through the clearing.

Morgan's riflemen posted themselves on the hill where Freeman's house and barn stood, joining an advance picket guard that had preceded them. At about noon, the British picket guard belonging to Hamilton's center column emerged from the woods north of the farm, moved onto the clearing and began to ascend the hill in their path. Gunfire exploded from the Freeman house and from behind the hill's many fences, forcing the British pickets to take cover in the woods. The American Light Infantry battalion approached the sound of the shooting, but was intercepted by the infantry of the British right column that had also been ordered towards the gunfire. As British pickets ran through the woods for the safety of their main line, they were fired upon without orders by their own troops, apparently believing that the crashing sounds in the underbrush was the sound of the charging enemy.

British artillery from the center column fired upon the house, sending a ball through it to clear out any Americans whom were supposedly still hiding there. Morgan's entire force withdrew to the southern end of the farm and repositioned themselves 275 yards from the Freeman house, on wooded high ground overlooking the entire farm. The four regiments comprising the main body of the British center column then moved through the woods, over the "large gutter" (the artillery making use of the bridge there) and into the northern side of the Freeman farm clearing. There, they formed-up in line of battle.[14]

The American regiments filled the woods on the western side of the farm, using the perimeter fences for cover. They also formed-up on the open southernmost hill and behind the wooded ravine that lay to its right. The American riflemen predominantly took post behind that ravine on the southern end of the field on the right of the American line, and aimed their pieces. The wooded

ravine afforded not only a prime defense for the American's right flank, but specifically for Morgan's slow-loading rifles which lacked bayonets. The American light infantry battalion was ordered to defend the left flank of the line, within the band of woods between Freeman's and Marshall's farms. Hours had past since the opening shots between the British picket and Morgan's riflemen, and since then neither side made an advance upon their enemy's positions. This changed at about three in the afternoon, when the British proceeded south across the field.[15]

The British 62nd Regiment moved across the road and stream that separated the two hills, with its two cannon, and ascended the southern most hill. The Americans attacked this regiment on its front and flanks with such determination that they had to refuse (fold-back) their two left-wing companies to avoid becoming enveloped. Fraser sent his German chasseurs (light infantry) and jägers (riflemen) to Hamilton's support, to help cover the left and rear of the 62d Regiment. Following an unsuccessful bayonet charge on the cut-over woods at the high ground, the 62d Regiment quit the southern-most hill, abandoning its two cannon, and fell back across the stream and road. The American pursuit was followed by a British rally, advancing once again to the hill. The British 20th Regiment, to the left of the 62nd, was sent "into the wood on the left of the corn field" to force back the well-positioned American right flank.[16]

Because the most significant fighting was occurring primarily at Hamilton's center and left, the 9th Regiment on the right of the British line was ordered to march through the thin woods to their right and place themselves near Fraser's corps, sealing communications between the two columns and preventing the Americans from driving between them. There, two of the 9th's eight companies were posted at two cabins flanking the road in the eastern clearing of the McBride farm (located to the west and north of Freeman's), and were ordered to "defend them to the last extremity."[17] Fraser sent a detachment of his British light infantry to support the unengaged 9th in holding this key terrain, in which instance the 9th was ordered further down the road, back to where they had begun, behind the "large gutter" on the wooded road north of the Freeman farm. There they formed a reserve, which Burgoyne never chose to employ.

Fraser's advanced corps moved forward through the McBride farm, where units were posted on high ground and throughout the large perimeter, and continued moving south into the Marshall farm clearing. There, skirmishing with American forces found advancing through woods, the British were forced back, but they were able to hold the Americans at bay. Fraser's own 24th Regiment was posted in the open field of the Marshall farm to the left of the house.

The American light infantry guarded the main American line's left flank, in the woods on a rise of ground between the Marshall and Freeman farms. Dearborn wrote that his "corps was constantly opposed to a body of British light infantry [the 24th Regiment of Foot] destined to turn the left of our main line."[18] The American light infantry's preoccupation with the 24th Regiment prevented their exploiting the weakness of Hamilton's center column, which was vulnerable due to their great attention to the threats they faced from the Americans on the south side of the farm. Dearborn's position on the British right held firmly, until the American light infantry:

> Poured a strong force upon this Regt [the 24th] which caused them to retire about one hundred yards behind an inclosure in a grass field [on the Marshall farm]; the Rebels fought bravely in the woods, but

> durst not advance one Inch toward the Open Field. The 24th Battalion received orders to file off by the left, they took the wood, before them firing after them [sic] own manner from behind Trees, and twice repuls'd their repeated reinforcements without any assistance.[19]

For more than three hours the battle at the center swept back and forth across Freeman's abandoned farm. Fraser's right column on the Quaker Springs road, as well as von Riedesel's left column on the Road to Albany, remained at a relative standstill. The immobility of the forces on the Road to Albany was not due to the slowness of their baggage and artillery or resistance encountered, but rather because the Americans had destroyed every bridge between their position at Bemis Heights north to the outlet of the Great Ravine.

The British left column came to a halt at the Great Ravine to rebuild what they referred to as bridge #2 (bridge #1 having been built to the north the previous day) located next to the Taylor house. As the delay stretched into the afternoon, von Riedesel positioned three German regiments, as well as artillery, on high ground. The guns covered the flats in the valley, while the small squadron of mounted dragoons advanced southward to reconnoiter. Two companies of the Regiment von Rhetz crossed the Great Ravine and placed themselves on the wooded bluff directly south of it, covering a road that ran west toward Freeman's farm. The left column heard the fighting to their west, and fully expected that this road would lead them to it if called upon. Bridge #2 was subsequently completed, but due to the swampy ground near the outlet of the Great Ravine, other minor bridges and footways had to be repaired before the column could continue. That being done, the column advanced only 500 yards until they encountered the ruins of another major bridge. Once again, von Riedesel posted his regiments, companies, and artillery advantageously, leap-frogging advance forces southward toward yet another destroyed bridge as repairs were begun to bridge #3. Even as the gunfire in the vicinity of Freeman's farm was growing louder, no communications were being kept between the three columns, and no orders were received to come to the center column's support. Mounted officers were dispatched at various intervals on the road leading west toward the fighting to receive orders from Burgoyne, yet none returned with instructions or news. In the absence of clear direction from Burgoyne:

> [General von Riedesel] occupied himself in giving the troops of the left wing such a position, that they would be able not only to withstand a hostile attack, but also defend the valley between the two bridges nos.1 and 2 in a satisfactory manner [.] whatever happened, the safety of our whole army depending on this, as everything that had to do with the sustenance of the army was enclosed in the space in front of George Taylor's House.[20]

Finally, a returning officer conveyed the order that von Riedesel should strengthen his positions in the valley for defense, and "fall on the enemy's right flank at Freeman's farm with all the troops he possibly could spare."[21] At this, he took personal command of his own regiment, the two detached von Rhetz companies and Captain Georg Päusch's two 6-pounders posted on the bluff, and proceeded on the wooded road leading toward Freeman's farm.

As von Riedesel rode away, companies were recalled from their work on bridge #4, leaving behind a small detachment to serve as advance pickets. Bridgework was concentrated on completing bridge #3, as four companies occupied the bluffs above the road. The rest of the Regiment Specht and artillery were placed behind bridge #2, in the valley north of the Great Ravine.

This large force covered the strategic cross-roads next to George Taylor's house in the event of an attack. Near dusk, von Riedesel's men reached the side branch of the ravine bordering the eastern side of Freeman's farm. From this protected observation point, he could see nearly the entire Freeman clearing, including the mingled dead and wounded of both armies. At von Riedesel's arrival:

> The enemy [American army] were stationed at the corner of a wood, and were covered on their right flank by a deep swampy ravine, whose steep banks covered with bushes had moreover been made quite insurmountable by means of an abatis [felled trees]. There was an open space in front of this corner of the wood, in which the English Regiments had formed into line. The possession of this open piece of ground, on which Freemann's [sic] Habitation was situated, was the apple of discord during the whole of the day, and was now occupied by the one party now by the other. . . . There was nothing but dense forests round the place where the English Brigade had formed into line.[22]

Von Riedesel immediately sent his two companies into the ravine containing the American right and onto the Freeman farm clearing. There, they struck the American's right flank. Päusch's artillery was brought into the ravine as well, over an intact bridge, and his guns were dragged across the flat clearing along the road to the hills on the other side of the field were the entire British line was being pushed back. With great difficulty, the guns were brought-up onto one of the hills. Reinforced with Päusch's artillery, the British rallied and the Regiment von Riedesel and the von Rhetz companies received orders to "force their way through the ravine [on the southern side of the farm] no matter what it cost."[23] The 21st Regiment, which had been sent from the relatively unengaged right of the British center to the hotly contested left, were ordered to join the German re-enforcement when their officers "saw what a powerful assistance we [German reinforcements] had given them…and rushed into the wood together with us in a terrific hurrah."[24] The whole of the British center, with the re-enforcements from the left wing, pushed forward predominantly upon the American right. The American forces withdrew under the cover of darkness.

The Defensive Interval

While the Americans withdrew and technically lost the battle at Freeman's farm, Gates still blocked the route to Albany. This was the larger victory, especially considering that at this point in Gate's career he was more averse to committing his American troops to open engagements with European regulars. He was determined above all to maintain his strategic and very strong position in the river valley, on Bemis Heights, and on the summit, even if it meant tactical defeat on the field of battle.

While the American force suffered little more than half the casualties that the British had, it was not the British who retreated at nightfall. Burgoyne attributed this success, in part, to Fraser, who, "took his Position in the beginning of the Day with great Judgement" upon the higher ground that the natural landscape afforded to the west of Freeman's farm.[25] While von Riedesel's progress down the Road to Albany was delayed by the work of saboteurs, his determination and finally his re-enforcements saved the day for the British. Even then, it was too late—too many officers and men had been shot, and Burgoyne had lost the initiative.

For the next sixteen days the armies faced each other, but neither were idle. While the American forces continued to work on and strengthen their defensive fortifications, the British constructed their own. Burgoyne's army was basically divided into five different parts—each one separated by natural landscape features. The first part was where the baggage, batteaux, park of artillery, hospital, and supplies were located, in the valley by the river between bridges #1 and #2, overlooked by three fortified hills, the southernmost and strongest of which was called the Great Redoubt. This was also where the Indians, civilians, and most of the loyalists encamped. The second part of the camp was also in the valley and separated from the first part by the Great Ravine. Here was the chain of small posts manned by German troops, extending from the Great Ravine as far south as a crenulated house — a distance of about 975 yards. This house was about 125 yards north of bridge #4, built over another creek that flowed into the Hudson River. The third part of the fortified camp was on the plateau of John McCarthy's and Jeremiah Taylor's leased properties, where von Riedesel's left wing of the army and Hamilton's right wing of the army encamped. While the ground in the valley was mostly cleared and under much cultivation, the plateau was not, save for McCarthy's large cultivated field, and Taylor's two smaller ones. This rhombus-shaped plateau was backed by the Great Ravine, and fronted with the Middle Ravine. The wooded bluffs of the plateau overlooking the river flanked the left, while the deep branch of the Middle Ravine that separated Freeman's and McCarthy's farms flanked the right. Hamilton's right wing encamped on and fortified a line perpendicular to the river, while von Riedesel's left wing continued the same at a forty-five degree angle to the southeast. 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; these two encampments were separated by yet more branches of the Middle and Great Ravines that shaped the topography.

Improvements to the British position were made to guard against certain mounting problems that Burgoyne's forces frequently encountered. A road was to be built on the plateau, parallel to the river, from the front of the left wing all the way to the Middle Ravine, in order to get closer to where it was expected the Americans were encamped. The road-building party met with hostile opposition, and the road was completed only to the German outposts forward of the main line, a distance of about half that originally designed.[26]

A bridge of batteaux was constructed across the river, and a tête de pont (a type of fortification) constructed on the other side. This bridge would facilitate access to the eastern side of the river for foraging parties and officers sent to spy on the American defenses in the valley and on Bemis Heights. Loyal refugees from the eastern side of the river would use this pontoon bridge to join Burgoyne's army between the battles, as would the British officers sent to communicate back-and-forth between Burgoyne and Major General Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander in the City of New York. This bridge was essential, because Burgoyne had received a letter from Clinton on the morning of Sunday, September 21st. This letter seemed to promise a British invasion of the Hudson Highlands from the City of New York at some future date, thereby creating a threat to the south which would force Gates to split his army in two. Burgoyne would come to place his hopes for success on this letter, and therefore his fortification of Freeman's farm was the temporary solution to his predicament.[27]

The greatest concern the forces in the valley and on the eastern side of the plateau faced were the American's incessant, small-scale attacks up the valley. Usually, the Americans would use their most advanced post near the "wooded point" in the valley as a point of departure, move up the wooded side of the bluffs by way of the relatively gentle slopes found there, and attack the small outposts of von Riedesel's left wing on the plateau.[28] In reaction, von Riedesel "continued to order a large quantity of trees felled so that if the enemy hit upon the idea to attack us in our camp, which by now was almost like a fortress, the artillery would have enough room to act effectively with bullets and grapeshot against him."[29] The British fortifications required the labor of over 1,000 men for nearly two weeks and, being made primarily of wood necessitated the cutting of thousands of trees. The ground was by no means clear-cut, but rather substantially thinned out, more so the closer one approached the fortifications. The slash or debris from the logging not used for fuel or fortification would have been left in place as an entanglement for an approaching enemy, as would the more consciously placed abatis.

> Our front consisted of dense woods, which extended to some very low-lying ground [the Middle Ravine] that separated us from the enemy. It was very deep and swampy. The pickets of the Engl. regts. Stood in its ravine. Toward our left wing, the plain was, however, quite a bit farther away and still several hundred paces distant from the picket of the Regt. von Rhetz. Both armies stood very near one another.[30]

These constant, small attacks upon Burgoyne's valley and left-wing outposts on the plateau would culminate on October 6, when about 500 American soldiers, in line formation, attacked the valley and left-wing outposts (Figure 3.3). The Americans drove away the sentries with a volley, and pressed the attack upon the outposts:

> Until about 50 Indians and a party of sailors and some of the Provincial Corps amounting to about 100 men in all voluntarily came up from the valley near the river to take part in the engagement. The Indians crept up the slope, so as to cut off the rebel detachment from its secret paths. But the latter defended itself so courageously, that the Indians had to give way, after which the enemy retired after the firing had lasted about 3 hours. When the rebels retired they were pursued by the Indians and Volunteers, who forced the first hostile outpost at the projecting angle of the wood in the valley to give way, burnt their wooden sheds, and drove them 2000 paces further down into the valley as far as a house [Evert Van Den Burgh's house], which was also one of the rebel outposts, and some of their generals were there at the time, who swung themselves on their horses in great haste, and returned to their camp. One of these officers was dangerously wounded, and the house was set on fire by the Indians.[31]

While these constant skirmishes in the valley and on the eastern side of the plateau were by no means decisive in their tactical or strategic results, they confirmed British fears of the potential vulnerability of their supplies near the river. If American forces made a true and concerted effort to take or destroy the food and supplies by the river, it could be done. This fear would play decidedly when plans for future movements would be developed.

By way of contrast, Fraser's and Breymann's forces encamped on the other side of the branch of the Middle Ravine without as much detrimental harassment. The forthcoming battle would show, however, that while these defenses were thought to be strongest and most secure, their very flaw was in their collective design. Six small open-backed fortifications were placed so that they overlooked the branch of the wooded Middle Ravine on the southern side of Freeman's cultivated

fields. An artillery placement was built on the northern side of the open farm, prepared to defend against any enemy attack across the cultivated open space. According to Adjutant and Lieutenant Heinrich Wilhelm Uhlig of Breymann's grenadier battalion:

> Our position on the battlefield was as strong as the land and human effort could make it. The left, which rested on the river Hudson was protected by three posts, one of which was very strong [the Great Redoubt]. A long line extended from the river to the battlefield, where the British light Infantry redoubt was built. This very strong fort faced the west and was more than 3,000 yards long [about 375 yards long]. Within it were the houses of the Friedmann's [sic] whose farm was here. Several cannon and many men made this a most secure post. On a low ridge to the west, an outwork overlooked a farm [the Marshall farm] in the shallow vale through which a road ran [the Quaker Springs road].[32]

The Light Infantry Redoubt (Balcarres' Redoubt) had been built upon the hills where the heaviest fighting during the Battle of Freeman's farm was fought. It was shaped in the form of an elongated and oblong rectangle, with its broadside facing west. Half of its eight pieces of artillery were placed on the southern end of the fort. It was constructed "of both logs and earth, but much of it is on such shallow soil that much reliance is put on trees and little entrenching is done. The three houses of the farm are within the fort and are part of it."[33] Indeed, Freeman's house and barn were incorporated in the fortress. The other structure, as well as nearly if not all of the farm's extensive perimeter and interior system of fences, was dismantled. The fort had two satellite outposts. One was placed on the "low ridge" about 150 yards to the west, overlooking the Marshall farm. The other was placed 50 yards directly northwest from the northwest corner of the redoubt on another, smaller hill, guarding the now-cleared passage between the Light Infantry Redoubt and the northern branch of the Middle Ravine on the northern side of the farm. A trench around the Light Infantry Redoubt was dug where the ground permitted, and the earth thrown onto the log-face of the redoubt. The walls varied in height from four or five feet to perhaps 14 feet high. Fraser's advanced corps encamped on the open farm ground.

The two Canadian companies, fifty men each, were posted in the cabins that lay in the low-ground of a "small vale."[34] These were the same cabins that the 9th Regiment had occupied for a time during the battle of Freeman's farm. The immediate spaces around each of the cabins were fortified with logs and earth. These cabins rested on both sides of the road that eventually ran into the Great Ravine. Their very placement not only defended the road and thereby the entryway to the river, but also defended the open space between the northern branch of the Middle Ravine (the "large gutter" on the northern end of Freeman's farm) and the southern branch of the Great Ravine, both of which lay between Breymann's post and the Light Infantry Redoubt.

Breymann's post was placed on the high ground directly north of the Canadian cabins. The main wall of the post was a zigzag of logs, called a curtain, and angled nearly parallel to the Light Infantry Redoubt, facing west. Its straight front was about eighty-five yards, which then curved on the southern end toward the east for another twenty yards. About eighty yards to the north of this curtain was another curtain, placed perpendicularly and faced due north. Its zigzag wall was about eighty-five yards long and placed on the edge of a bluff overlooking yet another branch of the Great Ravine. This steep ravine wrapped around the northern side of this wall, then turned due south about 100 yards in front of the main wall before leveling out into a descending slope. This ravine cut a natural and very steep hill to the front of the main wall, the apex being about eighty yards from

and equal in height to the highest point of ground that the main wall was situated on. To compensate for the blind spot that the hill created for the defenders of the fort, a small and enclosed square-shaped satellite outpost was constructed upon the hill top, so that it overlooked the open ground of the McBride farm and almost overlooked the base of the hill that it topped. Two six-pound cannons were placed within the main wall to cover the descending slope between it and the leveling ground directly south of the hill. Breymann's Redoubt was naturally protected to the north by the branch of the Great Ravine, with the help of the north-facing curtain that directly overlooked it. However, its back, where the camp of the garrison rested, was open, as was half its front, save for the outpost on the hill. Ironically, its southern side, the very direction in which the Americans were encamped, was open; this opening was defended by the very separate Canadian cabins. The redoubt was built to guard the road that ran into the Great Ravine, the McBride farm, and the general northwestern section of Burgoyne's camp.

> We are in a strong position that the rebels dare not attack. Our post is at the right end of the camp. We have built a log post facing the west on a small hill that commands a little vale. The trees are laid up like a Silecian hut. They are small enough to move, but give more than 15 inches thickness—sufficient against musketry. We have had fatigue parties at work every day, and our men have had little rest. The cannon—served by Hessian gunners—are two in number. An out post to watch the bank in our front is built.
>
> On our left are two blockhouses [cabins] possessed by [Canadian] Provincials whom I do not trust. They are poor in discipline and no faith can be placed in them…Our cantonment is directly in rear of our post, and we have slept on our arms every night.[35]

Possibly one of the most decisively fateful decisions in the construction of Burgoyne's defenses is as follows: Breymann, it is recorded, "said that the post should be closer to the top of the bank [where the outpost was built instead], but the engineer does not agree."[36] The redoubt's incredible blind spot, formed by the hill to its front-right, would logically play in any serious attack upon it by the Americans.

These defenses, the Light Infantry Redoubt with its two satellite outposts, Breymann's Redoubt consisting of the two curtains and the outpost to its front, and the Canadian cabins were the protection for Burgoyne's right flank. It must be made absolutely clear that Breymann's Redoubt, the Canadian cabins, and the Light Infantry Redoubt were consciously designed to be "complimentary" to one another during defensive action, even though the distance between the Light Infantry Redoubt and Breymann's Redoubt was about 470 yards and cut with two ravines.[37] The Canadian cabins and the Light Infantry Redoubt's northern satellite outpost were meant to fill in this extensive gap.

British Plans for a Reconnaissance-in-Force

Burgoyne knew little of the details of Clinton's plans other than the proposed attack on the lower Hudson Highlands that were to happen at some future, unspecified date. In his fortified camp at Freeman's farm, Burgoyne decided in early October that he could not wait much longer for Clinton's support. Plagued by severe supply shortages, desertions, and faced with the onset of cold weather, he knew he had to act soon. On October 4, the day after he cut his men's rations by one-

third, Burgoyne made a startling proposal. He would leave 800 men (about thirteen percent of his entire force) to guard the supplies near the river and use the rest of his army to attack Gates's left and rear. His subordinates were shocked. They argued that it would take too much time to make such a flanking movement; the Americans could easily overwhelm the 800 men left in camp, seize the supplies and sustenance by the river, repulse the attack, and cut off the retreat north. The conference adjourned without reaching a decision.

The next day, von Riedesel recommended withdrawing the army to the mouth of the Batten Kill, where communications with the lakes to the north might be reestablished while awaiting news from Clinton. Then, he argued, if no help came from the south, the army would be in a position to retreat. Burgoyne replied that a withdrawal would be disgraceful and even further, unnecessary. He was determined to make one more attempt to drive the Americans out of their positions.

Burgoyne revived his proposal of October 4th in a new, more conservative form. Instead of committing all but 800 men to a flanking attack, he would organize a less ambitious reconnaissance-in-force to probe the American left flank while foraging for much needed food at the same time. If the probing force found the American left wing at the summit vulnerable, he would then launch an all-out attack on the following day. If an attack were not feasible, he would save his army by withdrawing north by about ten miles to the Batten Kill on the 11th. The reconnaissance-in-force would move out on October 7.

The reconnaissance-in-force was made up of men drafted from nearly all of the units in the army. Ten artillery pieces served by more than one hundred artillerymen accompanied the column. About 1,500 officers and men marched out of Fraser's camp, leaving about 5,400 behind to man the fortifications and await the outcome of the probing action. Captain Alexander Fraser's British rangers, one hundred loyalists, Native American warriors, and half the Canadian militia, over 200 men in all, were sent out through the woods to the west in advance of the reconnaissance force to skirmish with and divert the enemy by gaining their rear near the summit.

A huge majority of these drafted troops were drawn from the Light Infantry Redoubt, Breymann's Redoubt, and the Canadian cabins. Since the move of the reconnaissance force would be to the west and south of those fortifications, they would not require the manpower to fend off a potential attack as the defenses on the plateau or in the valley might. This theory was confirmed, if not completely originated by the incessant and ever-growing skirmishing that occurred on the eastern half of the plateau and in the valley. It was believed that that section of camp was most vulnerable to attack, and therefore fewer troops could be pulled from its defenses. The defense of that section of camp was imperative because it was there, in the valley, that the sustenance and supply of the army lay.

In effect, the British reconnaissance force would act as a door, and swing to the south and west of the Light Infantry Redoubt as if on a hinge, thereby creating a single line of defense from the river to the western flank of the reconnaissance force. The further course of the campaign would be dictated by the outcome of this movement.

The Battle of Bemis Heights on 7 October 1777

> I myself felt more humiliation until I considered that those proceeded from the nature of the country, and not from the want of zeal or bravery in the British troops.[38]

At mid-day of October 7th, Generals Burgoyne, Phillips, von Riedesel, and Fraser led the men out of camp. As before, they marched in three columns (See Figure 3.3).

> These detachments mov'd according to order, by the right in three Columns: Light Infantry and 24th Regiment with Bremens [sic] Corps form'd the Column of the Right with two six pounders, taking their route thro' the Wood on the Right of Freemans [and Marshall's] Farm.
>
> The Grenadiers and the Regiment of Hesse Hanau [as well as the other German line detachments], form'd the Center Column with two twelve pounders, and two eight inch Howitzers marching thro' the open Field [of Marshall's farm]; The Detachments of the Line, with the Canadian Volunteers and Provincials form'd the Column of the left marching thro' the wood where the engagement on the 19th September was fought [the woods between Freeman's and Marshall's farms].[39]

The center column was accompanied by a total of eight artillery pieces on their march south. In order to move these eight pieces efficiently, their avenue of approach made use of the Quaker Springs road, which ran through the McBride and Marshall farms. As this column began to advance from the Light Infantry Redoubt, they left:

> The Brunswick entrenchment [Breymann's Redoubt] on our right and finally behind us, we followed a road which led to a house [Marshall's house] and farm not far distant. This house we also left on our right, and at length reached some underbrush and bushes. Here, on the left of this road, we found an outpost composed of subalterns of the Grenadier Battalion von [sic] Breymann, which we passed. We followed the road farther for fully half an hour, during which we halted several times both for the purpose of sending out the [loyalist] volunteers and Indians on reconnoitering expeditions, and of making the road passable for the Artillery over the bridges.[40]

On the southern side of Micajah Marshall's clearing were thick woods, through which the Quaker Springs road continued on its way to the summit where the Neilson house is located. This wood ran for 250-300 yards before it opened into another farm clearing. Unfortunately, contemporary accounts and maps regarding this field and those to its south and west are either less descriptive or more contradictory than those for the British encampment at Freeman's farm are. However, there are enough consistencies to form a very good picture of the historic landscape characteristics.

The farm clearing located south of Marshall's was slightly pentagonal (with its point facing north), and measured about 350 yards across by 250 yards north to south. The field was enclosed by fences on its eastern, western, and northern sides, but apparently not on its southern one. While the Quaker Springs road continued south, through the eastern side of the field, another road ran into it perpendicularly from the west, through the southern end of the field. Near the center of the field on its southern end was a house (on the northern side of the road) with a barn to its north, which "had been destroyed" before the probing force approached.[41] The yard surrounding these two buildings was enclosed by another fence on at least all sides except again for the southern one, and more fences flanked much of the road. These two buildings topped what has been consistently described as high ground. The southern end of this high ground dipped down into another forested ravine created by yet another branch of Mill Creek. On the eastern side of the field and just a little through

the woods, the ground dipped down into another south-flowing creek, which in turn combined with the main branch south of the farm, and from there flowed east towards the Hudson River, located over a mile and a half away. A dense forest enclosed the entire clearing. Uncultivated wheat still grew in the field.

The perpendicular road that ran east-west was in the shape of a hollow arch, bending to the southwest. Captain Päusch, attached to the center column, described it as "a *damned* crooked road," and it ran out of the western side of the wheat field, through about 250 yards of more forest, and then came to another open clearing southwest of the wheat field.[42] This second irregular clearing was completely surrounded by fencing and behind that, woods. The clearing was about 250 yards across by about 550 yards running north to south at it longest. Its two structures were located near the center of the field, where the road terminated. This field also had a high ground, either to the extreme western edge of the clearing, or in the center upon which two structures lay. The most decisive feature of this clearing was on its western boundary— it consisted of wooded high ground that offered a commanding view of the field below. This hill skirted the entire western edge of the field, and any force that occupied it would have a decided tactical advantage over an enemy force in the clearing below.

Like John Freeman's and Micajah Marshall's farms, these two fields were also located in Great Lot #16, and owned by Philip Schuyler. The lessees of these farms appear to have been two brothers, Simeon Barber (the eastern clearing) and Joshua Barber (the western clearing). While it can be determined that these brothers did lease this land before the war was over, there is no contemporary evidence to confirm their existence on that particular parcel of land in 1777. What complicates matters further is that all of the many contemporary German accounts, without exception, call the Simeon Barber farmhouse on the eastern field "Weisser's House" (with other spelling and punctuation variations thereof).[43]

While the columns marched south, the advanced picket guard encountered American pickets positioned "at Weisser's House," and the few Americans there quickly took to the woods south of the farm.[44]

> The reports of the advance-guard continuing favorable, and their repeated message, assuring us that as yet every thing was all right, we continued to march for the length of time above mentioned, [viz. Half an hour] when we found ourselves in front of the extended left wing of the hostile army, of which, however, we could not see anything whatever, on account of the dense woods and the distance. Here we found a small cultivated and open field entirely surrounded by woods, and at one end of which stood a small habitation entirely deserted by its former occupants. Its roof had been converted into an observatory from which all the adjutants, engineers and Quarter-Master Generals were gazing through their glasses. Nothing, however, could be discovered.[45]

Light infantry and jägers were ordered forward to reconnoiter the ground south of the farm. The British light infantry detachment formed-up in line, in an arch, on Joshua Barber's clearing at the base of the wooded hill. The 24th Regiment formed next to them, on the crooked road in the woods between the fields. Next to them in Simeon Barber's clearing were the detachments from the German line. The German grenadier detachment formed the central defense of the open field on the crooked road, flanking Simeon Barber's house, and to their left were the British grenadiers. The

British grenadier battalion's position was roughly "L" shaped: the short segment formed on the crooked road, while the rest of the battalion formed a long line to the rear through the woods. Artillery was placed on the high ground of Joshua's clearing with the British light infantry. Two 12-pounders were placed in front of Simeon Barber's house between the German grenadier detachment, and to the rear, the two howitzers (that could lob projectiles into a steep trajectory) were placed within the small fenced in yard. Beyond this, two 6-pounders were positioned between the British and German grenadiers on the eastern side of Simeon's clearing, while the final two, under Päusch, were positioned on the western side of the same field. Burgoyne's small probing force was thus drawn-out over this extensive ground, and "took up their positions in such a manner according to the nature of the ground, [so] that our small force could not be discovered by the enemy."[46] The soldiers sat down so as to better conceal themselves. The British officers on top of Simeon's house were trying to see the American's left wing defenses with their spyglasses. However, the trees were too tall and the distance from their position to the summit was too far and dense with trees. Nothing could be seen.

Although detachments from Burgoyne's army had constantly foraged to the north and east (across the Hudson River) of their encampment since the battle of the 19th, they had never foraged to the west (to say nothing of south) of the Light Infantry Redoubt. Wheat was found in the clearing north of Simeon's fenced-in green, while Fraser's men found cultivated wheat inside the buildings on Joshua's farm. Word was sent back to the camp at Freeman's farm to have foragers come with wagons to collect the grain.

After the American pickets were driven from Simeon's house, alarms were beaten on the drum and reports reached camp that British forces were moving toward the left flank. Gates dispatched his aid, Lieutenant Colonel James Wilkinson, to determine the British disposition. After reaching the advance guard of the American army's center and finding no specific information, Wilkinson proceeded forward. He wrote:

> I proceeded over open ground, and ascending a gentle acclivity in front of the guard, I perceived about half a mile from the line of our encampment, several columns of the enemy, 60 or 70 rods [320 or 373 yards] from me, entering a wheat field which had not been cut, and was separated from me by a small rivulet [Mill Creek]; and without my glass I could distinctly mark their every movement. After entering the field, they displayed, formed the line, and sat down in double ranks with their arms [i.e. muskets] between their legs. Foragers then proceeded to cut the wheat or standing straw, and I soon after observed several officers, mounted on the top of a cabin [house], from whence with their glasses they were endeavouring to reconnoitre our left, which was concealed from their view by intervening woods.
>
> Having satisfied myself, after fifteen minutes attentive observation, that no attack was mediated, I returned and reported to the General, who asked me what appeared to be the intentions of the enemy. "They are foraging, and endeavouring to reconnoitre your left; and I think Sir, they offer you battle." "What is the nature of the ground, and what your opinion?" "Their front is open, and their flanks rest on woods, under cover of which they may be attacked; their right is skirted by a lofty height. I would indulge them."[47]

Gates relayed his orders to Morgan through Wilkinson to "begin the game."[48] In receipt of the order Morgan also inquired about the position of the British probing force. Wilkinson replied as he had to Gates, adding that the British grenadiers on the left flank not only bordered on the wood, but

"a small ravine formed by the rivulet before alluded to" as well.[49] Also, the British light infantry on the right flank were "covered by a worm fence at the foot of the hill before mentioned, thickly covered with wood."[50] From this information, Morgan perceived the strategic weakness of the British position. He proposed to Gates to "make a circuit with his corps by our left, and under cover of the wood to gain the height on the right of the enemy, and from thence commence his attack. . . ."[51] By taking the wooded hill, he would have the tactical advantage of high ground combined with the cover and concealment provided by woods. The British light infantry detachment was formed-up in the open field below, and therefore vulnerable to attack from the riflemen on the wooded height. Gates gave his approval, and allotted time for Morgan's corps to make the circuit to the wooded hill before the British left wing was to be attacked.

Poor's brigade was ordered to attack Burgoyne's left flank, and they planned to attack the British grenadier detachment by striking at them from the woods, themselves taking advantage of the concealment of the forest cover that the grenadiers were drawn-up in. While Morgan's corps took to the woods and advanced toward the hill, Poor's brigade marched north along the Quaker Springs road from the summit, which led directly to Simeon Barber's farm. These strong flanking assaults, taking complete advantage of the natural landscape, were planned to begin simultaneously.

At approximately three in the afternoon, the jägers "discovered some solitary bands of rebels near a house [Jesse Chatfield's house] ahead of us, that was separated from us by a ravine. At first they seemed to be nothing but bands who were reconnoitering us, but they soon increased in numbers, and showed us by their movements, that they would not permit us to advance."[52] The house the jägers discovered was that which was leased by Jesse Chatfield, and like so many others in the area, it topped a hill in a clearing. It was from this farm, located about 1200 yards to the north of the high point of the summit at the Neilson farm, that Wilkinson had noted Burgoyne's probing force's position. Burgoyne now decided against a further advance to attempt to locate the American left, since his probing force was too small to risk battle on unknown ground against an enemy of unknown strength. Supported by ten pieces of artillery and by what he believed to be a superior position on the high ground of the two open fields, he was determined to hold his position, at least until the foraging parties had collected the wheat. To deter the American forces from advancing toward his detachment, he ordered the two 12-pounders to fire upon the Americans through the woods, across the creek, and into the Chatfield clearing. The cannons were fired, reloaded and fired again and again but the Americans "did not take any notice of them, and it looked as though they wanted to form themselves into line against us, although it was not the most favorable spot to attack us."[53] The Americans judged the ground differently.

American skirmishers engaged the probing force's riflemen and other light troops in the woods near Mill Creek, south of the farm. Just past four in the afternoon, Poor's Brigade "drew up along the skirts of the wood behind trees" and moved to attack the British grenadiers on their shallow front and elongated line that ran through the woods.[54] The British grenadiers were routed—their artillery captured. Offering some understanding as to why Päusch's account later ruefully remembered it as a "*damned* crooked road," the German grenadiers posted between the retreating British grenadiers and the house, as well as other German units on the crooked road behind the fence that flanked its southern side, also fled "into the field [north of the road] and thence into the

bushes, and had taken their refuge behind trees."[55] Many of these fleeing troops were reformed by their officers behind them and to the right of the house and were compelled to make a stand so that the rest of the probing force could do the same—but it would be too late.

Through the memoir of Henry Dearborn, we know that soon after Poor's attack was initiated, Morgan's:

> Light troops moved on with a quick step in the course directed, and after ascending the woody hill to a small field [Joshua Barber's] about 500 yards to the right of the Enemies main line, we discovered a body of British light Infantry handsomely posted on a ridge [on Joshua Barber's farm] 150 yards from the edge of the wood where we then were. At this time the fire of the two armies was unusually heavy and we were apprehensive from the fire that our line was giving way. We therefore determined to make a dash on this body of the Enemy and endeavor to force our way on to the rear of the Enemies main body.[56]

A different account continues with greater detail.

> Thus resolved, they [Morgan's corps] leaped over the fence, in their front, gave three cheers, and charged with such impetuosity, that the enemy gave way and ran off in disorder, without firing a gun, but soon formed again, a few rods in the rear of a log fence [on the eastern side of the field]. A well-directed fire and a second charge of the bayonet, entirely broke and dispersed them, which brought the riflemen and light infantry into the open field [Simeon Barber's wheat field], in the rear of the right of the British army. Morgan's troops then passed through the skirts of a wood, and advanced toward the rear of the enemy's left wing, while Dearborn bore down directly on the rear of the right wing, where the artillery was principally posted, under cover of a corps of German troops. Dearborn advanced briskly up the eminence, on which the pieces were posted. . .[57]

Those pieces posted on the hill were the two 12-pounders, as well as the two 6-pounders under the command of Captain Päusch, who had removed his artillery from the western side of the field to the center near the house. There, he posted his two guns on either side of an earthen fortification that had been constructed for protection before the battle began. There were not enough men to man all four pieces. Päusch, who's position was being compromised due to the infantry's faltering defense of the field, attempted to retreat with one of his 6-pounders toward the Quaker Springs road, but gave up finding that:

> By the time. . . I came within gun-shot of the woods, I found the [Quaker Springs] road occupied by the enemy. They came towards us on it; the bushes were full of them; they were hidden behind the trees; and bullets in plenty received us. Seeing that all was irretrievably lost, and that it was impossible to save anything, I called to my few remaining men to save themselves. I myself, took refuge through [behind] [sic] a fence, in a piece of dense underbrush on the right of the road. . . Here I met all the different nationalities of our division running pell-mell. . .[58]

Amidst the panic, Päusch was able to save himself, but all of his artillery was captured. The commander of the British artillery, Captain and Major Griffith Williams, along with others, were found hiding in Simeon Barber's house and captured. Learned's American brigade arrived using the woods between the fields as cover to reach the western side of Simeon's clearing. Behind them followed yet more American regiments. The British officer entrusted with delivering Burgoyne's order to withdraw the artillery and troops, Lieutenant and Captain Sir Francis-Carr Clerke, was mortally wounded and captured, and the orders never officially relayed. One British officer would

later "attribute the loss of the artillery, if not the loss of the whole army" to Sir Francis' fate.[59] His loss was not immediately noticed in the confusion. Dearborn continued:

> I formed my detachment within 80 yards of the rear of the Enemies right wing, and gave a general fire which had the desired effect. The Enemy had been so very closely engaged in front [primarily with Learned's brigade] as not to have perceived his danger in rear, and the instant my party fired his whole line broke and retired precipitately towards his works. After giving directions for removing the captured artillery [the two 12-pounters and two 6-pounders] to our Camp, we moved on in pursuit of the Enemy, who after passing through a skirt of woods formed in a field [the Marshall Farm]. Here Gen'l Fraser received a mortal wound, and the fire of our Troops instantly compelled the Enemy to retire to his works, after losing two more 6 pounders that were on his left.[60]

Indeed, remnants of detachments from the British probing force made a stand on the southern end of the Marshall farm, and deployed across the field and the Quaker Springs road to cover the retreat, which was more often than not a chaotic and individual endeavor (Figure 3.4). Fraser, making himself conspicuous on horseback during this covering action, was targeted by many sharpshooters and mortally wounded. He was hurriedly carried off the field back to his marquee at Freeman's farm, were he told those attending him that he "saw the man who shot him, he was a rifle-man, and up in a tree."[61] After drawing-up his will, he was taken to the army's hospital, situated in the valley at the base of the Great Redoubt. He was brought into George Taylor's house to be cared for, but died the next morning.

By about five-thirty p.m. the probing column had lost all eight of its cannons while retaining the two howitzers that had been located toward the rear of the fighting. Burgoyne's plan for a reconnaissance was thwarted, and over 400 British casualties can be attributed to his failed effort. His forces were then put on the defensive at the walls of some of his army's most important fortifications. While the Light Infantry Redoubt was intended to be garrisoned only by the British light infantry battalion, it now provided cover to all the retreating soldiers of the probing force. Poor's brigade, again using the woods between the Barber and Freeman farms as an avenue of approach, found themselves in a heated engagement "between the enemy, behind their works, and our [American] troops entirely exposed, or partially sheltered by trees, stumps, or hollows, at various distances not exceeding 120 yards."[62] The American forces soon:

> Advanced directly on Fraser's works, routed small parties, from two redoubts [the two satellite outposts], made of poles ten feet high, open on the rear side; and were advancing under a heavy fire to the ditch [dug in front of the walls], when the General [Poor] observed a body of troops, moving in the rear, which he presumed was a reinforcement, for Fraser's works, and under these im[-]pressions, he ordered his men to retire from the ditch.[63]

In the meantime, Morgan's riflemen and Dearborn's light infantry moved north through the Marshall farm, its adjoining woods, and then onto the McBride farm. Most of them eventually united in front of Breymann's Redoubt, at the base of the steep-banked hill to its front. There, they were protected from cannon and musketry fire from the redoubt, as were the Germans inside their fortification protected from the musketry and rifle fire from their front. Breymann's corps had been called on to provide approximately forty percent of its garrison force to support the failed probing effort. None of those troops that setout as part of the probing force returned. Survivors instead sought more expedient cover in the Light Infantry Redoubt closer to the fighting, and furthermore,

that is the redoubt they were ordered to fall back upon. This left few more than 170 German grenadiers, chasseurs, and artillerymen in Breymann's fortifications. More importantly, American forces controlled the fields of battle right up to the very walls of the Light Infantry and Breymann Redoubts. While Burgoyne's forces successfully defended the Light Infantry Redoubt from the incessant threat of Poor's brigade, Breymann's Redoubt was nearly forgotten. With the Light Infantry Redoubt's northern satellite outpost captured, and the Canadian garrison in the low-ground cabins at about fifty-percent strength, the expansive low ground between the Light Infantry and Breymann Redoubts was virtually undefended. As for the cabins and the Canadian militia left behind, "the place was weak and the men untrustworthy, and when they retreated our left was uncovered. We had not worried a great deal about them. . . and if all had been as it should, we would have been able to defend ourselves."[64] Learned's brigade moved onto the field from the direction of the Marshall farm, and took advantage of the opening between the redoubts by striking through this undefended low ground between the fortifications. Here, they were joined by Arnold, who rode out onto the field, taking command of troops on his own initiative, without warrant from Gates. Colonel Rufus Putnam, detached from Brigadier General John Nixon's brigade too late to participate in the fighting at the Barber farms, came up with two regiments under his command and described the scene.

> In front of those works [Breymann's Redoubt] was a clear open field bounded by a wood at the distence of about 120 yards [.] in the Skirt of this wood I was posted with the 5th and 6th regiments of Massachusetts—the right & left of those works were partly covered by a thin wood & reer by a thick wood. The moment ordors were given to Storm, I moved rapidly across the open field & entered the works in front, I believe the Same moment that the troops of Learneds Brigade, (in which Jacksons [8th Massachusetts] regiment was) entered on the Left & reer. I imediately formed the two regiments under my command & moved out of these works (which were not enclosed in the reer) into the wood toward the enemies enclosed redoubt [the Light Infantry Redoubt], on the right flank of their main encampment. . .[65]

As the attack was made on the rear and front-right of Breymann's main wall, Morgan's corps rushed forward, ascended the hill and gentle slope to its south, and charged the main curtain facing them. The Germans fired, but the small distance between the curtain and the steep embankment from which the Americans charged prevented them from taking full advantage of their fortification, since the Americans were already at its walls. Morgan's men "entered rapidly; some through the sally port [the gap between the two curtains], some through the embrasures [the openings in the log wall for the artillery emplacement], and others by climbing over the breast work, which was formed of small timbers, seven or eight feet high. . ."[66] That, in combination with the attack upon the open rear and front-right, caused the entire German garrison to retreat through the thick woods and into Fraser's camp at Freeman's farm, "Except here and there a Scatering one behind a Tree."[67] The fort was captured along with its two 6-pounders, Breymann's corps' tents, baggage, supplies, and even their dinners that were still cooking in "…their Kettles [that] were boiling on the fires!"[68] Breymann was killed while attempting to defend his post but, unlike Fraser, his men did not carry off his body.

Arnold was severely wounded in the leg while joining the attack upon the fort's open rear, an act that only later would be understood to be the last time he would lead American troops in battle. As was the case with the previous battle, the fighting ended at nightfall, owing to the "extreme darkness of the night, the fatigue of the men, and the disorder incident to undisciplined troops after so

desultory an action."[69] The British retained the Light Infantry Redoubt overnight, while the Americans left a substantial garrison at Breymann's.

Battlefield Epilogue

The American capture of Breymann's Redoubt and the Canadian cabins in the low ground exposed the right and rear of Burgoyne's camp. While these posts were situated on the flank of Burgoyne's defenses and not the rear, they were still the "back door" since they covered the road that ran east immediately behind the plateau defenses, and from there into the Great Ravine to the Hudson River. Burgoyne had been decisively defeated on the field, and the very strategic integrity of his system of defenses was fundamentally compromised. Unlike the battle of September 19, Burgoyne had not intended to fight, but rather reconnoiter and by default, re-supply by foraging for grain. He assumed that his reconnaissance force, supported by ten pieces of artillery and positioned on the high ground of two open fields largely behind fences, was formidable enough to discourage attack. While this false sense of security in their inferior position led the British to make a stand when confronted, the Americans saw the situation on the ground from a completely different point of view, and used their knowledge to their tactical advantage.

American concerns that the British would make a further move toward the high ground west of the summit at the Neilson house caused them to, as on September 19, make a preemptive attack before the British could improve their position. They would not attack blindly however, but intuitively and rightly calculate the situation at hand, based on the natural and cultural landscape features that might be used in their favor—and against the British.

General John Burgoyne directed that campfires be left burning as Fraser's advanced corps' camp, now commanded by Lord Balcarres, while the men quietly abandoned the Light Infantry Redoubt. The British and German regiments on John McCarthy's and Jeremiah Taylor's plateau also evacuated their defenses. The British forces were re-positioned: most of them now surrounded the three hills north of the Great Ravine on the high ground as well as the flats near the river, while the remainder were positioned on the heights directly south of the Great Ravine. Their retreat covered from these temporary positions, the army began its march north on October 8. Due to inclement weather, multiple stops, missed opportunities, light resistance, and battle-weary leadership, the army took up positions in and around the small village of Saratoga. Gates's army, in conjuncture with separate militia forces acting to the north and east, inevitably surrounded the British forces, forcing Burgoyne to sign the Convention of Saratoga on October 16, 1777.

The outcome of every battle and campaign throughout history, no matter the time or place, is consistently subject to variables. Leadership, weather, intelligence, and quality and quantity of troops, supplies and equipment are some of those important factors that bear upon a battle or campaign, and are many times subject to chance, human judgement, and the confusion of battle. Landscape terrain is among the most important of these elements. Many landscape features are durable and enduring, established by nature or by an unwitting citizenry.

The battles of Saratoga ultimately occurred where they did because regional physiography met the offensive objectives of the British, while localized topography served the defensive aims of the Americans. Burgoyne, moving along the time-tested route of advance to Albany, required both the Hudson River and the Road to Albany to move his large, heavily laden force. Gates, charged with defending against Burgoyne's invasion, consciously chose the natural bottle-neck at Bemis Heights as "the properest Station" to stop them.[70] These two knowledgeable leaders' forces battled at this place not by default, but by design.

The American encampment and fortification of the valley, bluffs, Bemis Heights, and the summit at the Neilson house relied on the strategic characteristics of the landscape. The Americans fully exploited their superior topographic position, forcing Burgoyne to move away from the Hudson to attack the Americans from the west where they could equalize the elevational difference between attacker and attacked. The battle of Freeman's farm occurred in the manner it did largely due to the natural and cultural landscape layout of Freeman's farm. The entrance of the German forces, highly delayed because of "natural impediments," ultimately bought the nominal British victory.[71] The British forces encampment and fortification of the valley, plateau, Freeman's farm, and Breymann's Redoubt were also based upon the fundamental characteristics of the natural and cultural landscape. While Burgoyne's campaign was primarily offensive, his army sought to protect itself with fortifications for what would be two and a half weeks after the battle of Freeman's farm. Skirmishing between inferior British valley and plateau outposts and attacking American forces helped make real the fear held by many of Burgoyne's subordinates: that the result of another large, blind attack, like that of the 19th, would place the army's supplies in too great a danger. The substitute British plan for a limited reconnaissance-in-force was never meant to engage the Americans in battle, while the American's own fear that the British would acquire their defenses at and west of the summit at Neilson's farm caused them to react preemptively with overwhelming force. The American response to the British reconnaissance-in-force took advantage of the poor British position on the natural and cultural landscape. Gates's army, pressing the attack, captured a key fortification made weak by insufficient troop strength and faulty assumptions.

The battles of Saratoga, understood in the context of the landscape, decisively ended the British northern campaign of 1777, and concluded with British surrender as documented in the Convention of Saratoga. This timely victory reversed American military misfortunes, boosted morale, and gained the United States of America official and permanent international recognition and support, including vital naval, military, and financial assistance. While many of the ephemeral vestiges of war would soon vanish from view, the shape of the land, so central to the strategy and outcome of the confrontation, would endure.

Endnotes – Battling for the Saratoga Landscape, 1777

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[1] Quoted as found in *Saratoga* National Historical Park unigrid. GPO: 2000.

[2] Gates to President of Congress [John Hancock], 15 September 1777. Horatio Gates Papers, ltr.

[3] Discussion of staff rides and terrain analysis included in this narrative was developed from telephone conversations with Dr. Lewis Bernstein, Asst. Command Historian of the U.S. Army Combined Arms Center, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Dr. Bernstein advises that following the abandonment of the staff ride teaching exercise in 1911, the U.S. Army reinstated the practice in 1981.

[4] Both the "Partition & Division Saratoga Lots 1750" map and "A Map of Saratoga Patent as laid in Lots & the subdivision of Margaret Livingston & Bayard's Lots by John R. Bleeker 1767" very clearly mark the "Vley" in the valley in Great Lot #15. Both the "PLAN of the Position, of the Army under the command of Lieut:^{t} Gen:^{l} Burgoyne near Still Water, in which it encamped on y^{e}. 20th Septr. 1777" (un-attributed manuscript map [henceforth cited as the "British Library map"], British Library, MS 57715 no. 5) and the map of "THE ENCAMPMENT & POSITION of the ARMY under His Exc^{y}. L^{t}. G:^{l} Burgoyne AT Swords^{s} and Freeman's Farms on Hudsons River near Stillwater, 1777", (manuscript map consisting of three overlays, drawn by Lieutenant and Assistant Engineer William Cumberland Wilkinson [henceforth cited as the "Wilkinson map"], Library of Congress, LC Control Number: gm71000664) clearly show swampy ground in that area. Copies of these four maps are in Saratoga NHP files. A vley, or vlei, as defined in Webster's New International Dictionary, unabridged second ed. (Springfield, MA: G. & C. Merriam Co., 1944) is "low-lying land where water collects…. A temporary lake."

[5] Varick to Schuyler, 12 August [September] 1777. Philip Schuyler Papers, ltr. The "Read House" was that owned by Ephriam Woodworth, captain in the 13th Regiment of Albany County Militia. The house "on the highest part of the Hill…on the Road about North from Head Qurs…" is the still-existing Neilson House.

[6] Varick to Schuyler, 16 September 1777. Philip Schuyler Papers, ltr.

[7] Troup to Jay, 14 September 1777. John Jay Papers, ltr.

[8] James Wilkinson. *Memoirs of My Own Times.* (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1816), 235-236.

[9] Gates. 15 September 1777.

[10] A sutler is a follower of an army camp who peddled provisions to the troops. *Webster's II. New Riverside Dictionary.* (Boston, MA: Miffin Co., 1984).

[11] Varick to Schuyler, 19 September 1777. Philip Schuyler Papers, ltr.

[12] Horatio Rogers, ed. *Hadden's Journal and Orderly Books: A Journal Kept in Canada and Upon Burgoyne's Campaign in 1776 and 1777, by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Roy. Art.* (Boston: Gregg Press, 1972), 164. British Second Lieutenant James Hadden of the Royal Artillery would write that this ravine was a "hallow way or large gutter apparently made by heavy falls of Rain…."

[13] This farm has previously been identified as the "George Coulter farm," the source having come from Charles Neilson. *An Original, Compiled and Corrected Account of Burgoyne's Campaign, and the Memorable Battles of Bemis's Heights….* (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1844). The son of John Neilson, Charles Neilson was not alive at the time of the campaign (having been born in 1787). However, the *Estate of Philip Schuyler, Dec[eased]. Chancery Decree* (Albany, NY: located in NYS archives, Department of State Docket 35), 312-315. states that the property had been leased by Micajah Marshall for "3 lives" since 3 May 1771. While this does not confirm Marshall's leasing of the property in 1777, it does confirm his being there before that time. In the absence of any legal or contemporary account otherwise, the author has decided to refer to the property as the Micajah Marshall farm. The above information is in Saratoga NHP files, and has been provided to the park through the efforts of Leslie B. Potter, Attorney at Law.

[14] The British 62d Regiment advanced over the northern hill, while the 21st and 9th Regiments were to its right and the 20th Regiment to its left, with two 6-pound cannons between the 21st and 9th, and the other two 6-pound cannons with the 62d Regiment. The regimental formations for the center column's line of battle come primarily from the Wilkinson map and Hadden.

[15] American Brigadier General Enoch Poor's three New Hampshire regiments were sent to Freeman's farm, and by the end of the day, Poor's entire brigade (consisting of two more regiments each of New York Continentals and Connecticut militia) was at the field of battle. This information, and the placement of the American forces on Freeman's farm, is mostly derived from the Wilkinson map, Arnold to Gates, 22 September 1777. Horatio Gates Papers, ltr., and in Henry Dearborn. *A Narrative of the Saratoga Campaign.* Vol. I, No. 5. "The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum." (Ticonderoga, NY: 1929), 5-6.

[16] Rogers, ed. 166. It must be remembered that the battle occurred for hours, and that this is only a summary of one specific action during the battle. The first battle of Saratoga is an infinitely complex one, necessitating a more detailed study.

[17] John Burgoyne. *A State of the Expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne*…. Second edition. (London: 1780), 82. This quote comes from the testimony before the House of Commons given by Major Gordon Forbes, major of the 9th Regiment and commander of the center column's "picquets" (advance guard).

[18] Dearborn. 6.

[19] Joshua Pell, Jr. "Diary of Joshua Pell, Junior." Vol. 2 (Jan.-Feb. 1878) issue of the *Magazine of American History*. 109. Pell was a gentleman volunteer in the 24th Regiment.

[20] Frederich Christian Cleve. *Journal* of the B*runswick* T*roops* in N*orth* A*merica under the Orders* of Major-General von Riedesel. Trans. "in England." HZ 304. This translation is in Saratoga NHP files, and comes from Morristown NHP's Lidgerwood Collection (Fiche 180-193). Cleve was a Brunswick captain and aid-de-camp to General von Riedesel.

[21] Ibid. HZ 304-HZ 305.

[22] Ibid. HZ 305-HZ 306.

[23] Ibid. HZ 307-HZ 308.

[24] Ibid. HZ 308. This is also confirmed by the Wilkinson map. Pausch's two 6-pounders were placed to the right of the newly-positioned 21st Regiment.

[25] George Stanley, ed. *For Want of a Horse*. (Sackville, N. B., Canada: The Tribune Press Limited, 1961), 150. The writer of this published memoired journal, a flank company officer in the 47th Regiment of Foot serving under Fraser, simply transcribed Burgoyne's general order to the army for the date of 21 September 1777. Thomas Anbury, an ensign in the 24th Regiment and also serving under Fraser, would be more particular on that matter, writing that Fraser's "…advanced corps could only act partially and occasionally, as it was deemed unadvisable to evacuate the heights where they were advantageously posted." Thomas Anbury. *Travels through the Interior Parts of America in Two Volumes*. Vol. 1. 1789. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), 245.

[26] Anton Adolph Heinrich Du Roi (believed to be). *The Specht Journal*. Trans. Dr. Helga Doblin. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 82. Although the author of the original German manuscript is unknown, it is believed by the translator, historical editor (Dr. Mary Lynn), and military consultant (Lt. Col. [ret.] Donald Londahl-Smidt) that Brigadier Johann Friedrich Specht's brigade journal was kept by his adjutant, Lieutenant Du Roi (see *The Specht Journal* introduction, p. xvi). It is known that Specht did not author the journal himself. Cleve has a slightly different account of the road building project of September 21st, saying that "2 roads" were built and that they "had made the road as far as the ravine…." HZ 313. Both the Wilkinson map and the British Library map show a single road built toward the Middle Ravine, ending half way to it, where the German outposts were located.

[27] The "Camp at Freeman's Farm" was the term Burgoyne commonly assigned to the place his entire army fortified and encamped upon, be it in the valley or on the plateau.

[28] Cleve. HZ 312. "About 400 paces in front of our furthermost bridge no. 3 in the valley near the river the woods, that covered the mountain-sides and also part of the valley, projected in a point, and it was behind this wooded point that the right wing of the enemy had their first outpost in the valley in front of us."

[29] Du Roi. 84.

[30] Du Roi. 82.

[31] Cleve. HZ 333- HZ 334.

[32] Uhlig to Herr George Wilhelm Grau, 23 November 1777. Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel [Brunswick City Archives], ltr. Trans. John Luzader. Uhlig's original letters have not been located.

[33] Johann August Milius to Pfarrer Heinrich Milius, 29 September 1777. Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel [Brunswick City Archives], ltr. Trans. John Luzader. Uhlig's original letters have not been located, making a definitive citation impossible. Milius' mentioning of "three house" being incorporated in the structure is problematic since no map shows more than two. Also, the third known structure was clearly and logically dismantled, according to the Wilkinson base map and the accompanying overlays showing the changes made to Freeman's farms after the first battle. There is no map evidence of a fourth structure aside from the possible depiction of one located between Freeman's hills. An uncolored block shows up in that location on the Wilkinson overlay of the 1st and 2nd positions of September 19th, but is not replicated on the Wilkinson overlay of the 3rd and 4th positions of the same day. Either way, Wilkinson's depiction of the Light Infantry Redoubt on his base map does not show the elusive 4th structure. Milius was the feldprediger [field preacher] to the Regiment von Riedesel.

[34] Uhlig. 23 November 1777.

[35] Uhlig to "an unknown correspondent in Braunschweig," [2] October [1777.] Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel [Brunswick City Archives], ltr. Trans. John Luzader.

[36] Ibid. This letter is critical, as it records the event and thoughts between the battles on this matter, before the decision made by the engineer would play any significance.

[37] Uhlig. 23 November 1777.

[38] Burgoyne. 50. This quote comes from the testimony before the House of Commons given by Alexander Lindsay, the 6th Earl of Balcarres. Lord Balcarres was major and commander of the army's British light infantry battalion in 1777.

[39] Pell. 110.

[40] Georg Päusch. *Journal of Captain Päusch Chief of the Hanau Artillery during the Burgoyne Campaign*. Trans. William Stone. (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1886), 161.

[41] Uhlig. 23 November 1777. This quote comes directly from Louise Torres. *Historic Resource Study Barber Wheat Field October 7, 1777*. (Denver, CO: NPS, 1974), 40. It must be made clear that this quote, and the entire passage itself from which the quote originates, is not found in the transcribed translation of the letter of the same date, formerly cited. The original letters written by Uhlig must be located in order to clear this confusion. Uhlig's letters were "translated by John F. Luzader for the author [Torres]." Ibid. 40.

[42] Päusch. 168.

[43] Cleve. HZ 335. Du Roi fashions it "the Weisser House," which, in any language, puts a completely different spin on the possible meanings of the term when compared to the possessive "Weisser's House." von Riedesel, in William L. Stone. *Memoirs and Letters and Journals, of Major General* [von] *Riedesel, during his Residence in America*…. (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1868), 163. calls it "Waisser's house."

[44] Cleve. HZ 335.

[45] Päusch. 161-162.

[46] Cleve. HZ 335.

[47] Wilkinson. 267-268.

[48] Hadden. 268.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid. This wooded "height on the right of the enemy" is called "Morgans hill" today. According to the *Interpretive Tour Plan Part of the Master Plan Saratoga National Historical Park*, 1941 (Saratoga NHP files 2060 #4), this hill was proposed to be tour road stop 1, with the proposed tour road looping around the western side of the hill.

[52] Cleve. HZ 335.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Burgoyne. 92. This quote comes from the testimony before the House of Commons given by Captain Thomas Blomefield (or Bloomfield). Bloomfield was captain lieutenant and commander of the center division of the park of artillery, and major of brigade of the Royal Artillery.

[55] Päusch. 167-168.

[56] Dearborn. 7.

[57] Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn. *The Life of Major General Henry Dearborn*. Vol. 3. (Brinley Place: 1822), 35. Henceforth cited as "Henry A. S. Dearborn." This is a typescript copy in Saratoga NHP files. Henry A. S. Dearborn was Henry Dearborn's son by his second wife, Dorcas Marble.

[58] Päusch. 171-172.

[59] Burgoyne. 59. This comes from the testimony of Captain John Money, senior captain of the 9th Regiment and deputy quartermaster general for Burgoyne's army. He too was captured in the battle.

[60] Dearborn. 8.

[61] Anbury. 260.

[62] Wilkinson. 271.

[63] Henry A. S. Dearborn. 36.

[64] Uhlig. 23 November 1777.

[65] Rufus Putnam. *The Memoirs of Rufus Putnam compiled and annotated by Rowena Buell.* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1903). 67-68. Rufus Putnam was not only colonel of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment but also a colonel in the American Army's Engineer Department. Putnam's map of the American fortifications, the second battle, and the events in Saratoga is only one of two contemporary manuscript maps made by an American (the other having been drawn by Richard Varick) to have survived. Unfortunately, his cartographical skill was only as good as his spelling and punctuation. He became the first surveyor general of the United States of America in 1796, but was dismissed by President Thomas Jefferson in 1803 "due to incompetence and deficiencies in mathematics." Jessica Miller. http://kroeber.anthro.mankato.msus.edu/information/biography/pqrst/putnam_rufus.html. Date of access 30 August 2001. Mark M. Boatner III. *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution.* (New York: David McKay Company, INC., 1966), 904-905, confirms this truth.

[66] Henry A. S. Dearborn. 37.

[67] Samuel Armstrong. "From Saratoga to Valley Forge: The Diary of Lt. Samuel Armstrong". Vol. CXXI, No. 3 (July 1997) issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. 248. Armstrong was, at the time, an ensign in Colonel Michael Jackson's (later the 8th Massachusetts) Regiment, and served as such in Henry Dearborn's American light infantry battalion.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Wilkinson. 272.

[70] Gates. 15 September 1777.

[71] Du Roi. 79.

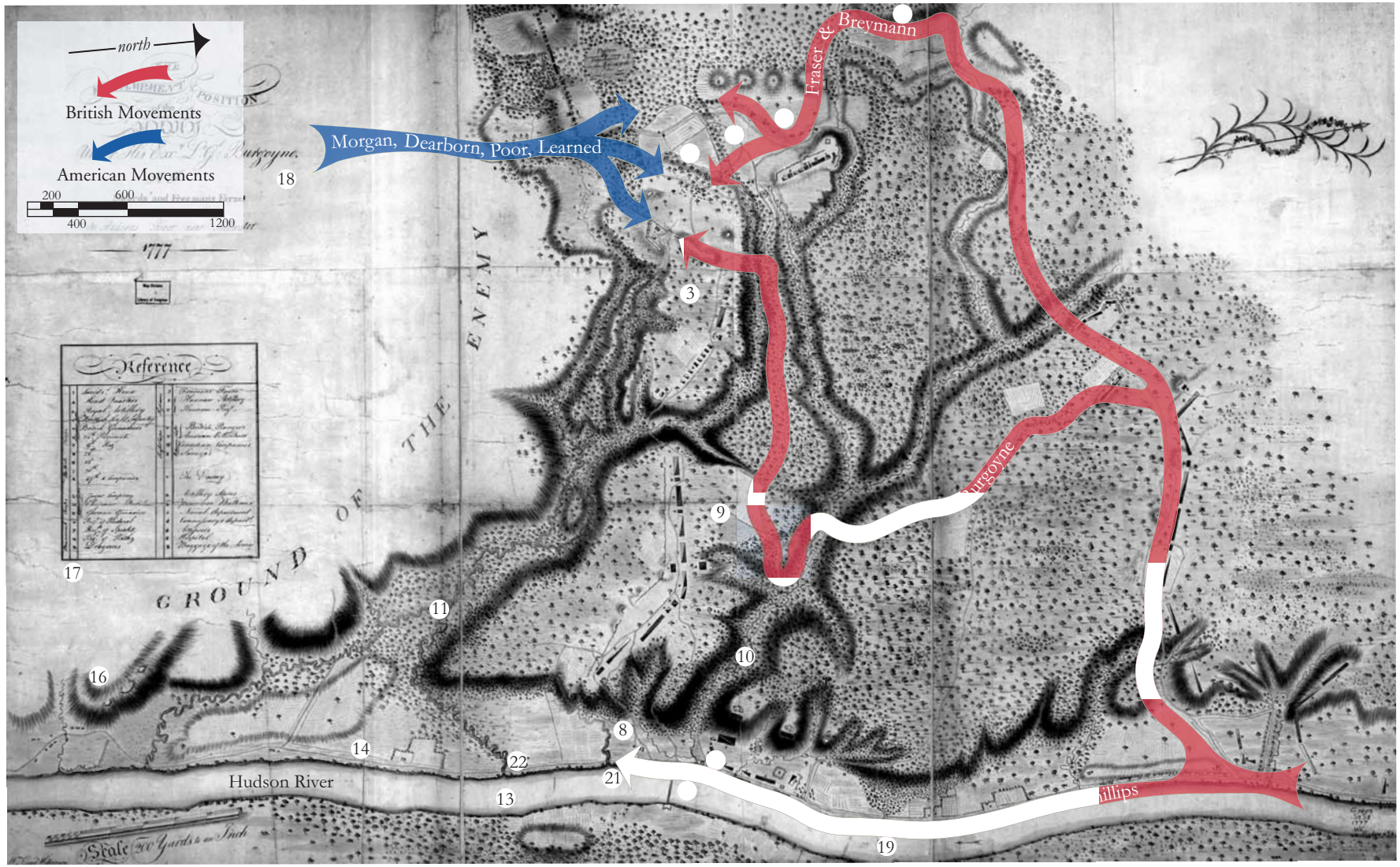


Figure 3.1 - September 19, 1777. Base Map drawn by Lieutenant and Assistant Engineer William Cumberland Wilkinson.

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

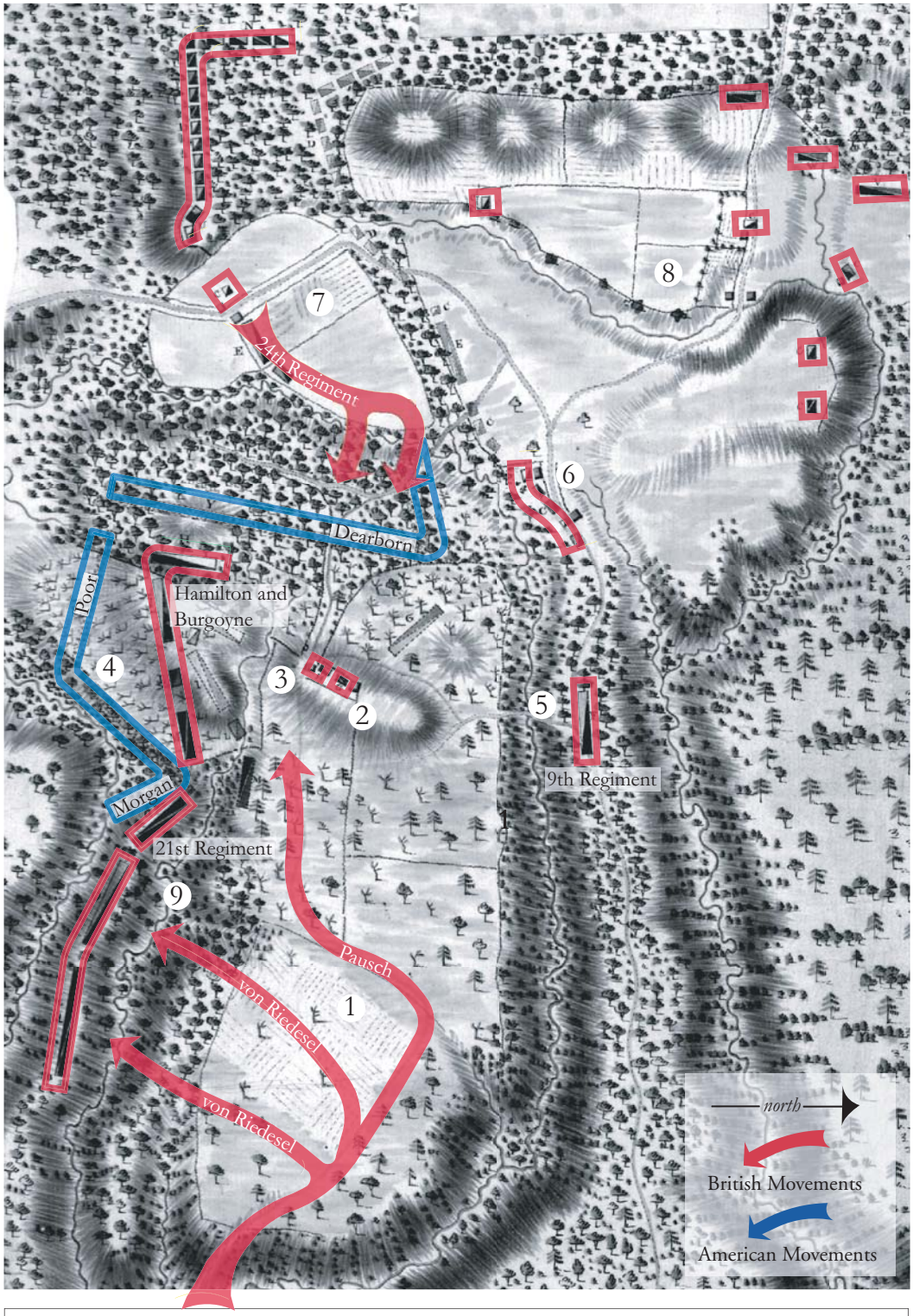


Figure 3.2 - September 19, 1777. Freeman, Marshall, and McBride Farms
Map Overlay drawn by Lieutenant and Assistant Engineer William Cumberland Wilkinson
Not to Scale

1. Freeman's farm
2. Freeman's house
3. Freeman's barn
4. Freeman's outbuilding
5. "large gutter" bridge crossing
6. two "cabins"
7. Marshall's farm
8. McBride's farm
9. branch of Middle Ravine

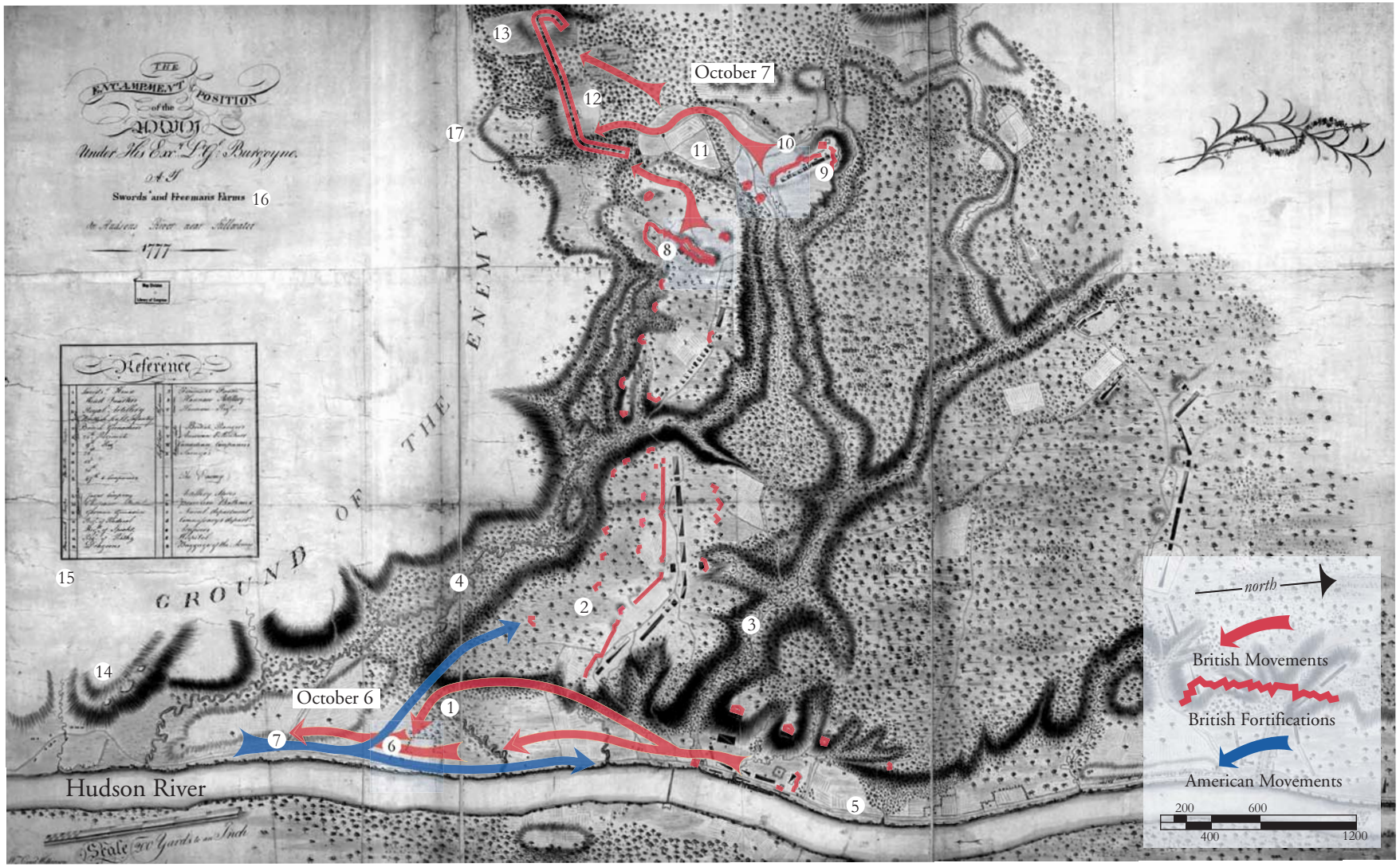


Figure 3.3 - October 6, 7, 1777. American and British Failed Reconnoitering Forces of October 6 and 7

Base Map drawn by Lieutenant and Assistant Engineer William Cumberland Wilkinson

1. "projecting angle of the wood"
2. plateau
3. the Great Ravine
4. the Middle Ravine
5. Road to Albany
6. "first hostile [American] outpost"
7. Evert Van Den Burgh's house
8. the Light Infantry Redoubt
9. Breymann's Redoubt
10. Quaker Springs road
11. Marshall's farm
12. Simeon Barber's farm
13. Joshua Barber's farm
14. bluffs of Bemis Heights
15. Bemis Heights
16. the summit
17. Chatfield's farm

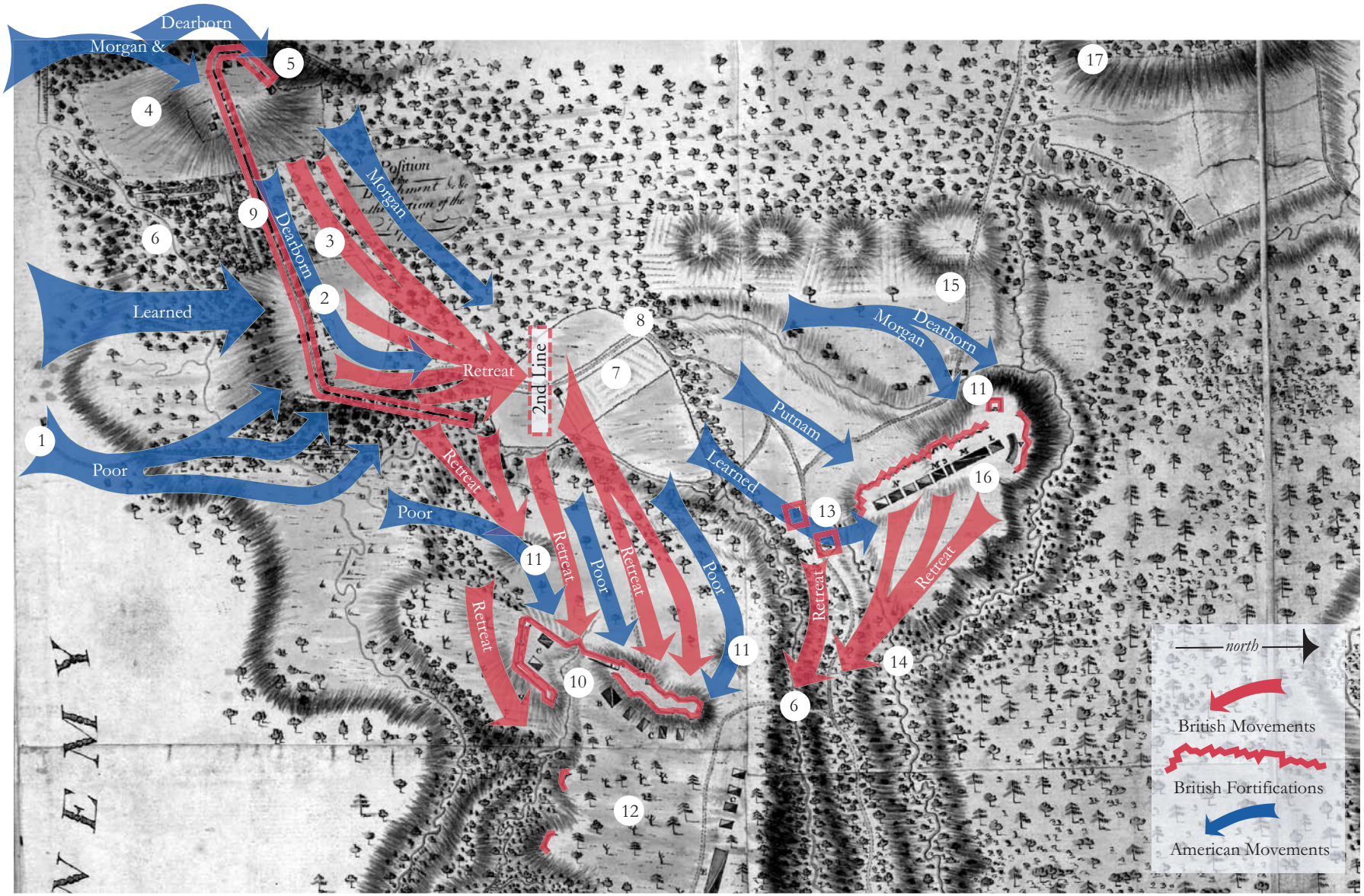
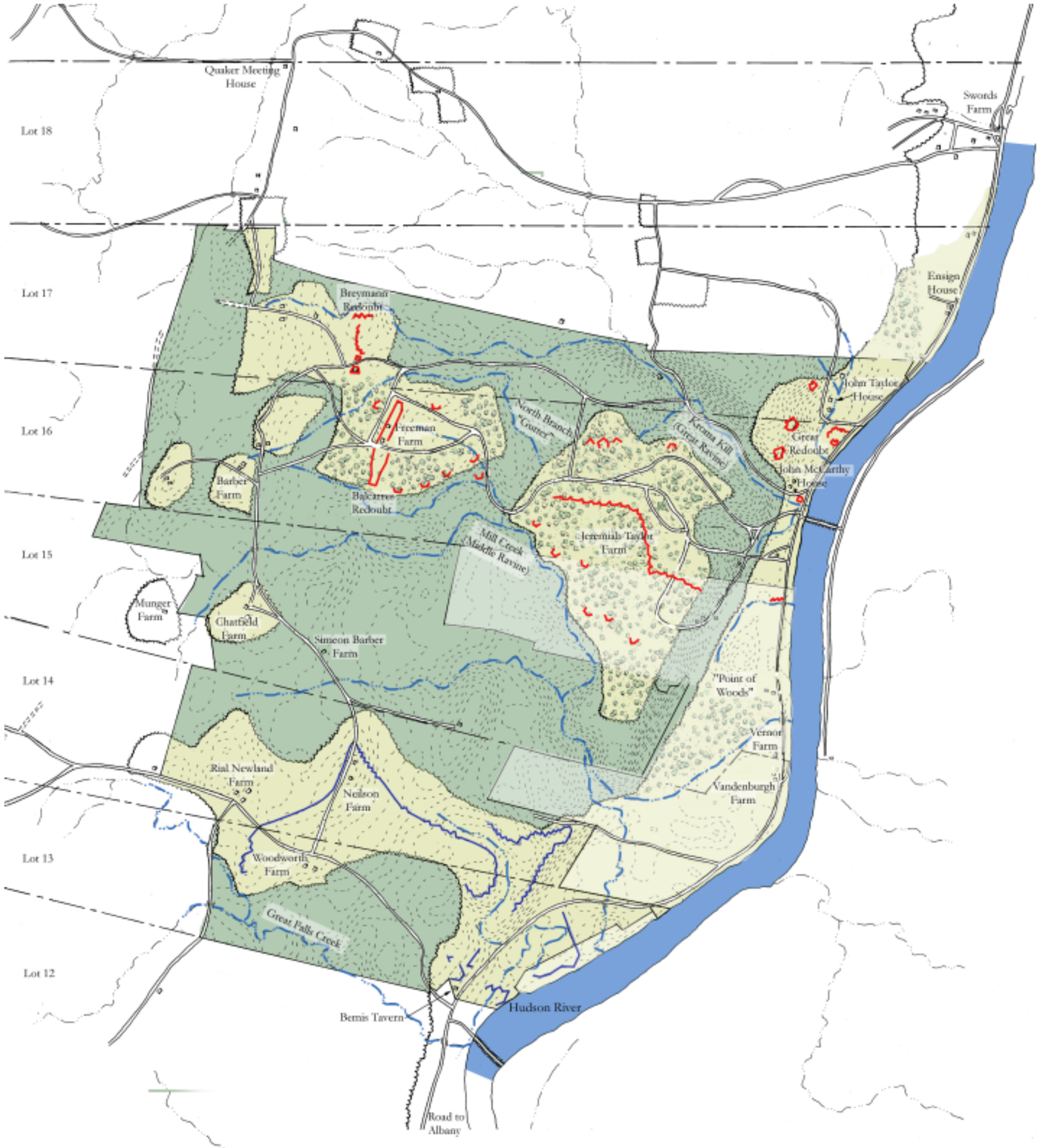


Figure 3.4 - October 7, 1777. Barber farm, Marshall farm, Light Infantry Redoubt, Breymann's Redoubt.

Map Overlay drawn by Lieutenant and Assistant Engineer William Cumberland Wilkinson. Not to Scale.

1. Chatfield's house
2. Simeon Barber's house
3. Simeon Barber's farm
4. Joshua Barbr's farm
5. "Morgan's Hill"
6. branch of the Middle Ravine
7. Marshall's farm
8. Quaker Spring's road
9. "damned crooked road"
10. the Light Infantry Redoubt
11. satellite ourtposts
12. Freeman's farm
13. Canadian cabins
14. branch of the Great Ravine
15. McBride's farm
16. Breymann's Redoubt
17. "Fraser Hill"



1777 Period Plan

Note:

This map was prepared using a series of historic and contemporary maps reproduced to a 1:9,600 scale (1"=800'). There was much disagreement among the maps, so a modern orthophotograph, hydrology map, and USGS topographic map with ten-foot contours were used to rectify the differences.

Maps consulted from park archives:

Wilkinson Manuscript Map with three overlays, 1777. Library of Congress
Emily Russell GIS "Land Cover and Roads Map," for September 19, 1777
Emily Russell GIS "Land Cover and Roads Map" for October 7, 1777
British Library Map of 1777. Unknown cartographer
Wilkinson/Faden Map for September 1777. Engraved in 1780
Wilkinson/Faden Map for October 1777. Engraved in 1780
Faden Overlay for October 1777.
Lt. A.F. Dunker Map of September 1777. Drawn in 1789
Neilson Map for 1777. Published in 1844 and 1924
Walworth Battle Map. Published in 1891
Brandow Map for 1777. Published in 1919
Unknown Officer, Libarry of Congress. 1777
Nickerson Map for October 7, 1777. Published in 1928
SARA Park GIS/GPS "Fortifications and Road Trace Maps"
1926 SARA Park "General Survey of the Neilson Farm Fortifications"
OCLP SARA CLR 2001, 1927, 1877 maps

Note: Park Boundaries are Approximate

American Fortifications
British Fortifications
Creek
Field
Forest
North
Not to Scale

Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga Battlefield, Saratoga National Historical Park

OLMSTED CENTER
for LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION

Figure 3.5

The Rural Economy Period, 1778-1876

> Art, with its strong arm of industry, has dug another river along the plain for use of commerce; the forest has been reaped by agriculture, habitations of prosperity are on every hand, and the white wing of peace is spread out over all.[1]

In his typical nineteenth century prose, Benson Lossing described how the battlefield landscape was fundamentally altered in the century following the battles of 1777. However, the prosperity that Lossing later witnessed was nowhere to be seen in the winter of 1777. Immediately after the battles, local citizens experienced the devastation that their lands and labors had sustained. Many families that fled for safety during the fighting returned to find their properties ransacked and damaged. Shallow graves allowed wolves to feed on the dead, trees were girdled, cut or scarred, and crops were destroyed. Sandy Miller, a descendant of the McCarthy family, wrote of the devastation her relatives faced upon their return. She described the disappointment that Moses McCarthy felt when he found his farm burned, including his barn full of wheat, his garden ravaged, and his potato crop entirely decimated.[2]

John Neilson, whose property was occupied by the American army during the battles, also sustained great losses. Included in his claim of war damages made in 1777, he listed two tons of growing grasses, forty bushels of potatoes, and 354 rods (roughly one mile) of fencing that were destroyed by the armies.[3] Some families that left the area never returned. A number of local citizens sided with the crown, like the John Freeman family, and fled to Canada after the unsuccessful British offensive. Others who were not outwardly vocal in their dissention toward British rule, like Jotham Bemus, were still suspected of being loyalists and discriminated against. Because of these allegations, Bemus's livestock was confiscated, he was temporarily jailed, and his wife was found guilty of conspiring with the Crown.[4]

Along with the destruction of their land and resources, the continuing conflict affected residents in other ways. Trade and travel were influenced by the ongoing war and many residents felt inadequately protected from enemy troops. In 1779, fifty-three residents of the Saratoga district wrote a petition to George Clinton, Governor of New York, asking for protection from war activities. They claimed to be "exposed to the daily and Hourly Incursions of a numerous and Savage Enemy, by no Means secured with proper Guards, so as to render our habitations either safe or Secure. . ."[5]

Hardships prevailed after the conclusion of the war in 1783. The region surrounding the battlefield eventually evolved into a tamed agricultural landscape but in the late 1700s vestiges of the former wilderness remained. In 1791, a party of history buffs, including a Mrs. Dwight, visited the battlefield. Mrs. Dwight wrote of dining at a rustic family cabin and learning about daily life from her hosts. "The conversation of the family proved that wild beasts were very numerous and bold in the surrounding forest, and that they sometimes, when hungry, approached the house; and there was a large aperture left at the bottom of the door to admit the dogs when in danger from wolves."[6]

The clearing of vegetation and subsequent increase of acres devoted to agricultural production changed the character of the land dramatically. Visitors to the battlefield in the early 1800s noticed the conflict between the realities of the working landscape and tourists eager to view battle remains. Lossing, in anticipation of his visit to the battlefield wrote, "This morning broke with an unclouded sky, and before the dew was off the grass I was upon Bemis's Heights, eager to see what yet remained of the military works of a former time. Alas! Hardly a vestige is to be seen…."[7] Like Lossing, many would comment on how farming slowly but definitively erased physical reminders of battle action.

Communities developed and thrived with the presence of industry, services, and transportation systems. The Champlain Canal, Lossing's "second river," stimulated the growth of Wilbur's Basin, a country hamlet on the Hudson River floodplain that expanded due to its proximity to efficient transportation. The Bemis Tavern and later Bemis Hotel created a convenient stopping spot for travelers and center for local activities at Bemis Heights. These and other developments in transportation, agricultural technology, and industry fed a rapid transformation of the landscape and culture of the region and propelled Saratoga's citizens into a new century.

Early Battlefield Visitors

With the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, the battlefield became a popular destination for history-minded pilgrims, naturalists, and elected officials. Each made note of different aspects of the landscape, from agricultural practices, native flora and fauna, to remnants of battle activities. Many accounts of such visits survive and provide insight to the landscape appearance, cultural practices, and public perception of the battlefield throughout the nineteenth century.

Landscape in Transformation

William Strickland, during travels through America observing agricultural practices, made a timely visit to Saratoga in 1794. He made many careful observations about the fields and forests of the region. Equipped with British Ensign Thomas Anburey's books about the Burgoyne Campaign, Strickland walked the site, and wrote of vegetation patterns and individual trees that bore marks of the recent battles.

> Some few of the trees near where the principal action took place are still to be seen which were mutilated with the canon [sic] shot, and many places are pointed out in their trunks, where shot are bedded, deep within them; but many more have been cut down. The sides of the hills which line the banks of the Hudson are in general cover [sic] with wood to their feet, except the three described by Anbury [sic], whose book I had with me and whose drawing is very correct, but these are still covered with stumps, and some of the dead trees which he shows in his view of the place are still remaining; back from the summit of these hills the country is a level plain, covered with wood to the breadth of from half a mile to a mile and a half, beyond which the woods having been in part cut down the county is tolerably open, and along this open county the British and American army passed, and on it took place the fatal action on the 7th of October.[8]

Despite the progress of agricultural improvement, he noticed that several tracts of virgin forest still survived in the area at the end of the eighteenth century.

> In a few places original woods of small extent remain producing trees of wonderful magnitude, and standing so thick on the ground that though there is no underwood and they have no branches for many feet in height, they admit not of view in any direction above a few hundred yards...sound is equally destroyed, the report of a gun cannot be heard farther. The gloom and silence of these woods, whose branches forming a vaulted canopy, deprive the traveler of a view of the Skies, and admit not the rays of the Sun to strike the ground. . . .[9]

Mrs. Dwight also noticed the large, healthy forest remnants on the battlefield. She wrote a passage speaking to the majestic virgin timber of the area. "At length we discovered light among the trees, which, shining upon the trunks and boughs, made a beautiful vista, like an endless Gothic arch, and showed a thousand tall columns on both sides."[10] However, these primeval forests were not abundant and their number continued to decline throughout the 1800s. Farming practices had already spurred significant clearing at the time of the Revolution. Strickland noticed that the area was being deforested rapidly in the 1790s. He called the deforestation "improvident waste" that had "destroyed the woods that originally existed, and want of care has neglected to raise succession."[11] Strickland viewed this phenomenon from the perspective of a European, as a member of a society that had long since stripped its landscape of precious timber. He valued the vast and seemingly unending supply of timber that the early settlers took for granted. To the local farmers this abundance of forest, while serving as a valuable source of income, was also a hindrance to agriculture and was cleared to increase the amount of land in production.

Guides and Important Visitors

While visiting Philip Schuyler in 1783, General George Washington made a trip to the battlefield, six years before he would become president. On his tour of northern New York State, he claimed one of his primary goals was to see "the ground which became famous by being the theatre of action on 1777."[12] This auspicious visit was the first by several national leaders. John Quincy Adams also made a visit to Saratoga in 1843, paying his respects to the hallowed ground.[13]

Many early visitors were guided by Ezra Buel, a veteran of the battles and farmer of the area, who was considered by many to be a local battlefield expert. During the battles of 1777, Buel served as a guide and scout to General Gates because of his familiarity with the local landscape. After the battles of Saratoga, Buel became a lieutenant in the Continental army and served for the remainder of the conflict. He returned home after the war and resumed farming in Stillwater.

Buel guided Jared Sparks, a scholar and visitor, to the battlefield in 1830. Sparks later praised Buel in his journals, citing his credibility and good character.

> Having thus been continually on the ground from the time the events occurred, his recollections are unquestionably precise and accurate, in all things which at the time came under his personal knowledge; and in fact, he does not pretend to give in information in anything else, and this of itself is a strong proof of the fidelity of his statements.[14]

While Buel was intimately familiar with the battlefield and Sparks regarded him highly, his statements and observations should be regarded with some degree of caution. However, although the ever changing landscape must have influenced the accuracy of his memories and perceptions, his first hand experience of the battles was valuable resource to early visitors.

Buel took Sparks to numerous historical sites on the battlefield including Freeman's farm, Fraser's grave, and Gate's camp. Sparks admired the beautiful views of the local landscape and noted the changes in vegetation patterns since the time of the battles. At Freeman's farm, "The guide first pointed out to me the ground on which Burgoyne drew up his men before the action. It was then covered with wood but has since been in part cleared away."[15] Near Gate's camp the two observed the old roads that the British troops used during the second battle. Sparks noted that while the road was visible, most sections were virtually impassable. His comments show how the landscape had undergone substantial changes as early as 1830.

Battle Remains versus Agricultural Practices

William L. Stone's book, *Visits to the Saratoga Battlefield, 1780-1880*, compiles accounts from various battlefield visitors and creates a picture of the landscape throughout the nineteenth century. A common theme in the book is a desire among visitors to find physical reminders of the battles throughout the landscape. General Hoyt, visiting in 1825, lamented his disappointment with the naturally evolving landscape. "Every inch of this ground presents interesting associations, and with eager steps we traversed the hill to find some relic or trace of the gallantry of the men who fought on this spot but all marks are obliterated."[16] While Hoyt's statements are strong regarding the lack of visible remains, his words illustrate both the growing enthusiasm for Saratoga's battlefield history and the rise of the local agricultural economy.

To the dismay of many enthusiasts, agricultural practices of the 1800s and early 1900s destroyed many remains of Revolutionary action. Earthen fortifications, foundations, and graves were ploughed under year after year, slowly eroding the visible traces of the battles. P. Stansbury, a New York City native, walked 2,000 miles over New York, New England, and Canada recording his observations. He too, while visiting the site in 1821, noticed the effects of agriculture on the battlefield and discussed the fading traces.

> Few vestiges are to be seen; the plough has strove with insidious zeal to destroy even these few remaining evidences of Revolutionary heroism. Each succeeding year the agriculturist turns afresh the sod of the weather-beaten breastworks, and as he sweats and toils, to the great anguish of the antiquarian, to level alike mounds and ditches, he exhibits the peaceful efforts of that liberty and wide independence which these have procured, over whose graves he tramples.[17]

Stansbury toured the entire battlefield, scouring the landscape for clues. At the British encampment he found what he believed to be "the line of Burgoyne's camp, which lay north of the Americans, is visible and daily washing away and exposing rotten logs, which, in part, composed the breastworks."[18] He also spotted a redoubt that he believed had been incorporated into a buckwheat field.[19]

Another visitor, Professor Stillman, wrote of visiting the site of the British camp. There he saw traces of breastworks and observed their transition from military features to agricultural fences.

> On our way to Freeman's farm, we traced the line of the British encampment, still marked by a breastwork of logs, not rotten, but retaining their forms; they were at the time covered with earth and the barrier between contending armies, is now a fence, to mark the peaceful divisions of agriculture.[20]

Stillman's observations explain the fate of some breastworks. Many of these large earthworks were tilled under to make way for the plough unless they stood in the advantageous position to serve as a fence or boundary marking.

As a result of the yearly plowing, local farmers found many souvenirs of the battles under the soil. Decades after the battles, farmers found gun-barrels, bayonets, bullets, and human bones.[21] Hazel Farrell, who grew up on a farm in the northern area of the park, remembered tossing bones into the woods when they got in the way of her father's plough in the early 1900s.[22] According to information about the McCarthy farm relayed by Daniel and Hattie Wilbur in 1939:

> After the days of fighting were over one of the McCarthy Boys built and lived in a house very near the site of Gen. Burgoyn's [sic] camp. Pieces of Brick and etc. have been picked up in tilling the field. Pieces of green glass, arrows and bullets also old buttons, buckles, and other things have been collected by the Families in past years.[23]

Foundations of an Agricultural Economy

Prior to the battles, most residents of the battlefield area were farmers, like most upstate New Yorkers. After the disruption of the battles, people returned to their homes and continued their lives. The practice of land clearance and agricultural expansion resumed and became a foundation of the local economy. This post-battle period became a time of increased productivity and rapid growth. One reason for the growth in agriculture was Albany's three-fold population increase between 1790 and 1810.[24] This local population explosion gave farmers a ready market at which they could charge high prices for their goods, making farming in Saratoga County a profitable endeavor at the turn of the century.[25]

Land Clearance

Throughout the state, the pace of land clearance increased dramatically. According to the *New York State Agricultural History*, one million acres of land were cleared after the Revolution, including almost all of the state's virgin forests.[26] John Henry Brandow, in his *History of Old Saratoga*, claimed that most of the available land in the region was occupied by 1790. However, few local farmers owned their property outright, as most were leasing from the large land owners. Tenant farmers began to clear their land, reaping the financial reward by increasing their acreage and selling the removed timber.

Between fifty and sixty percent of the land in Stillwater was cleared during the 1820s.[27] This figure continued to grow in following years. The time between 1830 and 1870 proved to be a period

of continued deforestation, leading to ninety percent of all land being cleared by that time.[28] Deer and other wildlife had become scarce during these years, reinforcing claims that forest land and animal habitat of the region were greatly decreased.[29] By the mid 1800s pigs were no longer permitted to roam free, implying that local farmers found the roaming animals a nuisance to their established fields, gardens, and domestic yards.[30]

By the mid-1800s, the once heavily forested landscape was substantially cleared of vegetation. Marginal lands like ravines and creek beds retained their vegetation only because they were not suitable for farming. Hedge rows, fences, and stone walls were a more common sight than the majestic virgin timber of previous centuries. Crops replaced forests, and the elements of agricultural production organized a humanized landscape.

Benson Lossing, in his *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, commented on the rapid deforestation of the area in 1859. He wrote about the area's deep ravines, high bluffs near the river and how the region at the time of the battles was largely forested. "The bluff is still there, but the forest is gone, and many of the smaller ravines have been filled up by the busy hand of cultivation."[31] Lossing painted a romantic picture of the local landscape and agricultural activities. He described the topography and landscape features and how they were being shaped by the presence of livestock, farm fields, and human habitation.

> Turning the eye northward from the American Camp, there are the same gentle slopes, and deep ravines, and clustering hills, and flowing river; and the heights of Saratoga in the far distance loom up as of yore. But herds are grazing upon the lowlands, and flocks are dotting the hills; the ring of the mower's scythe is heard in the meadow, and the merry laugh goes up from the russet harvest-field.[32]

Agricultural production

Most farms of the time were small family operations, practicing mixed agriculture that produced both crops for sale and food for the family table. Census data from 1850 to 1880 shows that local farmers were working farms of between one hundred and two-hundred acres, a substantial increase from the rustic subsistence farms of Colonial times.[33] Looking to general sources of information about farming during the 1800s, the 1933 publication *The New York State Agricultural History*, identifies oats as the most commonly grown local crop.[34] Wheat was out-produced by oats largely because of the introduction of the Hessian Fly. This insect was most probably brought over from Germany during the Revolutionary War, or perhaps simply named in honor of the mercenary forces, and proved to be devastating to local wheat production between 1830-1840.[35] Information compiled from agricultural censuses of the mid-1800s shows the common grain crops grown in the area were oats, Indian corn, rye and wheat.[36] Other typical components of these upstate New York farms were kitchen gardens, which grew produce for family sustenance, and apple, pear, and cherry orchards. Many farm products were used for the domestic production of alcohol such as hops, barley, apples, grapes, and peaches.[37]

Philip Schuyler's records give many insights to the products and practices of regional farming in the 1800s. Along with his many other interests and occupations, Schuyler was also a farmer himself. He busied himself with many aspects of agricultural activities, including the experimentation of plant

propagation, shipment of goods, and the management of insect pests. His records show that among his farms and leased properties, flax, hemp, grapes, wheat, squash, corn, and potatoes were under cultivation.[38]

Livestock was an essential component of each farm. The *State Gazetteer* in 1824 listed 498 farmers in Stillwater owning 2,091 cattle, 555 horses and 4,225 sheep.[39] Wool was a cash crop of the time, explaining the high ratio of sheep to other farm animals and the local economy reflected this. Stillwater had two fulling mills, nine carding machines, and one cotton and woolen factory in 1820.[40] Manure was a valuable fertilizer that was essential to productivity. Figures from the Agricultural Census Records of 1850-1880 report that farms with the lowest number of livestock also grossed the lowest crop yields.[41]

Rial Newland, a veteran of the battles, owned the farm adjacent to the Neilson property during the late 1700s and early 1800s. A detailed inventory of his belongings made on August 14, 1805, shortly after his death indicates he owned nine cows, four calves, six horses, fifty sheep, four steers, and ten hogs, valued together at $791.00.[42] Farm equipment including wagons, sleighs, harnesses, and tools, was listed along with a sizeable collection of housewares.[43] Included in the list of housewares were multiple looking glasses, thirty-one blankets, eight beds, and a clock, indicating that by the early 1800s, farmers of the area had established substantial homesteads.

Charles Neilson's farm was typical of those found locally in the mid 1800s. According to the 1860 Agricultural Census, he owned ninety six improved acres.[44] His major field crop was oats. Neilson produced five hundred bushels in 1860 but he also grew 125 bushels of corn and four hundred bushels of potatoes that year.[45] His livestock included three horses, thirteen cows, and ten swine.[46] The Neilson property is further illustrated by an 1859 graphic appearing in Lossing's book (Figure 4.1). The original house was still there but was substantially expanded by multiple additions that tripled the size of the original one room structure. Lossing's drawing depicted chickens, sheep, and swine grazing in the space outside of the picket fence enclosing the domestic yard and a horseman driving sheep along the public highway. Behind the house, two recently built barns were shown. Lossing claimed the original barn that served as an important fortification during the conflict no longer existed. Its timbers had apparently been used to construct other structures.[47] A rail fence, presumably to enclose his fields, extended away from the barn into the distance, travelling parallel to the public road.

Numerous farmers in the region developed secondary sources of income, using the resources of their land. The Valentines, who owned land near Wilbur's Basin, raised silk worms for cloth production in the mid 1800s, and planted a grove of mulberry trees to feed the caterpillars.[48] Being skilled machinists, the Valentines developed a turbine to aid the silk making process, but unfortunately, someone beat them to market with the idea and they never profited from their invention.[49]

Other early entrepreneurs are noted in the 1871 *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Saratoga County*. William Denison of Bemis Heights was credited with running the Bemis Heights Cheese Factory in

addition to farming two hundred acres.[50] During the same time, Ezra Munger produced cider for market and farmed 503 acres.[51]

The methods by which farmers manipulated their land changed spatial patterns, surface topography, and boundary delineation. As necessary components of a working farm, fences, stone walls, and drainage systems left their mark on the land. Abundant timber led to the popularity of the "worm" fence in the eighteenth and early 19th centuries (Figure 4.2). This fence style, readily created by stacking timbers perpendicular to one another, was easily moveable. Clearing trees for agricultural fields created the raw materials for the construction of these fences, yet as timber became less plentiful, other means of enclosing fields and property lines became more economical.

The two armies used many timber fences for fuel during the battles. It became necessary after the battles for local farmers to recreate the fences that kept livestock away from their crops. They often used stones from their fields in place of increasingly scarce wood. Early stone walls may have been constructed in a variety of methods and with a range of craftsmanship (Figure 4.3). They might have been as simple as an arrangement of stones one course wide, or they may have been composed of several courses and quite tall.[52] Their construction would vary considerably based on the skill of the builder and the type of stones available.[53] Because property boundaries were often disputed, well built, permanent stone walls were probably not built in the area before the mid 1800s.[54] Many of these nineteenth century walls remained in the park through the 1930s, continuing to delineate the local fields and boundaries.

Sod fences were sometimes used in the 1800s to establish boundaries. The construction of sod fences was accomplished using stones, earth, and sod. According to an article from the *1852 Farmers Monthly Visitor*, sod fences were constructed using a layering system.

> Place first a layer of stones from four to six inches high. On top of this is put a layer of sods, grass down, carefully filling up all the interstices in the stone beneath, then a layer of stone, then sod, thus alternately until your wall is at the desired height, when you cap it with sod. Grass seed is then sown on top, and around the sides on the edges of the turf. . . . The following season the grass entirely covers and conceals the stone, and you have a most beautiful solid wall.[55]

Stone walls and sod fences marked an era in time. These rather permanent features proved to be a hindrance to expansion and alteration of fields. When farming technology progressed and equipment became larger, the fixed field configurations formed by stone and sod impeded modernization and growth.[56] When the sod fences were inevitably abandoned as active field markers and allowed to fall into disrepair, visitors may have mistaken them for earthworks related to the battles of 1777.

Field drains were in use on the battlefield before the mid 1800s.[57] These ditches were usually twenty-five to thirty feet apart and two to three feet deep and helped keep poorly drained fields workable.[58] A subsurface "French" drain was located around the former Woodworth farm during a 1987 archeological study of the American Headquarters (Figure 4.4). The drain was a 202 foot long stone-lined trench that traveled around the farm in a horseshoe shape, channeling water around the Woodworth barn and house.[59] Drainage ditches generally followed property and field lines, serving

as additional ways to mark boundaries. The implementation of such structures indicate that some local farmers established substantial property boundaries by the mid 1850s.

Corridors and Crossroads

Transportation routes and evolving technology were instrumental in establishing the early communities of the battlefield. Crossroads, infrequently scattered throughout the rural landscape in the early 1800s, often evolved into centers for commerce and trade for local residents. Beginning with roads and later canals and railroads, transportation systems dictated the location, speed, and method by which these communities prospered and declined.

The Whitehall Turnpike and Champlain Canal

As a solution to the poor quality of roads that plagued the country at the end of the eighteenth century, the turnpike movement slowly gained momentum. This toll-road system began in England in the 1660s and was popular until the 1770s.[60] In America, the northern states were the first to experiment with private road systems, chartering the first turnpikes in the 1790s. However, New York was the last of the states to establish its own turnpikes. Even though turnpikes were chartered in New York by 1800, the system did not take off until the passage of the general turnpike law of 1807.[61]

Turnpikes revolutionized transportation in early nineteenth century America. Being private ventures, their organizers had the ability to seek investors from an unlimited geographic area and were not dependent on local municipal governments. Charging fares for usage allowed for better repairs and general maintenance than municipal roads. Private investors could create a road, with permission from the state, wherever they saw a demand, fueling trade between different cities and states. The competition between Albany and Troy in the early 1800s for direct trade routes with southern New York State and the western city of Schenectady created several turnpikes around the present-day capital region.[62] The Whitehall Turnpike, connecting Waterford with Whitehall, on the southern shore of Lake Champlain, was constructed later than some of the major roads linking Albany and New York City, but is shown to have existed before 1830. [63]

Another nineteenth century transportation system that influenced local, state, and national development was canals. Philip Schuyler displayed his entrepreneurial spirit and expertise once again through his advocacy for a state-wide canal system, including one connecting southern New York with Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River. He was the earliest and most fervent supporter of New York's proposed north-south waterway, earning him the name "Father of the Champlain Canal."[64] His enthusiasm began during a trip to Europe in 1761 when he became impressed with the English canals. Schuyler brought home a desire to establish such a canal system in New York. However, the Revolution stalled his plans. Yet, while in some ways hindering development, the war also demonstrated the need for a canal. The troubles associated with supplying armies stationed in the north country and Canada articulated the need for a strategic navigable route north of Albany to Lake Champlain.

In 1792, the New York State Legislature authorized two canal companies, the Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company and the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company. Funding was inadequate for both of these ventures and the Northern Canal emerged as a lower priority of the two routes. While some improvements were made on the western canal during the 1790s, planning for the northern canal was so scattered and inconsistent that few discernable advances occurred. Both canal systems languished during the close of the 1700s.

The death of Philip Schuyler in 1804, combined with the disappointment of previous planning efforts, stalled the evolution of the canal system for almost twenty years. After the War of 1812, discussion of canal related developments resumed. Because of the allure of improved commerce with the north and for reasons of national security, it again became apparent that a navigable route north of Albany was necessary. Subsequently, the state authorized work to resume on both the northern and western canals in 1817. Construction progressed rapidly, with distinct sections completed in 1819 and 1821. The final segment of the Champlain Canal was finished in 1823 and joined with the Erie Canal a full two years before the more ambitious Erie Canal was finished.

The completed canal was an instant success. It soon became so popular that demand outgrew the capacity of the system. The size of barges increased dramatically, necessitating deeper and wider canal beds. However, despite both its popularity and the need to increase its size, a unified effort to enlarge the Champlain canal never occurred. The depths of certain sections were increased to six feet but no evidence exists to prove that the entire canal was improved in the mid 1800s.

Both turnpikes and canals met a need for improved transportation in the 1800s. They were embraced by people from the local area and around the state. Prosperity and opportunity accompanied the regions fortunate enough to be located along their routes.

Bemis Heights and Wilbur's Basin

The community of Bemis Heights, while already established before the construction of the Whitehall Turnpike, flourished in the early 1800s with the presence of the new roadway. The former location of the American army headquarters during the battles of 1777 became a small crossroads community at the junction of Quaker Springs Road and the River Road. Jotham Bemis (or Bemus), the community's namesake, was a farmer, Justice of the Peace, and proprieter of the Bemis Tavern. By 1777, the tavern serviced traffic between Albany and Fort Edward along the Road to Albany.[65] Unfortunately, little is known about the size and appearance of the tavern or the grounds on which it stood. The original tavern burned and was replaced by the Bemus Hotel in 1803 (Figure 4.5).[66] The hotel served as a community post office and general store.[67]

Bemis Heights benefited from the activity generated by the crossroads of the Whitehall Turnpike and Quaker Springs Road during the turnpike's short life. While the turnpike system in New York was not a profitable venture over the long-term, the Bemis Heights community became firmly established during the turnpike period of the early 1800s. Such factors as toll evasion, lack of demand, and the popularity of the canal systems, all contributed to the eventual demise of the Whitehall Turnpike in the mid 1800s.[68] By order of the state in 1838, abandoned turnpikes became

public roadways and the pathway of the defunct Whitehall Turnpike was most likely incorporated into segments of the north-south Champlain Canal prism.

Despite the decline of the turnpike, traffic passing through Bemis Heights increased substantially after 1823 with the completion of the Champlain Canal. This popular shipping route stimulated growth, leading to the establishment of a school and church in the mid-1800s that further contributed to the vitality of the Bemis Heights community. As seen in an 1866 Topographical Atlas of Saratoga County, Bemis Heights was home to numerous families (Figure 4.6). This map illustrates patent lines, houses, and family farms throughout the battlefield as well as a representation of the field of fighting to the south and west of the Freeman farm. Bemis Heights and the areas directly south that are located along the canal corridor were home to the most substantial collection of dwellings in the area.

A tracing of a *Map of the Schuylerville and Upper Hudson Railroad* illustrates Bemis Heights in 1870 (Figure 4.7). A cluster of structures was located around the Champlain Canal and Whitehall Turnpike. The Bemis Hotel and its outbuildings were noted along with the houses of the Dunscombs and D.R. Lane. The Whitehall turnpike altered its normal course along the east side of the canal to access the resources of Bemis Heights, located on the west side of the canal, before returning to its original route. Bemis Heights was never larger than a small community, home to several residents and a center for travelers and local farmers, but the presence of the canal and the path of the Whitehall Turnpike made it a significant local resource.

Another community of the battlefield that flourished due to canal activity was Wilbur's Basin. Waterpower generated from the adjacent Kroma Kill established the area as a milling center decades prior to the canal. Just as Colonel Koscuiszko once used the steep ravine and escarpment tactically during the battles, early millers took advantage of the topography and waterpower for economic gain.

The community of Wilbur's Basin began shortly after the battles of 1777 when Fones and Humphrey Wilbur, two brothers from Dutchess County, NY, traveled to Stillwater to construct a mill and dam along the Kroma Kill.[69] Upon completing the mill at the basin that would later bear their name, the pair returned home to Dutchess County, only to move back to Stillwater permanently the following year with their parents and siblings.[70] After their return, Fones Wilbur married John McCarthy's daughter, and built a home nearby.

When the canal opened in 1823, the Kroma Kill's millpond became a likely area for canal related development. The basin of water near the mouth of the creek created a space large enough for barges to dock or change direction. Subsequently, a rural hamlet was established to service canal activity. It was in these early days when the area became known as Wilbur's Basin.[71] For local residents, the canal proved to be an advantageous resource for the transportation of crops and for mill activity. Mill owners along the Kroma Kill now had 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 sawmill and gristmill up the creek from Wilbur's Basin.[72] The mills were purchased by Daniel Smith who later built a plaster

mill and salt mill (Figure 4.8).[73] The mills used waterpower supplied by a dam near the base of the Kroma Kill and the River Road (Figure 4.9).[74]

As seen in the 1834 canal map, the wide inlet that formed at the junction of the creek and canal, accentuated by the steep creek bed, was a natural center for development (Figure 4.10). The homes and structures of Wilbur's Basin were clustered on the east side of the canal, connected with the farms above the floodplain by a series of bridges. One of John McCarthy's grandsons opened a general store at the basin and the community continued to grow throughout the mid-1800s. Several businesses and craftsmen worked in the community, like Ambrose Wirthington, a local entrepreneur, who was listed in 1871 in *the Saratoga County Gazetteer* as a horse shoer, jobber, and blacksmith at Wilbur's Basin.[75] He performed services for local residents and traveling boatmen. These travelers needed food, lodging, horseshoes, and supplies, all of which were supplied at the hamlet of Wilbur's Basin.

The canal's growth and development positively influenced local farmers. They prospered from the highly priced agricultural markets and because of the proximity to efficient transportation. Benson Lossing created an engraving of the battlefield in 1859 that depicts local agriculture in the mid-nineteenth century. Lossing showed the canal as an integral component of the battlefield landscape (Figure 4.11). The foreground is created by an agricultural field that is enclosed by a post and rail fence, the "worm" fencing no longer in use. Behind the field is the canal, complete with a barge being pulled along the towpath by horses or mules. Beyond the canal and Hudson River with its rope ferry, the rolling foothills of the Green Mountains create the background. His romanticized engraving depicts a rural, pastoral culture, working in concert with the local waterways.

Just as Bemis Heights flourished because of the Whitehall Turnpike, Wilbur's Basin was dependent on the health of the canal for its prosperity. In 1869, an autumn storm seriously damaged the canal and mills at Wilbur's Basin. Reportedly, a seven-foot section of the canal wall failed, flooding the area and causing the Mill dam to break.[76] As a result, Daniel Smith's gristmill, sawmill, and plaster mill were destroyed. This took a substantial toll on the community with eighty days of work necessary to repair the damage.[77] The dams of the Kroma Kill, that were so important to the health of the canal, as well as other dams of the battlefield landscape, survived into the twentieth century and were remembered by local residents as unused but still functional. John Bradley, a Stillwater resident who spent time playing at the battlefield as a child in the early 1900s, remembered three dams in the northwestern region of the present park.[78]

Two photographs from the early 1900s depict the settlement of Wilbur's Basin. The first, taken from the escarpment of the battlefield, looked down on Wilbur's Basin, canal, electric trolley line, Hudson River, and the east side of the river (Figure 4.12). The community was characterized by 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. The second photo offers a different view, looking north to Schuylerville across Wilbur's Basin (Figure 4.13). The basin extended west, to the left of the photo. A floating dock divided the basin and connected it to a dilapidated rail fence that ran along the towpath. Though these photos were taken near the end of the canal's working period and allude to the eventual

decline of canal resources and infrastructure, they illustrate how the community's economic health and spatial organization was dependent on the Champlain Canal.

Increased economic and agricultural development in the late 1800s stimulated the local economy and created yet another transportation system in the upper Hudson Valley and Saratoga region. The Stillwater and Mechanicville Street Railway was formed as a horse drawn railroad in 1883 to serve local passengers. Its route traveled 3.87 miles from the northern end of Stillwater, along present day Route 4, to Mechanicville.[79] In its early days as a horse drawn railroad, the Stillwater and Mechanicville Railway carried between 43,000 and 58,000 passengers annually.[80] The line was improved in 1896, making use of electricity generated from the Hudson River. Beginning in 1895, plans were made to expand the line northward to Schuylerville, which took place by 1900. In 1901, the railroad merged with the expanding Hudson Valley Railroad line and ran sixteen passenger cars, three snowploughs, two passenger trailers, and one service car.[81] From its terminus in Troy, it ran along the west side of the Hudson River through Lansingburg, Waterford, Mechanicville, Stillwater, paralleled the Champlain Canal below the battlefield, and ended in Schuylerville. While the railroad was a great convenience to local travelers and businessmen, the system was rarely profitable. Although it was not consistently a cost-effective venture, the railroad continued to service local travelers and tourists alike until 1928.[82]

Vestiges and Veneration

Although traces of the battles still remained throughout the landscape toward the end of the 1800s, it required a discerning eye to see them. Over one hundred years of intense land use had eradicated many distinguishable reminders of the battles of 1777 (Figure 4.14). As is often the case, this threat to the battlefield served as the catalyst for increased awareness and protection. Coupled with the risk to battle resources, anticipation of a centennial anniversary of the conflict gave concerned individuals the will to plan for preservation and commemoration. Centennial celebration efforts, led by feelings of patriotism and national unity, made progress at commemorating the surrender of Burgoyne, but were less successful at preserving the battlefield landscape. Mrs. Ellen Walworth, a remarkable local citizen who was a life-long battlefield enthusiast, founding member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, supporter of the American Historical Association, and promoter of the future battlefield preservation movement, remembered her disappointment with the yearly degradation of battle remnants.

> The earth-works were, in many places, quite leveled and other works of the revolutionary struggle were obliterated. We saw, however, what had escaped the knowledge of the Chancellor, remains of the old military road through the woods from the river to Breyman's Hill, and clear evidences of the revolutionary bridge thrown over the ravine near the foot of the hill for the passage of artillery. Now, alas, the least vestige of all this is gone and much more that told its record of the past.[83]

The significant landscape changes noticed by Mrs. Walworth and others, caused primarily by the progress of the agricultural economy, proved detrimental to the preservation of the battlefield. Walworth's views, which echoed the thoughts of numerous battlefield supporters before her, became significant when the preservation of battlefield landscapes, structures, and relics were embraced as a worthy cause in years to come.

After many years of human manipulation, the battlefield hardly resembled the 1777 landscape. Features such as topography, creeks, the Hudson River, and several local roads retained integrity to the time of the battles but most of the area's forest had been cleared. This deforestation significantly altered the landscape, exposing the rolling hills, deep ravines, and numerous farmsteads. Typical trees of the era, notably hedgerows and orchards, were planted for their agricultural value and did not contribute to a significant percentage of forest cover. This open landscape created a largely blank slate on which to build the next generation of battlefield land use. The frustrations of Walworth and her contemporaries were answered in the late 1800s when commemoration of the Revolutionary war came into favor, thus beginning Saratoga battlefield's memorial era.

Endnotes – Rural Economy Period

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[2] Sandy Miller in a letter to Linda White, SARA Archeological Technician. June 16, 2000. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

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[27] J. Macauley. *Natural, Statistical and Civil History of the State of New York. Vol. II. 1829.*, in Russell's "Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga National Historical Park (draft)." 1995, 28. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

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[32] Lossing. 69.

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[57] David R. Starbuck. "The American Headquarters for the Battle of Saratoga: 1985-1986 Excavations." (Troy, NY: Department of Science and Technology Studies. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1987), 26.

[58] Russell. 32.

[59] Starbuck. 26. The Woodworth barn and house were demolished in 1829.

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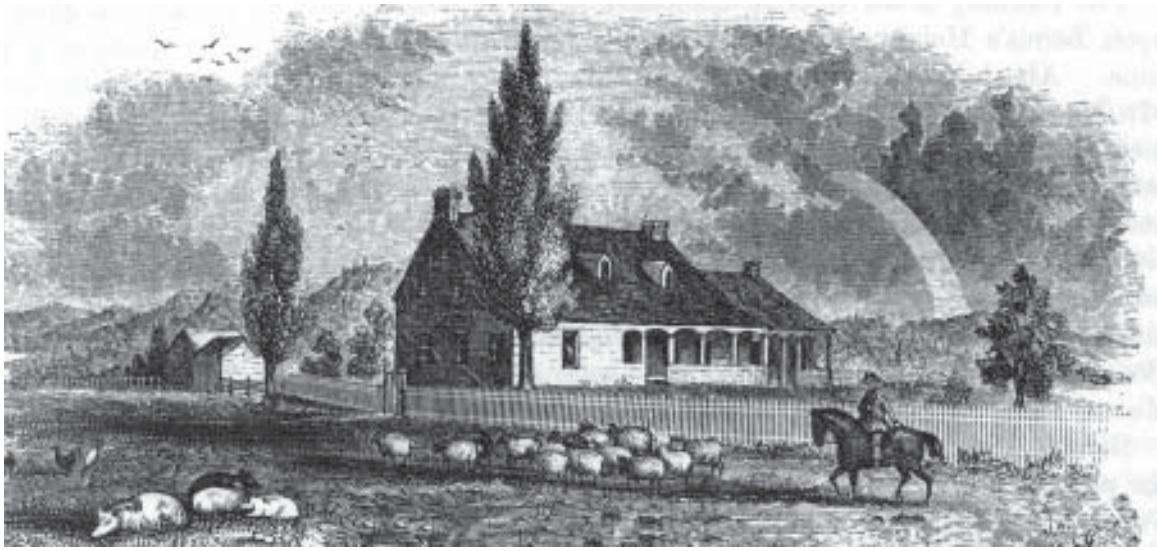


Figure 4.1. Benson Lossing's engraving of the Neilson farm. The components of the farm are illustrated, including the house, barns, livestock, fencing, domestic yard, and public road. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution.* Volume I. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859).

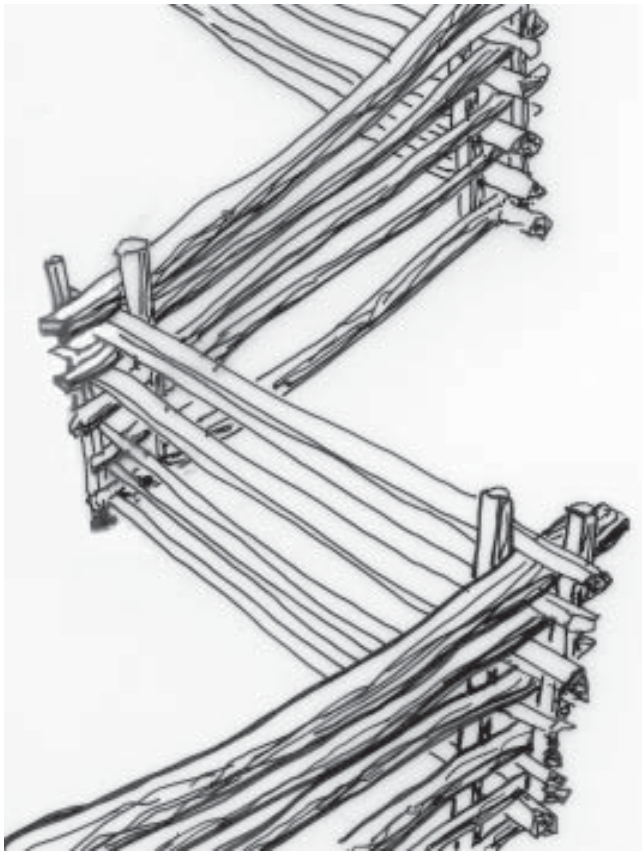


Figure 4.2. Diagram of a worm fence. Redrawn from Susan Allport's *Sermons in Stone; The Stone Walls of New England and New York*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990).

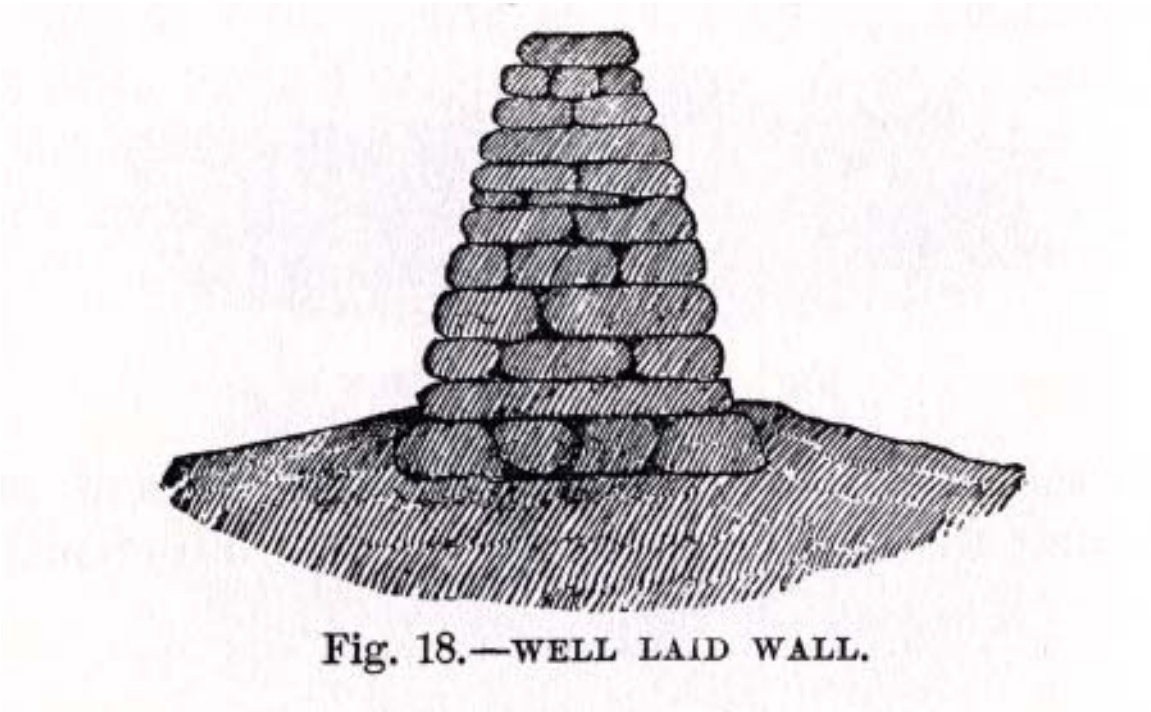


Figure 4.3. Good construction techniques for a stone wall. George A. Martin, *Fences, Gates and Bridges, A Practical Manual.* (New York: O.Judd, 1887).

Figure 4.4. Archeological remains of a French drain at the former Woodworth Farm. David R. Starbuck. "The American Headquarters for the Battles of Saratoga: 1985-1986 Excavations." (Troy, NY: Department of Sciences and Technology Studies. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1987), 26.

Figure 4.5. The Bemis Hotel was the second tavern at Bemis Heights. c. 1900. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 4.6. Topographic Atlas of Saratoga County. Note the density of structures clustered around Bemis Heights and the reference to the "Battle Grounds" near the scene of fighting at the top of the image. S.N. & D.G. Beers (Philadelphia, PA: Stones and Stewart, 1866).

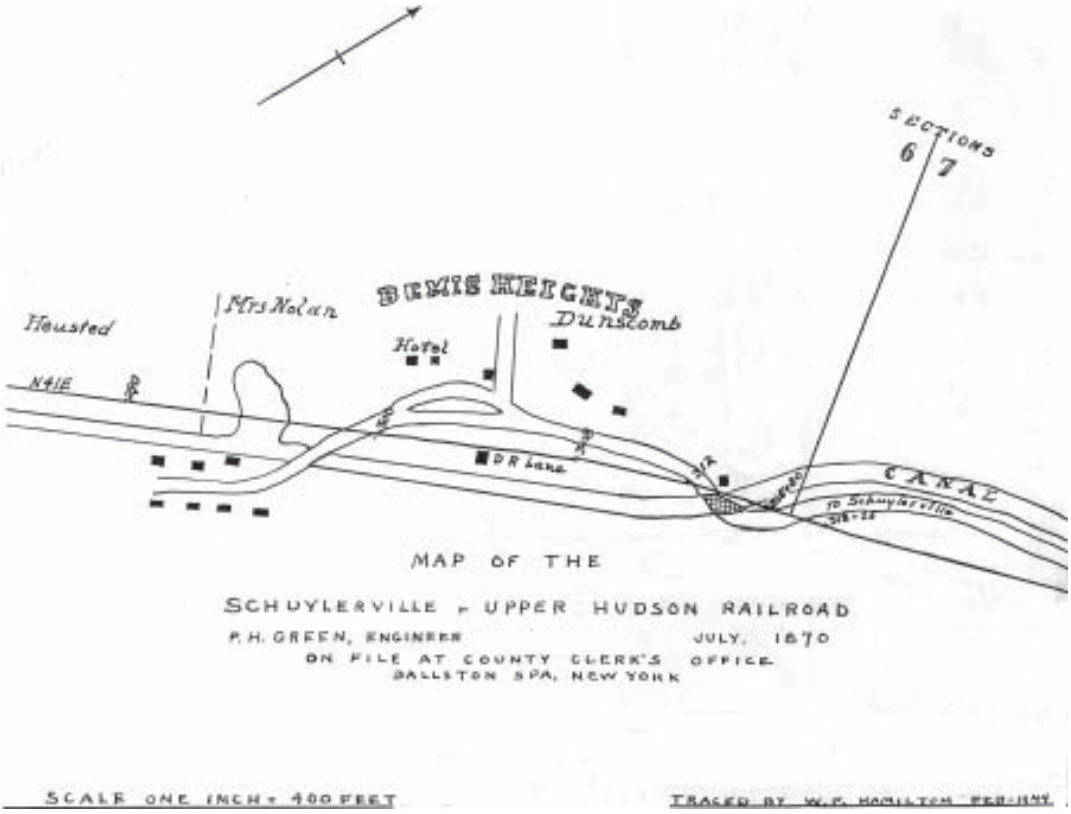


Figure 4.7. Map of the Schuylerville and Upper Hudson Railroad showing the Champlain Canal, bridges, Bemis Hotel, and buildings of Bemis Heights. P.H. Green, Engineer. July, 1870. County Clerk's Office, Ballston Spa, NY. Traced by W.F. Hamilton. February 1944. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 4.8. Mill at Wilbur's Basin. 1902. *Saratogian*. February, 27, 1971. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 4.9. Dam at Wilbur's Basin. One of the several dams within current park boundaries that survived until the early 1900s. 1902. *Saratogian*. February, 27, 1971. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

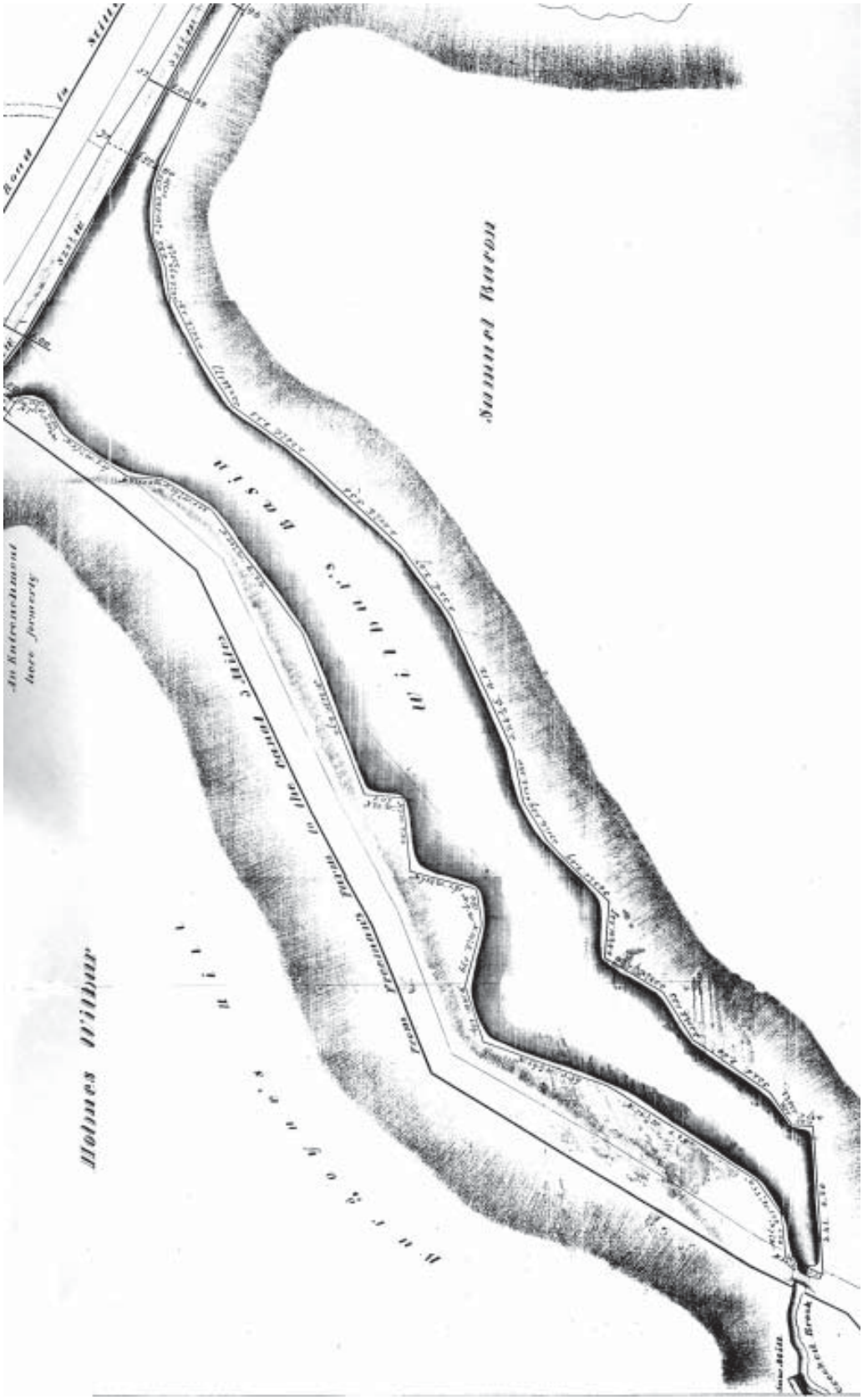


Figure 4.10. The inlet of Wilbur's Basin, created by the steep walls of the Kroma Kill, the flat land of the Hudson River floodplain, located just off the upper left of the map, and the Champlain Canal, made an ideal area for barge traffic. Holmes and Hutchinson Champlain Canal Map. 1832-1834. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 4.11. Engraving of the local landscape by Benson Lossing. He depicted the rural landscape and its primary components during the mid-1800s; agriculture and canal activity. Benson Lossing. *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution.* Volume I. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859).

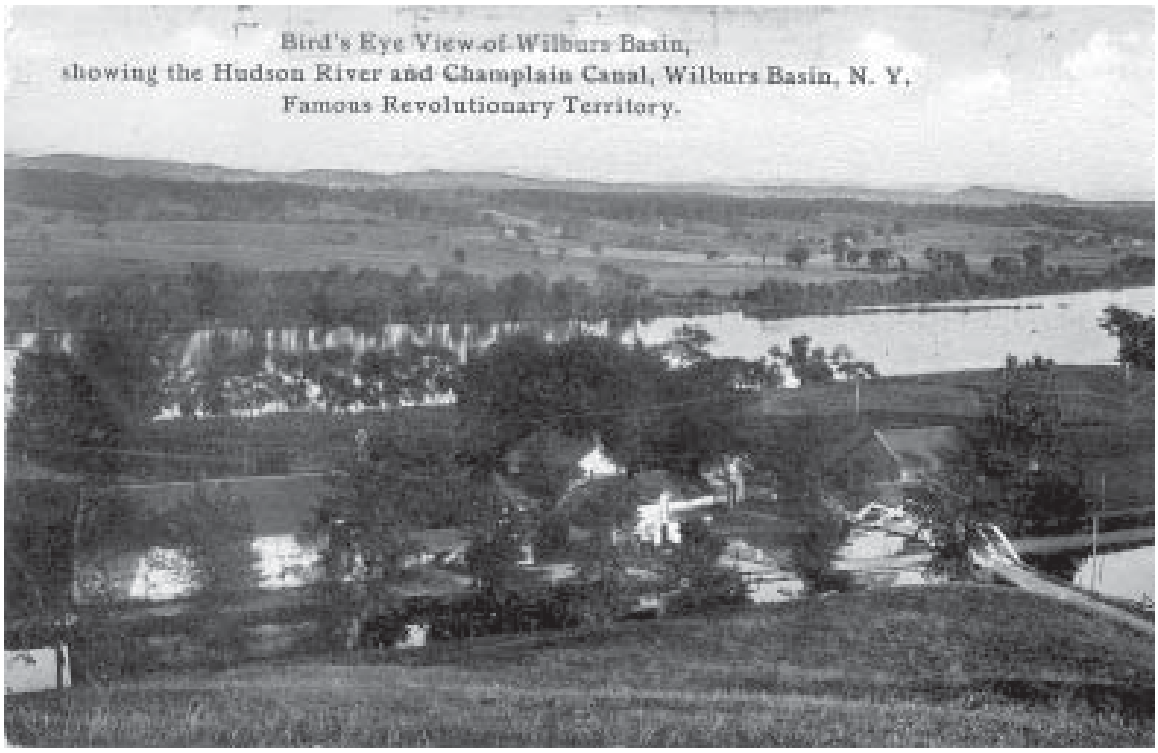


Figure 4.12. A view of Wilbur's Basin in the early 1900's. This was taken shortly before this segment ceased to be a working portion of the Champlain Canal. 1919. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

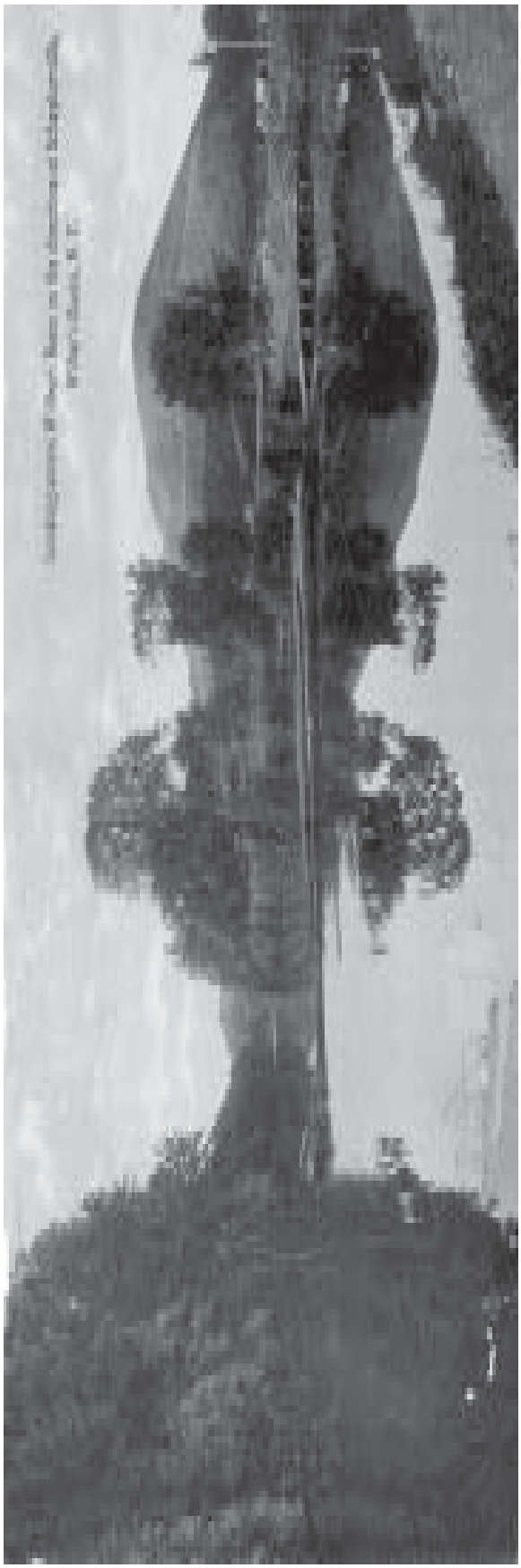
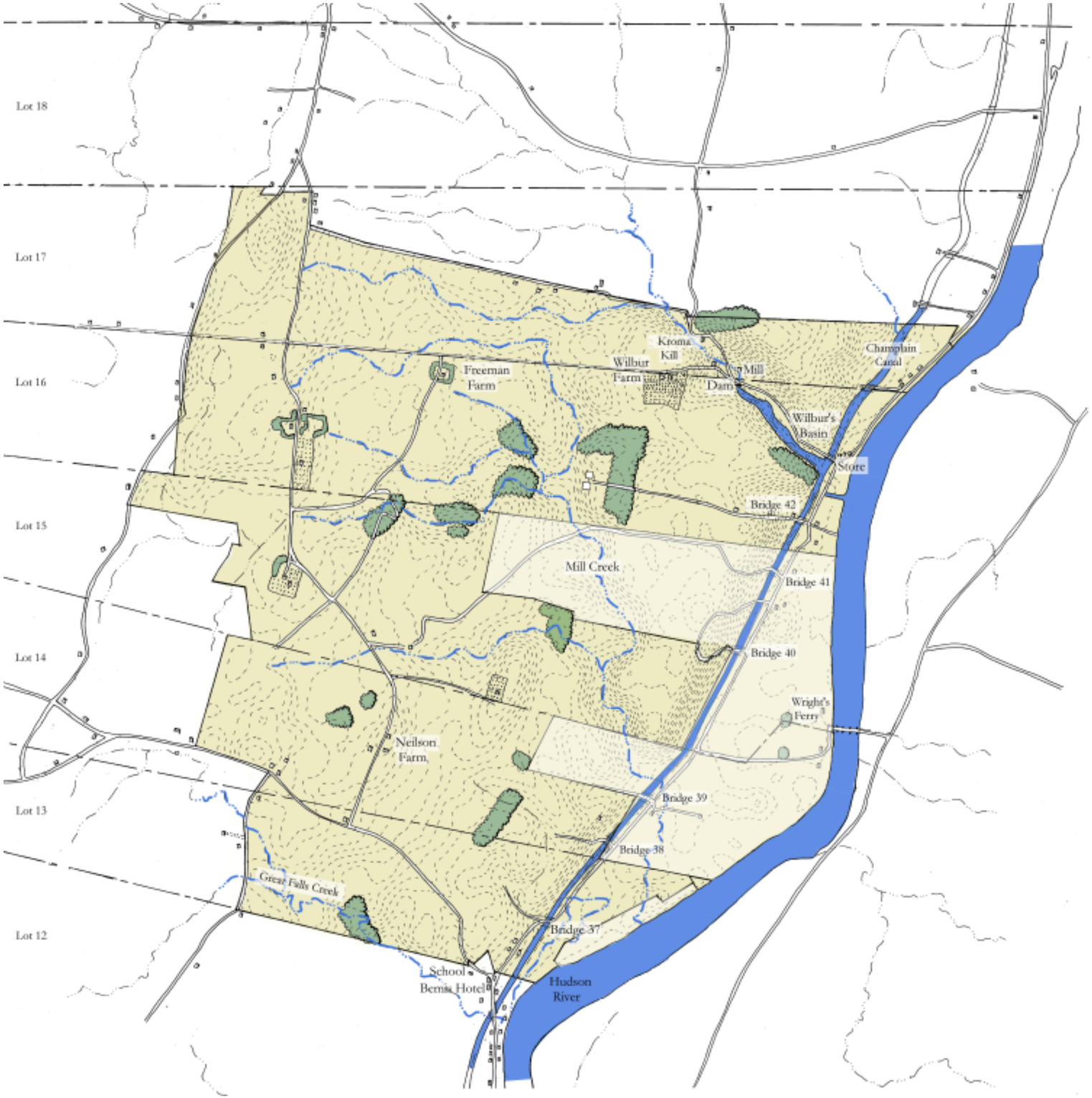


Figure 4.13. This early 1900s photo of Wilbur's Basin shows the neglected state of canal infrastructure. Fences and docks had fallen into disrepair. c. 1919. Saratoga National Historical Park files.



1877 Period Plan

Note:
This map was prepared using a series of historic and contemporary maps reproduced to a 1:9,600 scale (1"=800'). There was much disagreement among the maps, so a modern orthophotograph, hydrology map, and USGS topographic map with ten-foot contours were used to rectify the differences.

Maps consulted from park archives:
Emily Russell GIS "Land Cover and Roads Map," for 1877
Beer's Atlas of 1866
Walworth's Battle Map. Published in 1891
Samuel General Survey of 1856
Park GIS/GPS Road Trace Map
1927 Aerial Photo
OCLP SARA CLR 2001, and 1927 Maps

Note: Park Boundaries are Approximate

Creek
Forest
Field

North
Not to Scale

Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga Battlefield, Saratoga National Historical Park

OLMSTED CENTER
for LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION

Figure 4.14

Memorial Period, 1877-1927

Initiatives of the Saratoga Monument Association

The memorial period at Saratoga battlefield came to be characterized by very separate types of activities; the commemorative activity of the Saratoga Monument Association and the agricultural practices of the landowners and local citizenry. The two occurred independently of one another because the initiators of the commemorative movement were not local landowners. Farmers continued to work their land amidst the commemorative fervor.

At the battlefield, agricultural activities continued to dominate the landscape. Much of the land was cleared of woody vegetation and planted in row crops or permanent pasture. Some areas of steep terrain retained tree cover because they were unsuitable for farming. Organized vegetation patterns, created through hedgerows, orchards, and kitchen gardens, were more dominant than natural vegetation. Fences and stone walls outlined the organized, and often geometric, landscape of agricultural fields, orchards, and livestock enclosures. A network of private driveways and state roads traversed the region, serving local farmsteads and regional through-traffic. However, in nearby Schuylerville, local leaders commenced the planning for a new stage in Revolutionary War commemoration, one that would have repercussions for the future of the former battlefield landscape.

On October 17, 1856, a group of gentlemen from the Saratoga region, including Major General Philip Schuyler's grandson, Philip Schuyler II, and George Strover, the owner of the Schuyler property at the time, gathered at the Schuyler house to discuss creating a memorial to the surrender of John Burgoyne.[1] Their interest and passion was articulated in the following passage from the minutes of the meeting. "The battles of Bemis Heights and Saratoga, 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."[2] To turn their shared vision of patriotic remembrance into reality, the gentlemen formed the Saratoga Monument Association in 1859, with the mission to create a monument in memory of the battles of 1777. Recent memorial efforts at Bunker Hill inspired the members, who first thought of commissioning a three hundred foot obelisk in Bunker Hill's likeness.[3] They sited the proposed monument in Schuylerville, atop a hill that was chosen for its commanding views of the countryside and for its proximity to Burgoyne's surrender site.[4] Funding quickly became a major challenge for the group, forcing the members to amend their grand initial plan and settle on a smaller, more sculptural monument designed by architect Jared C. Markham.[5] Even after making this concession, the Association remained plagued by financial difficulties that were only exacerbated by the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. The war put a halt to the monument planning progress but planning and fundraising activities resumed after the war's completion in 1865.

Centennial Celebration

The American Civil War left the country physically, emotionally, and financially drained after the four year conflict. Ill will between the north and south continued after the fighting ceased, prompting some to seek ways to unify the damaged nation. The American Revolution, long since over and its wounds not nearly as fresh as the war just fought, seemed a cause that might divert attention from recent differences. Hence, the one hundredth anniversary of American independence served as a focal point for widespread celebration. The Saratoga Monument Association subscribed to this hypothesis and hoped the planning of such a centennial celebration would invite local citizens to observe a collective piece of national history.

The Monument Association planned a centennial celebration at the monument site in Schuylerville and despite prior setbacks, the cornerstone was proudly laid on September 19, 1877 (Figure 5.1). Members of the Association made speeches to mark the day as well as to enlist continued financial support for the construction of their monument. As part of the planned celebration, festivities also took place at the battlefield to the south of Schuylerville. Reportedly, this was a gala affair, boasting 30,000 attendees (Figure 5.2). Martin I. Townsend of the Monument Association spoke to the healing nature of the centennial celebration.

> The civil war is over and a happier day fills our skies. The laws are everywhere supreme. Every man is a freeman; and the tender chords of feeling which, more than laws, bind a people together, and which but lately were silent, again respond to the appeals of kinship and country. And so, too, the hard times are passing away.[6]

A procession of police officers and military personnel marched from the hotel at Bemis Heights to the battlefield in the morning and speeches and festivities took place at the Neilson farm in the afternoon.[7] By all accounts, the day served the collective good just as planned.

During the centennial, George D. Scott, President of the Monument Association, spoke to the importance of recognizing the battlefield and was among the first to call it "sacred ground."[8] He claimed it needed "one vast imperishable monument, sacred to the memory of those heroes and patriots who fought and conquered here one hundred years ago."[9] These remarks, promoted by the battlefield's first commemorative citizens group, marked the true beginning of public awareness and activism toward the preservation of Saratoga battlefield.

Formation of Saratoga Monument Association Committee on Tablets

During a regular meeting of the Monument Association, member Mrs. Ellen Walworth made a plea to include the battlefield itself in the scope of the Association's memorial efforts. George D. Scott's promising remarks at the centennial celebration proved to be the encouragement she needed to begin her organized promotion of the battlefield. Walworth proposed marking historically important sites on the battlefield with plaques or small monuments for the benefit of people who were either purposefully visiting or just passing by. Based on her appeal, a committee for marking the battlefield was formed in 1880 and Walworth found herself its leader.

In March 1881, Walworth introduced to the Committee the idea of how to fund battlefield markers through subscription. Since funding the Saratoga Monument was a persistent challenge, an alternative method for funding the less publicized markers was needed. One method involved approaching the British government to fund a monument to the fallen General Fraser. Another idea came to Walworth from Saratoga Monument Association President, also New York's former Governor, Horatio Seymour, who wrote:

> I like your plan for marking places of interest around Saratoga. 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 stones 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. I will 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.[10]

On Seymour's counsel, the committee approved soliciting funds from private citizens.[11] The next challenge proved to be locating them on the private lands of the battlefield. Committee members agreed to meet on the battle ground on October 23, 1880, to locate points where the tablets should be placed. Unhindered by setbacks that kept the group from performing this task together, Mrs. Walworth visited the battlefield several times and personally located the tablet sites on her own. By June 1881, Mrs. Walworth, who was regarded as the battlefield marker expert, identified seventeen potential sites by comparing the contemporary landscape to military maps of the battles and marked them with commemorative stakes.[12] By August 1882, the Tablet Committee had identified and temporarily marked nineteen sites. The subsequent placement of the tablets proceeded between 1883 and 1893. The first seven were placed in 1883 and others continued to be sited as funds became available (Figure 5.3). Four tablets were placed in 1887 and the committee located two more in 1892. As late as 1891, Mrs. Walworth, in her address to the Monument Association, mentioned that two sites were still vacant. She reported the existing markers were in good condition and asked that some patriotic soul donate the funds to mark the Headquarters of General Gates and an American entrenchment line planned by General Kosciuszko.[13]

Thus began the memorialization of the Saratoga battlefield. Both the devoted efforts of concerned individuals and the enthusiasm generated by the centennial celebration raised awareness of the battlefield. While these early memorial efforts relied exclusively on erecting monuments and tablets on private land, the notion of evoking an authentic period landscape did not gain momentum until much later. However, there was some early and unorganized dialog about battlefield landscape preservation, beginning in the mid-1800s. One of the first suggestions that the battlefield landscape itself serve as a memorial came from Judge Van Eyck, an early battlefield visitor. The Judge rode over the battlefield with friends, pointing out what was known of farm structures, redoubts and road traces and how they played a part in the story of the battles. He was struck with the notion that a piece of the battlefield landscape should be set aside as a memorial.

> I think… that the most suitable commemoration of the battles that could be made would be a purchase of part of Freeman's Farm...If this place was preserved without change, it would be interesting in itself, and in the course of time a monument could be erected upon it.[14]

Mrs. Walworth herself, echoed this idea in a letter written to William Stone, author of *Visits to the Saratoga Battle-Grounds*, in 1894. In it, she recalled previous visits to the battlefield, one during her childhood, when many traces of the conflict had been visible. She expressed regret that many of those earlier reminders were no longer noticeable. Because of this, she recommended that the area be purchased and protected.

> When will our countrymen believe that not in books alone are the records of a nation to be kept? If our "Saratoga Monument Association," or the government owned this great battle field it would tell its own story to the school children and to the indifferent grown people and lead them to value the national life that was at stake on this ground.[15]

Mrs. Walworth's passion for the battlefield translated into life-long commitment. She was not only an active member in the Saratoga Monument Association but wrote her own *Guide to the Battle Ground* in the anniversary year of 1877. The guide included directions to the battlefield, a description of the important sites and tablets, and a map (Figure 5.4). To get to the battlefield she wrote, "The Battle Ground proper is about nine miles from Saratoga Springs; but to drive there, around and through all the interesting spots and back again, makes a drive of about twenty-four miles. Taken leisurely, it is a delightful day's expedition."[16] Through her encouraging words and detailed descriptions, Walworth hoped to increase the public's awareness and appreciation of this local resource.

Walworth's guide map depicted the battlefield and its regional context. Although she chose to depict October 7, 1777, the date of the second battle, on her battlefield map, she attempted to show troop movements, battle action, and landscape changes as they progressed throughout the two battles. In the American Camp, Walworth illustrated locations of the important landmarks of Fort Neilson, Bemis House, a Powder Magazine, a hospital, General Gates's Headquarters, the Headquarters of Generals Poor and Morgan, and the American breastworks. She labeled the northward movement of the American troops to where fighting commenced at the Freeman farm. Along with the American positions of the southern region of the battlefield, Walworth depicted the British encampment in detail in the northeastern section of the battlefield. Undoubtedly, the detail to which the British positions are shown is due to her reliance on Wilkinson's map, which covered the activities of the British much more thoroughly than those of the Americans. In addition to battle action, troop movement, and the location of structures and buildings, Walworth's useful map documented the landscape features that played a vital role in the outcome of the battles. The map highlighted topography, using hatching to delineate the hills and ravines, and made note of local vegetation. For example, in the center of the battlefield near the Middle Ravine, a large area of the map was labeled "woods," along with an extensive area north of the British encampment and the Great Redoubt.

Walworth's map was diagrammatically correct despite the difficulties in locating physical evidence of battle activities by the late 1800s. Her frustrations about the vanishing reminders of battle action during and after the creation of her battle map were echoed by many of her contemporaries. She documented several commentaries about this subject in her *Guide to the Battle Ground.* The following passage describes a conversation between two visitors who stop to ponder the presence of old road traces.

> Mr. Winship: "Do you think, Judge, that these can be the old ruts made by the artillery and wagons in the Burgoyne time? Would they not have been filled up long ago by the deposit of leaves and dirt?"
>
> Judge VanEyck: "This road had been sheltered by the forest, and there can really be no doubt about these old roads; it is not only that they show in themselves what they are, but they correspond exactly with the roads on the military maps, drawn at the time."[17]

Walworth's advocacy for the battlefield's threatened resources were noticed and embraced by the Saratoga Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), of which she was a founding member. Between 1904-1909, the DAR chapter erected nine granite markers reading "To the Battlefield," along the carriage route between Saratoga Springs and the battlefield.[18] These served as directional signage and contributed to the growing awareness and promotion of the battlefield.

Appealing for State and National Recognition

The movement to create state or federally owned parks or reservations from historic military sites began in 1890 with an act of Congress that established Chickamagua and Chattanooga National Military Park.[19] Several more Civil War battlefields were declared National Military Parks in later years but it wasn't until 1917 that the first Revolutionary War battlefield was added to the list. Subsequent legislation prioritized which Revolutionary War sites should be acquired and in what order. Only Saratoga and Yorktown were listed in this legislation as "Class I" battlefields; battlefields "of exceptional political and military importance and interest, whose effects were far-reaching, whose fields are worthy of preservation for detailed military and historical study."[20]

During this era, most military parks owned by the federal government came under the jurisdiction of the War Department. With the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916, the initiative for setting aside unique and endangered natural landscapes became well established. However, preservation of cultural and historical landscapes took slightly longer to become part of the National Park Service's scope. In 1917, NPS decision-makers attempted to transfer the War Department's National Military Parks into the National Park System but the transfer did not occur until the 1930s.[21] While the War Department did not own Saratoga, having "Class I" legislative status helped in the 1920s and 1930s during the park's struggle for state and federal recognition.

Preservation of the Saratoga battlefield took more than legislative initiative. As many preservation efforts begin with a threat to the resource's existence, much of the initiative to preserve the Saratoga battlefield came about due to rapid changes in the local economy and subsequently, the local landscape. The Champlain Canal, after almost one hundred years of prosperity, declined during the early 1900s. Pressure to increase capacity and efficiency of the canal resulted in a state referendum in 1903 to build a system that could accommodate one thousand ton vessels. Such a system was built between 1905 and 1918. Larger mechanized vessels utilized the deep channel of the Hudson River for most of the new shipping route and consequently, many portions of the Champlain Canal were decommissioned. The section of canal that ran through the lands now known as Saratoga National Historical Park was abandoned in 1917, as barge traffic was re-routed.[22]

The development of the nation's railroads also proved fatal to the early canal systems of the 1800s. Newer and more efficient technology made transporting goods by rail cheaper and faster than by canal boat. In the early 1900s, travel on the original canal bed diminished and the mills of Wilbur's Basin were abandoned. The community, dependent on commerce defined by nineteenth century technology, declined without its primary means of support.

With so many significant economic and physical changes occurring throughout the battlefield landscape, local battlefield enthusiasts began a dialog about protecting the integrity of the remaining historic resources. One commercial operation that forced supporters of the battlefield to take more pointed action was the sand mining performed between 1917 and the late 1920s by the Pettinos Brothers, Dyer Sand Company, and the Whitehead Mining Company. Molding sand, valuable in the metal casting process, was located along the bluffs of the river, throughout the length of the battlefield. To extract the valuable sand, workmen dug a long trench, five to ten feet wide, and removed the top five to six inches of top soil.[23] The molding sand was found beneath this to a depth of three to six feet. While the disturbance to the topography was not as damaging as traditional mining, surface drainage was altered and archeological remains were certainly disturbed.[24] The alteration of the battlefield proved to advocates that expedient protection of the resource was needed.

Among the local citizens who noticed the detrimental changes occurring at the battlefield, was George O. Slingerland, a local Rotary member and the Mayor of nearby Mechanicville (Figure 5.5). He was a self-proclaimed battlefield fanatic who devoted himself to the effort and worked tirelessly for state and federal recognition.[25] He was also a savvy promoter who lobbied New York State congressmen, the New York State governor, and United States legislators for fulfillment of his ultimate goal; designation of the battlefield as a national park or monument. As early as 1925, Slingerland wrote to U.S. Senator Royal S. Copeland for support. In support of his argument he wrote:

> As you are probably aware, a very good argument for the park here would be the fact that of forty [National] parks in the United States, thirty-nine are west of the Mississippi River and one in the State of Maine. Another very good argument I think is that this battlefield is a debt owned by Congress to the heroes who made it possible for this country to exist as an independent nation.[26]

To assist Slingerland in his quest for battlefield preservation and national park status, the state authorized the Saratoga Battlefield Association in 1923 as a land holding organization for the preservation effort. Slingerland became its chair.[27] At the time, almost all of the battlefield's lands were in private ownership. Slingerland first devoted his energy to securing essential properties that could later be improved and developed for park activities. Parcels that had been previously purchased with private funds were deeded initially to the Saratoga Battlefield Association and other key private parcels like the Gannon and Neilson farms were prioritized for early acquisition. In a letter of December 16, 1925 to Senator Copeland, Slingerland wrote that he was hoping to purchase the Neilson, Sarle, Freeman, and Gannon farms for $60,000.[28] He thought having these four properties, or 655 acres, would create a core area around which the park might grow. Eventually, Slingerland wanted to purchase, or otherwise obtain, all lands that contained areas of British and American occupation, totaling an additional 2,100 acres.[29]

One of Slingerland's influential allies in the battlefield project was Adolph Ochs, fellow Rotarian and publisher of the *New York Times*. Over several years, Ochs and Slingerland maintained regular correspondence, discussing their common goal. Ochs helped the cause by publicizing in the newspaper the struggle to gain appropriations, land grants, and public recognition. He also used his own money to help finance land acquisition efforts. Ochs' advocacy proved invaluable through the early years of the battlefield planning process.

Legislating State Park Status

The push for Revolutionary battlefield recognition and protection became a patriotic cause embraced on a state-wide scale. Besides being a catalyst for Slingerland's Saratoga battlefield improvements, the rapidly approaching sesquicentennial generated enthusiasm for the acquisition of land, and improvement of the infrastructure and historic resources at all of New York's Revolutionary War battlefields. State appropriations were simultaneously pursued for Saratoga, Bennington, and Oriskany battlefields as well as the segment of the Fort Knox Trail from which the cannon of Ticonderoga were transported to Massachusetts during the conflict.[30]

Assisted by the activism of Ochs and Slingerland, legislation was eventually written to enable the study of a proposition to make the state's most significant Revolutionary War battlefields into state parks. On January 25, 1926, the New York Assembly amended their conservation law to include the acquisition of battlefields and historic sites.

> The commission shall have power to establish battle field reservations at Saratoga, Bennington and Oriskany. . . . Such reservations, sites and markings shall thereafter be reserved and maintained by the state for the preservation of the same as memorials of the history of the state and for the enjoyment of the public.[31]

This legislation providing for the inclusion of military and historical sites into state management and stewardship was followed by an act of April 15, 1926 that furthered the state's commitment to historic sites. The State of New York appropriated $75,000 for the rehabilitation and improvement of historic sites that were currently owned by the state or that were to be acquired by the Conservation Commission.[32] The act created an advisory board to offer assistance to the Conservation Commissioner on matters concerning land acquisition associated with Revolutionary battlefields. Saratoga's own George Slingerland was named to this advisory board.[33] These pieces of legislation became the instrument by which the Saratoga Battlefield Association propelled their planning and construction into the next era of the battlefield's history.

Despite the extensive efforts of local and state leaders, few tangible changes took place on the battlefield during this period. The monuments placed by the Saratoga Monument Association were located throughout the agricultural landscape on private land or within the right-of-way of a public road. Visitors saw these memorial expressions through the agricultural scene that was very much alive in 1926. Characteristics of the rural economy still dominated the landscape, including organized farm fields and row crops, animal pastures, orchards, barns, and kitchen gardens. The memorial efforts proceeded without much influence on the daily activities of local landowners. Yet,

landowners would soon be pressured to sell or manipulate their land to contribute to the future state reservation.

Endnotes – Memorial Period

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[1] Christopher Stevens. "Cultural Landscapes Inventory, Schuyler House, Saratoga National Historical Park (draft)." 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

[2] Ellen Hardin Walworth. *The Battles of Saratoga 1777. The Saratoga Monument Association 1856-1891.* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1891), 45.

[3] John Henry Brandow. *The Story of Old Saratoga. The Burgoyne Campaign to Which is Added New York's Share in the Revolution.* (Albany, NY: Fort Orange Press, 1919), 362.

[4] Christopher Stevens. "Cultural Landscapes Inventory, Saratoga Monument, Saratoga National Historical Park (draft)." 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Martin I. Townsend in Allen D. Breach's *Centennial Celebration of the State of New York.* (Albany, NY: Weed Parsons & Co., 1879), 165.

[7] Ibid.

[8] George D. Scott in Breach's *Centennial Celebration of the State of New York.* 165.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Walworth. *The Battles of Saratoga.* 63. And Records of the Saratoga Monument Association (1859-1904) appearing in the William Leete Stone Papers, volume II: 1881-1884. (Fort Ticonderoga, NY:Minute Press.) FTA # 3093.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid. 112.

[14] Ibid. 125.

[15] Walworth in William Stone's, *Appendix V of Visits to the Saratoga Battle-Grounds 1780-1880.* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1895), 308.

[16] Walworth. 125.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Evelyn Barrett Britten. "DAR Markers Guide Travelers to Battlefield." *The Saratogain.* Friday, August 3, 1945. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[19] Larry M. Dilsaver, ed. *America's National Park System, The Critical Documents.* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1994), 68.

[20] Ibid. 72.

[21] Horace M. Albright as told to Robert Cahn. *The Birth of the National Park Service - The Founding Years, 1913-1933* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985), 296.

[22] The Champlain Canal section was drawn largely from Larry Lowenthal's, "The Champlain Canal in Saratoga National Historical Park. Draft 2000." National Park Service. Boston Support Office.

[23] Correspondence with Park staff, June 6, 2001.

[24] Emily Russell. "Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga National Historical Park." Draft. 1995. 44. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

[25] George Slingerland in undated essay entitled "Saratoga Battlefield Future." Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[26] George Slingerland in a letter to Royal S. Copeland. December 16, 1925. Slingerland Correspondence. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F2.

[27] George Slingerland in preface of 1926 reprint of Charles Neilson's, *Burgoyne's Campaign*, 3rd edition. (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1970).

[28] George Slingerland in a letter to Royal S. Copeland. December 16, 1925. Slingerland Correspondence. Saratoga National Historical Park. B1/F2.

[29] Margaret Coffin. "Historic Landscape Assessment- Daughters of the American Revolution Saratoga Battlefield Memorial. Phase I (draft)." 1994. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

[30] State of New York Conservation Department. *Battlefields and Historic Sites*. (Albany NY: J.B. Lyon Company Printers, 1928).

[31] New York State Assembly. January 25, 1926. Nos. 434, 1016, 2167. Int. 433. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F4.

[32] State of New York; An Act- Making an Appropriation for the Rehabilitation and Improvement of Historic Battlefield Sites. April 15, 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F1.

[33] George Slingerland in a letter to Alexander McDonald of the Conservation Commission. May 11, 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F1.

Figure 5.1. After years of setbacks, the cornerstone of the Saratoga Monument was placed at the 100th anniversary celebration. September 19, 1877. Saratoga National Historical Park files. #4330-A.

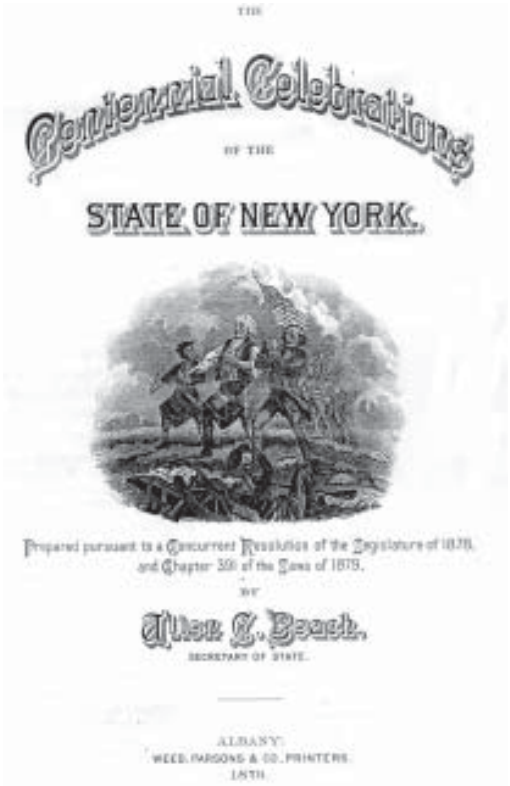

Figure 5.2. The Centennial Celebration of the State of New York. Cover of the state-wide celebration booklet. (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons & Co., Printers, 1877).

GEN. DANIEL MORGAN MONUMENT. SARATOGA BATTLEFIELD. N.Y.

Figure 5.3. The Morgan monument was one of the early monuments placed on the battlefield by Mrs. Walworth and the Saratoga Monument Association. 1935. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

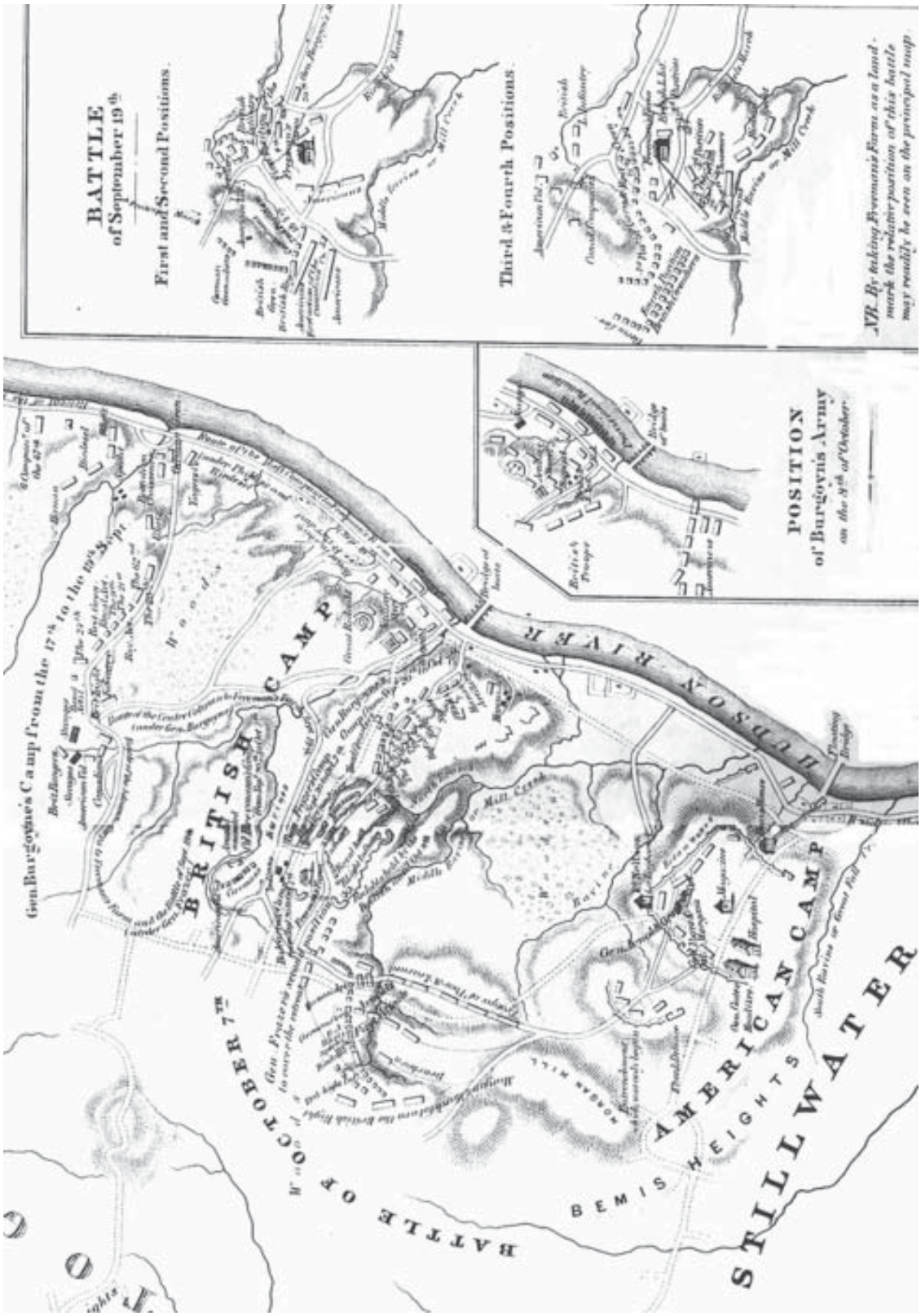

Figure 5.4. Detail of Ellen Walworth's Battlefield Map. *The Battles of Saratoga 1777. The Saratoga Monument Association 1856-1891.* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1877).

Figure 5.5. George O. Slingerland, battlefield promoter and Superintendent of the Saratoga battlefield, 1928-1932. c. 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

State Management Period, 1927-1937

> Today interest in the battlefield is growing throughout the country. Historical societies and patriotic organizations are arousing the nation to an appropriate appreciation of the importance of restoring the battle area and creating a National shrine to represent early American ideals. . . . The Saratoga Historical Society is cooperating in arousing interest that this ground, hallowed with the blood of our forefathers, may be preserved as they would have hoped to do.[1]

This excerpt from the Saratoga Historical Society's publication of 1927 spoke to the approaching sesquicentennial of the 1777 battles and the future of battlefield preservation. At its root however, the passage addressed the perceived need to present American ideals and values to an ever-diversifying populace. Various groups including the Saratoga Historical Society, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Saratoga Battlefield Association worked to promote patriotism through the preservation of local historical resources. As many of them had been involved with the promotion of the Saratoga battlefield for many years, they earnestly looked forward to the next chapter in its history, one of state ownership that would fund future preservation and development efforts.

Developments during the state management period were largely guided by the personal vision of George Slingerland. His interest in the battlefield preservation process began in the early 1920s, and progressed during subsequent years when he emerged as the leader of the local battlefield planning movement and superintendent of the state managed property. His advocacy never waned throughout many struggles, including the battle to gain recognition from the state and the ongoing quest to fund battlefield improvements. Slingerland's vision directed the planning, development, and management decisions of the battlefield from the onset of his involvement until his early death in 1932.

From 1927 through 1938, the state made progress concerning land acquisition, park development, memorialization of events and personalities, land-use management, and interpretation (Figure 6.1). The policies, decisions, and improvements made during these eleven years provided the framework and basic infrastructure that served the park until the 1960s. While many of the decisions made during this era came under scrutiny in later years, it should be understood that these early efforts went forth with limited precedent. Battlefield preservation was a fairly new concept and few organized efforts existed to guide early preservationists. Both Slingerland and the State Conservation Department were attempting something new and they ran into stumbling blocks along the way.

Several conflicts about park planning and development stymied timely advancement of preservation goals. The objective to create a National Park from the battlefield was commonly agreed upon early on in the state management period but there was little consensus about the best method to achieve this goal. The Great Depression of the 1930s hindered the state's development of the property and it was thought by some that federal resources would help the languishing park. Conflicting views over how to allocate funds and how to proceed with improvements, land acquisition, and federal ownership impeded progress.

From the onset, Slingerland recognized that it would be essential to gain the support of local leaders to execute his goal of making the park into a national shrine. One such person who became instrumental in supporting the battlefield's development from state ownership through National Park Service acquisition was New York's own Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roosevelt was born in the Hudson River Valley into a family with roots that extended deeply into New York's Dutch heritage. He was personally interested in local history and in promoting the resources and qualities of New York State, hence a likely candidate to support the early efforts of the Saratoga Battlefield Association.

Roosevelt succeeded Al Smith as governor of New York in 1928. From this date, Slingerland made a concerted effort to engage the new governor in the battlefield planning process, knowing that his advocacy would add much needed publicity to the cause. The two men corresponded for several years about Saratoga's preservation issues, making little progress toward federal acquisition of the battlefield. Although Slingerland died before the battlefield received proper recognition, Roosevelt continued to support the cause through his tenures as New York's governor and president of the United States.

Slingerland's Battlefield Vision

George Slingerland's involvement continued and intensified after the state took ownership of the battlefield in 1927. He functioned as an unofficial leader of the battlefield until 1928, when the state leaders appointed him superintendent, a job he held until 1932.[2] From the very beginning of the state's tenure at the battlefield, his personal "fancy" largely became the official directive for planning efforts. As the dynamic and devoted leader of the battlefield planning process, he tirelessly promoted his cause. His vision for the battlefield is described in an undated essay entitled *Saratoga Battlefield Future.*

> Sometimes, when on the field and planning for the development, my fancy takes great flights and I visualize the whole area of around 3000 acres, covered with roads winding over the hills and valleys, through woods and open places, with here and there a fine Monument to tell the world of some act of one of the heroes of 1777. A part of the field, as an Airport from which Planes are arriving and departing with loads of history lovers who come to pay homage to the place of our birth. I see Guides, who have been instructed as to the acts of each Division or Regiment, each hour of those memorable days of Sept. 19, and October 7, escorting interested parties around.[3]

Slingerland's vision also included expanding Walworth's collection of monuments dedicated by states that participated in the battles of 1777. Additionally, after the undisputed success of the 1927 dedication and sesquicentennial, Slingerland looked forward to continued and increased involvement every year at the anniversary.[4]

Shortly after legislation passed to include Saratoga in New York State's managed properties in 1927, Slingerland wrote an enthusiastic letter to his friend Ochs, outlining goals for the battlefield. Among these was removing extraneous buildings at the newly acquired Neilson farm, providing signs at various sites of interest around the battlefield, constructing rest rooms and automobile

parking spaces, and removing interior fence lines.[5] Encouraged by the anticipation of the transfer to state management, he again articulated his vision in an untitled essay.

> The wooded sections and clearings reproduced, good roads to wind about the whole field so that the student and patriot worshipper could trail each act of these thirty or more days that decided the fate of the Nation....One section of the battlefield should be made into a landing place for aereoplanes [sic], looking to the future to provide a means of travel by air...The wonderful natural setting of Bemis Heights with the Lordly Hudson...should make this the most patriotic and scenic park in the whole nation. [6]

A large part of Slingerland's comprehensive goal for the battlefield was its eventual recognition as a national shrine or preferably, inclusion within the growing system of national parks. The strength of his feelings and his hopes for the future were also discussed in his visionary *Saratoga Battlefield Future* essay.

> Men and women of to-day and to-morrow; Saratoga will not be neglected in the future as in the past. New York State will not fail. We will not always have in our legislature men who make a political football of this hollowed spot. The whole area will be acquired, the entrenchments restored, proper monuments and landscaping will glorify the field, and it will be a mecca of not only Rotarians but 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.[7]

Early Accomplishments at the Saratoga Battlefield

Slingerland voiced many goals in the early days, using the urgency of the upcoming sesquicentennial to sell his agenda. He sought extra funding for sesquicentennial activities from the state, which dedicated a work force of four men.[8] Armed with a new labor force and the promise of future support from the state, he embarked on a campaign to create facilities for visitor services, circulation improvements and interpretive elements on the park's 656 acres. In 1927, the state reservation contained four farms, the Neilson, Sarle, Gannon, and Freeman properties, that had been obtained with private donations during Saratoga Battlefield Association era. These four parcels and their numerous agricultural fields, buildings, and associated barns comprised the park's early landscape. The area was largely treeless and was dominated by row-crops, pasture, fence lines, and agricultural structures. As time progressed, Slingerland cleared these elements but they remained on the landscape for years. Notably, the Gannon farm remained intact on the battlefield landscape through the 1930s. While Slingerland's ambition was great, the creation of park resources took time.

Picnic and camping grounds were among the first facilities constructed in anticipation of the influx of visitors. While planning the layout and location of these facilities, Slingerland received comments and guidance from outside sources. Charles Ogden, Secretary to the Mayor of Rochester New York, and member of the Sons of the Revolution, wrote to Slingerland expressing his concern about the proposed campground. He understood that campground construction was planned at the Great Ravine and he expressed dissatisfaction that the battlefield might be cluttered with distracting objects (Figure 6.2). Ogden wrote to Slingerland, "It seems to me, the ground where the fighting actually took place. . . should be kept free from camping sites, play grounds, etc."[9]

Ogden's concern expressed a central and reoccurring issue surrounding the interpretation of the battlefield. Although the Conservation Commission made a trip to Gettysburg in the autumn of 1926 to learn about that park's battlefield commemoration efforts, decisions were already being made about how to proceed with park developments at Saratoga without historical research or preservation precedents.[10] While he received oversight and guidance from multiple sources, Slingerland's personal vision prevailed as the overriding force behind the interpretative planning and development of the battlefield.

Slingerland's willfulness as leader of the battlefield was displayed and tested when dealing with road construction within the park. He supported planning as many roads as necessary to give visitors the greatest possible access to the park. Again, Slingerland received comments on this issue from members of the local community. In defense of his idea of unrestricted access, he wrote, "One of the big parties went down to the Educational Department and made a big protest about there being any roads whatever on the Battlefield. This, I think is absolutely silly as the more roads there are on the field, the better the public can visualize the strategy on the field."[11] What Slingerland actually accomplished was a compromise between two extremes. A few roads were constructed but most road improvements involved the re-grading and surfacing of existing roads to serve the increased automobile traffic.[12] Even Slingerland, with his grand ideas and influential allies, was forced to compromise between competing interests.

An article in the *Schuylerville Standard* in 1926, lauded the progress being made in park development. Among the new improvements was the state's "reconstruction" of a powder magazine, east of the Neilson farm (Figure 6.3). This conjectural structure was thought to have existed during the battles, though no documentation has been found to confirm its presence in 1777. Slingerland built the structure using stones from old stone walls of the battlefield. It was intended to turn the Neilson farm, or "Fort Neilson" as the collection of resources came to be called by the state, into an attraction for park visitors. The cluster of buildings was to serve as the gathering and orientation point on the battlefield and was hoped to be completed by the sesquicentennial anniversary the following year.

Along with the Powder Magazine reconstruction, plans were also made to build a replica Blockhouse modeled after a French and Indian War era fort, from timbers found in old farm buildings on the battlefield. As with the Powder Magazine, supporters believed a Blockhouse fort, or fortified barn, existed on the property at the time of the battles. Although no documentation of how the committee came to this conclusion has been found, the fort was constructed in 1926. The Department of Archives in Albany collected images of regional blockhouses from the French and Indian war to model the reconstruction after.[13] The Saratoga Blockhouse was a two and a half story structure with small windows or "embrasures" (Figure 6.4). The second story floor plan was slightly larger than its first, and cantilevered out over the bottom floor. This reconstruction drew many visitors upon its completion and served as the park's focal point for years. The state also built a replica building known as the Period House at Fort Neilson. It was a small, one-story, stone and wood cabin that the state called the headquarters of General Arnold.

Slingerland's ambitious vision included the construction of a steel lookout tower at Bemis Heights. He contested that views of the whole battlefield would be available from this vantage point on the perimeter of the battlefield. He valued the potential view from atop the tower over the negative impact of such a large and contextually inappropriate element. To build such a structure, Slingerland needed approval from the Bureau of Fine Arts in the State's Department of Architecture. The Bureau's response to this proposal reflected a different point of view about the potential visual impact of such a structure. A letter from the Bureau of Fine Arts outlined their feelings on the matter. "The Commission has a general feeling that the less that is built on the battlefields, the better it will be. . . . The State Fine Arts Commission would be well within its province in withholding the approval of buildings or other structures that would be a blot upon a beautiful landscape."[14] As a result of this letter, the tower was never constructed and Saratoga's landscape was spared the intrusion.

In 1926, although Slingerland and the Conservation Department had devoted time and resources to various infrastructure and interpretive projects, the greater battlefield landscape had not changed significantly from its appearance in previous years. The battlefield was, and had been, home to a farming community for over one hundred years. Because of this, cleared fields and agricultural patterns dominated the landscape. The extent of clearing is apparent in several early images of the battlefield. A post card view from 1926 shows the Middle Ravine as almost completely cleared of forest growth, with its steep creek walls sheer and naked. The rolling topography of the surrounding landscape is starkly apparent in the postcard's background (Figure 6.5). Another post card from the same period depicting a replica battle well, shows the same conditions (Figure 6.6). Along with the advanced state of deforestation, stone walls, hedgerows, and clusters of barns and agricultural outbuildings still existed throughout the landscape, illustrating the remaining working culture of the area.

Sesquicentennial Celebration of 1927

Timed to coincide with the sesquicentennial celebration, the State of New York officially accepted the Saratoga battlefield into the system of properties managed by the Conservation Department's Division of Lands and Forests on October 8, 1927. Legislation from 1926 furnished money to prepare Revolutionary War battlefields, including Fort Stanwix, Oriskany, Bennington, and Saratoga, for the sesquicentennial. The resources allocated to this state-wide celebration opened the next chapter in the history of battlefield development and stewardship. The auspicious timing of the battlefield's dedication complimented many people's growing interest in national and local history and heritage. Planning and construction of resources occurred at the battlefield in preparation for the celebration. In 1926 the Blockhouse and Period House were constructed and many more temporary measures were taken directly before the celebration. Temporary staging, seating, and stages were constructed to prepare for the record number of visitors.

An extensive celebration was held in honor of the dedication and anniversary of the battles. The day-long festivities attracted as many as 160,000 visitors to the battlefield (Figure 6.7). These many spectators came to the park from all over the northeast by automobile and the Hudson Valley Railroad Company's trolley to participate in the numerous activities and historical pageants.

Highlights of the well documented day included battlefield tours, the dedication of the New Hampshire Monument, numerous speeches, and a historical pageant boasting 6,000 participants. Skits, dances, and re-enactments took place until five that evening (Figure 6.8).[15] By all accounts, Slingerland's planning for this event was a huge success. The unprecedented number of spectators affirmed the decision to make the battlefield a recognized piece of New York State history.

Early Attempts to Acquire Land

One of Slingerland's earliest challenges was acquiring additional lands for the new park. At the time of its dedication in 1927, the park contained 656 acres, only a fraction of the total land Slingerland envisioned for the eventual holdings.[16] In January of 1927, Mr. Robert Fisher of the Conservation Commission made a study of future land acquisition priorities to assess the various parcels on and around the battlefield for their historical importance. The report determined that lands where fighting or encampments occurred should be acquired first. However, an excerpt from Fisher's report describes how two of the other criterion for inclusion, views and landscape features, were essential to the selection process.

> A panoramic view of the whole field is best obtained from the Newland and Gilgallon farms, and their sightlines, as well as their historic importance commends their acceptance by the State. On the Burnham place was Breyman's Redoubt and the Hessian camp. Here Arnold was wounded. The old British military road leads over and across the Lohnes and Farrell farms.[17]

Following this report, Slingerland created a map to illustrate the current holdings and future land acquisition priorities (Figure 6.9). He highlighted more than a dozen properties for state purchase. To obtain these desirable tracts, Slingerland personally secured options from the owners, fixing a price for future purchase. In January of 1927 he wrote, "I have practically completed getting options on the whole battlefield area and I have options on about 2,400 acres."[18] Slingerland worked hard to secure these options with the hope that the state would appropriate the necessary funds in the future. In doing this, he may have drawn heavily on his own finances. To his disappointment, the state did not proceed in a timely manner and several of the options expired. In following years, several of the formerly secured properties were taken by eminent domain. However, the state did not pay fair market value, provoking the land owners to sue. Had the state appropriated funds earlier and taken advantage of Slingerland's options, they would have saved $35,000 and several lawsuits. [19]

Slingerland wrote to New York State's Governor Smith in 1928, asking for additional appropriations for land. To emphasize the lengths he and others had gone to for this cause, he wrote that he had raised $10,206 for the purchase of one farm while Mr. Adolph Ochs had personally bought another parcel.[20]

The issue of obtaining additional land continued to be contentious throughout the state's planning process. The land holding issue was also central to the debate about how and when the battlefield might become a national park. Two of the major players in this debate were Slingerland and Governor Roosevelt. As Slingerland would find out, Roosevelt shared the same vision of creating a national park, but the two men were at odds about the details of such a transfer.

Governor Roosevelt clearly stated his allegiance to the battlefield during a visit to Saratoga in 1929. He attended the anniversary celebration on October 17 and made a rousing speech pledging support. He vowed to work to eventually bring about its designation as a national shrine and spoke to the need for adequate facilities in support of historical education.

> On a battlefield like this at Saratoga, we should be able to visualize the history which was made here. We should have some central spot from which anyone with no knowledge whatever of military science should be able to understand it. . . . The State Government, the administration, and I am sure the Legislature, will continue slowly but certainly continue to round out this battlefield and make it a real national shrine.[21]

This declaration suited Slingerland's long-held goals for the battlefield, and he thought he had found a ready ally in Roosevelt. Their relationship proved to be problematic. Slingerland had well developed ideas as to how the transfer to the federal government should take place. He interpreted an earlier directive from the War Department that outlined their policy on accepting historic properties, to mean that only fully purchased and completed parcels could be donated. He feared if the battlefield was transferred too early, the additional properties would never be purchased under federal ownership.

> The present Secretary of War. . . opposed the United States Government taking over or accepting as a gift, any historic spot owned by any state in the Union. . . . In other words, the Government will accept a piece of land of historic nature from a group or individual. . . and erect monuments on it and pay for the yearly care, but has an ironclad rule against buying land. . . .[22]

The accuracy of his interpretation is debatable. Slingerland saw the only way to have the property pass into federal ownership, was to have the state acquire all the appropriate parcels and make an effort to improve the park. This would prove to the federal government that Saratoga was a battlefield worth protecting.

Strategy for Development and Memorialization

Slingerland continued to work on his vision piecemeal in the late 1920s, as appropriations allowed. Several tools that helped in park planning were obtained in these early years. The Army Corps of Engineers took an aerial photo of the park in 1927 (Figure 6.10). This remarkably detailed photo, composed of a mosaic of small prints, was invaluable in helping to map the battlefield and understand its resources. It is clearly apparent that the landscape retained historic road patterns and was made up of farm fields and irregularly shaped forest stands. Slingerland also lobbied for a topographical survey of the battlefield which eventually came to fruition in 1930 after a bill successfully passed through Congress appropriating funds for its completion.[23]

The state's first development efforts were concentrated at Fort Neilson, the center of the battlefield's activities. The effort to develop a cluster of resources at Fort Neilson pre-existed state involvement and continued throughout the state's tenure. As was shown during sesquicentennial and other anniversary celebrations, Fort Neilson was marketed as the battlefield's main attraction. Slingerland promoted the core buildings and resources to entice visitors to enjoy the experience and history of the battlefield. He hoped to showcase more than old farms and farm buildings through

depictions of the battle scene at period houses, reconstructed forts, relics on display, and pageantry. In his *Saratoga Battlefield Future* essay he wrote, "I can see this movement of celebrating this anniversary growing so that yearly, thousands of people will come here to join in this celebration, and perhaps enact another pageant similar to the one last October, without waiting the Fifty year period."[24] During a time when few interpretive resources existed, Slingerland understood the power of large, patriotic gatherings to generate support for the battlefield.

At the time, the Blockhouse replica served as a welcome station and gift shop and the Neilson house and Powder Magazine functioned as museum buildings. The state improved the area in 1927, constructing new gravel roads and made plans for sanitary facilities and electrical service.[25] These new elements helped change the character of Fort Neilson into a non-agricultural landscape. Mowed grass replaced row crops, parking areas were placed along former country roads, and fencing was removed to erase the appearance of organized farmsteads and domestic yards.

As stated in Slingerland's *Saratoga Battlefield Future* essay, the dedication of monuments was a priority. The first memorial placed at Fort Neilson during the state management era spoke directly to Slingerland's hope that all states would dedicate monuments on the battlefield. The State of New Hampshire was the first to do so and donated a granite and bronze monument in 1927 to commemorate its soldier's involvement in the battles.[26]

A more significant memorial effort began in 1926 when Slingerland first proposed the idea of creating a cemetery for the American soldiers thought to be buried near Fort Neilson.[27] This idea manifested into a square shaped planting of evergreens in 1927, inside of which was the symbolic cemetery. A neo-classical pavilion called the Memorial Pavilion further marked the location one year later. Built in 1928 near Rt. 32 A, the pavilion articulated the entry to the American Cemetery and served as a place for contemplation. The structure was later inscribed with the inspirational phrase "They died in War that we may live in Peace."[28]

Additional patriotic and commemorative efforts followed four years later. At their annual convention of 1931, the New York chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) passed a resolution to erect a monument to the unknown Revolutionary soldiers in observance of the bicentennial of George Washington's birth.[29] Their monument was to be placed within the pre-existing symbolic American Cemetery to expand the memorial resources clustered at Fort Neilson. The ladies of the DAR sought to promote unity and patriotism in these days following World War One. Some perceived a fragmentation of "American" culture due to increased immigration from eastern European countries and in response, fostered positive public sentiments about a collective American experience. The DAR's monument, known as the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial, was to be the second memorial to the unknown dead, the first would be located at Arlington National Cemetery and officially dedicated in November of 1932.[30]

The DAR funded their endeavor by collecting thirty cents from each member for two years, to raise a sum of $11,000. Planning officially got underway in May 1931 when a drawing and model of the monument was presented to the New York State Conservation Department.[31] The Conservation Department's press release described the design.

> The design, by Brython Jones of Utica, calls for an octagonal granite shaft twelve feet high upon a base rising six feet from the ground. On the faces of the shaft are four interwoven crosses, with thirteen stars surrounding the arms of each cross and relief lines creating the effect of rays of light, which, the designer explains, indicate that the Union was created through sacrifice and symbolize the dawn of a new day of freedom, liberty and justice.[32]

The obelisk was unveiled during a ceremony on October 10, 1931 where Lieutenant Governor Lehman was among the notable attendees (Figure 6.11).[33] An adjacent Memorial Grove was dedicated the same day (Figure 6.12). This grove, planned and designed by Slingerland, consisted of twenty-seven American elm trees planted in a circular pattern next to the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial. Slingerland planted one elm in the center, dedicated to George Washington, and two concentric rings of trees around it. The first ring of thirteen trees represented the original colonies and the outside ring denoted the next thirteen states that entered the union after the Revolutionary War.[34] Slingerland also secured five walnuts from a tree at Mt. Vernon and had them planted in the grove. In 1938, a bronze and granite marker was added at the foot of the Washington elm, containing the names of the American Generals who participated in the battles of Saratoga.[35]

These three elements, the Memorial Grove, Memorial Pavilion, and Saratoga Battlefield Memorial, created the battlefield's key memorial landscape that served as a popular visitor attraction for decades. Several other smaller memorials placed in following years added to the memorial resources at Fort Neilson. Members of the Rockefeller family dedicated a monument to their relatives who fought in the battles of 1777 and citizens of Polish descent donated a monument in honor of General Kosciuszko in 1936. The landscape underwent further changes in subsequent years when the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial was graded and supplemented with site furnishings and further landscaping. However, the trees of the nearby Memorial Grove did not flourish after planting and never matured to make a substantial impact on the Fort Neilson landscape.

Stumbling Blocks of Battlefield Planning Efforts

During the planning and development of the Saratoga battlefield, the stock market collapse of 1929 sent the country into a deep economic depression. Cabell Phillips of the New York Times wrote, "even worse than this visible evidence of breakdown was the knowledge that it was everywhere- not just in your town or your state or your part of the country. The blight spread across the whole nation- big cities, small towns, and limitless countryside."[36] With such widespread problems gripping the nation, efforts such as historic preservation were largely overlooked.

Locally, the depression had a strong impact on battlefield planning progress and on the people involved in the movement. George Slingerland, having putting so much of his time and money into the battlefield, found himself deeply in debt as the depression wore on. His superintendent salary was cut, forcing him to supplement his income by other means. In January 1930, Slingerland wrote to his friend Adolph Ochs keeping him abreast of the situation at the battlefield. In response to his financial troubles:

> I have asked for the privilege of selling postcards, maps and books relating to the battlefield so that I could in some way be recompensed this year, but they [Conservation Commission], so far, have turned

> a deaf ear to this request. It makes me sick when I think of how I have bankrupted myself through the pursuit of an ideal and the cold-blooded way in which I have been turned down.[37]

Slingerland's financial difficulties worsened in 1931. In January he again wrote Ochs, reporting that he had not been paid for his duties of superintendent since July of 1930. His business, a paper box manufacturing company, suffered and he was forced to ask Ochs for a loan.[38] In this and other letters, Slingerland mentioned that his bank considered him foolish for becoming so involved in the battlefield, and consequently refused to loan him money. Yet, despite not being paid, Slingerland continued to perform his duties as superintendent.

The disagreement that arose between Slingerland and Roosevelt further hindered battlefield development. Their strategies for turning the battlefield over to the federal government differed, and consequently the transfer process proceeded slowly. Slingerland chose not to support early efforts to present the battlefield for federal purchase while Roosevelt did support such motions. Although two bills were successfully passed through Congress in early 1930, one that dealt with investigating possible national park status for Saratoga and another to complete a topographic survey, a bill introduced in February 1930 to purchase the battlefield outright was rejected.[39]

While other members of the state government and the DAR were in support of federal purchase, Slingerland stood strong in his dissention. A "Report of Committee on Historic Localities" from February 1930 described his stubborn views on the matter.

> Mrs. Meedy asked me to ascertain from Mr. Slingerland if it was his wish that the DAR use its influence to pass a Bill, introduced on June ninth, by Mr. Dickstein, Democrat of New York. This Bill provides that the Saratoga Battle field be purchased by the Federal Government.
>
> Mr. Slingerland is not in sympathy with that Bill, nor with the idea of the Battlefield being taken over by the Federal Government at the present time. His idea is that the Battlefield shall be purchased [by the State] in its entirety first, and then that New York State present it to the Nation. I believe the idea then is to have the Federal Government finish any uncompleted projects.[40]

During this maneuvering, Slingerland continued to seek support from Governor Roosevelt. Slingerland asked the governor for state appropriations for land acquisition and for security services because the battlefield monuments had experienced vandalism.[41] Much to his disappointment, he found the governor receptive to his dream but not to his agenda. Roosevelt wanted the federal government to take immediate control of the battlefield and would not approve of further state expenditure for land acquisition. In a letter of January 2, 1930, Slingerland wrote:

> I had a very nice visit with Governor Roosevelt yesterday. He is thinking of sending a message to the Senate and Assembly asking them to memoralize [sic] Congress with a view to taking over the present holdings of the State in the Battlefield and making it a National Shrine. I asked him about the rest of the land. He thought that if the Federal Government would take it over, that the future Legislature would supply the balance of the land to complete the Battlefield. I think that New York State should further develop the park.[42]

As much as he pushed, Slingerland could not sway the governor's opinion about this issue. A letter from a year after his 1930 visit shows that both men still held differing opinions about the best way to proceed with the battlefield planning.

> Governor Roosevelt is anxious to make a present of the field as it is, to the Federal Government but I have told him that the Federal Government would not accept it until it was completed. I asked him for $184,000.00 this year to purchase the balance of the land but he cut it out.[43]

Slingerland grew impatient with Roosevelt, at times claiming the Governor was "wrong" about how to proceed with the planning.[44] Despite this bitter disappointment Slingerland continued his crusade for further funding and land acquisition.

Turning a Dream into Reality

Interpretation and Visitor Services of the State Management Period

During the state management period of 1927-1937, the attractions provided at "Fort Neilson" consisted of the Neilson house, the Period House, the Powder Magazine, the Blockhouse, the symbolic American Cemetery and Memorial Pavilion, the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial, the Memorial Grove, the New Hampshire Men Monument, the Kosciuszko Monument, and a comfort station. Serving as the "visitor center" of its time and the main attraction on the battlefield, the Blockhouse housed relics, battlefield literature, concessions, and post cards.

Included in the available park information of the time was the Reverend Delos Sprague's book entitled the *Descriptive Guide of the Battlefield of Saratoga*, which was for sale at the Blockhouse during the 1930s. Sprague's guide offered visitors many benefits including a battle history, a map of the battlefield and a description of two battlefield tours (Figure 6.13). He outlined twenty-four tour stops on the map and described them in his narrative of "Tour Route One." Sprague gave a brief description of all the sights 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 Schuyler's House and Schuylerville.[45] His guide helped visitors understand the history and importance of the battlefield in a time when few other sources were available.

Other interpretive efforts included the placement of thirty-four iron markers by the Conservation Commission.[46] These markers were placed at monuments, structures and strategic points throughout the battlefield to describe battle actions or dedication information (Figure 6.14). As no officially trained guides existed to interpret the landscape or story of the battles, visitors relied on guidebooks such as Sprague's and on the physical markings on the battlefield during their tour.

Landscape Maintenance and Land-Use Decisions

Land use of the Saratoga battlefield changed drastically during the state management period. During initial years of battlefield development, proponents saw a conflict between traditional local

land uses and newer park oriented activities. The piecemeal acquisition of land allowed the park to slowly exercise more control over land use decisions and work toward wider realization of their policy goals.

One such management policy that affected the landscape was the planting of grass in former farm fields. Sod was planted throughout the four farms owned by the state and adjacent farmers were encouraged to do the same. Although many farmers continued to raise crops for the duration of their private ownership, some did comply with the wishes of the state. In some cases, the state offered the farmers compensation to expedite the transfer from agriculture to a more unified park-like setting. One farmer was offered one hundred dollars to sod over his fields in 1929.[47] This systematic transformation of the battlefield landscape stimulated an early management challenge. As a result of this policy, large amounts of lawn needed maintaining. Consequently, Slingerland and the Conservation Commissioner had Mr. Gannon, the park caretaker, graze a flock of three to four hundred sheep throughout the battlefield.[48] Another way they discussed managing the grass was through burning, yet this proposal was never applied for fear that the fires would burn out of control.[49]

This policy of sodding the fields and maintaining them as mowed lawn created an open, groomed appearance on the landscape (Figures 6.15 and 6.16). This transformation from agricultural uses to recreational and memorial uses changed the very essence of the battlefield landscape. It began to take on the bucolic appearance of a park in the English tradition of landscape design, with its rolling topography, open lawns, scattered wooded lots, and views of surrounding countryside. Even Mr. Gannon's sheep fit into this picturesque approach to landscape management.

The state managed most of the land as mowed hay fields or grassland to maintain the open character. Six-hundred acres were kept in hay fields that were cut by caretaker Gannon and other local farmers. However, the park's resources were often stretched thin by the vast acreage that needed clearing. Much of the park's acreage slowly reverted back to woody growth because the state didn't have the resources to mow it.[50] Even these hay fields suffered from neglect because they were not re-seeded or rotated regularly.[51]

Despite his enthusiasm for rolling lawns and reconstructed conjectural elements, Slingerland had a less than favorable attitude toward features in the park that were not strictly from the Revolutionary period. Unless a building could be useful to the park, serving as a museum or storage facility, or in a fund raising capacity, it was slated for removal. As farms were acquired and money became available, old barns, stone walls, houses, and hedgerows throughout the park were obliterated. The removal of these post-Revolutionary features contributed to the increasingly pastoral, well-tended character of the landscape.

Although the economic depression hindered some development efforts within the park, Saratoga battlefield benefited from government relief service programs of the 1930s, instituted to battle the record unemployment levels. In 1932, the state's Conservation Commission informed Slingerland that the park would receive services from the Unemployment Relief Fund. The Conservation Commission requested that the laborers perform general maintenance, including removing

hedgerows, constructing parking spaces, painting buildings and weeding roadsides.[52] Yet, the relief service supplied only a minimal amount of labor to the park. The park's growing acreage required a substantial work force with mechanized tools to keep it in top condition. Despite relief service labor, much of the general maintenance still occurred on a sporadic schedule, if at all. Some farm structures that Slingerland slated for removal remained standing for years. One of these, the vacant Sarle farmhouse, burned down in 1932 when a motorist who had run out of gas approached the house looking for assistance and upon seeing no one, flicked a cigarette butt into the house.[53] The old, dry structure quickly went up in flames.

Other management decisions of the time addressed visitor use. In 1931, the Conservation Department restricted the hours and locations that baseball could be played on the battlefield.[54] Active use of the park increased with construction of the picnic grounds between Balcarres and Breymann's Redoubts, drawing scores of people each day. The availability of these facilities allowed visitors to spend a full afternoon at the park, touring and engaging in recreational activities. The directive to restrict the activities of these visitors marked a shift in how the park imagined its purpose. Thus, began the change from recreational use to interpretative and educational use of the battlefield.

The state continued to shift land and visitor use priorities of the battlefield in 1933 when it banned hunting within battlefield boundaries.[55] Hunting in close proximity to park resources and visitors did not fit with the educational, memorial, and contemplative experience the state wanted to portray. This directive also addressed safety concerns for visitors and wildlife. A letter from the Assistant Director of State Lands and Forests in 1933 articulated the park's favorable attitude toward wildlife.

> On the reservation at the present time is a herd of five or six deer which have become quite tame and are commonly seen by the visitors to the area. In addition, the Battlefield is fairly well stocked with pheasants. On account of the possible danger to human life and, in addition, because of the increased attractiveness of the area due to the presence of the deer and pheasants, it is recommended that a regulation prohibiting hunting upon this area be passed by the Department.[56]

The state's leadership failed to provide adequate funding for Saratoga which directly resulted in incomplete interpretative and visitor services and poor maintenance of park resources. Alexander MacDonald, Commissioner of the Conservation Department, described of one of the numerous problems at the park when he complained to Slingerland about the "exceedingly unsanitary" conditions of the rest rooms on the battlefield.[57] This and other problems, caused by a lack of funding and later by a lack of inspired leadership, plagued the battlefield throughout the state's stewardship.

On October 8, 1932, George Slingerland died of a heart attack at the age of fifty-six. Some say he died of a broken heart, having bankrupted himself for the cause, receiving little support from the state in return. His devotion, that was instrumental in the establishment of the battlefield park, was greatly missed by other enthusiasts during lengthy future struggles. His frustrations about the battlefield's lack of resources outlived him and were transferred to Assistant Director of Lands and Forests, Arthur Hopkins by 1934. Hopkins wrote,

> On account of our meager appropriations, we have been able to do very little with our regular funds except to keep the area policed and the sixteen miles or so of dirt roads maintained, together with the upkeep and maintenance of a picnic area which has become very popular.[58]

While Slingerland and individuals at the Conservation Commission accomplished many things at the battlefield, the failing economy and an unresponsive state legislature stymied many of their efforts. Allocating resources for battlefield preservation was clearly not a priority for the state at this juncture but the preservationists proceeded as well as they could, hoping that the federal government would eventually assist in the realization of their goals.

The Fight for Federal Ownership Continues

Shortly before his death, George Slingerland wrote a *Memorandum In Reference to Making the Saratoga Battlefield a National Patriotic Shrine*. In this desperate effort to rally support for his battlefield vision, he laid out his best arguments for federal acquisition as well as provided a progress report of the recently completed "restoration" work. He described the reconstructed buildings, the American Cemetery and,

> Beyond that, and the erection of a few simple monuments and the laying out of roads leading to the more important parts of the field, nothing has been done, and care has been taken in the restoration thus far undertaken not to interfere with any future work in the way of restoring and marking the field as it was at the time of the battle.[59]

Slingerland portrayed the state's interpretive efforts as benign and only cursory to the future efforts of the national government. He went further in his essay, speaking of the federal government's responsibility to bestow national recognition on the battlefield.

> The field is not properly the possession of any one state, it should belong to the whole American people and should be developed as a national possession. Such was the original plan in 1925 when the movement which culminated in the acquisition and rehabilitation of the field began. . . . The future development of the field should be a National undertaking. . . . It is a point of preeminent interest in American history and should be a National patriotic shrine.[60]

Fortunately, Slingerland's vision lived on after his death. Though he disagreed with Slingerland at times, New York State's former Governor Roosevelt did not forget about the battlefield cause after moving into the White House. Shortly after his presidential inauguration in 1933, Roosevelt spoke with Horace M. Albright, director of the National Park Service. Albright informed the new president about the status of all the nation's military parks and made a special appeal that they be transferred from the control of the War Department into the care of the National Park Service. Roosevelt's ready acceptance of Albright's proposal seemed almost too easy. The president was soon making his own proposals, beginning with the question, "What about Saratoga battlefield in New York? Have you ever been there?" Albright answered that he was well aware of Saratoga and its history of failed federal enabling legislation. Albright also mentioned his familiarity with the 1931 recommendation from the War Department under the Hoover administration suggesting that the area be studied as a possible addition to the system of National Military Parks. "I know," the President replied. "When I was governor I pestered them to death to make a state park [sic] out of

the Saratoga Battlefield, but they didn't do it."[61] Roosevelt concluded with an order that Albright "get busy" and see to the federal government becoming involved with the preservation of the Saratoga battlefield.[62]

Even though the state of New York was ready to deed the battlefield to the federal government with the president's endorsement, the transfer did not take place right away. In January 1934, the assistant director of New York State Lands and Forests, Arthur Hopkins, wrote a letter describing his agency's readiness to hand over the battlefield.

> A few years ago Congress appropriated $4,000 for the purpose of making a study of Saratoga Battlefield from a standpoint of whether or not it should be taken over by the Federal Government. This report was made by the Historical Section of the U.S. Army and the report of the Secretary of War to President Hoover placed the Saratoga Battlefield as No. 1 on the list of battlefields which they considered it desirable for the Government to own [sic]. . . . The State of New York is ready at any time to turn the area over free of charge to the Federal Government.[63]

Despite the state's urgency, the federal government did not intervene until 1938. In the interim, the state maintained the status quo, refraining from large undertakings at the battlefield. A report from 1936 described the typical tasks completed at the park; grading roads, constructing culverts, cleaning dead and down timber, and fertilizing lawns.[64] They were without a key individual or group to advocate for long range planning after Slingerland's death. Major improvements would have to wait until federal dollars supported further development.

In 1938 the Saratoga battlefield was a mixture of mowed fields, scattered woodlots, successional fields, commemorative monuments, historic markers, old farm buildings, stone walls, hedgerows, and orchards. The state made numerous improvements including the construction of roads, replica buildings, restrooms, and picnic facilities but remnants of the former agricultural landscape remained. Although the state desired to keep an open, park-like visual setting by maintaining most of the land as mowed grass, the reality of limited resources allowed successional growth to occur in many fields. The numerous farm buildings, most of which were abandoned and disrepair contributed to the bucolic setting of the battlefield. Most of the monuments and visitor accessible buildings were located around Fort Neilson, with a majority of the park's acreage resembling the rural community it once hosted. As the NPS poised to take control of the Saratoga battlefield, the landscape stood as a reminder of the many years of human habitation, presenting layers of naturalistic growth, agricultural elements, commemorative markings, and interpretive park features.

Endnotes – State Management Period

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[1] Historical Society of Saratoga Springs. *1927 Objectives and Officers Listing.* Saratoga National Historical Park files. B3/F8.

[2] Letter of August 28, 1928. Slingerland Correspondence files. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[3] George Slingerland. "Saratoga Battlefield Future." Undated. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[4] Ibid.

[5] George Slingerland in a letter to Adolph Ochs. May 12, 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files B1/F5.

[6] Essay by George Slingerland. Undated. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[7] Ibid.

[8] George Slingerland in a letter to Charles Ogden. July 8, 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F6.

[9] Charles Ogden in a letter to George Slingerland. August 23, 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F8.

[10] Alexander MacDondald, Superintendent of State Forests to the Gettysburg Park Commission. Letter of August 16, 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F7.

[11] George Slingerland in a letter to Francis Lynch. July 1, 1927. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B2/F13 4224.

[12] George Slingerland in a letter to Charles Ogden. March 10, 1927. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F5 4224.

[13] Alexander MacDonald, Superintendent of State Forests in a letter to Professor John V. Van Pelt, Secretary of the Bureau of Fine Arts. October 9, 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[14] Letter from John V. Van Pelt of the Bureau of Fine Arts to C.R. Pettis, Superintendent of the Division of Lands and Forests. September 29, 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F11.

[15] Sesquicentennial Pageant Official Instructions to Participants. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B3/F4.

[16] George Slingerland in a letter to the Jermain Estate. January 13, 1927. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B2/F1. 4224. Although the state owned these four properties, both the Gannons and Neilsons rented their former properties from the state. In their Occupancy Agreements, the tenants agreed to pay rent monthly, keep their properties in tidy condition and be helpful and courteous to visitors. The Neilsons were given permission to sell postcards, maps, and books relating to the battles of 1777. Mr. Gannon remained on the property for several years, as he became the State park's caretaker. Occupancy Agreements between the New York State Conservation Commission and Charles Neilson and James F. Gannon. March 9, 1927. Saratoga National Historical Park Files. B2/F4 4224.

[17] Robert Fisher in a letter to George Slingerland. January 31, 1927. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B2/F1 4224.

[18] Letter from George Slingerland to the Jermain Estate. January 13, 1927. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B2/F1. 4224.

[19] The Lohnes, Farrell, Burnah, Gilgallon, Condon, and part of the Hale farms were obtained through court proceedings. From a letter from Slingerland to Herbert Prescott. June 15, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B5/F8.

[20] George Slingerland in a letter from to Governor Smith. 1928. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B3/F7.

[21] Richard E. Beresford. "The Roosevelt's and the Saratoga National Historical Park. 1929-1943." 1992. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[22] George Slingerland in a letter to Herbert F. Prescott. June 15, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B5/F8.

[23] James S. Parker in a letter to George Slingerland. May 23, 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F10.

[24] George Slingerland. "Saratoga Battlefield Future." Undated. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[25] Conservation Commission Report. "Annual Report for 1926." Saratoga National Historical Park files. 30.

[26] "The Monuments of Saratoga National Historical Park." Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[27] George Slingerland in a letter to Mr. Emory. January 23, 1928. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B3/F12.

[28] George Slingerland in a letter to A.S. Hopkins, Assistant Superintendent of the Conservation Department. May 10, 1929. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F2.

[29] George Slingerland in a letter to Arthur Hopkins. October 20, 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[30] Margaret Coffin. "Historic Landscape Assessment of the Daughters of the American Revolution Saratoga Battlefield Memorial. Phase I: Assessment and Alternatives (draft)." 1994, 16. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Press release from the New York State Conservation Department. May 24, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[33] Coffin. 16.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ruth W. Roerig. *A History of the Saratoga Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, It's 100th Birthday Celebration. 1894-1994*. NSDAR, 1994. 65. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[36] Cabell Phillips. *The New York Times Chronicle of American Life from the Crash to the Blitz, 1929-1939*. In Conrad Wirth's *Parks, Politics and the People*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 65.

[37] George Slingerland in a letter to Adolph Ochs. January 24, 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F8.

[38] George Slingerland in a letter to Adolph Ochs. January 2, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B5/F4.

[39] 71st Congress, 2nd Session. H. Con.Res. 18. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F8.

[40] Frances M. Ingalls in a letter to George Slingerland. February 15, 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F8.

[41] George Slingerland in a letter to Adolph Ochs. January 2, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B5/F4.

[42] George Slingerland in a letter to Adolph Ochs. January 24, 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F8.

[43] George Slingerland in a letter to James S. Parker. February 2, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[44] George Slingerland in a letter to Adolph Ochs. November 8, 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B5/F3.

[45] Reverend Delos Sprague. *Descriptive Guide of the Battlefield of Saratoga*. (Ballston Spa NY: Battlefield Publishing Co., Inc., 1930).

[46] George Slingerland in a letter to the Albany Foundry Company. April 9, 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F11.

[47] George Slingerland to A.S. Hopkins, Assistant Superintendent of the Conservation Department. March 13, 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F2.

[48] Memorandum from the Assistant Superintendent of Lands and Forests. January 18, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[49] Conservation Commissioner MacDonald in a letter to Slingerland. March 31, 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F9.

[50] Roy Appleman. "Recommendations on Development Policy and Work Program for Saratoga National Historical Park." August 15, 1939. Museum Services file SARA- .052-057.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Assistant Superintendent of Lands and Forests in a letter to Slingerland. June 4, 1932. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B5/F14.

[53] Continental Casualty Company report from September 17, 1932. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[54] Assistant Superintendent of Lands and Forests in a letter to George Slingerland. June 22, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B5/F8.

[55] Order Prohibiting Hunting on Saratoga Battlefield. Provision 50 of New York State Conservation Law. September 26, 1933. Saratoga National Historical Park Files. B1/F3 4803.

[56] Letter from Assistant Director of Lands and Forests to the Conservation Department. September 25, 1933. Saratoga National Historical Park Files. B1/F3 4803.

[57] Alexander MacDonald in a letter to George Slingerland. June 22, 1929. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B4/F4.

[58] Arthur Hopkins in a letter to Eugene B. Bowen. January 23, 1934. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F5 4803.

[59] George Slingerland. "Memorandum In Reference to Making The Saratoga Battlefield a National Patriotic Shrine." November 12, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B5/F11.

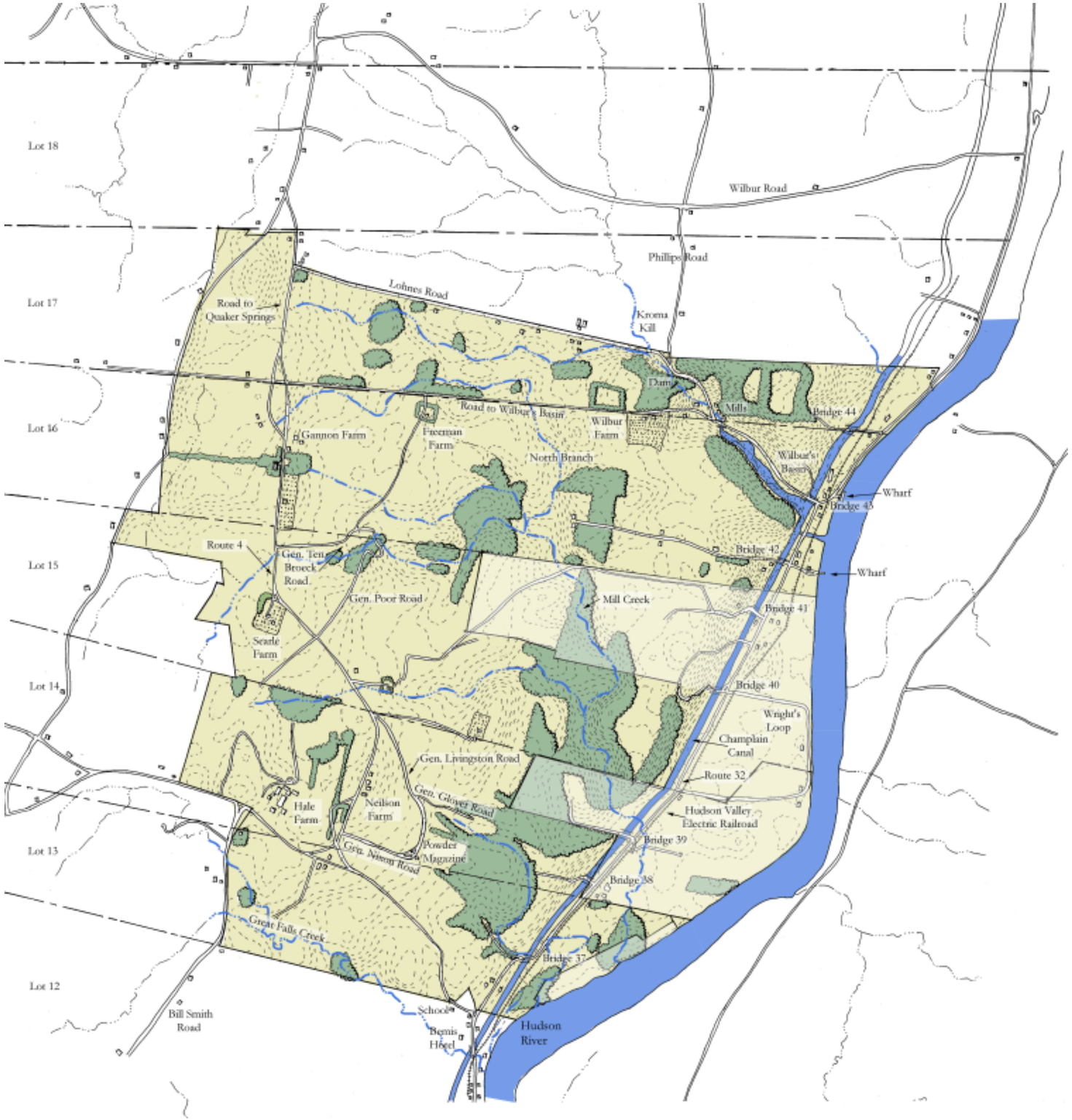
[60] Ibid.

[61] While in this statement Roosevelt claimed to have pushed for the establishment of a state park while he was governor, he may have been misquoted or misspoke. Roosevelt became governor of New York in 1928 and as of October 8, 1927, Saratoga was already a recognized state park. Roosevelt may have meant to say that he pushed during his term as governor for Saratoga to become a national park.

[62] Horace M. Albright as told to Robert Cahn. *The Birth of the National Park Service - The Founding Years, 1913-1933*. (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985), 296.

[63] Arthur Hopkins in a letter to Eugene B. Bowen. January 23, 1934. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F5 4803.

[64] WPA project report of September 17, 1936. Saratoga National Historical Park files. B1/F18 4803.



1927 Period Plan

Note:
This map was prepared using a series of historic and contemporary maps reproduced to a 1:9,600 scale (1"=800'). There was much disagreement among the maps, so a modern orthophotograph, hydrology map, and USGS topographic map with ten-foot contours were used to rectify the differences.

Maps consulted from park archives:
Emily Russell GIS "Land Cover and Roads Map" for 1927
West Survey of 1927
1927 Aerial Photo
1917 Canal Maps
1956 Survey
Emily Russell GIS "Land Cover and Roads Map" for 1948
SARA GIS/GPS "Road Trace Map"
2000 Orthophotograph
OCLP SARA CLR 2001 Map

Note: Park Boundaries are Approximate

Creek
Forest
Field

North

Not to Scale

Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga Battlefield, Saratoga National Historical Park

OLMSTED CENTER
for LANDSCAPE PRESERVATION

Figure 6.1

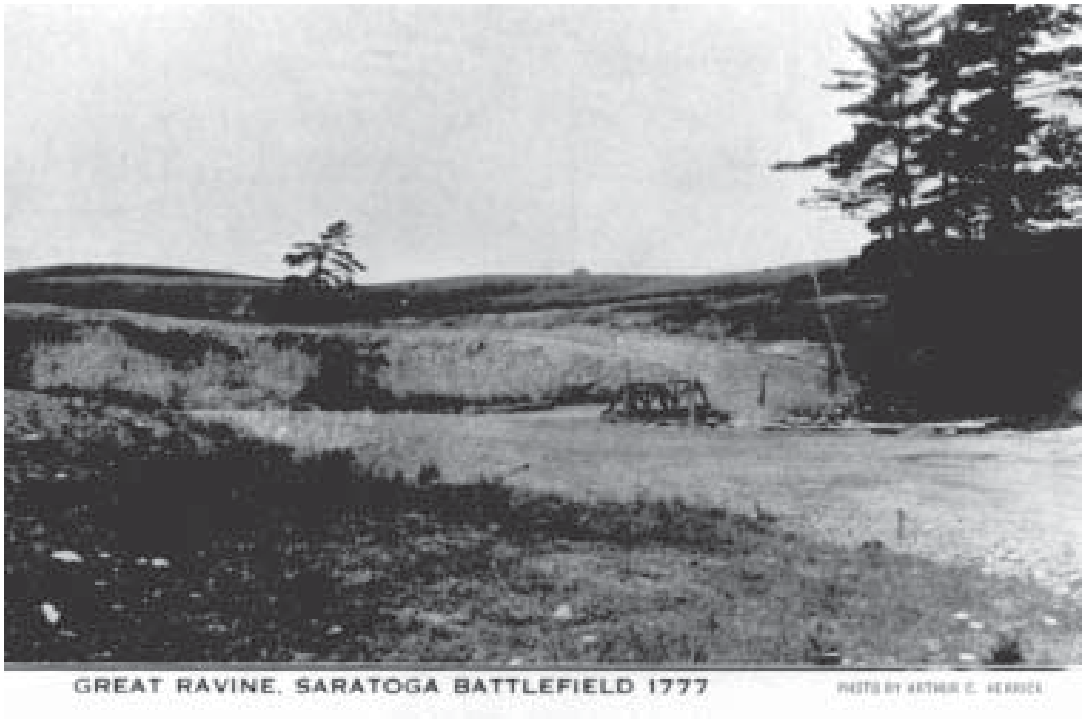


Figure 6.2. Great Ravine and surrounding landscape, cleared of forests and devoted to agriculture. c. 1928. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.3. Replica Powder Magazine constructed by the state as part of the cluster of resources at "Fort Neilson." c. 1928. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.4. Replica Blockhouse, constructed at the Neilson farm during state ownership. c. 1960. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.5. Cleared landscape at the Middle Ravine and surrounding landscape. August 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.6. The conjectural Battle Well, surrounded by open fields, was constructed during the state management period. c. 1928. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.7. Spectators at the Freeman farm during the Sesquicentennial of October 8, 1927 that attracted over 160,000 people. Note the open character of the landscape and views available throughout the park. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.8. The Sesquicentennial Pageant, with 6,000 participants. October 8, 1927. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

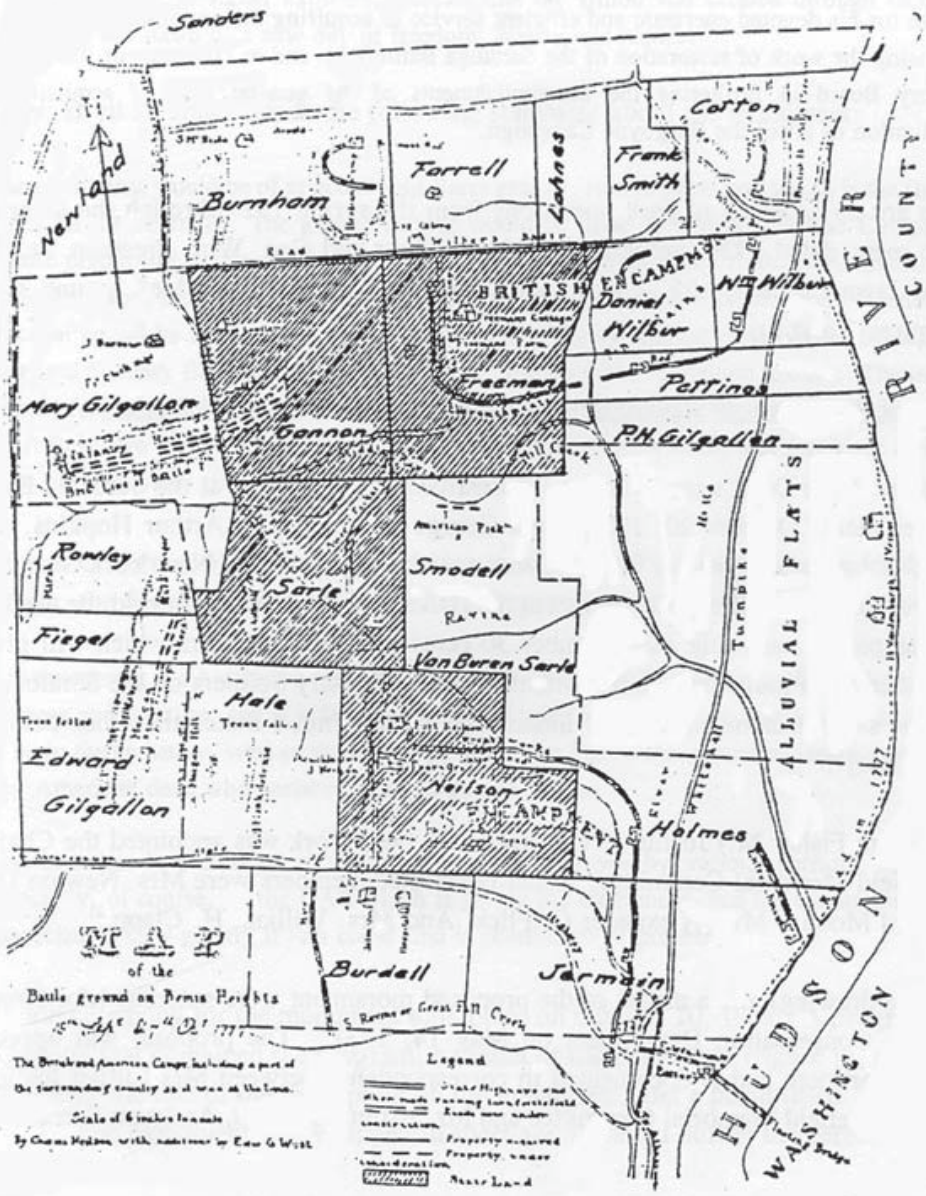


Figure 6.9. Slingerland's land parcel map, created to show early land acquisition priorities. By 1927, when the state acquired the battlefield, the park included the above shaded properties. 1926. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.10. This Army Corps of Engineers aerial photo served as the base for numerous mapping and research projects. 1927. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.11. The DAR's Saratoga Battlefield Memorial was erected to coincide with the 200th anniversary of George Washington's birth. The monument was dedicated at a ceremony on October 10, 1931. Note this photo was taken prior to the grading and landscape improvements of the mid 1930s. 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.12. Slingerland's Memorial Grove of Elm trees was dedicated on the same day as the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial. The trees were dedicated to George Washington, the thirteen original states, and the American generals and their aides. October 10, 1931. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

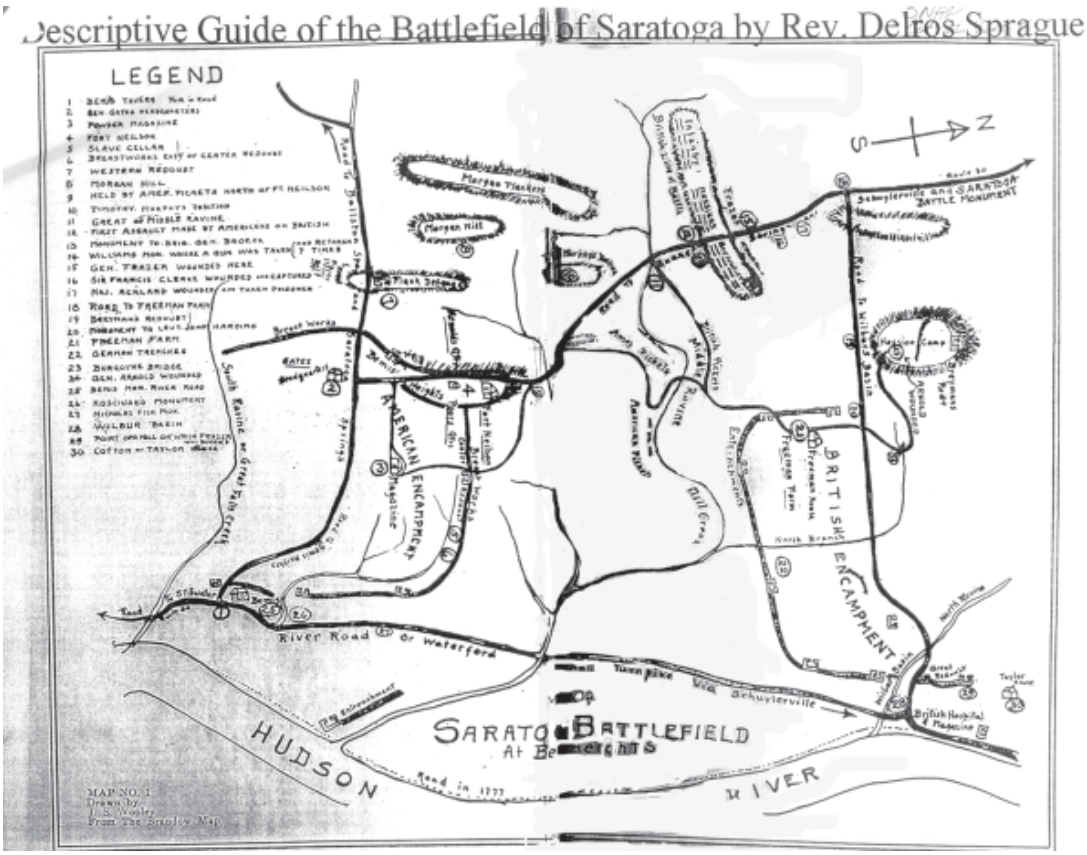


Figure 6.13. Reverend Sprague's *Descriptive Guide of the Battlefield of Saratoga* served as the interpretive text and park map for visitors during the state management period. c. 1930. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.14. Descriptive metal marker placed throughout the battlefield by the state to mark monuments and waysides. c. 1940. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 6.15. Open landscape of the state management period. c. 1940. Saratoga Natioanl Historical Park files.

Figure 6.16. Open landscape of the state management period, looking toward Fort Neilson. c. 1940. Saratoga Natioanl Historical Park files.

National Park Service Period, 1938-Present

Origins of National Park Service Involvement

The successful creation of a national park to commemorate the battles of Saratoga came about largely due to the direction provided by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Being a native New Yorker, Roosevelt expressed personal interest in the preservation of Saratoga battlefield and became an early advocate for its development as a historical park.

In spite of FDR's presidential directive to Albright in 1933, New York State continued its stewardship of the battlefield until 1938, when Congress authorized Saratoga National Historical Park. The authorization merely extended to the Department of the Interior the permission to begin the process of planning park facilities and negotiating land transfers from New York State. The intent of these authorized activities was directed at eventually creating and officially dedicating a national park along the Hudson at Saratoga. However, this did not come about until President Truman signed legislation in 1948 officially establishing the park.[1] At the time authorizing legislation was introduced, the state reservation was composed of 1,429 acres.[2] Yet, according to an early NPS "Report on Proposed Boundaries for Saratoga Battlefield Park," prepared in August of 1938, 2,450 additional acres were identified as significant to the battles and as such, were prioritized for future inclusion within the park's legal boundaries.[3]

Landscape Characteristics at Commencement of NPS Efforts

The landscape of Saratoga battlefield at the time of the authorizing legislation contained components of rural vernacular features and early commemorative efforts. When the National Park Service began their planning, examples of an unorganized intervention on the landscape already existed. Earlier groups placed monuments, constructed conjectural period structures, and made fledgling efforts to interpret the sites of British and American fighting. While thought had been given to remembering courageous persons and events, the landscape lacked a unified interpretation of the battles. What existed in 1938 was a piecemeal effort to tell the story of the battles, one that lacked organizing elements, infrastructure, and an accurate depiction of Revolutionary War features.

Early Park Facilities

As planned during the state management period, the Neilson farm served as the central area for staff activities and museum and visitor services. This area was known as "Headquarters area" as much for its association with the commanding Continental generals of 1777 as for its connection with park administrative facilities. Nevertheless, the features grouped in this area created a central location where visitors could orient themselves before beginning a more widespread tour of the park (Figures 7.1 and 7.2).

Features constructed during the state's tenure included the Blockhouse, Period House, and Powder Magazine (Figure 7.3). Nearby were the features of the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial,

Memorial Pavilion, and Memorial Grove (Figures 7.4 and 7.5). A parking lot, comfort station, well, and underground reservoir serviced these resources. With the exception of the hedgerow surrounding the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial and the Memorial Grove of Elms, most of the land in the Headquarters area was cleared of vegetation, allowing easy viewing of the surrounding terrain (Figure 7.6).

Structures and Monuments

Beginning with New York State's involvement at Saratoga, various civic and patriotic groups commissioned monuments and markers throughout the park. Most of these were placed along existing roads near areas thought to be associated with historic events. While some these markers, like the ones erected by the state Conservation Commission, were uniform in design, others were independent efforts lacking collective organizing features. According to a map entitled *Monuments at Saratoga National Historic Park*, circa 1940, there were seventeen monuments within the park (Figure 7.7). The largest cluster of these was located at the Headquarters area in the southern portion of the park. Gates Headquarters Monument, Murphy Monument, Kosciuszko Monument, New Hampshire Men Monument, Saratoga Battlefield Memorial, and Fort Neilson Monument were all located in this region. Located along Route 32, north of the "Headquarters area" was another series of monuments, more widely spaced than the group just discussed. In this region were the Morgan Monument, Great Ravine Monument, Rockefeller Monument, Ten Broeck Monument, Second Battle of Saratoga Monument and the Fraser Monument. Several other monuments were placed around the Freeman farm, off the Town Road, including the Bidwell Monument, Freeman Farm Monument, and the Hardin Monument. The Arnold Monument was located north of the Town Road, across from the Freeman farm (Figure 7.8).

Many farm buildings remained in the park, their fates not yet sealed due to lack of maintenance staff. Many including the Freeman, Gannon, Wilbur, Condon, Gilgallon, Smodell, Van Buren, and Searles farm structures, were historic buildings, with some containing components that pre-dated 1777.[4] As seen in the 1939 Topographical Information Sheet, these farms were well documented (Figure 7.9). The Gannon farm contained a variety of buildings and structures, including a farmhouse, several barns, a chicken coop and a concrete hog-dipping pit. This farm and the many others that existed throughout the park contained substantial resources that would be slowly removed in coming decades.

Spatial Patterns and Vegetation

Prior to New York State's acquisition of the battlefield areas in 1927, the landscape was indeed agrarian. The 1927 Army Corps aerial photo reveals the land as a patchwork of farm fields, orchards, natural ravines, and hilltops, connected by country roads (See Figure 6.5).[5] In 1938 the park's spatial patterning of field and woodlot was characterized by this previous working landscape and closely resembled the photo from ten years before. Agricultural trace elements such as hedge rows and stone walls remained from over 160 years of active farming. Many of these farm fields were abandoned at the time of National Park authorization but their organizing elements remained.

Most of the vegetation on the battlefield had been cleared by the mid-1800s and what remained was reflected in the patterns of agricultural activities. Rows of apple and elm trees formed lines across the landscape, marking field boundaries. Substantial stands of second growth forests grew in the steep ravines around Mill Creek, just west of the Champlain Canal and wet flood plains of the Hudson River. Steep topography in these areas prevented farmers from clearing the land for agriculture, allowing thick woods to flourish in small patches. Other agricultural remnants included an alleé of elm trees leading from the Town Road to the Freeman farm, a partial row of trees on Route 32 around the Gannon house, and apple orchards located near the Gannon, Freeman, and Wilbur farms.

Viewsheds

Because of the limited amount of forest vegetation and the rolling topography on the site, expansive views were available throughout the park. Fraser's burial site, one of the important historic sites located on the bluffs overlooking the river, had an impressive viewshed. Jared Sparks, a historian who traveled in the area in 1830 described the view from Fraser's grave.

> The view from this place is exceedingly beautiful, and the effect was now heightened by the rays of the setting sun brightly gilding the distant hills, the quiet valley and the waters of the Hudson, which are here seen for a long distance both to the right and the left as you look toward the east.[6]

These views of the Hudson River and the local landscape were available from several vantage points in the park. To keep these expansive views open, or not, would later prove to be a difficult issue facing the new park.

Saratoga's Early Park Road System

The park's road system in 1938 consisted mostly of the vernacular roads that had evolved to service the farms and homes in the area. U.S. Route 4, or the State Highway, was an improved "federal aid highway" and was the primary north-south road through the park. This was a modern concrete road servicing most of the regional through-traffic (Figure 7.10). Many early roads were oriented in an east-west linear pattern, similar to the original patent lines of 1683.[7] Town Road, a road formed by the boundaries of these former land tracts, traveled east-west across the northern portion of the site.[8] Several secondary roads, named in memory of Revolutionary War figures, like General Patterson and General Poor, traversed the area. These secondary roads originated from Route 4 and accessed local farmyards.

The area's early vernacular roads guided visitors on their tour of the battlefield. Most visitors entered the park at the southern boundary from Route 423, stopped at the Headquarters area, and then used the State Highway to visit memorials and other park attractions. Several of these roads traveled along the same path as battle era roads. This early road system adequately served the relatively low number of visitors to the park. With further development of Saratoga's interpretive resources in later years, the network of existing roads no longer met the park's interpretive goals or

increased traffic. Consequently, the NPS recognized the need for the development of a park tour road.

Saratoga Battlefield's Shift to a National Park

While the Saratoga battlefield incurred physical and developmental improvements under New York State control, many changes were inevitable with the eventual transfer to a National Park. The National Park System in 1938 was a much more unified system than it had been just a few years before. One of the most important steps in the Park Service's development was its reorganization of 1933. With the restructuring, the NPS truly became national in scope and unified as one system. NPS administration was centralized in Washington DC, located advantageously close to political decision-makers. Also, per Albright's instigation and FDR's orders, battlefield parks that had previously been administered by the War Department became part of the Park Service. The acquisition of these historical parks created a diversity that the Park Service previously lacked. Now instead of consisting predominantly of the large western natural parks, historical, military, and cultural properties were included in the National Park Service.[9]

The Saratoga National Historical Park "Project," as it was called just prior to National Park acquisition was ripe to reap the benefits of this broadened scope. With increased funding and labor from economic relief programs, the NPS planned to improve Saratoga's infrastructure and interpretive services to more effectively represent the battles of 1777. Yet because of the lengthy gap between Albright's 1933 conversation with the President and Saratoga's legislative authorization in 1938, the park nearly missed out on the greatest source of labor and funding for park development that the nation's parks had ever enjoyed.

A Late Start for the Civilian Conservation Corps

To combat record unemployment levels created by the economic depression of the 1930s, President Roosevelt created the Civilian Conservation Corps in March of 1933. The CCC's mission was to employ young men in character building labor and to improve the country's natural resources. By August of 1933, the program employed 300,000 young men. The number of participants rose to 500,000 during the CCC's peak years.[10] Because of the CCC's strong commitment to natural resource protection, the National Park Service became a primary beneficiary of their services. Labor from the CCC camps performed road and trail maintenance, reforestation, construction of campgrounds and cabins, and forest fire prevention at national parks throughout the county.

Already past its peak as a national program, a CCC camp was created at Saratoga National Historical Park in the spring of 1939. An extensive series of maintenance programs and historical research projects were undertaken in the park and the CCC provided the essential labor and equipment to accomplish these projects. The camp housing the enrollees was constructed in nearby Stillwater, and the men and their supervisors immediately began a campaign of maintaining lawns and fields, performing tree maintenance, clearing and reforesting, grading roads, and constructing buildings. President Roosevelt's godson, Al Kreese was assigned as the superintendent of Saratoga's

CCC camp in 1939, which was indicative of FDR's continued interest and oversight in the happenings of the fledgling park.[11]

CCC Accomplishments

A report from June of 1941 describes the accomplishments of the CCC camp from October 1939 to June 1941. For the first time, scholarly research, completed in a comprehensive and methodical manner, was completed to link park developments with verified historical events. These research efforts were completed with help from CCC enrollees. For example, CCC labor excavated five miles of trenches for archeological study and review between 1939-1941.[12] The CCC workers also undertook the obliteration of "undesirable features" at the battlefield, including barns, stone walls, and foundations that preliminary research showed did not date to the 1777 period.[13] However, work was not always completed in a swift and efficient manner. Untrained labor, harsh soil conditions, and working with hand tools made progress slow at times. Robert Ehrich, Senior Foreman Archaeologist, reporting his findings and assessment of upcoming needs of 1941 described the reasons why he had surpassed his budget for archeological work. "If this figure should seem high, it must be remembered that the work will be done with untrained personnel among whom there will be a rapid turnover. Soil conditions on the battlefield are difficult and the work herein outlined is extensive."[14] This correspondence illustrated the nature of the CCC personnel system and the ambitious work program at Saratoga NHP.

In addition to the historical and archeological research undertaken by park staff, the park was also being thoroughly mapped and surveyed.[15] CCC crews proved instrumental in the completion of this project. The survey proved invaluable in the creation of the park's *1941 Historical Base Map* and other maps that would be used as the foundation for park planning and development.

With World War II beginning in Europe, Congress cut funding for the Works Projects Administration (WPA), the Civilian Conservation Corps, and other Depression-era make-work programs as early as 1939. One third of the WPA budget was cut in 1940 and the cuts continued to whittle away at the CCC's resources with the escalation of the conflict.[16] Conrad Wirth, Assistant Director of the National Park Service, described an effort made by the Department of the Interior in 1941 to prolong the life of the inevitably doomed CCC. Secretary of the Interior Ickes, proposed to remove all Armed Service involvement from the CCC in hopes of reducing the competition for military resources. Yet, Pearl Harbor was bombed the very next day, putting an end to any hopes of keeping the CCC alive.[17] Saratoga's CCC camp was disbanded in the spring of 1942 and the men and equipment formerly stationed there were moved to other locations to assist with the war effort.

Research and Planning for the New National Park

Early Cautious Advice

After June 1, 1938 when the Saratoga National Historical Park was authorized, the acquisition of land again became a top priority, just as it was for George Slingerland in the 1920s. Several private

tracts of importance still fell outside of the battlefield's boundary. To address the issue, a report was written in August 1938 to research and prioritize future land acquisition. Among the recommended properties, Fraser's Hill on the "Newland farm," which remained in private ownership, was described as the site that provided the best views of the surrounding area. Within the Fraser's Hill viewshed existed:

> The Battle Monument at Schuylerville. . . and with this point as a guide, the observer can readily understand the course of Burgoyne's advance to the battlefields, which in the nearer view lie at his feet almost entirely visible. . . . Coupled to its great value as by far the best natural observatory on a battlefield which possesses several excellent ones, it renders this tract one of the most desirable among those which are suggested for inclusion in the park.[18]

This report also prioritized the Cotton Estate that contained the site of the Taylor House, portions of the Great Redoubt, and portions of earthworks near the rear of the British encampment. Also listed was the Charles Holmes property, containing portions of the American fortifications.

President Roosevelt advocated for further land purchase, specifically in correspondence with First Assistant Secretary Burlew of the Department of the Interior on May 31, 1939.

> In regard to the 950 acres outside the State land, we should buy them slowly - and we ought to buy them for a sum far less than what was the asking price a few years ago. Why not put into next year's budget a comparatively small item for purchase of land - say $50,000 with no limit on the time for purchasing it?[19]

Burlew cautioned the president against trying to acquire privately owned lands, such as Fraser's Hill, too soon. He wisely replied that maintaining the land already in their possession would keep their limited staff busy for a significant period of time. The effort to acquire lands important to the battles continued for decades.

The federal transfer process was still incomplete in 1939, as the battlefield continued to be managed by the State of New York with an incrementally increasing NPS presence. NPS officials, planners, and historians gradually began to visit and assess the park in anticipation of its transfer to the federal government. During this interim period tensions arose between the two agencies. Conrad Wirth, Assistant Director of the National Park Service, received a peevish letter on August 4, 1939 from James Evans, Director of the State Conservation Commission, describing his dissatisfaction with the transfer process.

> If you do not pay a little attention to the steering of your Saratoga Battlefield ship you are very liable to land somewhere out in the oats. . . . Now why the hell don't you have those fellows come in here and talk over some the details of this transfer and keep the Commissioner and his staff informed?[20]

Early intervention by the Park Service proved to be contentious at times and not always based on the most sound planning policies. Having only partial jurisdiction made the implementation of planning strategies difficult. Before extensive archeological and historical research had been completed, officials flirted with ideas of creating management and development policies to guide the new park, but fell short of creating a well documented comprehensive plan.

One of the important planning reports compiled by the NPS during this early period was "Recommendations on Development Policy and Work Program for Saratoga National Historical Park" by Roy Appleman, Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites for the National Park Service, in August of 1939. This report was a pre-master plan set of recommendations where he outlined policy issues addressing key maintenance and development programs within the proposed park. One of these issues was the potential reforestation of cleared land that had been forested during the battles. Appleman strongly discouraged reforestation to depict historic conditions of 1777. He argued that the present open conditions rendered the terrain visible and the battle more easily explained to park visitors (Figures 7.11 and 7.12). Appleman wrote,

> I am wholly convinced that visibility of the terrain at Saratoga is by far the more important. Informing the visitor that the countryside was mostly solid forest in 1777 and that this fact should always be kept in mind while studying the field is a relatively simple matter and proper adjustments probably can be made by most people. Picturing sites and locations where visibility is denied is not so easy.[21]

Junior Historical Technician F.F. Wilshin also discussed this approach during 1940. While recognizing merit in Appleman's view, Wilshin questioned the interpretive value of the deforestation. He was the first to propose a compromise.

> Here is it realized that in any planning program it will be necessary to establish for purposes of historical interpretation a compromise between complete reforestation as of 1777 and the open fields of the present. Too complete a planting would seriously impair sight distances necessary for interpretation while insufficient planting would fail to present as essential conception of the physical appearance of the field at the time of the battle.[22]

Both Appleman and Wilshin understood the need for further research and study of the landscape and its archeological remains. Appleman justified his proposed vegetation policy in saying, ". . . do only that which will aid in presenting a simple clear picture of the events that were enacted and in evaluating their significance."[23] At this time, the condition of the landscape in 1777 was not clearly understood, so his recommendation to leave the vegetation alone was a cautions and conservative gesture. His report served as the initiation of the National Park Service's fledgling efforts to inventory, research, and plan the future battlefield park.

By 1938, National Park Service planning had evolved into a comprehensive tool to keep pace with growing needs and expectations. Linda McClelland, in *Presenting Nature: The Historic Design of the National Park Service*, discussed the evolution of this planning policy.

> A program for general planning began in the mid-1920's to enable park superintendents to schedule the construction and improvement of park roads and trails and other facilities over a five-year period. By 1932, this process had evolved into a program of master planning that programmed all park improvements for a six-year period. By 1939, it encompassed the many emerging programs of the National Park Service, from engineering and forest protection to interpretation and recreation.[24]

Comprehensive planning documents had evolved from the early "Statement of Policy" in 1918, to "master planning" by 1932. The term master plan is credited to former Director Albright who coined the phrase at the 1932 Twelfth Conference of National Park Executives.[25] His vision of the master plan was to create "a legacy for the future- a final and decisive vision of how each park

should fulfill its dual purpose of preserving outstanding scenery and natural features and providing for public enjoyment."[26] Officials looked to create a long-term plan for Saratoga to guide development of much needed elements such as road, trail, and building construction, removal of obsolete or inappropriate features, and plans for museum and visitor services.

Precedents to Saratoga's Planning Efforts

In anticipation of Saratoga's official inclusion into the National Park system, the goal to provide an organized and historically accurate account of events to visitors became an important part of the planning effort. National historical parks around the country were developing a more sophisticated palette of interpretive, educational, and visitor services. Amenities, such as museum services, interpretive opportunities, and historical literature, were expected.

Appleman wrote to the park on June 19, 1940 asking them to look closely at the interpretive services they provided. He felt there was an increase in the public's appetite for American history and stressed the need to more accurately depict the American experience. "For immediate consideration, I would suggest that careful study be given to the interpretive programs in progress and planned for Morristown, the Statue of Liberty, and Yorktown (Colonial), areas inseparably connected with our most fundamental history."[27]

Similarly, Fred T. Johnson, the Acting Regional Director of the National Park Service, wrote to F. F. Wilshin, the Junior Historical Technician at Saratoga, asking him to obtain a copy of the historic base map and other drawings from Colonial National Historical Park (Figure 7.13). Johnson felt this map was an excellent example of a clear, concise, and thorough base map and would make a good template for Wilshin to follow.[28] The system-wide effort to undertake comprehensive planning and research created a set of standards that Saratoga needed to translate to its unique circumstances. Using other well-developed park master plans as a point of reference helped Saratoga's officials as they began a late start in planning the park's future.

Master Planning Goals

Saratoga's proposed master plan became the essential working document that influenced development and change. In step with system-wide planning initiatives, Saratoga took on the development of a new administration/museum building as a first priority. The Blockhouse, which may have served the park's needs during the state management period, was obsolete and not up to NPS standards for visitor services. However, prior to further planning for an administration/museum building, park officials understood the need to document the park's history, landscape, and archeology. This was accomplished with the completion of a historical base map. This map was the foundation for later completion of the general development plan, roads and trails system plan, and interpretive tour plan. These four plans created the graphic component of the *1941 Master Plan.* Accompanying the graphics were narrative sheets that planned for land acquisition, siting of the administration/museum building, creating staff housing, undertaking historical restoration, and constructing the required tour road. Methodologies set in place by NPS

master planning ensured that all of the articulated goals would be guided by documentary and archeological research.

A.W. Kresse, Project Superintendent at Saratoga, and Junior Historical Technician Wilshin, wrote to Frederick Bidwell, one of the charter members of the Saratoga Battlefield Association, describing the importance of the research process in the production of the historical base map and its subsequent utility in park planning.

> In this [historical base] map an effort will be made to recapture as nearly as possible the physical appearance of the area in the fall of 1777. Not only will the map show the location of the American and British lines. . . but also the location of historic roads, cultivated fields, forest areas and ground cover. . . . When this map is completed. . . it will then be possible for a Master Plan to be prepared for the park which will serve as the basis for its development.[29]

Kreese and Wilshin understood the importance of documenting all sources possible for the base map. They also claimed that when the historical base map was complete they would be able to best site the proposed administration/museum building, utility buildings, and plan an effective tour road system. Their letter displayed the park's commitment to historical research prior to planning.

Master Planning Process

In 1940, Wilshin and Ehrich began their exhaustive research of the site. Wilshin, the historian, gathered an extensive list of primary and secondary sources. He traveled to the Library of Congress to find information about the Burgoyne campaign and spent time at the New York Historical Society searching for books, diaries, maps, sketches, and prints relating to the battles.[30] He located the Sparks collection from Harvard's Widner Library that housed the writings, journals, and maps of Jared Sparks, the historian who toured the battlefield in 1830.[31] One of Wilshin's most valuable sources of landscape information proved to be Wilkinson's map (Figure 7.14). Wilkinson, an assistant engineer in Burgoyne's army, created maps of the battlefield that included topography and the positions of the British lines. While much of Wilkinson's information was accurate, he had not documented the American positions as accurately as the British positions. Information about the location of the American lines remained inadequate for Wilshin's purposes.

To supplement and unify Wilshin's documentary research, Ehrich conducted archeological investigations with help from the CCC crews, to shed additional light on the positions of the British and American troops during the battles. Ehrich reported finding traces of both British and American fortifications in his report of October of 1940.[32] However, once again, more was known about the position of the British lines because of the quantity of information provided in the Wilkinson map. These archeological studies indicated that prior placement of the battles and fortifications had been inaccurate. The park's historic base map was continually updated to incorporate Wilshin and Ehrich's new findings.

Concurrent with ongoing documentary and archeological research, the topographic survey completed by the CCC served as another important piece of information for Wilshin's efforts. The survey helped create the base on which he layered the findings of his historical research. With these

research materials gathered, Wilshin synthesized the information into the historic base map that appeared in the *1941 Master Plan* (Figure 7.15). When completed, this map showed the structures, roads, farm fields, and forests that existed at the time of the battles. Positions of the American and British encampment were noted with symbols, along with the lines of fortifications.

Park planners used Wilshin's information about troop movement, encampment locations, farmsteads and historic roads to later draft the interpretive tour plan and roads and trails plan. All of these efforts culminated into the *General Development Plan for Saratoga* (Figure 7.16). This plan combined key features from each map to graphically highlight the park's future development.

One of the master plan's most resounding successes was the identification of Fraser's Hill as the location of the administration/museum building. Beginning in 1938, while Erich and Wilshin researched the park's resources, dialog began about the siting of the administration/museum building. Three options were formally designed and proposed in 1940. Prospective sites were ranked based on location, accessibility, relation to outside facilities, landscape considerations, and historical considerations.[33] "Option A" was proposed for the triangle of land at the intersection of Route 4 and Route 423, the same location identified in the 1938 and 1939 plans. "Option B" was located on Fraser's Hill in the northwest corner of the park, and "Option C" was located near Bemis Tavern in the extreme southeast corner of park (Figure 7.17).

On October 7, 1940, shortly after these new locations were proposed, President Roosevelt, the First Lady and New York's Governor Lehman announced a visit to the park. Caught with little time to prepare for their guests, the park's superintendent and CCC crews scrambled to create access to "Option B," Fraser's Hill, a location they were sure the president would want to see. Hastily clearing trees and laying gravel, the CCC crews built a road up to Fraser's Hill on the morning of the President's visit.[34] Their last minute construction paid off when the president resoundingly chose Fraser's Hill as the best spot for the new building. He saw Fraser's Hill as having the most impressive views among the three possible locations. The same viewshed that impressed Sparks in 1830, inspired Roosevelt to exclaim, "This is the place."[35]

The president felt the high ground of Fraser's Hill would become a central vantage point to observe the park and become oriented with the historic events, a need he had assessed during his visit to the battlefield as governor. Predictably, FDR's assessment was affirmed by park administrators as the best possible location for the building. Having the building location established by none other than the chief executive permitted the organization of the park's interpretive tour plan to proceed.

The interpretive tour plan was created to order the interpretive experience in the park (Figure 7.20). The tour route was anchored at Fraser's Hill, the chosen the site of the administration/museum building, 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, Breymann'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 (See road configuration on Figure 7.20). They thought providing short alternatives to the entire loop would encourage visitors who didn't have time to travel the whole park. The roads and trails plan illustrated how the individual tour loops created discreet tour units within three sections of the park. One loop connected the sites of the American encampment, another loop highlighted the British Encampment, and the third connected Breymann and Balcarres Redoubts, Morgan's Hill, and the Middle Ravine lookout. Wilshin described the thought behind the initial proposal.

> Experience has shown that any tour road planning which does not provide alternate tours of varying lengths serves only to defeat itself. The great majority of the visitors to the field have only a limited time to spend in the park. If given no alternative other than the complete tour, they would in the majority of cases take no tour at all.[36]

The interpretive stops would be organized around loop roads, so that one or more sections of the tour could be avoided depending on available time. This concept was fully articulated in the 1941 master plan narrative sheets, indicating that the view from the hill was central to the plan (Figure 7.21).

> Starting from the proposed Administration-Museum Building at Fraser's Hill, the interpretive tour is so devised as to permit four separate tours of varying lengths of time. . . . Before beginning the tour the visitor is taken through the museum where are to be found orientation aids such as maps, relief models, relics and documentary materials. Following a visit to the museum the visitor will be further oriented by an explanation of the sweeping view of the field of operations as seen from the Administration-Museum Building overlook. From here can be seen the American line with its apex at the present Block House area, a portion of the field of Freeman's Farm, the Balcarres Redoubt, a portion of the field of the main British Line, the Breymann Redoubt where Arnold's attack turned the tide of battle and the Surrender Monument in Schuylerville 8 miles distant.[37]

Discussion of the separate tour routes of varying length continued until late in 1941 when the idea disappeared from revised master plan drawings. Several changes occurred in the revised *Tour Road Plan* of December of 1941, most notably, the abandonment of the four distinct routes, and the relocation of the park entrance to Route 32, near the Great Redoubt. Expectations for the tour road were evolving. Dialog began about the development of the central one-way loop that exists today.

During this time of increased research and park planning, the Second World War was kindling within Europe and Asia. President Roosevelt had reduced the resources of the CCC and devoted more energy nation-wide for military preparedness. While historians at Saratoga were concerned with archeology and historical research, a serious threat loomed on the horizon, one that would soon consume the nation. In February of 1941, the Supervisor of Historic Sites, Ronald F. Lee, wrote to the Superintendent of Saratoga, concerning an inquiry made about obtaining historic papers from Britain. He replied to this request by saying:

> The National Park Service. . . . considers that the time is not opportune to take up this question with Lord Halifax and with the other British officials. That is to say, it would appear to be unreasonable on our part to ask Earl Crawford and other British personages to concern themselves with old papers at a time when the German Blitzkrieg against England is imminent.[38]

Not long after this letter was written, America entered World War II as well. The Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 and the national government's priorities shifted profoundly. American involvement in a new war proved to have far reaching effects on the National Park Service and Saratoga National Historical Park.

World War II

With the onset of American involvement in WWII during 1941, the National Park Service's operations changed drastically. General budgets were cut and CCC funding was reduced to the point where only enough resources existed to move equipment to other governmental jurisdictions.[39] Many NPS employees left to join the armed services. Even the NPS central offices were moved to Chicago to make room for wartime activities in Washington DC. Conrad Wirth, Associate Director of the National Park Service described these difficult circumstances.

> Those were very discouraging and trying times. Many of our best people were the first to leave for military service. . . the call to military service affected the individual parks almost as much as it did the Washington office. . . . Funds for maintenance and care of facilities were cut below the minimum needed for preservation alone.[40]

Saratoga National Historical Park, along with most of the parks in the system, felt the pinch of reduced resources. With the departure of Saratoga's CCC camp early in 1942, the park lost its primary labor force that had proved instrumental in many of the recent research and maintenance activities. Saratoga's Superintendent Warren Hamilton wrote a friendly letter to Robert Ehrich, the former archeologist in December of 1942, describing wartime conditions in the park.

> Things have been rather quiet here since the departure of all you technicians and the other personnel of CCC Camp NP-2. Travel was light during the summer. Practically all of the equipment including the buildings has been transferred to the various branches of the Armed Forces. We did manage to hang on to a few items of equipment and miscellaneous tools including the Goldack instrument [metal detector], so at some future date when we can again get batteries perhaps we can use it.[41]

Another reality of war came close to infringing on Saratoga's plans for outfitting its museum. The national shortage of metals promoted NPS regional to submit inventories documenting the amounts of metal held in each of the national parks. Discussion took place regarding the advisability of taking the historic cannons from Burgoyne's surrender for scrap metal (Figure 7.22). These cannons, some of which had been found after an exhaustive search in locations throughout the east coast were in danger of being sacrificed to the war-effort. Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior wrote to President Roosevelt in November of 1942, asking him to spare the historic guns, or to at least to create a system of prioritizing the value of each item before it was scrapped.[42] The President replied, agreeing with Ickes that "we ought not scrap fine objects of art or historic interest," and the Saratoga cannons were spared with an order from the chief executive.[43] FDR once again demonstrated his enthusiasm for the Saratoga battlefield and helped preserve a piece of its legacy.

Planning Efforts Continue

While wartime conditions may have limited construction and maintenance in the park, planning efforts continued. Park staff continued to propose refinements to the master plan, most notably with the tour road and interpretive plan. A revised road system plan was created in 1943 that made several departures from the *1941 Master Plan Road System Plan* (Figure 7.23). It depicted the main park entrance near Fraser's Hill and another secondary, unmarked entrance near Gate's Headquarters. The system of loop roads was revisited as well. A central loop was created around the headquarters area on Fraser's Hill, Freeman's farm, the Gannon house, and the Balcarres and Breymann Redoubts. Spurs from the loop road connected the Neilson Farm and Great Redoubt to the central road system.

A second revision of the road system plan was completed in 1944. Essential to the revision was the retention of the central loop road but the spur roads were lengthened. The plan also included a new road extending into the American fortifications. This was shown as a two-way road with a turn around at the American River Fortification lookout. The plan recommended a similar spur road ending in a turn-around at the Great Redoubt. Park planners were still experimenting with the best location of park entrances, and this revision outlined a "possible park entrance" at Wilbur's Basin on the Old Champlain Canal route. Instead of placing a secondary entrance near Gate's Headquarters, as on the 1943 plan, the 1944 plan eliminated it and located the park's primary entrance near the administration/museum building on Fraser's Hill (Figure 7.24). To serve in conjunction with the Headquarters area, a utility area was proposed to the west of relocated Route 32, again, near Fraser's Hill. The 1944 drawing retained proposals to keep the view from Fraser's Hill open. This 1944 revision and the ones that followed, illustrate the dynamic and extensive effort behind the creation of the final park tour road. However, a lack of funds kept the park from implementing their latest version of the plan.

Conclusion of WWII

With the Japanese surrender in August of 1945, World War II came to a close, filling the country with both relief and uncertainty due to America's growing mistrust of Communism. Although fighting had ceased, many efforts in the months and years after the war were devoted to rebuilding Europe and Japan as well as keeping the military strong during the cold war. Assistant Director Wirth described these national priorities well in saying, "The shooting war was over, but the cold war and grants in aid to nations throughout the world left very little funding for the National Park Service."[44] Although the goals of Saratoga's *1941 Master Plan* had been continually discussed and revised, most were yet to be realized and would have to await new personalities and programs to make the National Park System a national priority once again.

Post-War Period 1945-1956

Conditions within the National Park System suffered greatly during World War II. The parks sustained years of neglect, resulting in serious deterioration of infrastructure and natural resources. Assistant Director Wirth described the situation.

> The lack of maintenance - preventive maintenance as it is called - had caused deterioration of roads, buildings, and other facilities to such an extent that they could not be repaired but had to be replaced. The asphalt pavement on roads, for instance, had dried out and cracked in many places, and, as traffic began to build up, the road surfaces began to crumble. . . . Buildings that had been used for a number of years without maintenance had also deteriorated.[45]

Unfortunately, this trend of neglect continued to be an issue for the parks and their administrators. The NPS struggled through many lean years beginning with World War II and continuing into the cold war era. Saratoga was no exception.

During the post-war period limited physical improvements occurred at Saratoga National Historical Park. The dissolution of the CCC and removal of workers and machinery led to a significantly reduced field maintenance program that among other things, allowed young forest growth to appear around the park. This enforced neglect may have played a major part in the re-examination of Saratoga's policy toward reforestation to more literally reflect battlefield conditions. This significant shift in the park's vegetation provoked discussion about the maintenance policy and led to the order for a new vegetation study and the eventual reversal of positions. While limited physical improvements characterized this period, planning efforts were not thwarted. Historians, archaeologists and park administrators continued to plan using the methods described for the preparation of the 1941 park master plan.

A Shift in the Vegetation Policy

Saratoga received a visit from the Park Service's Chief Historian, Herbert E. Hahler, in 1945, who disapproved of the deferred mowing schedule that had resulted in rapid reforestation of many open fields. In support of previous park policies, he recommended clearing the once open vista from Fraser's Hill to the Freeman farm to allow unobstructed sight lines of the key interpretive areas.[46] Appleman agreed with this recommendation and suggested maintaining the open spaces with a flock of sheep, the method New York State had once used to control vegetative growth.[47] Superintendent Hamilton supplied his own thoughts about clearing the rapidly growing vegetation.

> While this is not a true picture historically (the area was heavily wooded at the time of the Battle) it does permit viewing practically all of the surrounding countryside and what is more important, see many of the troop positions, fortifications, encampments, etc., from several vantage points. It is therefore believed the open character should be retained.[48]

Regional Historian Richard Koke, prepared a "Report on the Reforestation Program for Saratoga National Historical Park" in the fall of 1947 in response to the recent dialog. Koke's report, that made important departures from previous policies, described the state of the historic vegetation, made recommendations as how to achieve reforestation, what species to plant, and included crude maps showing the areas recommended for replanting (Figure 7.25). His recommendations were a combination of Appleman's previous thoughts about leaving vistas clear for interpretative value and reforesting the area to approach 1777 conditions. He suggested maintaining the historic farm clearings, replanting areas that were shown as forest by Wilkinson, and making compromises by keeping sight lines cleared for viewing. By applying Koke's vegetation maintenance recommendations, the park made a significant leap from the former policy on vegetation through

the application of historical research. Koke summarized his report in saying, "The plan...makes provision to allow the greater part of the open area to revert back to its historic state, except where it might interfere with purposes of interpretation."[49]

Koke's report stimulated further discussion and in 1949 Acting Regional Director Albert Cox directed the superintendent to prepare a more detailed ground cover restoration plan. He urged the superintendent to direct the current park historian to complete such a plan at the earliest possible convenience.

> It is requested that Mr. Snell undertake, and pursue to conclusion at the earliest practicable date, a study of the whole question involved in adopting a ground cover restoration plan for Saratoga National Historical Park. . . . Mr. Snell should understand that this is probably the most important policy-determining research project that will ever be prepared governing the future development of Saratoga, and that, it should be given unusual care and attention; both as to the determination of facts and recommendations for policy.[50]

Following this request, Charles Snell, the park historian, completed his "Report on the Ground Cover at Saratoga National Park on October 8, 1777." In his report of April 1949, Snell used historical resources, notably the Wilkinson map, to describe park vegetation at the time of the battles. He confirmed that in 1777 much of the site was heavily forested in virgin growth, with only a few small clearings centered around the existing farmsteads. Descriptions of specific areas of concern were listed, and he reported that the forests played an important tactical role in the planning and outcome of the battles. Drawing upon his research and findings, Snell concluded that large areas of the park be reforested to more literally reflect the patterns of 1777, marking a shift from the former park policy to retaining large tracts of open fields for easier viewing and interpretation.[51] Snell defended his recommendation by saying, "I have found from experience that the present-day visitor receives an entirely erroneous conception of the Battles of Saratoga, simply because the region is so widely cleared today."[52] The completion of Snell's report helped other park administrators weigh the decision about changing the important policy toward the interpretation of Saratoga's vegetation.

In April 1950, Snell created a "Ground Cover Restoration Plan" to accompany his earlier report that graphically highlighted discrepancies with the "1941 Historical Base Map." The most substantial difference between the two plans was the percentage and location of forest cover and the position of the American encampment. After being sent to former historian Wilshin for review, the report effectively convinced Appleman to support a reversal of the vegetation policy. Consequently, Snell prepared a "Vegetation Treatment Plan" in 1951 to illustrate how this policy change would be implemented (Figure 7.26). As shown in the plan, large tracts were slated for reforestation. Especially noteworthy is the area adjacent to Fraser's Hill where in the past, policy dictated trimming vegetation to facilitate views of the surrounding landscape. No such notes appear in this plan (Figure 7.27).

The Saratoga Master Plan Revived

In 1951, the master plan and historical base map were revisited with the benefit of ten additional years of research and park management experience. Snell contributed to the process by updating the 1941 historical base map with research gathered from his ground cover restoration plan (Figure 7.28). His research indicated that numerous clearings near the historic farm fields were inaccurately located and recommended that they be restored.[53] A map created in 1959 for distribution to park visitors acknowledged the new discovery of historical vegetation patterns (Figure 7.29).

The "1951 Master Plan" reiterated most of the goals included in the 1941 plan. Limited physical progress had been made due to funding shortages and many of the same issues were still current and pressing. Design and construction of both the tour road and administration/museum building had yet to be completed. After fourteen years of intense planning and research, the park was still without the financial resources necessary to carry their plans to fruition.

Mission 66

> The National Park Service's Mission 66 might be fairly described as a renaissance. . . . Mission 66 was conceived in 1956 and was designed to overcome the inroads of neglect and to restore to the American people a national park system adequate for their needs [54]

This excerpt from Conrad Wirth's book *Parks, Politics and the People*, speaks to the impact of the Mission 66 planning effort on the sadly neglected national park system. The program was designed as a ten-year program to restore the NPS's infrastructure and services that had deteriorated during the previous fifteen years. To get Mission 66 passed through Congress, NPS officials presented a clear, concise, and well thought-out program because many previous attempts to gain additional funding had been denied. They created a short, catchy name, and proposed a program to plan for, execute, and follow through with improvements that would come to fruition on the 50th anniversary of the National Park Service. Nation-wide, Mission 66 accomplished numerous things, including construction of roads, trails, campgrounds, amphitheaters, visitor centers, administration buildings, and employee housing.[55]

At Saratoga, the influx of new funding gave park officials the means to finally carry out the goals they had formally set in place as early as 1941. To plan for the proposed improvements, parks were instructed to create a "Mission 66 Prospectus," or a basic document that outlined a ten-year development plan. Since the Mission 66 Prospectus and many park pre-war master plans shared the same goals, the acting director of the Park Service wrote to all field offices in 1958, stating that these two documents should be combined.[56] Saratoga's 1941 and 1951 master plans were incorporated into the framework of Mission 66 planning.

Visitor Center Realized

During the Mission 66 era, the system-wide construction of visitor centers was one of the most visible and important efforts undertaken. As an agency, the National Park Service was changing how they portrayed and organized interpretive services. The term "visitor center" is a Mission 66

term, coined to describe what were formerly known as administration and museum buildings. Increased automobile traffic, interstate highways, and the public's expanded leisure time and spending power all influenced the design of these new centers.[57] The new visitor centers consolidated a myriad of services and features including administrative offices, information stations, museum exhibits, interpretative displays, and slide shows. To provide space for all of these activities, open floor plans and organized circulation systems were central ideas.

Stylistically, a modern approach to architecture was embraced and described as "Park Service Modern." It evolved from "postwar architectural theory and construction techniques."[58] A mixture of International Style and the old Park Service Rustic Style created the unique look of a Mission 66 visitor center. Common features included low roof lines, large windows, terraces, and covered walks.

The final construction of Saratoga's visitor center in 1962 incorporated many popular ideas of Mission 66 era. The center served as the welcoming station and orientation point for park visitors as well as the beginning of the park tour road. From its location high on Fraser's Hill, removed from sites of significant battle activity, the visitor center commanded extensive views over much of the battlefield. The low roof line, earth tones and natural materials incorporated into the façade, and location nestled partially into a tree line, made its appearance on the landscape unobtrusive. The structure's profile was not highly visible from most locations on the battlefield. Large windows took advantage of extensive views, and a covered terrace with views of the battlefield created, a scenic and centrally located outdoor gathering spot for visitors and park staff.

Finalizing Tour Road Plans

In 1959, a revised general development plan was completed to graphically represent the final layout of the park tour road, the planning for which had occupied the better part of twenty years (Figure 7.30). This important plan identified for the first time the proposed administration/museum building as a visitor center, consistent with Mission 66 terminology. The park's wandering primary entrance was located off of Rt. 4 at Wilbur's Basin, with a secondary unlabeled service entrance provided to the rear of the proposed visitor center/utility area development at Fraser's Hill. This plan is also notable for its overlay with historic vegetation patterns. An important omission on this plan is the phrase "Keep View Open" which appeared on earlier plans of Fraser's Hill. Instead, lines showing the configuration of the 1777 field and forest from Snell's revision of the Historic Base Map was depicted (Figure 7.31). This development plan was stamped "Final Plan."

In conjunction with the General Development Plan, a plan titled "Development Plan- Bemis Heights, Part of the Master Plan," was produced in 1959 (figure 7.32). This plan showed how the former "Headquarters" area from the state management period was to be reorganized following implementation of the tour road and interpretive plan. Substantial changes were planned for this area of the park owing mainly to the final design of the tour road. The plan showed the Neilson farm and Saratoga Battlefield Memorial, the tour road, parking facilities, and relocation of the Neilson house to its original site and orientation. The tour road passed near the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial, which required the removal of the accompanying neoclassical pavilion. State Highway 32,

which previously ran directly in front of the Neilson farm, was marked for removal and relocation to the west, outside the park boundary. A proposed pedestrian path connected the parking lot, Neilson house and barn, and crossed the street to the DAR Memorial. Mission 66 planning updated "Fort Neilson" of earlier days to accommodate modern elements, unfortunately, at the expense of prior accomplishments.

During the final planning stages of the tour road in the late 1950s, archeologists studied the road bed to ensure that historical resources would not be disturbed by the construction of the final design. Upon completion of the research in September 1958, Regional Archaeologist John Cotter indicated that no archeological remains were found in the proposed alignment of the Great Redoubt area.[59] Construction of the tour road finally began.

The road was constructed in stages. Some existing roads that functioned within the park's interpretive plan continued to service park traffic for years. As seen in an oblique aerial photo from the late 1950s or early 1960s, the tour road around the Neilson farm was partially completed (Figure 7.33). Although the historic road travelling past the Neilson farm was still in use and the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial Pavilion had yet to be removed, the area was connected to the rest of the park's resources by the new road.

By the time it came to fruition, nine years after construction began, the completed tour road bore little resemblance to the one first proposed in the 1940s (Figure 7.34). The final tour road was designed, not to provide tours of differing lengths as once proposed, and not to allow for extensive vistas and views, but to provide the visitor with a depiction of 1777 battlefield conditions. Furthermore, the tour road did not create a sequential progression of the events of the battles, but instead connected the important interpretive stops in a convenient way, allowing, perhaps even requiring, visitors to maximize the time spent within the park.

Historic Preservation Act of 1966

The 1966 Historic Preservation Act created the National Register of Historic Places to establish a comprehensive list of historically significant properties in America. The National Register is composed of sites, districts, buildings and structures that are locally or nationally significant to America's history and development.[60] This essential piece of legislation identified the need to document and systematically list these properties. Because battlefield properties already part of the National Park System were recognized as having significant historical and cultural value, they were administratively added in the early stages of National Register history. Saratoga National Historical Park was listed on the National Register on October 15, 1966, making it part of the national system of properties recognized as representing significant pieces of the American experience.

Saratoga's 1969 Master Plan

Saratoga's original master plan "wish list" was realized with the funding and initiative of the Mission 66 era. However, by 1969, the park needed to articulate their goals for the future in the form of a master plan. After completion of the tour road and visitor center, the 1969 plan focused

less on major infrastructure improvements and more on improving and supplementing existing resources and programming in preparation for the bicentennial. The park identified the need to increase the quality of interpretation and educational programs, increase accommodation for automobile traffic, and to further their work in depicting a more literal interpretation of 1777 conditions in its 1969 planning effort.

As the country's bicentennial approached, NPS staff across the country anticipated a heightened appreciation for Revolutionary War history and increased visitation. The *1969 Master Plan* stated that Saratoga should perform an active role in the celebration and provide an experience worthy of the important historical events that took place on the battlefield. Both comprehensive vegetative restoration and the reconstruction of fortifications were identified as bicentennial park goals. Several objectionable features still remained in the park despite their prior identification as intrusions on the battlefield. In response, the Gannon Farmhouse, the Powder Magazine and the Blockhouse, being non-Revolutionary period features, were marked for removal.

Noted in the existing land use section of the master plan was a discussion of the land owned by Niagara Mohawk Power Company across the river from Bemis Heights. An early proposal to build a nuclear power plant on the land had already been rejected but park officials saw this as a potential future threat to the park. The report discussed this and other issues relating to incompatible off-site land use.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the nation went through major cultural shifts that indirectly affected park planning. Anti-war sentiments rose, causing the public to redefine patriotism and their ideal interpretation of American history. Related to this, the first Earth Day took place in 1970. This was a day devoted to thinking and learning about the environment, sustainability and the protection of natural resources. These and other shifting national values dictated policy changes within the National Park Service. Even as the park prepared for the bicentennial, the American public was looking for different services and educational opportunities. Interpretive programming and environmental education concerning native plants and animals, natural resource protection, and recycling became common and began to compete with the public's appreciation of historical events.

Living History

Conceived during the 1950s, living history, or the presentation of historic culture and practices by costumed interpreters, blossomed and gained popularity within the NPS in the late 1960s. Marion Clawson, a "Resources for the Future" program director, wrote an article in 1965 recommending twenty-five to fifty living history experiments throughout the system, to highlight different regions, parks, and periods of history.[61] The experiment was a success, provoking numerous parks to adopt living history interpretation, often as components of their bicentennial preparations.

Saratoga was among the forty-one parks reporting living history programs in 1968 that featured military demonstrations, eighteenth century cooking, baking, sewing, and candle making.[62] These activities harked back to the pageantry of the early 1900s where battlefield enthusiasts and local citizens celebrated Saratoga's history through reenactments, songs, dances, and skits. However,

despite the popularity of living history with many guests and park staff, the movement came under scrutiny within a short time. In 1969, historians Appleman, Luzader and Utley, reflected after a trip to Saratoga that ". . . the park interpretive program lacks balance – that too much time of personnel is spent on fadism, the demonstration of musket use that in itself contributes little to visitor understanding of the park and its significance."[63]

In 1970, historian George E. Davidson of Vicksburg NMP, criticized that park's weapons demonstrations. He questioned whether the demonstrations properly portrayed the "horror and tragedy" of warfare.[64] Issues surrounding warfare became more contentious during this period of Vietnam protest and Davidson feared backlash.[65] Criticism continued in the early 1970s because living history's potential to mislead and misinform visitors of primary interpretive goals. Frank Barnes, interpretive specialist for the Northeast Region, dissented from the living history bandwagon in writing, "Our currently overstressed living history activities may just possibly represent a tremendous failure on the part of our traditional interpretive programs – above all, a cover-up for lousy personal services."[66] Despite criticism of living history program service wide, it continued to be an important part of Saratoga's interpretive program for years, extending through the bicentennial celebration of 1777.

The Bicentennial Celebration

An interpretive prospectus addressing Bicentennial goals was created in 1970. It sought to "provide a more stirring and meaningful 'park experience' for visitors."[67] Specifically, the report called for expanded living history, construction of historical replica buildings, and restoration of 1777 vegetation patterns to prepare for the bicentennial.[68] This planning manifested into several tangible and programmatic improvements, including the placement of post lines representing fortifications, construction of the Freeman cabin, and periodic living history demonstrations (Figure 7.35).

While living history was a key component of the interpretation before and during the bicentennial, battle re-enactments were questioned system-wide because of the risk of injury to participants. As written in July 1977, "The Saratoga National Historical Park is not intending to hold elaborate activities for the Bicentennial; in fact, the usual kind of Brigade activity is now against the policy of the National Park Service [on their property]."[69] Despite this debate, battle re-enactments were included in Saratoga's Bicentennial celebration (Figure 7.36). Along with re-enactments and living history demonstrations, the park cooperated with the Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission for ceremonies at the park and in Schuylerville to celebrate the anniversary of the battles and the minting of the bicentennial coin. Park interpreters also offered a lecture series on the Burgoyne campaign in July and August.[70] Other interpretive elements such as the tour road wayside exhibits and a film entitled "Checkmate on the Hudson" were developed for the bicentennial.[71] Both of these resources are still in use at the park.

Contemporary Stewardship

As of the 1980s, some of the land that George Slingerland sought for inclusion in the park was still in private ownership. Sixty years after his vision was articulated, the park came closer to realizing his goal. On January 12, 1983, President Reagan signed legislation establishing finite boundaries for the park, and authorized one million dollars for the purchase of significant properties in non-federal ownership.[72] The report listed five properties of concern that were clustered along the eastern-central portion, and southwestern boundaries of the battlefield. Destructive land use and the threat to cultural resources were the major concerns that generated the selection of the five parcels. This successful legislation substantially enlarged the park's holdings (Figure 7.37).

While the land holdings of the park increased, off-site land use threatened the park's viewshed. In 1984, Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation again proposed to build a nuclear power plant across the Hudson River from the battlefield. In response, the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation prepared a report discouraging the proposal, claiming that the power plant would adversely impact the park's historic context. The report claimed that the industrial buildings would be intrusive on Saratoga's historic scene and would detract from the pastoral view seen from numerous vantage points (Figures 7.38 and 7.39).[73] The National Park Service and surrounding communities defeated the proposal.

Throughout most of Saratoga NHP's existence, park administrators have struggled with the presentation of field and forest patterns. Another struggle related to this, is maintaining the established patterns. Beginning in the early 1950s, the park awarded agricultural leases to local farmers to supplement their in-house mowing regimes. Some fields were kept as pasture and some were periodically mowed for hay. For example, Mr. Neilson, a distant relative of the original Neilson, maintained eleven and a half acres of hay at the Neilson farm in 1954.[74] Records show that both park staff and agricultural lessees maintained a dozen fields of roughly 250 documented acres in 1954.[75] Several new fields were added to the mowing and haying schedule as the park's interpretation of field and forest shifted in the 1950s and planning for the tour road was competed in the early 1960s. Fewer agricultural leases were issued in later years when park staff took the lead on the field maintenance, although several fields are kept by agricultural lease currently.

Following the lead of the large western parks that adopted prescribed burning programs to protect their key natural resources from excessively hot and large fires, Saratoga began its own prescribed fire program. The prescribed fire program that began in 1985 followed three wildfires that burned approximately seventy acres of the battlefield's grassland.[76] The program grew throughout the late 1980s, until it became a regular spring activity in the 1990s. The number of acres burned each year varied between seventeen and 104 acres and continues today.[77]

Recreational use of the park has increased during recent decades. Numerous visitors now use the park for purposes unrelated to its history, including cross country skiing, horseback riding, hiking, picnicking, bicycling, and wildlife watching. All of these activities are encouraged if they occur in appropriate areas of the park and do not detract from the primary cultural and natural resources.[78] The Wilkinson trail, a self-guided four-mile walking trail that travels through the British sector of the

park, was dedicated in 1987. The park hopes to expand their walking trail system to tie into the Champlain canal tow path and American sector of the park.[79]

While most recreational activities are deemed acceptable uses, park management has in recent years identified the potential conflict between various recreational users and park visitors enjoying interpretive activities. Park staff has limited time and resources to manage conflicts in use and wear-and-tear on trails and picnic areas caused by over-use. Managing recreation continues to be a pressing issue for the park.

Numerous natural resource and historical research projects have been undertaken in recent years. A 1972 archeological report generated through State University of New York's Albany campus confirmed the location of several American fortifications on Bemis Heights and numerous features located within the British encampment.[80] Several efforts were also undertaken to verify the accuracy of Snell's "1951 Historical Base Map," especially in regards to the site's vegetative cover, including a report written by Nancy Gordon, of the University of Massachusetts in 1987 entitled "The Historical Vegetation of the Saratoga Battlefields; Lessons from a Historical Evaluation." Sources describing German involvement in the battles was located in Wolfenbuttel, West Germany, and the journal of William Strickland, an English farmer who visited Saratoga in 1794 were found to contain information that gave new insights into the battles of 1777.[81]

Historian Susan Schrepfer, Associate Professor at Rutgers University, working with Emily Russell, the project's ecologist, published a review of Gordon's findings in 1989. As Gordon's work was largely a review of Snell, and Snell was a review and refinement of Wilshin, this latest work represented the careful reassessment of earlier research.

Schrepfer and Russell challenged several of Gordon's conclusions, notably the claims that Freeman farm was the only farm clearing at the time of the battles and that British troops had only removed brush and undergrowth from around their fortifications.[82] Schrepfer claimed that Snell's base map was indeed largely accurate relating to forest cover, yet recommended additional archeological work to confirm the accurate locations of the fortifications, roads and structures. These reports, as well as a 1994 study entitled "Interaction of White Tailed Deer and Vegetation," served to supplement the understanding of past and present conditions at Saratoga, without fully addressing policy and planning issues.

By 1993, the need for a summary document to synthesize the multi-faceted landscape information related to the battlefields at Saratoga was widely accepted. This need coincided with a new appreciation of what has become know as "cultural landscapes" within the National Park Service. As part of the new initiative directed at cultural landscapes, a project to complete a CLR for Saratoga was begun and produced in draft by 1995. However this early draft was largely incomplete and has rested on the shelf until further funding could be directed toward its completion. Found especially lacking in this early draft was a clear narrative of landscape evolution following the momentous events of 1777. This later history, especially the development of the park during the 20th century, will need to be well understood before new directions are taken in its management.

In 1999, the process was begun to revisit and revise the park's working planning documents. Thirty years went by without a change in this primary planning document, making the amendment of the "1969 Master Plan" a priority. The 1969 plan, which was hoped to serve the park no more than twenty years, was as much as a decade out of date and no longer addressed contemporary issues facing the park. Current NPS terminology for park-specific comprehensive planning document is the "General Management Plan," or GMP, which serves as the final product of the planning effort.

The process of creating a GMP for Saratoga is currently underway and when completed, it will guide the management of the park for the next twenty years. The GMP process recognized the need for a completed CLR and the fundamental background information it provides to the attention of NPS decision-makers. This CLR will serve as an important first step in making thoughtful plans for this significant landscape in our nation's history.

Endnotes – National Park Service Period

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[3] Ibid.

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[17] Conrad L. Wirth. *Parks, Politics and the People*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), 225.

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[22] F. F. Wilshin. "Narrative Report for April, May and June 1940." 14. Saratoga National Historical Park files. SARA 013 CRBIB # 012835.

[23] Appleman, Roy. "Recommendations on Development Policy and Work Program for Saratoga National Historical Park." August 15, 1939. Saratoga National Historical Park files. SARA .052-.057.

[24] Linda Flint McClelland. *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design to the National Park Service, 1916 to 1942*. (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1993).

[25] Ibid. 178. While Linda McClelland gives credit to Director Albright for naming the Master Plan, she cites that Thomas Vint was the real "genius" behind developing the Master Planning process. Vint began orchestrating a system of planning in the late 1920s that took landscape preservation and thoughtful design into consideration.

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Figure 7.1. Post card of Fort Neilson, the "Headquarters" area of the state park period. Note the ample parking area adjacent to the Blockhouse and the walkway connecting it to the Neilson house and Period House. 1935. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

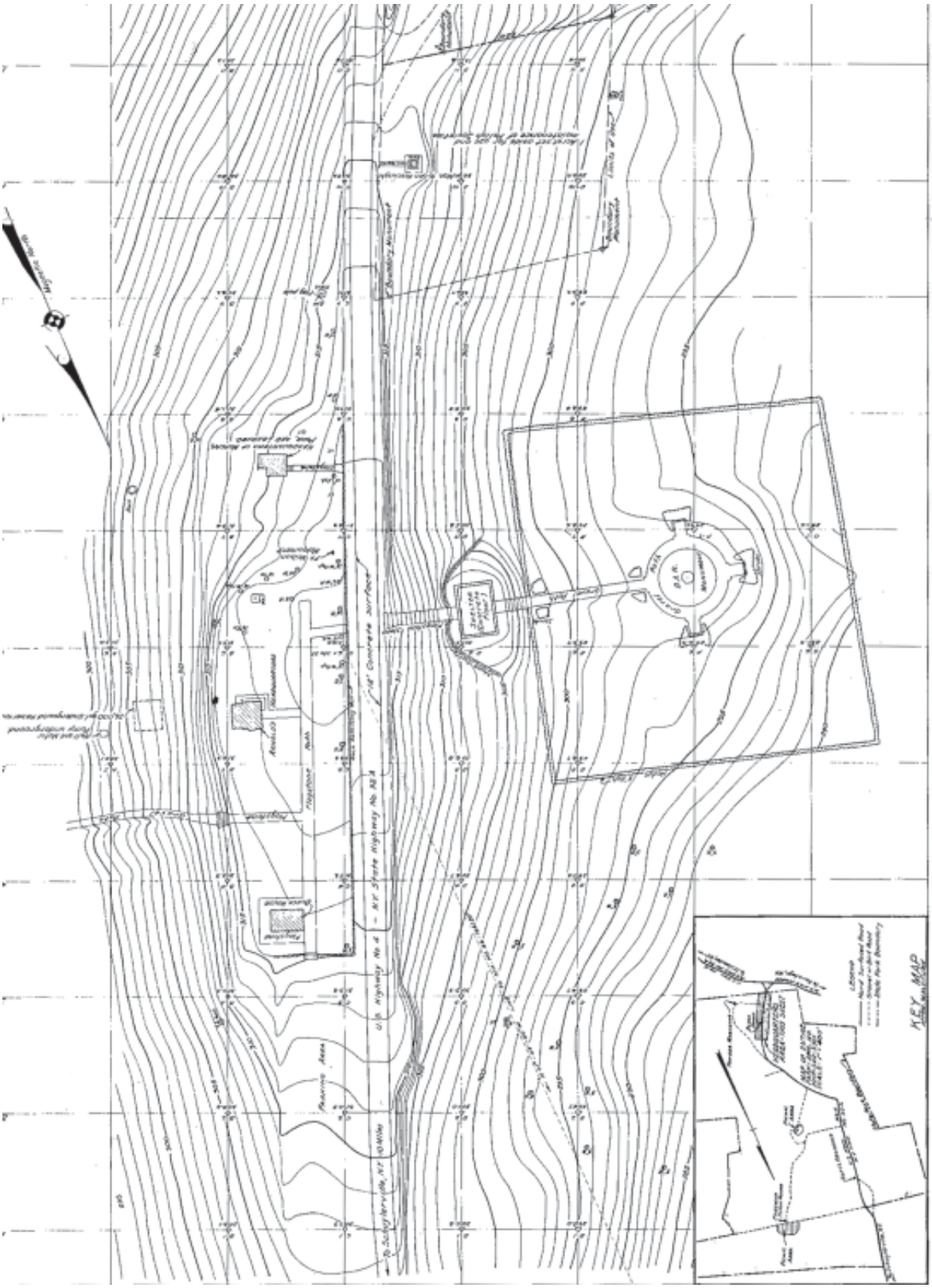


Figure 7.2. Topographic Map of Headquarters Area showing buildings, walkways, monuments, and wells that existed in 1940. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.3. Post card of Arnold's headquarters, or "Period House," located at the Neilson farm during the state management era. c. 1935. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.4. The pavilion at the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial. The pavilion was a place for rest and contemplation and served as a viewing platform for the memorial. c. 1935. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.5. A view of the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial in the 1960s. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.6. Post card rendering of the battlefield landscape as seen from the blockhouse. Views of the rolling topography of the distant landscape are visible as well as the cleared fields around the Neilson farm. c. 1935. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.7. Map of monuments in the park and road system circa 1940. 1995. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.8. The memorial to an unnamed hero of the battles of Saratoga. The monument was vandalized in the late 1930s and repaired. c. 1935. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

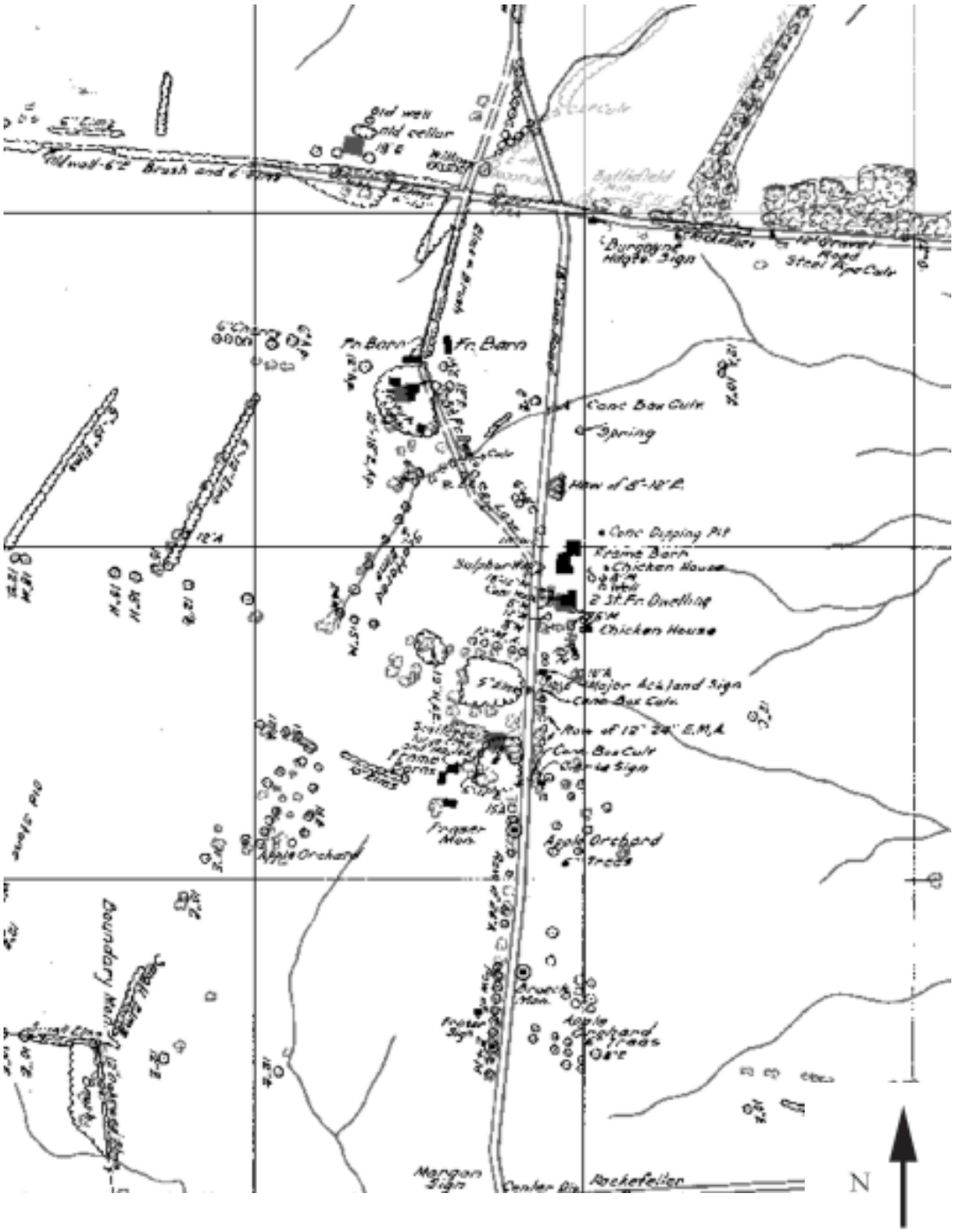


Figure 7.9. Inventory of the structures in the park, shows a detailed description of the Gannon farm. Buildings, orchards, forests stands, and signage are noted. Composite of an undated survey of the battlefield (c. 1940) and 1939 Topographic Information Sheet. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.10. View of the battlefield landscape from Route 4. c. 1940. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.11. Cleared landscape from Appleman's "Recommendations on Development Policy and Work Program for Saratoga National Historical Park." The landscape appearance at the time lended itself to the interpretive goals of the park; keeping views open for easy observation of landscape features and tactical areas. 1939. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.12. Cleared landscape from Appleman's 1939 "Recommendations on Development Policy and Work Program for Saratoga National Historical Park." Saratoga National Historical Park files.

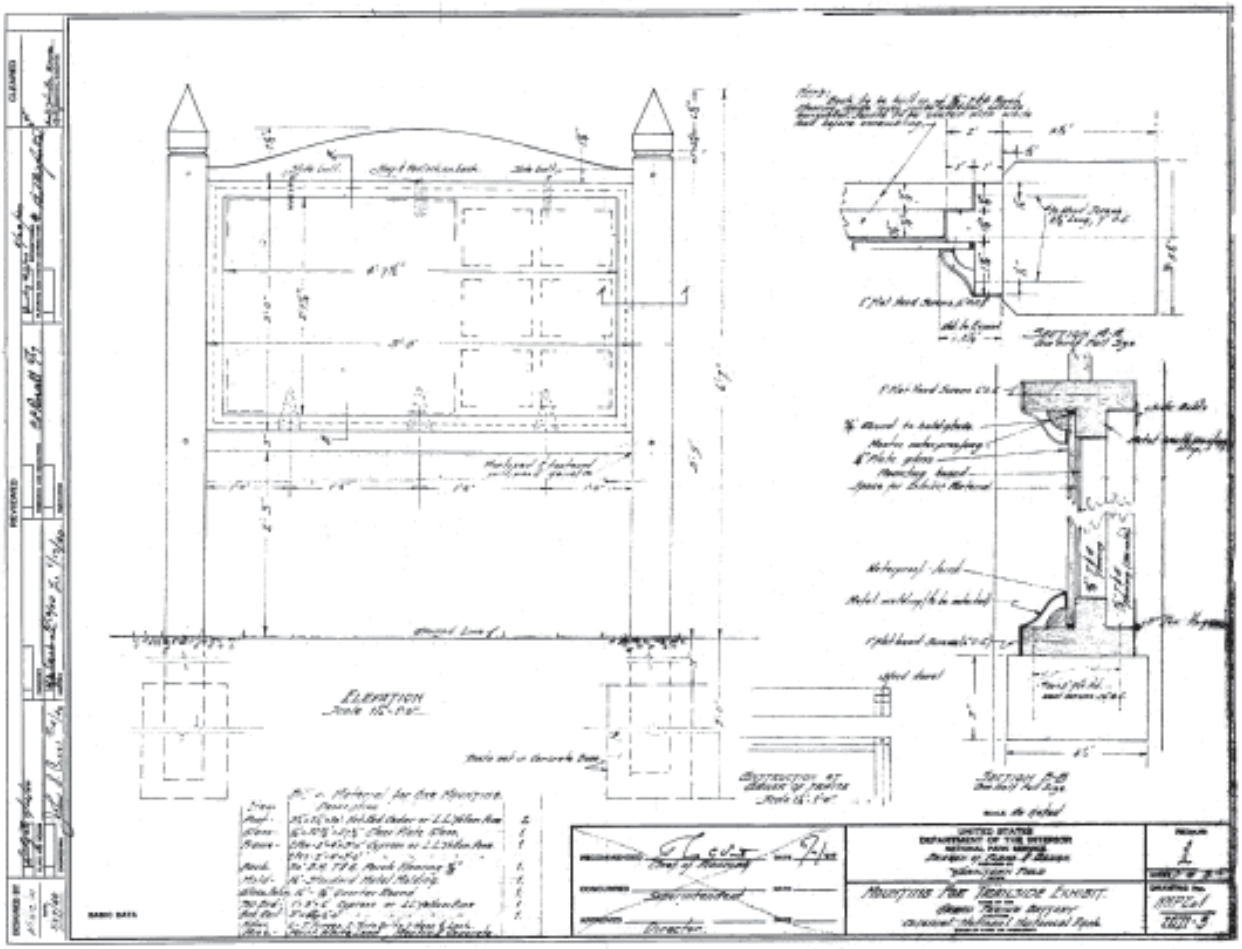
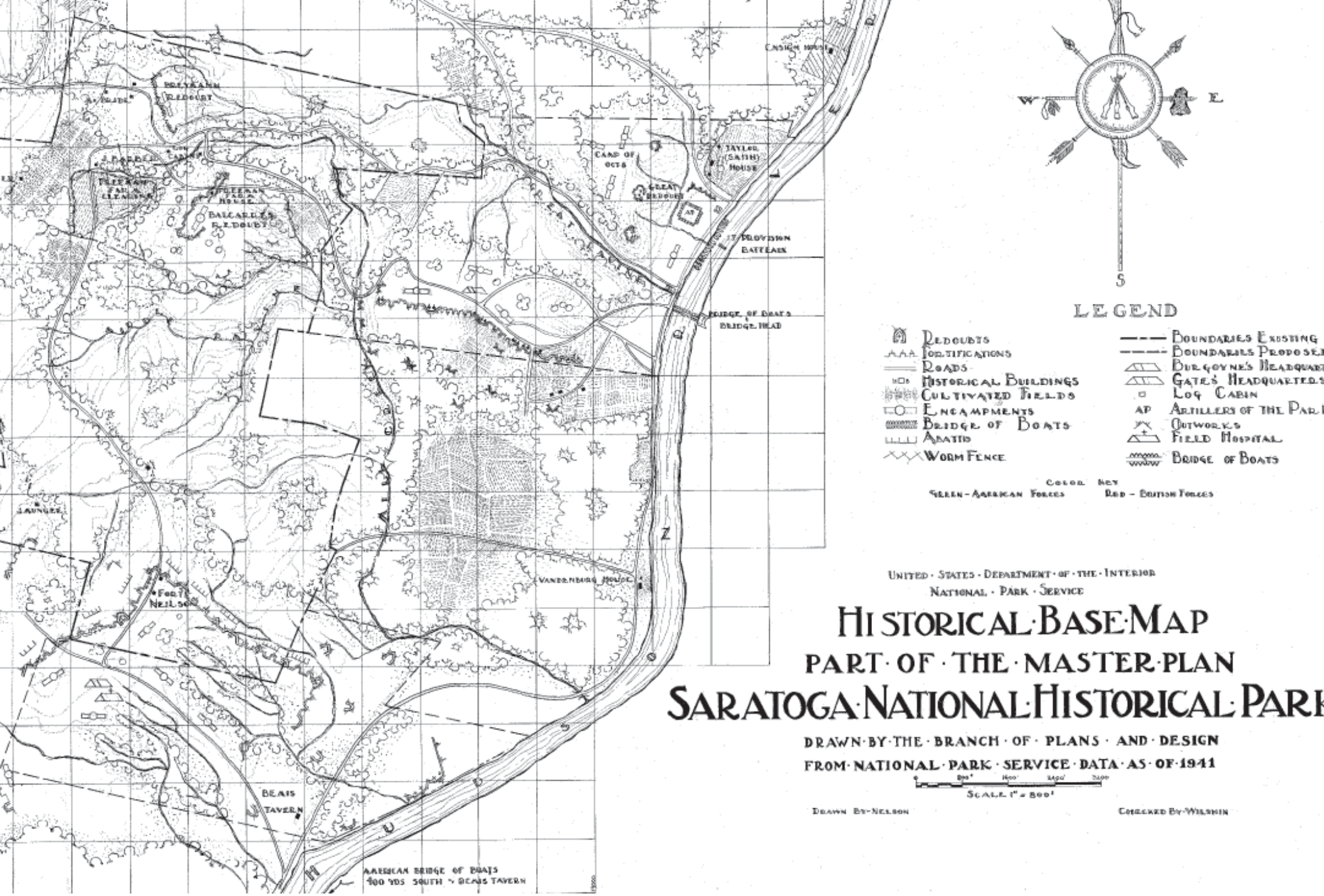


Figure 7.13. The sign details from Colonial National Historical Park that were used for reference in developing Saratoga's interpretive signage. March 27, 1940. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.14. Wilkinson Map. This map, created by British Assistant Engineer Wilkinson shortly after the battles, was accurate for establishing British troop movement. This map were relied on heavily in constructing the British positions on the historical base map. 1777. Saratoga National Historical Park files.



The first historical base map created by historian Wilshin was instrumental in park planning and development. This map was synthesized from numerous scholarly sources and attempted to a
d/forest patterns, troop movements, and structures that played a key role in the outcomes of the battles of Saratoga. 1941. Saratoga National Historical Park files. 2060 #1.

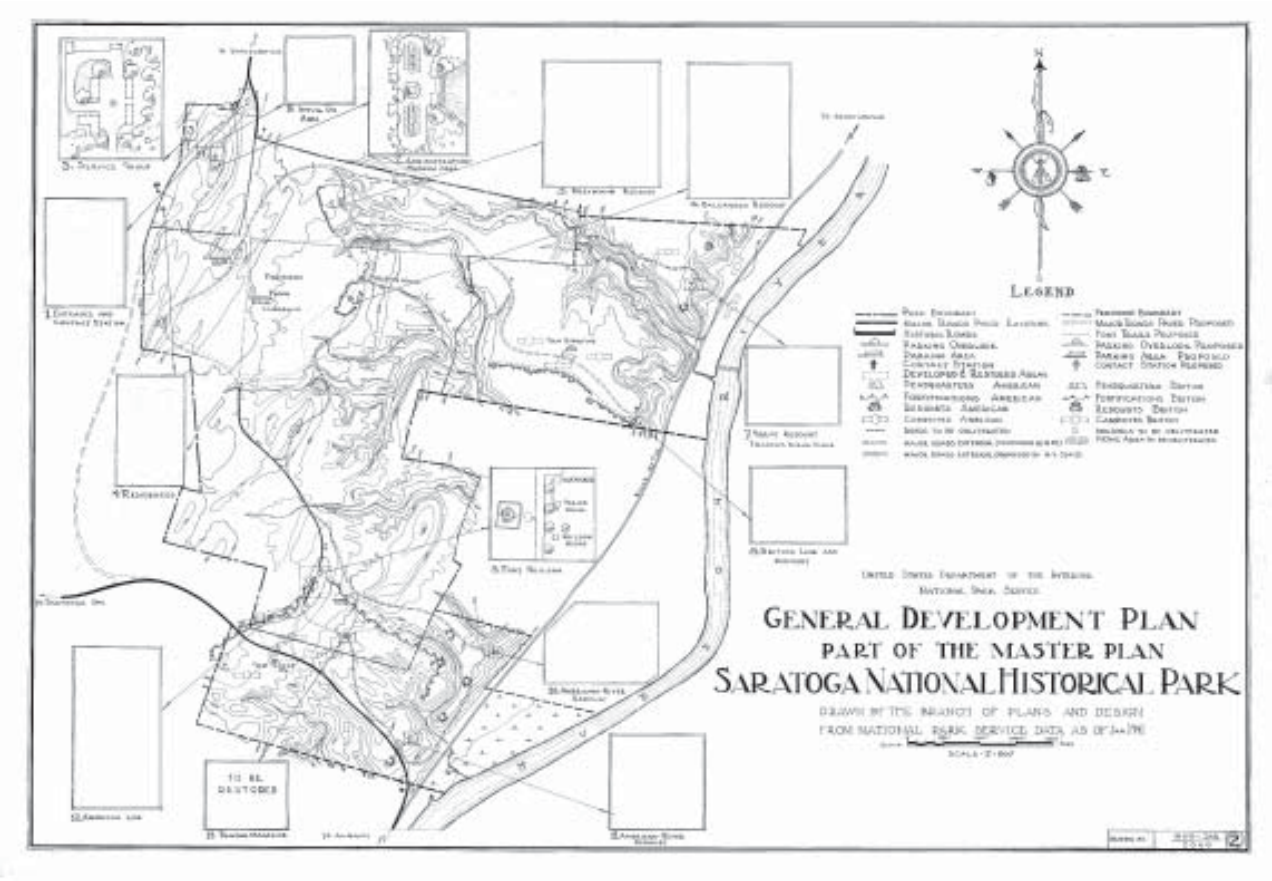
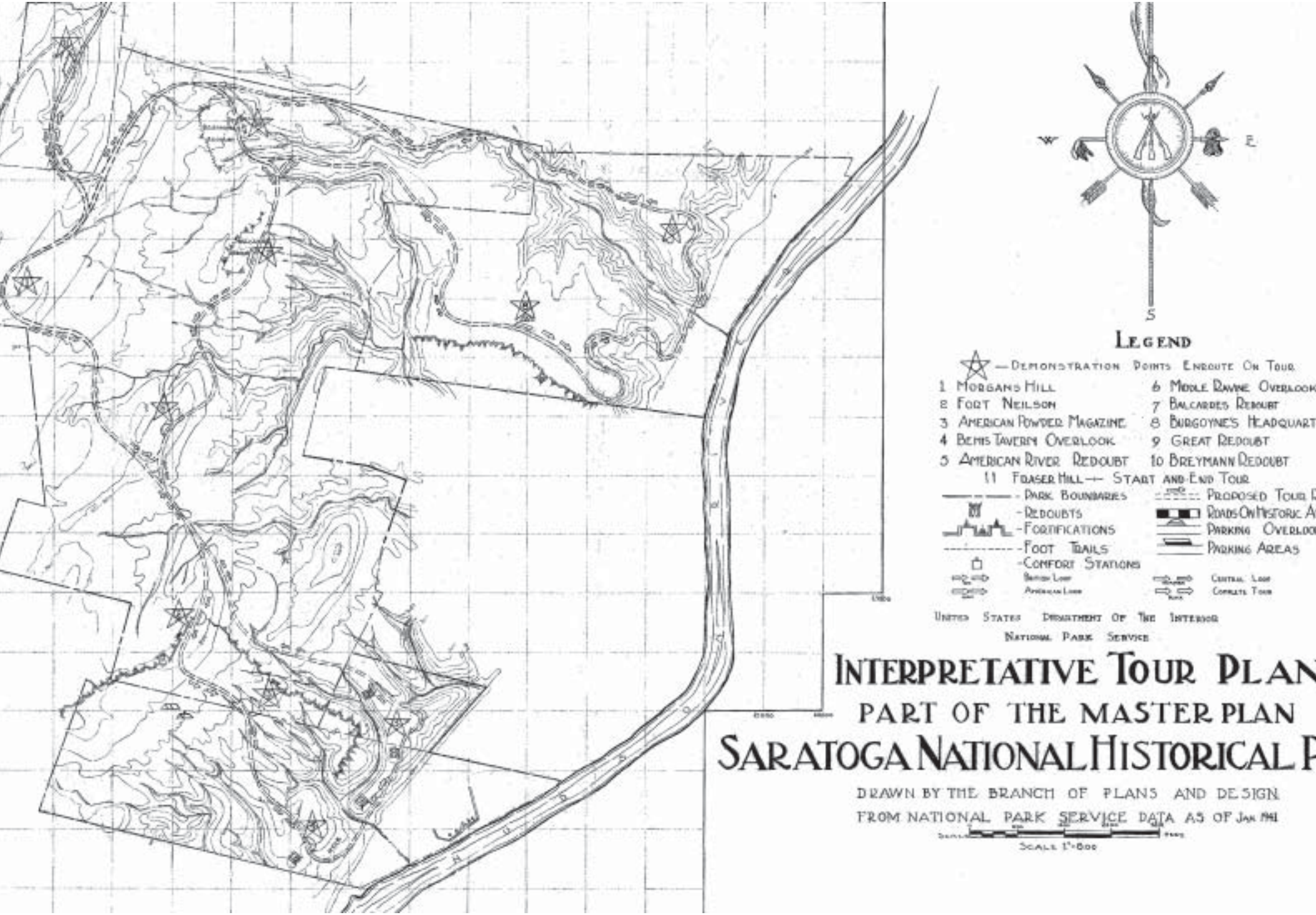


Figure 7.16. This general development plan combined key features of the recently created interpretive plan and roads and trails plan to graphically represent the park's development goals. 1941. Saratoga National Historical Park files 2060 #2.

Figure 7.17. Proposed "Location C," near Bemis Heights, for the visitor center. Three options were proposed during the late 1930s. The final decision was made in 1940 by President Roosevelt, who chose location "B," or Fraser's Hill, during a motor tour of the park. c. 1938. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.18. President Franklin Roosevelt visiting the Park. 1940. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.19. President Franklin Roosevelt at the Blockhouse during his motor tour of the park. 1940. Saratoga National Historical Park files.



igure 7.20. Interpretive Tour Plan, showing the sequence of interpretive stops in the park. 1941. Saratoga National Historical Park files 2060 #4.

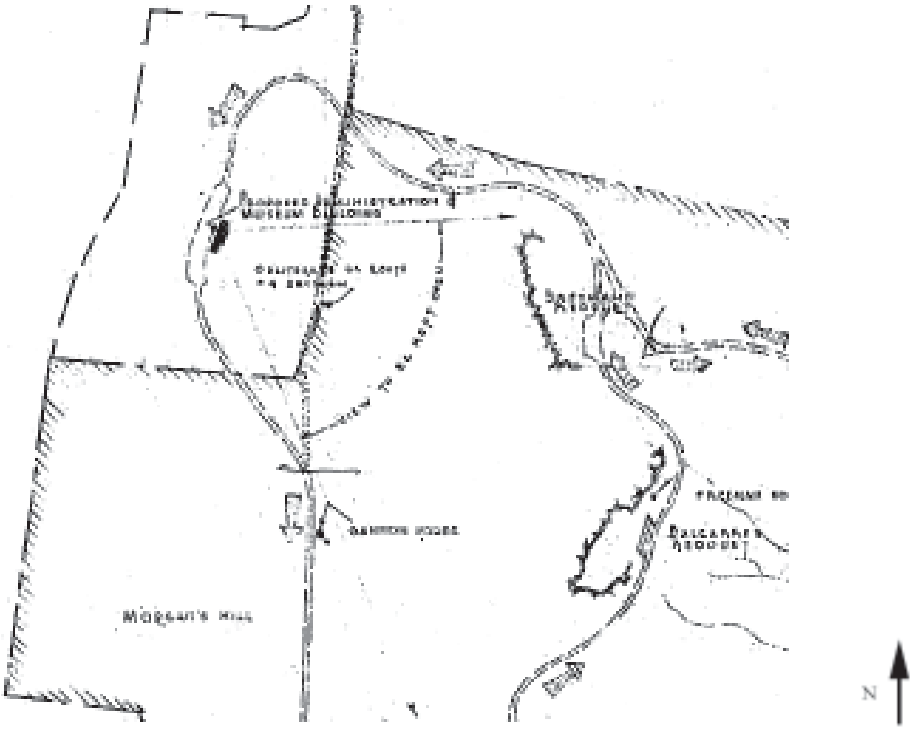


Figure 7.21. Detail of the Interpretive Tour Plan. Note the label "view to be kept open" on the south-west side of the proposed visitor center. 1941. Saratoga National Historical Park files 2060 #4.

Figure 7.22. Photo of the cannon to be scrapped during World War II. c. 1942. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

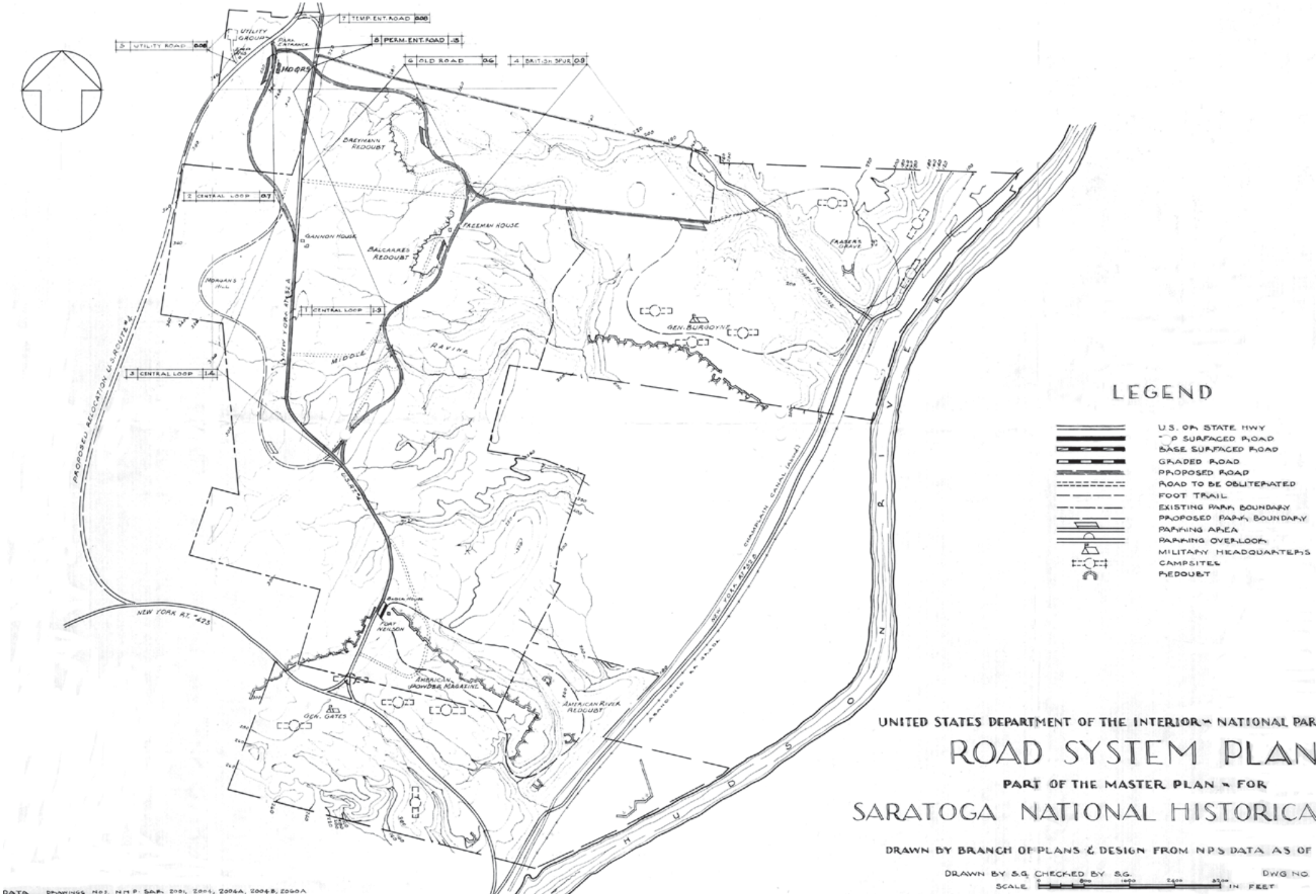


Figure 7.23. Revised Tour Road Plan showing the evolution of the park's tour road planning. 1943. Saratoga National Historical Park files 2006.

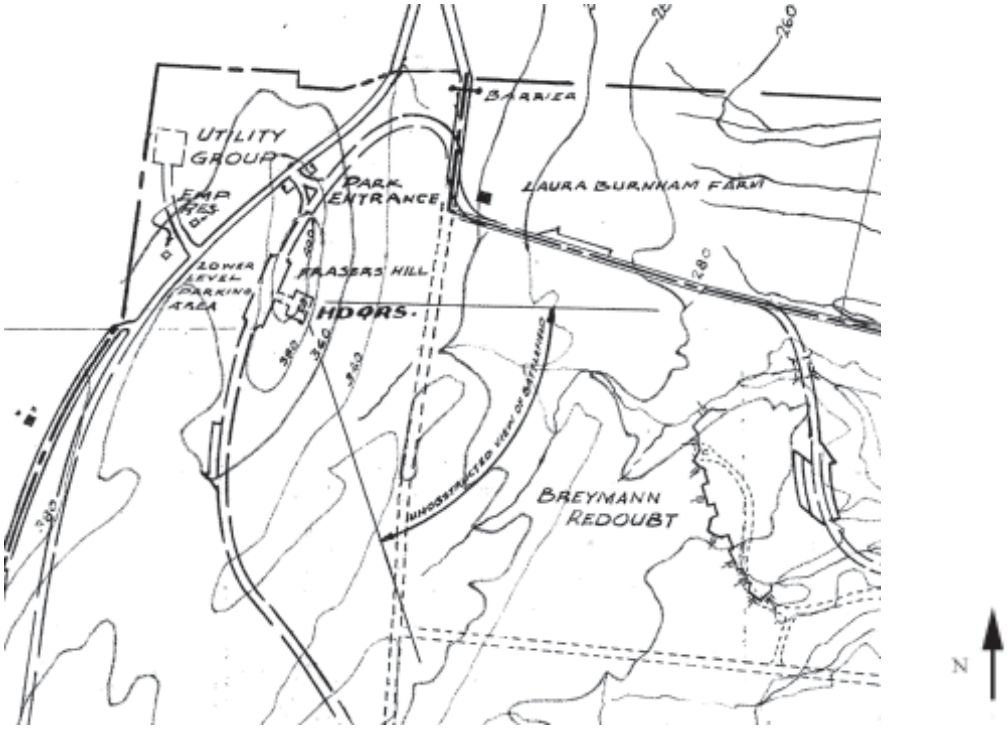
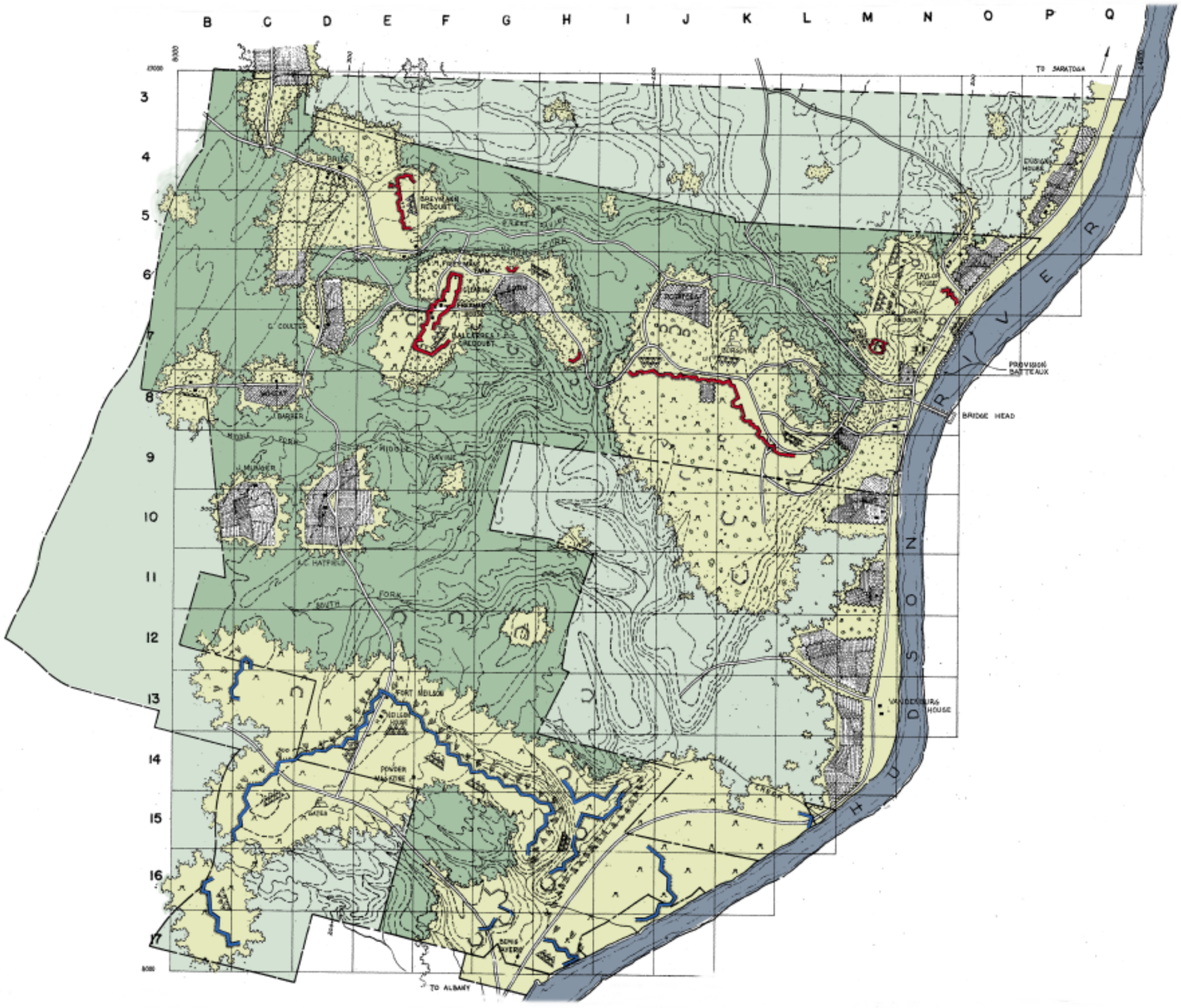


Figure 7.24. Detail of 1944 Revised Road System plan, highlighting the note "unobstructed views to the battlefield," around the viewshed of the proposed visitor center on Fraser's Hill. 1944. Saratoga National Historical Park files 2006 B.

Figure 7.25. Koke's 1953 revision of a 1947 Vegetation Conditions Plan. This report recommended large areas of the battlefield be re-vegetated, marking a shift from former policy to keep the park landscape unobstructed for easy viewing. 1953. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.26. Vegetation Treatment Plan, where Appleman and Snell decide to support reforestation to more accurately depict 1777 field and forest conditions. 1951. Saratoga National Historical Park files 2046.

Figure 7.27 Detail of the 1951 Vegetation Treatment Plan. The diagonal lines represent areas to revert to forest and the vertical lines represent lands to be re-cultivated. This area around Fraser's Hill was recommended to be substantially replanted, departing from park policy of earlier years. 1951. Saratoga National Historical Park files 2046.



American Fortifications

British Fortifications

Snell's updated Historical Base Map. 1951. SARA park files. NHP-SAR 2011A. Manipulated by the Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation

Not to Scale

North

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Figure 7.28

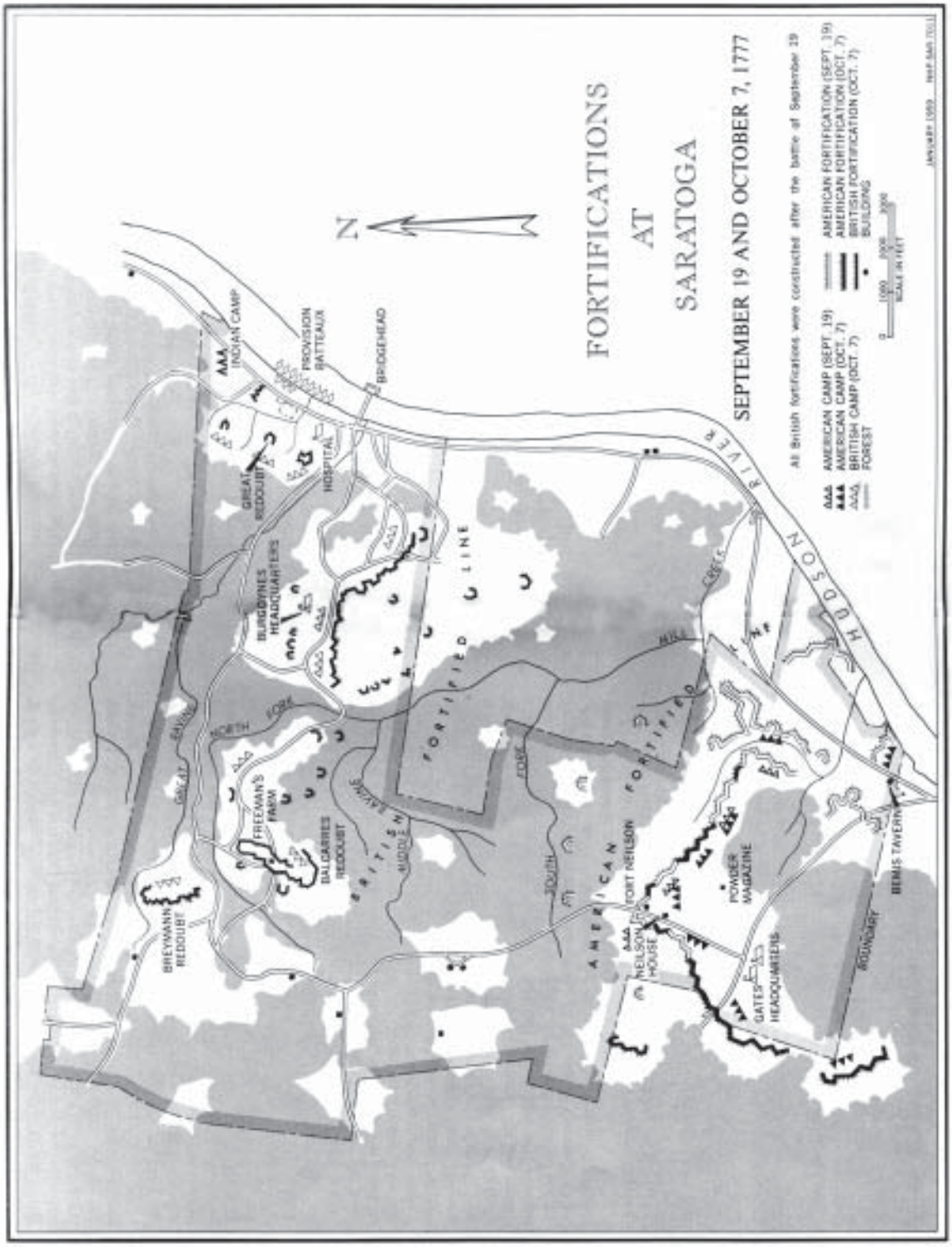


Figure 7.29. Map of the battlefield from a pamphlet distributed by the park. This map used the updated information gathered by Snell about field and forest configuration. 1959. Saratoga National Historical Park .007cl. CRBIB #000815.

Figure 7.30. General Development Plan 1959. The final design of the park tour road is represented and it is stamped "final plan." Saratoga National Historical Park files 3003 B.

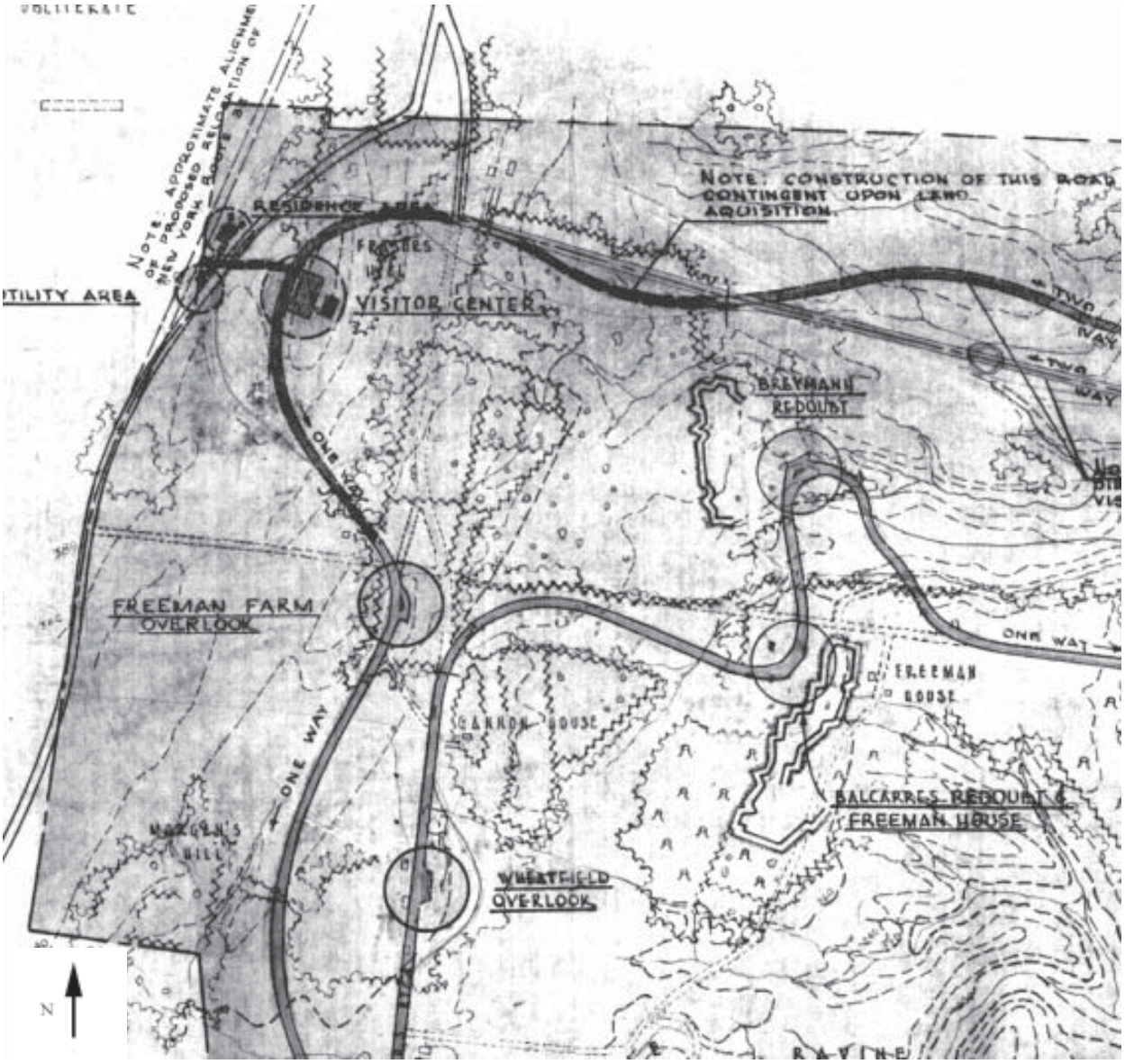


Figure 7.31. Detail of Fraser's Hill from 1959 General Development Plan. The prior notes to "keep views open" are absent. Saratoga National Historical Park files. 3003 B.

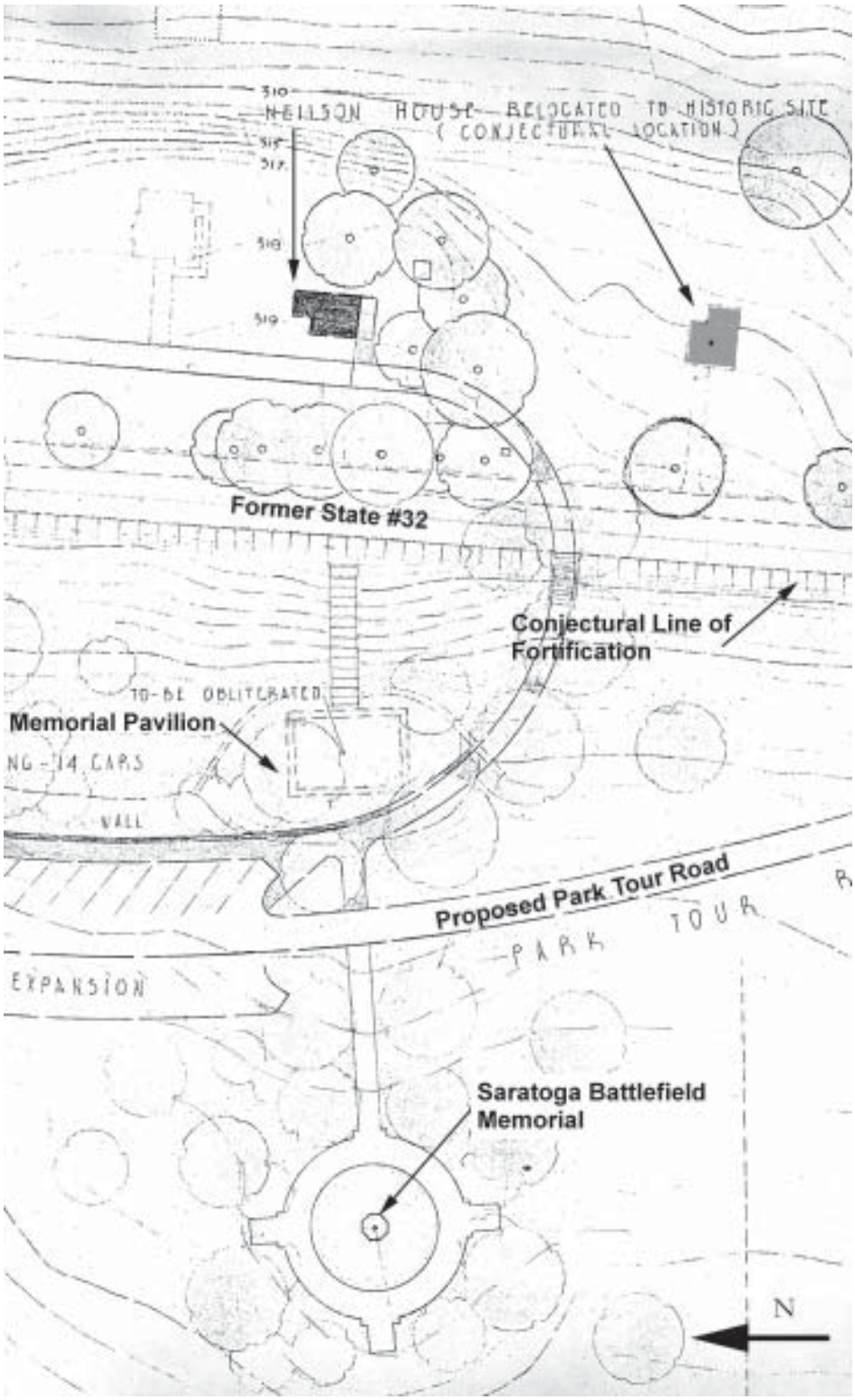


Figure 7.32. Detail of Bemis Heights Development Plan that outlined the changes to the former "Headquarters" area due to the construction of the park tour road. 1959. Saratoga National Historical Park files. SAR 3015 A.

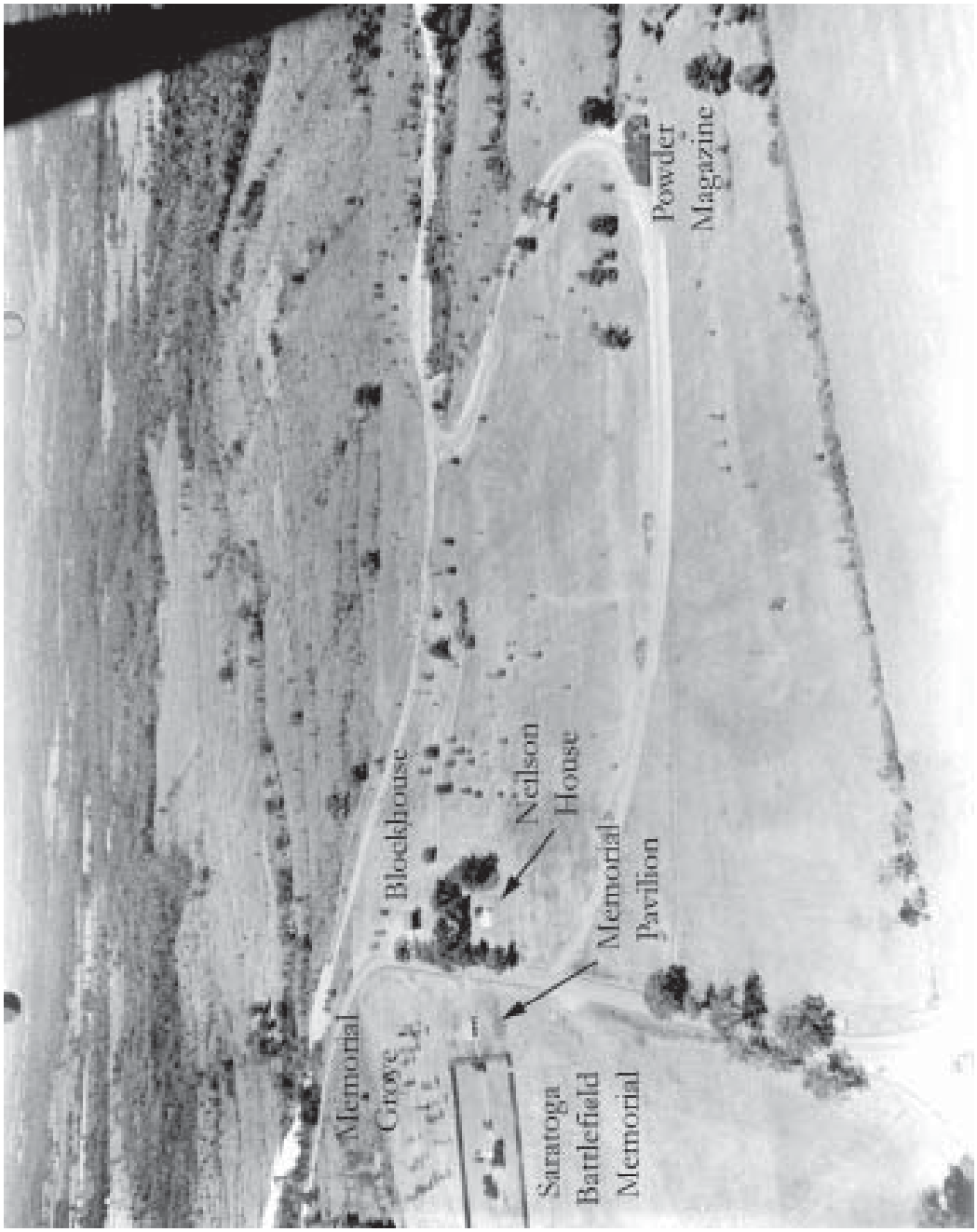
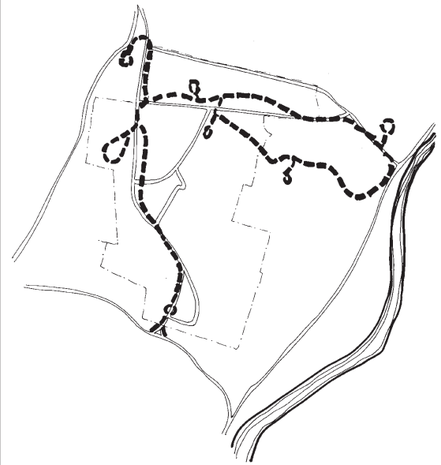
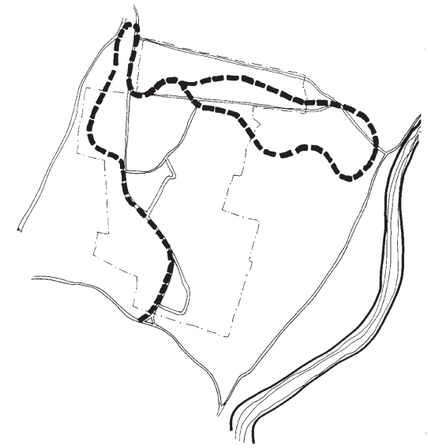


Figure 7.33. Oblique aerial photo of the Neilson farm. The tour road is partially completed. Note that the Saratoga Battlefield Memorial Pavilion still remains and the historic road past the Neilson farm is still in use. c.1959-1964. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

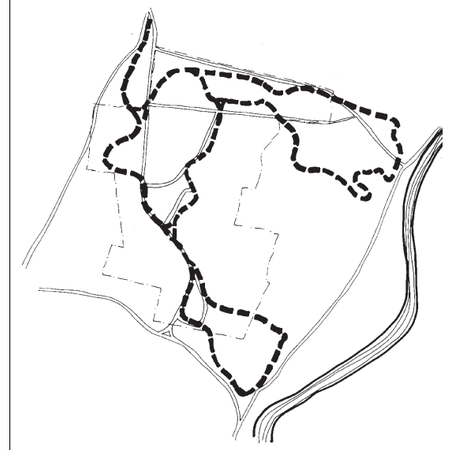
Existing Road Sytem in 1938
from *Monuments at Saratoga National Historical Park, circa 1940*



1938
as proposed from *Suggested Development Plan*
NHP SAR 2050 B

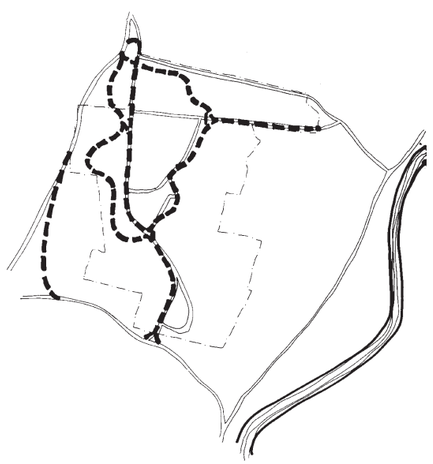


1939
as proposed from *General Development Plan*
NHP SAR 2050 B



1941
as proposed from *Master Plan*
NHP SAR 2060

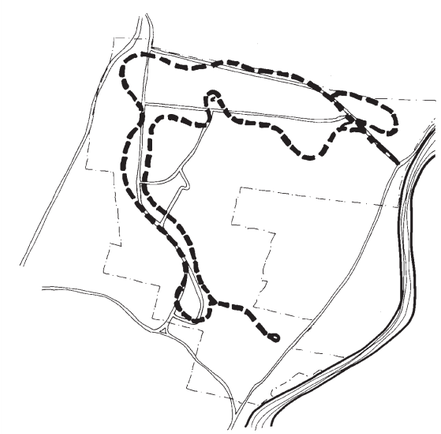
1941- December
as proposed from *Proposed Road System Revision*
NHP SAR 2004 A



1943
as proposed from *Road System Plan*
NHP SAR 2006 A

1944
as proposed from *Road System Plan*
NHP SAR 2006 B

1951
as proposed from *Road and Trail System Plan*
NHP SAR 2006 B



1959
as proposed from a revision of the 1956
General Development Plan
NHP SAR 3003 B

Existing Tour Road
from Saratoga NHP Brouchure

Legend
Existing Roads in 1938
Proposed Tour Road
Park Boundary

Evolution of the Tour Road Design, 1938-1959

Saratoga Battlefield

Evolution of the Tour Road Design, 1938-1959
Saratoga National Historical Park
Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation
Figure 7.34

Figure 7.35. Living history demostrations of battle encampments at Freeman's farm. c. 1977. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.36. Re-enactment of the battles of Saratoga during Bicentennial celebrations of 1977. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Existing Conditions Diagram

Note:
This map was prepared using a series of historic and contemporary maps reproduced to a 1:9,600 scale (1"=800'). There was much disagreement among the maps, so a modern orthophotograph, hydrology map, and USGS topographic map with ten-foot contours were used to rectify the differences.

Maps consulted from park archives:
Emily Russell GIS "Land Cover and Roads Map" for 1991
2000 Orthophotograph
SARA GIS/GPS Data
1991 USGS Map

Note: Park Boundaries are Approximate

Road Trace
Trail
Creek
Forest
Field

North

Not to Scale

Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga Battlefield, Saratoga National Historical Park

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Figure 7.37

Figure 7.38. Proposed Niagara Mohawk Power Plant- "Before" View. 1984. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Figure 7.39. Proposed Niagara Mohawk Power Plant- "After" View. 1984. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

Existing Conditions

The current field conditions of the battlefield unit of Saratoga National Historical Park reflect an evolving tradition of landscape preservation initiated with preparations for the 1877 centennial of the battles. This section of the CLR presents an overview of existing conditions of the cultural landscape of the battlefield recorded with photographs and text from October 2000 to January 2001 and with GPS/GIS mapping from the mid-1980s to the present. The following landscape characteristics are identified in *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports*.

- Topography and Hydrology/Natural Systems and Features
- Land Cover/ Vegetation
- Circulation
- Views and Vistas
- Buildings and Structures
- Small-Scale Features
- Archeological Sites

These seven categories help group individual landscape features on the battlefield. Collectively, they help create an understanding of the park's historic character and cultural importance.

General Description

The Saratoga National Historical Park occupies approximately four square miles in Stillwater, New York. Besides the battlefield, Saratoga NHP includes three other non-contiguous units, the General Philip Schuyler House, the Saratoga Monument, and Victory Woods (See Figure 1.3). However, ninety-seven percent of the park's legislated 3,392 acres is contained in the battlefield. The battlefield is bounded on the north by Lohnes Road, on the east by Route 4 and the Hudson River, on the south by a boundary line due southwesterly of Route 32/423 and on the west by Route 32 and Bill Smith Road.

The battlefield is located on the upper Hudson River in Saratoga County, thirty miles north of Albany (See Figure 1.1). The Adirondack Mountains are located to the northwest and Vermont is to the east. Signage directs visitors to the park from the principal exit (#12) off the Northway (Interstate-87). The park entrances are on U.S. 4 and N.Y. 32, which pass along and through the Park. Over 150,000 visitors come to the park annually with June and October receiving the heaviest visitation.

The three most important landscape characteristics at the battlefield are land cover, roads and topography. These characteristics shaped the course of the battles of Saratoga in 1777 and continue to be essential components in understanding the landscape today. The treatment of the park's land cover, specifically vegetation, has been a constantly evolving issue throughout the NPS's history at the site. Vegetative cover and large-scale patterns of field and forest have been debated for purposes of historical accuracy and interpretive value. Large shifts in the treatment of the park's land cover have occurred over the past seventy years and continue to demand attention today. Likewise, treatment of the park's roads, both historic and contemporary, has been a defining issue. Modern park needs spurred the creation of the tour road in the 1960s, which proceeded at times at the expense of historic roads and road traces. Managing the two types of roads is one of the park's challenges. Thirdly, the battlefield's topography remains virtually unchanged from 1777, and is perhaps the landscape characteristic with the greatest integrity. The combination of these three important features construct an understanding of the sequence, events, and outcome of the battles of 1777.

Topography and Hydrology

Both topography and hydrology are instrumental in understanding the park's history and significance. Fortunately, both of these landscape characteristics retain high integrity to the 1777 period. The area was chosen as the site for the battle between Burgoyne's southward moving army and Gate's defensive position because of the Hudson River and the high bluffs at Bemis Heights. Burgoyne needed the river to transport his substantial army and all of their supplies, while Gates understood the strategic value in blocking the narrow road between the river and the bluffs.

The Saratoga battlefield, located on the west bank of the Hudson River, is covered with a series of glaciated ridges running parallel with the river (Figure 8.1). The river and its bluffs are defining physiographic features in the park, along with Fraser's Hill, the highest point in the park and location of the visitor center (Figure 8.2).[1] The battlefield's topography is accentuated by ravines that were weathered by the park's several creeks.[2] Four small tributaries, Kroma Kill, Mill Creek, American's Creek, and Great Falls Creek empty into the Hudson (Figure 8.3). Additionally, two small farm ponds at the old Burdyl and Davison properties are located in the park, neither of which are accessible to the public.[3] Two springs, that may have supplied freshwater to the American encampment, are located at the southern end of the park. On the low land adjacent to the Hudson River, the floodplain ranges from 0.1 to 0.5 miles in width and from ninety to one hundred vertical feet. Forty-nine wetlands cover 175 acres of the battlefield.[4] All of the park's wetlands are palustrine, or dominated by persistent vegetation. Forested wetlands comprise sixty-eight percent of the park's wetlands.[5]

Numerous topographical landforms played key roles in the battles. High ridges throughout the battlefield and nearby mountains, such as Willard, Beadle and Schuyler mountains along the east bank of the Hudson, provided high ground for scouting during the confrontation. Both the Americans and the British established fortifications on high advantageous positions including Bemis Heights and Great Redoubt (Figure 8.5). The British used the protected flat bottomland beneath

Great Redoubt as an encampment site, artillery park, supply depot, and large field hospital with access to the river.

The topography and the hydrology of the battlefield have not changed substantially since 1777. However, a combination of human activities have changed the battlefield landscape. Several hundred years of intense agricultural activities altered surface topography and hydrology through drain construction, and damming of streams, altering surface run-off. The battlefield's streams were often re-routed during construction of the Champlain canal.[6] Sand-mining, taking place in the late-1800s and early to mid-1900s, altered the park's topography, surface hydrology, and likely destroyed some archeological deposits. More recently, the water quality of the Hudson River has been compromised due to the presence of polychlorinated biphenols, or PCBs. Although the river is outside of the park's boundary, the pollution has a direct impact on the nearby floodplain that is owned by the park. Soil contamination, left by seasonal flooding, adversely impacts the park's low lying areas.

Land Cover and Vegetation

Vegetation is an integral component of the cultural landscape and plays a prominent role in the interpretation and development of the park (Figure 8.6). Park policy has shifted over the years to encompass a more literal interpretation of the 1777 vegetative cover. This decision evolved from years of reconsideration of the park's interpretive agenda.

The sequence of the park's land acquisition and land use history has produced a mosaic of old field, shrub-land, and forest communities (Figure 8.7).[7] Often, ages of forest stands correspond with topography, where steep ravines and creek beds that were inappropriate for farming host the oldest forest communities. Sixty-eight percent of the battlefield, especially the bluffs and ravines, are covered in second growth mixed forest of conifers and hardwoods.[8] Twenty-seven percent, or 746 acres of the battlefield is maintained as grassland.[9] The park has traditionally kept several fields in hay or pasture under agricultural lease with local farmers. In 2000, several fields in the southwest region of the park, near Route 32 were hayed, and two areas were kept as pasture on the park's extreme western boundary in between tour route stops four and five. These areas contribute to the historical setting and are located well outside of interpretive areas. Several grassland areas are maintained by prescribed burning.

The park is located within the transition zone between the Oak-Chestnut region and the Hemlock-White Pine-Northern Hardwoods region of the eastern deciduous forest.[10] Its forests are dominated by white pine (*Pinus strobus*), red maple (*Acer rubrum*), black cherry (*Prunus serotina*), white ash (*Fraxinus americana*), and red oak (*Quercus rubra*). Canadian hemlock (*Tsuga canadensis*) thrives in the deep ravines, and willow (*Salix*) and aspen (*Populus*) grow abundantly on the floodplain along the Hudson River. American elm (*Ulmus americana*) and American chestnut (*Castanea dentata*) were dominant tree species at the time of the battle but twentieth century disease and blight have significantly reduced their numbers from the forest community. Japanese honeysuckle (*Lonicera*

tartarica) is the most common exotic woody plant in the forests and Gray dogwood (*Cornus racemosa*) dominates transitional shrublands.[11] The park's grasslands host many species of grasses and forbs including the invasive spotted napweed (*Centauria* species). Regularly mowed portions of the unit include 12.95 acres of memorial areas, roadside and trail rights-of-way, and the lawn at the visitor center.[12]

Wetlands within the park are all palustrine, dominated by trees, shrubs and young successional vegetation. Forested wetlands are most common within the unit.

Of the 797 plant species in the park, fifty-six are listed as threatened by New York State or the federal government, including allegheney stonecrop (*Sedum telephioides*), maidenhair fern *(Adiantum pedatum*), and flowering dogwood (*Cornus florida*).[13] Three plant species are listed on the New York Rare Plant Status List of 1996, which defines 'rare' as "…having either twenty to thirty-five extant sites or 3,000-5,000 individuals statewide."[14] The three plants are Davis' sedge (*Carex davisii*), redroot flatsedge (*Cyperus erthrorhizos*), and Mackensie Bush's sedge (*Carex bushii*).[15]

This diverse group of plant species provides food and habitat for abundant animal life. The park is home to thirty-nine mammal species including beaver (*Castor canadensis*), snowshoe hare (*Lepus americanus*), white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), and coyote (*Canis latrans*).[16] Four of the park's twenty-six amphibians and replies are protected. The varied herpetological list includes the blue spotted salamander (*Ambystoma laterale*), spotted turtle (*Clemmys gutteta*), green frog (*Rana palustris*), and eastern newt (*Notophthalmus viridescens*).[17] Twenty-two species of fish have been identified in the park including brown trout (*Salmo trutta*), largemouth bass (*Micropterus salmoides*), and yellow perch (*Perca flavescens*).[18] Of the many birds in the park, twenty-three species are either listed federally or by the state as endangered, threatened, or of special concern.[19] Hunting and trapping of wildlife are not permitted in the park.

Circulation

The historic roads throughout the battlefield helped shape the monumental events of 1777 (Figure 8.8). Troop movements, encampments, and fields of fighting were all influenced by local roads, as were later agricultural patterns and transportation systems. Few of these traditional roads exist today.

Most visitors today arrive from Interstate-87 and approach by way of Exits 12 and 14, that clearly direct visitors to the park. The main entrance to the Saratoga battlefield is off Route 4 at the northeast edge of the park. The park's secondary entrance is located off Route 32 at the northwest park boundary and which leads directly to the visitor center via a service drive. The park entrance road is a two-way public road running the northern span of the park's boundary and linking Routes 4 and 32. Routes 423, 32, and 4 are all two lane state highways that pass along and through the battlefield.

Within Saratoga NHP, there are fourteen and a half miles of paved roads, fifteen parking lots, over one mile of gravel roads, almost four miles of paved trails, and eleven miles of unpaved trails

(Figure 8.9 and 8.10). During the 1960s an automobile park tour road was constructed, after decades of planning. The road follows a curvilinear path that conceals and reveals views along its route. The complete auto tour begins at the south end of the visitor center parking area, covers over nine miles and contains ten tour stops. Visitors are directed by a self–guided tour contained in the park brochure. The tour road is a single-lane one-way road that loops through the American defensive positions, then sites of battle action, and finishes at the British defensive positions overlooking the Hudson River. The tour stops, or waysides, mark the locations of earthworks, fortifications, and encampments and interpret important events of the Saratoga battles. These waysides are described in the wayside table at the end of this section. Picnic areas are located in the vicinity of the visitor center parking lots and at Stop 10 on the tour road, and a composting restroom facility is located at Stop 7.

The tour road pavement was widened in 2000-2001. The road bed was not altered, but the paved road surface was expanded by four feet in order to safely accommodate multiple uses. In addition to this expansion, T-intersections were installed near Stop 3 and Stop 9, with stop signs, where the road loop pinches and the road becomes two-lanes for a stretch. The T-intersections allow frequent visitors and bus tours to avoid Stop 3 and Stop 9 more easily if they choose.

The park has hiking trails through areas rich in wildlife and vegetation. There are also six miles of historic road traces, some dating to 1777, that are suitable for hiking. The Wilkinson National Historic Trail, that was developed in partnership with the Boy Scouts of America in 1987, is a four and one half-mile trail that winds through some of the most significant areas associated with the battles of Saratoga. Much of the trail either parallels or runs close to 1777 road traces. There are fourteen lettered interpretive stations along this trail and a self-guiding trail brochure.

Biking is allowed in the park, but only on the park's paved road system. Snow-shoeing and cross-country skiing are permitted in the winter, but the trails are not maintained or groomed by the park.

Segments of the old Champlain Canal run along the park's eastern boundary. The park has been negotiating with the owner of the abandoned segments, Saratoga County, to have these small sections donated to the park. The control of these parcels would allow the park to connect the trail system in the southeast section of the battlefield to the northeast section and make a continuous loop trail available to visitors.

Views and Vistas

Saratoga NHP's battlefield is a pastoral landscape of rolling ridges, ravines, meadows, and forest surrounded by distant mountains. Visitors experience magnificent views from the ridges across the battlefield to the mountains beyond (Figure 8.11). The best views are obtained from the top of Fraser's Hill at the visitor center, the Freeman Farm Overlook (Stop 1), the American River Fortifications (Stop 3), and from the Great Redoubt (Stop 9) (Figure 8.12). Another important viewshed is the panoramic vista of the surrounding hills that can be seen from the Neilson house on Bemis Heights (Stop 2). Views from the ravines are restricted by topography, but provide a more

intimate experience. The Hudson River and its fertile river valley are framed by the mountains to the east and the escarpment along the eastern boundary of the unit. Park visitors witness spectacular views from this strategic site.

Most of the current viewshed surrounding the battlefield includes privately owned land of rural or agricultural character. Zoning ordinances protect lands in Stillwater and Saratoga, but protection of the lands bordering the park is limited. As the surrounding towns grow, suburban development will increasingly encroach on the park. Historically, the surrounding privately owned lands have been used mainly for dairy farming, and to a lesser degree, for residences or summer cottages. Former farmlands are passing into residential use as suburbanites move into the area. For example, the village of Stillwater has spread to the hamlet of Bemis Heights. Large lot, single-family development and cell phone towers threaten to encroach on the park boundary. New residential development can be seen from the area of the Neilson house, southwest of Route 32. This will continue to be a pressing issue for the park.

Land on the western side of the Hudson River in Washington County also faces developmental pressures. The western slope of the prominent ridge that includes Willard, Beadle, and Schuyler mountains is in full view from the park. The Green Mountains of Vermont are visible in the distance to the northeast. During the 1990s, a proposed development on Willard Mountain threatened the viewscape. Recently, the park completed an "Adjacent Lands Study" that identified the visible parcels outside the park boundaries, rating them for protection priority. The park and the community will use the study to plan for land protection and sensitive development.

When viewing the battlefield, visitors come away with the false impression that the battlefield was a naturalistic meadow and forest landscape as only one historic building remains. The area, however, was home to a thriving agricultural community in 1777, that continued to evolve and change after the battles. The current open quality of the park is at odds with what is known about the density of settlement during the time of the battles. Some historic buildings and cultivated land survive outside the boundaries and provide a stark contrast to the appearance of the battlefield. These external properties provide context that is sympathetic with historical conditions. However, recently proposals have emerged to screen some adjacent properties, historic or recent, with a vegetative buffer. The merits of such a proposal should be weighed carefully to balance between protecting the park's viewshed from unwanted development and eliminating contextually important properties.

Buildings and Structures

The Neilson house is the only historic building that remains within the battlefield today. It is historically important for its age as well as for its association with the headquarters of the American generals during the battles (Figure 8.13). The house, originally built circa 1775, is a one story, one room wood frame building on a stone foundation, nogged with burned and sun dried brick. It is approximately eighteen by eight feet with a seven-foot wide porch on the front. Its exterior walls are clapboard and the roof is a shingled gable style. To the rear, there is a seven by thirteen-foot lean-to with access from the interior of the house. Inside, a six-foot wide fieldstone fireplace is

located on the east wall. The Neilson house is open and staffed by costumed interpreters most days between June and September and is the scene of regularly scheduled military encampments and demonstrations.

Currently, very few eighteenth or nineteenth century buildings and structures from the agricultural period or Champlain Canal communities remain in the park. The Price farm and the Burdyl farm were among the last of these properties to be demolished when they were removed in the 1990s. Segments of the old Champlain Canal run along the park's eastern boundary, although only building foundations, wells, and road traces remain. Champlain Canal structures dating to the 1820s include an intact canal bed, embankments, overpass abutments, and dressed stone retaining walls in several locations.[20] These structures are listed in poor condition in the List of Classified Structures.[21] The remaining canal bed measures an average forty-two feet wide by six feet deep and some sections are filled with water.

Among the modern park buildings, the visitor center stands atop Fraser's Hill, the highest point on the battlefield, within the park's development zone. This twenty-four acre parcel is in the northwest corner of the battlefield. Fraser's Hill was selected for development because of the views it provided and because it allowed for the concentration of facilities without disturbing the historical scene located throughout the rest of the battlefield. The Mission 66 visitor center, completed in 1962, was expanded for the bicentennial with an addition that complimented the original architectural style. An information desk is staffed year round in the visitor center. Among various interpretive exhibits contained in the visitor center, a twenty-minute introductory film, "Checkmate on the Hudson," is shown every half-hour. A second theater space is used for special programs and events. Thematic seasonal exhibits are also offered throughout the year. A bookstore run by Eastern National is located within the visitor center. The visitor center's restrooms, theaters and bookstore are all ADA accessible.

Two former park residences, located northwest of the visitor center on a cul-de-sac, are used as offices today, and a Collection Storage Facility was constructed beside them in 2000. The maintenance and utility buildings are located to the west of the visitor center parking lot. There are no facilities maintained by the park for camping or lodging.

Selected Small Scale Features

Numerous farm foundations remain scattered around the battlefield unit, many located along old road traces (See Figure 8.8). Their locations have been recorded by park staff using Global Positioning Systems (GPS). The locations of foundations are critical to understanding the domestic landscape that was present in 1777.

The current waysides, or field exhibits, were developed for the Bicentennial in 1977. The ten wayside stops along the tour road include interpretive monuments, markers, signs, and exhibits that help visitors understand the battles of Saratoga (Table 8.1) (Figure 8.14). A tour tape and pamphlet guide of the tour road are available at the visitor center. Fortification lines are represented across

the landscape by fence posts with blue tops for American lines and red tops for British lines. These were also constructed for the Bicentennial. Numerous nineteenth and twentieth century monuments are scattered throughout the park (Figure 8.15). The park has eight different stone monuments supporting bronze plaques and fourteen stone monuments without bronze plaques (Figure 8.16 and 8.17). The Saratoga Battlefield Memorial, a granite obelisk, is the largest of the monuments and is located east of the Neilson house.

Archeological Sites

The battlefield is rich in archeological resources. Revolutionary War sites are, and traditionally have been the priority for management actions, as they represent the primary period of significance. Most remnants of eighteenth-century occupation are represented by the archeological remains of British and American fortified lines and encampment sites. The park's Archeological Overview lists fourteen Revolutionary War period sites, twenty American sites, and forty-two nineteenth and twentieth century domestic sites.[22] Protecting Native American sites is not the primary priority, but if remains are found, activities that may damage subsurface resources are restricted. The park museum includes many artifacts collected during the course of several different archeological studies or donated by local families.

Under the direction of Dean R. Snow, students and faculty from the University at Albany carried out field research during the summers of 1972 through 1975. The results of this research are detailed in four reports to the National Park Service and in Snow's 1977 publication, *Archeological Atlas of the Saratoga Battlefield,* including thirty-eight maps. Snow found evidence of British trenching and earthen wall construction near Balcarres Redoubt. Human burials, Taylor's house, fortification lines, metal buttons, and bullets were all found in the British section of the park.[23]

Archeological investigations took place in 1972 that revealed insights about the construction of the earthen and log Balcarres and Breymann Redoubts in the northwestern region of the park.[24] The remains of an unidentified soldier were also discovered.[25] Many eighteenth century house foundations remain across the battlefield unit. Dean Snow marked the American Line surrounding the main American encampment in the southwest section of the unit at the Neilson farm with wooden pickets. Construction of the tour road in the 1960s disturbed much of this line, but some of its original earthen and log construction remain in a few locations. Another rich archeological site is the British hospital, located along the base of the escarpment below the Great Redoubt. Private land owners have uncovered many archeological remains related to the hospital including the remains of a surgeon's bag and its contents.

All of the battlefield's known archeological sites have been disturbed since 1777. Construction of the Champlain Canal in the early 1800s disturbed much of the archeological remains along the base of the escarpment. Likewise, construction of both the Inter-Urban Electric Railway and US Route 4 caused further disturbance to historic resources in that area.[26] Many of the Revolutionary War sites, including the McBride, Barber, Freeman, and Chatfield farms, have been damaged by agricultural practices and to a lesser degree by fire, vandalism and scavengers. The Burgoyne headquarters area

has been severely disturbed by agriculture and the sand mining operations of the late 1800s and early 1900s. This mining also disturbed archeological resources and left scars that can still be read in the landscape today.[27]

Table 8.1

The Tour Stops of the Saratoga National Historical Park Battlefield Unit *

Tour Stop	Description
Freeman Farm Overlook Stop 1	Major fighting occurred on the fields below on September 19, 1777. American General Daniel Morgan's Virginia riflemen had established a post in the Freeman House and fired on the advance guard of British General John Burgoyne. The house, now gone, had been abandoned after John Freeman joined the British invasion force in the north.
Neilson Farm (Bemis Heights) Stop 2	John Neilson's restored farm was used as quarters by American staff officers in September 1777. The heights are named for Jotham Bemis, who kept a tavern at the foot of the hill. The DAR and the Kosciuszko Monuments are adjacent to this stop, and the site of the American Field Hospital and General Gates's headquarters are about three-quarters of a mile to the south. Posts outline the fortified American line.
American River Fortifications Stop 3	These 1777 fortifications, established under the direction of Polish Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko high above the Hudson River, closed the Hudson Valley route to Albany forcing the British to attack the main American line on Bemis Heights.
Asa Chatfield Farm Stop 4	The Americans first spotted the British advance on the Barber Farm from here. American and British pickets exchanged fire across the Middle Ravine to the Northeast between the first and second battles.
Barber Wheatfield Stop 5	Here the Americans intercepted 1,500 British and German soldiers on October 7, 1777. Fierce fighting caused the British troops to withdraw to Freeman Farm and British General Simon Fraser was mortally wounded.
Balcarres Redoubt (Freeman Farm) Stop 6	This British log and earthen redoubt was about 500 yards long and about fourteen feet high, and today the site is outlined by posts.
Breymann Redoubt Stop 7	This British line of breastworks was about 200 yards long and eight feet high. Today posts outline the site.
General Burgoyne's Headquarters Stop 8	The center of British command was established in this meadow between the two battles.
The Great Redoubt Stop 9	This British system of fortifications was built near the top of three adjacent hills to guard their hospital, artillery park and supplies on the Hudson River flat below.
Fraser Burial Site and Trail Stop 10	This steep one-mile loop trail passes the traditional burial site and the sites of the hospital, artillery park, and the Taylor House where Fraser died. The trail also passes the remains of the Champlain Canal.

* This chart is based on wayside and pamphlet information from the summer of 2001. The park is currently discussing updating the interpretation based on recent historical research and natural vegetative growth throughout the park.

Endnotes- Existing Conditions

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[1] "2000 Water Resources Management Plan." Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] "Wetlands Inventory of Saratoga National Historical Park." National Wetlands Inventory Report, Northeast Region. March 2000. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[5] Ibid. For a more exhaustive discussion of Saratoga's water resources, refer to the "2000 Wetlands Inventory" and the "2000 Water Resources Management Plan."

[6] Dean Snow. "Archeological Atlas of the Saratoga Battlefield." 1977. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[7] "Saratoga National Historical Park Resource Management Plan." 1992. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[8] "Saratoga National Historical Park General Management Plan." Draft 2002.

[9] Chris Martin, SARA Integrated Resources Program Manager and Linda White, SARA Archeological Technician. "Field Management History of Saratoga National Historical Park." 1995.

[10] "Saratoga National Historical Park Resource Management Plan." 1992. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[11] Justin Berthiaume. "Natural Resources Existing Conditions draft of the Saratoga National Historical Park General Management Plan (draft)." 2001. National Park Service, Boston Support Office.

[12] Richard Stalter, Patrick Lynch, and James Schaberl. "Vascular Flora of Saratoga National Historical Park, New York." *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club* 120(2), 1993, 169. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[13] Saratoga National Historical Park Plant Species List. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[14] H.H. Howard. "A Study of the Plants of Saratoga National Historical Park." 1996. P. 1. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Saratoga National Historical Park Mammal Species List. 2001. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[17] Saratoga National Historical Park Herpetological Species List. 2001. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[18] Potential Fish Species Present in Inventory and Monitoring Sites. Inventory conducted by the University of Massachusetts. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[19] 1992 Statement for Management RMP. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] 1992 Statement for Management RMP.

[23] Dean R. Snow. "Battlefield Archeology." *Early Man*. Spring 1981. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[24] Dean R. Snow. "Archeological Atlas of the Saratoga Battlefield." 1977. Saratoga National Historical Park files.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

Figure 8.1. Topographic diagram of Saratoga National Historical Park. Vertical scale: 7:1. 2000. Courtesy of University of Rhode Island, FTSC.

Figure 8.2. Saratoga's visitor center that sits atop Fraser's Hill. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

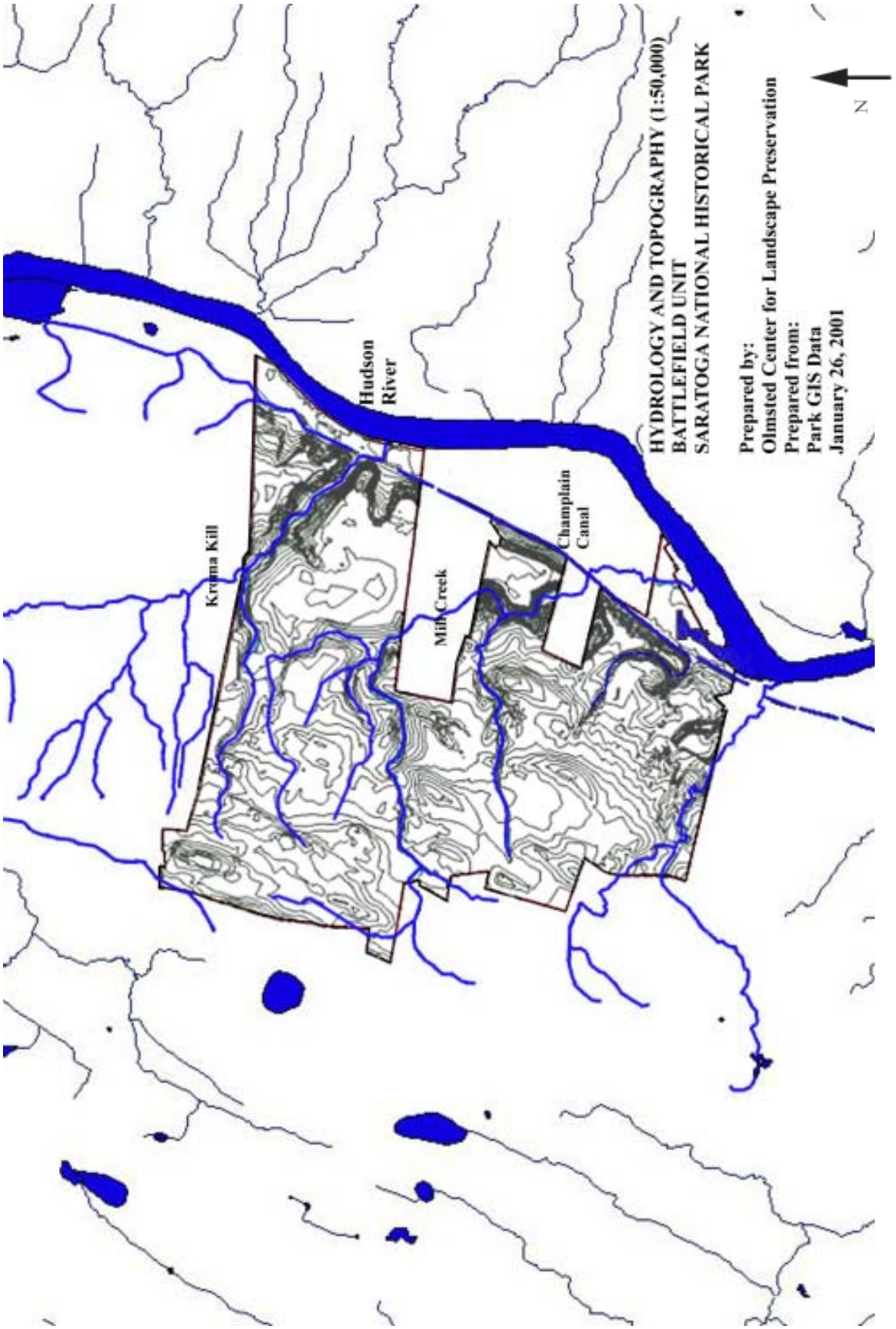

Figure 8.3. Hydrology of Saratoga National Historical Park. 2001. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

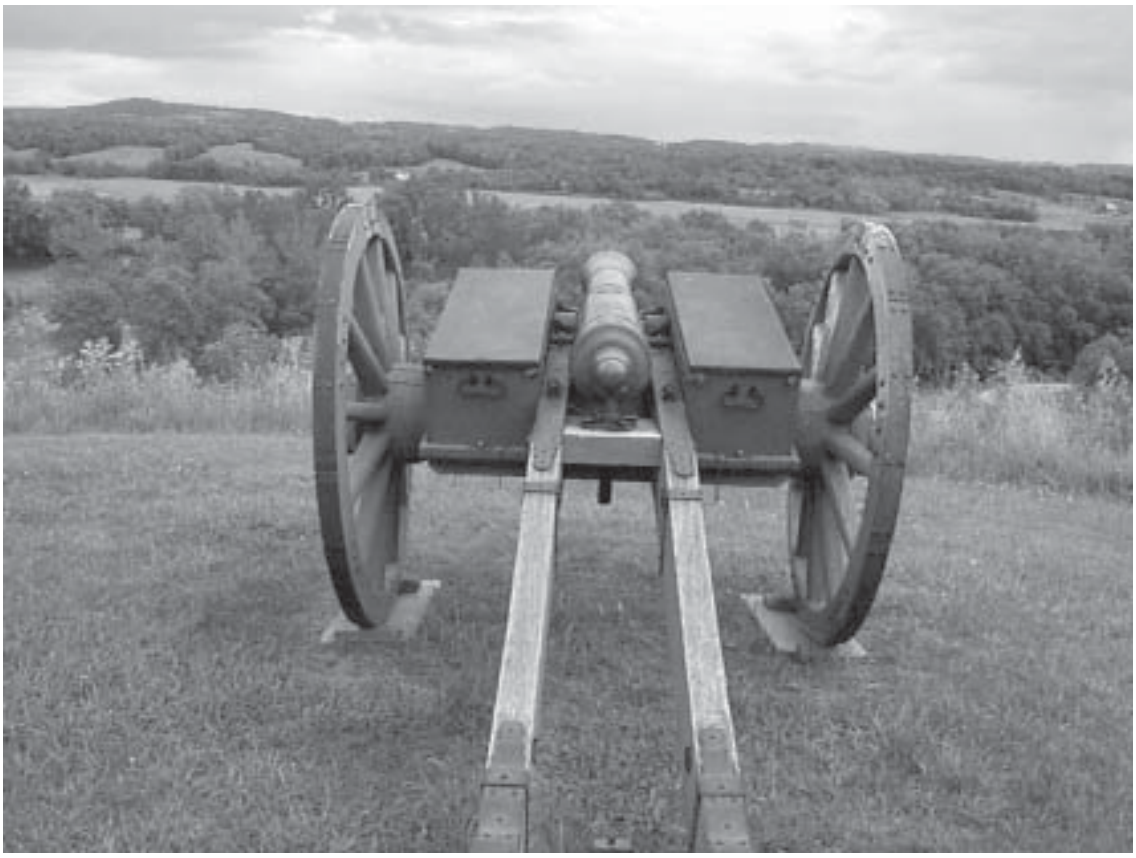

Figure 8.4. Extensive views of the Hudson River and surrounding landscape from the Great Redoubt. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Figure 8.5. The view, looking northeast toward the Hudson River from the Great Redoubt, site of British encampment during the battles. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

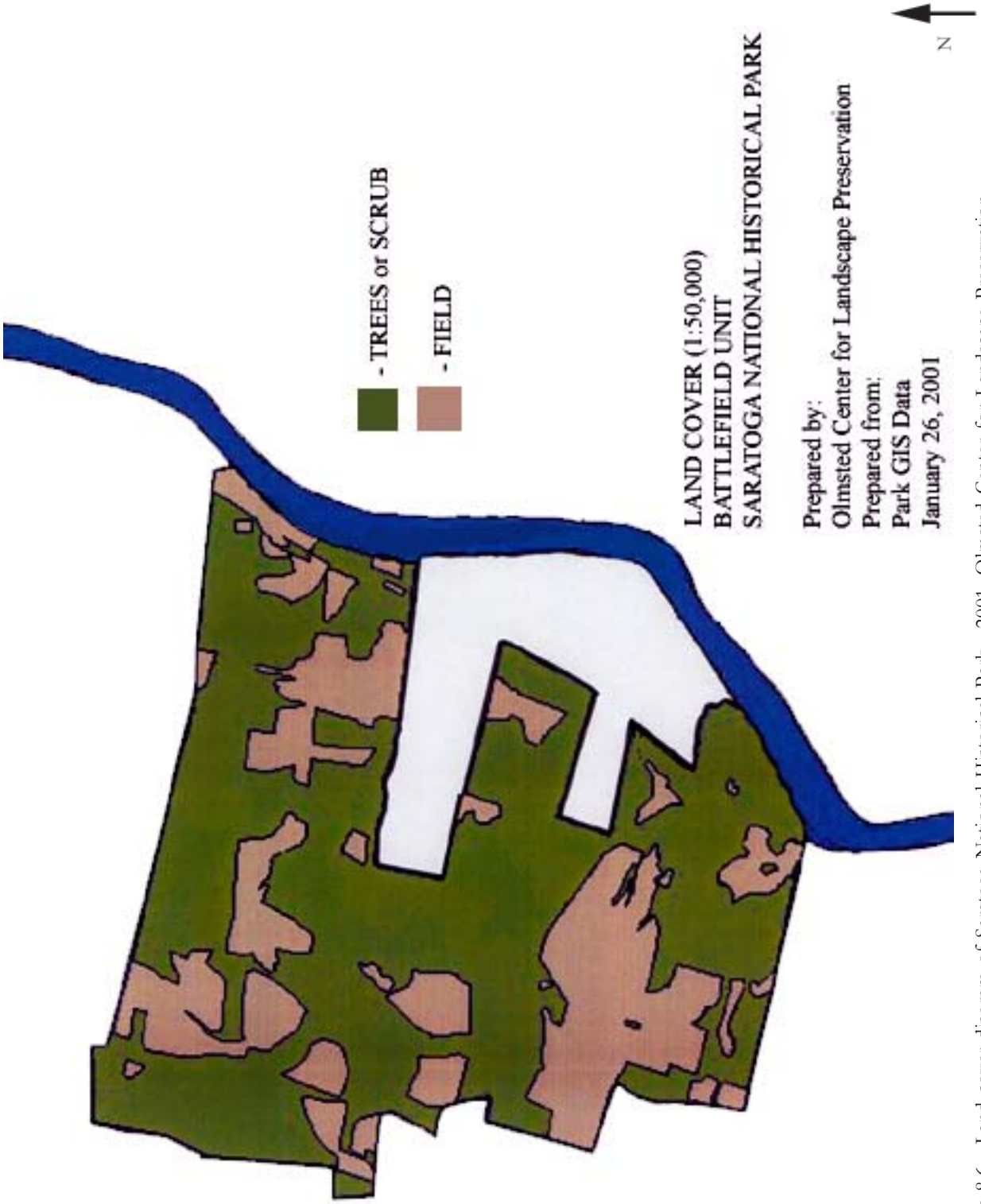

Figure 8.6. Land cover diagram of Saratoga National Historical Park. 2001. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Figure 8.7. The view looking west from the Freeman farm that shows the park's predominant pattern of field and forest. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

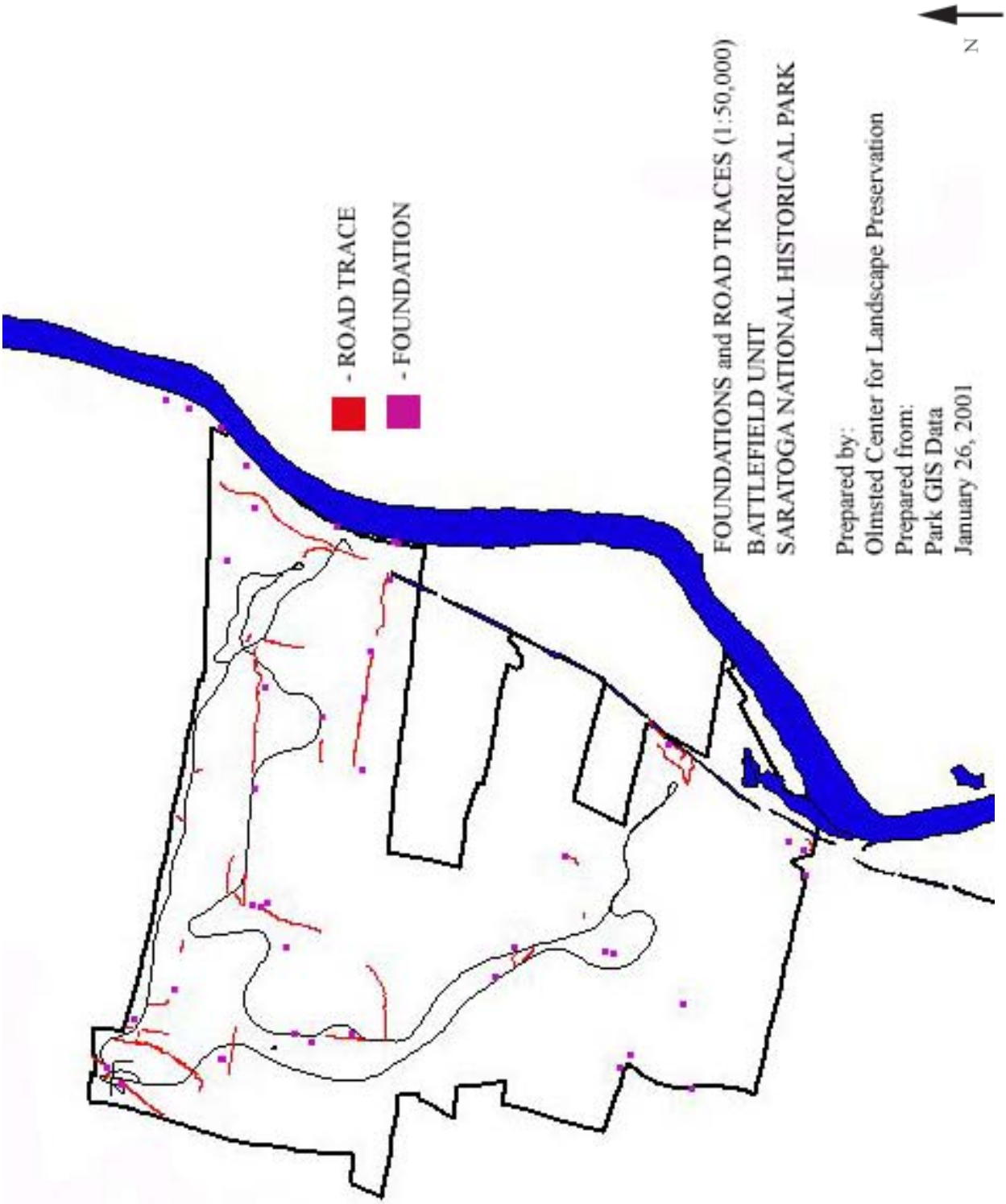

Figure 8.8. Diagram of historic road traces and archaeological foundations in Saratoga National Historical Park. 2001. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

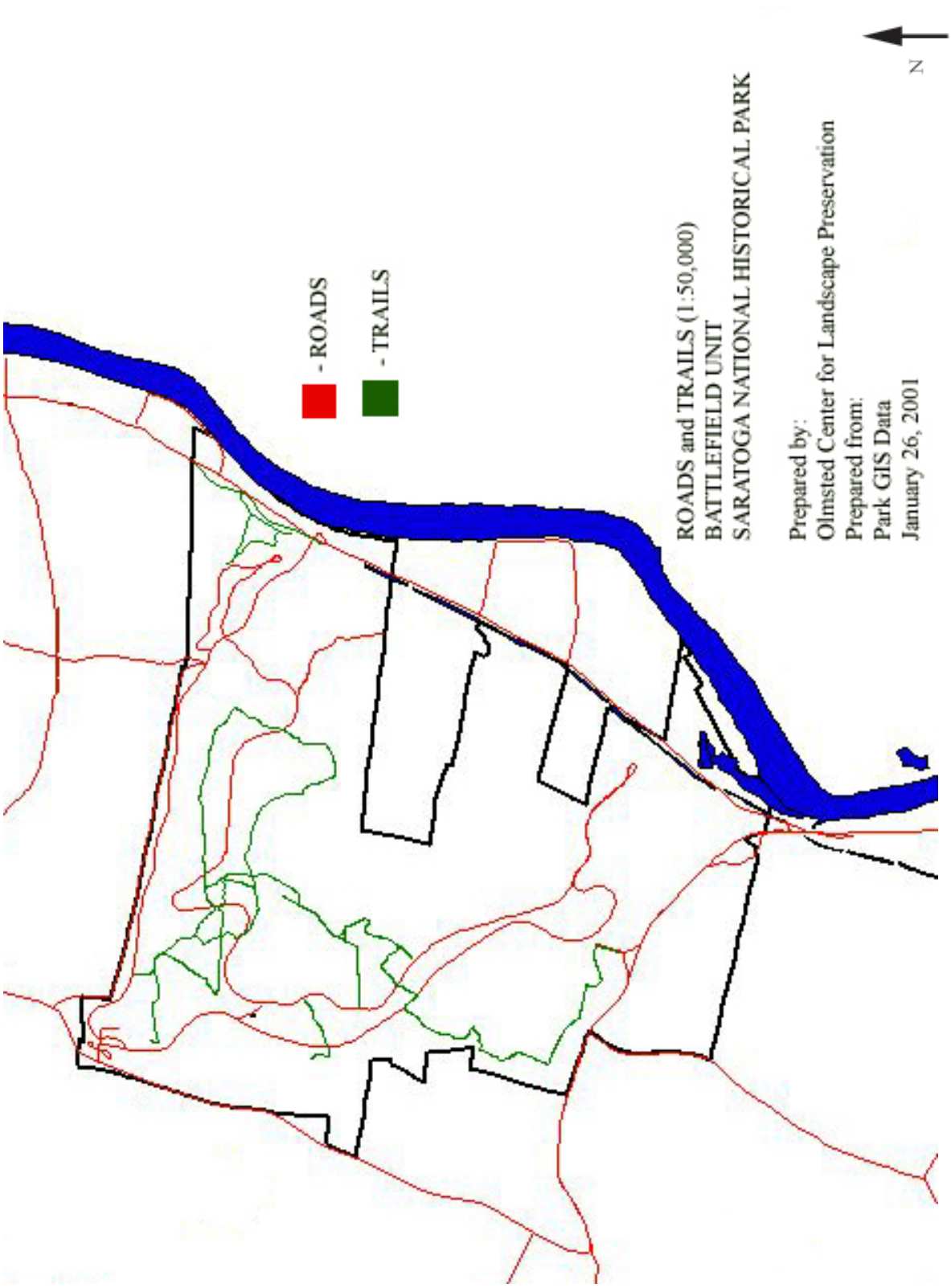

Figure 8.9. Roads and Trails diagram for Saratoga National Historical Park. 2001. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Figure 8.10. View of a trail at the Balcarres Redoubt, a portion of the fourteen and a half miles of paved trails in the park. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Figure 8.11. Extensive views of the Hudson River floodplain and surrounding countryside as seen from the American River Fortifications. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

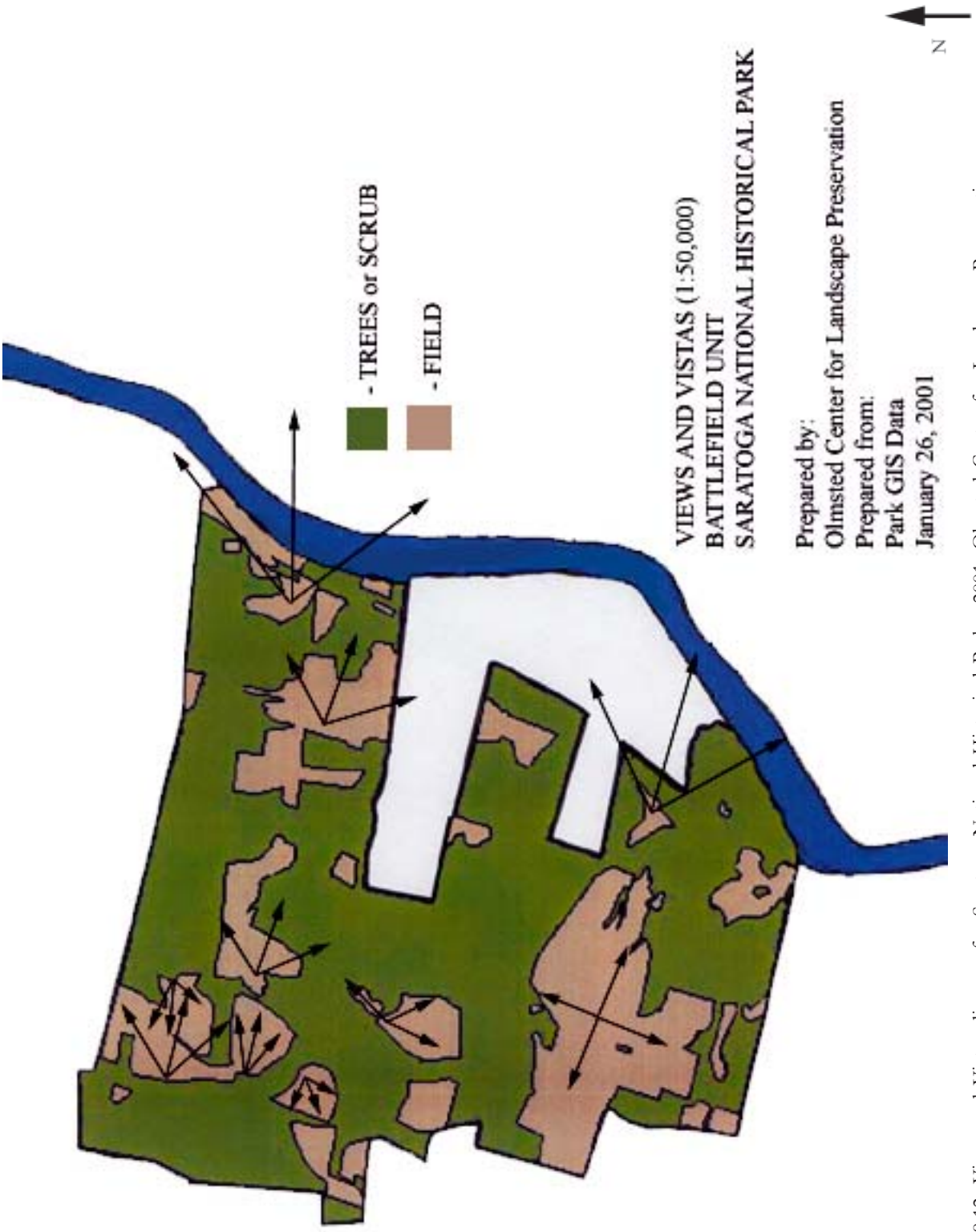

Figure 8.12. Views and Vistas diagram for Saratoga National Historical Park. 2001. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Figure 8.13. The Neilson house, the only revolutionary era structure remaining on the battlefield. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Figure 8.14. Wayside at the Barber Wheatfield. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

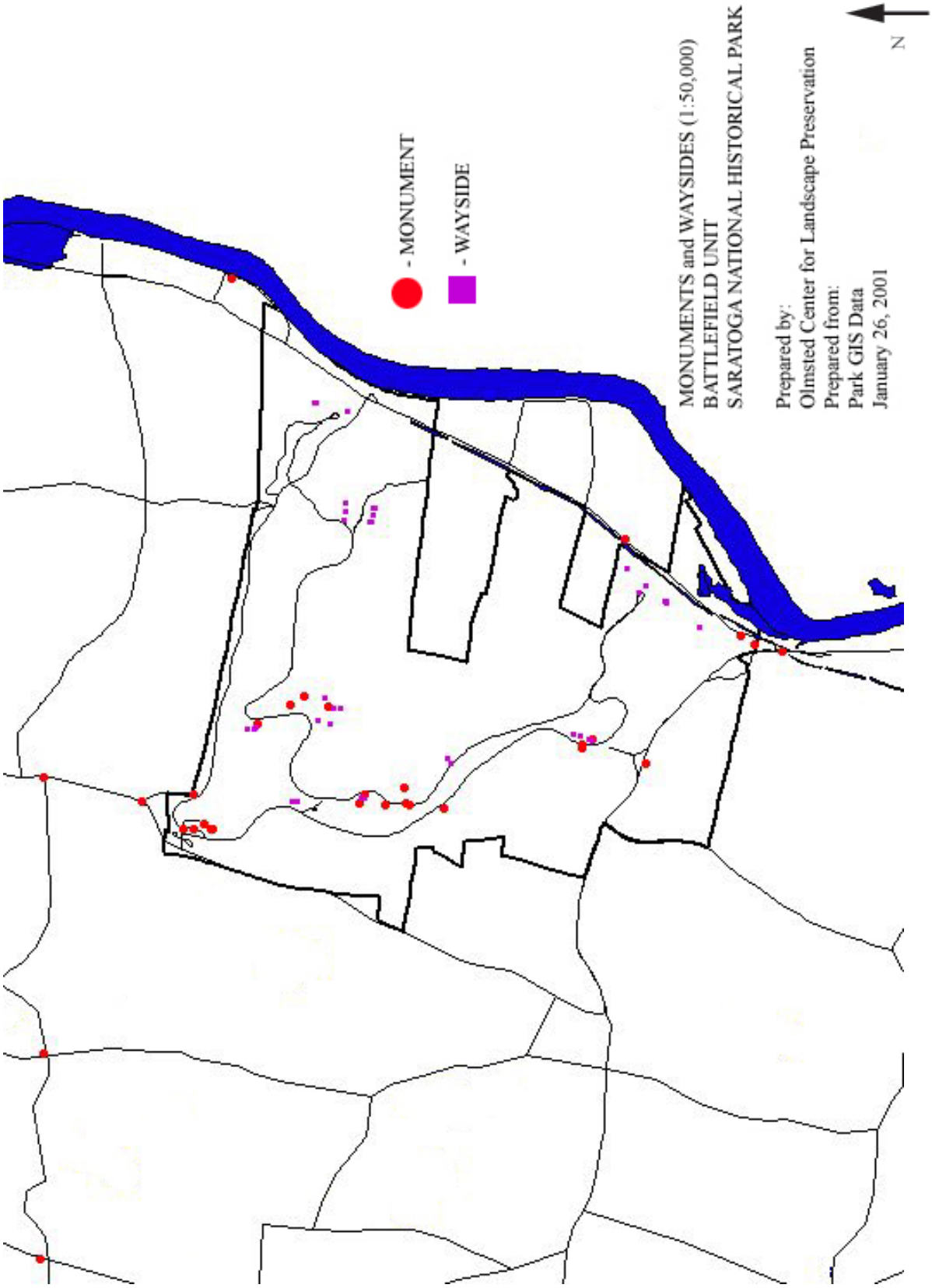

Figure 8.15. Diagram of Monuments and Waysides of Saratoga National Historical Park. 2001. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Figure 8.16. The New Hampshire Men Monument. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Figure 8.17. The Arnold Monument. 2000. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation.

Analysis of Significance and Integrity

Introduction

Evaluating Historical Significance

For the purposes of this cultural landscape report, significance in American history is determined through an identification and evaluation program defined by the National Register of Historic Places program. According to the National Register, historic significance may be present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association which meet at least one of the following criteria:

> A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of history; or
>
> B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
>
> C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
>
> D. That have yielded or may be likely to yield information in prehistory or history.

Current Park-Wide National Register Status

As an historic area within the United States' system of national parks, Saratoga NHP was administratively added to the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966 with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Despite the fact that no official documentation has since been approved supporting the park's listing on the National Register, the property is listed and subject to federal regulations pertaining to that status. The Old Champlain Canal, portions of which pass through the battlefield and the Schuyler Estate units of the park, was independently listed on the National Register in 1976. The canal was listed as a district containing canal ruins, with its period of significance identified as nineteenth century, commencing with the specific date of 1823 and extending to c. 1917. The areas of significance identified for the canal relate to agriculture, commerce, engineering, industry, and transportation.

While Saratoga NHP currently enjoys the protection provided by National Register listing, given the absence of approved National Register documentation, the following discussion of significance is presented to broadly outline the reasons, or criteria, on which that listing is based. The following discussion is preliminary, and also focused primarily on landscape resources. It should not be misconstrued to serve the purposes of formally completed National Register documentation.

American Revolution as Primary Park-wide Area of Significance

Saratoga National Historical Park is primarily significant as the site of the two battles of Saratoga that were fought during the autumn of 1777 and their associated British and Continental Army encampments and defenses. Saratoga NHP commemorates a vital phase of the struggle for independence, as the American victory at Saratoga is generally considered a turning point in the War for Independence. The park's landscape played a decisive role in the victory. All four of the park's units: the battlefield, Victory Woods, the Schuyler Estate, and the Saratoga Monument are thematically linked and are nationally significant under National Register Criterion A, for association with, and for extant resources related to, the American Revolution. The park may also contain previously undiscovered archeological resources that contribute to this theme.

Canal Transport as a Secondary Area of Significance

As has been previously mentioned, the Old Champlain Canal is currently listed on the National Register, citing areas of significance relating to Engineering and Transportation. These two areas of significance, most typically related to design and construction of infrastructure, fit both under National Register Criterion A and C, for association with broad trends in our national history and also related to the history of design and construction. The portions of the canal that pass through the battlefield and Schuyler Estate park units were active from 1823 to c. 1917.[1] In particular, Wilbur's Basin, which rests within the boundaries of the battlefield, may be particularly rich with archeological resources as this area served as a depot and waystation for commerce along the canal. Because of this, National Register Criteria D may also apply at the state and local level.

Battlefield Commemoration/Historic Preservation as a Secondary Area of Significance

Beyond its obvious association with the American War for Independence, Saratoga National Historical Park has a secondary area of potential significance as an early and locally important example of Revolutionary War commemoration, between 1877-1938. Although planning for the Saratoga Monument began before the American Civil War, commemoration and memorialization of Saratoga's Revolutionary War sites actually came to fruition during the 1877 battle centennial, when construction of the Saratoga Monument began. The effort culminated with federal legislation authorizing the establishment of Saratoga National Historical Park in 1938. Falling under the heading of National Register Criteria A, for an association with broad patterns in United States history, these commemoration and monumentation efforts serve as subcategories under an area of significance pertaining to Conservation, which is an area or theme relating to the preservation, maintenance, and management of natural and cultural resources. Further contextual study is needed to fully evaluate this significance.

The chart below summarizes the recommended historic themes and periods of significance that are widely reflected within the park. However, this chart is not intended to be comprehensive as additional significant themes are represented in a more limited way within the park's individual sub-units. Evaluation of the additional potential contexts briefly discussed below will require further

investigation by qualified subject matter experts assisting with the National Register documentation.*

RECOMMENDED AREAS AND PERIODS OF SIGNIFICANCE				
Theme	Battlefield	Victory Woods	Schuyler House	Saratoga Monument
American Revolution *Autumn 1777* NR *Criteria A and D* *Primary Theme*	X	X	X	X
Canal Transportation *1823- c. 1917* NR *Criteria A, C and D* *Secondary Theme*	X		X	
Battlefield Commemoration - Historic Preservation *1877-1938* NR *Criteria A and B* *Secondary Theme*	X			X
** Note: This chart is not intended to be exhaustive - but to focus on relating park units to historic themes most clearly associated with cultural landscape resources. For a preliminary discussion of other potential themes and periods of significance, please refer back to the narrative.*				

Analysis of Significance for the Saratoga National Historical Park Battlefield Unit

The following discussion is focused primarily on the significance of Saratoga National Historical Park's battlefield - one of four discontinuous properties that together comprise the park. Eligibility for the National Register and statements regarding significance are, like the discussion preceding this, typically made regarding an entire park or property. However, it is hoped that the following narrative, focused to isolate the battlefield, will help to link historical themes to the extant resources that comprise the bulk of the park's acreage.

Primary Area of Significance: American Revolution - Autumn 1777

It is obvious that the resources that make up the battlefield are nationally significant under National Register Criterion A, within the area of Military History, for its association with, and for its extant resources related to, the American Revolution.

Throughout the four units of the park, but especially within the battlefield, resources contributing to the significance of the property fall primarily under Criterion A- in the context of Military History - The American Revolution. The significant resources are primarily landscape focused, consisting of the historic terrain on which forces were encamped and over which the fighting took place. As the integrity of above-ground resources relating to the autumn events of 1777 have been greatly

diminished, the battlefield terrain retains historic topographic and viewshed relationships with the Hudson River, and survives to illustrate the reasons the battles began and ended as they did. [2]

As historical figures are often defined by the events of their times, Saratoga National Historical Park may be also significant for an association with personalities animating and shaping the strategy of the battles of 1777 under National Register Criterion B. The leading actors in the narrative of the historic battles include: Major General Horatio Gates, General Benedict Arnold (the infamous traitor), Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko (the renowned military engineer), and Colonel Daniel Morgan, all persons connected under the primary theme of the American Revolution. It should be noted that of the personalities listed above, the association having the most consequential effects on the property was that with General Philip Schuyler. Nevertheless, supporting claims of historical significance based on association with the lives of military leaders requires further documentation and comparative analysis which is beyond the scope of this cultural landscape report. This preliminary evaluation is intended only to serve as a preliminary analysis until such time as National Register documentation might be funded and completed as a separate project.

Archeological sites are the most common property type associated with Criteria D, dealing with the significance of a property owing to its ability to yield important information. While several organized episodes of archeological investigation have taken place here since the 1930s, these efforts have not answered every open question surrounding the 1777 configuration of the battlefield. Because of a lack of accurate period mapping on the part of the American forces, there is still much to be learned about the landscape south of the Middle Ravine. The SUNY Albany archeological survey of 1972-1977 was professionally completed, but did point out the existence of data gaps in the archeological research. These data gaps imply the potential availability of new information regarding underground resources. Further discussion of the significance of the battlefield in terms of Criterion D, will require the review and analysis of existing data by a trained archaeologist familiar with the property during the course of preparing National Register documentation.

Secondary Area of Significance: Canal Transportation - 1823- c. 1917

As has been mentioned, the Old Champlain Canal is currently listed on the National Register, citing areas of significance relating to Engineering and Transportation. These two areas of significance most typically related to design and construction of infrastructure, meet both National Register Criteria A and C. No canal lock sites exist within the battlefield's boundary. While it is not explicitly stated on the 1976 National Register form relating to the Champlain Canal, under this criteria local or New York State significance could be convincingly argued.

Secondary Area of Significance: Commemoration/Historic Preservation - 1877 to 1938

Beyond its obvious association with the American War for Independence, Saratoga National Historical Park may be argued to possess a secondary area of significance as an early and important example of Revolutionary War commemoration between 1877-1938. Also falling under the heading of Criteria A, for an association with broad patterns in United States history, these commemoration and monumentation efforts serve as subcategories under an area of significance pertaining to

Conservation, an area or theme relating to the preservation, maintenance, and management of natural and cultural resources. Such an area of significance is well understood to include the sub-field of historic preservation. This movement has been described as having its roots in the appeal for a new sense of national dedication and in the hope that a greater appreciation of the sacrifices involved with the nation's founding would bolster strained sectional ties.[3]

Memorialization efforts at Saratoga battlefield were begun with the Civil War as well as the Revolutionary War in mind. On the occasion of the one-hundredth anniversary of the battles, a member of the Saratoga Monument Association commented:

> The civil war is over and a happier day fills our skies. The laws are everywhere supreme. Every man is a freeman; and the tender chords of feeling which, more than laws, bind a people together, and which but lately were silent, again respond to the appeals of kinship and country. [4]

The Saratoga Monument Association, responsible for beginning construction of the Saratoga Monument in the centennial year of 1877 was also behind the effort to mark and memorialize places and individuals important to the battles on outlying private property. This important anniversary was among the first occasions when the battlefield was referred to as "sacred ground."[5] It was hoped that these small monuments would create value in the public eye for battlefield lands that were indistinguishable from the surrounding countryside. New York's former Governor Seymour wrote the Association's Ellen Walworth in support, "I like your plan for marking places of interest around Saratoga. Many now drive with indifference past spots which they would look upon with great interest if they knew their values."[6]

Between 1880 and 1893, Walworth, co-founder of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), led the Saratoga Monument Association Committee on tablets in erecting thirteen tablets memorializing significant sites and soldiers of the battles of Saratoga. Decisions regarding placement of these markers were made with as much concern that they be read from the convenience of the roadside, as to the relationship between their location to the place or battle event being memorialized. The design expression of Walworth's small monuments is that of a small obelisk, a miniature and simplified version of what was planned for the large Saratoga Monument in Victory. Other organizations added several more battle monuments between 1888 and 1927, including the DAR markers, in time to celebrate the battlefield's sesquicentennial anniversary. Additional monuments, cast iron markers, and conjectural period buildings were added to the site during the battlefield's state management period, 1927-1938, but few of these objects (seven stone monuments) are still extant.

Although incompletely documented, the United States battlefield memorialization and commemoration movement saw the construction of diverse memorials such as the memorial tour road at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, the obelisk at Bunker Hill in Boston, Massachusetts, and the granite obelisk and Minuteman statue at Concord, Massachusetts. Concurrent with the rise of the historic preservation movement and the founding of patriotic societies such as the DAR, the battlefield commemoration movement was borne out of the social perceptions and events of the time. Among these were feelings of disorientation and loss caused by the trauma of the Civil War;

renewed interest in patriotism coinciding with the nation's centennial; and nationalistic feelings that accompanied the rise of U.S. industrialism and immigration.

Association with individuals most clearly identified with this secondary theme include local persons such as Ellen Walworth and George Slingerland as well as more prominent citizens such as Adolph Ochs, editor of the *New York Times*, and Franklin Roosevelt, as New York's Governor and as President of the United States. These personalities all played an activist's role leading to the creation of the national park unit. Yet for the purposes of eventually completing a National Register form for the battlefield, claims for significance based on the lives of preservation advocates would need further documentation, which requires a scholarly project that is beyond the scope of this cultural landscape report. Developing information supporting the significance associated with the lives of individuals would require extensive research in order to compare the battlefield property to other surviving properties associated with these persons. Nevertheless, it would be reasonable to draw an early conclusion that any attribution of significance related to association with these or with any other individuals is likely to be secondary to association with the event itself (Criteria A). Significance of the Saratoga battlefield for association with the lives to those working for its preservation would be most appropriately be stated at the New York State or perhaps even the local level.

Discussion of the NPS Mission 66 Context

The National Park Service has in recent years begun to examine the significance of its own design and development history. During the 1990s, many rustic park buildings and park developments originating during the period prior to World War II, were nominated and listed on the National Register based on the merits of their design. These included many rustic park developments funded by President Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal" economic relief programs. Currently, historians interested in exploring the design history of the more recent past have turned attention to the nationwide NPS program of constructing modernist visitor centers in the parks during the post-war era. In September 2000, the agency published *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type*. Following the determination of National Register eligibility for six NPS Mission 66 visitor centers, this study was funded to provide a contextual basis for considering the potential significance of over one-hundred buildings, including the building at Saratoga NHP, constructed in 1962. This report is to be the first phase of a process that will assess the significance of all Mission 66 park development projects. The recent visitor center study has suggested that additional examples of this building type within NPS inventory may be found eligible for the National Register. However, most currently do not meet the standard of exceptional importance required for properties less than fifty years old, which would suggest the preparation of individual determinations of eligibility for most of the visitor center buildings in question.

Prior to the in-depth analysis required by such a determination, the visitor center at Saratoga appears to serve as a more typical example of the "Park Service Modern" style codified in the recent study than an extraordinary one. The Saratoga building possesses design characteristics easily recognized under established National Register registration requirements for the building type, most notably the distinctive roofline, unorthodox window arrangement and an open floor plan. However,

the registration requirements needed to support claims of exceptional importance are primarily centered on recognition of a building's design excellence, evidenced by receipt of awards, public notices, and publication in design journals. This is clearly not the case with Saratoga's visitor center that is a relatively obscure building, designed by in-house NPS architects.

However, one requirement for exceptional importance has less to do with design and more to do with the role of the building in the overall park development plan. Of the five requirements to establish exceptional importance, the building needs to meet only one.

> The visitor center should possess exceptional importance in one or more of the following ways: . . . 4.) As an essential part of an overall Mission 66 park development plan that had extraordinary importance in the history and development of an individuals park. . . .[7]

Does the Saratoga building meet this requirement? Through the research accomplished in preparing this cultural landscape report, it is understood that the broad strokes of unfulfilled pre-World War II planning at Saratoga were rolled wholesale into the park's post-war "Mission 66 Prospectus." The Mission 66 program provided the vehicle for realizing a program of park development conceived in 1939, of which the location of and provision for a park museum (visitor center) served as its central organizing element.

The Mission 66 visitor center building type has from its beginnings had its critics within the agency. Resolving the historical merits of Mission 66 park development, and making a determination of its eligibility for listing on the National Register is well beyond the scope of this cultural landscape report, and will remain an open question until further analysis is accomplished.[8] At this writing, a formal Determination of Eligibility (DOE) is being prepared by NPS staff, and at its completion will be submitted to the New York State Historic Preservation Officer for concurrence with its findings.

Evaluating Integrity of the Saratoga National Historical Park Battlefield Unit

Within National Register Bulletin #40, *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields,* Patrick Andrus has offered:

> Battlefields cannot be frozen in time. The cataclysmic event that gave the sites their significance created a highly unstable landscape of destruction. Even where efforts to preserve the battlefield were initiated almost immediately, as at Gettysburg, it proved impossible to perpetuate the scene in the exact form and condition it presented during the battle. Instead, Gettysburg presents several layers of history, including its post-battle memorialization.[9]

Regarding the issue of integrity, Andrus goes on to recognize that the best preserved battlefields appear much as they would have at the time of the battle, or where it is still possible to visualize how the landscape shaped both strategy and outcome.[10] At Saratoga NHP's battlefield, it is still possible to transport ones imagination back to the historic events of 1777. This is as much attributable to the absence of modern development as to the survival of historic features. A basic test of battlefield integrity is to reflect on whether a participant in the battle might recognize the property as it exists today. To judge that such a hypothetical time-traveler might recognize the place is to acknowledge

that the battlefield retains historic integrity despite the many instances where existing conditions are at variance with what is known of the landscape at the time of the battles.

As the historic battles of 19 September 1777 and 7 October 1777 represent small pieces of a larger military campaign, the boundaries of park property encompass only a fragment of a much larger battle area. The metes and bounds describing the Saratoga NHP battlefield outline a practical yet arbitrary conception of the historic battlefield. Nevertheless, the following paragraphs will present an evaluation of integrity for NPS owned property only.

The National Register of Historic Places (a NPS program) recognizes seven aspects of integrity for historic properties. These are *location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.* Aspects of integrity deemed most important for evaluation may be judged based on a property's proposed significance under National Register criteria. If unique defensive fortifications are a critical aspect of a historic battlefield, then aspects of design, materials and workmanship may be considered important aspects of integrity that the property must retain in order to properly convey its historical significance. If designed features are not a critical aspect of the battlefield's significance, then the aspects of location, setting, feeling and association alone must be present to convey the historical significance of the event. The latter appears to be the case at the Saratoga National Historical Park.

Battlefield Landscape Characteristics

The following discussion of landscape characteristics provides an analysis and evaluation of the physical characteristics of the landscape, identifying characteristics and features that contribute or do not contribute to the historical significance and integrity of the property. Landscape characteristics, including processes and physical forms, are the tangible evidence of the activities of the natural and cultural forces shaping the landscape.

Topography/Hydrology

The topography of the battlefield and its relationship to the Hudson River are primary landscape characteristics that influenced the strategy and outcome of the historic battles. The conflict between British and American forces occurred at this place by design, rather than by accident. The Hudson River valley served as Burgoyne's avenue of approach to move his troops from Canada to Albany. He hoped to use this colonial thoroughfare to divide and subdue the rebellious colonies. Gates's American advisors possessed superior knowledge of the terrain that the British hoped to pass through. The American forces were able to use the natural escarpment as key terrain, a superb defensive position that they would have to be forced from if the British were to reach their objective. Significant topographic and hydrological characteristics and relationships survive intact at the Saratoga battlefield.

Land Cover and Vegetation

Vegetation and topography together define the spatial characteristics of the Saratoga battlefield. The pattern of land cover and vegetation has changed significantly since the time of the historic battles. Farmers settled the land decades prior to the autumn of 1777 and hollowed out clearings in the virgin forest to support subsistence agriculture. Many of these clearings were littered with tree stumps. At the time of the park's creation in 1938, nearly all forest vegetation had been removed.

During the first years of National Park status, the open quality of the landscape was appreciated as an aid to visitor understanding of battle events, because the topography could be seen and understood at a glance. Due to austerity measures put in place during WWII, the formerly open fields grew into a young forest. Rather than remove the new growth, since 1950 the park has planned and worked to reestablish the pattern of field and forest thought to be present during the time of the battle. Except for the species composition of the forest and the size of the individual specimens, the park has very nearly achieved this objective. There are significant differences between a map of existing vegetation and maps of the vegetation at the time of the second battle, but these differences are better appreciated in the abstraction of a plan drawing, than by a visitor walking on the ground. The differences in the pattern of field and forest between the current landscape and that depicted in historic maps would not be easily understood in the three-dimensional spatial context in which park visitors experience the landscape.

Circulation

Local roads played a significant role in the strategy and outcome of the battles of Saratoga, serving as military avenues of approach and retreat through a rough frontier landscape. Unfortunately, National Park Service planning during the 1940s and 1950s failed to appreciate the value of these roads to the interpretation of the historic battles, and did not take these roads into account in planning the modern tour road. Only traces of historic roads and routes remain, and many of these are so faint that they have required considerable study and analysis to locate. Nevertheless, where they can be positively identified, historic road traces serve as fixed and known points that are useful in identifying the location of historic events and military positions.

Views and Vistas

The strategic views from the top of the river valley escarpment, where American and British fortifications were placed, were critically important to the historic battles. The views to and from these high places are relatively unchanged from the historic setting of the battlefield. Any threats to these expansive views would occur outside the park boundary, and preserving the views will require that the park work cooperatively with private landowners and local governments.

Buildings and Structures

The only surviving building present during the time of the historic battles is the Neilson house, found on the summit of Bemis Heights. Other buildings documented by British surveys have long

since been removed. Nineteenth and early 20th century farm buildings were removed by the National Park Service, as were the conjectural reconstructions installed during the New York State management period. Regrettably, the present lack of buildings gives a false impression that almost no one lived on this land during the time of the battles.

Remnants of the Champlain Canal survive within the park boundary, and are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. While no lock structures were ever constructed within the park boundary, in places the canal cross-section, including the tow path is easily identified. The ruined remains of Wilbur's Basin, once an important canal way station and rest area, are found entirely within the park boundary, and are easily seen when entering the park through its eastern entrance.

There have recently been expressions of interest in the history of modern structures relating the NPS "Mission 66" park development program. This program, active during the late 1950s and early 1960s was responsible for funding and realizing much of the schematic planning for the development of Saratoga National Historical Park during the 1930s and 1940s. Within the agency, a handful of park visitor centers constructed as part of Mission 66 have been deemed historically significant and have been subsequently listed on the National Register. The suite of Mission 66 structures at Saratoga NHP, have not yet been evaluated for their significance to this aspect of national park development and United States history.

Small Scale Features

The battlefield at Saratoga National Historical Park is home to a diverse collection of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century monuments. These monuments were once placed conveniently along the shoulders of the pre-existing roadways serving the area. When this network of roadways was abandoned with the introduction of the new park tour road in the 1960s, some of the roadside monuments were moved to serve the new road system. Despite their altered locations, the collection of battlefield monumentation found within the park boundary bears an important relationship with the larger Saratoga Monument in Schuylerville. These combined efforts, large and small, were the work of the Saratoga Monument Association, and the survival of these features on the battlefield serves as a tangible reminder as to how earlier generations typically chose to honor the past. The placement of the small markers within the battlefield differentiated that landscape from the surrounding countryside, creating an image and identity for this place in the popular imagination. These efforts began the process leading to the battlefield coming into public ownership and management. Other markers known as wayside exhibits are fixtures of National Park Service management and do not contribute to the historical significance of the landscape.

Archeological Sites

Despite extensive study, a possibility always remains that the field of archeology might in the future yield new information increasing our understanding of the historic battles of Saratoga. Prior archeological studies acknowledge the existence of data gaps in survey work, leaving opportunities for future generations, employing new methods and drawing on broader knowledge, to make additional discoveries.

Summary of Landscape Characteristics and Features for Saratoga Battlefield - Saratoga National Historical Park		
Characteristic/Feature	Status	Comments
Topography/Hydrology	- Contributing (primary) Critical element to the understanding of the historic battle	Includes escarpment and ridges paralleling the river, east-west ravines - topographic landscape relationships to the Hudson River and its tributaries. Topography is a primary element making up the spatial qualities of the landscape.
Land Cover and Vegetation		
- Field and Forest Pattern	- Contributing	- Greatly re-established since 1950, an important historic spatial characteristic.
- Composition of field and forest	- Non-contributing	- Species composition fundamentally changed since 18th and 19th century.
Circulation		
- 18th century road traces	- Contributing	- Fragments survive as part of park trail system
- Park tour road	- Non-contributing	- 1960s tour road system
Views and Vistas		
- View to east - Hudson River and Washington County rural landscape.	- Contributing	- Intact yet vulnerable
- View to west - high ground outside park boundary	- Contributing	- Intact yet vulnerable
Buildings and Structures		
- Neilson House	- Contributing	- Diminished integrity - ensemble of other 18th century buildings not surviving.
- Champlain Canal	- Contributing	- Ruined fragments
- Park Offices	- Under evaluation	- Post-1960 "Mission 66" facilities
- Park Visitor Center	- Under evaluation	- Post 1960 "Mission 66" facility
- Park Maintenance Shop	- Non-contributing	- Constructed during the 1980s
- Park Curatorial Storage Building	- Non-contributing	- Constructed during 2000-2001
Select Small Scale Features		
- Battlefield Markers and Memorials	- Contributing	- Diminished integrity of original location (moved). Significant when considered as a collection of features.
- Wayside interpretive exhibits/features	- Non-contributing	- Contemporary features subject to change. Includes contemporary fencing, fortification markings and text/graphic panels.
Archeological Sites		
- Pre-historic and 18th century sites	- Contributing	- Potential to yield additional information regarding historic and pre-historic periods.
- 19th century sites	- Contributing	- Potential to yield additional information regarding the 19th century rural economy and canal transport - includes many building foundation remnants.

Integrity to 1777

Because of a lack of explicit contemporary documentation and extant above-ground remains of features, integrity to the 1777 period of battle significance is difficult to assess.

Although a few contemporary maps of the site exist, and archeological excavations have located battle fortifications, some details and specifics of the battlefield's physical appearance, especially in the southern region, remain unknown. For example, some significant landscape features present during the battle, such as buildings, fortifications, and redoubts, are currently buried or missing. In a similar vein, documentation of the appearance of the American encampment areas is sparse compared to what is known of the British encampment areas.

In other cases, landscape features have clearly changed over the past two hundred years. The battlefield's land cover, for instance, has obviously changed, since virgin forest, eliminated for agriculture by the late 1800s, has been replaced by re-growth forest and scrub. However, current research indicates that forest re-growth may cause land cover percentages of today (eighteen percent old woods, fifty percent young woods and scrub, thirty-one percent open field) to fast approach land cover percentages of 1777 (seventy percent forest, thirty percent open [cleared for military use or cultivation]). Similarly, although the asphalt tour road within the park and the highways surrounding the park function and appear quite different from 1777 roads, the modern roads, in some areas, share the same alignment as the historic roads.

It should also be noted that one feature has not changed over time in any significant way. Topography was the primary reason why the battles occurred at Saratoga. The shape of the land was the single most critical landscape feature weighing upon siting, strategy, and outcome of individual battle events, and is still of primary importance in understanding and interpreting the battles today.

By comparing the historic state of landscape features with their status today, the battlefield's integrity to 1777 can be judged as follows:

- ❑ Workmanship and Materials: As for many battlefields, integrity of workmanship and materials at Saratoga are nearly impossible to determine, due to poor documentation and loss of features, especially temporary earthen fortifications.

- ❑ Location and Association: Saratoga battlefield has high integrity of location and association, because it is the actual location of the battle(s). The commemorative nature of its status as a national historical park continues the association with the historic event.

- ❑ Setting: The battlefield's integrity of setting is somewhat diminished by changes in vegetative cover, both in and around the park. The original setting of the battle was a mixture of mature forest and small family farmsteads, which no longer exist today. Land around the battlefield has recently been developed into single family homes. However, changes in vegetative cover are offset by the high integrity of the site's topography and fundamental relationship to the Hudson River.

- ❑ Design: By way of military strategy, the battlefield's extant topography also contributes to the integrity of design. The location of the battles, the siting of fortifications, and the military strategies employed by both sides were greatly influenced by the topography of the site (see Setting). Combined with the extant historic road traces and the configuration of field

and forest, the extant topography demonstrates how and why military engineers and tacticians used the landscape in the orchestration of the battles.

❑ Feeling: It would appear that integrity of feeling has been diminished by the loss and continued absence of mature vegetation, military features, and structures on the site today, with its presently open vistas and tour road, the property must intrinsically feel differently than it did when its rolling hills were covered by forests and farms. The aspect of historic feeling is difficult to judge concretely. Nevertheless, the historic battlefield property survives as a historical park and retains a quiet undeveloped setting, with the strategic topography and its critical landscape relationship with the Hudson River. This, combined with the existing memorial features in place, induce contemplation, reflection on historic events and an engagement of the imagination. Because of this, integrity of feeling should be understood as intact.

❑ Overall Integrity: Because of its integrity of location, association, setting, and design, Saratoga battlefield retains integrity to its primary period of significance, 1777.

Integrity to the Commemoration/Historic Preservation Period: 1877- 1938

Determining integrity to this potential secondary period of significance is simpler, primarily because better documentation of the site exists. This affords a clearer comparison between existing and historic conditions.

In the sixty-three years that have elapsed since 1938, some features of this period have been lost or altered. For example, the landscape is no longer fully open, as it was then, and is instead a patchwork of field, forest, and scrub. Farms and roads have been lost and obliterated and landscape boundaries, such as fences and hedgerows, have lost their prominence on the landscape. Land use, too, has changed, due to the abandonment of agriculture fields. And finally, new features, such as the tour road (completed in the early 1960s) and park buildings, have been added to the historic scene. Yet such changes notwithstanding, other features from this period have been retained, including the site's rolling topography. Most of the battlefield monuments dating to this period are similarly extant, and are largely located at or near their original locations.

Based on this comparison of historic and extant landscape features, then, the integrity of the memorial period of the battlefield can be assessed:

❑ Workmanship and Materials: Since the extant monuments are reasonably well-documented, and are maintained in good condition, integrity of workmanship and materials are retained.

❑ Location: Integrity of location is somewhat compromised by the shifting and removal of a few monuments.

❑ Association: Since Saratoga NHP retains the memorial intent of the commemorative layer, integrity of association is also high for this period.

❑ Setting and Feeling: Integrity of setting is moderately high, due to the continuing presence of more open agricultural land around the park and

around the individual monuments themselves, as was true between 1877 and 1927. However, both setting and feeling for the memorial layer have been altered by the addition of the tour road and interpretive waysides, which change, to some degree, the experience of visiting the memorials.

- ❑ Design: As for setting and feeling, integrity of design has been compromised somewhat by the addition of the curvilinear tour road and the obliteration of the more rectilinear local, county, and state roads upon which they once stood. In other words, their access has been redesigned, thus lowering integrity. The loss of a few monuments also slightly diminishes integrity of design.

- ❑ Overall Integrity: Based on all seven aspects of integrity, the overall integrity of the memorial layer seems to be predominantly retained.

Overall Summary of Integrity

After evaluating the site's character-defining features, it seems clear that Saratoga NHP retains meaningful integrity to both the period of primary significance (1777) and the potential secondary period of significance (1877-1938). This situation is not atypical for Revolutionary War battlefields where land use has remained stable, and the area has not been developed. Regrettably, the integrity of this significant landscape is increasingly at risk due to external factors such as adjacent, off-site land use.

Preliminary Landscape Preservation Recommendations

In 1939, when the National Park Service first began planning development of Saratoga National Historical Park, it was initially recommended that the landscape of the park be kept open, and not reforested. It was believed that an unobstructed view of the park's topography would allow the visitor a better understanding of the chronology and spatial relationships of the battle events. These recommendations were followed until about 1949, when the completion of Charles Snell's historic research and revision of the park's historic base map suggested otherwise. Following Snell's research, the management approach toward vegetative cover changed to one of more active "ground cover restoration." This change was implemented out of a recognition of the strategic importance of the heavily wooded forests, and because of a perception that park visitors were confused and receiving "an entirely erroneous conception of the Battles. . . simply because the region is so widely cleared."[11]

The restoration of the ground cover by allowing natural forest re-growth to occur has since been the most basic landscape management objective for the park. A period of neglect, commencing with the United States' entry into World War II and ending with an influx of funding attributed to the Mission 66 park development program in 1956, is in large measure responsible for the growth of young trees instigating this change in policy. This direction was reinforced in the park's most recent (1969) Master Plan, still in force, which states that the major objective of the resource management program is to restore the pattern of open fields and forests which existed in 1777. "Areas that were then wooded are being let alone to go back to forest. Areas now in woods and brush which were cleared in 1777 are gradually being cleared. . . open areas are maintained by. . . periodic rough mowing. . . . This program is adequate."[12]

This management practice continues. However, since 1969, a number of issues have arisen which may slightly change the practice of landscape management in the park. First, the re-growth of forest on the battlefield appears to be somewhat less vigorous than expected, resulting in a less-than-accurate 1777 appearance of the battlefield. Second, the accuracy of Snell's historic base map has come under scrutiny, and a study addressing some of these inaccuracies has been completed. Finally, NPS policies for the management of cultural resources have shifted over the past twenty years, and it may be appropriate to update landscape management practices to meet current NPS standards for the treatment of historic properties.

The following recommendations are meant to guide the development of a cultural landscape management plan, as based on the most recent (1992) version of the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*. The goal of these recommendations is to illustrate a range of possibilities for implementing the fundamental objectives park planning documents, while still maintaining consistency with current NPS historic preservation policies.

Apply Historic Preservation "Treatment" Terminology Accurately

Although the current treatment strategy for the park has generally been described as a "Restoration," based on the current Secretary of the Interior's Standards, a restoration of the battle landscape to 1777 would currently indicate a more intensive treatment than is currently being implemented. Under present agency standards, restoration is described as:

> the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period.

When applied to Saratoga NHP's battlefield, a restoration would require the reconstruction and replacement in the landscape of all features present in 1777, as based on "substantial physical and documentary evidence." In addition, all features not dating to that period would be removed. Under these guidelines, a restoration to 1777 would theoretically require:

- ❑ Restoration of clearings and forest cover in their historic locations.
- ❑ Removal of all existing battlefield monuments, including those installed circa 1880-1938, as well as those more recently erected.
- ❑ Removal of other nineteenth and 20th century features, such as evidence of canal transport and sand mining.
- ❑ Reconstruction and replacement of missing battlefield features, such as redoubts and other battlefield fortifications, and the British and American headquarters.
- ❑ Reconstruction and replacement of 1777 roads and 1777 farm buildings.
- ❑ Preparation of a comprehensive restoration plan for the landscape and landscape features, to include historic documentation.

Given the improbability of the actions outlined above, and the fact that "Restoration" practices to date have focussed primarily on the single feature of ground cover, it is recommended that the management of the landscape be more accurately described under the current guidelines as "Rehabilitation." This recommendation is simply a suggestion that the park use more accurate terminology for what it is trying to accomplish on the landscape.

Rehabilitation, as a landscape treatment, allows alterations to be made to the historic landscape for a new or continuing use, yet requires that historic character, provided by intact historic or character-defining features, be retained. According to the current agency standards, rehabilitation:

> is defined as the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural or architectural values.

Rehabilitation allows changes to the landscape to enhance interpretive use, including the limited replacement of missing historic features. However, rehabilitation does not permit the removal of extant historic features, including those from later periods of significance, nor does it permit changes

to the landscape that create a false sense of historic development. This means that creating landscape anachronisms, restoring features not existing during the same time, is discouraged.

For Saratoga NHP, a rehabilitation treatment, for the purpose of continuing and improving interpretation of the park's primary period of significance, 1777, may therefore be the most appropriate treatment for the site. Of all current treatments advocated by the Secretary of the Interior's Standards, rehabilitation (in this case, for interpretation of 1777 events) comes closest to the spirit of current park landscape management. Under rehabilitation the following actions would be permitted:

- Replacement of 1777 features, such as tree cover, in the most important interpretive areas, with the purpose of conveying very specific interpretive goals. Rehabilitation would not require clearing trees where this would open a view to a modern subdivision for the sake of historical accuracy.
- Upgrading and alteration of facilities and features such as paths to meet contemporary safety, legal, and accessibility requirements.
- Removal of intrusive and non-historic features, though non-contributing features which continue to perform necessary functions may be retained.
- Limited use of landscape vignettes at key interpretative points.

In addition, a rehabilitation treatment would suggest the following:

- Preservation and maintenance of historic features from later periods of the battlefield's history, so that changes to the battlefield that have acquired significance in their own right are retained.
- Discourage restoration of features, such as monuments, which date to periods of significance other than 1777.
- Protection and preservation of archeological resources.

These preliminary recommendations are offered to inform the selection of a preferred alternative for the park's new General Management Plan (GMP). After its recommendations have been subject to a period of extensive public comment, the Saratoga GMP will become the park's primary long-term planning document determining the overall approach toward park developments as well as the preservation of the battlefield for a period of up to twenty years. Fortunately, the GMP planning effort and the CLR project have been proceeding concurrently. Historic landscape architects preparing the CLR have attended meetings and participated in discussions related to the GMP, and many historic landscape preservation issues have already been considered.

Before the selection of a preferred GMP alternative, only the most general landscape recommendations, such as those offered above, are appropriate in a cultural landcape report. The preparation of a landscape treatment plan as a subsequent second volume of the Cultural Landscape Report for Saratoga battlefield, is a logical follow-up to the completion of the park's GMP planning efforts.

Endnotes- Preliminary Landscape Preservation Recommendations

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[1] The most recent National Register nomination form for the Champlain Canal lists only the date 1823 as the significant date. In the absence of a closing date for its period of significance, 1903, or the last date mentioned in the narrative, has been interpolated in the past as the canal's closing significant date. However, other documentation, including historian Larry Lowenthal's recent Champlain Canal study, and canal maps from 1917, illustrate that while the Barge Canal was being constructed and the Champlain Canal was being phased out of operation, sections of the Champlain Canal that abutted the battlefield continued to be used until 1917.

[2] During their advance from Canada, along Lake Champlain and south down the Hudson toward Albany, the British troops under the command of Lieutenant General John Burgoyne, were delayed by the tactics of Major General Philip Schuyler. Burgoyne eventually crossed to the west bank of the Hudson River at Saratoga (currently known as Schuylerville) on September 13, 1777 and marched southward. Four miles north of the village of Stillwater, the British came upon 8,000 Continental troops under the command of Major General Horatio Gates.

The physical geography of the upper Hudson was a major factor in the area's selection as a defensive position by the Americans. The Hudson River at this location is bordered by a steep escarpment which served the American forces as key terrain for artillery emplacements, naturally serving as both an observation point and as an obstacle to the enemy. American fortified positions on the heights above the escarpment and in redoubts along the Hudson River floodplain commanded the river and the road. Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a Polish military engineer serving with the Americans, had shrewdly chosen and designed the layout of the American fortifications, taking advantage of existing landscape characteristics, especially the gap or "defile" between the escarpment and the river, through which the British were required to pass if they were to reach Albany.

Burgoyne's burdened army had to either run a gauntlet between the hills and the river, risking destruction in a frontal assault, or instead to flank the American's left on high ground, driving them out of their fortifications by attacking from the rear. The British general made the analysis and chose to redirect the bulk of his force toward the heights west of the escarpment above the Hudson.

On September 19, 1777, forces of the Royal Army advanced on the American position. The resulting battle pitched back and forth over the Freeman farm. As the British lines began to waiver, German reinforcements arrived from the River Road on the floodplain. The Americans were forced to retreat, but Burgoyne was severely shaken by his "victory." Burgoyne subsequently ordered his troops to entrench in the vicinity of the Freeman farm to await support. The American troops were reinforced over the next couple weeks, while Burgoyne never received the outside support he had hoped for. On October 7, 1777, Burgoyne unwittingly initiated a second engagement. American forces repeatedly broke the British line, eventually driving the British and German troops back to their fortifications at the Freeman farm, where the Americans led a series of attacks. The following night the British began their retreat northward and left the landscape comprising the current park's battlefield unit.

After marching in mud and rain, Burgoyne's troops took refuge in a fortified camp on the heights of Saratoga. There, an American force that had grown to nearly 17,000 men, surrounded the exhausted British Army. Faced with such overwhelming numbers, Burgoyne surrendered on October 17, 1777. By the terms of the Convention of Saratoga, Burgoyne's depleted army, some 6,000 men, marched out of its camp "with the Honors of War" and stacked weapons along the west bank of the Hudson River. This surrender, it is said, marked one of the most decisive victories in American and world history.

The significance of Saratoga NHP may be attributed to the decisive role that the area played in British General John Burgoyne's campaign of 1777 during the American Revolution. The American victory had the effect of restoring the confidence of the colonists in their military abilities at a time when it was most needed. The victory also brought foreign recognition and subsequent assistance that made the final victory a reality.

[3] Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 299.

[4] Martin I. Townsend in Allen D. Breach's *Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York*. (Albany, NY: Weed Parsons & Co., 1879), 165.

[5] Breach, Allen D., *Centennial Celebrations of the State of New York*. (Albany, NY: Weed Parsons & Co., 1879), 165.

[6] Ellen Hardin Walworth. *The Battles of Saratoga, 1777. The Saratoga Monument Association 1856-1891.* (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1891), 63.

[7] Sarah Allaback, *Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type,* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 2000), 276.

[8] Transmittal memorandum for, "Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type." Associate Director, Cultural Resources Stewardship and Partnerships to Regional Directors and Park Superintendents. 12 September 2000.

[9] United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service Interagency Resources Division *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields.* (Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1992), 11.

[10] Andrus uses the words: "…making it easy to understand how strategy and results were shaped by the terrain." His use of the word "terrain," is newly important as the Gettysburg NMP has recently been a leader in applying concepts of military "terrain analysis" as the organizing principle for interpretive programs and as a tool for prioritizing the preservation of battlefield remnants. The KOCOA method of terrain analysis, appearing in US Army Field Manuals just prior to the onset of WWII is a tool of military intelligence to analyze the landscape for strategic advantage prior to an engagement.

[11] Memorandum from Charles Snell to the Superintendent of Saratoga of NHP. July 25, 1949. Saratoga National Historical Park Files. SARA .001 CRBIB # 01049.

[12] 1969 Master Plan for Saratoga National Historical Park. CRBIB # 010495.

Appendices

Abridged Chronology

1624 Mohawks defeat the Mahicans. Mahicans retreat east and north.

1628 All Mahican villages are expelled from the west side of the Hudson river. Mahicans most likely continued to hunt on the western side, but returned to east side, to avoid arousing Mohawk animosity.

1650 Nancy Gordon concludes in her report "The Saratoga Battlefield: A Vegetative History" that the battlefield was not a site of Native American villages, and was more likely a hunting grounds.

1650 Writings of Adriaen van der Donck. "The Indians have a yearly custom (which some of our Christians have also adopted) of burning the woods, plains and meadows in the fall of the year when the leaves have fallen...This practice is named by us and the Indians, 'bush-burning', which is done for several reasons. First, to render hunting easier...Secondly, to thin our and clear the woods of all dead substances and grass...Thirdly, to circumscribe the and enclose the game within the lines of the fire."

This early landscape contained natural meadows along the banks of the Hudson, which were subject to frequent flooding. Adriaen van der Donck, an early Dutch landowner, writing in the mid sixteen hundreds, described them as "very fine flats and mowing lands, together with large meadows...the mowing lands, flats and meadows, have few or no trees..."

1683 July 26: Prominent northern New York citizens purchase from the Mohawks the land that would become the "Saratoga Patent."

1709 A fort on the east side of the river is built, enticing more settlers to come to the region.

1726 Native Americans and French continue to raid towns and settlements causing heavy losses on all sides.

1727 Burning of woodland to clear it for cultivation is prohibited by the Crown. English government, unaware of the differences between the American and British landscape try to protect woodland areas and end up discouraging European settlement.

1745 Saratoga (Schuylerville) was ambushed by a force of French and Indians. Houses, barns and store rooms were burned, settlers were killed and some were taken prisoner. The hamlet was virtually destroyed.

1750 Rhode Island Baptist soldiers fighting in the French and Indian War saw the abundant land, timber, and waterpower in the Saratoga region during their travels. After returning from the war they returned to the region with their families, travelling by way of the Hoosic Trail. Some settled in Stillwater. While the lowlands along the riverbed were occupied, the Rhode Island Baptists settled the trail that led from Bemis Heights to Saratoga Lake.

1749 Peter Kalm, "During the war which just ended, the inhabitants had all retreated from thence to Albany, because the French Indians had taken or killed all the people they met with, set the houses on fire, and cut down the trees. Therefore, when the inhabitants returned, things looked wretched; they found no houses, and were forced to lie under a few boards which they propped up against each other… We found people returning everywhere to their habitations, which they had been forced to leave during the war."

1749 Peter Kalm about agriculture, "All land was plowed very even, as is usual in the Swedish province of Uppland. Some fields were sown with yellow and others with white wheat. Now and then we saw great fields of flax, which was now beginning to flower...The soil in most of these fields is a fine black mould, which goes down pretty deep."

1749 Peter Kalm, "On both sides the land was sometimes cultivated, and sometimes it was covered with woods...The hills near the river abound with red and white clover. We found both these kinds plentiful in the woods. It is therefore difficult to determine whether they were brought over by the Europeans, as some people think, or whether they were originally in America, which the Indians deny."

1750 Survey of Saratoga patent is made by John R. Bleeker. Saratoga NHP lies within lot(s) #13-17.

1760s Philip Schuyler developed Saratoga into a manufacturing and milling center as well as a community that encouraged artisans and a diverse work force. He provided jobs and housing for those who wanted to come and work and contribute to his community.

1770s Philip Schuyler ran three saw mills in the area at this time. Locals had long been lumbering as a source of income, a phenomenon that would have attracted other settlers. Others settled into the land already cleared for lumber.

1772 March 24. New York Colonial Legislature passed an act to create 2 legal districts of the area now known as Saratoga County. They were called Half Moon and Saraghtoga.

1775 April 19: Engagements at Lexington and Concord.

1776 Declaration of Independence.

1777 "The Dutchmen who moved upstream and the English Quakers and Congregationalists who came from New England were, generally speaking, a thrifty, industrious lot, and they had been in area long enough to make the valley floor rural rather than wilderness in character."

"The hills above the valley had been settled after most of the latter's lands had been taken up. There the scene was more rugged. Houses were cruder, fields were less extensive, and the woods denser. This was new country that had retained more of the wilderness character, and it bounded a yet wilder back-country." (Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation for the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. The Proposed Niagara Mohawk Corporations Easton Nuclear Generating Power Station. NPS. 1984. Part III p. 2)

1777 Jotham Bemus, a suspected loyalist who did not fight in the war, had built and was operating a tavern along the area's major north-south road at Bemis Heights. (Luzader, Bemis Heights, p 6)

1777 John Neilson's farm contained the small house, two log farm buildings, and a log barn with a belfry, according to the writings of Chaplain Milius who visited German prisoners in the American hospital. Luzader deduces through war claims and information about local farming of the period that John Neilson probably had a one acre kitchen garden with corn, beans, squash, peas, pumpkin, turnip, and medicinal herbs planted. He may have had sixteen or seventeen acres of pasture for his cows and horse. He probably had about 3 acres of hay. Neilson's main crop was probably corn. He also probably had an acre to an acre and a half of potatoes.

1777 Battles of Saratoga.

1777 John Neilson's claims of war damages to his property; 2 tons of growing grass, 40 bushels of potatoes, 15 pounds worth of mowing grass, 354 rods of fence (5,664 ft) burned by the army.

1779 April 27. Fifty-three residents of the Saratoga district wrote a petition to George Clinton, Governor of New York, asking for protection from war activities. They claimed to be "exposed to the daily and Hourly Incursions of a numerous and Savage Enemy, by no Means secured with proper Guards, so as to render our habitations either safe or Secure..."

1781 Oct. 19: British surrender at Yorktown.

1783 Geo. Washington visits the battlefield while visiting Gen. Philip Schuyler. Washington's primary goal during this visit north was to see "the ground which became famous by being the theatre of action in 1777."

1790 Census data from 1790 lists 508 heads of family in Stillwater.

1791 NYS law authorized a survey of canal routes. Philip Schuyler was the earliest and most fervent supporter of the Champlain canal, earning him the name "Father of the Champlain Canal."

1792 New York State charters the Northern Inland Lock Navigation Co. operating between the Hudson River and Lake Champlain, collapsing as a commercial enterprise after a brief existence.

1792 Survey completed. "The Inland Navigation Surveys of 1792."

1794 William Strickland described the infrequent primeval forest stands of the time. "In a few places original woods of small extent remain producing trees of wonderful magnitude, and standing so thick on the ground that though there is no underwood and they have no branches for many feet in height, they admit not of view in any direction above a few hundred yards...sound is equally destroyed, the report of a gun cannot be heard farther."

1794 Strickland wrote about the mills of the area. He reflected that since most of the timber in the immediate area had already been harvested, the mills would most likely shut down shortly. "Improvident waste has destroyed the woods that originally existed, and want of care has neglected to raise a succession, of which there is now no longer a prospect."

1816 April 17: NY State legislature passed a bill to build locks and canals between lake Erie and the Hudson and also between Lake Champlain.

1820s Estimates of the amount of land cleared in Stillwater in the 1820s was between half and 60%.

1823 Champlain canal opens at Schuylerville.

1824 State gazetteer listed Stillwater in having 498 farmers who owned 2091 cattle, 555 horses, and 4225 sheep. Illustrated how sheep were most prominent and most profitable animal at the time. Wool was a cash crop, very important to the area- other resources and infrastructure was devoted to the wool processing industry. Stillwater had two fulling mills, nine carding machines and one cotton and woolen factory in 1820.

1843 John Quincy Adams visits Saratoga battlefield

1850 Census data shows that the major crops on the battlefield farms were wheat, rye, corn, oats, and potatoes. Most farmers were working between 100 and 200 acres. Thirteen of eighteen farms had woodlots, a total of 135 acres. Farms with the lowest number of livestock had lowest yield- manure was an essential fertilizer.

1856 Oct. 17: "Patriotic gentlemen" meet at the old Schuyler mansion to discuss the steps necessary to erect a monument in recognition of the surrender of Burgoyne to Gates. Saratoga Monument Association is formed. Original intentions for the memorial are to create a 300 foot obelisk, like the one at Bunker Hill. Lack of funding

and a shift in design strategy caused the members to envision a smaller monument, one that included sculptural and artistic elements into the structure.

1861 Outbreak of Civil War prompts suspension of plans for a monument at Saratoga.

1865 Conclusion of American Civil War.

1870 90% of the battlefield had been "improved."

1870 Deer and other wildlife is scarce, implying a loss of habitat.

1876 Centennial of American Independence.

1877 September 19. Pageant held to commemorate the 100 year anniversary of the battles of Saratoga.

1877 October 17. Centennial of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga. Despite numerous setbacks caused by financial difficulties, the Saratoga Monument Association managed to lay the cornerstone of the monument for the centennial celebration.

1880 Mrs. Walworth proposes to erect monuments on the battlefield during a meeting of the Saratoga Monument Association.

1882 Mrs. Walworth reported to the Committee that nineteen sites had been chosen and identified on the battlefield for commemoration.

1890 Sept. 10: US House of Representatives - Committee on military affairs, Completion and dedication of the Saratoga monument.

1891 Mrs. Walworth wrote a Guide to the Battle Ground. In it she gave directions, described the important sites and included a map.

1916 National Park Service is established.

1917 Operation of the Champlain Canal moves into the Hudson River and the old canal bed is abandoned.

1917 Pettinos Brothers, a sand mining company from New York City, purchased a farm on the battlefield to mine sand. Molding sand had been located which was found to be valuable in the metal casting process.

1923 Saratoga Battlefield Association formed. George Slingerland, Mayor of Mechanicville is named president.

1923 Sept. 20: During a meeting of the New York State Historical Society focused on preparation of the Sesquicentennial Celebration, the proposal for the state's purchase of the battlefield acreage is reviewed.

1926 April 15. *State of New York. An Act; Making an appropriation for the rehabilitation and improvement of historic battlefield sites.* The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows: Section 1. For the improvement and rehabilitation of the sites of historic battles now owned by the state or to be acquired by the conservation commissioner, either by purchase or gift, under authority conferred upon him by the laws of nineteen hundred and twenty-six and for the marking of such historic trails as may be approved by the advisory board, the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars is hereby appropriated.

1926 May 10. Slingerland and two others were appointed by the governor to advise the conservation commissioner for the acquisition of lands associated with battles of the Revolution.

1926 July 15. An article in the Schuylerville Standard lauded the groundbreaking at the battlefield. Funds provided by the State Legislature were being used to "reconstruct" the Powder Magazine, thought to have previously stood near Neilson's farm. Stones from nearby stone walls were used to create the Powder Magazine. Plans for a parking lot and the construction of the Blockhouse were discussed as future projects.

1926 New York State passes legislation creating Saratoga battlefield park.

1926 Sesquicentennial Celebration of American Independence.

1926 Spring: NY State appropriates a sum of $140,000 for land acquisition for the Saratoga battlefield.

1927 August: New York State Department of Public Works, and Conservation Commission sponsor designs for a Greek style rest pavilion for the DAR memorial, a restoration of "General Arnold's Headquarters,: and the construction of a "Blockhouse," all on the former Neilson farm.

1927 Following acquisition of acreage, NY State engages in a program of rehabilitation and development, including the construction of picnic grounds.

1927 Oct. 8: Following acquisition by purchase of 1,655 acres, the State of New York formally dedicates the area known as Saratoga Battlefield Park.

1927 Oct 8. Sesquicentennial pagent-9AM salute of 150 guns. 9-11. Tour of battlefield by patriotic societies. Estimates reached as high as 160,000 spectators. 10AM. Dedication of monument erected by the state of New Hampshire. 11-12:30 Addresses by governors of States who took part in battles. 2PM skits, re-enactments and dances by 6,000 participants held until 5 o'clock.

1929 March 13. Slingerland discussed with the conservation commission the state of the various farms on the battlefield. At farms that had been purchased and not vacated yet, they were asking the farmers to plant grass over their previous ploughed land. Other farmers were encouraged to do the same even if their farms had not been acquired yet. He offered one-hundred dollars to Mr. Farrell if he would grass over all his agricultural fields.

1929 August 17. Attendance during the summer months was estimated to be 2000 per day.

1929 August 29. Iron markers to be placed around the battlefield at historic spots were ordered.

1929 Oct. 17: New York Gov. Franklin Roosevelt attends anniversary celebration of Burgoyne's surrender. This 152 anniversary was made special by the local Rotary Clubs patriotic efforts. Hundreds of school children and boy scouts lined the streets and waved flags to welcome the Governor to the Battlefield "…on a battlefield like this at Saratoga, we should be able to visualize the history which was made here. We should have some central spot from which anyone with no knowledge whatever of military science should be able to understand it."

1929 October 17. The park's holdings, by purchase and appropriation in 1929 amount to 1,429 acres.

1929 Onset of the "Great Depression."

1931 January 6. Slingerland wrote to Adolph Ochs to keep him abreast of the activities of the legislature. Money was not appropriated like he thought it would be for acquiring more land. Slingerland had personally gone into debt to finance more land for the battlefield and owed 27,000 dollars. He was not being paid for his position as superintendent and was in dire financial straits.

1931 May 23. The New York State DAR was granted permission from the conservation commission to erect a monument to the unknown soldier as part of the bi-centennial of Washington's birthday. The design was a twelve foot granite shaft with crosses interwoven with thirteen stars carved on each of the four sides.

1931 October 10. Official dedication and unveiling of the Saratoga Battlefield Monument.

1931 December 27. Press release from the New York State conservation commission sited that 250,000 people visited the battlefield in 1931. Visitors came from every state in the Union and fifty-eight foreign countries.

1931 DAR memorial and pavilion are dedicated in observance of the bicentennial of George Washington's birth. Work continues on landscaping and paving of walks.

1933 July 28: Executive Order No. 6228 transfers responsibility for National Military Parks from the War Department to the National Park Service.

1933 March 31: Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) established by an act of Congress.

1936 US Army engages in maneuvers, war-games and mock battles at Saratoga.

1938 June 1: Congress authorizes establishment of Saratoga National Historical Park with enabling legislation.

1938 Park collection of planning documents retains copies of park road planning documents for other NPS battlefield sites as examples. Examples of park roads on file include, Colonial, Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania, Wildernesss, and Vicksburg and Morristown NHP.

1939 Aug. 15: "Recommendations on Development Policy and Work Program for Saratoga National Historical Park." A detailed and illustrated report by Roy Appleman, Regional Supervisor of Historic Sites. In this report, Appleman strongly discourages a program of reforestation to depict historic conditions during 1777, arguing that the then present open condition renders the terrain visible and the battle more easily explained to park visitors.

1939 December 8: President Roosevelt's god-son Al Kreese is appointed Superintendent for the WPA camp stationed at Saratoga battlefield.

1940 February. Report is issued concerning the materials necessary to compile accurate historical information and a historical base map. Sources of primary and secondary material are listed.

1940 October 7. President Roosevelt visits the park with First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and New York State Governor Lehman.

1940 October 10: "Evaluation of Proposed Administration-Museum and Utility Building Sites." F.F. Wilshin, Junior Historical Technician. Three sites are proposed for the location of the buildings. They were compared by looking at location, accessibility, relation to outside facilities, relation to outside facilities, landscape considerations, and historical considerations. President Roosevelt, who read the report during his visit to the park, chose option B, finding it the most suitable because of its proximity to the approach road, its location in the historical sequence, and the view.

1940 Extensive archeological investigations completed by the CCC in 1940-1941 under supervision of Robert Ehrich.

1941 Master Plan completed.

1941 Historic Base map completed by historian Wilshin.

1941 December 7: United States enters into WWII.

1941 December 10: "Proposed Road System Revision - Historical Tour." This drawing shows the extent of the development of the tour road concept just prior to US entry into WWII. Design was not a complete loop as yet. Retains segment of historic road between Neilson and Gannon farms. Admin. building ("view to be kept open") shown on Newland parcel but primary park entrance is shown on Rt. 36 and disassociated from the VC, a departure from the earlier plan of Jan. 1941. Park entrance at Bemis Heights across from Gates HQ is shown obliterated. Road design shows one-way in and one-way out.

1941 February. Under the authority of 1938 legislation, U.S. Gov't accepts 1,429 acres of former Saratoga State Park from New York for "administration and protection as a National Historical Park Project."

1942 Spring: CCC program is disbanded nationwide.

1943 Interpretive Tour Plan drafted. Outlines the four interpretive tours (each of different length) and lists the eleven highlighted interpretive areas in the park.

1943 National Park Service moves its administrative headquarters from Washington, D.C. to Chicago.

1944 January 15: Road System Plan - Part of the Master Plan for Saratoga NHP. This drawing is very interesting because one can see in it the beginnings of the broken-back-one way-loop road that was eventually constructed. This is developed by the recommended "Proposed Relocation of U.S. Rt. 4.

1945 January 14. Memorandum from Superintendent Hamilton in response to Appleman's memo. "The picturesque scenic appearance of the Park is enhanced because of the extent of the open fields interspersed with the small stands of trees. While this is not a true picture historically (The area was heavily wooded at the time of the Battle) it does permit viewing practically all of the surrounding countryside and what is more important see many of the troop positions, fortifications, encampments, etc., from several vantage points. It is therefore believed the open character should be retained."

1945 May. Report of Field Trip by Herbert E. Kahler, Chief Historian and Ned J. Burns, museum Division. "On May 30, Saratoga National Historical Park was inspected where one of the noticeable features was the rapid reforestation of open fields which is restoring the area to the historical scene of 1777. Vistas from he headquarters site to the Freeman farm should be maintained and the areas that were under cultivation at the time of the battle should, if possible, be leased out for farming operations... "

1945 Conclusion of WWII.

1948 Following acquisition of additional key historical parcels of land, President Harry Truman signs the final legislation and Saratoga National Historical Park is formally established.

1949 July 25. "A Report on the Ground Cover at Saratoga National Historical Park." Prepared by Charles W. Snell, Park Historian. Snell used several primary and secondary sources to describe the vegetation at the time of the battle. He recommended reforesting the battlefield to its 1777 appearance.

1951 Historical Base Map for Saratoga NHP is revised by Charles W. Snell.

1951 Vegetation Treatment Plan, calls for reforestation to more literally evoke historic conditions.

1951 Revised Master Plan completed.

1956 Jan. 27*: Mission 66 - Special Presentation to President Eisenhower and the Cabinet by Director Conrad Wirth* A ten year improvement and development program to be completed in 1966. The program aims to improve National Park facilities.

1957-1960 Archeologist John Cotter excavated the Balcarres Redoubt and the Neilson Farm.

1959 July 6: General Development Plan - Part of the Master Plan for Saratoga NHP dwg. 3003B. Rubber stamped 'Final Plan' and given recommendation of EODC acting Chief H. Cornell. This drawing represents the final layout of the park tour road, the planning for which had occupied the better part of twenty years. Drawing is interesting because it identifies the former Admin-Museum building for the first time as a Visitor Center, consistent with NPS program during the Mission 66 era.

1960 Neilson house restoration effort is completed.

1960 March: DAR pavilion is planned for removal as a part of the tour road construction project.

1962 Park visitor center is constructed.

1967 Oct. 1: Completion of the park's tour road.

1968 January. Because of the new tour road alignment, the Sons of the Revolution monument was moved closer to the new pull-off.

1969 Master Plan Completed. Is the current working Master Plan.

1972-1975 Comprehensive archeological surveys are begun leading to the completion of the report, "Archeological Atlas of the Saratoga Battlefield, by Dean Snow and the Dept. of Anthropology, SUNY Albany in 1977."

1975 Blockhouse museum on site of Neilson farm is moved out of the park.

1983 January 12. President Reagan signed into effect legislation that authorized the purchase of significant battlefield properties in non-federal ownership. $1,000,000 was authorized to make the purchases.

1984 The Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation prepared a report in 1984 in response to Niagara Mohawk's proposal to build a nuclear power plant across the Hudson from the park.

1985-1986 Dr. David Starbuck conducted excavations at the site of the American Headquarters, the Old Woods, and the Taylor House site.

2000 Archeological Assessment of the Tour Road. January 2000. Completed to assess the archeological resources that lay close to the tour road. The road was widened to accommodate increased vehicular and bicycle traffic.

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